THE INDIAN PROBLEM
IN COLONIAL GEORGIA
1745-1763

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis, "Indian Problems in Georgia, 1745 to 1763," is the continuation of a thesis written by R. E. Cureton, which concerned itself primarily with the Indian problem of Georgia as it affected and was affected by the philanthropic settlement of Georgia from 1733 to 1745. To continue Mr. Cureton's subject the present writer has chosen the period from 1745 to 1763. This study covers the period of the bitter and intense rivalry between the English and the French for the mastery of North America. This bitter colonial rivalry impelled the French to incite the Indians to attack the English and the English retaliated by persuading the Indians to attack the French and Spaniards. In this fascinating struggle for colonial supremacy in North America, especially as it affected the Indian problems in Georgia, the French and the Spaniards secured an alliance with the Cherokee, Chickasaw and Yamassee tribes while the British allied with the Upper and Lower Creek Nations.

The material used in this work was collected largely from volumes six, seven, and eight of the Colonial Records of Georgia, compiled and edited by Allen Candler. An occasional reference was also made to secondary sources such as Charles Jones, History of Georgia, Volume I, Amanda Johnson, Georgia as Colony and State, and Gold Rueben Thwaites, France in America, 1497-1763. In the writing of this thesis the materials have been grouped in three chapters: (1) the influence of the Bosomworth Family on Anglo-Indian Relations, 1745 to 1759; (2) the Indian Relations with France and Spain to 1763; and (3) the Anglo-Indian Domestic Relations, 1756 to 1763.

1R. E. Cureton, "Indian Problems in Georgia, 1733-1745." (Unpublished Master's Thesis, Atlanta University), Preface.
By consulting a standard work on historical geography,¹ information was obtained as to the location of the various Indian nations in the province of Georgia. In the northeastern part of the province was the home of the Cherokees, while the Lower Creeks made their abode in the southeastern area. The Chickasaws found their domiciles in the southwest and the Choctaw nation was located in the extreme southern part of Georgia.

During the period 1745 to 1762, Great Britain occupied territory in North America as far north as Canada and southward to the Spanish Colony of Florida, while the French were settled in New Orleans and Canada. As result of the Treaty of 1763, France was eliminated as a colonial power, leaving England and Spain as the "premier colonial powers of the world."²

In discussing the Indian problems in Georgia some attention must be given to the governing of the province. According to the charter which was granted Oglethorpe and his associates in England, there was no provision for self-government for the inhabitants, but legislative power was granted to the Trustees, which was exercised in the colony by the provincial council consisting of the governor and his assistants. The Trustees were also given power to make laws which they thought necessary for the corporation, and were authorized to enforce these laws as long as they did not conflict with those of England.

The writer hopes that the reader will obtain an appreciation and understanding of the Indian problems in Georgia for the period 1745 to 1763 and that some student will continue the study of Indian problems in Georgia by using the period from 1763 to 1783 as a subject for his thesis.

CHAPTER I

INFLUENCE OF THE BOSOMWORTH FAMILY
ON
ANGLO-INDIAN RELATIONS 1745-1759

In treating the Indian Problems in Georgia 1745-1765, there are many approaches one can make, but the writer will confine his discussion to three main topics: (1) The Influence of the Bosomworth Family on Anglo-Indian Relations, 1745-1759; (2) Indian Relations with France and Spain to 1763; and (3) Anglo-Indian Domestic Relations, 1756-1763.

The Bosomworth episode, though only an incident in the relation of Georgia settlers and Indians, occupied much space in the documents of these years and is here related in detail as typical of the disturbances which were constantly occurring between the English and the Indians. Moreover, this destructive program of the Bosomworth's was aimed directly at the Trustees of the colony to satisfy the selfish motives of Reverend Thomas Bosomworth, \(^1\) which shall be discussed further in this chapter.

During the early colonial period in Georgia, General Oglethorpe was fortunate in securing the service of Mrs. Mary Musgrove,\(^2\) at that time the wife of an Indian trader,\(^3\) as his interpreter in making treaties with Tomochichi and the chieftains of the Creek Nation. When Oglethorpe learned that Mary spoke English fluently and possessed considerable influence over the Creeks, he retained her in the capacity of interpreter with an annual income of one hundred pounds sterling.\(^4\) Thus in Oglethorpe's service,

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\(^2\) Hereafter to be referred to simply as Mary.
\(^3\) Mary in 1742 was the wife of Jacob Matthews. (Ibid., p. 389).
\(^4\) Ibid., p. 384.
Mary was instrumental in concluding treaties guaranteeing the safety of the province, and obtaining warriors from her nation to aid in the struggle between the Spaniards in Florida and the English in Georgia. Always ready to render efficient service to Oglethorpe and the province, she became highly esteemed by the Board of Trustees; but, because of her marriage to and the unwholesome influence of Reverend Thomas Bosomworth,\(^1\) whose selfish genius and sophistry (as will be shown later) brought in a series of unnecessary but far reaching entanglements, she gradually lost favor with the colony and its Trustees soon after the departure of Oglethorpe for England. This loss of favor came about in the following way:

Thomas, who had been commissioned on July 4, 1743 by the Trustees to conduct religious services in the province of Georgia, was given several acres of land upon which he made his home with his wife.\(^2\) Insignificant as it seemed, the land granted to Thomas's wife by the Trustees was later one of the main causes for unrest in the colony.\(^3\) Other forces that contributed to the conflict between the colonists and the Bosomworth family were (1) the introduction of six Negro slaves on the property of Thomas's wife; (2) the pernicious influence of Thomas upon Mary; (3) the unscrupulous influence of the Bosomworth family upon the Creek Indians; and (4) attempt of the authorities to maintain order within the colony. The four points listed will be discussed chronologically.

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\(^1\)Hereafter to be referred to simply as Thomas.
\(^3\)Ibid., p. 385.
When Thomas returned from England in 1746 to his wife's plantation located on the south shore of the Alatomoha River, he violated the regulation of the Trustees by introducing six Negro slaves on his wife's property. Governor Stephens, upon the recommendations and advice of the Trustees, requested that the slaves be removed from the province at once, since slavery, by law, was prohibited in Georgia. This order provoked Thomas; consequently, he made plans with Mary to use her influence over the Creek Indians against the white inhabitants of Georgia. In making these plans with Mary, Thomas laid the foundation for the devastating influence which he maintained over his wife.

This influence greatly changed Mary's disposition from that of a cooperative and unselfish person to that of a bold and malicious cheat. Now under the unhealthy influence of her husband, she distorted facts, resorted to double dealing, and misinformed the Creeks on several matters which will be brought out later in the chapter. She therefore became a detrimental force to the peace and security of the colony. According to Thomas's plans, Mary was to become the possessor of the land near Savannah, namely, the islands of Ossabaw, Saint Catherine, and Sapelo, which had been reserved for the Indians by treaties. Thomas wanted the land to be given his wife as just compensation for her services to Oglethorpe and the province. After doing that, Thomas drew up a document in which his wife was

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1In 1745 Thomas Bosomworth went to England. While there he "informed the Board of Trustees that he did not purpose residing any longer in Georgia". (Ibid., p. 384).
2Slavery was not legal in Georgia until 1749. (Ibid., pp. 110-112, 423-426).
3Ibid., p. 384.
to become the Queen of all the Creek nation, while Malatchee Opiya, a very powerful Indian Chief, and several other chieftains of that nation, were to be called Kings. Thomas did this in order to pave the way for his unscrupulous program in inviting the Creek Indians to the province of Georgia without the permission of the Trustees.¹

When Governor Stephens was informed of the Creek Indians visiting the province, he and Patrick Graham, one of Stephens' assistants, decided to visit the home of the Bosomworths, where they were told by Mary that within a few days a large body of Creek Indians from Cow-Pen were expected in the colony² to meet her brother Abraham, whom they appointed as agent to transact their business in England and to see that she embarked for England voluntarily.³ Stephens was prompted by Mary's report to appoint two members of his council to ascertain information concerning the Creek Indians' forthcoming visit; meanwhile several chieftains had already arrived in the province. On July 25, 1749, members of the council, having considered the Indian problem separately, were of the unanimous opinion that the first and most expedient step would be to get another interpreter, as former experience convinced them that Mary could no longer

¹Ibid., p. 392.
²In 1749 Thomas informed the Board of Trustees that he had invited three chiefs from the Creek Nation to the province of Georgia, among whom was Malatchee, the Emperor of that Nation. (Allen D. Candler, comp., The Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Vol. VI, (Atlanta, 1905-15. Hereafter cited as C.R.), p. 252.
³The Creek Indians were anxious to hear what news Abraham Bosomworth had for them from King George II in regard to their land, and they agreed to remain silent until they heard from Abraham. If, however, the answer was unsatisfactory, the Creek Indians were to forbid any English from settling above the fall line; the Islands of Ossabaw, Saint Catherines, Sapelo, and the land between Pipemakers Creek were to be reserved by the Indians of the Creek Nation to be given to the Bosomworth family. (C.R., Vol. VI, p. 255).
be trusted.\(^1\) This involved more expense to the colony and it was necessary for the colonial government to draw upon the account of Mr. Verlst, the provincial agent in England, to the sum of one hundred and fifty-eight pounds and fifteen shillings which enabled the officials to purchase provisions and employ and interpreter for the Indians.\(^2\) Meanwhile, the white inhabitants of the province watched every move made by the Creek Indians and the Bosomworth family. Colonel Stephens, Commander of the Militia in Georgia, was ordered by the Board of Trustees to keep his militia in readiness in case the Bosomworths and the Creek Indians became troublesome.

As soon as the Creek Indians from Cow-Pen were received in the morning by a detachment of militia on the land of Mary's former home, they were requested by Russell, the foreman of the construction party, to help the people of Georgia clear the land for the accommodation of the Indians. While they were engaged in this process, one of the workmen informed Russell that Whonny, and Indian slave belonging to Thomas, had a message from the Bosomworth family for him. It revealed that the Bosomworths objected to the Indians and the white people clearing trees on their property.\(^3\) Later, Mary approached Russell and reprimanded him for allowing the men to clear the land beyond the boundary of the colony.\(^4\) Then Mary commanded the workmen to stop their labor and return to their homes. This the men refused to do, saying that they would continue their work until notified to the contrary by the provincial officials. At this stage Mary instructed

\(^2\) Stephens was advised by the Board of Trustees to invite Malatchee and two chiefs to dine at his mansion the next day in order to cultivate a better understanding between the two races. (C.R., Vol. VI, pp. 255-254, 256).
\(^3\) C.R., Vol. VI, pp. 258-259.
the Creek Indians to seize the tools of the workmen and throw them within
the boundary of the colony. The Board of Trustees, however, placed the
responsibility for this action upon the Bosomworths rather than upon the
Indians. After the Trustees conferred with the Creek Indians on August
11, 1749, the Indians were convinced that the English were interested in
their welfare and became very hostile towards the Bosomworth family for
misinforming them.

The following day, Captain Noble Jones, who was placed in command
of the militia consisting of one hundred and seventy soldiers, was given
instructions not to allow the visiting Creek Indians to enter the town
armed. The Indians, with Thomas as leader, were received with courtesy
by the militia when they entered the province. As the Creek Indians
reached the mansion of Governor Stephens, Adam Bosomworth and Thomas
withdrew, leaving Malatchee as the leader of his tribe. While in the con-
ference Malatchee restated to the governor and the Trustees the purpose
of the Creek Indians' visit, which was to see that Mary embarked volun-
tarily for England and also to receive Abraham Bosomworth's message. Mary
was successful in arranging a plan whereby she was to act as spokes-
man for Malatchee and the other chieftains in a conference with the
other chieftains in a conference with the colonists. As the result of
this, Mary assumed the leadership of the Creek Nation, declaring herself

2Rumors had been circulated for over a period of two years that Mary
was to be sent to England in irons. (C. R., Vol. VI, pp. 252-253).
3Abraham and Adam Bosomworth were brothers of Mrs. Mary Bosomworth,
who married an English minister, Thomas Bosomworth in 1744. (Jones, 2d-
cit., p. 584).
the Empress and Queen of the Upper and Lower Creeks, and even denying owing any allegiance to the King of England. When the conference was closed Mary and the chieftains were invited to the governor's mansion for dinner. Mary, who had been provoked by the Trustees, withdrew from the table when the dinner was served with five chieftains following, one of whom was Malatchee. This action of Mary only widened the breach between her and the Trustees.¹

The breach between the colonists and the Bosomworth family continued to widen due to the disturbance in the colony by the Creek Indians² and the rumor that Colonel Stephens had been decapitated. Because of this, over one hundred of the white inhabitants armed in order to protect their homes. Meanwhile the Indians who caused the disturbance and were on their way to the upper square in the colony, were stopped by members of the Board of Trustees. The leader, Adam Bosomworth, and his servant were arrested. With a little diplomacy the Creek Indians were persuaded to have a conference with Governor Stephens. Mary opposed the Creek Indians meeting the governor; therefore, the following day as the Creek Indians were about to enter the mansion of the governor, Mary approached them and demanded that they stay out of the house. Aside from that Mary notified the officials and the inhabitants of the province who were present that they did not have a legal right to the property they were living on. Since Mary could not persuade the Creek Indians to stay out, she decided to go in with them in order to have a voice in the conversation.³

¹C. R., Vol. VI, pp. 262—263.
²The disturbance in the streets of the colony was caused by several Creek Indians beating on drums.
After Mary and the Creek chieftains entered the mansion they were introduced to Governor Stephens, who opened the conference by speaking of the unsatisfactory behavior of Mary and the Indians. Malatchee, admitting that he was to be blamed for the disturbance, asked the Trustees to forgive him and grant Adam Bosomworth his freedom. Since the Trustees and the governor were desirous of maintaining peace with the Creek Indians, they granted Malatchee's request. Then the Bosomworth family and the chieftains promised to meet the Trustees the next day for the purpose of reestablishing harmony between the two races, at which time Thomas promised the governor that no liquor would be given the Creek chieftains.

Promises did not mean much to Thomas because he induced the Indians to drink at his home until day-break the morning of the conference. Because of this the Creek chieftains were too intoxicated to attend the meeting. Since the chieftains were not present at the conference the Trustees sent a messenger to the Bosomworth's home, to instruct the family to be present at the conference with or without the Indians. As soon as Mary received the message she and her brother attended the conference, giving excuses for Thomas's absence, although the Board of Trustees was aware of Thomas's condition. However, when news was received that the family was not going to attend, two Creek chieftains went to Bosomworth's home to persuade them to come to the conference. After the family had agreed to be present at the next meeting, it was then that the chieftains informed Malatchee that if he and the Bosomworth family did not report to the conference they would be arrested. Malatchee, upon hearing this, attended

1C. R., Vol. VI, pp. 265-266.
2C. R., Vol. VI, p. 266.
the meeting, where he was informed by the Trustees of the unscrupulous
plans of Thomas, and that the latter had no regard for the Creeks' welfare.\(^1\)
In order to prove their interest in the welfare of the Creek Indians, the
Trustees told them that the land adjacent the colony was reserved for the
Indians' hunting ground whenever they visited the colony.\(^2\)

When the Creek Indians were convinced that Thomas was imposing upon
them, they promised the Trustees that their tribe would not be a part of
Bosomworth's plans. In the meantime, Malatchee requested that the con-
ference be closed since his people were satisfied with the talk of the
governor and Board of Trustees.\(^3\)

When the Trustees met in August, 1749, they were pleased to learn
that the conference had promoted friendly relations between the colony
and Creek Indians.\(^4\) However, since the expense of the Indians in the
colony was exceedingly burdensome, the Trustees, considering the welfare
of the colony, decided to give a proper share of the gifts from the King
to the visiting Creek Indians. At the same time, the Trustees informed
the Creek Indians that it was through their influence that the King sent
the gifts as a gesture of friendship.\(^5\)

\(^{1}\) Thomas had promised his creditors one-third of the Indians' gifts
that they were expecting to receive from the Trustees, in order to pay

\(^{2}\) The land that the governor and Board of Trustees reserved for the
Creek Indians was the islands of Ossabaw, Saint Catherine and Sapelo.


\(^{5}\) Patrick Graham was appointed agent to see that the Indian gifts
were divided correctly. (C.R., Vol. VI, pp. 269-270).
That afternoon the Creek Indians had another conference with the governor and the Trustees before receiving their gifts. In this conference the friendly attitude that Malatchee had shown toward the inhabitants of the colony was changed because of the powerful influence that the Bosomworth family had over him. After Governor Stephens had opened the conference, Malatchee made a speech, after which the governor presented the Trustees with a document unsigned and dated August 1749. In the preamble of this paper there were a number of Indian names, which were unknown to the inhabitants of the colony, except one, and that was the name of Malatchee. The Trustees and the governor were of the opinion that the document had been drafted by Thomas, who was using Malatchee in his destructive plans against the colony. In order to satisfy the Trustees Malatchee promised to return the document to the person from whom he had received it, if the Trustees so desired. Malatchee was then advised by the Trustees that the document be returned; if not, the Creeks would believe that the inhabitants were satisfied with it. In response to Malatchee's speech the governor gave a brief account of Mary's life while she was in the service of Oglethorpe, and the Bosomworth's destructive plans against the colony and the Creek Indians. Meanwhile the Trustees

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1During the course of his speech to the officials of the colony and the chieftains, Malatchee said that it was through Mary's permission that the white people were living in Georgia and that she was here long before Oglethorpe founded this province. It was she who gave the settlers the right to this land. (C. R., Vol. VI, pp. 270-271).


3The body of the document was similar to Malatchee's speech, in which Mary was declared the rightful and lawful head of the Creek Nation. (C. R., Vol. VI, p. 271).

4Vide, pp. 2-5.

desired to test Malatchee's friendship by asking his permission to burn the document in public, which Malatchee refused. The Board of Trustees was not certain of Malatchee's loyalty because they were of the opinion that he was still influenced by the Bosomworth family. In order to save the province from destruction by the Creek Indians, the Trustees suggested that the Indians should be bribed.

On August 17, 1749, the Trustees met the chieftains to discuss the Anglo-Indian relations. The friendly discussions between the two groups were abruptly terminated by the undignified conduct of Mary, who was intoxicated with liquor and disappointed in Malatchee and the chieftains for not carrying out the Bosomworths' plans. Mary was politely reprimanded by the Trustees, after which she was asked to leave the room. Mary refused, declaring that she belonged in the meeting because her people were there. Mary was again ordered to leave the room by the Trustees, who informed her that the King's subjects would no longer tolerate her insults. Mary interpreted this to Malatchee, who arose very angrily in Mary's defense. The Trustees resenting this, ordered the peace officer to confine Mary to the guard house until instructed by them to release her. When everything was peaceful, several of the chieftains excluding Malatchee, withdrew to another room and expressed their regrets in regard to Mary's and Malatchee's behavior toward the Trustees. At the same time Thomas was suc-

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3 During the talk, Mary spoke angrily to Malatchee in the Creek language, which he seemed to resent. (C.R., Vol. VI, pp. 274-275).
4 During the confusion a troublesome chief went to the house where the Indians were quartered and persuaded them to take up arms against the province. Captain Jones was ordered by the Trustees to command the militia for the protection of the inhabitants, an ultimatum to the Creek Indians to lay down their arms or face annihilation by the militia. (C.R., Vol. VI, pp. 275-276).
cessful in making an appointment with the Trustees that afternoon. Here he apologized for the behavior of his wife and himself. He also promised the Trustees that he would use his influence in preventing any further disturbances in the colony. Thomas implored the Trustees not to press the charges against them. Believing in him, the Trustees sent for Mary, and Thomas acquainted her with his promise. She agreed to it and was later released. Then the Trustees suggested to the Bosomworths that they should profess their ill-behavior before the Creek Indians who were to assemble at the courthouse.

When the chieftains and other visiting Indians assembled at the courthouse, they were reminded of their conduct. Following the governor’s speech, Thomas arose and apologized for his wife’s conduct. Hereafter, he continued, all treaties between the Indians and the colony should be made with Governor Stephens and the Board of Trustees instead of with Mary. The Indians were pleased with his message and desired that the entire matter be dropped forever. Malatchee then expressed his regret for the way he had acted the night before and requested that everything be forgotten. Governor Stephens, satisfied that the issue was settled, ordered the gifts distributed to the Indians, after which the Indians departed.

Following the departure of the Creek Indians, Abraham Bosomworth, who was expected long before this time in order to distribute the gifts to his people, arrived from Charlestown. He called upon Governor Stephens and presented his credentials from the Governor of South Carolina. The

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credentials authorized Abraham to act as agent for the distribution of
gifts to the Indians here in conjunction with an agent of Georgia. Abra-
ham's instructions were placed before the Trustees by the governor, who
informed the Trustees that Abraham was interested in serving his family
because he wanted more consideration given to article two of his instruc-
tions as it affected Mary. 1 Governor Stephens then acquainted the Trus-
tees with a letter he received from Abraham, dated August 23, 1749, in
which Abraham made mention of a memorial presented to the Duke of Bedford
(Secretary to the King) by Mary, which alleged great losses on her part
as a result of her continued service to his Majesty's government though
offering no excuse or attempted justification for the previous misconduct
of Mary. The correspondent, continued the governor, felt himself "in duty
bound" to represent to the governor and Trustees anything which he thought
might help to preserve the peace of the colony. He then proceeded to of-
fer for consideration, by the governor and Trustees, a proposal that in
the distribution of "his Majesty's bounty to the Indians" Mary be given a
share. Abraham felt that magnanimity on the part of the Governor and Trus-
tees would tend to atone for Mary's losses and satisfy her grievances and
eventually lead to a complete rapprochement with the Trustees. 2 After the
Trustees had considered the contents of the letter, they were of the
opinion that the behavior of Thomas's family was detrimental to the welfare
of the colony and therefore they could not be justified in giving the
agent permission to grant them presents. The Trustees further advised the
agent not to give the Bosomworths a definite answer concerning the gifts.

1 According to article two of Abraham's instructions, Mary was to
This was done to avoid trouble with Mary and Thomas. The Board of Trustees concluded that the Bosomworth family was too extravagant and that if the government did grant them an income of five hundred pounds a year they would still be in debt.

Thus we come to point four as outlined in this thesis, in which the Bosomworth's title and claims to the islands of Sapelo, Saint Catherine, and Ossabaw in 1759 were examined by his Majesty's council. The court ruled that the Bosomworths' had no legal claim to the islands which had been given to the Trustees by the chieftains of the Creek Nation in 1757. This report from his Majesty was read by the governor to the family. Thomas said that they had no intention of keeping the land as their personal property against the will of the Crown. Although Mary caused disturbance in the province by influencing the Creeks against the white inhabitants, yet she was compensated for her land and service to Oglethorpe. For the land she received two thousand one hundred pounds sterling.

Therefore, the trouble with the Bosomworths was finally adjusted only to be followed by the struggle between France and Spain allied against the English for the supremacy of North America. This will be discussed in the following chapter entitled, "Indian Relations with France and Spain to 1763".

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3C. R., Vol. VIII, p. 84.
7Jones, op. cit., p. 384.
8C. R., Vol. VIII, p. 86.
CHAPTER II

INDIAN RELATIONS WITH FRANCE AND SPAIN TO 1763

In the preceding chapter there was discussed, the introduction of six Negro slaves on the property of Thomas's wife; the destructive influence of Thomas upon Mary; and the unscrupulous influence of the Bosomworth family upon the Creek Indians, which became a detrimental force to the peace of the colony during the period 1745 to 1759.

Agents of the French, Spanish, and English were busily engaged in intrigues with the various Indian tribes. News of the doings of the French and Spanish occupied much of the attention of the English Trustees in Georgia. The material bearing on the events described in this chapter is contained largely in letters sent by Indian traders, who were authorities on Indian affairs in the province to the various provincial administrative officers. These letters, usually placed before the Trustees, were discussed by that body. This procedure was resorted to in order to keep the Trustees well informed on the progress of French and Spanish efforts to secure Indian aid in their struggle against the white inhabitants of the province.\(^1\) According to Amanda Johnson, conditions in Georgia in 1754 were critical in that the colony's "frontiers were exposed, and defenseless, finances were low, the Indians restless, and the prevailing state of demoralization made it difficult to initiate a new and untried government."\(^2\)

Later on in the same year (November 1, 1754) Patrick Graham, agent for Indian affairs for the colony, received from a half-breed, Lochlon-Mac-Gillivray, a letter in which French and Indian relations in the colony and the territory south of it were lengthily discussed.\(^3\) The most

\(^2\) Amanda Johnson, Georgia As Colony and State, p. 105.
important revelation contained in this communication placed, as was customary at this time, by the governor before the Trustees, was the allegation that the French were attempting to encourage the chieftains of the Upper and Lower Creek nations to meet in Mobile for the purpose of influencing the Indians to make war on the province of Georgia. The following day, November 2, the Trustees summoned to its meeting John Rae, an officer of the peace from Augusta and a person well acquainted with Indian affairs in Georgia. Rae confirmed before the Trustees the statements contained in the letter from Gillivray. As a result of the letter of Gillivary, in order to maintain friendly relations with the Lower Creek and Chickasaw Indians, the Trustees advised the governor to communicate by letter with these two tribes, telling them they would receive gifts as soon as the cargo arrived from England. The context of this communication from Governor Reynolds to the chieftains of the Creek nation is as follows:

"Georgia"

"The Great and Beloved King George my master appointed me Governor and General of this His Province of Georgia, I take the first opportunity of acquainting you therewith, and of assuring you, that I shall use every means to preserve the good understanding that at present subsists between the Great King my Master's Subjects of this Province and your nation, and as it will give me very great Pleasure to have an Opportunity of shaking Hands, and of talking with you Face to Face, I shall acquaint you, when it may be proper to come here when I hoped, I shall be able to give you a further Testimony of my love and Friendship—in the meantime, I wish you, your Wives and children Health and Prosperity".  

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In the meantime, Captain Ellick, an Indian chief of the Lower Creek nation, visited Governor Reynolds to tell him that the French had met with some success in persuading a few Indians of the Lower Creek nation to go to Mobile for the conference referred to in Mac-Gillivray's letter. He asserted further that there seemed to be no available information on the purported French and Spanish plans for the destruction of Georgia. The Trustees, aware of the fact that the French and Spanish were attempting to influence the Creeks against the white inhabitants of Georgia, suggested that Ellick and his people be rewarded for their service to the province. In conformity with this suggestion the governor, on the next day, presented gifts to the Indians in the council chamber. After receiving their reward the Indians left the province, satisfied with their English friends.

Sometime after the incident with Captain Ellick and the Creeks, the Trustees received further information concerning French intrigues in the colony. This information was contained in a letter sent to Patrick Graham by one Clark, and Indian trader. The letter asserted that the Upper Creek had been told, while at the Mobile conference, that the English were their enemies. Furthermore, at this same conference the French governor of New Orleans had produced a fictitious letter supposedly written by the English to the French in which the former told the latter that they wanted the French to become their allies in an effort to destroy the Creek Nation. This letter was used to great advantage by the French governor to alienate the Indians against the English and to join with the French for their mutual protection against English encroachments. The French governor told

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the Indians further, that the English were interested only in the Indian lands and in making them slaves. Hearing this the chieftains were persuaded by the governor of New Orleans that now was the time to attack the English with the aid of the French. He let it be known that the French were doing this because they were interested in the welfare of the Creek Nation. As a result, the Trustees advised Governor Reynolds to communicate by letter with the Indians of the Creek nation hoping to maintain friendly Anglo-Indian relations and at the same time to offset the French influence which had been strengthened by the Mobile conference.

Meanwhile, the white inhabitants of Augusta were becoming alarmed at the progress of French intrigue among the Creek and Cherokee Indians in arousing them against the province of Georgia. Thus in 1756 they petitioned Governor Reynolds and the members of the Trustees to fortify the frontier of the province against the Creeks, Chickasaws and Cherokees, and especially Fort Augusta for the purpose of defending the colony in case of an attack by the French, Indians and Spaniards. The Trustee Board answered the petition by requesting the governor to raise a company consisting of a captain, two lieutenants, and seventy privates, who were to receive the same pay as the rangers (colonial troops). The captain and many of the white inhabitants of Ogechee Darien were informed of the Indian situation so that they too might be prepared for the coming struggle with the French, Indians and Spaniards.

Rumors involving the French against the colony continually reached members of the Board of Trustees. Joseph Bluth and Andrew Palmer, Indian Traders, reported that on visiting a small Indian town located in Saint Taffeyes, they were informed that the Creek Indians and the French were allied and were making plans to attack the province of Georgia.\(^1\) According to them the French sailed seven ships into the port of Saint Augustine in 1756.\(^2\) However, the Spanish officials denied the French permission to march French and Indian troops through Saint Augustine for the purpose of making war against Georgia and South Carolina,\(^3\) because at that time Spain and England were on friendly terms.

In the following year, 1757, Henry Ellis succeeded John Reynolds as governor of the province of Georgia. Governor Ellis informed the Trustees that he was going to postpone a proposed trip to the southern part of Georgia because of an impending visit of a group of chieftains from the Creek nation.\(^4\) A messenger was dispatched to inform the chieftains that the governor would receive them on April 20, in the council chamber.\(^5\) The Indians came and were given the customary welcome by the governor and Trustees. Governor Ellis reminded the Indians of the French intrigue against the English, especially in Georgia, and promised the Indians a great reward for every French scalp they brought to him.\(^6\) Then the governor asked the Indians what was the nature of the proposed conference among the Creeks, Cherokees, and Chickasaws scheduled to be held at the town of the

Chickasaws. The chieftains told the governor that they were unaware of any such scheduled meeting. The governor then presented to them the gifts from the province.

Meanwhile (May 1757) Captain Ellick, his brother, and several other Indians called upon Governor Ellis. They sought to acquaint the governor and Trustees with news of the alliance formed among the Cherokee, Creek Indians and the French for the purpose of attacking the province of Georgia. The governor and Trustees were told by the Indians that at the time the English built the fort in the Cherokee nation, it was thought that they did so with the intention of taking the Indians' land later. The French, who were jealous of the English because of the fort in the Indian nation, persuaded the Cherokees to cast off their loyalty on the grounds that the latter were interested only in making their people slaves and taking their land.

Governor Ellis was very straightforward in his response to the information brought by the Indians. He told them that the Cherokees had requested that the English build them a fort so as to afford some protection to their women and children while they were away in battle. Due to some misunderstanding between the English and Cherokees, he continued, their friendship was broken and the Cherokees began soon thereafter to make with the French treaties which were detrimental to the province. Also, he asserted, since that time the chieftains had visited Charleston, South Carolina, and had conferred with governor Lyttleton of that province on Anglo-

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Indian and French-Indian relations. The Cherokees were satisfied with the outcome of the meeting, and to show their loyalty to the two colonies, Georgia and South Carolina, indicated their willingness to send one hundred warriors to aid the English in their struggle with the French.¹

The French persuaded the Cherokees to use their influence and urge the Upper and Lower Creeks to ally with them,² but the Creeks refused not only because the English were the only people upon whom they could depend for supplies,³ but also because the Creek chieftains of the Creek nation were interested in maintaining peace.⁴ However, it was not until the French and Spaniards were defeated in 1763, that the Cherokees desired to make peace with the English.⁵

Moreover in 1760 the Trustees informed Governor Ellis that the Spaniards in Saint Augustine were in want of provisions and that the Spanish Governor stationed there had promised to adopt a more friendly attitude toward the province. He agreed to return all runaway slaves who came to Saint Augustine and to close the port of Saint Augustine to French warships and privateers alike.⁶ In return the English colony was to furnish the Spaniards with food supplies. This agreement could not be immediately entered into, however, because Georgia had passed a law which forbade trade between its inhabitants and the Spaniards. Nevertheless, Governor Ellis requested the opinion of the Board of Trustees on the question of granting special trading permits to the proper persons who might desire

⁶In 1756 the Spaniards in Saint Augustine gave the French permission to sail their warships into the port of Saint Augustine.
to trade with the Spaniards.\textsuperscript{1} The Trustees, after careful consideration of the question, were of the opinion that it would be an inappropriate move on their part to legalize the trade between the white inhabitants and the Spaniards.\textsuperscript{2}

Meanwhile, (1762), Samuel Piles was brought to Savannah from Fort Barrington and placed under arrest. He was charged with having negotiated a treaty ending the conflict between the Creeks and Spaniards in violation of Georgia law. In the course of his preliminary hearing before the Trustees, Piles told that body that the people of Saint Augustine owed him four thousand dollars and that upon his arrival in the city some six weeks previous to his arrest in Savannah, he had appealed to the Governor of Saint Augustine for aid in the collection of this bill. The governor had met this request for help with an assertion that the people would liquidate the entire debt when and if Piles returned to the fort with another cargo. At the same time, however, he was informed by the Spanish agent in Saint Augustine that payment could not be made for either cargo nor could he be permitted to return to Saint Augustine if prior to his return England and Spain should go to war. Piles then stated that he returned to Frederica, where he made inquiries about the state of the relations between England and Spain. These inquiries revealed that the white inhabitants of Georgia and South Carolina had no knowledge of an English declaration of war against Spain.\textsuperscript{3}

Satisfied with the results of his inquiries, Piles stated that he then prepared for a return trip to Saint Augustine. Upon his arrival in

\textsuperscript{1}C. R., Vol. VIII, p. 347.
\textsuperscript{2}C. R., Vol. VIII, p. 347.
Saint Augustine, Piles reported that he was approached by an officer in the Spanish army and asked if there were not something that he could do to bring about friendly relations with the Creek Indians, and the Spaniards, thus preventing further disturbances. Realizing that any such act on his part might be held treasonable in Georgia and South Carolina, Piles asserted that he did not promise the officer that he would use his influence with the Indians to bring about peace between them and the Spaniards. Later, Piles continued, he over-heard a conversation between the same Spanish army officer and Antonia, a Spanish agent, during which the latter told the former that Ephriam Alexander, and Englishman in the service of the Spanish province, had finally persuaded the chieftains of five hundred Creek Indians to meet with the Spaniards in Saint Augustine to discuss peace terms. Thus Piles stated it as his belief that if peace between the two groups had been made it was due to Ephriam Alexander's efforts for which he must have received large sums from the Spanish officials. Piles concluded his testimony before the Trustees by asserting that at this time there were five hundred troops from Spain in Saint Augustine and more were expected to arrive soon to take part in the coming conflict among Spain, France and England.

The concluding portion of Piles's statement was somewhat alarming to the Trustees. They therefore determined to investigate Spanish activities in the surrounding territory. The Trustees called in several Creek Indians, who had visited Saint Augustine in 1753, and inquired of them what information they might have concerning Spanish activities. These Indians

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told the Trustees that the Spaniards were making plans to colonize Amelia Island lying off the coast of Georgia. The Trustees instructed the clerk to write to the commanding officer at Frederica and to Captain Daniel Demetre of the Scout Boat stationed at Prince George asking them to inquire into the reports of Spanish activities on Amelia Island and to submit reports on their findings to the Board of Trustees.¹ In pursuance of these instructions the clerk wrote the following letter to Captain Demetre:

"Savannah in Georgia"

"To Mr. Daniel Demetre, Commander of the Prince George Scout Boat"

"Sir:"

"The Board having heard a report that the Spaniards at Augustine were preparing or had prepared to settle and fortify the Island of Amelia in this Province, they have directed me to acquaint you therewith, and to order you to proceed without loss of Time to the said Island of Amelia, where Spain settled or making any Preparations to Settle, you are in his Britannick Majesty's name to demand of the Person commanding by what Authority, they presume so to do, it being contrary to Treatys subsisting between which you are forthwith to make a Report to this Board—But if there should be no such Settlements or Persons there you are to continue on that Station twenty Days endeavoring to make what Discoveries you can and then return to Savannah and make your Report...."²

In his report to the Board of Trustees Demetre stated that the Spaniards had made no attempt to colonize Amelia Island nor had they made any effort to fortify any of that territory.³

Raymond Demetre, Commander at Frederica, in his report to the Board of Trustees, stated that some Creek Indians had visited him on the South side of the Allatamaha River and had told him that the Spaniards of Saint Augustine had rebuilt Forts Picolatopoe, Diego, and Moosau, and that three hundred English Negroes were sent to Moosau in order to help with the construction. Several Creeks were commissioned by the Spanish province while four Yamasea Indians were employed as spies against the English. Everyone at Saint Augustine was preparing for war with Great Britain.\(^1\) Upon receipt of these reports the Trustees again summoned several Creek Indians and requested that they go to Saint Augustine to gather first hand information on Spanish activities. The Indians told the Trustees that they were afraid to return to Saint Augustine because of the Spanish troops and hostile Indians. They also urged the Trustees not to make a contemplated settlement near the Sittillia River as such a move would inevitably result in disaster for the settlers because of the hostility of Yamasea Indians, who were at this time in the employ of the Spaniards.\(^2\)

Even after hearing this unfavorable report of conditions the Trustees still held hopes of continued friendly relations with both the Spaniards and the Indians. Nevertheless, Captain Demetre was ordered to patrol the southern frontier of the province and to submit to the Trustees a report on the Spaniards and Indians in that area.\(^3\)

Demetre, after cruising the southern frontier of the province, reported that everything was very peaceful. At the same time, however, the Board of Trustees was informed by several deserters from the Spanish colony that a

\(^3\) C. R., Vol. VI, pp. 441–442.
large number of men from Cuba had arrived to settle the fertile fields of the Appalachian. The allegations made by the Creek Indians to Captain Demetre and forwarded by him in his first report to the Board of Trustees were confirmed.  

Latter part of 1762 James Wright, then governor of the province of Georgia, formally placed before the Board of Trustees the official notification of the declaration of war by His Majesty's government against Spain, an ally of France. The colonists of Georgia, as loyal subjects of the King, were ordered to take up arms against the Spanish colony in Saint Augustine and the French colony of the New Orleans. The declaration of war was proclaimed in Savannah in 1762. By 1763, France and Spain had been defeated by the British, who became the ruler of the North American colony, concluding thereby the Indian relations with France and Spain. Thus the incidents in this chapter proved three points: (1) the childishness of the Indians in allowing themselves to be deceived by the French, English, and Spaniards; (2) the importance of hearsay in diplomatic matters and (3) the slightly less unscrupulous policies of the English over their European rivals. In the following pages will be discussed the Anglo-Indian Domestic relations in the colony of Georgia from 1754 to 1765, which will include the influence of Anglo-Indian conferences upon trade relations, and the land policy with the Creek Indians.

1The Indians had told Captain Demetre that the Spaniards had fortified Forts Diego, Picolata and Moosau. (C. R., Vol. VI, p. 451).
CHAPTER III
ANGLO-INDIAN DOMESTIC RELATIONS 1756-1765

The activities and influence of the Bosomworth Family on Anglo-Indian relations, especially the baneful influence which Thomas exercised over Mary and the mastery which Thomas and Mary hold over the Creek Indians occupied our attention in the first chapter of this thesis; while in the second under the title: Indian Relations with France and Spain to 1763, we recorded the incidents which clearly proved the childishness of the Indian, the deceptive methods employed by the English, the French and the Spaniards, and the superiority of the integrity of England over that of her adversaries. In the immediate chapter the discussion has been centered under two sub-titles: (1) the influence of the Anglo-Indian Conferences upon trade relations including the murder of several English traders by the Creeks, and (2) the land policy of the colonists with the Creek Indians to 1763.

The period between 1756 and 1763 marked the very pinnacle of French intrigues among the Indians of Georgia. Because of this the English colonists lived in perpetual dread of simultaneous French and Indian attacks. Consequently the Governors of Georgia were ever formulating policies designed to nullify this insidious French influence among the tribesmen. Soon, the leaders of the English in Georgia discovered that the most effective methods of keeping the Indians peaceful were to satisfy their vanity by occasionally inviting them to the province to discuss domestic problems common to both Indians and whites, and by the judicious presentation of the tribesmen with gifts.

1Amanda Johnson, Georgia as Colony and State, p. 109.
2Ibid.
In spite of the energetic efforts of the Governor of Georgia to maintain friendly relations with the Indians, incidents occurred which severely strained those relations.\(^1\) Nevertheless, the shrewdness and tact used by the Governors in the many conferences probably prevented Georgia from being devastated by the deceitful Creeks. Various phases of these Anglo-Indian conferences will be discussed in this chapter. We shall now discuss: the influence of the Anglo-Indian conferences upon trade relations, including first the murder of several Indians by the whites and several whites by the Indians.

The Governor and Board of Trustees of Georgia received a communique from Oboylaco\(^2\) (Handsome Fellow) in November 1756 stating that he desired a conference with the Governor for the purpose of improving Anglo-Indian relations in general and for the purpose of securing additional information concerning the recent murder of his tribesmen by the whites in particular.\(^3\) Governor Reynolds, at the suggestion of the Board, invited the Creek Indians to a conference to be held on the next day following the receipt of the request. With alacrity Handsome Fellow and several of his followers, accepted the invitation to attend the conference.

At this conference Handsome Fellow, spokesman for the Indians, told the Governor that he had been sent by the Gun Merchant\(^4\) to the province to express the displeasure of his tribe over the apparent failure of the authorities of Georgia to punish the perpetrators of those recent Indian murders.\(^5\)

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\(^2\)Hereafter to be referred to simply as Handsome Fellow.
\(^4\)The Gun Merchant was a chieftain of the Creek Nation (C.R., Vol. VII, p. 420).
In his reply to the Indian spokesperson the governor mentioned a letter which he had sent to the Lower Creek nation protesting certain depredations committed by them against the people of Georgia and implied that those depredations had provoked the colonists to rise against the Indians which resulted in the triple murders. This candid reply somewhat allayed the misgivings of Handsome Fellow who was no longer desirous of severing relations with the colonists. The Governor then assured Handsome Fellow that harmonious relations would be maintained between the Lower Creek Nations and the white inhabitants of the colony. Thereupon, Handsome Fellow reminded the Governor of the existence of a treaty between the Indians and the colonists, the terms of which stipulated that an Indian could be put to death if convicted of killing a white person, and stated that the same punishment should be given in the case of a white man killing an Indian.1

With this interpretation of the treaty the Governor readily agreed, but reminded the Indian representative that it was necessary at all times to give substantiating proof in cases of this kind. To this statement by the Governor, Handsome Fellow replied that two members of the Upper Creek nation had been murdered which he thought was sufficient proof for appropriate action on the part of the colonial officials. To this contention the Governor answered that a white man had also been killed in the altercation and that his two companions were still missing and believed to be dead.2 The Indian chief then asserted that on a recent visit to Augusta he had met a person who had been a witness to the skirmish and that this

witness had alleged that he had found no evidence of the death of a white man. The Governor retorted that the white man who was wounded in the affray had later died, while his two companions who were also wounded probably died in the forests.

While maintaining the Indians were not determined to destroy the white traders, but were desirous of knowing the number of their people killed by the Whites, the inhabitants of the province would be required to satisfy the demands of the Lower Creek Nation. However, Governor Reynolds finally persuaded Handsome Fellow that the Creeks in this particular instance were the aggressors. Handsome Fellow then replied that he had not heard the true account of the skirmish and promised the Governor that he would have the true facts of the disturbance made known to the people of the Lower Creek Nation. ¹ For his promise the Governor cordially thanked him.

This promise on the part of the Indian representative terminated a lengthy discussion on the murder of his tribesmen. With the adroitness of an experienced diplomat Handsome Fellow skillfully turned the conversation to the settlement of the whites in Augusta, stating that the Indians did not object to this settlement since it had proved to be of benefit to them. ² However, the Governor asked the Indian emissary if his people were opposed to the settlement of the whites in Ogechee, adding that if there were objections he would order the whites to move, but the Indians must give them time to harvest their crops. To this amazing gesture of friendship Handsome Fellow could only reply that he had no authority to

discuss the removal of the settlers of Ogechee but that he was glad to hear the governor's proposal. Neither did the Indians object, Handsome Fellow asserted, to the whites settling along the Savannah River.¹

Continuing the conversation, Governor Reynolds inquired of Handsome Fellow if he remembered the treaty made in Charleston which provided joint Anglo-Indian settlement of the land. Handsome Fellow answered that he remembered the treaty, but was under the impression that the question of boundaries was to be settled at a conference to be held in Augusta between the Governors of South Carolina, Georgia, and the chieftains of the Creek nation. The Governor then replied that he knew nothing of the proposed conference of which Handsome Fellow spoke, but promised to be in attendance if such a conference was held.²

Before that conference could be held a change in the colonial administration in 1757 resulted in the retirement of John Reynolds and the appointment of Henry Ellis as his successor as governor of the colony. In one of his first addresses to the assembled chiefs of the Creeks, Ellis declaimed against the French and sought to persuade the Creeks to wage war against the Choctaws. Moreover, in the same speech he told the Indians that whenever the English desired their lands they purchased it, whereas the French cajoled, conspired and seized their lands without any compensation whatsoever. Governor Ellis also alleged that the French were plotting to capture the Indians and enslave them; while the English people, the Governor argued, were interested in commerce and that wherever they went they were desirous of improving the status of all mankind. He also told the Creeks

that the French were the cause of all the strife in the world, and that
their friendship was utterly worthless to the Indians. Ellick, a chief
of the Creeks, was so impressed by the Governor's speech that he promised
to acquaint the men of his nation with it upon his return. 

In the meantime Governor Ellis laid before the Board of Trustees a
proposal made by Governor Lyttleton of South Carolina that the chiefs of
the Creek nation be invited to attend a conference in Savannah. The
Trustees approved the proposal and a fortnight later met and appointed a
Mr. Bryan as ambassador to the Creek nation. Mr. Bryan was instructed to
visit the Creek chieftains and to invite them to attend the proposed con-
ference in Savannah. To aid him in his work among the Indians the Board
of Trustees suggested that Bryan carry suitable gifts to the Indian chiefs.

During the same year the Governor was visited by one Tustanock-Hachov, an Indian of some note, who was also known as the mad warrior, with whom he had an extended talk on Anglo-Indian relations in the province of Georgia. The Indian began his conversation by stating that he had long intended to visit the province, but the chiefs of his nation had opposed such a visit and that he had finally come against their will.

When asked the exact purpose of his visit Mad Warrior replied that his mission was for the purpose of giving expression to the deep dissatis-
faction which existed in his nation as a result of the trade activities
of one Peppers, who had been appointed agent to the Indians by the Governor of South Carolina. Mad Warrior reported that Peppers had attempted to regulate the trade between the whites and the Creeks by having two chiefs of the latter assent to such regulation. In agreeing to this control, Mad Warrior believed that the chieftains had usurped rights and privileges not legally belonging to them.¹ In reply the Governor stated that Peppers had exceeded his instructions in making the treaties and that since most of the Creek trade was centered in Georgia, such trade problems as might arise should be adjusted by officials of Georgia rather than by those of South Carolina. However, the governor stated that since the regulations placed no restrictions upon either party, he saw no reason for changing them.²

Skillfully, Governor Ellis turned the conversation to the French and their activities among the Indians. He remarked that Governor Oglethorpe had spoken of the Creeks as being exceedingly honest and the hope had been cherished by the officials of the colony that they would not ally with the French against the English.

Moreover, Spain, at this time, had refused to aid France under the Family Compacts; the Governor attributed this refusal to the displeasure of the Spaniards over the conduct of the French in North America.³ Mad Warrior then stated that his people had declined to accept gifts from the French who were eager to solicit their aid. Moreover, he agreed with the Governor's statement the French were the principal trouble makers for the colony. The Governor then acquainted Mad Warrior with the proposed Anglo-

Indian conference to be held at Savannah and invited him to be present.

Already an English agent had been sent to the Upper and Lower Creek chieftains to invite them to the conference which was scheduled to begin on October 29. However, at the conclusion of their conversation Mad Warrior thanked Governor Ellis for the invitation to attend the conference but said that it would be impossible for him to return to Savannah. Upon his departure Mad Warrior received the customary gift from Governor Ellis.¹

After concluding his interview with Mad Warrior, Governor Ellis reported to the Board of Trustees on the success of Joseph Wright, an Englishman well versed in the habits and customs of the Indians, who persuaded the Indians to attend the Anglo-Indian conference at Savannah scheduled to open four days later. The Governor also took this occasion to acquaint the Board of Trustees with the general objectives of the conference. These objectives were: (1) to achieve a better understanding with the Indians, and (2) to counteract the influence of the French among them.²

For this projected conference some of the Indians arrived at Allatoona. To accommodate this group the Governor detailed Captain Milledge of the rangers to meet them at Fort Argyle and to escort them to Savannah. Upon their approach to the gates of the city the Indians were met by a regiment of soldiers under the command of one Colonel Jones, who directed them to the Council chamber where they were introduced to the Governor.

In his speech of introduction Governor Ellis stated that the inhabitants of the colony had not settled on the Indian's hunting grounds. Agents of the French Government had told the Creeks that the English settlers had

made encroachments on their land reserved for hunting. As a matter of fact, the English colonists had reserved the back lands especially for the use of the Indians. Nevertheless, the Governor asserted that the colonists were desirous of obtaining land near the water to facilitate the transportation of raw materials to and the importation of manufactured goods from other countries.¹

The first meeting of the conference was a brief one due to the evident fatigue of the Indian conferees. The Governor emphasized, however, the desire of the English to live on the friendliest possible terms with the Indians and patiently warned the chiefs against French intrigues.²

After a recess the conference was resumed on November 3, 1757, Governor Ellis addressed the Indians and the English in a joint session. Making an appeal for open minds on the part of all persons assembled, the governor said in part:

"Observe, my Friends how severe and Cloudless this day appears! I cannot but consider it as a good Omen of the Success of this Interview, and I hope that you are all come with Hearts resembling it, unclouded with Jealousies and with Dispositions suitable to the good Work of brightning the Chain and making the Path Straight forever between us."³

At this very meeting the governor deliberately sought to deceive the Indians by reading to them a purely fictitious letter allegedly written by the King of England to him. The letter declared that the King of France had issued orders to his troops in America to attack the Indians living near the northern boundaries of the colony.⁴ This faked letter also stated

that as soon as news of the French plans of attack became known to the colonists they should render every possible assistance to the Indians. But in order to provide safe-guards against future destructive French attacks the suggestion was advanced that a plan for peace and cooperation be effected between the colonists and the Indians. 1

Governor Ellis next sought to prove to the Indians that the cause of the French attack on the English was that the English had rendered assistance to the Indians during their struggle against the French. If the Indians wished to remain happy and free, he continued, it was necessary that they unite with the English and destroy French influence in North America. 2

In an effort to ascertain what the Indians thought concerning the offer of an English alliance, Governor Ellis asked them bluntly if they thought the French could do more for them than the English. In answer to this query Chief Stumpee, "guardian of the late Emperor's son" and chief spokesman for the assembled chieftains, arose and replied that the Indians were desirous of continuing their friendly relations with the English and were willing to renew the old treaties between them. 3

Cleverly the Indian spokesman demanded that the Treaty of November 1757 4 between the colonists and the Indians be explained article by article by an interpreter. After this request was granted, each chief appeared

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4 According to the provisions of that treaty all grievances between the inhabitants of Georgia and the Indians of the Creek nations were to be forgotten, after which the two races were to preserve peace by making a treaty of alliance which stipulated that in case of a war one nation would come to the aid of the other with all of its forces. (C. R., Vol. VII, pp. 665-667).
satisfied and signed the document which attempted to settle "all former grievances and dissatisfaction" with the colony. Despite their voluntary signing of the treaty, Chief Wolf King said that when the chiefs returned home they would in all probability deny having done so.¹

In February 1758 seventy Creek Indians visited Governor Ellis at his home to congratulate him on his speech at the Savannah conference, to render their excuses for not being present, and to seek permission to sell their skins in Savannah. This special visit also served as an occasion to make a request for a small supply of provisions and to receive the customary gifts from the governor. Governor Ellis saw in this visit an opportunity to strengthen Anglo-Indian relations. He courteously promised the Indians gifts as soon as some were purchased and permitted them to sell their skins freely in the city. To show their appreciation for this generosity the Indians presented the governor with a bundle of deer skins.²

Again in 1760 a deputation of Indians visited the Governor and delivered to him a written message telling of a Franco-Indian conference which had been held on May 20. This letter also stated that a group of English prisoners had crossed Creek territory in the custody of French and Cherokee Indian soldiers enroute to the French Fort Alabama.³

After the Governor had read the message, Sustonogehoboye, a captain of the Tallahasses, spoke in behalf of his tribe, saying that the Creeks were aware of their obligations to the Governors of Georgia and South Carolina and for that reason were ready to wage war on the side of the

English against the Cherokees. Sustonogehoboye also took this occasion to request a reduction in the price of goods paid by the Indians in the colony. In his reply to Sustonogehoboye the Governor said that he was very pleased to hear that the Creeks would support the English in case of armed conflict with the Cherokees and told the Indians envoys of an incident in which several Indians led by Whehaffkee, a Creek Chieftain, had killed several Cherokees to avenge the murder of some whites by the Cherokees. However, the Governor stated that whenever peace was secured with the Cherokees, who had already expressed a desire to become friendly with the English, the King would certainly compensate the Creeks for their services to the colony. Moreover, the Cherokees were not at that time a menace to the English settlers. However, if they should become a threat in the future, the Governor would certainly call upon the Creeks for aid in any struggle with them.

Later in that same year ten Choctaws visited the Governor and reported that they had recently refused to join an alliance with French against the English because of the selfish motives of the former and their genuine desire to remain on friendly terms with the latter. In his reply to these expressions of friendship and loyalty Governor Ellis told the delegation that the northern territory of the French had been captured and all of the French soldiers deported. That the French had suffered the reversal he said, was due to English success in inciting the Indians to make war upon them. Plans were also being perfected by the

British to dislodge the French from their position in the Choctaw nation because this position made the French a menace to the peace and safety of the entire colony of Georgia,\(^1\) especially the lives of the English traders among the Indians.

Governor Wright then recalled, for the benefit of the Indians, a previous treaty made in 1758 which had provided Indian protection for English traders,\(^2\) in return for which the English were to supply the Choctaws with certain essentials. Since that time, he asserted, the Creeks had been persuaded by the French to kill the English traders, thus making it impossible for him to send provisions to the Choctaw tribes. The Governor urged the chieftains to use their influence with the Creeks, who were at this time extremely friendly with the English through whose lands the traders were compelled to pass. If the Creeks could be persuaded to become more cooperative, then the traders could deliver goods to the Choctaw nation by way of the Creek towns.\(^5\) Moreover, the governor promised that at the next Anglo-Indian conference an attempt would be made to adjust the tangled trade relations between the Indians and the English.\(^4\)

When on a later date Governor Wright was called upon by a delegation of Creek Indians to discuss the death of the English traders and the general disruption of trade,\(^5\) the governor told them that in spite of his displeasure over the death of the English traders, the King still wanted

\(^1\)C. R., Vol. VIII, p. 396.

\(^2\)An English trader was killed in the Choctaw nation. To avenge this murder the Choctaws exacted the life of a Frenchman. (C. R., Vol. VIII, pp. 396-397).

\(^3\)The Creeks and the whites were at odds over the murder of several English traders on Creek territory (C. R., Vol. VIII, p. 397).


to preserve friendly relations with the Creeks\textsuperscript{1} and that His Majesty would continue to send supplies to the Creeks as long as they remained friendly with the colonists. In discussing the renewal of trade relations Governor Wright stated that such relations with the Creeks would be resumed provided that the Creeks guaranteed the English traders safe conduct through their lands. If the Creeks declined to accept this proviso, the merchants who supplied the traders with goods would be ordered to refuse to sell goods to traders who might deliver them in Creek territory.\textsuperscript{2}

However, the Indians had already manifested their unquestionable desire to be at peace with the colonists by their refusal to become a party to the French schemes against the English. Governor Wright told Oakfuskee, one of the chieftains in attendance, that a cargo of supplies had been dispatched to the Creek nation. Oakfuskee and the other chiefs accepted the Governor's assurances of a renewal of trade relations and returned home. Upon their arrival, Wolf-King to whom Governor Wright had sent a message,\textsuperscript{3} summoned all the chiefs of the Upper and Lower Creek nations and apprised them of the peaceful intentions of the English colonists.\textsuperscript{4}

The last of meetings between the Indians and the governor before 1763 was an informal one. At this impromptu conference between the Indians emissaries Oakfuskee, Handsome Fellow and the Governor the regrettable plight of the Cherokees and Choctaws who had allied with the French and Spaniards was discussed. The Governor sought to attribute their misfor-

\textsuperscript{1}Oakfuskee a Creek chief told the Governor that the English trader had been killed by a group of young Bucks who were intoxicated at the time (C.R., Vol. VIII, pp. 432-433).
\textsuperscript{2}C.R., Vol. VIII, pp. 427-431.
\textsuperscript{3}C.R., Vol. VIII, pp. 432-433.
\textsuperscript{4}C.R., Vol. VIII, pp. 542-543.
tune directly to their alliance with the adversaries of the English. Moreover, the Governor claimed that the maintenance of peace between the English colonists and the Indians largely depended upon whether or not the latter taught their children the meaning and purpose of the treaties in force between them.¹ The Gun Merchant assured the Governor that his people would abide by their treaties with the colonists.² This conference adjusted finally the complicated Anglo-Indian trade relations. Now the colonial officials turned their attention to the land policy of the Creek Indians to 1762.

After the conclusion of the numerous conferences on trade relations, the Governor of Georgia centered his efforts on the perplexing land problems which had arisen between Creeks and Colonists. In a report to the Board of Trustees in 1763 the Governor said that in two recent speeches Handsome Fellow had bitterly assailed the conduct of a group of Englishmen who had migrated from Virginia and settled on land heretofore exclusively reserved by treaty for hunting by the Indians. However, since the new white settlement of the trespassers had destroyed the Indian’s hunting lands, the food supply of the tribesmen was, of course, decreased. In retaliation the Red men had killed the cattle of the Virginians for food. Moreover, Handsome Fellow had in each of his speeches demanded the removal of the Virginians in order to prevent racial conflict.³

²The Gun Merchant told Governor Wright that the Cherokees had attempted to incite the Creeks against the English, but he had successfully prevailed against such action (C. R., Vol. IX, pp. 15–16).
³Two Indian chiefshad previously told Handsome Fellow that the Governor had said that the Virginians would not be removed from the Creek lands until after the English had very decisively defeated the Cherokees (C. R., Vol. IX, pp. 17, 71–72).
To prevent such conflicts and to preserve peace between the subjects of the crown and the warriors of the chiefs were two of the paramount aims of the colonial governors of Georgia. To aid in preserving this peace the governors directed that copies of the King's instructions forbidding the white inhabitants to settle on any portion of the territory belonging to the Creeks. Then, too, a report was circulated that the Governor had already requested the settlers to move. Upon hearing the complete report of the Governor the Board of Trustees voted its approval of his policies.  

With this vote of approval of the governor's policies the colonial administrators of Georgia had successfully maintained satisfactory trade relations with the Indians: (1) by the calling of several Anglo-Indian conferences to compose differences over inter-tribal and colonial trade; (2) by the judicious distribution of gifts to the Indian chiefs of the various tribes to gain their support for the cause of England; (3) by the highly questionably practice of using a fictitious letter allegedly written by the King to deceive the tribesmen. However, the willingness of the Indians to make concessions and compromises proved to be of estimable value to the British. Moreover, when a group of Virginia settlers illegally occupied the hunting lands of the Creek nations, the responsible British authorities wisely compelled them to move. Such was the astuteness of the British. This astuteness, its affect on the Indian problems of Georgia, will be discussed in the next chapter or conclusion of this thesis.

\[1\text{C. R., Vol. IX, pp. 73-74.}\]
CHAPTER IV
CONCLUSION

The problems and difficulties of the Indians and colonists of Georgia were many. However, at the outset General Oglethorpe was aided in the solution of many difficult problems which arose between the Indians and the Whites by the skill of an Indian interpreter, Mary Musgrove. Her knowledge of Indian life: their speech, their manners and their customs made her invaluable to the English and the Indians. Moreover, while Oglethorpe was governor of the colony of Georgia, Mary rendered meritorious service to the colonists by concluding treaties with the Indians which guaranteed the safety of the colony and by securing warriors from the Creeks who performed commendable service in the struggles between the English in Georgia and the Spaniards in Florida. Mary's accomplishments contributed greatly to the solution of problems which confronted the colonists and the Indians in their relations with each other. Her achievements won for her a place of esteem and prestige among Red and White men alike. Unfortunately for Mary, however, this prestige and influence began to decline after her marriage to the Reverend Thomas Bosomworth. This decline in influence soon reached the point of disfavor.

Mary's loss of favor and the troublesome problem she became to the colonists and the Indians was the inevitable result of the rascally schemes of her husband, Thomas. His ambition to keep the slaves introduced on the property of his wife, to make his wife Queen of the Creek nations, and to acquire the islands of Sapelo, Saint Catherine, and Ossabaw caused him to persuade his wife to do many questionable things. However questionable, unethical or unscrupulous his policies may appear to be, the stubborn fact remains that the Bosomworths, Thomas and Mary exerted a powerful influence
over the Creeks. That this influence was grossly abused has been amply attested by the incidents involving Thomas and Mary which were recorded in this thesis. That he used liquor, trickery and sex to accomplish his purposes need alarm no one except hypercritical moralists.

It would be vain for the student of history to criticize caustically the Bosomworths for their activities among the Indians, and their fraudulent plans to obtain land from the whites. Such actions were the accepted practices of civilized society in the Eighteenth Century. Certainly the Bosomworths were no exceptions. Using questionable methods similar to those of the Bosomworths the British finally persuaded the Indians that this powerful family constituted an enemy rather than a friend.

Schemes and methods learned as a result of their experiences with the Bosomworth Family proved extremely valuable to the British in their diplomatic struggles with the French and in composing difficulties with the Indians.

No sooner had the struggle with the Bosomworths, with its attendant problems ended than the final struggle between the British and the French for supremacy of North America began. Moreover, the Indian problems of Georgia from 1745 to 1763 became an important phase of that struggle. Agents and colonial officials of France had begun feverish under-cover activity among the Indians: Cherokees, Choctaws, and Creeks to counteract the influence of the English. Intrigue of the French against the British and espionage of the British against the French constituted the daily routine of the British and the French among the Indians of Georgia. France employed her nationals and Indians to scheme against the British; England relied upon traders and sympathetic Indians for information concerning the designs of the French. Never had rumor and hearsay played a more vital
role in international relations than preceding and during the French and Indian War in America. That these activities created serious problems for the Indians, English, French and Spaniards in their relations with each other and made solutions of these problems difficult was to be expected because of the intense and better rivalry between England and France.

This bitter rivalry led England and France to adopt highly questionable methods to induce the Indians to ally with either of them against the other. Moreover, the Choctaws succumbed to the blandishments of the French while the majority of the Creeks capitulated to the bribes of the English. What a fascinating diplomatic chess game this was! The guileless Indian was the gullible pawn in the hands of some of the shrewdest diplomatic chess players of the Eighteenth Century. The English by the use of gifts, guile, tact and forgery ultimately triumphed over the inducements, liquor and deceit used by the French and Spaniards. Duplicity on the part of the French was counter-balanced by deceit on the part of the British. The French Governor at New Orleans introduced a fake letter during a Franco-Indian conference at Mobile which alleged that the British wanted to seize the lands of the Indians, to ally with the French against the Indians, and to reduce the proud and free Indian to slavery.

Governor Ellis of Georgia resorted to precisely the same kind of deceit at a conference of Indians in Savannah when he read a letter supposedly written by the King of England urging aid to the Indians if they were attacked by the French. This letter also contained the baseless assertion that the French contemplated depriving the Indians of their lands and enslaving them.
Imputation of intentions to enslave the Indians by either the French or English proved to be an effective instrument in forging the links of an alliance. The French used the slave bogey to persuade the Cherokees and the Choctaws to ally with them against the British; the British performed the same feat of their adversaries by using the slave ghost to frighten the Cherokees into taking sides with them.

Moreover, in the several conferences called by the British to compose differences arising from conflicting interpretations of treaties and agreements, the British clearly demonstrated the superiority of their methods of dealing with the Indians. By the use of gifts to elicit the support of the chiefs of the various tribes and by making timely concessions and compromises on policies pertaining to commerce and lands British diplomacy satisfied the Indians and outsmarted the French. That such methods of diplomacy were unscrupulous and dishonest at times must be accepted as a matter of course. Unscrupulousness is part and parcel of the game of diplomacy. Neither the British nor the French nor the Indian nor the Spaniard was any exception.

Unscrupulous and unethical though the British were in their methods, her officials succeeded in solving the problems created: (1) by the vicious influence which the Bosomworth Family held over Indians, (2) by the intrigues of the French and of the Spaniards, and (3) by the many obstacles which obstructed the paths to smooth commercial and diplomatic relations with the Indian. Moreover, the results of the solution of these difficulties by the British were: (1) the expulsion of the French from the continent of North America, (2) the enlargement of their territory, (3) and, for the Indian, less intrigue on the part of the French and the Spaniards.
To discuss the problems of the Indian in Georgia from 1745 to 1763 in this thesis we have had to devote considerable attention to the activities of the three Great European powers: England, France and Spain. However, for the purpose of clarity, we have centered the discussion under three main topics: (1) the influence of the Bosomworth Family on Indian Relations 1745–1759; (2) Indian relations with France and Spain; and (3) Anglo-Indian Domestic Relations. As a student of history the writer has tried to discuss the problems impartially and objectively. The conclusions may not be shared by some and may be denounced by others. This of course is readily understood. Such is the fate of those who attempt to write on the controversial subjects of history.
PRIMARY SOURCES


Volume VI. The Proceedings and Minutes of the Governor and Council 1741-1754.


Volume IX. Proceedings and Minutes of The Governor and Council 1763-1766.

SECONDARY AUTHORITIES


