THE CHEROKEE INDIANS IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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THE CHEROKEE INDIANS IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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The role of the Indians of eastern America in the struggle between the English colonists and the mother country has previously been studied largely in terms of the actions of the northern tribes. While the part of the Iroquois confederation and the Indians of the Ohio Country has been dealt with frequently, small notice has been given to the so-called "Civilized Tribes" of the old Southwest. Most numerous among these southern tribes were the Cherokees, who along with many of their neighbors remained loyal to the British king. Perhaps the lack of attention directed to the Cherokee role in the American Revolution results from the fact that the tribe did not act effectively in cooperation with British troops and therefore did not pose any serious threat to the American colonies during the period of the Revolution proper. It is nevertheless true that the Cherokee struggle against the colonists was prolonged if ineffectual and that it continued long after the new federal government had concluded peace treaties with stronger tribes to the north.

It has been the purpose of this study to look closely at the history of Cherokee relations with the European powers and ascertain the reasons for the Indians' rarely severed loyalty to the British crown. The writer has attempted to determine the causes for ineffective Cherokee resistance to the westward
movement of American settlers and absence of offensive action during the Revolution.

While presenting no critical menace to the young nation, the Cherokees remained a persistent problem and one which called for an immediate solution by officers of the new federal government. The part of the Indians in relation to problems with Spanish intrigues, land speculation, and states' rights were also dealt with in this study. The Indian situation was so thoroughly intertwined with the power struggle between the several states and the federal government and so interrelated with the ambitions of France and Spain in the Mississippi Valley that a study of the southeastern tribes during this period presents a new insight into the diplomacy of the young United States. The savage at the rear was an enemy most dangerous to the development and growth of the frontier. Here the Revolution was an individual more than a national struggle, and the demands for constant watchfulness had much to do with development of frontier character.

The Indian problem, in addition to endangering frontier security, played a role in the sectional struggle. At a time when winning and maintaining the support of western settlers was of utmost importance, the Indian danger was a point of contention. The frontiersmen were already suspicious of the vested interests of eastern leaders. They doubted the honest sympathies of the federal government and in many cases were tempted to respond to Spanish overtures. Delay in settling the
Indian question was not conducive to loyalty along the frontier.

Through a study of the Cherokee Nation, events leading to their part in the Revolutionary struggle, and federal diplomacy with the tribes following the war, the student of American history can gain fresh insights into the problems of the young United States, its power contest with the jealous separate states, and relations with Spain, France, and England in the international rivalry for control of the Mississippi Valley.
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CHAPTER I

MOUNTAINEERS OF THE OLD SOUTHWEST

Before the dawn of historical time in North America the
Indian people known today as the Cherokee drifted south
through Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Virginia and settled in the
secure high places of the Southern Allegheny Mountains.
Pushed southward by tribal war with their hostile relatives,
the Iroquois\(^1\) and the Delaware, the Cherokees became the un-
disputed masters of their highland citadel. Their villages
clung to the slopes of inaccessible blue-topped mountains and
reached down into the fertile valleys, where began the earliest
rivulets of what became mighty streams winding their way down
to the Atlantic, the Gulf, and the Mississippi River.

These southern mountaineers egotistically called them-
selves, "Ani-Yunwiya" -- "the real or principal people"; but
are known better today by the names given by their neighbors
as "cave people" or "mountaineers."\(^2\)

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\(^1\)James Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokee," Nineteenth Annual
p. 16.

\(^2\)Ibid., p. 15. The Cherokees were called by the Iroquois,
"Tsala\(\text{g}i\)" or "cave dwellers" and by the Spanish, through the
Choctaw, "Choluk" or "Chalaque" -- "mountain or cave people."
The name first appears to have been used by DeSoto. Mooney says
that James Adair's interpretation, History of American Indians
(London, 1775), p. 237, is incorrect when he says the name meant
"men possessed of divine fire."
Excepting their relatives, the Iroquois, the Cherokees were the most important tribe of North America. They were the most numerous, wealthy, and powerful of the Southern Indians. Claiming a vast area of over forty thousand square miles\(^3\) that included the rich, fertile valleys of the Alleghenies, the Cherokees were in an enviable position. Coveted hunting lands, teeming with wildlife and luxuriant with vegetation, made their country always a land of strife, known to both Indian and European as the "Dark and Bloody Ground."

As a people of the interior, secluded in the fastness of their mountain retreat, the Cherokees did not suffer from European exploration to any degree until the seventeenth century. They were left to their endless tribal wars, especially the age-old feud with the Iroquois. Perennial war did not interrupt prosperity or proclivity. The pre-European period population is estimated at 25,000.\(^4\) The size of the Nation and distance were, in fact, a problem; for they added a diversity and localism that kept the Cherokees from becoming as powerful as they might.

The Hernando DeSoto expedition, in 1540, was probably the first Cherokee contact with Europeans. Winding its way through the tumbled southern wilderness, DeSoto's caravan was impressed with the richness of the country, but comments on the poverty

\(^3\)Ibid., p. 14.

and backwardness of the natives make present-day historians wonder if these were the Cherokees or earlier inhabitants of the Great Smoky Mountains. Juan Pardo and Spanish miners who travelled into the mountains in 1567 searching for gold and silver wrote that the Cherokees were the most "superior, sedate, thoughtful, industrious, and moral" of the Indians they contacted.

The Spanish showed little interest in the tribes of the distant interior. When evidence of precious metals and stones proved meager, the conquistadors retired, leaving Cherokee Country unchanged except for giving the Indians a brief glimpse of European culture. The Cherokees did obtain their first horses from the Spanish; they bred sturdy ponies which were later much valued by Carolinian traders for pack animals. The Cherokees saw their first firearms; and, though the Spanish were more loath to put them in the hands of the savages than were the English later, some weapons fell into Indian hands. By 1700, almost all of the North American natives had been introduced to firearms.

The first English contacts with the Cherokees were made by little known adventurers from the Virginia colony around the

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6 Ibid., p. 4.

middle of the seventeenth century. Unknown today and unrecognized, these brave explorers and traders crossed the mountains and ventured into the new country perhaps as far as the Mississippi River. The most eastern towns of the Cherokees moved out of Virginia, south and west, when the early colonists arrived; but enough contact was established to commence the trade of firearms and firewater for furs and food.

In 1670, the Charleston settlement was begun and the major period of Indian trading opened, for no one could match the acumen of the Scotch-Irish Carolinian traders; and, favored by a superior port, Charleston became the mecca of Southern Indian merchants. That same year, James Moore took a Charleston expedition across the mountains to establish trade with the Cherokees, and the Indians began to buy cattle, horses, hogs, and Jamaican rum.

Treaty relations with the Cherokees go back to records of a treaty with eight chiefs in 1684 which have been found in the South Carolina archives. Located only some three hundred miles up the

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9James Albert Pickett, History of Alabama and Incidentally of Georgia and Mississippi from the Earliest Period (Charleston, 1851), p. 154.

10W. R. L. Smith, The Story of the Cherokees (Cleveland, Tenn., 1928), p. 44.

11Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokee," p. 31; Rights, American Indian in North Carolina, p. 154. The treaty is in picture writing.
Savannah River from Charleston, many of the Cherokees came down the narrow trails or easily-navigable river to trade in person in the growing settlement. In 1693, twenty chiefs were in Charleston to receive presents and ask for protection against white slave traders. The Indian slave trade was one of the most profitable enterprises of the young southern colony. James Moore and other ambitious expansionists thought they were accomplishing two good purposes by turning the Indians on one another and accepting the hostages to be sold into slavery in New England or the West Indies. The Cherokees themselves had enjoyed the sport when it was practiced against their enemies, the Tuscaroras or Catawbas; but, in 1691, when some of the Cherokees were taken as slaves, they took the problem more seriously. In 1705, they presented their complaints against Governor James Moore and other slavers. Making it clear that they objected only to Cherokee enslavement, they also complained of the brutality and dishonesty of the white traders in Indian country. These two complaints, Indian slavery and dishonest traders, were to recur frequently and finally to bring on the disastrous Yamasee War of 1715.\(^\text{12}\)

South Carolina’s aggressive policies drew the Cherokees together to present a common front. Even some measure of cooperation with neighboring tribes was demonstrated. The

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older men noted that their people were becoming rapidly dependent on the white man's trade goods\textsuperscript{13} and that contact with vicious traders, criminals, and outcasts was causing Indian morals to sink to a low ebb. Especially was rum a bad influence on the tribes, bringing all sorts of misconduct. The Indian unfortunately took to the white man's vices more readily than to his virtues; of course, it must be admitted that in the beginning the Cherokee saw the very worst elements of the whites.

Much of the difficulty was due to confusion and lack of control over the Indian traders. For the first twenty years of English colonial rule in South Carolina, the proprietors rigidly controlled trade, but from 1690 to 1718 the planters and merchants gained control. Under a committee of nine and later five commissioners, they regulated trade with varying degrees of laxity and honesty.\textsuperscript{14} The Indian traders, like James Moore and Thomas Nairne,\textsuperscript{15} controlled politics and fixed the rules to suit themselves.

The Yamasee War was not just another frontier struggle with the Indians resisting white encroachment; it was a

\textsuperscript{13} The chief of Tammassee admitted as much to George Chicken in 1725 talks, "Our old men are gone, they are not brought up in the manner of their forefathers, that they must consider that they could not live without the English." Newton D. Mereness, "Journal of George Chicken," \textit{Travels in the American Colonies} (New York, 1916), p. 112.

\textsuperscript{14} Crane, \textit{Southern Frontier}, pp. 120, 137, 150; \textit{Journals of Commissioners of Indian Trade}, Introduction, p. viii.

\textsuperscript{15} Thomas Nairne was so beloved of the Indians that the Yamaseses in 1716 roasted him alive. Louis B. Wright, \textit{The Atlantic Frontier} (New York, 1947), p. 278.
far-reaching revolt against the South Carolina trading regime. Although it was named for the Yamasssee tribe to Carolina's southwest, it was probably instigated by the Creeks and they were joined by the Cherokees and Choctaws to make it a general rebellion. Except among the Yamasssee, the fear of encroachment was the least of the causes. The English liked to blame the French or Spanish for the war, but it was more realistically due to their own mistakes and injustices.

That the Carolina colony was not completely wiped out in 1715-1716 was largely due to the bravery of its gallant militia and to the early conversion of the Cherokees to peace. When South Carolina appealed to Virginia for help, she refused—so jealous were the two colonies of trade prerogatives. This trade rivalry in the midst of war almost proved to be disastrous. In 1716, trader Eleazar Wiggan was sent on a dangerous peace mission to the Cherokee; he was followed by Colonel Maurice Moore and three hundred South Carolina militia to prevent Cherokee-Creek joint operations. The Cherokees agreed to a separate peace.

The Yamasssee revolt proved to have important results among both the Indians and the English. The Indians, who had never had any central government but only local chiefs or "beloved men," for the first time in 1721 chose an emperor to speak for the

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16 Crane, Southern Frontier, p. 162. The English also pointed out that the Yamasses and other tribes would erase the heavy debts they had to Carolina traders.

17 Newton D. Mereness, "Journal of Chicken," Travels in the American Colonies, pp. 95-96. Colonel Chicken as head of the Goose Creek militia accompanied Moore to the Cherokees.
entire nation. 18 This was done at the request of Governor Francis Nicholson in an effort to simplify negotiations. In reality, the "emperor" had little authority. The Cherokees held their land in common, each town was an independent unit, each Indian was highly individualistic—the white man's attempts to organize government among the tribe were only superficial. The Cherokees maintained a pure democracy with no aristocracy or king—this was their weakness. 19

Panic over the Yamasee revolt spread even to England, and the home government began to formulate a stronger western policy. British officials noted the statement of the Charleston Assembly in 1715, "the safety of this province does, under God depend on the friendship of the Cherokees." 20 In 1721, proprietary rule in South Carolina gave over to the rule of a royal governor, Francis Nicholson. The defeat of the proprietors was the result of colonial pressure claiming a lack of experience or understanding of provincial problems on the part of the descendants of the original proprietors. Assumption of royal control marked a determined effort first to better frontier defenses and second to unite the colonial policy toward


19 Smith, Story of the Cherokees, p. 20.

trade and Indians. A series of frontier forts were built during the ensuing years. They were not formidable except against Indians, but they suited that purpose well. Ranger companies of from five to ten men ranged the lengths of the Carolina frontier. Governor Nicholson in 1721 held a conference with thirty-seven Cherokee chiefs in Charleston, and a new treaty was proclaimed establishing an Indian boundary after the first Cherokee land cession.22

Indian diplomacy during the 1720's was exceedingly complex largely because of the prolonged war between the Cherokees and the Creeks. This was another of the deadly contests over rich Cherokee lands. The feud had begun in 1716 when the Cherokees turned abruptly against their former allies, made peace with the English, and helped to annihilate the Yamasssees and defeat the Creeks. It complicated matters for the royal governor to try to maintain friendly relations with both tribes while they fought bitterly. In 1727 and again in 1731, the Cherokees asked for a fort in their Nation to help protect them against Creek raids.23 It was seriously needed to serve as an asylum for traders in the hinterland but was not built until 1753.

21These included Fort Ninety-Six (ninety-six miles from the Lower Cherokee town of Keowee), Fort Moore on the Savannah River, and Fort Congaree on the Saluda River. See App., Fig. 2.


23Crane, Southern Frontier, p. 190.
Another factor in Indian diplomacy was the threat of French intrigues. Growing French eastward expansion from the Mississippi Valley caused the English to fear any Cherokee talks with "French Indians" like the Chickasaw or Choctaw. The Board of Trade was convinced that the greatest danger of French expansion lay in the extreme north and south, in Nova Scotia and Carolina.\textsuperscript{24} This threat played a large role in the decision to settle Georgia and build forts on the Altamaha River to offset the French Fort Toulouse built in Alabama among the Creeks in 1714.\textsuperscript{25}

As the royal government exercised more control over the Indian trade, a number of improvements were made. Trade was restricted to factories, usually at forts, on the frontier and the Indians were made to come to the forts for goods.\textsuperscript{26} Traders at the factories were issued government licenses which must be renewed yearly. Each spring when the traders appeared in Charleston to have their licenses renewed, they were made to answer for their misdeeds. The sale of rum and guns was restricted. Actually, the Carolina traders were the eyes of the Colony. They were among the tribes for intelligence and diplomacy as well as for trade. Some of them like George Chicken, Tobias Fitch, and later John Adair and Ludovick Grant proved to be fountainheads of information, useful propagandists among the

\textsuperscript{24} Crane, \textit{Southern Frontier}, p. 232.

\textsuperscript{25} Smith, \textit{Story of Cherokees}, p. 52. See App., Fig. 1.

\textsuperscript{26} Crane, \textit{Southern Frontier}, p. 193.
Cherokees, and major factors in offsetting French influence. Another large and influential element of English colonists opposed any governmental efforts to restrict abuses and insure Indian justice. These vocal merchants and traders became a pressure group which caused conflict between the governor and the assembly. The Indian trade was, after all, a lucrative business, and the merchants were reluctant to give up profit for the sake of diplomacy.

Gradually the British government began to realize the strategic importance of trade in Indian diplomacy. It came to be the chief tool of the government, used as both a lure and a weapon. Only the excellence of British trade counterbalanced the superior position of the Spanish and the diplomacy of the French. Neglected by the proprietors, abused by the provincials, and overlooked by the crown, Indian trade as an instrument of diplomacy was perhaps never fully utilized. It remained for Sir William Johnson and John Stuart to explore its possibilities more thoroughly in the eighteenth century.

With Cherokee affection somewhat undetermined and French activities in the area increasing, an incident occurred in 1730 which proved to be perhaps the most singular event of early Southern border history. This was Sir Alexander Cuming's self-appointed mission to the Cherokees. A member of the Royal

Society, Sir Alexander came to Carolina as a tourist to collect herb specimens. Upon ascertaining the situation with the Indians and the French, he obtained Chicken and Grant as guides and determined to go into Cherokee Country in what appears to have been an unofficial effort to overawe the Indians with the power and majesty of the British Empire. A chronic projector, Cuming was admittedly a daring Scotsman and eloquent speaker. He arrived in Old Keowee on March 23, 1730, armed with three braces of pistols, a rifle, and a sword. After a convincing speech, at a great ceremony in Nequasee on April 3, he had three hundred Cherokee warriors, including the Emperor Moytoy, on their knees acknowledging King George. On a triumphant tour through Cherokee Country, Cuming conceived a new idea. He would take the chiefs to London to see the king in person. The thought of travel over the Great Waters frightened the Indians; Moytoy begged off, pleading the illness of his wife; but six young, non-influential chiefs went back to Charleston with Cuming, boarded the ship Fox, and sailed for Dover.

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28 Samuel G. Drake, Early History of Georgia, Embracing the Embassy of Sir Alexander Cuming to the Country of the Cherokees (Boston, 1872), pp. 1-20. This book maintains that Cuming was on an official mission to re-establish Cherokee trade. Drake contends that his commission was not revealed until he and the Cherokees reached London.

29 Crane, Southern Frontier, p. 276. He toyed with the idea of bringing 300,000 Jewish families to live in Cherokee Country.

The Cherokee chiefs, Cuming, Colonel George Chicken, and their interpreter, the wily Eleazar Wiggan, were the rage of London society that year. The chiefs dined with George II and presented their gift of an Indian crown—possum fur dyed red with five eagles' tails and four human scalps. The chief spokesman of the Cherokees wore a red jacket; the others were naked except for breechcloths. George II accepted their homage graciously and entertained them for four months at state expense; but the treaty he made pledging friendship as "long as the mountains and rivers last and the sun shines" was unofficial. A later treaty, signed at Whitehall before the Indians sailed for home in 1730 and ratified by Governor Nicholson in Charleston the following year, did much to restore English prestige among the Cherokees. They acknowledged the sovereignty of King George and his successors and promised the English trade and military rights in their Nation. Runaway slaves and criminals were to be returned to the colony. In exchange, the English pledged protection for the Cherokees and punishment for those who abused them. The friendly reception and the magnificence of London made a lasting impression, especially on the youngest delegate, Attakullakulla. Then an unknown, this Cherokee youth would become the great "Little Carpenter," peace chief of his Nation who so frequently would make overtures of friendship toward the English. Also on the trip was Osmostota who, especially in his youth, was

31 Williams, Early Travels, pp. 127-128.
anti-British and favored a French alliance for the Cherokee. He was to become the leading war chief of his Nation, following his uncle, the Raven of Tellico.  

Governor Nicholson concluded the peace in 1731 with the arms the king had promised, a gift of five hundred pounds of swan shot and five hundred weight bullets to be used against the French and their allies. The Cherokees were bound from this time forward, with only a few wavering moments, to British interests. As a token of their loyalty to the British, six hundred Cherokee warriors in 1732 went south to help James Oglethorpe fight the Creeks and Spanish as he gained a foothold for the infant colony of Georgia. Considering their hostility toward the Creeks, this was a task the Cherokees could relish.

One of the last disturbing elements of French scheming among the Cherokees appeared in 1736 when Christian Gottlieb Priber, a Jesuit priest of German origin, came into the Nation on what he claimed to be a missionary venture. As word of his presence among the Indians filtered back to Carolina through

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32 It was customary to have two parties, War and Peace. Each had separate towns and leadership. Usually, the Peace party was stronger.


34 Smith, Story of Cherokees, p. 57.

35 Adair, American Indians, p. 252.
the traders, the English began to change their early opinion that he was a harmless lunatic and became convinced that he was a French agent sent to turn the Cherokees from their pledge to King George.

Priber seems to have been only an idealist, another man with a Utopian dream. He hoped to find some response among the primitive, untouched savages. Settling at Great Tellico, he dressed and spoke as a Cherokee. During his five-year stay in the Nation, he instructed the Indians in communism (which they already practiced)\(^\text{36}\) and organized the tribe on a European basis with Moytoy as emperor. In letters written to Governor James Glen of South Carolina and to French authorities in New Orleans, the priest styled himself "His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State."\(^\text{37}\) The Cherokees did not understand all of what Priber said about government, but they were much impressed by him. He began to plant seeds of suspicion about English motives, and Indian discontent grew over encroachment on hunting lands.

As South Carolina officials became convinced that Priber was not just trying to civilize the Cherokees but was also seeking to discredit English promises, they sent a Captain Fox

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\(^{36}\text{R. S. Cotterill, The Southern Indians: The Story of the Civilized Tribes Before Removal (Norman, Okla., 1954), pp. 12-13. The Indian never amassed any degree of personal wealth. All things were owned in common. This led to the generosity, idleness, and lack of ambition for which the Indian was noted. For a more detailed analysis of Priber's republic see Brown, Old Frontiers, p. 51.}\)

\(^{37}\text{Brown, Old Frontiers, p. 50.}\)
into the Nation to demand that the Indians turn Priber over to English officials as a troublemaker. The Indians refused to turn in their Jesuit friend, in fact, Captain Fox got back to safety only with a safe-conduct from Priber. In 1741, however, the English seized Priber on his way to the French Fort Toulouse, and he was held at Fort Frederica in Georgia until he died in 1743 in "confinement."\(^{38}\)

The trader James Adair testified that Priber was a polished, scholarly gentleman who spoke seven languages fluently.\(^{39}\) He had studied Cherokee dialects and compiled a grammatical analysis which he had planned to publish in Paris. This first dictionary of the Indian Nation would have been very valuable. Whether Priber was really the dangerous influence the English thought him to be or just a benevolent white man working for the Indian good is still a controversial question. He preached intertribal peace and seems to have favored the French little more than the English. The Cherokees were encouraged to trade with both nations, and even to play one against the other to promote cheaper prices.\(^{40}\)

In any case, the Cherokees did not soon forget their white friend. He had gained their confidence and achieved phenomenal

\(^{38}\) Smith, *Story of Cherokees*, p. 59.

\(^{39}\) Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokee," p. 36.

influence in the Nation. Tellico for years remained pro-
French.
Friber's system of government appeared lost after
his death, but its early reappearance among the Cherokees may
be still another unconscious tribute to the influence of this
wandering Jesuit.

Smallpox, brought by English slave ships, spread to the
Cherokees in 1738 cutting the population of some sixteen
thousand in half in two years. French agents claimed that
the English had placed pox germs purposely in the trade goods
to wipe out the tribe. The medicine men said that the disease
was punishment of the Great Spirit on the youth of the tribe for
their evil conduct and turning from the old ways. The weakness
brought on by heavy drinking of rum, suicide when faced with
horrible disfiguration, or the "hot and cold" treatment applied
by the priests accounted for as many deaths as did the disease
itself.

The strength and vigor of the Cherokees were thus terribly
weakened by contact with the white race. Both races were
brutalized by association. The Indians became morally debauched
and enslaved by the luxuries of white civilization.

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41 Adair, American Indians, p. 257. It was from Tellico in
1760 that the French agent Lantagnac plotted the downfall of
Fort Loudoun. Williams, Early Travels, pp. 180-184.

42 Adair, American Indians, pp. 244-245.

43 Smith, Story of Cherokees, p. 60; Malone, Cherokees of
Old South, p. 30. The "cold plunge" treatment used by the
priests consisted of sweating the patients then plunging them
in an icy stream.

44 Adair, American Indians, p. 240.
to smallpox and like diseases, the Indians had no means to combat them. The priests and older men were at a loss to do anything with the changing attitudes of the younger generations. Rum was the Indians' curse; for, knowing nothing of temperance, they drank until stupified. The early Cherokees, concerned with daily existence, were caught between the pressures of unscrupulous traders and diplomatic intrigue. They were forced to turn from fighting their neighbor to a struggle to protect their life and land from outsiders. Indian culture and European civilization were incompatible—the former had to yield.

In the early period, the British had come to fathom the implications of trade as an instrument of diplomacy. Charleston had become the Indian trade capital of the South; indeed, of the entire English colonies, rivaled only by Albany in the North. The next period would see the royal government seek to reform its administration of Indian trade in order to better compete with the Indian policy of colonial France.
CHAPTER II

SUPERINTENDENTS AND CESSIONS

The Indian question remained one of Britain's most trying colonial puzzles through much of the eighteenth century. Indian and trade policy was left to the separate colonies, varying with each royal governor. There was no unified plan but a highly inadequate program, noted for its inefficiency and mismanagement. With the approach of the dangerous period of the French and Indian War, the home government at last began to realize the inadequacies of their Indian policy to meet the demands of the time. Skill in Indian diplomacy was the main factor in the Franco-British colonial struggle, and French methods were superior to those of the British, despite the fact that the British could provide more and cheaper trading goods. By 1755, it was clear that a reorganization of Indian and trade management was essential; thus, did the office of the Indian superintendent originate, and Indian policy became more or less unified under the control of the imperial government.

From 1743 to 1756, James Glen was the highly successful royal governor of South Carolina. Since South Carolina had a near monopoly on the Indian trade and was adjacent to both the
Creeks and Cherokees, it fell on Glen's shoulders to handle most of the Indian diplomacy in the South. This, despite the opinions of James Adair, the governor seems to have done with a measure of efficiency. He studied the tribes carefully and numbered them, he used the traders to gain information and distribute propaganda, and he built forts on the frontier for a three-fold purpose—to protect, to trade, and to expand. The building of such forts, especially Fort Loudoun, Fort Prince George, and Fort Dobbs in the heart of Cherokee Country, was a prime factor in holding Indian loyalty in the conflict with France. Glen through his agents sent supplies and ammunition to the Chickasaws who were won to the British during his administration, and he encouraged the English faction of the Choctaws in the Choctaw Revolt of 1744-1745. His dreams of a large-scale invasion of New Orleans never materialized, but the active South Carolina governor did give French officials much to worry about in the West. In 1753, Glen became alarmed over

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1James Adair, *History of American Indians* (London, 1775), p. 259. Adair accuses Glen of treachery, of not "wooing" the Indians as effectively as did the French. His dislike was based on personal prejudices. Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia also mistrusted Glen and registered a public criticism in the *South Carolina Gazette*, April 9, 1750.

2Fort Prince George was built in 1753 on the Keowee River, Fort Dobbs was built by Virginia in 1755 on the Yadkin, and Fort Loudoun was constructed in 1756 among the Overhill Cherokees on the Little Tennessee River, 500 miles from Charleston and 150 miles from the nearest white settlement. Constance L. Skinner, *Pioneers of the Old Southwest* (New Haven, 1919), p. 64.

a French trading post built on the Tennessee River near Muscle Shoals. He called Attakullakulla and other Cherokee leaders to Charleston for a conference. Glen sought to pin down the "Little Carpenter" whom he suspected of playing a double game with the French. The South Carolina governor also succeeded in securing a truce between the feuding Cherokees and Creeks, thus making it safer for traders to enter Indian Country.⁴

Before 1740, Virginia traders were forced to go around the mountains on the "Carolina Road" to trade with the Cherokees, but in that year they discovered the famous Indian trail—the "Warriors' Trace"⁵—used by the Cherokees and Creeks in their frequent excursions to fight the northern tribes. Following this trail through Southwestern Virginia, the traders crossed the Nolichucky and French Broad Rivers into the heart of Cherokee Country. Pack trains were soon followed by settlers into these fertile valleys. Now Virginia could compete with her southern neighbor for the Indian trade and competition became vicious. Through the influence of such traders as Wiggan, Grant, and Adair, however, South Carolina still got the lion's share of the Indian trade.

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Of these South Carolina traders, it is Adair about whom the most is known. Through his valuable book on Southern Indians published in 1775, much of the personality and exploits of the man himself emerges, and since he was involved in nearly every important Indian activity of the 1750's there is much of interest to be found. Adair came to Charleston from Ireland in 1735 and entered the gainful occupation of Indian trading. The next year he was among the Overhill Cherokees with whom he carried on a profitable trade for nearly ten years. Adair's comments on the decline of Cherokee culture due to contact with the whites and his picture of savage customs like the Chunkey games and the Green Corn Dance give posterity an intimate view of Cherokee social life during this early period. Adair came in contact with the Jesuit idealist Priber who tried to impair his

According to Adair and others, the Cherokees had three major divisions, the Overhill Towns being the most western and distant from Charleston. There were also the Lower Towns and the Middle or Valley Towns. Each had its own dialect, local mores, and leadership. Usually the Overhill Towns were most hostile and the Lower Towns, because of their proximity, most friendly.

influence with the tribe by calling him "the Devil's clerk." In the Nation during the dreadful scourge of pox, Adair was the first to enumerate the tribe with any accuracy as he listed the sixty-four towns and estimated the population for the benefit of Governor Glen.9

In 1744, Adair was sent by Glen to the Chickasaws. Here he undersold the poor quality French goods and won the affection of the tribe. Soon he was busy instigating a civil war among the Choctaws, known as the Choctaw Rebellion. The clever Scottish trader gained the friendship of the great Choctaw war chief, Red Shoes, and seriously damaged French influence with this tribe.10 For his trouble, risks, and expenses, Governor Glen gave Adair no reimbursement, and the official and his agent quarrelled. Disillusioned and resentful, Adair threatened to enter the French service. For a time he dropped out of sight, perhaps writing his book. Well-acquainted with over two thousand miles of twisting, dangerous trails on the American continent and a keen observer of the frontier scene, Adair was a valuable man to the British interest. Called the "English Chickasaw," he lived thirty years with that tribe and perhaps better than any other man he

8 Skinner, Pioneers, p. 66. Both men were writers and the Indians were extremely suspicious of the written word.

9Adair, American Indians, p. 237.

10Skinner, Pioneers, p. 63, says that Red Shoes was offended because a Frenchman had trifled with his wife. He was a valuable ally for the British until he was murdered by the French.
was qualified to write a picture of life among the Indians. He believed in white supremacy but had a genuine sympathy for the savages. Their bravery and independence appealed to him. Although his writings are colored by his belief that the savages were the remnant of the ten Lost Hebrew Tribes\textsuperscript{11} and by his own personal prejudices and hatreds, they are a thoughtful commentary on the Indians before they were conquered or corrupted.

Despite the beneficial influence of English agents, the French were again making inroads with the Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Cherokees by 1750. In 1751, Governor Glen was demanding that the Cherokees turn French intrigues over to the authorities.\textsuperscript{12} There were again complaints of injustice and dissatisfaction with the administration of Indian affairs. Conflicts between the governor and council as to Indian policy too often meant that the policy went neglected. French designs to control the Ohio and Tennessee Rivers had them actively courting the western tribes, and the Indians themselves were no slouches at diplomacy. They understood full well the art of playing one European nation against the other. Activities

\textsuperscript{11}Skinner, Pioneers, p. 62; W. R. L. Smith, The Story of the Cherokees (Cleveland, 1851), p. 15. This opinion was shared by John Haywood, early Tennessee historian, and other educated men. They pointed to racial and social characteristics remarkably alike. John Haywood, Natural and Aboriginal History of Tennessee (Nashville, 1823), pp. 230-254.
of the French called for a firm, prompt, unified Indian program. The twelve thousand warriors of the twenty Southern tribes could not be allowed to ally with the French.\textsuperscript{13}

While the administration of Indian affairs remained in the hands of the separate royal governors, some improvements were admittedly made. The governors, with varying degrees of success, followed their instructions from the Board of Trade to encourage Indian trade, investigate complaints from the tribes, and grant them equal justice.\textsuperscript{14} Traders were licensed and bonded, reasonable price schedules were set up, commissioners were appointed, standards of weights and measurements were adopted, and traders were restricted to certain towns or groups of a tribe.

Yet, regulation was extremely difficult; and uncontrolled, unscrupulous English traders continued to undermine the official policy. The heavy rum traffic persisted among bootleggers of yesteryear, and the Indians complained of shortened yardsticks and watered-down liquor.

Improvements had not corrected the serious defects in British Indian policy. A South Carolina Indian merchant reported to the Board of Trade in 1754 that "the whole system of our Indian affairs is on a wretched footing throughout all America."\textsuperscript{15}

\textsuperscript{13}Alden, John Stuart, p. 8.

\textsuperscript{14}Leonard W. Labaree, editor, Royal Instructions to British Colonial Governors (1670-1776) (New York, 1935), I, 463.

\textsuperscript{15}Edmund Atkin, Indians of the Southern Colonial Frontier, edited by Wilbur R. Jacobs (Columbia, 1954), p. 3.
This was Edmund Atkin making what John C. Parish later called an "historical narrative and description of Southern Indians... unequaled in his time." A member of the South Carolina Governor's Council and a merchant acquainted with the Indian problem through experience, Atkin sailed for England in 1750 and for the next six years emphasized the need for a remodeled Indian policy. In his lengthy paper, Atkin presented a shrewd analysis of the Franco-British Indian tactics. He pointed to confusion and conflict in diplomacy due to division of authority and trade rivalry between officials and private individuals in the separate colonies. He discussed French diplomatic successes with the Indians attributable to their unified authority under the governor of New Orleans and to their more effective distribution of gifts. Atkin pointed out that the French adopted Indian ways and masked their contempt for the savages while the English appeared proud and condescending. Atkin named the Cherokees among the most important tribes because of their strategic location. He stated the case for immediate action to offset French influence:

16 John C. Parish, Persistence of the Westward Movement as quoted in ibid., intro., xxxiii.

17 Alden, John Stuart, pp. 68-69.

18 The British offered more in the way of gifts. Between 1732 and 1755, South Carolina alone spent twenty-six thousand pounds sterling on gifts to the Indians. The British, however, made the Indians come to them to get the gifts while the French distributed gifts in the Indian towns. Lyttleton to Board of Trade, November 30, 1757, quoted in ibid., p. 15.
The importance of Indians is now generally known and understood. A doubt remains not, that the prosperity of our Colonies on the Continent will stand or fall with our interest and favour among them. While they are our friends, they are the cheapest and strongest barrier for the protection of our settlements; when Enemies, they are capable by ravaging in their method of war, in spite of all we do, to render those possessions almost useless.  

As the solution to the Indian problem, Atkin offered the appointment of two Indian Superintendents to have authority over treaty negotiations, trade agreements, and law enforcement regarding Indians. He desired the position in the South for himself. This was not a new idea, but his comprehensive report and the influence of Sir William Johnson led the Board of Trade to create the position of Indian Superintendent. Atkin was elevated to the post in the South in 1756, and Sir William Johnson assumed the post in the North.

Despite his personal courage, determination, and loyalty, the administration of Edmund Atkin was not successful. From the beginning he was handicapped by lack of authority. The Board of Trade had hesitated to give him unlimited power to make treaties; the word "sole" Superintendent was omitted from Atkin's commission where it was included in Johnson's. The Board referred Atkin to Earl Loudoun, commander of military forces in North America, for funds. When Atkin met with

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19 Atkin, Indiana, pp. 3-4.

20 Ibid., Introduction, p. xxiv. Jacobs says while it was a mistake to appoint Atkin it was worse not to support him.
Loudoun and Johnson in New York, he found the commander reluctant to pay his salary. Dependent on Loudoun and the separate colonies for financial support, Atkin was little more than an addition to the military. Also, he took office in 1756 at the opening of the French and Indian War; and in the emergencies of wartime, his main function came to be the acquisition of Indian allies for military defense. In late 1757, Atkin started south from New York through Philadelphia and Williamsburg to Charleston, arriving in March, 1758. Along the way, he begged funds from the three cantankerous Southern governors to carry on his operations which he began at Fort Loudoun with the Cherokees. From there he journeyed to the Creeks to confirm a treaty; then back to the Cherokees whom he found seriously offended by the headstrong actions of South Carolina's Governor William Lyttleton. Thus Atkin proved little more than a pompous, slow-moving traveling agent always off bestowing presents and getting Indian "marks" on treaties when he was needed elsewhere. He was never a favorite with the savages and lacked cooperation from fellow officials.  

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21 Governor Robert Dinwiddie of Virginia was Atkin's one admirer, and even he admitted that the Superintendent's work was slow. Benjamin Franklin wrote of Atkin that "he is like St. George on the signs, always on horseback and never rides on." Atkin, Indians, Introduction, p. xvii.

22 The Creeks tried to kill him; other Indians laughed at him and doubted his claims, Jacobs in the introduction to Atkin's book, ibid., p. xvii. He was described as pompous, overbearing, and haughty by James Adair according to Alden, John Stuart, p. 99. Alden also states that Atkin never received the support of his superiors, Loudoun or later Amherst, ibid., p. 73. Indian trade remained in the hands of the Southern governors.
In 1761, with his program unsuccessful, Atkin resigned because of ill health and died that same year.

The French and Indian War was the last of a series of wars between the British and French in the colonial struggle. It left France blighted and crippled and made England mistress of the seas and the huge North American wilderness. Rumblings were heard in the hinterland as early as 1753 when French-inspired Creeks and Choctaws began to strike the frontier. The Cherokees, however, remained firm in their 1730 pledge of loyalty to King George.

In 1755, the Cherokees met with Governor Glen who sought to get a renewed pledge of support. Although their number was limited because of the ravages of the pox, the Cherokees were ready to fight in the British interest. At Saluda Old Towns on July 2, 1755, Attakullakulla and one hundred and fifty warriors responded to the British call:

We are brothers to the people of South Carolina; one house covers us all. We are all the children of the great King George. We freely surrender our plots to the great king. The French want our possessions, but we will defeat them while one of our nation shall remain alive. We hope the king will pity his children, the Cherokees, and send us guns and ammunition. Give us arms and we will go to war against the enemies of the great king.23

At this time the Cherokees signed away their second land cession to South Carolina, made a treaty also with North Carolina.

23 Smith, Story of Cherokees, p. 64; P. M. Hamer, "Fort Loudoun in the Cherokee War," North Carolina Historical Review, II(1925), 307.
and rode away to help Braddock and Washington against the Northern tribes. One suspects that they were wooed by Atkin's promises of presents, by the dangling of guns and ammunition before their eyes, and the legitimate excuse to fight their tribal enemies with the British furnishing the war paint and rum.

The Cherokees in 1756 were so in need of goods as to be almost naked. Governor Robert Dinwiddie of Virginia was angry with South Carolina's Governor Glen because Glen had the Cherokees gathered to receive gifts when they were supposed to be helping Braddock against Fort Duquesne.24 The Cherokees were fighting for pay—no gifts, no fighting. They were disappointed not to receive all that Atkin had promised them.25 The exasperated Washington altered his earlier high opinion of Indian warriors and wrote to Dinwiddie in 1757 that the

24Hard feelings arose between Dinwiddie and Glen when the former sought to carry on personal diplomacy with the Cherokees and engage their aid against the French in the Ohio Valley. Dinwiddie complained bitterly of Governor Glen's seeming interference with his plans. R. A. Brock, Collector, "Official Records of the Robert Dinwiddie Papers, Virginia Historical Society Collections" (Richmond, 1933), i, 400, 410; II, 25, 188.

25The giving of presents was a decisive factor in Indian diplomacy. Many Cherokee leaders retained authority by virtue of presents. W. R. Jacobs, Diplomacy and Indian Gifts: Anglo-French Rivalry Along the Ohio and Northwestern Frontier, 1748-1763 (Stanford, 1950), p.126.
Cherokees were "the most insolent, most avaricious, and most dissatisfied wretches I have ever had to deal with...."  

Cherokee loyalty to the British began to waver and was badly damaged. In 1753, after a number of Indians at Fort Duquesne became bored and headed home, General John Forbes took the hasty step of pursuing them and placing them under arrest for desertion.  

Colonel Washington cleared up the misunderstanding, but Governor Lyttleton and most of the frontier settlers were disgusted with Indian conduct in the war. The Cherokees found themselves rewarded by insults, neglect, and contempt instead of the gifts and praise they expected. Another war party returning from the north decided

26 Letter from Washington to Dinwiddie, May 24, 1757, John C. Fitzpatrick, editor, Writings of George Washington, 1745-1799 (Washington, D.C., 1931), 32 vols., II, 36. Also quoted in Douglas S. Freeman, George Washington (New York, 1948), II, 247. This critical view seems to contradict earlier high estimations of the Indians' value in the campaign which Washington expressed to Dinwiddie in a letter of April 24, 1756, "For without Indians to oppose Indians, we may expect but small success," Fitzpatrick, Writings of Washington, I, 330. The Virginia colonel's disgust with the Cherokees led to his pungent criticism of the Southern Indian Superintendent and the whole British administration of Indians. Washington felt that Virginia should have her own agent among the tribes, possibly Christopher Gist. "Nothing ought ever to be promised the Indians but what is performed and only one person be empowered to do either," Freeman, Washington, II, 248.

27 Emmet Starr, History of the Cherokee Indians, Their Legends and Folklore (Oklahoma City, 1921), p. 28.
to help themselves to stray horses to compensate their own losses. Virginia settlers followed and massacred forty Indians as horse thieves. Finally, some of the returning Cherokee warriors found that soldiers from Fort Prince George had attacked their women while they were off fighting in the British interest. Demands to the Carolinas and Virginia for satisfaction for these outrages were ignored; therefore, the Cherokees took revenge in their own hands. Savagery answered savagery along the frontier.

All of these incidents led the Cherokees to again listen to French agents who were even more active after the fall of Fort Duquesne. In 1758, Governor Lyttleton became alarmed over rising Cherokee unrest and, mobilizing the militia, personally led troops into Indian Country. He held a number of chiefs, including Oconostota, imprisoned in crowded quarters at Fort Prince George and demanded for their exchange twenty-four Indians accused of murder.

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28 Brown, Old Frontiers, pp. 83-85. Adair's account of this incident favors the Indians' claim that these horses were not only loose but wild. Adair, American Indians, pp. 260-261.

29 Adair, American Indians, p. 261; Rights, Indian in North Carolina, p. 160.

30 Starr, History of Cherokees, p.29; Smith, Story of the Cherokees, p. 70. Governor Lyttleton also placed an embargo on Cherokee goods, planning to coerce the Indians into good behavior. The governor was inflexible in his demands and refused to listen to the Indians' complaints. Hewatt, Historical Account of South Carolina, p. 444. The South Carolina Gazette traces the progress of the Cherokee War with stories on April 21, 1759; September 22, 1759; October 6, 1759; and January 12, 1760.
The imprisonment of Indians who had come under a pledge of safe conduct was Lyttleton’s initial blunder. This action enraged the Cherokees; and, when the embittered Oconostota was released, he was ready to lead the young braves who were clamoring for war. Chiefs of Tellico and Citico, who were held after Oconostota’s release, were brutally massacred by the fort commander, Lieutenant Coytmore, and what was called the Cherokee War of reprisal began.  

Cherokee and South Carolina relations worsened through 1759. Attakullakulla sought to retain peace, but the unwise and demanding policy of Governor Lyttleton only drove Oconostota and others into the arms of French agents. In early 1760, there was full scale frontier war. Under the joint command of Captain Paul Demere and Captain John Stuart,  

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31Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokee," p. 42. Oconostota had Coytmore killed when Fort Loudoun fell.

32After the death of Old Hop, the lame Cherokee Emperor, his nephew Attakullakulla became the leader of the Peace Party. Attakullakulla and Oconostota continued to be the leading figures in the tribe until after the Revolution.

33Lyttleton in 1760 was sent to Jamaica and the wiser Lieutenant Governor, William Bull II, assumed authority. Hewatt, Historical Account of South Carolina, p. 457; Adair, American Indians, p. 262, thought the war could have been averted by sending presents rather than troops. He admired Bull’s conduct in the ticklish situation, ibid., p. 272; also see Aiden, John Stuart, p. 106.

34Stuart, later to become the great Southern Indian Superintendent, had married Susannah Emory, one-fourth Cherokee and granddaughter of Ludovick Grant. He was already a favorite among the Cherokees, who called him "Bushyhead" for his shock of blonde hair. He was the favorite white man of Attakullakulla. Starr, History of the Cherokees, p. 30; Brown, Old Frontiers, p. 103.
the British garrison at Fort Loudoun found itself surrounded by irate Cherokees. Fort Prince George and Fort Dobbs were also attacked about the same time, but the greatest danger lay at Fort Loudoun, one hundred and fifty miles deep in the Overhill Country.

After a siege of six months, the garrison at Fort Loudoun was forced to surrender. During the march toward Fort Prince George where they were to operate the cannon against their fellow British, most of the two hundred brave soldiers were massacred. Stuart was miraculously saved by his old friend Attakullakulla who ransomed his life with his personal property and gave him an opportunity to escape and return to the South Carolina settlements.

In the meantime, the Southern colonies were engaged in an effort to save the garrison at Fort Loudoun. After Captain Hugh Waddell beat off a Cherokee attack on Fort Dobbs, Colonel William Byrd III raised five hundred Virginians to march to

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36 Demere, with rations for only four months, cut his men to one pint of corn per day per man. Besieged from January to August, by July the men were eating horse meat. Attakullakulla twice saved the fort from capture. They were massacred when Oconostota became convinced they were hiding ammunition. J. G. M. Ramsey, Annals of Tennessee to the End of the Eighteenth Century (Charleston, 1853), Reprinted in 1926, p. 60.
the relief of South Carolina. Governor Lyttleton had appealed to the military commander, General Amherst, who had dispatched Colonel Archibald Montgomery and five regiments of British regulars to Charleston. Some sixteen hundred strong, well-equipped and armed, the largest British army yet to enter Indian country marched west to aid Fort Loudoun. In a desperate engagement on June 27, 1760, Montgomery and his splendid British regulars were turned back with a crushing defeat. The rugged country and Indian resistance discouraged Montgomery from reaching his goal before Fort Loudoun capitulated.

Finally, in 1761, the British began to slow down the Cherokee onslaught. Lack of British supplies began to tell on the Indians; a French attempt to get supplies into Cherokee Country from Muscle Shoals on the Tennessee River failed as did their effort to garrison Fort Loudoun; a Creek alliance did not materialize. Cherokees were already thinking of peace when the Southern colonies jointly commissioned Colonel James Grant and twenty-six hundred provincial militia to invade Cherokee Country and wipe out Indian resistance. In the summer of 1761, Grant won a decisive victory over the Cherokees at Etchoa Pass, two miles from where Montgomery had met his

38 Brown, Old Frontiers, p. 106.
ignominious defeat.\textsuperscript{39} Destroying fifteen Lower and Middle Cherokee Towns, Grant reported that he had driven the Indians "into the recesses of the mountains, burned their granaries, laid waste their fields, and pushed the frontier seventy miles farther west."\textsuperscript{40} Not the least of the results of the Cherokee War was that the peace treaty opened new lands to white settlement.

With the Cherokee towns in ashes, their best warriors dead, the surviving fugitives hiding in the mountains, the Nation was prostrate.\textsuperscript{41} The Cherokees never recuperated from this destruction. The peace was signed in August and September, 1761, at Fort Prince George and on the Holston River and was ratified in Charleston. Ocoonestota feared to come to the peace talks at the Long Island of the Holston so "Little Carpenter" negotiated terms.\textsuperscript{42} It was an uneasy peace, for resentment still smouldered among the exhausted Cherokees, but the peace endured for over fifteen years.

\textsuperscript{39} A. S. Salley, Jr., History of Orangeburg County, South Carolina (Orangeburg, 1877), p. 235. Salley points out that this was a victory of the American provincial militia, not regulars. It was the regulars who surrendered at Fort Loudoun and were turned back at the first battle of Etchoa Pass. Grant had served under Montgomery in the first encounter.

\textsuperscript{40} LeFler and Newsome, North Carolina, p. 159.

\textsuperscript{41} Adair, American Indians, p. 227; Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokee," p. 44; Cotterill, Southern Indians, p. 30, states that the tribe lost five thousand warriors, half of their fighting strength, in the war.

\textsuperscript{42} Alden, John Stuart, p. 130.
Following the Cherokee War, the defeated tribe set to work to rebuild its towns farther west, mostly across the mountains. John Stuart, who had won acclaim through his experience at Fort Loudoun, was appointed Indian Superintendent at the death of Atkin. Stuart was highly respected by the Cherokees, had a close personal friendship with Attakullakulla, and treated the Indians with justice and kindness.

After Virginia signed a treaty with Indians on the Holston on November 19, 1761, Lieutenant Henry Timberlake, an ensign who had served under Washington, was sent to the Cherokees to cement the peace. Timberlake had come south with Byrd’s Virginia forces in the spring of 1761. The Indians had asked that a white officer return to the Overhill settlements with them to convince their people of the mutual desire for peace. Timberlake had volunteered.

The party travelled in December along the icy Holston River, at one point losing their guns when the dugout canoe overturned.

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43 Attakullakulla pled that Stuart be made Indian Agent. "All the Indians love him and there will never be any uneasiness if he is there." Brown, Old Frontiers, p. 114.

44 Timberlake's account of his stay in the Overhill Towns and his subsequent trips with two delegations of Indians to England are related in his memoirs published in 1765. The journal fills an important gap in the early history of the trip. Timberlake's remarks on the manners and customs of the Cherokees are treated as a dependable source by ethnologists. Henry Timberlake, Memoirs of Lieutenant Henry Timberlake, 1756-1765 (Johnson City, Tenn., 1927), reprinted by S. C. Williams, editor (Marietta, Ga., 1948).
In his book, Timberlake tells of their arrival at the Cherokee capital Echota and the talk of Ostenaco (Judd's Friend) in the stuffy, dark town house when the chieftain spoke of "burying the bloody tomahawk deep in the ground; never to be raised again." The Virginia lieutenant pictures the Cherokees as proud, strong, graceful, dignified, hardy—gentle but implacable in enmity. His description of the Cherokee village with its town house and chunkey yard, of naked, painted savages dancing to drums, of the smoking of the peace pipes and drinking of the "black drink," of the beautiful, thick, varied forests of their domain, of the clans and factions, and of the weapons and war customs of the Cherokees' ranks along with Adair's in value to the modern historian.

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45 Timberlake, Memoirs, p. 59.

46 The town house, a small conical-shaped building in the center of the village, was used as a council house, especially in inclement weather. Seating often as many as five hundred, the building had a low, narrow entrance and only a small opening at the ceiling to emit smoke; traders often called it the "hot house." Chunkey was the ceremonial ball game of the Southern tribes. It involved rolling stones at which were thrown seven foot poles. The game was quite serious and sometimes took the place of war.

47 This was the purifying drink of the Creeks, adopted by most of the Southern tribes. It was always used on ceremonial occasions and had a sacred, religious significance. Made of the leaves and tender shoots of the cassia shrub related to holly, the drink caused sweating and vomiting. It also was a stimulant. Early settlers called it "Carolina" or "Appalachian" tea. Adair, American Indians, pp. 25, 49; Timberlake, Memoirs, p. 101.
In 1762, Timberlake accompanied three chiefs and their interpreter to London. Here they were painted by the great English artist, Sir Joshua Reynolds. The caption identified the chieftains as "Man-Killer with Wampum," "Great Warrior with his Calumet or Pipe," and "Great Hunter or Scalper." Timberlake became deeply involved in debt as a result of the expedition to London. He had staked his fortune on this journey in false hopes of profit. A subsequent trip was equally ill-fated. Timberlake died in 1765, bitter and disillusioned; cheated, he felt, of the great reward he deserved for his patriotism.

The English people entertained a high estimate of Cherokee importance, influenced no doubt by the several visits of tribal chieftains to their country. A 1760 London newspaper account illustrates British opinion of the tribe:

The Cherokees are the most numerous nation of Indians adjoining to the British colonies on the continent; they---possess a country which extends from the boundaries of Virginia and Carolina to the French settlements on the Mississippi. Hence their importance as allies to the British is very evident.

The importance attached to the Cherokee alliance as well as to cordial relations with other powerful Indian groups was

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48 The chiefs were Ostenaco (Judd's Friend), Colleuna (The Raven), and Oconostota (Great Warrior). William Shorey was the interpreter, who died enroute. Ostenaco was reportedly jealous of Attakullakulla's 1730 visit to England and desired to have that honor for himself.

emphasized in the activities of the Indian Superintendent. John Stuart steadily gained prestige and influence for his department. Despite interference of the Southern governors, resentment from provincial settlers and speculators, and the overbearing activities of the military commanders, Stuart increased his power and authority over Indian affairs. One of the major difficulties of the Indian department was that its powers were hazily defined. In theory, if not in practice, the Superintendent was to direct all political relations between England and the Indians. He was to be responsible for protection of the tribes, forming and maintaining boundaries, controlling trade, distributing presents, and organizing the tribes as auxiliaries in time of war. Stuart always considered himself directly responsible to London, not to the military commander or the royal governors. The only limit placed on his activities by the home government was that of expense. \(^{50}\) Stuart appointed all of his own deputies although he listened to suggestions from the home government and the military. Frequently he was criticized

\(^{50}\) Stuart, like Atkin, was often forced to go to the military for finances. One of the defects of the Indian administration was the spirit of economy; all plans were evaluated in pounds sterling. During the Revolution, Stuart drew directly on the Treasury, as it was more convenient. In 1764, the home government ordered Stuart and Johnson to return the administration of Indian trade to the separate colonies as it was too expensive for imperial control.
for following the common policy of appointing his relatives and fellow Scotsmen.\footnote{51}

In 1763, John Stuart accomplished the really amazing feat of gathering the Southern Indians and governors of the Southern colonies at the Congress of Augusta. The royal government had already begun its western policy of protecting Indian lands with the notorious Proclamation of 1763.\footnote{52} The British government was determined to maintain peace on the frontier, win the loyalty of the Indians, and necessarily to restrict American settlements to the Atlantic coastal plain. This was to bring the government in direct conflict with American expansionists. Stuart was loyal to these objectives of his government, but he did not always agree on methods of carrying them out. He did not oppose moderate frontier expansion in areas where it would not bring on Indian trouble; but he did strongly resent underhanded attempts of private speculators to acquire Indian lands. At the Congress of Augusta he explained his policy to the tribes. Representatives of both the Cherokees and

\footnote{51}Alden, \textit{John Stuart}, p. 213n. Among his deputies were cousin Charles and brother Henry. Among the Cherokees he placed Alexander Cameron who married into the tribe and founded his estate in Georgia "Lochaber." John McDonald, another agent, married the half-breed, Anne Shorey, grandmother of the great Cherokee leader, John Ross.

Creeks were present, although many of the outstanding chiefs like Oconostota, Emistisiguo, and the Mortar refused to come. In 1767, Attakullakulla and Oconostota visited in New York and met Sir William Johnson and General Thomas Gage, the military commander. Attakullakulla accompanied the British officials to Fort Stanwix and participated in the treaty that ended the ancient Cherokee quarrel with the Six Nations of the Iroquois.\(^5\)

Despite the Proclamation of 1763, settlers continued to cross the mountains and occupy Indian lands. In 1768, Sir William Johnson negotiated the Treaty of Fort Stanwix with the Iroquois. The Northern Indians relinquished all claims to land south of the Ohio River in what is today Kentucky. This cession overlapped claims of the Cherokee. Kentucky was the hunting ground of many tribes, the great Middle Ground, claimed by many but lived on by none—the no-man's land between the Northern and Southern tribes.\(^6\)

\(^5\)Alden, John Stuart, p. 223.

\(^6\)Stuart had moved more quickly than Johnson in negotiating a western boundary. The Cherokees had agreed in 1765 to the Great Kanawha line. Some confusion was involved in the name of the Kentucky (Louisa) River. The ensuing misunderstanding has led some historians to accuse Stuart of acting in the behalf of the speculators in setting the Kentucky boundary. Clarence W. Alvord, The Mississippi Valley in British Politics: A Study of the Trade, Land, Speculation, and Experiments in Imperialism Culminating in the Revolution (Cleveland, 1917), p. 87 and Thomas F. Abernethy, Western Lands and the American Revolution (New York, 1937), pp. 55, 71–77, 125 give some credence to this belief, but Alden, John Stuart, pp. 346–348, states that there is no evidence Stuart's actions indicated anything more than misunderstanding.
had already agreed to give up their claims to the land if the price was right. American frontier settlers looked upon the treaty as an annulment of the Proclamation and began to settle the area, even beyond the Cherokee line. Those settlements were fostered by Virginia and North Carolina and were located on the upper Holston and Clinch Rivers. 55

Stuart repeatedly opposed any session that would cut the Cherokees off from their hunting grounds; but in 1768, the Cherokees were forced to submit to the westward movement at the Treaty of Hard Labour, South Carolina; and by 1770, the Superintendent found it necessary to call the tribe to "Lochaber," Alexander Cameron's estate, to negotiate another treaty which would include more illegal settlements. 56 The rapid, unauthorized settlement of East Tennessee was extremely irritating to Stuart. Private individuals on every hand were undermining his efforts to maintain the peace by giving the Indians justice. Stuart was partially satisfied that by ceding their lands in 1770, the Cherokees had cancelled their heavy debts to Carolina traders. The Creeks,


56Text of the Treaty of Lochaber, October 18, 1770, Draper Collection of Manuscripts, Calendar of Kentucky Papers: Wisconsin Historical Publication (Madison, 1925), II, 147-154. Hereafter cited Draper MSS. The 1770 treaty established the Holston River as the feeble barrier to the westward movement; Ramsey, Annals, pp. 77, 93, 102; Alden, John Stuart, pp. 253, 279-298.
who were angry because the Cherokees had paid their debts by giving away Creek lands, were willing to return the favor in 1772 when they ceded a large section of Cherokee land to Georgia. At the second Congress of Augusta in 1773, the Creeks and Cherokees jointly gave over a million and a half acres of choice lands. This was the last British imperial cession from the American Indians.

Stuart found the overwhelming tide of settlers and land speculators impossible to stem. The ink of a land cession was hardly dry before speculators were busy securing grants. Settlers on the distant frontier paid little heed to imaginary boundaries that cut them off from rich lands, and once they were on the land, warnings and danger of Indian attack did not move them. When the speculators could not get what they wanted through Stuart, they were ready to go over his head or to deal directly with the Indians.

Many of Stuart's troubles were due to the unyielding land policies of the British Colonial Secretary Lord Hillsborough. Hillsborough's opposition to colonial expansion almost proved the downfall of Lord North's ministry and forced North to replace him with Dartmouth in 1772. Dartmouth, like Hillsborough's predecessor Shelburne and those present on the scene

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57 Kenneth Coleman, American Revolution in Georgia, 1763-1789 (Athens, Ga., 1958), p. 7. The Creeks later denied the validity of their cession, saying that it was a minority agreement.
(including Stuart and Johnson), admitted that American expansion was inevitable. The advance of the western movement was also furthered by the Camden-Yorke opinion in 1770 in which two eminent English jurists ruled on the validity of private land purchases. Although the opinion applied to purchase of lands from princes in India, the implications were not lost to American speculators like the lawyer Richard Henderson. This gave the speculators another argument to promote their ambitions in the Trans-Appalachian region.

Stuart was equally unsuccessful in regulating Indian trade. He had to face the opposition of Indian traders, of colonial legislatures, of royal governors, and sometimes even the Indians themselves. The Indian Department had little or no control over the traders. Cameron stated in 1766: "No Nation was ever so infested with such a set of villains and horse thieves." Unscrupulous traders, now working in

58 After 1772, there was an attempt to regain the larger outlook in the British western policy. The pittance of the previous regime gave way to a more liberal land policy in an effort to reconcile the colonists. Alvord, Mississippi Valley, p. 125.

59 The legal opinion of Lord Camden and Charles Yorke stated that the princes of India were sovereign states with full power to dispose of their property. Draper MSS, Kentucky Papers, II, 100; Alvord, Mississippi Valley, pp. 200-201; John Alden, The South in the Revolution, 1783-1789, Vol. III of History of the South Series, 10 vols. (Baton Rouge, 1957), p. 136.

60 Malone, Cherokees of the Old South, p. 9.
conjunction with land speculators, continued to cheat the Indians. Indian trade had ceased to be profitable except as a means to gain territory. 61

It was in diplomacy that Stuart met his greatest success. In 1767, the Carolinas were surveyed and marked. Stuart encouraged intertribal wars without injuring Indian relations with the imperial government. 62 His dignified and generous behavior, his gifts to the Indians, and his skillful manipulations of Indian politics brought him great prestige among the tribes. The Creeks became more docile. The Cherokees and Choctaws came more thoroughly under British influence. From 1763 to 1775, there was peace on the frontier despite continuing injustices and land encroachments largely through the efforts of the able superintendent. Stuart was extremely unpopular with the American frontiersmen who detested his efforts to maintain Indian boundaries and his stand against private cessions. The superintendent’s attempt to control

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61 Chapman J. Milling, Red Carolinians (Chapel Hill, 1940), p. 309. Lieutenant Governor William Bull admitted in 1764 that the Indian trade no longer was profitable but was necessary to maintain Indian good will.

62 John Alden, General Cause in America: Being Principally a History of His Role in the American Revolution (Baton Rouge, 1948), p. 136. The English posed as the friends of the tribes while giving inflammatory advice to both sides in quarrels and supplying both with ammunition and supplies. The Cherokees’ devotion to quarrels with neighboring tribes was part of their downfall. As early as 1730 they had protested white efforts to end their war with the Tuscaroras. “We cannot live without war: should we make peace with the Tuscaroras...we must immediately look out for some other with whom we can be engaged in our favorite occupation.” Malone, Cherokees of Old South, p. 12. Also cited in Ramsey, Annals, p. 83.
trade also brought him disfavor of traders and merchants. Fidelity and prudence were the outstanding traits of this capable servant of the crown, but to his enemies he seemed haughty, jealous of authority, and quarrelsome. 63

The settlers of the Southern back country were bold, land-hungry men. They had a passion for whole freedom, a lustiness and shrewdness revealed in their practicality at business. It was said that they "kept the Sabbath and everything else they could get their hands on." 64 There were in general three groups of these frontiersmen—the Scotch-Irish Ulster Presbyterians, the Scottish Highlanders, and the German Moravians. The Presbyterians were the same sturdy men who had reclaimed the wilderness of Northern Ireland from desolation. Between 1700 and 1730, some twenty thousand came to the Southern back country, and in the five years prior to the War of Independence, King George forced thirty thousand more from their Irish homes. The cheap fertile soil of the back country appealed to them like a Promised Land. They arrived just in time and in the right frame of mind to help deprive George III of his colonies.

63 Adair, American Indians, pp. 370-372. Adair thought Stuart improper and mercenary. He thought the Superintendent should be more often among the tribes. Alden, John Stuart, p. 135, says that Adair was the only informed person opposing the appointment of Stuart. Adair preferred one of his fellow traders, like George Galphin or Lachlan McGillivray, for the office.

64 Skinner, Pioneers, p. 2.
Highlanders also came to the back country. They had given their oath of loyalty to the British king after the defeat at Culloden. Tall, robust men who lived frugally, they held to their oath in America, the land of their exile. Royal Governor Josiah Martin of North Carolina had them re-affirm this oath shortly before the Revolution, and they were bound by a strict code of honor to England.

The German Moravian settlements in Virginia, Pennsylvania, and North Carolina represented the third element. These brave missionaries went unarmed among the western tribes. They got a grant of one hundred thousand acres in North Carolina, and led by Brother Gottlieb, they reached the Yadkin Valley in November, 1751. More interested in christianizing the Indians than fighting them, these people were reluctant patriots in the Revolution. 65

In addition to these three major groups there were, of course, numerous English and Welsh traders and a French Huguenot element on the frontier. All shared the same love of freedom, hardiness, and courage molded in the American wilderness. They also shared a deep resentment of the Tidewater and coastal population. This resentment was probably the result of a sense of inferiority. A frontier preacher of the era, Charles Woodmason, noted in a sermon:

65 The best description of the Southern frontier settlers is found in Skinner, Pioneers, pp. 1-23.
The rich folk below considered the Back Country only as a Line of Outcasts they had placed there as a Barrier between them and the Indians for to ward off any Blows from them and their Negroes. While their Negroes were safe, the whole Back Country might go to the Devil for them. 66

Bitterness toward eastern planters and merchants, who generally controlled colonial politics, erupted into the North Carolina Regulator movement of the late 1760's. In 1766, frontier settlers in Orange County, North Carolina, organized to resist Governor William Tryon's collection of taxes. William Edward Fitch later maintained that this colonial resistance to unlawful oppression was the real beginning of the American Revolution. 67 The Battle of Alamance, May 16, 1771, Fitch called the first battle of the War of Independence. Many historians have concluded that the freedom-loving Regulators fled farther west and settled in the Holston-Watauga area where they continued their struggle against oppression. 68


Among the ex-Regulators fleeing to Watauga were Daniel Boone from the Yadkin Valley in Virginia and James Robertson of North Carolina. They joined earlier settlers William Bean, Evan Shelby, John Carter, Jacob Brown, and William Christian, in 1770 at the settlement which had formed on an Indian clearing called Watauga Old Fields. These settlers stayed on Indian land by getting the Cherokees to agree to a temporary eight-year lease. By permanent occupation and possession, they retained ownership and became the nucleus of the state of Tennessee. In 1772, the Watauga settlers formed an Association, thereby setting up a government with a constitution and officials. Stuart was furious when he heard of their presence south of the Holston River in Indian territory. He sent Cameron to warn the settlers of their illegal position and to order them to vacate, but warnings did not budge the Wataugans.

Land speculators in Virginia and North Carolina were scrambling to be first into the ceded lands west of the mountains. Stuart was able to head off a number of the private sessions, but when the royal governor of Virginia

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70 Haywood, Civil and Political History, p. 54, notes that this was the first constitution established west of the mountains. Five commissioners were elected, one of whom was James Robertson.
Lord Dunmore, urged giving the land-hungry adventurers a free hand, it was the beginning of the end of the British ministry's attempts to regulate Indian affairs.

Dunmore was himself a secret partner in the land speculation schemes, and from his position as Governor of Virginia was able to do much to further the efforts of his friends. Dunmore's War, a frontier struggle with the Shawnees on Virginia's western border, has been termed a war of aggression and speculation. The Shawnees alone stood between Virginia and the rich valley of the Ohio River. The pioneers looked upon the war as an opportunity to wipe out the Indian bloc. Dunmore mobilized the militia under Colonel Andrew Lewis and personally led the march west to extend his colony. In addition to his interest as a land speculator, he recognized the value of the campaign as a distraction to turn colonial

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71 Abernethy, Western Lands, p. 115.

72 Walter H. Mohr, Federal Indian Relations, 1774-1783 (Philadelphia, 1933), p. 18. There was a good deal of rivalry between Pennsylvania and Virginia involved in Dunmore's War. The Pennsylvania Gazette, July 13, 1774, blamed the war on the scheming land-jobbers of Virginia whom they dubbed "tools" of Governor Dunmore.

73 The Virginians would have been disappointed had Dunmore's War been averted. Colonel William Preston called for volunteers to take advantage of "the opportunity we have so long wished for...this useless people may now at last be obliged to abandon their country." Circular letter of July 20, 1774, from Draper MSS, quoted in Rueben Gold Thwaites and Louise F. Kellogg, Documentary History of Dunmore's War, 1774 (Madison, 1905), p. 93. The frontiersmen considered it a political necessity and a religious duty to wipe out the Indians. Skinner, Pioneers, p. 115.
attention from friction with the Mother Country. Settlers from all along the frontier joined the "Long Knives" of Virginia in defeating Cornstalk and Logan at the Battles of Kanawha and Point Pleasant in 1774. Historians have also pointed to these frontier forays as the beginning of the Revolution. It was more accurately a preface, a preliminary practice skirmish. Pioneer leaders like Arthur and William Campbell, James Robertson, Evan and Isaac Shelby, John and Valentine Sevier, George Rogers Clark and others gained experience in Indian warfare and the struggle severely weakened the strength of the Shawnees, making any unified Indian effort in the Revolution less likely.

The coming of the Revolution postponed Virginia's western ambitions, but one group of private speculators from North Carolina acted so quickly that Stuart was unable to head off their purchase. In direct violation of the Proclamation of 1763, Judge Richard Henderson and his partners invited the Cherokees to the Long Island of the Holston to negotiate a land cession. For some time, Judge Henderson had dreamed the big dream of becoming the Lord Proprietor of Kentucky. He chose to purchase the land from the Cherokees, even though he knew the vagueness of their claim, because their towns lay

74Prager, MSS. Border Forays, III, Chapters 14-15 on Dunmore's War.

75Both the Shawnees and Delawares remained neutral during the first two years of the war.
near the Cumberland Gap which would be the gateway to his Kentucky settlements. Despite the warnings of the British deputy Cameron, the Cherokees agreed to the cession; and Attakullakulla returned to North Carolina with Henderson to pick out the merchandise desired by his tribe.76

At Sycamore Shoals on the Holston River, March 14 to March 17, 1775, the treaty concluding the land purchase was signed. In the Great Grant and the Path Deed which gave access to Kentucky through the Cumberland Gap, two million acres of land were sold for goods valued at ten thousand pounds sterling.77 The Cherokees were bold in claiming parts of this region between the Ohio, Kentucky, and Cumberland Rivers, but no one was present to dispute their claim. Henderson was equally bold to buy land not legally for sale. Stuart, who was trying to settle the quarrel between the Creeks and Georgia, bitterly censured the Cherokees for ceding their lands so freely.78 Most of the Indians were deeply indebted to the traders and in need of goods. They felt they had nothing to lose in ceding away distant and

76 Alden, John Stuart, p. 291. Agreement to such cessions by fragments of the tribe caused much difficulty during these years. Many of the Cherokees refused to recognize the legitimacy of such minority cessions.

77 Terms of the Great Grant and Path Deed, March 17, 1775, Draper MSS., Kentucky Papers, 1CC17, II, 17.

78 Stuart refused to recognize the cession and would have had it annulled, but the Revolution prevented any further action on the Superintendent's part. Alden, John Stuart, p. 292.
doubtful property. Only one chief stood in protest to the cession. This was the young war chief, "Tsu-gun-sini" or Dragging Canoe (sometimes spelled Dragon Canoe), who stood in the circle facing Henderson, Boone, and the blonde giant John Sevier and questioned the wisdom of any cessions to the white man, asking, "Where now are our grandfathers, the Delawares?" The Canoe noted, "We had hoped the White Man would not be willing to travel beyond the mountains. Now that hope is gone. They have passed the mountains and have settled on Cherokee land....Finally they will demand the whole country. As for me," he shouted mockingly at the old chiefs who were willing to concede, "I have my young warriors. We will have our lands!" Finally, unable to enforce his will, Dragging Canoe stalked from the council, tossing a parting, prophetic warning to the frontiersmen, "Brothers, we have given you a fine land, but I believe you will have much trouble in settling this Dark and Bloody Ground."79

Dragging Canoe's ominous warning sounded the keynote of Indian participation in the American Revolution. Through the successful operation of the Indian Superintendent, the American Indians had been wooed into the British camp and had developed

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79 Brown, Old Frontiers, p. 9. This speech was wrongly attributed to Oconostota by Haywood, Civil and Political History, p. 46. Charles Robertson, a witness, later stated that it was Dragging Canoe who spoke against the cession. Oconostota was never any orator. Ramsey, Annals, p. 445.
a spirit of trust and loyalty toward John Stuart. Conversely, the Americans and the Indians had come to despise and suspect one another.
CHAPTER III

PREMATURE INSURRECTION

On the western frontier the American Revolution was far different in character from the struggle on the New England village green. In the West, the Americans had no fear of uniformed British with abusive laws; but to the old continuing struggle with the wilderness was added a new, uncertain quantity—the diabolous behavior of unpredictable savages, angered by American encroachments and tempted by British goods.

The year of 1775 opened on the Carolina frontier with the pastoral interlude of the William Bartram expedition. Bartram, a Philadelphia botanist, visited the kingdom of the Cherokees on a peaceful mission in that year and kept an interesting journal of his trip. This idyllic description of the Indians reveals little of the impending violence soon to rage across the Southern frontier. Bartram left Charleston in April, 1775, and travelled up the Savannah River past Augusta, Fort Moore, and Ninety-Six.1 At the Keowee River

he crossed into Carolina where he visited Alexander Cameron, Stuart's deputy. Bartram described Cameron, soon to be the villain and supposed instigator of Indian treachery, as an agreeable and liberal man who honored his letter of introduction and welcomed him into the hospitality of his home.  

At Fort Prince George, the botanist saw a reminder of earlier days. The population of the Keowee Valley had dwindled after Grant's scathing attack, and the fort only served now as a trading post. Upon reaching the mountains, Bartram's guide deserted him; and, disregarding the warnings of traders, he continued his journey to the Middle Towns alone. He found the Cherokees friendly and pleasant and received a warm welcome at Cowe where he visited an Irish trader, Mr. Galahan, and enjoyed a sumptuous feast of wild strawberries, hot corn cakes, and venison. Bartram's journal is an altogether happy picture of Indian life, the magnificent landscape, with beautiful valleys rich in vegetation. Bartram had an undistinguished admiration for the Cherokee, whom he confused with Rousseau's noble savage. His interest was not in things political, although he believed the Indian could be civilized to become a good citizen. He probably preferred the savage

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2 Ibid., p. 268.
3 Ibid., p. 283.
as he was, still retaining his reverence for a Nature he could
not understand. In his description of the Cherokee ceremonial
dances and ball plays, Bartram revealed the imagination of
these people still living in a world of spirits. This was
the old faith soon to die with white contact. It is interesting
to note that Bartram characterized the Cherokees as grave,
frank, honest—but ready to sacrifice even their lives for
their territory and rights.5

Trader Galaham warned Bartram that the Overhill Cherokees
were in a nasty mood—the chief was angry with the Governor of
Virginia—but Bartram insisted and proceeded on his journey.
Along the trail to the Overhill Towns, Bartram encountered
the great chief Attakullakulla who was headed for Charleston
to see his friend, John Stuart. Attakullakulla also warned of
the impending crisis, the suspicion of Indians toward whites
in the Overhills, and the unstable situation. At this point,
Bartram resolved to bid Cherokee Country farewell and retraced
his path into Georgia.6 He returned to the white settlements
by way of Keowee where Cameron and other British officials were
about to meet with the chiefs.7 At the same time the

5. Henry T. Malone, The Cherokees of the Old South, A

6. R. H. Gabriel, Elias Boudinot: Cherokee and His America,

7. Van Doren, Bartram Travels, p. 300.
conflagration caught in Boston and was soon to spread to these very mountains. The truce would be forgotten and by 1776 beautiful Cowe would be an ash heap. Passion born of racial and cultural differences would flare to spoil the Utopian picture painted by the Pennsylvania botanist.

It was a wonder that Bartram found the Cherokees so friendly on the eve of the Revolution. The relentless tide of emigration was pushing them farther and farther back into the hills. Forests dwindled as log cabins multiplied and fields were cleared. Insistent, relentless border pressure steadily shrunk the magnificent domain of the Indian Nation. The royal governors of both Virginia and North Carolina declared Henderson's Transylvania Purchase illegal and void; but by April, 1775, Henderson was already on the trail with settlers for Powell's and Carter's Valleys in Northeast Tennessee. Boone was busy widening the Warrior's Trace so that wagons could cross the mountains into Kentucky. An agent had been sent by the Transylvania Company to the meeting of the First Continental Congress in Philadelphia. Henderson planned to push his enterprise in the confusion of the political strife and perhaps even win legality from the Continental

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8Moravian settlers noted the passing of Henderson into Cherokee Country to make his purchase on November 23, 1774, and his return trip with Atakullakulla to Williamsburg on January 9, 1775, Adelaide L. Fries, editor, Records of the Moravians in North Carolina (Raleigh, 1922), 8 Vols., II, 355. They later noted the settlers with their cattle headed for the Clinch River Valley, Ibid., p. 863.
legislature. Stuart and British officials were usually hailed by the patriot leaders. In fact, most of them were partners in such enterprises. Thomas Abernethy states that no group of people in American were more deeply affected by the Declaration of Independence than were the land speculators. The settlers themselves, on the other hand, especially those already on the land beyond the mountains, tended to trust the British government rather than the speculators for their titles. At Harrodsburg in Kentucky, the settlers complained of the high prices of Transylvania lands.

The spring of 1775 saw political events in the east rapidly coming to a head. In February, South Carolina had followed her sister colonies in enforcing an embargo on British goods, a non-importation agreement in sympathy with the closing of Boston harbor. Lieutenant Governor William Bull II had many Whig relatives and leaned toward the colonists' point of view; but, because of his position, he remained firm in his support of imperial policies. His


11 Ibid., p. 163.
distasteful duties were ended when the new Carolina governor, William Campbell, arrived in June. The new administrator docked in Charleston to find the city seething with political unrest. In March, William Henry Drayton, Bull's nephew, had been suspended from the South Carolina Council for his criticisms of the government published under the title Freeman. Drayton became the outstanding spokesman of the Whigs and was subsequently removed from his position as the only native American on the Governor's Privy Council. Lieutenant Governor Bull refused to recognize actions of the provincial assembly; and, in April when South Carolina "Liberty Boys" seized British powder, arms, and dispatches from a ship in the Charleston harbor, Bull offered one hundred pounds sterling for information leading to the capture of the culprits.

Governor Campbell arrived in Charleston one day after the Provincial Congress had formed the Committee of Safety to assume control of the colony. He found that his attempts to

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12 Joseph Johnson, Traditions and Reminiscences Chiefly of the American Revolution in the South (Charleston, 1851), p. 61.


14 William Moultrie, Memoirs of the American Revolution as Far as It Related to the States of North and South Carolina and Georgia (New York, 1802), 2 vols., I, 55.

15 David Ramsay, History of South Carolina (Charleston, 1858), p. 133.
restore order were more safely directed from the Royal Navy ships, the Cherokee and the Tamar, in the harbor. Drayton, as the leading agitator, was promptly chosen to head the Secret Committee of Five, a group of underground instigators of rebellion.\textsuperscript{16} It was Drayton who ordered the ship Prosper, manned by patriots, to fire on the Cherokee and Tamar, thus commencing hostilities in the South. Despite Governor Campbell's efforts, the Committee of Safety soon became the real governing body of South Carolina.

Paramount in the fears of the Carolina Whigs was that the British would use Negroes and Indians against them. It seems doubtful that the coastal patriot leaders really dreaded Indian attack, but the threat of a British-inspired massacre on the frontier was useful propaganda to employ on the reluctant rebels of the back country. In June, 1775, the Provincial Congress passed the Act of Association. This was an appeal for all loyal patriots to sign, pledging their resolve to unite and defend the country.\textsuperscript{17} Those who refused to sign (non-associators) received all manner of threats—that they must leave and go to England, that their property would be confiscated, that they might even suffer physical

\textsuperscript{16} John Drayton, Memoirs of the American Revolution (Charleston, 1821), 2 vols., I, Introduction, xv, 252. This committee directed the seizure of ammunition, arsenals, and mail packets. Also in Moultrie, Memoirs, II, 74, 83.

\textsuperscript{17} Journals of the Provincial Congress of South Carolina with unanimous resolutions of that body including the forming of the Association, as cited in Moultrie, Memoirs, I, 19; Pennsylvania Gazette, July 5, 1775.
harsh. The names of the twenty-two Charleston non-signers were published. Most of the opposition to the Whigs came from the back country. The frontiersmen, who drank less tea and used little stamped paper, were not so oppressed as colonists in the coastal areas. Tories, as the non-assOCIators were called, outnumbered Whigs around Ninety-Six District between the fork of the Saluda and Broad Rivers in Georgia. Many of the settlers in this and other areas were completely unsympathetic with the Revolution. They blamed the trouble on ambitious eastern intriguers who were eager for place and power. Many were settlers lately come to America who were indebted to the British government for their land bounties. The Germans, especially the Moravians, were loath to have anything to do with the rebels. Foreign elements who had no real attachment to the British felt mostly indifference toward the Revolution.

The frontiersmen actually had more complaints against the easterners than against the English. The West hated the

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19 Johnson, Traditions, p. 101. The Germans refused to revolt. They said the British king was of German descent and besides, they did not understand the issues of the Revolution. The Moravians, who were pacifists, finally did agree to furnish the patriots with clothing and food. Ruth Blackwelder, "Attitude of North Carolina Moravians Toward the American Revolution," North Carolina Historical Review, Vol. IX (January, 1932), 1-21.
East and felt only suspicion and distrust for the eastern politicians who had repeatedly neglected the frontier, hanged the Regulator leaders, and persecuted religious minorities.\textsuperscript{20} The time for neutrality was short, however, for the patriots regarded those not with them as against them and would go to any extreme to coerce western support. Civil war actually raged in the Southern back country throughout the Revolution. It was difficult to know who could be trusted, as the Tories and Whigs were frequently changing sides and supporting whoever happened to be in power at the time.

The possibility of British use of Indians first arose in April when some of the letters seized by the patriots revealed that John Stuart had settled the long-standing quarrel between the Cherokees and the Creeks, thus uniting the tribes to be used if needed "against his majesty's enemies." Since England was not at war with anyone else, the colonists interpreted this to mean them.\textsuperscript{21} Georgia patriots who got a glimpse of Stuart's letterbook reported the same disturbing news. Drayton and the South Carolina Whigs were convinced that Stuart was guilty of influencing the tribes through his agents.\textsuperscript{22} They wrote angry inquire to the Indian


\textsuperscript{21} Johnson, Traditions, p. 56.

\textsuperscript{22} Drayton, Memoirs, I, 289-291. Stuart, regarded as one of the most dangerous Tories, had fled by ship to Savannah and thence to the safety of British East Florida. He finally set up his headquarters at Pensacola, West Florida.
Superintendent in St. Augustine demanding an explanation for the "incendiary" letters. Stuart refused to appear in Charleston to defend himself before the rebel committee, but he denied their accusations: "I never have received any orders from my superiors which by the most tortured construction could be interpreted to spirit up or employ the Indians to fall upon the frontier inhabitants." To the Whigs' demand that Stuart promise not to use Indians against them, the Superintendent answered that he would do his duty to his king but he would not favor allowing the Indians to fall on innocent people. Although the patriots' accusations were generally accepted, there seems good evidence that Stuart was reluctant to use the Indians and did so only at the insistence of his superiors. General Thomas Gage, the military commander, was writing to Stuart and Sir Guy Johnson in the North as early as April, 1775, to be ready for the worst. They were instructed to make certain the tribes were loyal.

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23 Letter of July 18, 1775, Drayton, Memoirs, I, 293. To force the Superintendent's appearance in Charleston, the Whigs held his wife and daughter as hostages, but they later escaped to East Florida. Stuart's estate, valued at fifteen thousand pounds sterling, was also confiscated. Peter Force, editor, American Archives, Vol. II of Fifth Series, 3 vols. (Washington, D. C., 1843), p. 1681; Moultrie, Memoirs, p. 122.

to the crown and ready to give assistance if the King desired it.  

By June, 1775, Gage had decided to use Indians in the colonial struggle. In a private letter to Lord Barrington, the British Secretary of War, Gage stated that reluctance to use Indians was pointless. The rebels themselves had set the example and the British should resort to all resources, even Negroes, in the crisis. Cut off and stalemated in Boston, it is no wonder that the commander felt that no advantage should be overlooked. Stuart wrote to Dartmouth on July 21, 1775, "Nothing is so alarming to Carolina than the idea of an attack from Indians and Negroes." Thus was the Cherokee attack long anticipated and feared; and Stuart, because of his tremendous influence over the tribes, was regarded with suspicion and distrust.

Stuart followed Gage's orders by getting Cameron to assure Cherokee loyalty and urge them to listen to no talks from the rebels. South Carolina Governor Campbell wrote to Tories in the back country:


27 Helen Louise Shaw, British Administration of Southern Indians, 1756-1783 (Lancaster, Pa., 1931), p. 86.
The Indians are ready to receive and protect all those oppressed persons who are obliged to flee from their habitations. I also have the pleasure of learning that by the indefatigable pains of Mr. Stuart and his deputies, the rebels with all their address and industry have not been able to gain the least ground among the Indian Nations. 28

Such an announcement did not serve to reassure the frontiersmen to whom the mere presence of armed tribes was threat enough. Patriots also seized dispatches from Cameron requesting ammunition and supplies for the Cherokees and containing assurances to Stuart that the Indians were ready to serve their king. 29 These intercepted written communications seemed to the patriots to be damning evidence which spoke louder than Stuart’s denials. It is interesting to note that those who hated Stuart most and accused him most vehemently were those who had personal causes to resent him. 30

28 Chapman J. Milling, Red Carolinians (Chapel Hill, 1940), p. 313.


30 It was Stuart who had made the complaint against Drayton which got him removed from the South Carolina Council and who had earlier prevented Drayton’s getting a private land cession from the Catawbas. Other personal enemies of Stuart included trader George Galphin and Charleston newspaper publisher, Peter Timothy. Stuart’s enemies even sought to blacken his character by accusing him of betraying Fort Loudoun in 1760. Philip M. Hamer, "John Stuart’s Indian Policy During the Early Months of the American Revolution," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XVII (December, 1930), 352-354; Alden, John Stuart, p. 170; Drayton, Memoire, I, 236; and Mohr, Federal Relations, p. 19.
While Stuart urged holding the Indians neutral but in readiness, Gage favored a more aggressive policy. The rebels had opened the door by the use of Indians in the North; and, in September, Stuart was advised by Gage to employ the Indians against the Southern frontier. This was not an order and Stuart chose to interpret it to mean the use of Indians only in conjunction with British troops. Stuart wanted no massacre. In his instructions to Henry Stuart, who was about to leave for Cherokee Country, he emphasized that an indiscriminate attack upon the Province was not intended.\(^{31}\) The Superintendent knew that the Indians would be almost impossible to control and might fall upon Whig and Tory alike; he therefore preferred to hold the tribes in neutrality or use them only with British regulars fighting alongside them. To Gage, he replied on October 3, 1775:

> I conceive that an indiscriminate attack by the Indians would be contrary to your Excellency's idea and might do much harm. But I shall dispose them to join in executing any concerted plan; and to act with and assist their well-disposed neighbors.\(^{32}\)

The Charleston Committee of Safety decided to go directly to Cameron and ascertain his views on the use of Indians. In June, Major Andrew Williamson visited Stuart's deputy at Lochaber and was reassured that the British intention was to

\(^{31}\)Shaw, *British Administration*, p. 91

hold the Indians firmly to the crown but never to use them on defenseless women and children. Cameron stated that he would rather resign than be so devoid of humanity. The deputy turned down a Whig bribe in July and left his estate for Indian Country with the threat of arrest pursuing him.

All of the Southern states were attempting during the summer of 1775 to gain the support of reluctant but influential Westerners. North Carolina pardoned the Regulators, drew up a more democratic constitution, and created Washington District to include the Watauga settlements. Virginia reformed her code and won over most of the frontiersmen. All used the churches to promote their propaganda that "the cause of one was the cause of all." The Presbyterian Church was especially eager and could sway vast numbers of the Scotch-Irish. Loyalists were tied to the Roman Catholics by Whig propagandists and accused of popery. To religious prejudice was added racial fear as these Tories were charged with inciting the Indians and Negroes. In August and September, William Henry Drayton and William Tennent were touring the

33 From Council of Safety Journal, 1775-1777 as quoted in Drayton, Memoirs, I, 308, 309.

34 Shaw, British Administration, p. 95. Cameron refused to withdraw from Indian Country. Milling, Red Carolinians, p. 314, states that Captain James McCall and thirty men who were sent to Seneca after horses were really after Cameron.

35 William Tennent was a preacher who served in the South Carolina Provincial Congress and used his persuasive abilities in the patriot cause. A Princeton graduate, Tennent was pastor of an independent church in Charleston
back country explaining the patriot cause. Companies of Tory militia were raised by Loyalists Robert and Patrick Cunningham, Thomas Browne, Thomas Fletchall, and Moses Kirkland. These groups successfully broke up Whig rallies, issued counter-propaganda, and nullified any success that Drayton and Tennent achieved.

The two Whig spokesmen also tried their persuasive powers on the Cherokees, whom they met at the Congarees in late September. Drayton explained to Good Warrior and other Cherokees the nature of the dispute and, hoping at the most for Indian neutrality, emphasized that it was a white man's quarrel and none of the Cherokees' affair. The Indians were given presents and assured of supplies. 36

A large shipment of guns, ammunition, and Indian presents was captured by the Georgia "Liberty Boys" and the Charleston Committee of Safety determined to send a supply of powder to the Cherokees—to be used, some said, during the coming hunting season; others thought it was to be used on hesitant patriots in the back country. The powder was captured enroute

36 Drayton, Memoirs, I, 419-428. Drayton told the Cherokees that the quarrel between the white brothers was a lamentable thing caused by the British using the Americans unjustly. He compared the tea to their sacred black drink and said that the British intended to cut off Cherokee trade, hurting the Indians as well as the Americans.
to the Indians by a Tory band led by Patrick Cunningham. Thus deprived of the ammunition and supplies promised them, the Cherokees were in an ugly mood. George Galphin, a trader of thirty years experience who had chosen the Whig side, was making little progress with the Creeks. The separate colonies in seeking to negotiate with the Indians and win them to the American cause met only frustrations.

Recognizing the seriousness of the Indian threat, the Continental Congress in June, 1775, appointed a Committee of Five to report on necessary steps to secure and preserve the friendship of the Indian Nations. On July 12, the Committee on Indian Affairs made its report and recommended that superintendents be appointed in three districts, following the British plan of administration. There were to be five commissioners in the South, chosen by the Southern colonies, and

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37 Cunningham's brother Robert was arrested and held prisoner by the Whigs. Failing in an attempt to rescue Robert, Patrick and his Tories took the powder instead. Drayton, Memoirs, II, 64. The frontiersmen were suspicious over the Provincial Congress' motives in sending powder to the Indians when it was impossible for the settlers to get any, David Ramsay, History of the Revolution in South Carolina: From British Province to Independent State (Trenton, 1785), 2 vols., I, 68-69. Explanations quickly followed, ibid., 73-74.

38 W. C. Ford, editor, Journals of the Continental Congress (Washington, D. C., 1905-1907), 34 vols., II, 93. Hereafter cited as JCC. This action was taken on the same day that Washington was made commander of the Continental forces. William L. Saunders, editor, Colonial Records of North Carolina (Raleigh, 1890), 11 vols., XI, 392. Stuart reported that the Continental commissioners had met with the Indians.
empowered to treat with the Indians and "prevent their taking any part in the present commotions." 39

The speech prepared for the Six Nations set the tone for other federal talks:

We desire you will hear and receive what we have now told you, and that you will open a good ear and listen....This is a family quarrel between us and Old England. You Indians are not concerned in it. We do not wish you to take up the hatchet against the king's troops. We desire you to remain at home, and not join on either side, but keep the hatchet buried deep. 40

The Board of five Southern Commissioners met delegates from the Indian tribes south of the Ohio River at Salisbury, North Carolina, in November, 1775, where Galphin was the chief speaker to the Indians. 41 American efforts to win Indian support were poorly organized and haphazard in comparison to the already firmly established influence of the British. The personnel was too frequently changing to win much prestige among the Indians. Thus the Cherokees continued to listen to the talks of their good friends, "Scotch" Cameron and Henry Stuart, brother of the beloved Superintendent.

39 Ford, editor, JCC, II, 175. The committee called for vigilant efforts to offset British wiles in seeking to stir up the tribes. ibid., p. 174.

40 Ibid., p. 182.

From the Indian point of view the colonial struggle presented a marvelous opportunity to watch the whites destroy themselves. It was puzzling to learn that not all Englishmen were loyal to King George. While the tribes were generally inclined toward neutrality, they watched with interest the growing rift in the colonies. Americans were pleased with this neutral attitude—surprising in people so frequently wronged. Many of the British, including Stuart, also favored Indian neutrality fearing that once unleashed they would not distinguish between loyalist and rebel. Attakullakulla and Oconostota, both still living and influential, favored peace—the first through temperament and latter through experience. Dragging Canoe was the leader of the war faction. His resentment had nothing to do with the issues of the American Revolution. It was a seething animosity against white encroachment, particularly the Watauga settlement. When faced with a choice between the warring white elements, the Cherokees chose the English without hesitation. It did not take any explanation from British agents for the Cherokee to see that it was the American frontier settler who was determined to annihilate him. The British appeared to be protectors compared to the aggressive frontiersmen. In addition, the Americans did not seem to be the winning side, and they did not have established agents and traders living among the tribes. American non-importation acts had cut off all trade with the Indians; but guns, hatchets, and ammunition could be
abundantly supplied from Pensacola, the British base in West Florida. The Cherokee War of 1760 had proven that the Indians could not long exist without a reliable source of goods. Now they could fight the hated frontiersmen without forfeiting British supplies. To Dragging Canoe, the time for war seemed overripe.

While Carolina patriots rallied with one eye on the Tories and the other on the Cherokees, the Continental government arranged to confer with the Southern tribes at Augusta, American traders noticed a spirit of suspicion and discontent among the tribes, and John Stuart and General Henry Clinton held a military conference aboard ship off Cape Fear, North Carolina. Clinton and the Tory leader, Thomas Browne, advocated the use of Indians in a concerted plan of attack against the Southern colonies. This strategy was revealed to Whigs when Moses Kirkland was taken prisoner, and letters exposing the attack were found on his person. As the British historian, Charles Stedman, put it:


British agents were employed to engage the Indians in a diversion—to enter the Southern colonies at their back and defenseless parts. Through promises of presents and plunder, having little difficulty in getting the Indians to join in with a large body of men from West Florida who would penetrate into Indian Territory. Indians, Tories, and Regulars were to attack the Virginia and Carolina frontiers at the same time that a naval and military force hit the seacoast under Sir Peter Parker. 44

Armed with these intercepted dispatches to General Gage, Drayton and the Whigs began to win over the reluctant back country settlers. Drayton charged the Grand Jury trying Tories in Charleston that the British intention to get the Savage Nations to indiscriminately massacre men, women, and children and arm the Negroes against their masters was an unprecedented, unnatural destruction. 45 In November the Committee of Safety in Charleston assumed dictatorial powers. Many of the Loyalists were captured, signed oaths of loyalty, and were granted pardons. Some became good Whigs; others only donned the patriot mask until the British regained control of the South in 1780.

The early spring of 1776 saw panic on the frontier. Added to the unrest of political and factional strife was the awareness of impending Indian attack. Dragging Canoe and eighty braves


45 Drayton, Memoirs, II, 264; Ramsey, Annals, p. 161. Drayton had been elected South Carolina Chief Justice, thereby regaining the position from which he had earlier been removed for his Whig sentiments.
met Henry Stuart at Mobile in March, and Stuart proceeded directly to Cherokee Country, arriving in April to find the brave restless talking war against the people on the Holston and Watauga. Stuart and Cameron sent out circular letters warning the settlers of the Indian temper and giving them twenty days to move off Cherokee lands. Stuart later claimed that such letters urging the frontiersmen to rally to the British cause as quickly as possible were forgeries:

Sometime ago Mr. Cameron and myself wrote you by Mr. Thomas concerning the Indians respecting the Watauga purchase. We are apprehensive that the Indians may do mischief immediately. It is not His Majesty's desire to set the Indians on his liege subjects. We advise you to join the British forces when they reach the Cherokee Nation. Join his standard, protect yourselves and families. On paper swear your allegiance to his Majesty and that you are ready to defend British rights in America and return this pledge to me.  

Forged or not, the letter went on to the Williamsburg Committee of Safety and many people gave it credence. The result was a wave of resentment that swung most of the frontier to the patriot side.

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46 This letter, directed to frontier Tories and dated May 19, 1776, was attested by John Carter of the Watauga settlement who stated that it was handed to Charles Robertson who was mistaken for a Tory. It may be seen in Force, American Archives, Vol. VI of Fourth Series, 6 vols., p. 1229 and Ramsey, Annals, p. 147. It was also published in the Pennsylvania Gazette, September 4, 1776. Cotterill, Southern Indians, p. 39, claims that the circular letters were forged by the Watauga Whigs to justify their staying on Indian lands. Henry Stuart, the supposed author of the missile, denied responsibility, Saunders, Colonial Records of North Carolina, X, 606/ Samuel Cole Williams, Tennessee in the Revolution (Nashville, 1944), pp. 25-28, blames Stuart but says that he was careful not to have his name attached to such letters in any way.
On June 1, the British fleet appeared off Charleston and throughout the month ships ran the guns of Fort Sullivan and slipped into the harbor where they lay waiting on June 28. Oconostota and Cameron still urged neutrality on the Indians; Cameron even threatened withdrawal of British aid if the Cherokee war party did not stop its talk of attack on the Virginia frontier. The peace party might have prevailed, but a delegation of Northern Indians arrived in Echota urging a united war against the Americans. While fourteen delegates presented war belts to Dragging Canoe and painted Cherokees danced to war drums, Attakullakulla and Oconostota sat in dejected silence. Henry Stuart, who had just arrived from Pensacola with twenty horse loads of supplies, warned that an attack at this time, without preparation and white support, would be disastrous and would arouse resentment even from their friends. Crazed with war fever, however, the Cherokee warriors were past the point of reasoning.

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47 Cotterill, Southern Indians, p. 39. These were the same Iroquois, Shawnees, and Delawares who on their return trip carried off Jemina Boone from the Kentucky settlement. War parties were so thick that white travellers took a one hundred mile detour around the Ohio River. Henry Stuart tells of the arrival of Northern Indians in Saunders, Colonial Records of North Carolina, X, 776-777.

On June 28, the British fleet began shelling Fort Sullivan. Two days later, the Cherokees made three simultaneous and well-organized attacks on the frontier. This seemed too much of a coincidence not to have been premeditated. At Charleston, the mighty British naval power was repulsed. Governor Campbell was mortally wounded, and the patriots inside the garrison suffered only ten losses. The British sailed away to fight again another day, and Fort Sullivan was renamed Fort Moultrie for William Moultrie, one of its gallant defenders. The victory did much to bolster Southern morale. Money and manpower for the Whig cause began to come in; and, having resisted the coastal attack, the Southern colonies now could devote their full attention to the critical situation on the frontier where turmoil existed.

At dawn on July 1, 1776, when seven hundred painted and shrieking Cherokee warriors had poured on the frontier, killing and burning without distinction as to age, sex, or political beliefs, the back country settlers, destitute of arms, had

49 Accounts of the South Carolina defense from behind palmetto log fortifications are given in John Alden, The South in the Revolution, 1763-1789, Vol. III of History of the South Series, 10 vols. (Baton Rouge, 1957), pp. 203-206; David Ramsay, History of South Carolina (Charleston, 1858), pp. 150-156; and Simms, History of South Carolina, p. 213. Five thousand Americans successfully held the city against nearly fifty British vessels. Ammunition was low and every shot was made to count, as the colonists made their stand from behind the palmetto log walls of Fort Sullivan.

50 Most of the arms were in the hands of the ranger companies and the settlers were relatively helpless. In a way, this was good, since it prevented the Tories from joining the Indians and drove them into the rebel camp in self-defense.
huddled together in stockades. For nearly a month, they waited for help from the eastern settlements. Colonel Andrew Williamson, seeking to raise volunteers to fight the Cherokees in South Carolina, found the country so in panic that he was able to enlist only five hundred men in sixteen days. On July 15, Williamson's men under Major Downs defeated a group of Indians and Tories painted like savages. This heartening victory swelled the volunteer enlistments considerably. The Tories were alarmed to find that their political adherence was of little protection against Indian attack. The Reverend James Creswell reported to Drayton from Tory-infested Ninety-Six:

The savages killed the disaffected in common, without distinction of party. This greatly alarmed them—changed their countenance and tone—and made them look out for the safety of their own families. Others of them justly supposed that any of their party that were killed must have suffered through mistake.  

As Stuart had foreseen, the Indians fell on loyalist and rebel alike, forcing them to unite for protection and revenge. Gazed by blood, scalps, and plunder, the Indians' destructive actions could not be controlled by the white leaders who accompanied them.

51 Drayton, Memoirs, II, 342, testifies as to the consternation of the people, and notes that Loyalist Patrick Cunningham appeared at Williamson's camp on July 25 to offer his services against the Cherokees; thus illustrating that the Indian attack actually hurt the British cause and turned many Tories to the Whig point of view. Force, American Archives, Vol. I of Fifth Series, 3 vols., p. 489.

The Cherokee onslaught was premature in the sense that it lacked proper British or allied Indian support, but it was remarkably well-organized for an Indian raid. Cameron accompanied the Indians in the attack. Some said he was along to direct the action and protect Tory captives; others claimed that he was along to mitigate the horrors of Indian war, if that were possible.\textsuperscript{53} From the British point of view, the premature attack was disastrous. Surely Cameron and Henry Stuart would have preferred to hold the Indians in check until such a time as proper support could make their attack successful.

The Indians did not strike the frontier unexpectedly. The Cherokee "Beloved Woman" Nancy Ward,\textsuperscript{54} a half-breed priestess who had access to the war councils in Echota, sent a warning by trader Isaac Thomas that the Cherokees were about to attack the frontier settlements.\textsuperscript{55} Some three thousand frontiersmen

\textsuperscript{53} Ramsey, Annals, p. 149, says that Cameron and other Tories with the Cherokee raiders were to enter the white settlements first and warn the King's friends. Tories were to carry white flags or wear a piece of white paper in their caps. Shaw, British Administration, p. 102, claims that Cameron accompanied the tribe to mitigate some of their savage ferocity.

\textsuperscript{54} John Haywood, Civil and Political History of Tennessee (Nashville, 1915), p. 60. Nancy Ward, who has been called the "Cherokee Pocahontas," was a remarkable woman who often saved the lives of her own people and white pioneers. Her main interest was the maintenance of peace. The niece of "Little Carpenter," she had the privilege to speak in council and decide the fate of captives.

\textsuperscript{55} Skinner, Pioneers, p. 175, suggests that the Isaac Thomas' warning might actually have come from Henry Stuart.
were already gathered into the relative safety of the palisaded stockades by the time Dragging Canoe's warriors took the trail. A hint of the Cherokee intention had also leaked into Virginia where Indian trader Jarrett Williams swore an affidavit telling of Cherokee war preparations in progress when he left the Overhill Country. Thus, Dragging Canoe lost even the element of surprise which he had planned. There was evidence that General Griffith Rutherford of North Carolina was readying his force to march west long before word was received of the actual attack.

Dragging Canoe deployed his Cherokee warriors against the frontier in three divisions. The major blow was struck on July 20, 1776, when the Canoe led his war party up the Warriors' Trace along the Holston River toward Virginia, Abraham of Chilhowee attacked the Watauga Settlements, and the Raven hit at stations in Carter's Valley. The main

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58 The Raven, "Savanooka," was the nephew of Oconostota and frequently his spokesman. Manly, firm, open, and serious— he was noted as a strong warrior, as his name implies. By 1777, he confessed that despite his part in the attack, he was naturally disposed toward peace. Williams, Tennessee During the Revolution, pp. 264, 266.
engagement was fought by Dragging Canoe at the Great Island of the Holston (Kingsport, Tennessee). Five companies of Virginia militia were gathered at Eaton's Station under Evan Shelby, Arthur Campbell, and William Cocke. Fearing that the Indians would by-pass the garrison and hit the settlements beyond, these Holston Valley settlers determined to leave the security of the stockade and move out to meet the Cherokees. A fierce ten-minute struggle ensued at the Battle of Island Flats with some one hundred and seventy Virginians opposing nearly four hundred savages. The whites ambushed Dragging Canoe, Indian-style, and the withering fire of the pioneer riflemen cut down their savage charge. Dragging Canoe himself was wounded in the thigh; the blood of dying Indians marked their line of retreat. The whites lost not a man and only four were wounded in this first battle of the Revolution west of the mountains. 59

At Watauga the settlers abandoned Fort Lee and withdrew to the Watauga stockade (Fort Caswell), where they found themselves besieged by the Indians. James Robertson and John Sevier were in charge of the blockhouse which was under siege for three weeks before Virginia troops relieved it. For twenty days only forty white men defended the stockade, while Indians

skulked about in the surrounding forests. The sudden and fierce attack on July 21 had caught the Wataugans unaware. Some of the women were outside the walls milking when the attack began and recovered the safety of the fort under the heavy rifle fire of the men. John Sevier lifted one of the pretty maidens to safety, and thus began the acquaintance which ended in the marriage of young Sevier and Bonnie Kate Sherrill. 60 Eighteen settlers were killed at Watauga, and others were captured by the savages. Mrs. William Bean, mother of the first child born in Tennessee, and Samuel Moore, a young boy, were held by the enraged Indians at Tellico. Mrs. Bean was saved by the Beloved Woman, Nancy Ward, but the Moore child was burned at the stake. 61

The Raven's raiders striking the Clinch and Carter Valleys had the best success. They met little opposition, but the whites, concentrated in the security of the blockhouses, remained safe until relieved by General Rutherford's Salisbury militia.


61 Almost all accounts include this fact. Ramsey, Annals, p. 157; Haywood, Civil and Political History, p. 51; Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokee," p. 48; and John P. Brown, Old Frontiers, Story of the Cherokee Indians from Earliest Times to the Date of Their Removal to the West (Kingsport, Tenn., 1898), p. 153.
The Cherokee war party's ill-timed and premature attack on the Southern frontier and its subsequent repulsion had far-reaching effects. Cherokee morale was so seriously damaged that the avenging white armies met little or no resistance as they advanced on Indian Country. The Indians scattered and fled to the fastness of the mountains. Dragging Canoe had learned a lesson that he never forgot. Never again would he fight in armies, but he would revert to the Indian style he knew best—surprise, attack, scalp, disappear. The victory over the Cherokees decreased frontier fear of the savages; they were no longer invincible. The frontier would never again be paralyzed with fear, for the Battle of Island Flats had proven that the settlers could meet and defeat even a superior number of Indians. The Southern colonies determined to strike the Cherokees a crushing blow by a concerted expedition into Indian Country before the British could move to support their allies. Armies of the four southern colonies were mobilized and marched to rendezvous at the Great Island of the Holston.

General Charles Lee, Southern military commander for the Continental Army, wrote Edmund Pendleton in Virginia that the inhuman Cherokee attack might be good in a way, as it would give the colonies an opportunity to strike a blow which would intimidate the Indians. He noted that the Cherokees were not the most formidable warriors and that by marching the Virginia riflemen into the Overhill Country a severe, lasting, and salutary example might be made of them. He sought to fire
the Virginia Convention by writing of that part of his ex-
cellent and clement Majesty George III's plan to "lay waste
the provinces, burn habitations, and mix men, women, and
children in one common carnage." Arthur Campbell, colonel
of the Virginia militia, exclaimed, "This infernal malignity
(unleashing the Indians) of a professed Christian prince was
reserved to be exhibited to the world in the reign of George
III."  

The four armies, which began mobilizing even before the
Cherokee attack, were not in the field for nearly two months.
General Rutherford's twenty four hundred North Carolinians
were the first to cross the mountains in August, 1776. They
rendezvoused with the South Carolina troops under Colonel
Andrew Williamson on the Hiawassee River, September 26.
Williamson had met with numerous delays, including a wild-
goose chase after Cameron. Virginia troops under Colonel
William Christian gathered at the Long Island of the Holston
and struck the Overhill Towns in October. The fourth and
smallest army under Colonel Samuel Jack destroyed Cherokee
towns along the Chattahoochee and Tugaloo Rivers in north-
western Georgia.

62 Charles Lee's letters of July 7, 1776 to Griffith Ruther-
ford and North Carolina and Virginia legislatures, Force,
General Lee wrote the almost exact same quote to all three.

63 Haywood, Civil and Political History, p. 60.
Rutherford, his North Carolina militia, and a company of Catawba Indian scouts crossed the Blue Ridge Mountains at Swannanoa Gap near Old Fort. After struggling across rugged, almost impassable mountain paths, he followed the ancient Indian Trace. Crossing the French Broad River at the Warrior Ford, he struck the Middle Towns—scalping, burning, and leveling thirty-six towns along the Tuckasegee, Little Tennessee, and Hiwassee Rivers. Indian prisoners, captured by Rutherford's "eager, spirited" soldiers, were auctioned off as slaves to the highest bidder. The militia was so enheartened by the lack of Indian resistance and the plunder gained, that they demanded a second campaign. Rutherford joined Williamson in the Valley Towns and continued the slaughter; the Irish general marched back into North Carolina with only three of his men killed in battle.

64 Douglas L. Rights, *The American Indian in North Carolina* (Winston-Salem, 1957), p. 180. North Carolina laws provided that the Indian captive was considered the absolute property of his captor. Prisoners worth some one thousand pounds sterling were sold in this auction. Trouble makers were scalped for a ten pound bounty. The South Carolina legislature forbade the sale of Indian prisoners, but offered seventy-five pounds for scalps and one hundred pounds for white captives. Milling, *Red Carolinians*, p. 316.

65 Reports of the progress of Rutherford's campaign to "strike terror" into the Cherokees are found in *Force, American Archives*, Vol. II of Fifth Series, 3 vols., pp. 208, 1235; Walter Clark, *The State Records of North Carolina* (Winston, 1895), 15 vols., XI, 328-372. Rutherford was an Irish immigrant who lived at Salisbury, North Carolina. He was forty-five years of age at the time of his campaign. A brigadier general in the Continental Army, he was held prisoner by the British for a year. Later, he moved to Tennessee and served in the state senate and territorial council.
Williamson finally organized the South Carolina frontier to resistance, and by July 25 his Rangers numbered over a thousand men. Hearing that Cameron was at Seneca with some Tories, he marched across the Keowee River and some thirty miles in a fruitless chase after the British agent who escaped into Georgia. On July 31, Williamson engaged Tories and Indians fighting from behind the walls of abandoned Fort Prince George. Williamson's horse was shot from under him; and, just at the moment the Whigs were in wild confusion, a complete rout was prevented by Colonel Samuel Hammond who rallied the men to charge and force the stockade defenders across the river. Seneca was burned along with six thousand bushels of corn. The Tories and Indians were put to flight, but because of the rugged country they could not be successfully pursued. In this area, it took an army five days to make twenty miles.

On August 4, Williamson moved against the Lower Towns. Massing his men on Twenty-Three Mile Creek, he led them against Keowee, Estatoe, and Tugaloo—then on to Tanassee, Cheowee, and Eustaste. Crops were destroyed, including some two thousand acres of corn, and the Lower Towns were forced to subsist on roots, berries, and wild fruit. After a seventy-five minute engagement with the Indians on August 11, many of Williamson's men deserted. They were exhausted from the long, hard march, their shoes and clothes were in shreds, and they had given up hope of rendezvous with North Carolina or Virginia troops.
But the North and South Carolina forces finally met on the Hiwassee in late September, and together they moved against the Middle Towns with an irresistible force of over four thousand men. 66

The final blow was dealt to the Overhill Towns, instigators of the July attack, by William Christian 67 and nearly eighteen thousand Virginia riflemen. His well-armed infantry, led by the trader Isaac Thomas, marched into the Clinch River Valley in October. They found the settlers crowded in forts, hungry and ill. As they moved against the Overhill Towns, accompanied by a cavalry troop of Wataugans under John Sevier, a great debate went on in the Indian villages. Dragging Canoe and the younger chiefs of the war party wanted to continue the struggle; Oconostota and his nephew, the Raven, advised suing for peace.

When Christian reached the French Broad River, he found the Indian towns deserted. For the sake of Nancy Ward,

66 A. S. Salley, Jr., History of Orangebury County, South Carolina: From Its First Settlement to the Close of the Revolutionary War (Orangeburg, S. C., 1897), p. 353, calls Williamson’s campaign highly successful. The colonel lost only fifty men in this three-month military effort. Williamson later fell into ill-repute when he was accused of allowing Charleston to fall to the British in 1780. He defected to the English and won the title of “Arnold of the South”; some thought he was corrupted by John Stuart. Johnson, Traditions, pp. 148-149.

67 William Christian, brother-in-law of Patrick Henry, had fought in the French and Indian War and Dunmore’s War. He was an early Holston settler and Virginia land speculator. In 1786, he died fighting Indians on the Ohio River.
Christian spared the sacred town Echota but the other towns were burned.

At a conference with Cherokees of the peace party, Oconostota, Attakullakulla, and the Raven, Christian demanded that the Indians turn over the British agent, Alexander Cameron. This enraged Dragging Canoe who had adopted Cameron as his "eldest brother." The young chieftain resolved to follow the British deputy's advice, abandon the towns on the Little Tennessee, retreat, and fight on. The older chiefs who did not wish to desert their beloved towns sent Nathaniel Gist, the Indian trader, to Christian to arrange peace terms. At the newly-erected Virginia Fort Patrick Henry near the Long Island of the Holston, William Christian signed a truce with the Overhill chiefs. The armistice was actually invalid since Dragging Canoe and the war faction refused to sign.


69 Brown, Old Frontiers, p. 160. At this time, Gist, the father of the great Cherokee statesman Sequoyah, went over to the Americans, was apparently forgiven his early Tory leanings, and became Virginia's agent for peace among the Cherokees in 1777. Haywood, Civil and Political History, p. 505. The Indians' desire for peace was reported in the Pennsylvania Gazette, November 27, 1777. Christian noted that Cameron had fled and the older chiefs were averse to war.
Christian left Cherokee Country for Virginia in December and the ensuing months saw the tribal rift grow more serious. Dragging Canoe and his young followers decended from the tribe and moved to the five westernmost settlements of the Cherokees—the Chickamauga Towns located on the Tennessee River near the Big Suck. 70 Here he and his braves, along with fleeing Tories and renegade Creeks, became fugitives with a price on their heads—the dreaded "Chickamaugas." They continued to fight in resistance to the westward movement of the new American government until 1794. Christian reported them as the most dangerous and least controllable of the Cherokees.

After Dragging Canoe's withdrawal, Oconostota sought peace with the white men, knowing full well that a peace treaty meant a land cession. Nathaniel Gist, Tory turned Patriot, wrote to the still rebellious faction on March 28, 1777, encouraging a peace with Virginia and warning the Indians that "this year will be worse than last." 71 Since no federal authority existed at the time to treat with the Indians, separate treaties were made by the states. In March, Governor Patrick Henry appointed the Virginia commissioners to meet at

70 Theodore Roosevelt, Winning of the West (New York, 1885), II, 233. Their towns ranged from Chickamauga Creek to Running Water, where the Tennessee River twists down through somber gorges with Lookout Mountain and jutting cliffs of sheer rock towering above. The "Suck" was tumultuous rapids, sometimes called the Whirl or Boiling Pot.

71 Williams, Tennessee During the Revolution, p. 260. This letter got to John Stuart through Cameron and Dragging Canoe and thence into the London archives.
the fort on the Holston River during the summer, but South Carolina and Georgia were first to make a formal peace at DeWitt's Corner on May 20, 1777. In this treaty, the Cherokees were forced to cede all lands east of the Blue Ridge Mountains.\textsuperscript{72}

Virginia and North Carolina commissioners met Oconostota, Old Tassel, and the Raven at the Long Island of the Holston where Colonel Arthur Campbell had assumed command of the new Fort Patrick Henry. The Indians started gathering in June, and Richard Henderson took advantage of the opportunity to try to get his Kentucky purchase reaffirmed. The shooting of the Indian chief "Big Bullet" by some rash hand almost broke up the powwow before it got under way. Oconostota arrived on June 30, and the chiefs slowly continued to come in. The celebration on July Fourth was impressive; the soldiers paraded and fired volleys. After hearing speeches on how the thirteen states were celebrating the first year of freedom from British rule, the Indians were given whiskey and presents. The Cherokees even obliged with a dance.

Colonel William Christian opened the conference on July 13. They were marked by the patient but firm tone of the white conquerors and the pitiful, futile speeches of the Indians. Old Tassel, the great Cherokee orator, spoke on the Indian and white man's ways of life. "God has not created us

\textsuperscript{72}W. R. L. Smith, The Story of the Cherokees (Cleveland, Tenn., 1928), p. 85.
to be your slaves," he said. "The great God of Nature has placed us in different situations. We are a different people." Christian urged the Cherokees to remain at peace and not listen to the bad advice of white men among them. He expressed regret at the absence of Dragging Canoe and the others. The Raven spoke of the evil influence of Cameron and Stuart, whom he blamed for getting the Cherokees involved in the white man's war.

The Treaty of Fort Patrick Henry was signed on July 20. The Cherokees agreed to remain neutral in the remainder of the war. They ceded their land after but little argument. It was agreed to allow an Indian agent to live at Echota, and two companies of North Carolina militia were placed at Watauga. The Indians agreed to try to bring in Cameron and the Canoe. In return, Virginia supplied the Indians with desperately needed goods as well as luxuries—ammunition, salt, and whiskey. Two traders and a gunsmith were sent to reside in the Nation. As a final token of subjection,

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73 Williams, Tennessee During the Revolution, pp. 68, 266. Old Tassel was the leading orator of the Cherokees. His famous speeches at talks in 1777 and 1782 made him the best known statesman after the deaths of Oconostota and Attakullakulla.

74 Terms of the Treaty may be seen in the Waughtstill Avery Papers, Draper MSS, North Carolina Papers, I, 28-42. The treaty is sometimes called Avery’s Treaty after Waughtstill Avery, chairman of the North Carolina commission. Terms also appear in Haywood, Civil and Political History, Appendix, p. 488.
Attakullakulla arrived and offered five hundred Cherokee warriors to help Washington fight the British. 75

The Cherokees' premature insurrection was thus ended, as was Cherokee hostility of any real consequence after this. Their decision to help the British had been disastrous; it had cost them all their domain east of the mountains and much of the controversial claims in the Watauga-Holston and Kentucky regions. Fifty towns were burned and forced to move far west. The Cherokee population and war strength was never again impressive. Deprived of their crops, they were reduced to begging from the American states. The abrupt decision to fight in July, 1776, had not been wise from the British point of view either. Indian attack had strengthened the Whig position on the frontier. The British had received all of the blame for the Cherokee attack, and patriot propaganda seemed substantiated. The morale of the Southern Indians was greatly injured. John Stuart wrote Lord Germaine in 1777 that "the fate of the Cherokees is constantly before the other Indians to dampen their spirits." 76 Unable to

75 John Carter to Governor Richard Caswell, September 7, 1777, Saunders, Colonial Records of North Carolina, XI, 608. Smith, Story of the Cherokees, p. 86, says that "Little Carpenter" was too old to go to war and this was just a gesture. Williams, Tennessee During the Revolution, p. 71, points out that this gesture displayed the Cherokees' desperate need for American goods.

76 Shaw, British Administration, p. 105.
cooperate and fearful of the "Long Knives," the Southern Indians never successfully aided the British in their Southern campaign. Perhaps part of the lack of usefulness of the Indians was due to the declining health of Superintendent John Stuart who died in 1779.  

If the Cherokees had expected military support from the British, they were mistaken. Stuart sought to keep them supplied, but the long lines were too easily open to American interception. Lacking Indian allies, the Cherokees were divided even among themselves. The Americans, however, had plenty of time to devote to their extinction. Inevitable and devastating American retaliation forced the misled Indians to sue for peace. Hundreds of homeless Cherokees appeared in West Florida begging supplies, and when the Creek war chief Emistiguo took the trail in February, 1777, there were no Cherokees left to cooperate with. The premature insurrection did more harm than good for the British and their allies. It united the frontier, melted Indian resistance, created a contempt for the savages, and increased military thinking and experience among westerners.

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77 At the death of Stuart in Pensacola, General Clinton wrote Lord Germain: "The loss of so faithful and useful a servant to his Majesty is at all times to be regretted, but at this critical juncture is most sincerely lamented." Alden, John Stuart, p. 173. His duties were divided among Cameron, Thomas Browne and Charles Stuart.

78 Cotterill, Southern Indians, p. 43; Ramsay, History of South Carolina, p. 160.
The Cherokee spirit was humbled in this last great encounter with the Americans, but it was not broken. Even decimated and starving, they lasted longer than the British. Three years after Cornwallis delivered his sword at Yorktown the Americans were still seeking to make a lasting peace with the Cherokees. In 1777 the character of the frontier war changed; it was more than ever a guerrilla type war. The stubborn resistance of the Cherokees continued, led by Dragging Canoe and his Chickamauga banditti. The Chickamauga towns flourished with every breed of renegade and outlaw, white and Indian, fleeing beyond the reach of irate American settlers. The perpetuation of the war made it necessary to hold four hundred militiamen on the frontier thus preventing their effective use in the Revolution. 79

A letter of James Robertson to Commissioners Lanier and Winston of North Carolina in October, 1777 80 indicated the continued hostilities. Robertson had been placed among the Cherokees at Echota to find out the disposition of Dragging Canoe, learn of talks with other tribes, and find any Tories or British sympathizers among the Indians. He predicted a war with the Chickamaugas since Cameron and the Tories were

79 Undated report of the Committee on Indian Affairs concerning the activities of the Chickamaugas, Draper Mss, North Carolina Papers, I, 40-42.

80 Williams, Tennessee During the Revolution, Appendix, p. 273; James Robertson to Governor Caswell, October 17, 1777, Saunders, Colonial Records of North Carolina, XI, 654-655.
stirring the braves and spreading propaganda that Philadelphia had fallen to the British, that fourteen thousand Americans had been killed, and that in six weeks the war would be over.

The Revolutionary struggle had given settlers the opportunity to move west. Given the advantage by the boundaries set up in the Treaty of Fort Patrick Henry, Virginia took the lead in guiding the trans-Appalachian settlements. North Carolina, sorely angered over the terms of the treaty, created Washington County and assumed control over the Watauga community. In early 1778, John Carter opened a land office in Watauga, and the land lobbyists in North Carolina began to pressure the legislature. Watauga was the perfect base of operations for the westward movement. Situated at the gateway to the Kentucky settlements and at the headwaters of the Tennessee River, it became the center of the land speculation movement.

It was natural that the soldiers who marched in the mighty army of six thousand which crossed the mountains to wipe out the Cherokees in 1776 should carry back home with them tales of the fertile valleys. The militiamen lusted after cheap, good land. Soon people in the East heard the returning veterans speaking familiarly of the Holston, French Broad, Nolichucky, and Tennessee Rivers. The tide of immigration began

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to strengthen the little community already west of the mountains, and it was a tide which the forest tribes could not stem.

The American Revolution had a two-fold nature. In the East, it was a war for independence; in the West, a war of conquest. Without the Revolution, the frontiersmen would have been hopelessly cooped up between the mountains and the sea. The fight for independence from England gave the strong, harsh, homely men of the frontier the opportunity they had been seeking to wrest the fertile lands of the west from the Indians. The Cherokees' tragic decision to ally with the British gave the American settlers a legal right to seize Indian land as "spoils of war."
CHAPTER IV

CHICKAMAUGAS

A new phase of the American Revolution opened in 1778. The British began to make mature plans for a Southern offensive in which the Indians would be important allies. The Southern Loyalists were also to play a responsible role in British plans. John Stuart operated out of Pensacola seeking to regroup the Southern Indians to act in conjunction with General Augustine Prevost's regular troops, based in Florida, and the notorious Florida Rangers, Tory companies commanded by Richard Pearis and Thomas Browne. ¹ These companies, dubbed the "Loyal Refugees," struck out of British East Florida keeping the already weak rebel government

¹Pearis had been Lord Dinwiddie's personal agent among the Cherokees in 1755; twenty years later, after being offended by John Stuart, he accompanied Drayton and Tennent on their trip to sway the Indians into the patriot camp. Disappointed over his failure to receive a rebel commission, Pearis went back to the British. John Drayton, Memoirs of the American Revolution (Charleston, 1821), 2 vols., II, 116. Thomas Browne suffered humiliation for his Tory leanings in 1775 when he was tarred and feathered and ridden about the Savannah streets in a cart. Breaking his coerced oath to the rebels, he became a staunch Tory. Leader of the Florida Rangers, he succeeded Stuart as Superintendent in the East and had great influence, especially over the Creeks. Kenneth Coleman, American Revolution in Georgia, 1763-1789 (Athena, Ga., 1958), pp. 65, 100.
of Georgia in a constant state of chaos. Under provisions of the Treaty of Pensacola signed in 1776, the royal governor of West Florida, Peter Chester, military commander James Campbell, and Indian Superintendent John Stuart had ended the Creek-Cherokee quarrel and insured Creek cooperation with the Chickamaugas who had withdrawn to continue the fight against the colonists. Creek loyalty was further assured by the friendship of a young half-breed chieftain of rising influence, Alexander McGillivray. McGillivray's bitterness toward the Americans, especially Georgians, stemmed from their treatment of his Tory father, Lachlan McGillivray. Only a

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2 Georgia had been the only colony without delegates at the Continental Congress. Her fighting population outnumbered by neighboring Indians, short on funds, and overrun with Tories, Georgia was the weakest of the southern colonies. Fear of Indian attack had acted as a real deterrent to opposition to the royal government; Georgia was never so loyal as when under threat of border war. Joseph Johnson, Traditions and Reminiscences Chiefly of the American Revolution in the South (Charleston, 1851), pp. 59-60. Coleman, Revolution in Georgia, pp. 72, 114.

3 George C. Osborn, "Relations with Indians of West Florida During the Administration of Governor Peter Chester, 1770-1781," Florida Historical Quarterly, XXXI (April, 1953), 257.

4 Lachlan migrated from Scotland as a boy and with typical Scottish acumen became one of the leading traders among the Creeks with trading houses in the Nation and bulging warehouses in Augusta and Savannah. Georgia patriots confiscated his property (valued at some one hundred thousand pounds sterling) and placed his name at the top of the arrest list, forcing him to flee to Scotland. John W. Gaughey, McGillivray of the Creeks, Civilization of American Indian Series (Norman, 1938), pp. 9-10, 16.
few of the Lower Creek towns were under patriot influence through the work of the American agent, George Galphin. So great were extremities in Georgia in 1777 that General Charles Lee asked Congress for additional funds to defend the Southern-most colony from British, Tory, and Indian attack.\footnote{Wilbur Henry Siebert, Loyalists in East Florida, 1774-1785, (Deland, Fla., 1929), 2 vols., I, 41, 47. Proceedings of Georgia Council of Safety, 1775-1777, Part I, Vol. V of Collection of the Georgia Historical Society, 9 vols. (Savannah, 1901), p. 71. A report on the multiple dangers to Georgia presented to the Council noted that fifteen thousand Indians were ready to attack and that Georgia had no funds for gifts and could only offer cattle to the Indians. There was also the fear of slave uprisings since the blacks outnumbered whites, \textit{Ibid.}, p. 73.}

John Stuart's actions during this period were handicapped by a crippling case of gout; he was unable to travel among the tribes. In March 1779, he died while in London for treatment. No one man seemed capable of filling the great Superintendent's place so the Southern Department was divided into two districts. Thomas Browne managed the eastern division, mainly the Creeks and Cherokees, for the next four years; and Alexander Cameron was assigned the western division, the Choctaws and Chickasaws. This plan was unrealistic as Cameron actually had little prestige among tribes other than the Cherokees. In reality, Cameron and agent John McDonald remained with the Chickamauga faction of the Cherokees. Moses Kirkland, a Tory messenger whose capture had exposed the premature Cherokee attack in 1776, had been paroled and became
British agent among the Seminoles. After the death of Stuart, the post of Indian deputy was relegated to the military and had little authority of its own. Thomas Browne, especially, had good success in securing Indian cooperation with Tory troops, although the Indians were usually deployed sacrificially as a feint for British forces.

American successes in the Southern colonies during the first year of the war had forced Tories to go underground. In North Carolina, the Scottish Highlanders had been soundly defeated in the Battle of Moores Creek⁶ while in South Carolina many had been coerced into signing the Association by the force of Colonel Williamson's arms. Repulsion of the British fleet at Charleston and the common threat of Indian attack had won over other "reluctant" patriots.

There were many Americans who like Alexander Chesney⁷ became patriots to save their skins. Chesney was imprisoned and became a Whig to protect his family. He served in the Whig army, rising from a private to lieutenant between 1776 and 1780 when Charleston was regained by the British. During this time he willingly participated in the campaigns against Cherokees and Creeks. At the battle of Kings Mountain, Chesney

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fought with Loyalist troops and hid in a cave to avoid again falling into patriot hands. He was a brave and clever man who chose perfidy rather than annihilation.

The only other alternative for the Loyalist in the Southern colonies during the early portion of the war was escape, and many hundreds of them chose this route to British East or West Florida, to the frontier or even Cherokee Country. St. Augustine became a Tory paradise where refugee masses were fed on Georgia cattle, rustled by the Florida Rangers. Pensacola, too distant from the colonial struggle to be in any real danger, grew fat and prosperous during these years. Tory merchant prince William Panton, senior partner in the trading house of Panton, Leslie, and Forbes, enjoyed a monopoly on the Indian trade which the American colonists could not maintain. These were promising days for Florida, with a rising population and fine harbors, becoming a rich agricultural and commercial center, undisturbed by the noise of battle.

Tories in the back country were ferreted out by zealous Whigs organized into vigilante companies. At Watauga, Colonel

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8 Chesney frequently risked his life guiding Tory refugees to safety and later smuggling goods by wagon into Charleston.

9 Theodore Roosevelt, Winning of the West (New York, 1885), II, 218. An estimated six or seven hundred Loyalists were in Indian Country by 1778.

10 Richard L. Campbell, Historical Sketches of Colonial Florida (Cleveland, 1892), pp. 97, 98, 108.
John Carter and Lieutenant Colonel John Sevier, administered the patriot oath. Those who had escaped the wrath of Virginia and Carolina Committees of Safety found no tolerance for their beliefs along the Holston. The frontiersmen justified their assumption of the administration of justice by pointing out that the Tories had combined with thieves and robbers of all sorts to commit unrestrained plunder and murder along the frontier. The back country patriots boasted that with two vigilante companies of thirty mounted riflemen each they had restored law and order within two months. Disloyal elements were sometimes put to death; lesser crimes might get whippings or fines. Those who would not sign the oath were given sixty days to clear out. Many went to Kentucky where they found themselves equally unwelcome; some saved their lives by giving up their property.\textsuperscript{11}

Although the Continental Army suffered discouraging losses in the North during the early years of the Revolution, victories in the South over external and internal foes gave the rebels in Virginia and the Carolinas a temporary respite which they used to continue their chastisement of the Cherokees. Cherokee raids after 1776 were not the work of the older chiefs; the Lower Towns and more mature leaders seemed sincere in their

desire for peace and renewal of American trade. It was
Dragging Canoe and his renegade Chickamaugas who continued
resistance to the Americans. By 1778, his camp of hostile
Cherokees, Tory refugees, Creeks and Shawnees numbered one
thousand warriors, 12 and was capable of inflicting severe
damage on the frontier. Stuart and Cameron tried to salvage
the Cherokees after their shattering early defeat by getting
them out of American reach. The Chickamaugas became British
partisans, getting supplies and aid only from them. It was
probably at Cameron's suggestion that in March, 1777, Dragging
Canoe's faction had moved westward to Chickamauga Creek (near
present Chattanooga, Tennessee) where the British trading
house of John McDonald was located. Here the hostile Cherokees
persisted in their distressing raids on the Watauga-Holston
settlements.

The Cherokee peace party, whose leaders Attakullakulla,
Oconostota, and the Raven had signed the peace with Christian
in 1777, were paying dearly for their policy of appeasement.
American promises to send supplies were not in good faith; in-
deed, the new nation had no extra goods to send. In 1778,
Attakullakulla in one of his last acts, visited Stuart in
Pensacola to make a personal appeal for supplies. Even Joseph
Martin, the Virginia agent among the Cherokees, wrote to Stuart

12 John Haywood, Civil and Political History of Tennessee
(Nashville, 1915), p. 59. Every hostile tribe on the Ohio
River swelled the Chickamauga ranks.
pleading that the British relieve Cherokee suffering. Lack of trade goods drew many of the Indians into the Chickamauga camp and caused the peace party to secretly applaud Dragging Canoe's raids on American settlements.

British military strategy in the South called for Indian diversions in 1779. From the West, British troops were to move out of Detroit under the command of Governor Henry Hamilton. Hamilton and Stuart had corresponded in 1778 regarding the Cherokee role in the western phase of the Revolution. Cherokees had been present when Hamilton conferred with the Indians of the Ohio Valley near the Wabash River in October, 1778. Around Christmas, British agents urged the Cherokees to forget their former animosities and unite against the Americans. A spring offensive against the Carolina frontier was planned. George Rogers Clark and his Virginia riflemen were already operating on the Ohio River, but the British wanted to be certain that no reinforcements strengthened his opposition. The proposed Cherokee attack would also divert


14 Conference with the Indian tribes and letters to Stuart regarding the role of the Southern Indians in this offensive are found in John D. Barnhart, editor, Henry Hamilton and George R. Clark in the American Revolution With the Unpublished Journal of Lieutenant Governor Henry Hamilton (Crawfordsville, Indiana, 1951), pp. 46, 115, 156, 157, 170. Hamilton, called "The Hairbuyer General" for his scalp bounties, planned for Dragging Canoe's Chickamaugas to be the spearhead of his offensive. John P. Brown, Old Frontiers, Story of the Cherokee Indians from Earliest Times to the Date of Their Removal to the West (Kingsport, Tenn., 1838), p. 171.
Southern rebel attention from General Prevost's offensive out of East Florida.

Virginia agent Joseph Martin and North Carolina agent James Robertson, who were living among the Lower Cherokees, received word of the British-Cherokee offensive planned for early spring, and the two colonies sprang into action to prevent such an attack. Governor Patrick Henry of Virginia ordered John Montgomery and his twelve-month enlistment Continental regulars, who were bound for the Ohio to assist Clark, to divert themselves briefly and join in an operation to crush the Chickamaugas. Robertson offered to lead the American expedition (and did accompany them), but the command was given to Evan Shelby, whose father, Isaac, personally financed the American forces. Travelling down the Holston and Tennessee Rivers by pirogue and canoe, on an April freshet, the unique flotilla of one thousand Americans caught the Indians completely by surprise. Resistance melted—the Chickamaugas fled into the surrounding mountains. Only women and children were found when the frontiersmen reached the dreaded Chickamauga villages. They killed some forty Indians, destroyed the towns,

15Patrick Henry to John Montgomery, December 12, 1778, William Wirt, Patrick Henry, Life, Correspondence, and Speeches (New York, 1891), 3 vols., III, 216; Walter H. Mohr, Federal Indian Relations, 1774-1788 (Philadelphia, 1933), p. 56; and Draper Collection of Manuscripts, Frontier Wars, Wisconsin Historical Publication (Madison, 1925), Vols. I-VII. Hereafter cited Draper MSS. Volume II relates the details of Shelby's 1779 Chickamauga campaign. Governor Henry's motives are illuminated by his comment that the "Chicamacogas" obstructed the path to the Mississippi River, Draper MSS, ibid., p. 60.
burned twenty thousand bushels of corn, captured horses and cattle, and acquired $125,000 worth of supplies sent by Governor Hamilton from Detroit. Colonel Montgomery's one hundred and fifty regulars continued down the Tennessee River to rendezvous with Clarke, capture Hamilton at Vincennes, and completely disrupt the British spring offensive. Shelby, Robertson, and the Watauga men returned to the American settlements by foot, suffering the only two American casualties of the campaign on their homeward trek. Marching overland, the men saw some of the most attractive land on the continent, and upon their return to the Holston, the tide of westward emigration swelled anew.

Dragging Canoe's party was forced by this attack to move farther down the Tennessee, this time past the "Boiling Pot" or "Suck" where the rapids would protect them from river vulnerability. With Hamilton's capture and the death of John Stuart, the Southern Indians were momentarily discouraged. In addition, the Cherokee-Creek offensive against South Carolina and Georgia had met with firm resistance; the Indian forces had dissolved and gone home. Old Cameron resolutely tried to rally his red friends. In July, 1779, he sent a runner as far as the Middle Towns exhorting and threatening the Cherokees, but

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16 W. R. L. Smith, The Story of the Cherokees (Cleveland, Tenn., 1928), p. 88; Williams, Tennessee in the Revolution, pp. 95-96. The booty was auctioned off; the horses were extremely welcome. Also letter to Washington from Jefferson, June 23, 1779, Paul L. Ford, editor, Works of Thomas Jefferson (New York, 1904), 12 vols., I, 163.
reported to General Prevost that the Indians were tired of war and would much rather "hunt the Bear...than the Rebel."\textsuperscript{17} Savannah succumbed to the British General Archibald Campbell in December, 1778, and Augusta fell in early 1779, but it was clear that mass Indian cooperation could not be depended upon. Cameron did succeed, however, in brewing enough Indian trouble to keep the frontiersmen occupied west of the mountains in 1779 and prevent their coming to the aid of hard pressed Whigs in the east.

During the "cold winter of '79" the American frontier saga of the Donelson river journey down the Tennessee to the Cumberland settlement unfolded. Richard Henderson, thwarted in his gigantic Kentucky purchase, acquired a two hundred thousand acre tract on the Cumberland River.\textsuperscript{18} Watauga veterans, James Robertson and John Donelson undertook the exploration and settlement of central Tennessee. Permission to make an American settlement at the French Lick on the Cumberland River (later Nashborough, then Nashville) was secured from the Chickasaw Indians, and John Donelson brought the first

\textsuperscript{17} Letter from Cameron to Prevost, October 15, 1779. Helen Louise Shaw, \textit{British Administration of Southern Indians, 1756-1783} (Lancaster, Pa., 1931), pp. 133-138.

\textsuperscript{18} Constance L. Skinner, \textit{Pioneers of the Old Southwest} (New Haven, 1919), pp. 184-191. The grant was made in 1777 by Virginia in partial compensation for the annulment of the Transylvania Purchase. Henderson chose Robertson and Donelson to carry out the actual settlement of his Cumberland grant.
settlers to the area by water along the Tennessee River during the winter of 1779-1780. On their daring journey, the boats ran the gauntlet of the hostile Chickamauga towns and faced the deadly currents of the Suck. Thirty-three of the some two hundred pioneer settlers lost their lives before they reached their new homes on the Cumberland. The colonists on the boats presented an easy target to Chickamauga braves firing from the bluffs overlooking the Tennessee River. One of the boats dropped behind when its occupants developed smallpox. Intercepted by the Chickamaugas who came out in canoes, twenty-eight of the Cumberland settlers were captured or killed. The others could hear their cries of distress but could not turn back. Indians, watching from the bluffs as the boats shot the rapids, fired on those which capsized. When Donelson’s party completed the three hour passage through the Muscle Shoals of the Tennessee safely, the greatest danger

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was past. They entered the broad, calm waters of the lower Tennessee, poled up the swift Ohio hugging the banks, and at last reached the Cumberland where they joined Robertson's party of settlers who had come overland to strengthen the early Nashville colony. The Cumberland Bluff was a frontier outpost, so distant from other American settlements that it invited the Cherokee and Creek attacks which began almost immediately.

By 1780, the British Southern campaign, begun in 1778, had reached the peak of its success. Clinton and Cornwallis struck Charleston again in May, 1780. Most of Georgia was already in British hands, with Tory leaders like Thomas Browne and Patrick Moore commanding at Augusta and Ninety-Six. General Benjamin Lincoln and five thousand men defended Charleston to its last extremity; but, after a prolonged siege, surrendered the port city on May 7, 1780. The Continental Congress ordered the hero of Saratoga, Horatio Gates, to the South to save the situation. After the Southern army of seven thousand suffered the terrible rout at Camden in August, 1780, General Nathanael Greene assumed command. Meanwhile Whigs of the South were facing severe trials. Elijah

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21 Johnson, Traditions, p. 552, defends General Charles Lee and the Southern troops from Northern accusations that they could not defend Charleston even with the help of New England troops. Johnson says that Lee had too great a respect for the British fleet and that Lincoln displayed poor strategy in dividing his troops and giving up a secure position, ibid., p. 553. Lyman C. Draper, Kings Mountain and Its Heroes (Cincinnati, 1881), p. 24, states that the Continentals probably held out longer than they should have.
Clarke, Andrew Pickens, Joseph McDowell and other leaders fled across the mountains to the safety of the frontier. One of Clinton's first actions after taking Charleston was to issue a call for the "King's friends" to rally to the British cause. Many lukewarm patriots answered the call, and panicky Whigs were ready to give up. These were dark days for the American cause in the Southern colonies.

Frontier spirit, however, was not dampened by news of eastern losses. Isaac Shelby, John Sevier, and Joseph McDowell crossed the mountains late in 1779 and attacked Thicketty Fort, South Carolina, where some ninety Loyalists were collected under the command of Tory Patrick Moore. In September, 1780, Georgia frontiersmen decided to punish Thomas Browne who was successfully organizing Tories and Indians. Colonel Elijah Clarke led the American attempt to recover Augusta. Browne was not surprised by the attack; he held his ground, converting bales and stores in the Indian trading post, the "White House," into ramparts to protect his surrounded garrison until help arrived from Ninety-Six.\(^\text{22}\) When reinforcements came, Clarke and his Georgians quickly retreated back to the frontier to evade British pursuit.

\(^{22}\)Henry Lee, *Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department of the United States* (New York, 1869), pp. 199-200. Browne directed the defense despite swollen wounds in both thighs. After the American withdrawal, Browne was charged with brutally hanging twelve wounded Whigs from the staircase where he could watch their dying agonies from his bed. Stories like this won Browne a fiendish reputation. Coleman, *Revolution in Georgia*, p. 134.
Francis Marion was engaged in the same type of "hit and run" action against Colonel Banastre Tarleton in South Carolina. Never fighting a decisive battle, Marion's Rangers cut British communications and caused untold embarrassment to Lord Cornwallis, keeping the spirit of resistance in the South alive.²³ Hope sprang anew that a reorganization of the Southern Army could and would restore the two lost states to the Americans. Joseph Johnson applauded the Scotch-Irish farmers of the South who carried on the Revolution during 1780 without the aid of Congress. Cornwallis, who was forced to fight the war on two fronts, referred to the frontier area from which these raiders emerged, as the "hornet's nest."²⁴ He sent Patrick Ferguson with nine hundred men to chase the frontier partisans back across the mountains. Without the military cunning of men like Marion, Pickens, Thomas Sumter, and Elijah Clarke, General Greene would not have regained the Southern colonies.

Patrick Ferguson, an excellent British officer with the reputation for calmness and daring in battle, was a one-armed Highlander— nota ed as a crack shot before he lost an arm at Brandywine in 1777. Part of Ferguson's mission into the back country was to excite Tory sympathies. He was to attempt an encirclement of Elijah Clarke's forces who had been south

²³Lee, Memoirs, pp. 208, 303, 585.
²⁴Johnson, Traditions, pp. 551-552.
fighting Browne at Augusta. 25 While circling through the country, Ferguson planned to increase his strength by picking up Loyalist recruits. Except for a remnant of Gates' shattered army, the Continental troops in the South were non-existent in the fall of 1780. The few patriots fled westward before Ferguson, who commanded one fourth of Cornwallis' army. Whig forces did not even stop to eat; bloated by peaches and green corn eaten on horseback, they were only thirty minutes ahead of Ferguson's Tory troops in the wild chase of fifty miles to the frontier. The threat of attack reached the Watauga River in the early fall, in time to break up Colonel William Campbell's proposed raid on the Chickamaugas. Ferguson was approaching the lion's lair—the mountain asylum of Whig patriots. With the Southern colonies at the feet of Cornwallis, Ferguson felt confident of complete and eminent victory over Virginia as soon as these pesky frontiersmen could be dealt with.

John Sevier and his friends were enjoying horse racing and barbecue at "Elum Grove," his plantation on the Nolichucky, when a hard-riding messenger brought word from Evan Shelby of Ferguson's approach. The British commander had sent an insolent challenge to the mountainmen to desist their opposition or he would cross the mountains, hang their leaders, and lay waste their land. 26 The Watauga men chose to answer his

arrogant challenge with their favorite strategy—"defend by attack." Rendezvousing at Sycamore Shoals on the Holston, the men drilled and prepared their weapons while the women cooked and sewed. Valleys, large and small, emptied of inhabitants as every able-bodied boy and man prepared to cross the mountains in answer to the British dare. The Watauga minister, Reverend Samuel Doak, prayed for the sharp-eyed riflemen whom he called the "Sword of the Lord and Gideon." Ferguson had not so generously referred to these same men as "barbarians," "a set of mongrels," and "the Dregs of Mankind." 27 Without waiting for Thomas Gates to send a commander, Sevier, Shelby, and Campbell led their men across the most rugged passes of the Great Smokies through early autumn rain and cold to confront Ferguson. For thirty-six hours, they pursued the Tories before cornering them at King's Mountain on October 7, 1780. Ferguson's troops dug in on the thickly-wooded slopes and waited for the frontiersmen to attack. The Trans-Appalachian riflemen struck the mountain from three directions with war whoops of enthusiasm. Ferguson answered their deadly rifle fire with bayonet charges, but only the few regulars could use the bayonets with any

degree of dexterity. Twice cutting down surrender flags thrown up by the Tories, Ferguson refused to listen to his second-in-command's talk of submission. After an hour of savage combat, he fell gallantly with four or five wounds in his body. The mountain men surrounded the Tories, stubbornly charging up the precipice along ravines and firing steadily from behind every rock and tree until the smoke obscured vision. With the death of Ferguson, resistance ended.

The American victory at King's Mountain dispirited the Tories and demolished their hopes. On the other hand, American enthusiasm was revived. Confidence mounted as Cornwallis was forced to retreat out of North Carolina into Virginia, headed for his ultimate defeat at Yorktown. Nathaneal Greene arrived to assume command of the Continental troops in the South.

Sevier got home to the Nolichucky just in time to learn through traders, Thomas and Harlan, sent by Nancy Ward, of a Cherokee attack planned to take advantage of the absence of the

28 Draper's study is the most authoritative on this battle. Reports from the commanders were printed in the New York Packet, November 23, 1780. Other good accounts (largely based on Draper's research) are found in Ramsey, Annals, pp. 235-240, and Haywood, Civil and Political History, pp. 80-85.

29 Roosevelt, Winning of the West, II, 286 stated the "victory was of far-reaching Importance and ranks among the decisive battles of the Revolution." Lee, Memoirs, p. 33, wrote to Anthony Wayne that the conduct of the action at King's Mountain "does great honor to the three colonels of the militia." The usefulness of the militia in the Revolution was a controversial issue, and it is generally conceded that the men at King's Mountain won a victory which was the turning point of the war in the south in spite of being militia.
frontier militia. With little or no rest "Nolichucky Jack" mounted three hundred horsemen and struck the Indians before their plans materialized. Crossing the mountains at Gillespie's Gap and following the War Trace, the Watauga men located the Indians on their second night out and fought a pitched battle with Cherokee forces at Boyd's Creek.\(^30\) Sevier was at the apex of his career as an Indian fighter; the Battle of Boyd's Creek is considered one of the best fought of frontier Indian encounters. Deploying his men in a half-moon formation, Sevier drew the Indians into a trap. Those that were sucked in were slain; the rest fled, leaving their wounded and plunder. After the victory, Sevier drew his forces back to the Big Island of the Holston where he awaited reinforcements. Later, joined by Colonels Arthur Campbell and Joseph Martin, Sevier's army of nearly seven hundred proceeded to destroy Cherokee towns as far south and west as the Hiwassee River. The Chickamauga towns, however, which were the real root of hostilities, remained untouched.

This was the first of thirty-five military victories for John Sevier in as many expeditions against the Cherokees. Losing not more than fifty men in all his encounters with the savages, Sevier would swoop down on the Indian towns without warning and dash away as quickly. His bold strokes usually struck terror in Cherokee hearts and turned opposition to panic.

While "Nolichucky Jack" won fame as the best of the Indian fighters he also had many critics. At Boyd's Creek, Sevier had attacked without waiting for reinforcements and had drawn criticism from those who accused him of seeking glory for himself. Indian agent Joseph Martin resented Sevier's aggressive attitude and accused him of unwarranted attacks against the Indians. Sevier was never very solicitous of Indian rights and could accurately be called rash on occasion, but his tactics seemed to discourage Cherokee hostilities.

The year 1781 saw decisive military action in the South. Both Tories and Whigs were aroused; barbarities added to the bitterness already inspired by the Revolution. The British pursued General Greene through North Carolina as he divided his forces and continued "hit and run" tactics. North Carolina's legislature urged Sevier, Shelby, and Campbell to come east again to aid Continental troops in preventing Cornwallis' marching back through North Carolina to pick up supplies at Charleston. Sevier, now a full colonel replacing the late John Carter, momentarily took time out from his chastisement of the Cherokees to assist Francis Marion in forestalling Cornwallis. General Daniel Morgan won an overwhelming victory over Tarleton at Cowpens, South Carolina, in

_31_ Campbell's criticisms are noted in Brown, _Old Frontiers_, p. 195. William Martin echoed his father's criticism of Sevier and other frontier agitators when he wrote to Lyman Draper, quoted from Draper MSS. 3XX4, in Carl S. Driver, _John Sevier, Pioneer of Old Southwest_ (Chapel Hill, 1932), p. 25, "all outbreaks of the Cherokees after Christian's campaign of 1776 might be traced to invasions of the whites."
January, 1781. Shelby, Sevier, and Marion, camped on the Santee River, accepted the surrender of a large number of Hessians at the same time that Cornwallis was presenting his sword at Yorktown. On October 16, 1781, General Greene instructed Colonel Arthur Campbell and a commission to negotiate a peace treaty with the Cherokees and Chickasaws.  

Farther south, the Spanish who had entered the war against England, attacked Pensacola, and the capital city of West Florida fell to the young energetic don of New Orleans, Bernardo Galvez. Temporarily this development cut off supplies to the Chickamauga towns, but the Spanish decided to retain Cherokee friendship and largely through the influence of the Creek chief, Alexander McGillivray, William Panton was allowed to retain his trade monopoly.

Neither were the Indians quiet during 1781. Cherokee eruptions along the Georgia border forced many of the American soldiers serving with General Greene to return home to protect their families. In February and March, 1781, Sevier, Campbell, and Martin struck the Middle Towns of the Cherokees, burning


every town between the Tennessee and Hiwassee Rivers—even Echota. Fifty Cherokees lost their lives in these severe border forays. Even when the Indians sued for peace through their Beloved Woman Nancy Ward, Sevier continued his chastisements. In Oconostota's baggage, the Watauga men found letters revealing the double game of the peace party. Finally, with their towns again in ashes, Watauga leader Arthur Campbell told the chiefs, "Out of pity, we give you peace" and wrote of their sad dilemma:

> Never have a people so happily situated, acted more foolishly, in losing their living and their country when neutrality was held out to them—as a consequence of British seduction.  

The Chickamauga towns still went untouched and from their seemingly impregnable position, Dragging Canoe, John Watts, Hanging Maw and the others continued their raids on the Cumberland settlements. Robertson and his fellow settlers trained big hunting dogs to chase the Indians, thus adding to their defensive power. Many would undoubtedly have returned to safer settlements, but it was more dangerous to go than to stay.  

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34 Frank Moore, Diary of the American Revolution From Newspapers and Original Documents (New York, 1858), 2 vols., II, 372, 373. Excerpt from the New Jersey Gazette, March 21, 1781 picturing the return of the North Carolina boys "crowned with success."

In November, General Andrew Pickens returned home to South Carolina to lead frontier forces in pushing the Cherokees back across the Oconee River. Pickens, who had fought against the Cherokees with Grant in 1761 and with Williamson in 1776 conducted an effective campaign. Like Sevier and many successful Indian fighters, Pickens believed in the use of light cavalry against the savages. He advanced cautiously, reconnoitered carefully, and followed up his victories. After destroying thirteen Cherokee towns and killing forty Indians, Pickens forced the chiefs to implore forgiveness. Oconostota, grown too old for an active role, had abdicated to his son, "The Terrapin," who met with Pickens and Elijah Clarke on October 17, 1782, to sign the temporary peace treaty at Long Swamp. Land ceded by the Cherokees in this treaty was on the fringe of the Nation and not very valuable.

After the British surrender at Yorktown and Greene's instructions to arrange an Indian peace, a few determined Tory elements fought on. In June, 1782, three hundred Creeks under Guristersigo struck across Georgia at Savannah where the British brigadier Clarke was trapped. Anthony Wayne opposed

36 Chapman J. Milling, Red Carolinians (Chapel Hill, 1940), p. 322. Twelve chiefs and two hundred warriors were present to sign the treaty which was ratified at Augusta in May, 1783. Cherokees ceded the land southwest of the Tugaloo and Savannah Rivers and that between the Savannah and Keowee Rivers. Coleman, Revolution in Georgia, p. 238. Edward McCrady, The History of South Carolina in the Revolution, 1780-1783 (New York, 1902), 2 vols., II, 657, 625.
them in action on June 23 and left Guristersigo and seventeen warriors on the field dead. This and the expedition of Pickens and Clarke against the Cherokees and Tories were the last real military actions in the South.

Farther west, continued Cherokee hostilities led Arthur Campbell and John Sevier to organize expeditions designed to wipe out the Chickamauga towns. None of the Watauga men had ever penetrated the mountain wilderness into Chickamauga country, but the half-breed Cherokee chieftain, John Watts, offered his services as guide. With two hundred mounted men, Sevier raided Cherokee towns from the Hiwassee River to Chattanooga, but at that point John Watts directed him south toward the Coosa River, avoiding the main Chickamauga villages. Although the Watauga men travelled farther south and west than they had ever gone, the Chickamaugas were not hurt.37 As a result of the penetration, however, the Chickamaugas moved even farther down the Tennessee River to their final location in what were designated the Five Lower Towns—Running Water

Nickajack, Long Island, Crow Town, and Lookout Mountain Town. Here they were joined by disaffected Creeks and fugitive Tory elements to continue their depredations.

Indian agent Joseph Martin appealed to the southern colonies to protect the lands of the Cherokees at peace. An example of the protests against encroachment was the pathetic plea of the great Cherokee spokesman, Old Tassel, forwarded by Martin to governors of North Carolina and Virginia. In this plea addressed to his "elder brothers," Old Tassel expressed the Indians' trust in Martin and even in John Sevier whom they recognized as a "good man" and undoubtedly able to correct their grievances. Old Tassel denied the Cherokee's intention to quarrel with the Americans but asserted their rights of ownership as "the first people who ever lived on this land." Old Tassel wrote:

We are a poor, distressed people, that is in great trouble, and we hope our elder brother will take pity on us and do us justice. Your people from Nollichuckey are daily pushing us out of our lands. We have no place to hunt on. Your people have built houses within one day's walk of our towns....

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38 Blount later wrote that the reason for the 1782 Chickamauga move was that their earlier villages were believed to be infested with witches. Letter from Blount to Henry Knox, January 14, 1793, in Clarence E. Carter, editor, The Territorial Papers of the United States, Territory South of the Ohio River (Washington, D.C., 1936), 24 vols., IV, 227; also see James Albert Pickett, History of Alabama and Incidentally of Georgia and Mississippi from the Earliest Period (Charleston, 1851), p. 161.
It is true, sometime past, the people over the great water persuaded our young men to do some mischief to our elder brother, for which our principal men were sorry. But, you...came to our towns and took satisfaction and then sent for us to come and treat with you, which we did. Then our elder brother promised to have the line run between us agreeable to the first treaty, and all that should be found over the line should be removed. But it is not done yet....

The plea fell on callous American hearts—men more interested in plunder, booty, and land than the pitiful complaints of the Cherokees. Dragging Canoe's persistent raids erased any hope of protection for Cherokee claims.

A rage of land speculation followed the American Revolution. The new American states were financially exhausted and possessed only one great national asset—millions of acres of land. This was the lure to the west that had drawn men even during the war. Virginia, especially, showed great foresight during the Revolution in sending George Rogers Clarke to the Illinois and James Willing down the Mississippi to Spanish New Orleans, not simply on military expeditions but also to give America a foothold in the west.

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39 Smith, Story of the Cherokees, pp. 90-91. This talk was presented to Colonel Joseph Martin at Echota on September 25, 1782, and was signed by chiefs of all the friendly towns and many of the young men. It is quoted by Ramsey, Annals, p. 271, and by Roosevelt, Winning of West, II, pp. 315-316.
Governor Patrick Henry was typical of the men who dominated Virginia politics—men like Richard Henry Lee, Thomas Jefferson, and George Mason—who were interested in expansion, progress, and speculation. As agents of these leaders, the Indian commissioners of the 1780’s were often so involved in speculation they hardly had time to negotiate treaties.

In 1783, North Carolina seized the west from the Indians in what was called the great "land grab." Governors Alexander Martin and Richard Caswell of North Carolina and their agent William Blount were the inordinate speculators who helped their state to four million acres of choice lands in the Old Southwest. North Carolina disregarded the treaty line established in 1777 on the grounds that the Indians had aided the British in the war, thus forfeiting their rights of ownership. The state militia was paid off in land bounties—six hundred and forty acres for a private up to twelve thousand

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40 Patrick Henry's motives in removing the Cherokee bottleneck from the path of the westward emigration to the Mississippi River have already been noted. It is known that Joseph Martin acted as Henry's agent on the frontier and that Martin was active in speculation schemes. Henry denied his part in the land schemes, H. R. Mcllwaine, editor, Official Letters of the Governors of the State of Virginia, Vol. I of Letters of Patrick Henry, 3 vols. (Richmond, 1926), p. 158, stating that he was "not now or ever even indirectly concerned in Indian land purchases." Letter of June 4, 1777. But he noted in ibid., p. 200 the "great advantage" derived by Virginia by the Cherokee expedition of 1779.

41 Blount, who later was appointed the Governor of the territory south of the Ohio, used his influence and position to feather his personal nest. Such use of public office was not uncommon among early leaders. Old Isaac Shelby was about the only frontier leader who disapproved using official position for personal gain.
acres for a brigadier general. Much of the rest of the North Carolina western claim was thrown open to easy settlement—at low prices in depreciated paper money. In all of this, the Indians were not consulted; North Carolina simply extended its western boundary. Delay in surveying the 1777 line gave the radicals in the state assembly the opportunity to speculate. A treaty was proposed and belated payment for Indian lands was promised, but confusion over cession of the western claim to the federal government gave the state a good excuse to forget both the proposed treaty and the payment. The Cherokees resented such treatment—their lands being taken from them without compensation.

The larger land speculators wanted federal control of the western lands and backed state cessions to the government; so did most of the coastal settlers who wanted to rid themselves of the tax burden of protecting the frontier settlements. Frontiersmen, on the other hand, always opposed the land companies who through selling the rich lands in large tracts eliminated their buying it.\textsuperscript{42} Settlers remonstrated the injustice of eastern land policies.

Quarrels between speculators and actual settlers resulted.

Virginia agent Joseph Martin ordered Sevier to remove settlers

\textsuperscript{42} The Virginia land bill of June 22, 1779 provided that land be sold in four hundred acre tracts when fifty acre tracts would have been far more democratic. In addition, the buyer had an option on buying the one thousand adjoining acres.
south of the French Broad River, but "Nolichucky Jack" refused to obey. Martin's motives are suspect; it is questionable whether he was genuinely seeking to protect Indian rights or rather to clear the land for speculation.

Resentment of eastern land policies and persistent Indian attacks led the Trans-Appalachian counties of Sullivan, Washington, and Greene in 1784 to withdraw from North Carolina and set up the State of Franklin. The frontier paid the price for the eastern government's unjust seizure of Cherokee lands. Unrelenting raids on frontier settlements without adequate militia protection was John Sevier's chief complaint against North Carolina. As the leading spokesman and governor of the unrecognized state, Sevier accused the parent state of calling down savage wrath with its foolish and unjust land policies. The frontiersmen were also angered that the North Carolina land office had been rushed by easterners who gained the choicest of the western lands.\(^\text{43}\)

Dissatisfaction with the eastern government thus led the mountainmen to split away from their parent state. Greedy land policies had further alienated the Cherokees. Upset over lack of trade goods and disillusioned with state treaties,

\(^{43}\)Thomas P. Abernethy, *Western Lands and the American Revolution* (New York, 1937), p. 81, presents the interesting thesis that Sevier was never really antagonistic toward North Carolina leaders, Caswell or Blount, but that he led the pro-North Carolina faction on the frontier as opposed to the pro-Virginia faction led by Arthur Campbell, William Cocke, and John Tipton. According to this, Sevier would have readily rejoined North Carolina, but reconciliation was defeated by the machinations of the Virginians, *ibid.*, p. 84.
the Cherokees were again listening to the war talk of the Chickamaugas. The Cherokees were crowded all along a six hundred mile frontier, pushed ever westward by land-hungry speculators and settlers following the victorious army and treaty makers. Claims, counter claims, raids and counter raids kept the frontier in a constant state of confusion and fear. The same pattern persisted—settlements found rich land and moved in, they sought federal recognition, the Indians, incensed by apparent violation of previous treaties, raided and appealed for justice. The Southern states displayed little skill in diplomacy or interest in the Cherokees except as victims of speculation. The older Cherokee chiefs who favored peace had no influence over the renegade Chickamauga faction. By 1783 the southern states had signed treaties with the Lower and Middle Cherokee towns but it was time for the federal government to assume the prerogative of negotiating and maintaining Indian boundaries which was rightfully its own under the Articles of Confederation. 44 Congress had to face the Indian problem and make a lasting peace.

44 *Articles of Confederation, Article XVIII; Ford, editor, JCC, VI, 546-554.*
CHAPTER V

LAND LUST

As late as 1784 the Confederation Congress found little time for Indian affairs. Although the Indian question was serious, the government was more concerned with pressing public land problems and financial emergencies. On May 28, the Committee on Indians\(^1\) reported but no action was taken. Southern governors continued, therefore, to take the initiative in appointing commissions to deal ineffectively with the tribes. In Georgia trouble was mounting as land-hungry settlers met stubborn Creek resistance led by the half-breed Alexander McGillivray and backed by Spanish authorities.

\(^1\)The Committee on the State of Indian Affairs in the Southern Department, composed of five members of which Thomas Jefferson was one, actually accomplished little. Its personnel was frequently changing, and its members were occupied by many duties. In eleven resolutions, their report suggested the appointment of a southern agent and a commission to treat with the tribes, W. C. Ford, editor, Journals of the Continental Congress (Washington, D. C., 1805-1907), 34 vols., XXVII, 455-464. Hereafter cited as JCC. Both Jefferson and Washington endorsed the Countess of Huntington's proposal for civilizing the Indians by settling honest, Christian families in their midst. George D. Harmon, Sixty Years of Indian Affairs, Political, Economic, and Diplomatic, 1789-1850 (Chapel Hill, 1941), p. 11; Walter H. Mohr, Federal Indian Relations, 1774-1788 (Philadelphia, 1933), p. 139.
Estavan Miro and Arturo O'Neill. McGillivray refused to recognize the legality of a cession to which Georgia had forced the Creeks in 1783 when at the Augusta Conference (to which most Creeks had refused to come), two chiefs signed away valuable hunting lands east of the Oconee River. Deserted by British arms and trade in 1783 and left to the

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2 Miro became governor of Spanish Louisiana in 1782 and served for ten years with headquarters in New Orleans. While he appeared friendly to the Americans, he was interested in the alienation of the western settlements or their annihilation at the hands of the Indians. On the one hand wooing American frontiersmen, he also offered supplies and ammunition to the Creeks and Cherokees, Theodore Roosevelt, Winning of the West (New York, 1885), II, 406-407, letter of April 20, 1783. In talks to the tribes, Miro said, "Do not be afraid of the Americans. You, our brothers, the red men, are not without friends. The Americans have no king and are nothing in themselves. They are like a man that is lost and wandering in the woods. If it had not been for the Spanish and French, the British would have subdued them long ago." John F. Brown, Old Frontiers, Story of the Cherokee Indians from Earliest Times to the Date of Their Removal to the West (Kingsport, Tenn., 1838), p. 222. Miro so convinced American frontiersmen of his good-will that the Cumberland settlement was designated "Mero District" in his honor, J. C. M. Ramsey, Annals of Tennessee to the End of the Eighteenth Century (Charleston, 1853), Reprinted in 1926, p. 507. O'Neill, an Irish-born Spaniard, was governor of West Florida during this same period of dangerous intrigue against the new United States.

3 Abatolom H. Chappell, Miscellanies of Georgia, Historical, Biographical, and Descriptive (Atlanta, 1874), p. 8; Kenneth Coleman, American Revolution in Georgia, 1763-1789 (Athens, Ga., 1885), p. 244.

4 The British Indian Department of the South closed in the summer of 1783 although Superintendent Thomas Browne remained in St. Augustine for several months.
mercy of the aggressive Georgians, McGillivray had promptly begun correspondence with Spanish authorities at New Orleans and Pensacola. Under terms of a treaty signed at Pensacola in 1784, the Creeks were kept on a permanent war footing with arms supplied by the Spanish. The British trading firm of William Panton was allowed to maintain its monopoly on the Southern Indian trade. With the United States-Spanish boundary unsettled, Spain planned to bring the Southern tribes under her influence and create a buffer state against the advancing American frontier. In the post-war confusion, McGillivray gained complete control of the Creek Nation; and, spurred by his personal hatred for Georgia, he made ambitious plans for uniting the tribes. The Creek half-breed and Dragging Canoe of the Chickamaugas became tools of the Spanish government.

The Cherokees were equally ready for the Spanish alliance as a result of their treatment at the hands of North Carolina. Bewildered and exasperated by that state's post-Revolutionary policy of Grand Larceny in which the Indians had been stripped of all their lands except a narrow reservation between the French Broad and Tennessee Rivers, young warriors flocked to the Chickamauga Five Lower Towns. The peace element disputed the North Carolina "land grab" in vain, but the Cherokees

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5 Coleman, Revolution in Georgia, p. 242. The treaty is printed in the American State Papers, Foreign Affairs, I, 278-279. The original, taken from a Spanish translation is in John W. Caughey, McGillivray of the Creeks, Civilization of American Indian Series (Norman, 1938), pp. 75-76.
luckily escaped much of its effects as the quarrel between Franklin and North Carolina prevented massive settlement in much of the confiscated land. With neither the supplies nor strength for offensive action, both McGillivray and Dragging Canoe were quiet through 1784. While discontent seethed and hope of Spanish support mounted, Congress was inactive—but the state assemblies were not. The new State of Franklin was pressing for a cession, and in 1782, Georgia had demanded land in compensation for Cherokee war damages. The peaceful element of the Overhill tribes promptly complied by ceding Creek land between the Tugaloo and Apalachee Rivers. Every Southern state secured a post-war peace treaty, but too often these state treaties were obtained from handfuls of Indians lacking real authority to grant cessions.

Coinciding aims made the State of Franklin and Georgia natural allies as between 1784 and 1787 Sevier was corresponding with Governor Edward Telfair and other Georgia officials on possibilities for simultaneous actions against the Creeks and Chickamaugas. By the same token, McGillivray and Dragging Canoe met to plan concerted action and talk of Spanish support. McGillivray's successful resistance against the Georgians was an inspiration to the Cherokee renegades along the Lower Tennessee River, and Sevier was correct in

thinking that there would be no peace along the Southern frontier while these two bitter Indian leaders lived.

Both the Creeks and Cherokees were further inflamed by proposed settlements on the Bend of the Tennessee at Muscle Shoals. Speculators Blount, Caswell, Martin, and Sevier promoted settlement in this area and in 1783 got permission to colonize three hundred thousand acres at the Bend of the Tennessee. It was planned to sell the land in one thousand acre tracts at an eighth of a cent per acre. At William Blount's request, the Georgia legislature in February, 1784, granted a charter to the enterprise which was designated 'Houstoun County.' During 1785, militia officers and justices of the peace were appointed for the District of the Tennessee, and the next year it was reported that settlers were moving in rapidly despite Creek raids. Action to admit the county was delayed by the Georgia legislature; when the bill was finally introduced in 1786, Georgia failed to support this distant and doubtful venture.7 The backers of the western settlements displayed their healthy respect for the Southern Indians by seeking to involve the chiefs, especially McGillivray, in the enterprises; but the Indians refused to compromise with speculators' attempted bribery, and Creek and Chickamauga warriors lashed out furiously at easily-accessible

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settlements along the Cumberland and Tennessee Rivers. During 1789 and 1790, the Georgians made a determined effort to enlist McGillivray in the promotion of the Yazoo Deal, to be Bourbon County. Georgian diplomats pursued the Creek from town to town with offers of bribes and pardons. The Yazoo Deal, the last of Georgia's speculation schemes, was not carried out for fear it would damage diplomatic relations with Spain.

This continued pressure against the Southern tribes by speculators and settlers heightened resentment toward frontiersmen and added distrust in the motives of treaty makers. The Indians were reluctant to join in treaties with the land-hungry states. Federal action was desperately needed to offset rising antagonism.

Finally, on March 15, 1785, after the completion of two federal treaties with the Northern tribes, Congress initiated a treaty with the Southern Indians to be held in the fall. The commissioners were instructed to inform the Indians of

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10 Ford, editor, JCC, XXVIII, 161.
peace with the British and to redetermine troublesome Southern boundaries.

Realizing that the other southern states already had treaties with the Cherokees, the newly-formed State of Franklin acted quickly to preserve its interests and announced a treaty meeting at Dumplin Creek in May. On May 31, Franklin officials led by Governor Sevier compelled the Cherokees to cede all the land south of the French Broad and Holston Rivers east of the Little Tennessee.\(^{11}\)

The Indians who signed Sevier's Treaty of Dumplin Creek were intimidated by "Holichucky Jack"; and they knew, of course, that the treaty was worthless as the Chickamaugas would repudiate it with force. The Franklin cession was, however, a momentary impetus to settlers. Despite the federal treaty of 1785 which abrogated that of Franklin, settlers moved into the new area and restless Cherokee braves retaliated with savage force. Encroachments by Franklinites became one of the big thorns in the side of federal negotiators; and North Carolina, while disapproving of the existence of Franklin, seemed to find no quarrel with her Indian policy. Cherokee depredations in 1786 gave Sevier

\(^{11}\text{Mohr, Federal Relations, p. 142; S. J. Folmsbee, "Exploration and Settlement," The French Broad-Holston Country, A History of Knox County, Tennessee, edited by Mary U. Rothrock (Knoxville, 1946), pp. 26-27; Ramsey, Annals, p. 299. A note of irony at the three day negotiations was Franklin's claim that they would act as protector to the Cherokees, assuring them justice from aggressive North Carolina.}
another excuse to mobilize the Franklin militia and lead an expedition into Cherokee Country where at Coyatee he forced the Indians to reaffirm the earlier treaty. Both Franklin treaties were later repudiated by the federal government, but it was impossible to force the removal of settlers already on the land.

The federal commissioners to the Southern Indians met five hundred Cherokee warriors under a bower at Hopewell, South Carolina, on November 18, 1785. The commission, all Southerners, was composed of Benjamin Hawkins and Joseph Martin of North Carolina and Andrew Pickens and Lachlan McIntosh of South Carolina. Georgia complained of a lack of a Georgian on the commission; North Carolina, too, feared that she might not get a fair representation—so the commission was joined by William Blount of North Carolina and John King and Thomas Glasscock of Georgia. Cherokee response to the treaty invitation was heartening to the commissioners who had already sought to meet the Creeks at Galphinton in Georgia. Only a token crowd of Creeks had appeared, and Alexander McGillivray was conspicuously absent.\(^1^3\) Georgia

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\(^{12}\)Near Andrew Pickens' plantation on the Keowee River, Milling, Red Carolinians, p. 324.

\(^{13}\)Without McGillivray's presence a federal treaty would have been pointless. The Creek leader had earlier indicated interest in a treaty with the Americans, but McGillivray later wrote to Pickens that the Georgians' talks "breathed nothing but vengeance," ASF, Indian Affairs, I, 17-18. The Creek attitude seemed to be that the Americans had already made up their minds to accept the Georgian version of boundaries, making talks useless.
made every effort to secure a treaty with the Creeks prior to the meeting at Golphinton and when these attempts failed, the Georgians worked diligently to prevent the success of the federal treaty. After waiting a fruitless two weeks for the Creeks, the federal commissioners moved on to Hopewell.\footnote{Georgia, however, was not above another minority cession. After the federal authorities left, Georgian officials remained to sign an agreement with a handful of Creeks confirming the hated Treaty of Augusta. Merritt B. Pound, \textit{Benjamin Hawkins-Indian Agent} (Athens, Ga., 1951), p. 45. and letter of June 9, 1785, from Governor Samuel Elbert of Georgia to Colonel Elijah Clarke, \textit{Georgia Historical Society Collection}, Vol. V, Part II of Proceedings of the Georgia Council of Safety, 1775-1777, 9 vols. (Savannah, 1901), p. 207.}\

The commission first addressed the Indians at Hopewell reproaching them for their foolishness in choosing the wrong side during the late war, assuring them of the wisdom of making peace with the new United States and returning home to enjoy the fruits of peace. Chairman Hawkins disclaimed any federal interest in a new land cession as he told them that the commissioners were there to bring the Indians justice. "Congress is now sovereign...," he stated. "They want none of your lands.... We expect you to speak your minds freely and look upon us as representatives of your father and friend, the Congress, who will see justice done you...."\footnote{Brown, \textit{Old Frontiers}, p. 248; and \textit{ASE, Indian Affairs}, I, 41, which contains all of the talks at Hopewell.}

On the second day of the talks, the Indians spoke. Old Tassel of Echota again displayed his gift of oratory in recalling the unjust treatment of his people at the hands of
North Carolina. He presented his map of Cherokee claims according to the boundaries established in 1777 on the Holston at the last treaty with the southern states. Noting that no further treaties had been legally made, Old Tassel demanded the removal of white settlers from Cherokee hunting grounds. On another day, the venerable Indian orator called Richard Henderson a liar and a rogue and denied the terms of the Transylvania Purchase. The commissioners replied that all of the old leaders who had signed the agreement (Henderson, Attakullakulla, and Oconostota) were dead and that the Cherokees must admit the land was sold whether it was or not. 16 Old Tassel conceded the loss of Kentucky, but argued that North Carolina had no just claim to the lands between the Holston and French Broad Rivers. Nancy Ward, the Beloved Woman of Echota, also was invited to speak. She expressed her joy in peace and hope for the future under the protection of Congress. 17 Joseph Martin, the Virginia agent, appeared as the friend and champion of the Cherokees and their claims. He seemed to have achieved the affection of the Indians almost as if he were another Stuart or Cameron. 18 William Blount, on

16 Brown, Old Frontiers, p. 249; and ASP, Indian Affairs, I, 42. Talks of November 26, 1785, at Hopewell.

17 Brown, Old Frontiers, p. 250.

18 Old Tassel said of Martin, "He is our friend," ASP, Indian Affairs, I, 43. Martin won many enemies because of his role as the champion of Indian rights, S. Cole Williams, Early Travels in the Tennessee Country, 1540-1800 (Johnson City, Tenn., 1828), p. 253. Among his personal enemies were the frontiersmen who spoke of the Indians not like human creatures...such men as James Hubbard and John Beard who were known Indian-haters and were highly critical of Martin's efforts to support the Cherokees.
the other hand, argued for the rights of North Carolina and warned that his state would never accept boundaries which excluded the thousands of people on the disputed lands. Georgia demanded all the lands gained from minority cessions with the Creeks and Cherokees and already promised as bounties for service in the Revolution. The federal commission seemed eager to be fair and impartial in their decisions, and the Cherokees were amazed and delighted to deal with someone who did not want new lands and might make concessions on old claims.

The Treaty of Hopewell was signed on November 28 after ten days of negotiations. The final treaty was a compromise, as fair as could be expected, but unsatisfactory to all parties. This first of the federal treaties with the Cherokees was couched in the typical phrases of Indians' treaties, such as "the hatchet...forever buried," but it amounted to Cherokee recognition of a four million acre cession forfeiting forever

\[19\] Milling, Red Carolinians, p. 325.

\[20\] Over nine hundred Cherokees appeared before the talks ended, and the embarrassed commissioners, running out of gifts, were forced to adjourn. The talks of both Indians and commissioners and terms of the Treaty of Hopewell are included in the ASP, Indian Affairs, I, 40-44; Charles J. Kappler, editor, Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties (Washington, 1904), II, 8-11; and Charles J. Kappler, editor, Treaties of the United States of America and the Cherokee Nation from 1785 (Tahlequah, Okla., 1876), p. 3. Terms featured the mutual restoration of prisoners, Cherokee acknowledgment of United States protection, definition of boundaries, settlers to be removed from Indian lands or to forfeit federal protection within six months, Indiancriminals to be tried in American courts, promise of official declarations of war rather than sudden retaliation, establishment of sole right of the United States to regulate Indian trade, and the Cherokees' privilege to send delegates to Congress.
their claims to lands east of the Blue Ridge Mountains.
Some three thousand settlers were still outside the boundaries
on unceded land south of the French Broad River so the
boundaries were far from realistic. The Cherokee retained
possession of some areas which had actually been won by con-
quest in the Revolution and achieved the satisfaction of
knowing that neither North Carolina nor Georgia got all the
lands they demanded. Had encroachments stopped, this treaty
might have held good.21 The failure of southern Indian
diplomacy under the Confederation lay not so much in dis-
satisfaction with the treaty but in the inability of Congress
to enforce it. In late December, the commission signed a
treaty with the destitute Cherokees and in January, 1786,
negotiated a highly successful and lasting agreement with the
Chickasaws on the Cumberland River. Then the commissioners
turned wearily homeward, satisfied that they had done their
best in a difficult task.

North Carolina and Georgia continued to raise insistent
objections toward the federal treaties, stating that they not
only were unfair but violated the sovereignty of their states.22
Joseph Martin did not think that William Blount had any real
reason to complain of the terms at the Treaty of Hopewell,
but it is generally conceded that the federal treaty was a

21 The commissioners stated that "...steady adherence to
the treaty alone can insure confidence in the justice of
Congress." ASP, Indian Affairs, I, 44.

22 Ibid, p. 17.
defeat for the land speculators and both Blount and North Carolina Governor Caswell were leaders in such schemes. 23 Caswell's instructions to the North Carolina delegates in Congress to vote against the distasteful treaty's ratification did not prevent its passage. 24 North Carolina suffered an initial defeat, but her protests did not cease. Three years later Blount was in the Senate still protesting, and North Carolina officially declared the Treaty of Hopewell null and void in so far as it applied to them. Georgia also chimed in on the protests against "pretended treaties...an attempt to violate the retained sovereignty and legal right of this state." 25

The question of prerogative in Indian negotiations is thus seen as another symptom of the deep-seated quarrel between the states and the federal government. It had been an issue in the writing of the Articles of Confederation where in Articles XIV and XVIII Congress, against staunch Southern resistance, had won the right to regulate Indian affairs. 26 Georgia and the other Southern states stubbornly ignored both


24 Ibid., Hawking, pp. 48-49.

25 Ibid., p. 50.

26 Dickinson's notes on the Articles of Confederation, July 12, 1776, Ford, editor, JCC, V, 546-554; debates on Confederation, ibid., VI, 1077-1079; see also Harmon, Indian Affairs, pp. 2-4.
of these articles and the forthcoming Ordinance of 1786 which gave the government effective control over Indian territories. The assumption of authority was much more difficult than the mere statement of prerogative.

The Ordinance of August 7, 1786, was an attempt to reestablish American control of Indian trade which had largely slipped from Charleston and Augusta to the Spanish trading houses in Pensacola and St. Augustine. The ordinance which was partially the result of pressures from speculators set up two Indian departments, following the British plan and using the Ohio River as the dividing line. The sole right of Congress to regulate Indian affairs was reasserted. James White of North Carolina was named the Southern Superintendent and ordered to unify the control of American traders. Travel and trade in the Indian nations were regulated and traders were licensed.

27 Ordinance for the Regulation of Indian Affairs, Ford, editor, JCC, XXI, 490-493.

28 The speculators desired effective control of the Indian trade to calm the tribes and encourage settlement of western lands; they skillfully used the threat of Spanish aggression to spur the United States government to back land schemes, Harmon, Indian Affairs, p. 4; Whitaker, Spanish-American Frontier, p. 25; and Mohr, Federal Relations, p. 152.

29 Pound, Benjamin Hawkins, p. 53.

30 The Indian superintendent took orders from the War Department under whose authority the Indians had fallen since 1779. He received a salary of $6000 and was prohibited from personal participation in trade. Trading licenses were restricted to American citizens who could post $5000 bond. Harmon, Indian Affairs, p. 4.
White resigned after a two-year attempt to fulfill the duties of his hopeless job. He was probably incompetent and surely lacked support. Having no deputies, he was expected to deal single-handedly with all the southern tribes over an area of fifty-three thousand square miles. He faced not only the divided interests of the Indians, but the enmity of state officials jealous of their trade prerogatives. Added to the confusion was the questionable status of the State of Franklin and the dispute over Georgia's western claims. White confined his activities largely to the Creeks, and his efforts might be compared with the ineffectual ones of his early British predecessor, Edmund Atkin.

Variance of opinion over federal Indian policies was widespread. John Sevier, governor of the short-lived State of Franklin, was so antagonistic toward the federal stand that he flirted with secession and transfer to Spanish rule. Sevier felt that the federal government ought to promptly buy western lands claimed by the original states or assume the Spanish policy that a state could confiscate Indian hunting grounds, relegate their inhabitants to reservations on agricultural lands, dissolve tribal government, and place the Indians under state laws. The federal government, on the

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31 Coleman, Revolution in Georgia, pp. 246-247.

other hand, as displayed in the treaties, was bent on dealing with the Indians as foreign powers and making their nations protectorates of the United States. A poor feature of the federal program from the beginning was that of paying annual sums or annuities. At first a necessary step to aid impoverished tribes or the natural outgrowth of expected gift-giving during treaty-making, the continuing annuities became a burden to the nation and made the Indians the victims of pauperizing charity which sapped them of their self-reliance.\textsuperscript{33}

Frontier residents felt the Indians had little claim to disputed lands. The general opinion on the frontier, contradicting that of the government, held the Indians had forfeited their lands as spoils of war. A Franklin settler wrote of newly-acquired lands as the "fruits of our glorious Revolution."\textsuperscript{34} Such a frontier attitude led the settlers to move on the Cherokee lands beyond the boundaries and then pressure the government to protect them.

During 1787, the State of Franklin was on the decline. Virginia agent Martin reported to Governor Patrick Henry of

\textsuperscript{33}William C. McLeod, \textit{The American Indian Frontier} (New York, 1928), pp. 447-454, 463.

\textsuperscript{34}Whitaker, \textit{Spanish-American Frontier}, p. 6. Letter of October 11, 1785 from a Franklin settler printed in the \textit{Maryland Journal}. 
divisions in the state, and encroachments on Cherokee lands which the Governor promptly reported to the President of Congress, stating that the frontiersmen were goading the Indians to war. The Cherokee peace party continued to plead innocence of Indian depredations while secretly applauding them. They conveniently (and not always justly) blamed all raids on the Chickamaugas and Creeks and claimed to have no control over renegade elements. Georgia asked for Cherokee support against McGillivray and his Creeks, but managed only to secure promises of neutrality. Governor Telfair reported to Governor Sevier that the Indian Nations were ready at any moment to take advantage of his infant state. Full-scale Indian war along the southern frontier, with Georgia and Franklin opening the offensive, was averted not through the efforts of James White but because of the timely extinction of the State of Franklin and Georgia’s lack of funds.

The state of Virginia acted firmly to prevent the growth of Trans-Appalachian separatist plots when it was learned in

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35 The decline of Franklin was not only due to Indian pressures and failure to receive recognition from Congress or North Carolina but also to internal quarrels. The Virginia faction led by Arthur Campbell, James Cocke, and Sevier’s personal enemy, John Tipton, consistently frustrated the governor’s plans. Frequently there were dual elections and dual sets of officials. Confusion was rampant, and by 1788 the Franklin star was eclipsed.


37 Virginia Gazette, August 9, 1787.
1785 that Arthur Campbell had encouraged the Franklin movement and was urging western Virginia settlers to join in it. Campbell was brought to trial for his part in the secessionist movement and the erection of an independent government in Virginia was made treason. 38

The ill-fated State of Franklin represented all that was worst in the greed of American frontier settlers. Even Theodore Roosevelt, who devotes much of his Winning of the West to justification of the frontiersmen's policy toward the Cherokees admits that it was one of "mere piracy." 39 It was their thirst for Indian lands which nullified the Treaty of Hopewell as white encroachment continued and Indian dissatisfaction grew. Nine years after the Hopewell treaty real peace with the Cherokees was achieved. The renegade Chickamauga faction, with John Watts assuming leadership after the death of Dragging Canoe, remained at war with the United States until 1794. Their border forays against the encroaching Tennesseans were frequently supported by the supposedly peaceful elements of the Middle and Valley towns. In 1788 and 1789, Dragging Canoe was at the zenith of his career. 40 From the security


39 Roosevelt, Winning of the West, IV, 190.

of his mountain stronghold, the Chickamauga chief followed his clear, grim, consistent policy of resisting the westward movement. He received Shawnee and Creek chieftains in his camp, and his fame spread to the Spanish in Mobile and the British in Detroit. Foreign agents and traders, eager to help the Chickamauga cause, flocked to his headquarters at Running Water. John Watts, who played the role of a friendly chief, visited in American settlements and kept the Canoe informed of enemy moves.

Raids on the Cumberland settlements became so furious that leaders Robertson and Anthony Bledsoe were forced to negotiate with the Creeks and Spanish. After Cumberland settlers destroyed the Creek town of Coldwater, McGillivray refused to negotiate further. Unable to secure adequate protection from the government of the United States, Robertson corresponded with Governor Miro on the subject of Spanish protection. Miro's tempting offers of land grants to the western settlers threatened to split the West away from the

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41 Tecumseh spent two years in Dragging Canoe's camp. Brown, Old Frontiers, p. 270.

42 The brother of James Robertson and Cumberland leader, Anthony Bledsoe, were killed by the Creeks during 1787. McGillivray answered Robertson's offer of a town lot in Nashville in exchange for diminishing raids by saying that the Creeks were repaying the Cumberland settlers for the deaths of six Creek warriors at Colwater Town. Milling, Red Carolinians, p. 325; Donald Davidson, The Old River Frontier to Secession, Vol. I of the Tennessee River of the Cherokees, 2 vols., Rivers of American Series, edited by Constance L. Skinner (New York, 1946), 186; and Ramsey, Annals, p. 479.

Union, for there was strong resentment toward the disinterested eastern government which seemed to show little understanding of western problems.

Again in 1787, Congress became concerned over Southern Indian conditions. On July 18, Henry Knox of the War Department, reporting on the Indian situation and the rights of Congress, recommended that the states should cede their western lands and their Indian problems to the federal government. In August, the case of centralized control was skillfully presented before Congress where the states displayed their usual absence of cooperation. Because of the financial strain, the federal government again shifted responsibility to the separate states, instructing them to treat with the Indians in cooperation with Superintendent White.

In 1788, Richard Winn replaced White as Southern Superintendent and succeeded in securing a reluctant peace settlement (actually a truce) between the Creeks and Georgia. Both Spanish and American authorities were exerting influence on the quarreling parties in order to avert a border war and possible international crisis. Realizing that the

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44 Report of the Secretary of War on Southern Indian Affairs to the President of Congress, Ford, editor, JCC, XXXII, 365-369; Mohr, Federal Relations, p. 159.
45 Ford, editor, JCC, XXXIII, 454-462, August 3, 1787.
46 Mohr, Federal Relations, p. 163.
superintendency was not a one-man job, Congress appointed Joseph Martin as temporary deputy among the Cherokees.\textsuperscript{47}

Both the states and federal government were passing resolutions and proclamations in 1788 on the critical Indian question. On September 1, Congress aimed a warning at the Franklin settlers still on Indian lands and threatened to use federal troops stationed north of the Ohio River to force their withdrawal.\textsuperscript{48}

North Carolina, on the other hand, condemned federal handling of the situation. Chickamauga raids on the Cumberland and Holston settlements were answered with speedy and deadly retaliation, unauthorized by the federal government, but supported by North Carolina. The friendly Cherokees looked to Congress for redress of grievances. Also depending on the federal government were the frontier settlers who viewed every governmental defense of the savages as treason against their homes and families. The government was in a difficult position. Agent Martin was ordered to disarm Franklin militiamen, up in arms supposedly due to Indian raids. Sevier was on the trail again leading raids to the Coosa River in Georgia, punishing Cherokees for the murder of eleven members of the Kirk family.

\textsuperscript{47}Ibid., p. 165. The appointment was made on June 20, 1788.

\textsuperscript{48}After a report from Martin that the Franklin settlers were waging an informal war on the Cherokees and committing actions unworthy of the treaty of Hopewell, Congress ordered investigation of the situation, Ford, editor, \textit{JCC}, XXIV, 342-344. On July 30, 1788, the committee reported and Congress issued a proclamation against unwarranted intrusions, \textit{ibid.}, pp. 476-479.
Returning from raids to the south, the Holston men invited some of the friendly chiefs to peace talks under a truce flag. Present at the talks with Sevier and the other leaders were James Hubbard, a noted Indian hater, and young John Kirk whose family had been slain by the Indians. With Hubbard’s help, the deranged boy entered one of the houses and tomahawked Old Tassel and Abraham of Chilowee to death. The frontier was inflamed anew as news spread of this brutal act toward friendly chiefs under a flag of truce. Sevier was censured for his failure to prevent the atrocity or punish the offenders. Governor Samuel Johnston of North Carolina ordered Sevier’s arrest, and "Nolichucky Jack’s" enemies in the Tipton faction readily complied and took him into North Carolina for trial. Rescued by his friends, Sevier returned to the frontier to reestablish his popularity. These events marked the complete collapse of the Franklin government, but the prodigal separatists were welcomed back into the fold.

Haywood, Civil and Political History, p. 196; Abernethy, Tennessee, p. 87; Brown, Old Frontiers, p. 270; and Roosevelt, Winning of the West, III, 190.

Davidson, The Tennessee, p. 176.

Johnston had succeeded Caswell who was sympathetic toward Sevier. The new governor disliked the West in general and Sevier in particular. The arrest order was issued as a result of a letter of complaint against Sevier registered by Indian agent Winn. Winn complained to Congress that North Carolina was taking no action to punish the murderers of friendly Cherokee chiefs, Letter of October 13, 1788, ASP, Indian Affairs, I, 45; Brown, Old Frontiers, p. 278.
Pardons were offered to all the Franklinites; the chief offender, Sevier, was soon made a brigadier general. The government of the western counties was reassumed by North Carolina and Virginia, but the problems on which Franklin had thrived were still present.

After the Kirk boy incident and the massacre of twenty-three whites at Gillespie's Station, even pacifist Joseph Martin recognized that frontier war was inevitable. Almost immediately four hundred Creeks joined twelve thousand Cherokees in raiding the frontier.\(^{52}\) Sevier's earlier expeditions had further angered the Indians. The only recourse was war.

Another episode of Indian brutality in 1788 was the massacre of members of the Brown family who were intercepted by the Chickamaugas while en route down the Tennessee River to the Cumberland settlements. Mrs. Brown and one of her children survived the Indian captivity and were later exchanged through the Creek chieftain, Alexander McGillivray.\(^{53}\) One of the old squaws at Nickajack spoke against the release of the prisoners and foretold that the Brown boy would spell the doom of the Chickamauga towns. Indeed, it was Joseph

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\(^{52}\)Martin to Knox on January 15, 1789, in defense of his campaign of 1788. ASP, Indian Affairs, I, 47.

\(^{53}\)Ramsey, Annals, p. 516.
Brown who led the white forces into the renegade retreat in 1794 in the expedition that extinguished them.  

During the summer of 1788 with Sevier under arrest in North Carolina and the Cherokees on the rampage, it was left for Joseph Martin to lead the frontier forces in reprisals against the Chickamaugas. Martin's campaign was the most ill-fated of the frontier forays. Himself opposed to war against the Cherokees, Martin decided upon aggressive action as a last resort and after gathering at White's Fort (Knoxville) in May led his five hundred militiamen into an ambush and stinging defeat in the first battle of Lookout Mountain. The Indians deserted their towns and lay in ambush in the mountains. The Brown episode had shown how Dragging Canoe controlled the Tennessee River from his stronghold thirty miles below present-day Chattanooga. The Chickamaugas surveyed the river from the heights of bluffs backed by wooded mountains. Their retreat featured perfect military security. Below the Five Towns was the "Suck," rapids that few boats could successfully navigate; to the south were their Creek allies, ready not only to protect but aid them. From their

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55 ASP, Indian Affairs, I, 47-48, February 2, 1789; and Williams, Early Travels, p. 260.

56 Polmsbee, French Broad-Holston Country, p. 30; and Davidson, Tennessee, p. 186.
concealed base to which no American had penetrated, the Chickamaugas were free to sally forth, wreak havoc, and then safely retreat. Martin marched against this stronghold as an unpopular leader. The Holston men were hesitant to follow anyone but "Nolichucky Jack," whom they could trust to out-smart the Cherokees. These were men who followed their leaders like hero-kings. They were clannish, bound by family and blood ties and by traditions of battle comradeship. Martin appeared to merit this lack of confidence, for he led his men into an ambush from which they retreated in disorder. The Virginia agent returned from his defeat to ask Sevier's help in reorganizing the militia; then Martin went back to his field of diplomacy and left Sevier to the military tasks. This was particularly opportune timing for Sevier who needed another Indian campaign to restore his waning popularity and influence. Sevier struck the Middle Towns, burning corn fields, killing women and children in one of the most brutal of the frontier wars. His Holston men rushed down on defenseless settlements emitting the fearsome war whoop which was the forerunner of the "Rebel yell." In the skirmish at Flint Creek, Sevier used the murderous "Grasshopper," a swivel gun mounted on horseback. By November, 1788, the Cherokees were suing for peace,\footnote{Dragging Canoe's letter to Richard Winn as reported by Winn to Congress on October 13, 1788, was a plea for protection against the Franklin settlers, ASP, Indian Affairs, I, 46-47. The situation was so serious that McGillivray wrote to Fenton on August 20 of the need for Creek support to "revive the hopes of the drooping Cherokees who are being overrun."} and Secretary Henry Knox
ordered an end to the aggressive campaigns against the Indians.

The federal government pressed the separate Southern states in 1789 to make peace again with the Creeks and Cherokees, drew a halt to encroachments, remove from Indian lands, and stop all hostilities. North Carolina sent Alexander Drumgoole as a special messenger to the Cherokees and Creeks; John Steele of North Carolina and Richard Winn, the federal agent, began new treaty negotiations. Georgia was too impoverished to meet the Creeks; she claimed she had no money for presents or other necessary expenses. Congress forbade North Carolina's asking a new session of the Cherokees, ordering the Carolinians not to embarrass negotiations by unreasonable demands. On June 7 when the federal commissioners sent a talk to the Cherokees from the Upper Ford of the French Broad River, William Blount was present to back up Steele and the North Carolina demands. Andrew Pickens of South Carolina opposed the ambitions of his fellow commissioners since his state desired no further lands from the Indians. After a twelve-day wait with no Cherokees appearing, the commissioners moved on to Rock Landing in Georgia where they were to meet the Creeks. Steele, who remained for a time, never collected enough Cherokees for a new treaty.

With the ratification and implementation of the Constitution in 1789, a new phase of the federal Indian policy began. Still under the direction of the War Department, the Indians of the South came under the new authority of the governor of the Territory South of the Ohio River, that noted speculator and North Carolinian, William Blount.\footnote{The territory was created on May 26, 1790, and Blount received his commission the following summer. Clarence E. Carter, editor, The Territorial Papers of the United States, Territory South of the Ohio River (Washington, D.C., 1936), 24 vols., IV, 18, 24. Blount had been in the militia during the Revolution and had served in the North Carolina legislature. As state representative at the Constitutional Convention, he had met and impressed George Washington, Folmsbee, French Broad-Holston Country, p. 381, and Ramsey, Annals, p. 541. Joseph Martin was one of those who hoped for the appointment as governor of the new territory, but he had fallen into ill-repute due to criticism of his correspondence with McGillivray and his dealing in land purchases while Indian agent. John C. Fitzpatrick, editor, Writings of George Washington, 1745-1799 (Washington, D.C., 1931), 32 vols., XXX, 337. Washington expressed a lack of confidence in Martin in the light of his ill conduct, but the agent was supported by Patrick Henry, Wirt, Patrick Henry, III, 409; and later cleared of any injury to the United States, John C. Fitzpatrick, Diaries of George Washington (Washington, D.C., 1931), IV, 89.} As governor, he was also Indian Superintendent, responsible for maintaining the peace on the troublesome frontier. The new federal government was concerned with the West and the Indians. Washington spoke to Congress in August during the formation of the western territories of the need to conciliate fourteen thousand fighting men of the Southern District and attach them firmly to the United States. He pointed out the implications of the ticklish western situation,
that the tribes were needed to form a barrier against Spain which might some day be an enemy power. The President noted that the fate of the Southern states might depend on the action of Congress toward the Indian tribes.60

In early 1790, North Carolina ceded her western lands.61 This plus North Carolina's belated ratification of the Constitution gave the federal government authority to remedy the Indian situation. Secretary of War Knox reported to Congress that shameful "violations of the treaty of Hopewell with the Cherokees deserve serious consideration of Congress."62 On August 11, President Washington asked Congress to enforce existing treaties with the Southern Indians by removal of illegal settlers from tribal lands; the Senate gave the President a free hand in negotiating Indian treaties. Washington had already stated his Indian policy of firmness, humanity, and justice.63 After receiving reports from Joseph Martin on

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61 Carter, editor, Territorial Papers, IV, 3, gives the date as December 22, 1789. William Masterson, William Blount (Baton Rouge, 1954), p. 175, says that Congress accepted the session on April 2, 1790; Pound, Benjamin Hawkins, p. 60.


Cherokee relations, the President recommended a more amicable treaty with this tribe, Knox kept the President informed of Spanish influence on McGillivray and also on the Chickamaugas, and the President used personal diplomacy to entice the Creek half-breed to New York in 1790 to sign the famed Treaty of New York, temporarily weaning him away from Spanish support.

As a result of his own experience, Washington had an unusual grasp of the Indian problem. James Madison wrote of the first president, "It is fortunate that to the other qualifications of the President is added a more than common knowledge of the West and Indian affairs which will enable him to make the best of all information relating to them."

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64 Fitzpatrick, Diaries of Washington, II, 89, notation of January 7, 1790, ASP, Indian Affairs, I, 15.

65 Charles J. Kappler, editor, Indian Affairs, Laws, and Treaties, II, 25-29. The treaty was signed in July by Knox and McGillivray, and some twenty Creek chiefs. It included both public and secret articles. McGillivray became an American agent with the rank of a brigadier general and a yearly pension of $1200. Georgia was infuriated at this courting of their savage enemy; especially since the federal treaty did not recognize their claims under the coerced Treaty of Shoulderbone. Whitaker, "McGillivray," North Carolina Historical Review, V, 298-300.

66 Mohr, Federal Relations, pp. 170-171; Washington was especially concerned with the unsettled Southern Indian situation which affected the future of the western territory. Spanish intrigues and the ambitions of scheming speculators and adventurers made Washington liken the Southwest to a weathervane—which the slightest breeze could turn, toward future statehood or doubtful independence, Harmon, Indian Affairs, p. 8.
Knox, as Secretary of War, also seems to have had a more just comprehension of the Indian than did most military men of his day. These two men agreed that the Indian should be well paid for his lands, and in 1789 alone more money was paid to the tribes than in any one of the last five previous years. Added to this policy of paying the Indians before moving onto the land, was the executive determination to deal with the tribes in justice and firmness, to win the Indians' confidence, and at the same time to hold the respect of the frontiersmen. Knox believed that the savages could be civilized and should not be wiped out by the westward movement but assimilated into American life. He sought to develop the Indian trade and regulate the movement of frontier settlers.

Governor Blount, touring the territory south of the Ohio, sent Major Robert King to the Cherokees as his personal envoy. King reported that there were two Cherokee factions, with Hanging Maw the leader in the North and Little Turkey in the South. White settlers in the Territory numbered thirty

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67 From 1776 to 1789, $58,103.41 was spent; in 1789 alone, $20,000. Harmon, Indian Affairs, p.16.

68 Knox, an ex-Boston bookseller and artilleryman who had risen to a generalship in the Revolution, faced the huge problem of developing the early Indian policy of the nation. Most writers seem to feel Knox did an excellent job, Harmon, Indian Affairs, pp. 15-17. Roosevelt is an exception as he was highly critical of the first Secretary of War.

69 By this time, the Cherokees were in reality reunited, for Dragging Canoe had recognized the new chief of the Lower Towns, Little Turkey. The end of the ten-year schism between the Chickamaugas and the rest of the tribe made the Cherokees even more dangerous enemies.
thousand in Washington District (Holston-Watauga) and seven thousand in Mero District (Cumberland) as compared to some twenty thousand Indian warriors estimated in the south.\textsuperscript{70} After the Creeks made peace in New York, McGillivray influenced Little Turkey and the Southern Cherokees to do the same,\textsuperscript{71} and the stage seemed set for the negotiation of a new, more satisfactory federal treaty.

Governor Blount sent James Robertson to invite the Cherokees to a treaty meeting at White's Fort\textsuperscript{72} in 1791. The new governor's personal interests were to see peace come to the West so that settlement would be encouraged and land prices would rise. Many were suspicious of his motives; Andrew Pickens of South Carolina warned the Cherokees of the new white governor saying that he "loved land and would have all theirs."\textsuperscript{73} Indeed, the Cherokees learned to refer to Blount as the "Dirt Captain."\textsuperscript{74} Still forty-one chiefs and


\textsuperscript{72}Blount had chosen this site for the location of the territorial capitol to become Knoxville, Tennessee.


\textsuperscript{74}Angie Debo, The Road to Disappearance, Civilization of the American Indian Series (Norman, 1941), p. 53; Malone, Cherokees of the Old South, p. 37.
twelve hundred Cherokees appeared in June, 1791, to sign
the Treaty of Holston and cede a large tract which legalized
the residence of the five hundred families south of the
French Broad River.

Amid elaborate ceremonies which would go down in the
history of Indian diplomacy, the Treaty of Holston was signed
on July 2, 1791. A double line of a thousand Indians on
horseback approached the new governor who stood resplendent
in full military dress, flanked by his officers, and over-
shadowed by the American flag. The meetings were full of
the pomp, ceremony, entertainment, and gift-giving so dear
to Cherokee hearts. Talks followed council house tactics
with the speaker standing in the center of a circle of his
listeners.75 Among the Cherokee chieftains present in
tribal robes were John Watts and Bloody Fellow as well as
others who had come to hear what the new governor had to say.
They came hopeful that the federal government would right the
encroachments, but they were disappointed when Blount instead
of restoring their lands, suggested a revision of boundaries.
The chiefs presented their angry complaints and were told
that if they had the money they could go complain to President
Washington.76 Contrary to federal policy, Blount demanded
the Indian lands as conquest of the Revolution. Refusing to

75 Brown, Old Frontiers, p. 332.

76 Masterson, William Blount, p. 205.
sell the Muscle Shoals land, the Cherokees threatened to drive out settlers there, and Blount replied that they might do as they wished, for the United States government did not recognize the legality of that settlement.\textsuperscript{77} During the talks the Cherokees agreed to free navigation of the Tennessee River and gave the whites permission to build a road through Cherokee Country to the Cumberland settlements.\textsuperscript{78}

This second federal attempt to establish peace with the Cherokees was largely a restatement of the Treaty of Hopewell but set far more realistic boundaries with the Indians. The Cherokees agreed to give up a one hundred square mile territory which they no longer actually controlled for immediate delivery of goods. There were the usual formal exchanges of prisoners, assertions of friendship, and guarantees of lands. The United States withdrew protection for any whites still on Indian lands. An annual payment of $1,000 was promised the Cherokees. Article Fourteen of the treaty was one of the most important; it brought the civilizing agents of tools, interpreters, and blacksmiths to the tribe. The Treaty of Holston was noteworthy in that it was a genuine purchase of

\textsuperscript{77}AEP, Indian Affairs, I, 204 containing Bloody Fellow's account of the talks, given in Philadelphia in 1794. Also Cotterill, Southern Indians, p. 88.

the cession obtained.\textsuperscript{79} Congress ratified the agreement in November, 1791.

The Cherokees later complained that the Treaty of Holston was signed under threat, and they almost immediately registered their dissatisfaction with the amount of the annuity which, as they said, "would not buy even one breech-cloth for each Cherokee warrior."\textsuperscript{80} As early as December, 1791, a Cherokee delegation of six chiefs was in Philadelphia to demand an increase in the annuity, removal of the white interlopers, cessation of the Muscle Shoals project, an agent in the Nation, better goods, and more interpreters.\textsuperscript{81} Although the payment was raised to $1500 in 1792,\textsuperscript{82} Indian attacks continued, followed by equally murderous white reprisals. Greed for land also continued and attempts to induce the Cherokees to part with their remaining land became more insistent. Blount's administration was plagued with

\textsuperscript{79}The terms of the treaty may be found in Carter, editor, \textit{Territorial Papers, IV}, 60-65; \textit{ASP, Indian Affairs, I}, 124-125; and Kappler, \textit{Indian Affairs, II}, 29-35. It is discussed in Malone, \textit{Cherokees of the Old South}, pp. 35-36, and Rights, \textit{Indians of North Carolina}, p. 182. Blount was fair in his demands according to Roosevelt, \textit{Winning of the West}, IV, 155, and after this time all the fault was with the Indians.

\textsuperscript{80}Brown, \textit{Old Frontiers}, p. 309.


\textsuperscript{82}Granted by Congress on February 17, 1792. Kappler, \textit{Indian Affairs, II}, 33.
Indian wars and disputes. The frontiersmen resented him, looking upon him as the agent of eastern indifference. They accused the government of always favoring the Indian and complained of federal desertion. Blount displayed tact in the face of such difficulties; trying to reconcile conflicting elements, he sought to keep faith with the Indians, but the Cherokee showed little appreciation. Secretary Knox instructed Blount not to use force against the Cherokees except in defense. The President said that military actions against the Indians was a Congressional decision and should never be used to justify white encroachment. Sevier and his crowd called for military action to protect the exposed (and expanding) frontier. Thus the governor was caught between contrasting demands. It was a ticklish situation. If the land was not surrendered, the whites broke the treaties; if the land was surrendered, the Indians violated them.

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83 Carter, editor, Territorial Papers, IV, 221-227. Knox to Blount, November 26, 1792, suggested that to terminate the trouble with the "Chiccamoggas" was a noble field for Blount's talents. Blount's real attitude toward the Indians is difficult to determine. This is partially due to the disappearance of much of his correspondence. In letters to Robertson and other frontier leaders Blount prohibited encroachments and aggressive actions against the Indians, but in correspondence to John Steele he states that he favored "decided and positive measures" in dealing with them. Blount spoke for immediate satisfaction for murders even though it should bring on a national war. He said, "The Creeks must be scourged well too and the Cherokees deserve it." Malone, Cherokees of the Old South, p. 36.

84 Roosevelt, Winning of the West, IV, 121.
From the beginning the Chickamaugas seemed not to have been sincere in their desires for peace. While Watts and Bloody Fellow were negotiating the Treaty of Holston, Dragging Canoe had been at Miami talking war with the Northern Indians. The Canoe had been in close contact with the Shawnees since 1777. He had also been in touch with British agents in Detroit through traders Alexander McGee and George Welbank. Soon Dragging Canoe abandoned all pretense of observing the Holston agreement, and the Chickamaugas participated in the shattering defeat of Arthur St. Clair at the hands of the northwestern tribes. St. Clair's defeat on the Ohio was encouraging to rebellious Cherokees, Creeks, and Shawnees. 85 There was enthusiastic talk of a great Indian confederation which with Spanish support would halt the Westward Movement.

In 1791, Governor Miro of Spanish New Orleans was relieved by Baron de Carondelet who maintained the policy of wooing western settlers. Carondelet displayed a far more aggressive and belligerent attitude toward the United States. Promoting the talks of an Indian confederation, Carondelet planned the effective use of Southern Indians against American encroachment toward the Mississippi River. 86 Waiting until the proper moment when his forces would be strong enough, the Spanish governor mustered the Cherokees and Creeks—forcing

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85 Cotterill, Southern Indians, pp. 89-90; Folmsbee, French Broad-Holston Country, p. 34.
86 Harmon, Indian Affairs, pp. 13-14; Ramsey, Annals, pp. 530-532.
McGillivray back into the Spanish fold. The war with France and the forthcoming Treaty of San Lorenzo (Pinckney's Treaty) between Spain and the United States in October, 1795, ended Carondelet's dangerous conspiracies. 87

Dragging Canoe died March 1, 1792, at Lookout Mountain Town, the result (it was said) of too vigorous celebration after Chickamauga depredations near Nashville on the Cumberland River. 88 The bitter leader of the renegade Cherokees was about sixty years of age at the time of his death. John Watts, who at the time of the Canoe's death was at Echota meeting with Blount, was elected war chieftain of the Chickamaugas. Watts was a half-breed, nephew of the murdered Cherokee statesman Old Tassel, familiar with the white man and his ways. Soon after his accession as war chief, Watts met Governor Blount at Coyatee for two-day talks, featuring ball games, festivities, and much liquor; 89 Blount believed,

87 ASP, Indian Affairs, I, 545-549; and Folmsbee, French Broad-Holston Country, p. 35.

88 ASP, Indian Affairs, I, 255, 263; Carter, editor, Territorial Papers, IV, 129, letter of March 20, 1792; Brown, Old Frontiers, p. 329; and Cotterill, Southern Indians, p. 92.

89 Carter, editor, Territorial Papers, IV, 250, Blount to Knox, April 9, 1793; ASP, Indian Affairs, I, 268, contains talks at Coyatee of May 23, 1792, where the first payment of goods under the Holston treaty was made. Two thousand Indians were present according to Roosevelt, Winning of the West, IV, 174.
for a time, that Watts sincerely desired peace, but at the same time the wily Cherokee was dickering with the Spanish, and Blount was soon to learn that Watts would lead the Chickamaugas in the traditions of Dragging Canoe.

Blount reported to the Secretary of War in 1792 the Cherokee complaints concerning encroachments, particularly in the Muscle Shoals area. The Indians were insistent in demands for an agent living in the Nation so Congress appointed Leonard Shaw and sent him to Echota to recruit Cherokees to serve in Anthony Wayne's army soon to march against the Northern tribes.

The tone of Blount's correspondence in early 1792 was optimistic. Dragging Canoe was dead and hopes for peace ran high, but the governor did not know the secret machinations of the Spanish, the trader William Panton, and John Watts. Watts, with the son of Dragging Canoe, visited

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90 Carter, editor, Territorial Papers, IV, 129, 135; letters of March 20 and April 1, 1792; Masterson, William Blount, p. 206.

91 Carter, editor, Territorial Papers, IV, 118.

92 Cotterill, Southern Indians, p. 92. Wayne needed six hundred Cherokees. They were to be supplied and armed by the United States and led by General Andrew Pickens.

93 Blount wrote to Knox that the Cherokees had no real claim to the Cumberland area, for it was Chickasaw territory and they had reconciled themselves to the white settlement. He determined that the old chiefs persisted in their claims to please the restless young braves. Carter, editor, Territorial Papers, IV, 228-229. Letter of January 14, 1793.
the governor of Pensacola, Arturo O'Neill, who welcomed them with open arms, assuring them that the Spanish had no ambitions toward Cherokee lands. O'Neill asserted that the Spanish were not like the Americans who first took the land, then treated for it, and gave the Indian little or nothing in return. O'Neill, directed by Carondelet, promised the Chickamauga powder, lead, and arms in plenty. The Spanish urged that the Cherokees declare war on the American settlements while the United States was at war with the Northern tribes. An arsenal and powder magazine were erected at Wills-town where the Spanish flag was raised over the Chickamauga towns. At the same time, Chickamauga delegates had answered Blount's invitation to talks at Nashville. Most of them were there as spies to cover the true motives of Watts while plans were completed with the Spanish and Shawnees. Many

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94 The Indians were supposedly in Pensacola to see Panton on mercantile business, Carter, editor, Territorial Papers, IV, 158, letter of July 4, 1792; ASP, Indian Affairs, I, 270.

95 Carter, editor, Territorial Papers, IV, 177-178, Leonard Shaw's report and the testimony of two traders on Watts' Pensacola visit and activities in the Chickamauga towns; ASP, Indian Affairs, I, 278; Ellet, Women of the Revolution, III, 318; Malone, Cherokees of the Old South, p. 41; Cotterill, Southern Indians, p. 96, the Cherokees declared for war early in 1792 but when the chiefs met to plan the attack they got so drunk that they couldn't carry it through. It was just as well as Blount had already called out the militia.

96 Whitaker, "Alexander McGillivray," NCHR, V, 96; Minutes of the talks, August 7, 1792, ASP, Indian Affairs, I, 284.
of the whites, including old-timer James Robertson,97 suspected that Watts' peace talks covered treacherous motives, but the white settlers became careless during the seeming tranquility. Such suspicions proved warranted on September 30, 1792, when a thousand Chickamaugas, Creeks, and Shawnees suddenly and ferociously attacked Buchanan's Station near Nashville.98 The war raged along the frontier for six months. Blount was chagrined to find he had been duped, and after this time seemed to make little effort to prevent white aggression against the Cherokees. In February, 1793, Watts and Blount announced a three-week truce which only amounted to a brief respite while Watts was reassured of Spanish support. Bloody Fellow and some of the Lower Cherokees were sent to New Orleans to ask Carondelet for a fort at the Muscle Shoals. By this time, however, the Spanish governor was hesitant as he was himself being censured by superiors in Madrid for his war-like policies.

Antagonism had arisen between William Blount and Indian agent Leonard Shaw. Shaw, with promises of a seventy-five

97 Blount to Robertson, January 5, 1792, Carter, editor, Territorial Papers, IV, 110.

day truce, had gone to Philadelphia in 1793 to "get the Cherokees' land back." Blount used his influence to get Shaw removed from office; he accused the agent of poor judgment in allowing the Indians to bypass him and carry their protests directly to the President. John McKee, who seemed more acceptable to the governor, replaced Shaw among the Cherokees. Blount himself encouraged Watts and the other chiefs to visit Philadelphia in 1793, and the Cherokees were hard-put to evade the invitation. By this time, the Cherokee Nation had mastered the art of remaining officially at peace while actually at war. Secretary Knox, who had been angry when, after Blount's optimistic reports, the Chickamaugas attacked Buchanan's Station, ordered that no offensive action be taken until Congress met in March, 1793, and by that time the situation seemed to have improved.

99 Cotterill, Southern Indians, p. 103; Blount to Knox, March 20, 1793, containing his complaints against Shaw, Carter, editor, Territorial Papers, IV, 246.


101 Carter, editor, Territorial Papers, IV, 194-195, 212; Milling, Red Carolinians, p. 327.

102 Blount's proclamation against aggression, January 28, 1793, ASP, Indian Affairs, I, 435; Carter, editor, Territorial Papers, IV, 222, November 26, 1792. By May, 1793, there was an assurance of peaceful intent from Watts and Little Turkey, ASP, Indian Affairs, I, 457.
Robertson was trying to hold the Noco District settlers in check despite the effect of reports such as that of the murder and mutilation of two white settlers. Resentment ran high when tales were told of how the Indians had cut up the bodies, drunk the blood, and eaten the flesh.\textsuperscript{103} Blount chose this critical time in the summer of 1793 to travel east to Philadelphia. His three-year term had expired, and he was to be officially reappointed. Critics later pointed to his convenient absence\textsuperscript{104} as evidence that Blount gave unofficial sanction to forceful actions against the Indians.\textsuperscript{105}

On June 12, during Blount's absence, friendly Cherokee chiefs enroute to Philadelphia were intercepted at Echota by Indian-hater John Beard and forty men. From twelve to fifteen Indians were killed, including the wife of Hanging Maw who had become one of the Americans' most loyal friends. Hanging Maw himself was wounded.\textsuperscript{106} Immediately two

\textsuperscript{103}Malone, \textit{Cherokees of the Old South}, p. 45.

\textsuperscript{104}Carl S. Driver, \textit{John Sevier, Pioneer of Old Southwest} (Chapel Hill, 1932), p. 34.

\textsuperscript{105}William Blount was later impeached for his part in the Spanish conspiracy and was expelled from the Senate in 1797. Blount used his offices as instruments of business profit and visualized a western empire which would bring vast profits to its rulers. He was not a heroic figure but was an intensely human one.

\textsuperscript{106}Carter, \textit{Territorial Papers, IV}, 269, June 4 and June 13, 1793; ASP, \textit{Indian Affairs}, I, 363, 459, report of June 12, 1793 made the day of the atrocity; Ramsey, \textit{Annals}, p. 577; Milling, \textit{Red Carolinians}, p. 328.
hundred Indians were in arms and war was inevitable. Later, while temporary governor Daniel Smith tried to negotiate with the angry Cherokees, Blount offered apologies and pled for Cherokee patience until the criminals could be apprehended and punished. The federal government strictly prohibited any invasion of the Cherokee Nation, but the settlers thought differently. Colonels Doherty and McFarland destroyed six Cherokee towns and took fifteen scalps.

In late September, 1793, a thousand Cherokee warriors under John Watts and Doublehead crossed the Tennessee River headed for Knoxville to avenge the deaths of the friendly Cherokees. They bypassed the smaller settlements, hoping to reach the territorial capital before any alarm could be given. Loss of surprise and disagreements between the two Indian leaders made the Cherokees content to fall first on Cavett's

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107 Territorial Papers, United States Senate, Territory South of the Ohio River, August 29, 1789—April 8, 1808, Record Group 46, No. 200 (Washington, 1951), p. 698, letter of January 28, 1793. There was reason to fear that the criminals would go unpunished on the frontier. Captain Beard was court-martialed in a trial which turned out to be a farce, but no further action was taken. Knox wrote to Washington on December 13, 1793, "No Indian peace will be permanent unless... we punish violators on both sides. It will be with ill-grace that the United States demands punishment of Banditti Indians when at the same time the guilty whites escape with impunity." Ibid., pp. 698ff.


109 Watts' ability as a military leader was respected by frontiersmen like John Sevier. The half-breed was a skilled and cunning leader who directed his men in armies unlike usual Indian tactics. In defensive action Watts tried to draw white cavalry into narrow recesses in the mountains where he could ambush them. Ramsey, Annals, p. 341.
Station, six miles from Knoxville. On September 24, 1793, some seven hundred Indians massacred three men and thirteen women and children in the small, defenseless stockade. John Watts saved one of the white boys and did his best to prevent the savage brutality of Doublehead. 110

John Sevier was soon on the trail chasing the retreating Chickamaugas. At the head of seven hundred angry settlers who had collected at Ish's Station, Sevier pursued the Cherokees into Georgia where he burned their new capital among the Lower Towns, Ustinali on the Coosawattee River (near present Rome, Georgia). This was Sevier's last military service. 111 It marked the end of a career which had merited Theodore Roosevelt's comment: "Sevier led parties against the Indians without ceasing." 112 "Nolichucky Jack" was still out chasing the Cherokees when Blount returned re-commissioned from Philadelphia in October.

By 1794, time was running out for the Chickamaugas. Frontier resentment ran high, the federal government was nearly convinced that real peace would not be secured until the renegade Cherokees were wiped out, and Spanish support

110 ASP, Indian Affairs, I, 468; Milling, Red Carolinians, p. 328; and Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokee," p. 75.

111 Sevier remained the most popular figure of early Tennessee. He served twice as governor of the state and was twice elected to represent Tennessee in the Congress of the United States. No man on the frontier was more loved or respected.

112 Roosevelt, Winning of the West, IV, 222.
was hesitant. Many of the Cherokee leaders were working for peace. Little Turkey and the Lower Towns had become American supporters. Hanging Maw, despite the treachery of Captain Beard, helped chase down Creek murderers who had slain John Ish while he plowed his field eighteen miles from Knoxville.\textsuperscript{113} It became evident that the Creeks were guilty of many depredations which had been blamed on the Cherokees. Bad feeling arose between the Cherokees and their southern neighbors after a Creek raid on a Cherokee town friendly to the Americans, and after helping to defeat the Creeks at Craig's Station in 1794, Cherokees and white settlers joined in a scalp dance celebration.\textsuperscript{114} The death of Alexander McGillivray in 1793 left the Creeks devoid of leadership, and Anthony Wayne's victory at Fallen Timbers crushed the Northern tribes.\textsuperscript{115} The Chickamaugas were left without allies or support.

These circumstances did not deter the Tennessee settlers, especially those in Mero District from believing that the Chickamaugas must be totally annihilated.\textsuperscript{116} They were angry because the government prevented an offensive against these

\textsuperscript{113} Ramsey, Annals, pp. 594-595.
\textsuperscript{114} Milling, Red Carolinians, p. 329; Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokee," p. 77.
\textsuperscript{115} Smith, Story of the Cherokees, p. 101.
\textsuperscript{116} Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokee," p. 78.
banditti. In September, 1794, Major James Ore with five hundred Kentucky militia sent by Blount to "defend Mero District" left Nashville.117 Led by young Joseph Brown, they deviated from what was supposed to be a routine scouting expedition and struck the long-secure Five Lower Towns of the Chickamauga on September 13, 1794. First they attacked and destroyed Nickajack where they found from two to three hundred families. Most of the Indians were killed on the spot. Only eighteen prisoners were taken—almost all young women. The same fate fell to Running Water a mile up the river. Plunder included Spanish lead and powder, fresh scalps, and property identified by the Cumberland men.118 The Breath, chief of Nickajack, was killed and on his body was found a Spanish commission. Indians trying to escape down the river in canoes were slain; those that jumped into the swirling stream to swim to safety were shot when they came up for air.119

The Ore expedition returned to Nashville, disbanded, and all participants claimed complete innocence of responsibility when Governor Blount began investigating the strictly

117 ASP, Indian Affairs, I, 529; Robertson's report to Blount on the expedition, October 8, 1794, ibid., p. 530; Ore's original orders, September 6, 1794, Carter, editor, Territorial Papers, IV, 359; Milling, Red Carolinians, pp. 329-330.

118 Milling, Red Carolinians, p. 330.

119 Ramsey, Annals, pp. 611-614.
forbidden offensive. The frontier purpose had been served, however; the remaining Lower Towns asked for peace. Doublehead sent an appeal for peace, and John Watts, through Hanging Maw, asked to see Blount. This was the end of Chickamauga depredations and the long Cherokee continuance of the Revolution. These least placable of the Cherokees with their deep-seated bitterness had at last been crushed.

At Tellico Blockhouse on November 7, 1794, four hundred warriors signed the peace with Blount. A delegation led by the once-belligerent Doublehead called on President Washington who received them kindly. Washington expressed his warmest regards and regret over the frontier trouble. He admonished the chiefs to control their young men and noted the impossibility of removing the ten thousand white settlers from Tennessee. In conferences with Secretary Knox,

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120 Milling, Red Carolinians, p. 330; Robertson tendered his resignation, but it was never acted upon, Masterson, William Blount, p. 268.

121 ASP, Indian Affairs, I, 535-538, contains the peace talks; Carter, editor, Territorial Papers, IV, 364-370, report to Knox of November 10, 1794; Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokee," p. 79; Cotterill, Southern Indians, p. 110; and Smith, Story of the Cherokees, p. 101.

122 From a letter recently uncovered and in the possession of H. V. Jones, Dewey, Oklahoma, dated June 14, 1794; Smith, Story of the Cherokees, pp. 102-104; Cotterill, Southern Indians, p. 110.

it was agreed to raise the annuity to $5000 yearly to be paid in advance. The Treaty of San Lorenzo had ended the Spanish alliance, and Panton, Leslie and Company was forced to withdraw from Cherokee Country. To assure trade, the Indians succumbed to the American interpretations of the treaties. The Cherokees began to receive American goods of poor quality. 124

In a second treaty at Tellico in October, 1798, the United States, after wringing more land from thirty-nine Cherokee chiefs, guaranteed the remaining Cherokee territory forever. Surveying boundaries, however, always favored the whites and there was much unlawful occupancy of Indian land, for the government was inclined to be lenient with squatters. The Cherokees only grumbled; they had learned the futility of armed resistance to the westward surge of the American frontier. The stubborn mountaineers of the Old Southwest succumbed to civilization. They shortly became a nation of farmers armed with plows, carts, hoes, spinning wheels, and looms. 125 Negro slaves were held and herds of tame animals grazed the slopes of the Smokies. Under the benevolent direction of Benjamin Hawkins of North Carolina, who became the Superintendent of Indians South of the Ohio River, peace came at last to the dark and bloody ground.

124 Cotterill, Southern Indians, p. 114.

125 Smith, Story of the Cherokees, pp. 105-106.
President Washington notified Congress in 1795 that "hostilities with the Cherokees have ceased, and there is a pleasing prospect of permanent peace with that nation."\textsuperscript{126}

\textsuperscript{126}Address of February 17, 1795, ASF, Indian Affairs, I, 551.
CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

In summarizing the conclusions of this study, it will be of interest to note the extent to which the British were successful in controlling Indian trade along with the effect of European contact on the tribes. The most nearly unique of the conclusions drawn involves the reasons for lack of effective Cherokee support throughout the period of the Revolution and an estimate of the pressure of the hostile tribes on the outcome of the war. Finally the attempts of the United States government to deal with the tribe during the post-Revolutionary era present a new insight into the earliest states' rights arguments and the character of the western settlers and land speculators.

Trade was the chief instrument of Indian diplomacy in colonial days, and it was an instrument which proved fatal to the economy of the red man which could not survive against that of the Europeans. The Indian rapidly became dependent on the white man's trade goods, as was illustrated in the Cherokee War (1760-1761) when, cut off from Carolina and too distant to be reached by French traders, the Cherokees were forced to sue for peace. The Cherokees could not afford to
go against the colonies unless assured of satisfactory trade from another source. Civilization in the European sense tended to demoralize and degenerate the Indians; they were incapable of coping with European diseases and showed no restraint in their indulgence in alcoholics. Trade could be used as a weapon or enticement by the white authorities, and abundance of trade goods gave Britain the advantage in the colonial struggle with France.

Provincial mismanagement of Indian relations led to the creation of the office of the Indian superintendency at the beginning of the Seven Years War. This step was recognition of the need to counter French efforts to win Indian support. The office became important in the North due to the personal ability and skill of William Johnson, but the Southern Superintendent, Edmund Atkin, gained little influence because of his own shortcomings. The superintendent had to carve his own niche in the colonial administration, for his office was a novel experiment whose position in the imperial system was vague. John Stuart brought to the office powers equal to those of Johnson.

Indian superintendents were hampered by lack of authority and by the opposition of colonists to measures seeking to secure justice for the Indian. Land speculation was a primary cause of friction first between the colonists and the royal government and later between the states and the United States government. The distance and remoteness of the frontier often
made the laws and the reality of their enforcement two very different things. Frontiersmen were not interested in securing justice for the Indian tribes. It was considered the mark of eastern policy, of federalism, of aristocracy to favor the Indian in anything.

Indian policy in the 1760's took a turn back toward provincial control. Gage, Shelburne, and Dinwiddie urged thrift and imperial withdrawal from frontier forts. Gage wrote to the Secretary of War Lord Barrington in 1772: "If the colonists force the Indians into quarrels by using them ill, let them feel the consequences, we shall be out of the scrape."¹ British policy in regard to intertribal wars was to encourage such strife in time of peace in order to distract the Indians from attacks on the frontier. In time of war, the British authorities were quick to placate the tribes and seek to solve intertribal feuds, uniting Indian support on the English side.

The Indians chose the side seeking less lands—first, choosing the French over the British and later the British over the colonists—because they were not so guilty of land encroachment. The Indian quarrel was with no particular nation but with the ambitions of the westward movement. The Cherokees consistently made an unhappy choice of allies. They

¹Clarence E. Carter, editor, The Correspondence of General Thomas Gage With the Secretary of State, and With the War Office and the Treasury, 1763-1775 (New Haven, 1933), II, 601.
chose the French in the Seven Years War, the British in the Revolution, and later, the Confederacy in the War Between the States. Defeat cost them their rich hunting lands and their independence.

Frontier support for the Revolution was difficult to obtain at first because the frontiersmen looked upon the war as one to benefit the eastern merchants, shippers, and planters. The frontiersmen had less cause to fight England; in fact, many of them feared losing their recently obtained land grants. More recent immigrants were especially reluctant to join in the independence movement. However, the frontier benefited much in the long run from the Revolution. It was, to a great extent, a revolution against all authority—royal or otherwise—and, at least for a time, the frontiersmen were allowed to act just as they pleased with little dictation from any source. The victory of the American Revolution was the green light of the Westward Movement—removing the stumbling block of the Proclamation of 1763—and opening the Cumberland and every other gap to the surge of the "land grab" across the mountains. The rich Cherokee territory lay across the very path of the American westward march; it held the gateway to the Ohio Valley and the headwaters of rivers leading to the mighty Mississippi—and the settlers and Indians were bound to clash frequently for this fertile and strategic land. The sad mistake of the Cherokees was in supporting the British
and thereby giving the frontiersmen an excuse to usurp Indian lands as spoils of war.

The Cherokees' decision to attack the frontier early in the war and without the support of other tribes was a fatal error. It allowed the colonies in the south to cooperate in a joint expedition which proved the end of any unified Cherokee resistance. While, if they had waited on Creek and Tory support, they might have cooperated with British regulars in the South in 1778 to deal the colonists a crushing blow. Another factor in the failure of Cherokee military operations was the death of John Stuart who had personally carried so much influence in the tribe. Tribal division also played a role—the older men led by Attakullakulla were ready to submit at the very outset while the younger braves led by Dragging Canoe withdrew to continue guerrilla type warfare from their distant bases.

The British were more successful in their military use of Indians in the North—perhaps through better leadership. The able Johnsons in the North secured and held the loyalty of most of the Six Nations of the Iroquois. The death of Sir William Johnson found his experienced nephew Guy Johnson ready to assume leadership before the tribes. In the South, there was no such strong figure to unite and lead the tribes after the death of Stuart. Also in the South, there was much more division and bitterness between the separate tribes. Although culturally much alike, the Five Civilized tribes,
especially the Cherokees and Creeks, had a long history of intertribal feuds. Thus, there was more unity among the Six Nations in the North than among the Five Civilized Tribes to the South. Another factor was distance. In the North, the Indians could be supplied and directed from Canada while to the South administration had to be carried on across vast areas of swamps and mountains from Pensacola or St. Augustine. This was especially inconvenient for control of the Cherokees. The position of the Spanish at New Orleans and Mobile also served to hamper British operations in the South.

Thus the only real impact of the Cherokee attack on the outcome of the Revolution was that the threat of continued raids held the frontiersmen vigilant and prepared when they might have been crossing the mountains to aid their eastern brethren in the struggle against the British. It has also been suggested that the presence of the hostile tribes kept the frontier compact and made them reliant on their eastern parent states even after the war when they were tempted to split away.

Following the war federal administration of the Southern Indians was impeded by the same lack of authority that had be-deviled Edmund Atkin and John Stuart. The separate states were still jealous of trade prerogatives and property rights. They refused to admit federal authority to negotiate Indian treaties. The government of the Confederation, at a loss to exercise any real control over frontier dealings with the
tribes, adopted the superintendent-agent plan used by the British. They found that administration was only possible with agents living among the Indians, and too often these agents became so enmeshed in speculation schemes that they were neither high-minded nor effective.

The young United States soon discovered that her Spanish "allies" to the southwest were not to be trusted, for they were interested in the expansion and growth of Spanish territory rather than in the security of an infant nation. The Spanish were not above arming and arousing the Indians or courting the interests of dissatisfied settlers west of the Appalachians. At the same time they were adding to dissatisfaction by frustrating federal efforts to secure access to the navigation of the Mississippi River. The West seethed with sedition, wild individualism, and separatism. Eagerly craving Indian lands, the frontier settlers made a mockery of federal treaties by ignoring their terms with impunity. Few juries would punish a white man for crimes against the Indians. The bitterness between white and red men on the frontier was not resolved until the last traces of Indian resistance were wiped out. With the destruction of the Lower Towns of the Chickamaugas, the last vestiges of Cherokee independence were extinguished. The once-proud spirit of the Cherokee was broken; they were submissive, meek, and ready to be civilized. The Indians themselves began the westward removal which at last brought most of them to Oklahoma. As
early as 1785, groups had pulled out and settled farther west. Georgia began a vigorous campaign to remove the Cherokees from their lands and by 1838 all except those on the Qualla Reservation in North Carolina were far from their beautiful mountain homes. Lost forever to the mountaineers of the Old Southwest was their ancestral inheritance of blue mountains rising to the sky, valleys engulfed with clouds, gentle slopes decked with rhododendron, and fertile soil interlaced by transparent streams and cascading rapids.
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