HISTORICAL SKETCH

OF

TOMO-CHI-CHI,

MICO OF THE YAMACRAWS.

BY

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* * "FRAGMENTS OF A FIRE IMMORTAL,
WITH RUBBISH MIXED, AND GLITTERING IN THE DUST."

ALBANY, N. Y.:
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1868.

TO

MY WIFE,

EVA. BERRIEN EVE.

PREFACE.

THE rapid development of states as well as of individuals depends, in a great degree, upon what men call accident. During monumental epochs and at certain marked crises when the shadows of doubt and uncertainty rest upon the present and darken the prospects of the future, unlooked for and favoring influences frequently intervene, checking the operation of retarding causes, inspiring hope, confirming existence and fostering growth. Often do these propitious and seemingly fortuitous agencies prove far more potent in shaping destiny, inciting action and encouraging advancement than the natural impulses which inhere in the recognized laws governing progress.

But for the statue of Alexander the Great at Gades, Julius Cæsar might have passed his life in further Spain an obscure quæstor, unknown to fame; and, deprived of the friendship and valuable aid of Tomo-chi-chi, the infant colony upon the banks of the Savannah, despite the energy of its settlers and the experience and valor of their governor, would have been at first either entirely annihilated or most materially retarded in its development.

The present age is not incurious with regard to the memories, both personal and organic, of the American Indians. There is a growing interest manifested in all that can throw light upon their antiquities, in everything which furnishes definite information of the manners, customs, intellectual traits, moral qualities and personal characteristics of the various tribes and their chief men. Thus, day by day, new facts are ascertained, old recollections revived, and more satisfactory knowledge acquired touching those who, on the one hand, have been represented as "dark, relentless, cruel and murderous in the last degree, with scarce a quality to stamp their existence of a higher order than that of the brutes;" and, on the other, have been invested in their characters and actions with all that is dignified, eloquent and admirable in the semi-civilized state.

In the following sketch we have endeavored to group together all that is known of the first, the noblest and the most influential friend the colony of Georgia had among the Redmen. The details which have been preserved, illustrative of the life and character of this aged Mico, are few and unsatisfactory; and yet there is much in the generosity of his nature, in the fidelity of his professions and acts, in the wisdom of his views, in the extreme value of his influence, advice and example, in the dignity of his behavior and in the guardianship which he exercised over that feeble and isolated colony, which enlists our interest, commands our sincere respect and secures our grateful acknowledgments.

The founding of the colony of Georgia was a project conceived in a spirit of genuine philanthropy; and it does indeed appear that a special Providence, regarding the enterprise with

favoring eye, raised up from out the depths of the primeval forests which environed the new plantation, a strong arm and a generous soul to aid most singularly in the consummation of the doubtful endeavor. By unseen, and to human eyes unexpected influences, Tomo-chi-chi, at the very outset, freely and without reward consented not only to extend to the colony his personal friendship and that of his immediate tribe, the Yamacraws, but also to secure the good-will of neighboring and powerful nations whose jealousy and opposition might otherwise have been easily excited, and whose animosities and positive hostilities would, beyond all question, have proved most disastrous to the hopes and material interests of the settlers. This action on his part seems the more remarkable when we remember the natural sympathies which allied him to his people and their antipathies, and the peculiar trials which had been put upon the natives by rapacious traders from Carolina on the one hand, and designing emissaries from the Spaniards in Florida on the other.

From the very first he appears to have appreciated the fact of the superior power of the white race, and the eventual triumph of the civilization which it enjoyed; and to have been fully persuaded that in an alliance with and not in opposition to the followers of that civilization rested the safest hopes of his countrymen for protection and existence. Impressed with such convictions and imbued with a desire for personal improvement and tribal development, he cheerfully entered into pledges of amity which were on all occasions faithfully redeemed.

In conformity with his expressed wish he sleeps in the heart of the city of Savannah, and although no monument marks the

precise spot of his sepulture in the public square, his memory is cherished with emotions of peculiar pride and liveliest gratitude. Next to Oglethorpe, Tomo-chi-chi was the truest friend and most potent protector of the colony of Georgia during its primal days of infancy and feebleness.

New York City,
November 9th, 1868.

HISTORICAL SKETCH

OF

Tomo-Chi-Chi, Mico of the Yamacraws.

CHAPTER I.

Reasons for establishing the Colony of Georgia — Settlement at Savannah — Mr. Oglethorpe — Early History of Tomo-chi-chi — His first interview with Mr. Oglethorpe — Mary Musgrove — Treaty of Amity and Commerce between the Colonists and the Lower Creeks, May 21st, 1733.

THROUGH the personal influence and untiring exertions of Mr. Oglethorpe, supported by the cooperation of wealthy and prominent associates, letters patent were obtained from the crown, bearing date the 9th of June, 1732, constituting and appointing John, Lord Viscount Purcival, and nineteen gentlemen, together with their successors, "Trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia in America."[1] The purposed Province was called in honor of the king, during whose reign it was to be founded, and as an acknowledgment of the kindly interest and favor with which his majesty entertained and promoted the benevolent project.

[1] See charter of the colony.

Non sibi sed aliis, was adopted as the motto for the common seal, and this inscription was truly indicative of the disinterested motives by which the trustees were actuated. Mr. Southey did not indulge in the language of exaggeration when he said no colony was ever established upon principles more honorable to its projectors. In urging the necessity for the immediate settlement of the plantation, Mr. Oglethorpe stated the following, among other inducements, which should influence early emigration. [1] "Let us cast our eyes on the multitude of unfortunate people in this kingdom, of reputable families, and of liberal education, some undone by guardians, some by law-suits, some by accidents in commerce, some by stocks and bubbles, some by suretyship; but all agree in this one circumstance that they must either be burdensome to their relations or betake themselves to little shifts for sustenance, which, it is ten to one, do not answer their purposes, and to which a well educated person descends with the utmost constraint. These are the persons that may relieve themselves, and strengthen Georgia by resorting thither, and Great Britain by their departure.

With a view to the relief of people in the condition I have described, his majesty has, the present year, incorporated a considerable number of persons of quality and distinction, and invested a large tract of South Carolina in them, by the name of Georgia, in trust to be distributed among the necessitous. Those trustees not only give land to the unhappy who go thither, but are also empowered to receive the voluntary contributions of charitable persons to enable them to furnish the poor adventurers with all necessaries for the expense

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[1] *New and Accurate Account of the Provinces of South Carolina and Georgia.*

of the voyage, occupying the land, and supporting them until they find themselves settled. So that now the unfortunate will not be obliged to bind themselves to a long service to pay for their passage, for they may be carried *gratis* into a land of liberty and plenty, where they will immediately find themselves in possession of a competent estate, in a happier climate than they knew before; and they are unfortunate indeed if they cannot forget their sorrows."

The specific territory set apart for colonization was thus described in the charter; "all those lands, country and territories situate, lying and being in that part of South Carolina, in America, which lies from the most northern part of a stream or river there, commonly called the Savannah, all along the sea-coast to the southward, to the southern stream of a certain other great water or river called the Alatamaha, and westwardly from the heads of the said rivers respectively in direct lines to the south seas; and all that share, circuit and precinct of land within the said boundaries, with the islands on the sea lying opposite to the eastern coast of the said lands, within twenty leagues of the same, which are not inhabited already, or settled by any authority derived from the crown of Great Britain." [1]

It was confidently anticipated that the successful founding of the colony of Georgia would most materially promote the security, and confirm the existence of the province of South Carolina; forming, as it would, a bulwark between that province and the Spanish settlements in Florida. The authorities in Carolina expressed their warmest sympathies, and extended assistance during trying periods when the most trifling contributions were of the utmost consequence.

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[1] See charter of the colony.

The mutual protection which these small states would afford, the one to the other, and the gentle union which would grow up between them, were foreshadowed in the following lines :

> " To Carolina be a Georgia join'd !
> Then shall both colonies sure progress make :
> Endear'd to either for the other's sake :
> Georgia shall Caroline's protection move,
> And Carolina bloom by George's love." [1]

On the 6th of November, 1732, thirty-five families,—comprising in the aggregate one hundred and twenty persons, men, women, and children,—embarked on board the " Anne " at Gravesend. Composed in large measure of carpenters, brick-layers and farmers accustomed to vigorous manual occupations, instructed in the military training of the guards, and furnished with muskets, bayonets and swords with which to defend themselves against anticipated attacks from the Indians, these men, with their wives and children, had been selected by the trustees as the first settlers of the colony of Georgia. The little galley of about two hundred tons, in which they were to cross the Atlantic, was generously supplied with such agricultural implements and mechanical tools as were deemed requisite for subduing the native wilds of the untrodden region which was soon to become the permanent abode of these industrious adventurers. The liberality of the supervisors left nothing to be desired in the matter of provisions, which included " ten tuns of Alderman Parson's best beer." [2]

Nine days afterwards, Mr. Oglethorpe, who had volunteered to conduct the emigration and in person

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[1] *Gentleman's Magazine*, No. xxvi, p. 94.

[2] See *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1732, p. 1029.

superintend the establishment of the colony, came on board accompanied by his co-trustees. Having carefully inspected everything, with hearty assurances of their kindest sympathies and best wishes, the trustees bade God-speed to this "beau-ideal of an English gentleman," and his sturdy colonists.

The next day the Anne weighed her anchor, and,—having intermediately touched at the island of Madeira, where she took in five tuns of wine,—on the 13th of January, 1733, came to anchor outside the bar of Charleston harbor. The voyage proved entirely successful, and only two delicate children had died on the passage.

So soon as the sails of the Anne were furled, the first act performed by the colonists was the rendition of heartfelt thanks to the Supreme Ruler for the happy termination which He had vouchsafed to their voyage. Immediately thereafter Mr. Oglethorpe went on shore and paid his respects to his excellency Robert Johnson, the governor of the province of South Carolina, by whom, and his council he was warmly welcomed and treated with every mark of distinguished consideration. The king's pilot was dispatched to conduct the Anne into Port Royal harbor, whence the colonists were to be conveyed in small vessels to their place of future settlement. In order to facilitate the early location of the emigrants, Mr. Oglethorpe proceeded without delay to Beaufort. Thence,—accompanied by Mr. Bull who was detailed by the council as a special guide and assistant in the enterprise—he ascended the Savannah river, forming the northern boundary of the lands allotted to the colony of Georgia, with a view to exploring the country and selecting a spot best suited for the primal encampment.

In a letter to his co-trustees under date of February 10th, 1733, Mr. Oglethorpe thus describes the location

which on this occasion he fixed upon as the site for the principal town of the colony, and which, after the Indian name of the river flowing by, he called SAVANNAH. "The river here forms a half moon, along side of which the banks are about forty feet high, and on the top is a flat which they call a bluff. The plain high ground extends into the country about five or six miles; and along the river side, about a mile. Ships that draw twelve feet of water can ride within ten yards of the bank. Upon the river side, in the centre of this plain, I have laid out the town, opposite to which is an island of very rich pasturage which I think should be kept for the cattle of the trustees. The river is pretty wide, the water fresh, and from the quay of the town you see its whole course to the sea, with the island of Tybee which is at its mouth. For about six miles up into the country the landscape is very agreeable, the stream being wide, and bordered with high woods on both sides."

More than a century and a quarter have passed away and the city of Savannah still remains, in its location and plan, an enduring, and each day more illustrious monument of the judgment, forecast and enterprise of the founder of the colony of Georgia.

During Mr. Oglethorpe's absence on this exploring expedition, the colonists had been temporarily landed at Beaufort. There he joined them on the 24th of January. The following sabbath was duly observed as a day of special thanksgiving. On the 1st of February, they all arrived at Savannah, and pitched their tents beneath the tall pines which crowned the bluff. With commendable zeal they betook themselves one and all to landing their stores, the construction of shelters, making a crane, felling the woods, fortifying their settlement, and the performance of the various

labors requisite for their immediate comfort and protection.

The position of this feeble colony was, in the very nature of things, uncertain and hazardous in the extreme. Located in the depths of a primeval forest whose dense and tangled brakes and solemn shadows environed them on every hand,— the vast Atlantic rolling its waters between it and the mother country,— the Carolina settlements, at best few in numbers and contending in a stern life-struggle for their own existence,— Spaniards in Florida jealous of this disputed domain and ready at any moment to frustrate by stealthy approaches and force of arms, any efforts of the English to extend their plantations on the coast,— and, above all, Indian tribes in the occupancy of the country, attached to their grand old woods and gently flowing streams, watchful of the graves of their fathers, imposed upon by Spanish lies, cheated by Carolina traders, and naturally inclined to resist all encroachments by the whites upon their hunting grounds,— it did indeed appear that the preservation and development of this colony were well nigh impossible. But its planting and perpetuation had been committed to the guardian care of one who was, perhaps, beyond all others, best suited to the enterprise. Descended from a family ancient and of high repute,— in his very youth acquiring the arts of war and declaring his title to brave and high-toned distinction under Prince Eugene, of Savoy,— as a member of Haslemere, by a course thoroughly independent and consistent, and by speeches earnest and intelligent, securing the unqualified respect and esteem even of those opposed to him in political views,— in his philanthropic career displaying that "vast benevolence of soul" which alleviated the horrors of the Marshalsea, and worked marvelous reforms in the

exactions and oppressions of the extortionate Bambridge, the notorious warden of the fleet,—sensibly alive to the voice of suffering, and ready to lend a helping hand wherever the weak and the oppressed required the aid of the powerful and the noble-minded for the redress of wrongs, and the alleviation of present ills,—"in the prime of life, very handsome, tall and manly, dignified, but not austere, and blessed with ample means for the gratification of every reasonable desire,"—possessed of a liberal education, a fearless soul, a determined will, an expansive energy, and an experience of men and climes and matters which only years of careful observation, intelligent travel, and thoughtful study could supply, there was that about his person and character and abilities which inspired every confidence, and rendered Mr. Oglethorpe, beyond all dispute, the man of his age and people best qualified to inaugurate and conduct to a successful issue an enterprise so entirely in unison with his own philanthropic sentiments, and so important to the material interests both of England and America. Realizing the importance, nay the absolute necessity of establishing at the earliest moment friendly relations between the colonists and the nearest Indian nations, Mr. Oglethorpe lost no time in seeking a personal interview with [1]Tomo-chi-chi, the mico or chief of the Yamacraws, whose headquarters were at Yamacraw on the Savannah river, but a short distance above the point where the settlers had pitched their tents. This chief, whose name is so honorably associated with the

[1] The earliest notice of Tomo-chi-chi — whose name is variously spelt Tomochichi, Bocachee, Tomeychee, Tomachachi, Tomochachi, Thamachaychée, Thomochichi, Tomachichi, and Temochichi,— I have been able to find, is the mention made of him as one of the contracting parties in the "Articles of Friendship and Commerce between his Ex-

early history of the colony of Georgia, and whose many acts of kindness and fidelity to the whites demand and must ever receive the most grateful acknowledgments, although at this time far advanced in years, was a man of commanding presence, grave demeanor, marked character, acknowledged influence, and in the full possession of all his faculties. For some cause,—the precise nature of which has never been fully explained,—he had, in company with a number of his countrymen, suffered banishment at the hands of his people the Lower Creeks. Whatever the real reason may have been for this action on the part of the Creeks, towards Tomo-chi-chi, it does not appear that it was the result of any special ill-will, or that the expatriation was a punishment for specific crime or misconduct. The probability is that he went into voluntary exile, or may have been expelled the limits of the tribe, on account of some political disagreements. The great chief of the O'Conas, Oueekachumpa, in his interview with Mr. Oglethorpe, claimed a relationship with Tomo-chi-chi, and stated that although he had been banished from his nation, he was a good man and had been a great warrior.

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cellency Robert Johnson, Esq., Governor and Commander-in-chief in and over his majesty's Province of South Carolina, in behalf of his Majesty King George the Second, and his beloved men and councillors over the great water, as on behalf of his said Excellency and beloved men and warriors in his Government of South Carolina, and our beloved friends and head men of the Pallachucolas, Ouseeshees, and Chehaws, of the Lower Creek Towns, and also between the head men of the Abekers, Oakfuskeys, Oakchoys and Tallaseys in the Upper Creeks, as well on behalf of themselves as the people of their said Towns" formed, concluded and signed July 8th, 1721. Tomo-chi-chi here appears, representing the town of Pallachucolas, and his name is entered by the engrossing clerk as Tomeechey.[1]

[1] See report of the Committee appointed to examine into the proceedings of the people of Georgia with respect to the Province of South Carolina, etc., p. 57, *et seq.*, Charleston, 1737.

Removing from his former abode, after some wanderings he finally, not long before the arrival of the colony of Georgia, formed a permanent settlement on the banks of the Savannah, just at or very near the present site of the city of Savannah, where he gathered about him the tribe of Yamacraws, consisting in major part of disaffected parties from the Lower Creeks, and in some measure of Yamasee Indians.[1] On account of his superior wisdom and valor he was chosen mico, or chief. There is some evidence that at one time anterior to his locating himself at Yamacraw, he had tarried

[1] In the "report of the committee appointed to examine into the proceedings of the people of Georgia with respect to the province of South Carolina, and the disputes subsisting between the two colonies," [Charles Town, printed by Lewis Timothy, 1737] we read at page 11, "Your committee cannot leave this article without observing that when this representation was made, the people of this province * had the sole trade amongst the Creek Indians; and the people of Georgia would with difficulty have obtained a correspondence with the Indians without the assistance and introduction of the Government of Carolina. There were no Indians near the Georgians, except Tomo-chi-chi, and a small tribe consisting of about thirty or forty men who accompanied him. They were composed partly of Lower Creeks, and partly of Yamasees, who had disobliged their countrymen, and for fear of falling sacrifices to their resentment had wandered in the woods till about the year 1732, when they begged leave of this government to sit down on the high land of Yamacraw on the south side of Savannah river, at or near the place where the new town of Savannah in Georgia is now situated."

These statements of the committee are fortified by the following corroborating affidavits:

"South Carolina:

"Samuel Eveleigh of Charlestown, in the province aforesaid, maketh oath, that the tribe of Indians (which this deponent hath been credibly informed are composed partly of Creeks and Yamasees), settled themselves at a bluff called Yamacrah, some years since, and that about the beginning of the year 1732, some of them came to Charlestown aforesaid, and desired his excellency Robert Johnson, Esq., then governor, that they might have leave to settle there and have a trader

* South Carolina.

with the Pallachucolas for a season. But little can be gathered of his history prior to his acquaintance with Mr. Oglethorpe. Ninety-one years of his simple life had been, amid the shades of the forests, devoted to the pursuits of war and the chase; and there is scarce a tradition which wrests from total oblivion the deeds and thoughts of this aged warrior during that long and voiceless period. At the moment, however, when he came into the presence of the founder of the colony, his power over his tribe was supreme, his natural abilities were unquestioned, his reputation for courage and military knowledge in the rude arts of war which en-

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amongst them; which his excellency granted; and that Tomo-che-chee (who was lately in England) was one of them to the best of his remembrance. And further saith not.

SAMUEL EVELEIGH.

"Sworn before me January 3rd, 1736,

THOMAS LAMBOLL,

Justice of Peace for Berkley County."

"South Carolina:

"George Ducat, of Charlestown, maketh oath that some time in the year of our Lord 1732, the deponent was at the house of Mr. Samuel Eveleigh, in Charlestown, where he saw some Creek Indians who belonged to a small tribe of about seventeen or eighteen families, of which one Bocachee was then reputed to be the chief or leader, and that the said Indians then desired leave of Gov. Johnson to sit down at Yamacraw Bluff on Savannah river, the place where the town of Savannah is now settled. And the deponent saith that the said governor gave them leave to plant there during the said governor's pleasure. And this deponent hath been informed by a trader that was acquainted among the Creek Indians, that Bocachee's tribe had done some mischief in their own country, and dared not to return home. And the deponent saith that the Indian called Tomo-chi-chi, who was lately in England, was one of the same tribe, and lived amongst them when the people of Georgia first came to settle on the Savannah river.

GEORGE DUCAT.

"Sworn before me in council this 11th day of January, 1736-7.

THOMAS BROUGHTON."

gaged the attention of his age and race, well established, and his character such as to have secured for him the respect, confidence and good will of the neighboring nations. The only portrait of him, of which we have any account, is one which was taken during his visit to London. It was painted by Verilst, and hung for many years in the Georgia rooms. This likeness, which represents him in a standing posture, with his left hand resting upon the shoulder of his nephew and adopted son Toona-howi, who holds an eagle in his arms, was subsequently engraved by Kleinsmidt, and forms the frontispiece to one of the volumes of *Urlsperger's Journal of the Saltzburg Emigrants.*

Tomo-chi-chi was also noble in his connections.[1] The king of the Etiahitas was his brother, and by Oueekachumpa, surnamed by the whites, the Long King, he was acknowledged as a cousin. There is that about the countenance of this aged mico, as it has come down to us, which savors of intellect, dignity, self-respect and manliness not unworthy the lineaments of a king.

It may very readily be perceived how important it was to the material interests of the colony that the good will of this chief should be secured, and his consent obtained for the peaceable and uninterrupted occupation of the soil by the whites.

Mr. Oglethorpe, on the occasion of his first interview with Tomo-chi-chi, was fortunate in having as an interpreter an Indian woman[2] who had married a Carolina trader, named Musgrove, and who, from this circum-

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[1] *American Gazetteer,* vol. II, article, Georgia. London, 1762. *Political State of Great Britain,* vol. XLVI, p. 237, *et seq.*

[2] Finding that Mary Musgrove possessed considerable influence with the Creeks, Mr. Oglethorpe retained her as an interpreter, allowing her for her services in this capacity an annual compensation of £100,

stance, had acquired not only a tolerable knowledge of the English language, but also a favorable inclination towards her husband's countrymen.

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sterling. She afterwards became Mary Matthews, and subsequently married Thomas Bosomworth, the chaplain to Oglethorpe's regiment. In 1749, influenced by her designing, ambitious and unscrupulous husband, this woman proved a source of much annoyance; and on one occasion well-nigh compassed the destruction of the colony at Savannah. Upon his marriage with Mary, Thomas Bosomworth had accepted a grant of land from the crown, and had settled in the province of Georgia. Not content, however, with this possession, he determined that his wife should assert a claim to the islands of St. Catharine, Ossabaw and Sapelo which had been allotted to the Indians, by treaty stipulations, as part of their hunting lands. To stock them, this reverend gentleman had purchased cattle largely from the Carolina planters, to whom he stood indebted on this account to a considerable amount. His stock-raising not proving as remunerative as he had anticipated, this ambitious clergyman, with a view to attaining greatness and acquiring a fortune rapidly, encouraged his wife to announce herself as a sister of Malatche, descended in a maternal line from an Indian king who held from nature the entire territories of the Creeks. He persuaded her also to assert her right to them as superior, not only to that of the trustees but also of the king. Mary accordingly assumed the title of an independent empress, disavowing all allegiance or subjection to the British crown, and summoned a general convocation of the Creeks, to whom, in a long speech prepared for the occasion, she explained the justice of her claim, the great injury which they, her beloved subjects, had sustained at the hands of the English by the loss of their territories, and the necessity which was laid upon them to regain their rights by force of arms. Inflamed by her harangue, the assembled Indians admitted her claims, and pledged themselves to defend to the last extremity her royal person and lands. Putting herself at the head of a large body of warriors, she set out for Savannah to demand from the president and council a formal acknowledgment of her assumed rights. A messenger was dispatched to convey in advance to the president of the colony a notification of her approaching visit, and to acquaint him with the fact that she had assumed the sovereignty over the entire territory of the Upper and Lower Creeks. This notification was accompanied with a demand for the immediate evacuation by the whites of all lands lying south of the Savannah river, and was coupled with a threat, that in case of refusal every settlement within the specified limits should be extirpated. Alarmed at these bold pretensions, and sensible of her influence over the Creeks, President Stephens ordered the militia to hold themselves in readiness

The meeting between the governor of the colony and the aged mico, beneath the grand old live oaks and pines whose sheltering arms formed the only canopy

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to march to Savannah upon shortest notice, and at once proceeded to put the town in the best possible state of defense. Its whole force amounted to only one hundred and seventy men capable of bearing arms. A messenger, dispatched to meet Mary while she was still several miles from the town, to inquire whether she was serious in her intentions, and to endeavor to persuade her to dismiss her followers and abandon her pretensions, found her resolute and inflexible. Nothing remained but to receive the Indians boldly. The militia were ordered under arms, and, as the Indians entered the town, Captain Noble Jones, at the head of a troop of horse, stopped them and demanded whether their visit was of a friendly or hostile character? Receiving no reply, he commanded them to ground their arms, declaring that his orders were not to suffer an armed Indian to set foot in the town, and that he was determined to enforce those orders at every hazard. The Indians reluctantly submitted. Thomas Bosomworth in his canonical robes, with his queen by his side, followed by the kings and chiefs according to their respective rank, marched into the town on the 20th of July, making a formidable appearance. The citizens were terror-stricken at the sight. Advancing to the parade they found the militia drawn up under arms to receive them; by whom they were saluted with fifteen cannon, and conducted to the president's house.

Bosomworth being ordered to withdraw, the Indian chiefs in a friendly manner were required to declare their intention in paying this visit in so large a body without being convened by any person in authority. Having been previously instructed, they responded that Mary would speak for them, and that they would abide by what she said. They further stated that they heard she was to be sent captive over the great waters, and they were come to know on what account they were to lose their queen; that they intended no harm, and wished that their arms might be restored to them. They gave the assurance that after consulting with Bosomworth and his wife they would return and amicably settle all public affairs. Their guns were accordingly returned to them, and strict orders issued to allow them no ammunition until the council should see more clearly into their dark designs. The day following, the Indians, having had some private conferences with Mary, with sullen countenances marched about the streets in a tumultuous manner, apparently determined on mischief. All the men being obliged to mount guard, the women and children, afraid to remain in their houses by themselves, were greatly terrified, expecting every moment to be murdered and scalped. During this period of confusion a false rumor was circulated that the

over head, was frank, cordial, and most satisfactory. His personal friendship and that of his immediate tribe were freely pledged, and permission was cheerfully

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Indians had cut off President Stephens's head with a tomahawk; which so exasperated the inhabitants that it was with great difficulty the officers could restrain the troops from firing upon the Indians. Bosomworth was arrested and made to understand that in case of extremities he should be marked as the first victim. So soon as he was carried into close confinement, Mary became frantic, threatening vengeance against the magistrates and the entire colony, ordering all white persons to depart immediately from her territories, cursing Oglethorpe, pronouncing his treaties fraudulent, and, furiously stamping her foot upon the earth, swearing by her Maker that the whole globe should know the ground she stood upon was her own. To prevent the whites from acquiring any ascendancy over the chiefs and warriors, she kept the leading men constantly under her eye, and would not suffer them to utter a sentence on public affairs except in her presence.

Finding it utterly impossible to pacify the Indians while under the baleful influence of their pretended queen, President Stephens privately laid hold of her and put her in close confinement with her husband. In order to facilitate a reconciliation, a feast was prepared for all the chiefs and leading warriors; at which they were informed that Bosomworth had involved himself in debts which he was unable to pay, that he wanted not only their lands, but also a large share of the presents which the king had sent over for the chiefs and warriors as a compensation for their useful services and firm attachment to him during the war against their common enemy, that Bosomworth wished to obtain these presents to satisfy his creditors in Carolina at their expense, that the lands adjoining Savannah had been reserved for them to encamp upon when they should come to visit their beloved friends in Savannah, and the three maritime islands for them to fish and hunt upon when they came to bathe in the salt waters, that neither Mary nor her husband had any right to those lands, but that they were the common property of the whole Creek nation and that the great king George had ordered the president to defend their right to them, expecting that all his subjects, both white and red, would live together like brethren.

Many of the chiefs, convinced that Bosomworth had deceived them, declared that they would be no longer controlled by his advice. Even Malatche, the leader of the Lower Creeks, appeared for the moment satisfied; and was greatly delighted to hear that presents were to be distributed. Taking advantage of this favorable change in their sentiments, President Stephens determined to make immediate distribution of the royal bounty and to dismiss the Indians. While prepa-

granted for the undisturbed occupation of the spot selected by Oglethorpe for the town of Savannah. Although the good-will of the nearest Indians had been

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rations were being made to carry this intention into effect, Malatche,— whom the Indians compared to the wind, because of his fickle and variable temper,— having sought and intermediately obtained a personal interview with Bosomworth and his wife, rose up in the midst of the chiefs and warriors assembled to receive their respective shares of the king's gifts, and, with frowning countenance and violent manner, delivered an inflammatory speech abounding in dangerous insinuations and threats, asserting the paramount claims of Mary, as queen of the Creeks, to all the lands in question, declaring that her words were the voice of the nation, that three thousand warriors were prepared to maintain with their lives her rights, and finally concluding by drawing from his pocket a document which he delivered to President Stephens in confirmation of what he had said. This paper had evidently been prepared by Bosomworth, and was an ambitious and violent assertion of the pretensions and designs of Mary. When the paper was read in council, the members were struck with astonishment. Perceiving the effect which had been produced, Malatche became uneasy, and begged a return of the paper that he might hand it back to the party from whom he had received it. President Stephens, perceiving more clearly than ever how sadly the Indians had been duped by the ambitious, mercenary and designing Bosomworth, addressed the chiefs and warriors in the following language:

"Friends and brothers: When Mr. Oglethorpe and his people first arrived in Georgia they found Mary, then the wife of John Musgrove, living in a small hut at Yamacraw; he had a license from the governor of South Carolina to trade with the Indians. She then appeared to be in a poor, ragged condition, and was neglected and despised by the Creeks; but General Oglethorpe finding that she could speak both the English and the Creek languages, employed her as an interpreter, richly clothed her, and made her a woman of the consequence she now appears. The people of Georgia always respected her until she married Bosomworth, but from that time she has proved a liar and a deceiver. In fact, she was no relation of Malatche, but the daughter of an Indian woman of no note, by a white man. General Oglethorpe did not treat with her for the lands of Georgia, for she had none, but with the old and wise leaders of the Creek nation, who voluntarily surrendered their territories to the king. The Indians at that time having much waste land which was useless to themselves, parted with a share of it to their friends, and were glad that white people had settled among them to supply their wants. He told them that the present discontents of the Creeks had been artfully infused into them

thus gained, it was evident,— in order to place beyond peradventure the present security of the colony,— that the consent to its establishment should be obtained

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by Mary, at the instigation of her husband ; that he demanded a third part of the royal bounty in order to rob the naked Indians of their rights ; that he had quarreled with the president and council of Georgia for refusing to answer his exorbitant demands, and therefore had filled the heads of the Indians with wild fancies and groundless jealousies in order to ferment mischief and induce them to break their alliance with their best friends who alone were able to supply their wants and defend them against their enemies." At this point the Indians acknowledged that their eyes were opened, and that they were ready and anxious to smoke the pipe of peace. Pipes and rum were brought, and all, joining hand in hand, drank and smoked in friendship. The distribution of the royal presents, — except the ammunition, with which it was deemed imprudent at this moment to entrust them,— was made, and even Malatche seemed fully satisfied with the share he had received.

While an amicable compromise of all existing difficulties had thus been effected, and all were rejoicing in the reestablishment of friendly intercourse, Mary, drunk with liquor, rushed like a fury into the midst, telling the president that these were her people and that he had no business with them. The president calmly advised her to retire to her lodgings, and to forbear poisoning the minds of the Indians ; as otherwise he would order her again into close confinement. Turning to Malatche in a great rage, she repeated to him with some ill-natured comments what the president had said. Malatche thereupon sprang from his seat, laid hold of his arms, called upon the rest to follow his example, and dared any man to touch his queen. In a moment the whole house was filled with tumult and uproar. Every Indian having his tomahawk in his hand, the president and council expected nothing but instant death. During this confusion Captain Jones, who commanded the guard, with wonderful courage interposed and ordered the Indians immediately to surrender their arms ; which they reluctantly did. Mary was conveyed to a private room where a guard was placed over her, and all further communication with the Indians denied her during their stay in Savannah.

The Indians were finally persuaded to leave the town peaceably and return to their settlements. Mary and her husband were detained until about the first of August, when, having fully confessed their errors and craved pardon, they were allowed to depart.— *M'Call's History of Georgia*, I, 216, *et seq.*

from other adjacent and more powerful nations. Learning from Tomo-chi-chi the names and the abodes of the most influential chiefs, Mr. Oglethorpe enlisted the good offices of this mico in extending to them an earnest invitation to meet him in Savannah at an early day. The importance of this interview and the generous conduct of Tomo-chi-chi cannot easily be over estimated in considering their salutary influence upon the being and prospects of this lonely and feeble colony struggling for its primal existence. Had this chief, turning a deaf ear to the advances of Mr. Oglethorpe, refused his friendship, denied his request, and by his acknowledged influence instigated a determined and combined opposition on the part not only of the Yamacraws but also of the Uchees and Lower Creeks, the perpetuation of this settlement on the banks of the Savannah would have been either most seriously imperiled, or abruptly terminated amid smoke and blood. When, therefore, we recur to the memories of this period, and as often as the marked events in the early history of the colony of Georgia are enumerated, so often let the recollections of the first favors of this Indian chief be gratefully acknowledged. If General Oglethorpe's proudest claim to the honor and respect of succeeding generations be that he was the successful founder of the colony of Georgia, let it not be forgotten by those who accord him every praise for his valor and judgment, endurance, skill and benevolence, that in the hour of supreme doubt and peril, the right hand of this son of the forest and his generous friendship were among the surest guaranties of the safety and the very existence of that colony. To the day of his death the pledges of amity and the assurances of goodwill, given at this first interview, were preserved inviolate. The firm friend of the white man, the guide,

the adviser, the protector of the colonists, the constant companion and faithful confederate of Oglethorpe, as such let us always remember the aged mico of the Yamacraws.

True to his promise Tomo-chi-chi exerted his influence in behalf of the contemplated convention, and dispatched messengers to the various principal towns and chief men of the Georgia tribes, apprising them of the objects of the convocation and leading their minds in advance to a favorable consideration of the propositions which had been intimated to him by Mr. Oglethorpe. The interval, which must necessarily elapse prior to the assembling of the Indians, was improved by the founder of the colony in furthering the settlement at Savannah and in paying a visit to the province of Carolina. The fullest narrative of the meeting between Mr. Oglethorpe and the Indians, in pursuance of this invitation, is contained in the 46th volume of the *Political State of Great Britain*, and we repeat the account as it is there given:

On the 14th of May, Mr. Oglethorpe set out from Charleston on his return to Savannah, which is the name of the town now begun to be built in Georgia. That night he lay at Col. Bull's house on Ashley river, where he dined the next day. The Rev. Mr. Guy, rector of the parish of St. John's, waited upon him there, and acquainted him that his parishioners had raised a very handsome contribution for the assistance of the colony of Georgia. Mr. Oglethorpe went from thence to Capt. Bull's, where he lay on the 15th. On the 16th, in the morning, he embarqued at Daho, and rested at Mr. Cochran's island. On the 17th he dined at Lieut. Watts' at Beaufort, and landed at Savannah on the 18th, at ten in the morning, where he found that Mr. Wiggan, the interpreter, with the chief men of all the Lower Creek nation, had come down to treat of an alliance with the new colony.

The Lower Creeks are a nation of Indians who formerly con-

sisted of ten, but now are reduced to eight tribes or towns, who have each their different government, but are allied together and speak the same language. They claim from the Savannah river as far as S. Augustin, and up to the Flint river, which falls into the bay of Mexico. All the Indians inhabiting this tract speak their language. Tomo-chi-chi, mico, and the Indians of Yamacraw are of their nation and language.

Mr. Oglethorpe received the Indians in one of the new houses that afternoon. They were as follows:

From the tribe of Coweeta — Yahou-Lakee, their king or mico. Essoboa, their warrior,— the son of old Breen, lately dead, whom the Spaniards called emperor of the Creeks,— with eight men and two women attendants.

From the tribe of the Cussetas — Cusseta, the mico, Tatchiquatchi, the head warrior, and four attendants.

From the tribe of the Owseecheys — Ogeese, the mico, or war king, Neathlouthko and Ougachi, two chief men, with three attendants.

From the tribe of Chechaws — Outhleteboa, the mico, Thlautho-thlukee, Figeer, Soota-Milla, war-captains, and three attendants.

From the tribe of Echetas — Chutabeeche and Robin, two war-captains, [the latter was bred among the English] with four attendants.

From the tribe of Pallachucolas — Gillatee, the head warrior, and five attendants.

From the tribe of Oconas — Oueekachumpa, called by the English "Long King," Coowoo, a warrior.

From the tribe of Eufaule — Tomaumi, the head warrior, and three attendants.

The Indians being all seated, Oueekachumpa, a very tall old man, stood up, and with a graceful action and a good voice, made a long speech, which was interpreted by Mr. Wiggan and John Musgrove, and was to the following purpose. He first claimed all the land to the southward of the river Savannah, as belonging to the Creek Indians. Next he said that although they were poor and ignorant, he who had given the English breath had given them breath also; that he who had made both, had given more wisdom to the white men; that they were firmly

persuaded that the Great Power which dwelt in heaven and all around, [and then he spread out his hands and lengthened the sound of his words,] and which had given breath to all men, had sent the English thither for the instruction of them, their wives and children; that therefore they gave them up freely their right to all the land which they did not use themselves, and that this was not only his opinion, but the opinion of the eight towns of the Creeks, each of whom having consulted together, had sent some of their chief men with skins, which is their wealth. He then stopped, and the chief men of each town brought up a bundle of buck-skins, and laid eight bundles from the eight towns at Mr. Oglethorpe's feet. He then said those were the best things they had, and therefore they gave them with a good heart. He then thanked him for his kindness to Tomo-chi-chi, mico, and his Indians, to whom he said he was related; and said, that though Tomo-chi-chi was banished from his nation, he was a good man, and had been a great warrior, and it was for his wisdom and courage that the banished men chose him king. Lastly, he said, they had heard in the nation that the Cherokees had killed some Englishmen, and that if he should command them, they would enter with their whole force into the Cherokee country, destroy their harvest, kill their people and revenge the English. He then sat down. Mr. Oglethorpe promised to acquaint the trustees with their desire of being instructed, and informed them that although there had been a report of the Cherokees having killed some Englishmen, it was groundless. He thanked them in the most cordial manner for their affection, and told them that he would acquaint the trustees with it.

Tomo-chi-chi, mico, then came in, with the Indians of Yamacraw, to Mr. Oglethorpe, and, bowing very low, said: "I was a banished man; I came here poor and helpless to look for good land near the tombs of my ancestors, and the trustees sent people here; I feared you would drive us away, for we were weak and wanted corn; but you confirmed our land to us, gave us food and instructed our children. We have already thanked you in the strongest words we could find, but words are no return for such favors; for good words may be spoke by the deceitful, as well as by the upright heart. The chief men of

all our nation are here to thank you for us; and before them I declare your goodness, and that here I design to die; for we all love your people so well that with them we will live and die. We do not know good from evil, but desire to be instructed and guided by you that we may do well with, and be numbered amongst the children of the trustees."[1] He sat down, and Yahou-Lakee, mico of Coweeta, stood up and said, "We are come twenty-five days' journey to see you. I have been often advised to go down to Charles-Town, but would not go down because I thought I might die in the way; but when I heard that you were come, and that you were good men, I knew you were sent by Him who lives in Heaven, to teach us Indians wisdom; I therefore came down that I might hear good things, for I knew that if I died in the way I should die in doing good, and what was said would be carried back to the nation, and our children would reap the benefit of it. I rejoice that I have lived to see this day, and to see our friends that have long been gone from amongst us. Our nation was once strong, and had ten towns; but we are now weak, and have but eight towns. You have comforted the banished, and have gathered them that were scattered like little birds before the eagle. We desire therefore to be reconciled to our brethren who are here amongst you, and we give leave to Tomo-chi-chi, Stimoiche, and Illispelle, to call the kindred that love them out of each of the Creek towns, that they may come together and make one town. We must

[1] In "a curious account of the Indians, by an honorable person," Mr. Oglethorpe, referring to this speech, says: "Tomo-chi-chi, in his first set speech to me, among other things, said: 'Here is a little present;' and then gave me a buffalo's skin, painted on the inside with the head and feathers of an eagle. He desired me to accept it because 'the eagle signified speed, and the buffalo strength. That the English were as swift as the bird, and as strong as the beast; since like the first, they flew from the utmost parts of the earth, over the vast seas, and like the second, nothing could withstand them. That the feathers of the eagle were soft, and signified love; the buffalo skin was warm, and signified protection; therefore he hoped that we would love and protect their little families.'" This interesting and characteristic episode in the history of the occasion, is unfortunately omitted in the account which we have adopted as giving the most minute and satisfactory details of this memorable interview.

pray you to recall the Yamasees that they may be buried in peace amongst their ancestors, and that they may see their graves before they die; and their own nation shall be restored again to its ten towns." After which he spoke concerning the abatement of the prices of goods, and agreed upon articles of a treaty which were ordered to be engrossed.

Tomo-chi-chi invited them to his town, where they passed the night in feasting and dancing. On the 21st, the treaty was signed. "A laced coat, a laced hat and a shirt were given to each of the Indian chiefs; to each of the warriors a gun, and a mantle of Duffils, and to all their attendants coarse cloth for clothing. A barrel of gunpowder, four cags of bullets, a piece of broad-cloth, a piece of Irish linen, a cask of tobacco pipes, eight belts and cutlashes, with gilt handles, tape and inkle of all colors, and eight cags of rum, to be carried home to their towns; one pound of powder, one pound of bullets, and as much provision for each man as they pleased to take for their journey home," were also distributed.[1]

During this interview, the conduct of Mr. Oglethorpe towards the Indians was characterized by marked kindness, courtesy and conciliation. He urged upon them an appreciation of the fact, that in making this settlement the English desired neither to dispossess nor to annoy the natives, but that the earnest wish of his government and people was to live in peace and friendship with the surrounding tribes. He further explained the power of the British nation and the general object in view in founding the colony, and asked from the assembled chiefs and those whom they represented, a

[1] See *The Political State of Great Britain*, XLVI, 237; *Gentleman's Magazine* for July, 1733, III, 384, *et seq.*: *American Gazetteer*, II, article Georgia, London, 1762.

grant or cession of the lands lying between the Savannah and Alatamaha rivers. In addition, he invoked the ratification of a treaty of commerce and of perpetual amity.

The interview was in every respect satisfactory, and resulted in the consummation of a treaty, by which the Lower Creeks agreed to place themselves under the general government of Great Britain and to live in peace with the colonists. To the trustees were granted all lands lying between the Savannah and the Alatamaha rivers, from the ocean to the head of tide water. This cession also embraced all the islands on the coast, from Tybee to St. Simons's island inclusive, with the exception of the islands of Ossabau, Sapelo and St. Catharine, which were reserved by the Indians for the purposes of hunting, bathing and fishing. The tract of land lying above Yamacraw bluff, between Pipemaker's bluff and Pally-Chuckola creek, was also reserved as a place of encampment whenever it should please them to visit their beloved friends at Savannah. Stipulations were entered into, regulating the price of goods, the value of peltry and the privileges of traders. It was further agreed that all criminal offences should be tried and punished in accordance with the laws of England.[1]

Although this treaty was engrossed, and formally executed by Oglethorpe on the one part, and the chiefs and principal warriors who were then present on the other, in order that its terms might be duly considered and approved, it was at once forwarded to the trustees for their formal confirmation.

In due course it was returned by the trustees with the following ratification :

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[1] See *M'Call's History of Georgia*, I, 37, 38.

The trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia in America to the chief men of the nation of the Lower Creeks,

SEND GREETING:

WHEREAS, The great king, George the Second, king of Great Britain did by his letters patent under the great seal of Great Britain, bearing date the 9th day of June, in the 5th year of his reign, constitute and appoint a body politic and corporate by the name of the trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia in America:

And, WHEREAS, The said trustees have received from their beloved Mr. James Oglethorpe, of West Brook Place, in the county of Surry, Esquire, one of the common council of the said trustees, a copy of certain articles of friendship and commerce between the said trustees and the said chief men, which is in the words following (that is to say), Articles of friendship and commerce between the trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia in America, and the chief men of the nation of the Lower Creeks.

First. The trustees, bearing in their hearts great love and friendship to you the said head-men of the Lower Creek nation, do engage to let their people carry up into your towns all kinds of goods fitting to trade in the said towns, at the rates and prices settled and agreed upon before you the said head-men, and annexed to this treaty of trade and friendship.

Secondly. The trustees do by these articles promise to see restitution done to any of the people of your towns by the people they shall send among you; proof being made to the beloved man they shall at any time send among you, that they who have either committed murder, robbery, or have beat or wounded any of your people, or any wise injured them in their crops, by their horses, or any other ways whatever; and upon such proof the said people shall be tried and punished according to the English law.

Thirdly. The trustees when they find the hearts of you the said head-men and your people are not good to the people they shall send among you, or that you or your people do not mind this paper, they will withdraw the English trade from the town so offending. And that you and your people may have

this chain of friendship in your minds and fixed to your hearts, they have made fast their seal to this treaty.

Fourthly. We, the head-men of the Coweta and Cuseta towns, in behalf of all the Lower Creek nation, being firmly persuaded that He who lives in Heaven, and is the occasion of all good things, has moved the hearts of the trustees to send their beloved men among us, for the good of our wives and children, and to instruct us and them in what is straight, do therefore declare that we are glad that their people are come here; and though this land belongs to us (the Lower Creeks), yet we, that we may be instructed by them, do consent and agree that they shall make use of and possess all those lands which our nation hath not occasion to use; and we make over unto them, their successors and assigns, all such lands and territories as we shall have no occasion to use; provided always, that they, upon settling every new town, shall set out for the use of ourselves and the people of our nation such lands as shall be agreed upon between their beloved men and the head-men of our nation, and that those lands shall remain to us forever.

Fifthly. We, the head-men, do promise for ourselves and the people of our towns that the traders for the English which shall settle among us, shall not be robbed or molested in their trade in our nation; and that if it shall so happen any of our people should be mad, and either kill, wound, beat or rob any of the English traders or their people, then we the said head-men of the towns aforesaid do engage to have justice done to the English, and for that purpose to deliver up any of our people who shall be guilty of the crimes aforesaid, to be tried by the English laws, or by the laws of our nation, as the beloved man of the trustees shall think fit. And we further promise not to suffer any of the people of our said towns to come into the limits of the English settlements without leave from the English beloved man, and that we will not molest any of the English traders passing to or from any nation in friendship with the English.

Sixthly. We, the head-men, for ourselves and people do promise to apprehend and secure any negro or other slave which shall run away from any of the English settlements to our nation, and to carry them either to this town, or Savannah, or Palachuckola garrison, and there to deliver him up to the com-

mander of such garrison, and to be paid by him four blankets or two guns, or the value thereof in other goods; provided such runaway negro, or other slave, shall be taken by us or any of our people on the farther side of Oconee river; and in case such negro or runaway slave shall be taken on the hither side of the said river, and delivered to the commanders aforesaid, then we understand the pay to be one gun, or the value thereof; and in case we or our people should kill any such slave for resistance or running away from us in apprehending him, then we are to be paid one blanket for his head, by any trader, for carrying such slave's head unto him.

Lastly. We promise with stout hearts, and love to our brothers the English, to give no encouragement to any other white people, but themselves, to settle amongst us, and that we will not have any correspondence with the Spaniards or French; and to show that we both for the good of ourselves our wives and children do firmly promise to keep the talk in our hearts as long as the sun shall shine or the waters run in the rivers, we have each of us set the marks of our families.

Schedule of the prices of goods agreed on, annexed.

Two yards of stroud,	Five buck-skins.
One yard of plains,	One ditto.
White blanket,	One ditto.
Blue ditto,	Five ditto.
A gun,	Ten ditto.
A pistol,	Five ditto.
A gun-lock,	Four ditto.
Two measures of powder,	One ditto.
Sixty bullets,	Ditto ditto.
One white shirt,	Two ditto.
One knife,	One doe-skin.
Eighteen flints,	One buck-skin.
Three yards of cadiz,	One doe-skin.
Ditto ditto of gartering,	Ditto, ditto.
One hoe,	Two buck-skins.
One axe,	Ditto ditto.
One large hatchet,	Three doe-skins.
One small ditto,	One buck-skin.
Brass kettles per lb,	Ditto ditto.

Doe-skins were estimated at half the value of the bucks.

And, WHEREAS, The said trustees are greatly desirous to maintain and preserve an inviolable peace, friendship and commerce between the said head-men of the Lower nation of Creeks, and the people the said trustees have sent and shall send to inhabit and settle in the province of Georgia aforesaid, to endure to the world's end;

Now know ye that we the said trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia in America do by these presents ratify and confirm the said articles of friendship and commerce between the trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia in America, and the chief-men of the Lower Creeks, and all and every of the articles and agreements therein contained, and also the rates and prices of goods above mentioned, settled and agreed upon before the said head-men, and annexed to the said treaty of trade and friendship.

In witness whereof the common council of the said trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia in America have to these presents made fast the common seal of the corporation of the said trustees, the eighteenth day of October, in the seventh year of the reign of our sovereign lord George the Second, by the grace of God of Great Britain, France and Ireland king, defender of the faith, etc., and in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and thirty-three.

By order of the said common council,

BENJAMIN MARTYN, *Secretary.*[1]

The result of this treaty of the 18th of May, 1733, was the pacification of all the Lower Creek Indians, the Uchees, the Yamacraws and all the tribes acknowledging their supremacy. Nor did the influences of this convocation rest with them only. They were recognized by the Upper Creeks, and, at a later date, specifically ratified by the Cherokees. For years were these stipulations preserved inviolate; and the colony of Georgia, thus protected, extended its settlements up

[1] See *M'Call's History of Georgia*, I, 357, *et seq.*

the Savannah river and along the coast, encountering neither molestation nor opposition, but on the contrary receiving on every hand positive and valuable assurances of the good-will and sympathies of the children of the forest. Probably the early history of no plantation in America affords so few instances of hostility encountered on the part of the natives, or furnishes so many acts of kindness experienced at the hands of the Red men. To the prudence, conciliatory conduct, sound judgment and wisdom of Mr. Oglethorpe, seconded by the hospitality and generosity as well as the direct personal influence of Tomo-chi-chi, was the colony of Georgia indebted for this first and liberal treaty of amity and commerce with the aborigines.

CHAPTER II.

The Creek Confederacy — Contemporaneous descriptions of the physical appearance, characteristics, customs and occupations of the Indians dwelling within the limits of Georgia.

IN a letter written on the 12th of March, 1733, Mr. Oglethorpe mentions the Lower Creeks, the Upper Creeks and the Uchees as the three most powerful Indian nations in Georgia, dwelling between the mountains and the coast. The Lower Creeks consisted of nine towns or cantons, and their warriors were estimated by him at one thousand. The military power of the Upper Creeks he computes at eleven hundred men capable of bearing arms, while it was supposed that the Uchees were at that time incapable of bringing into the field more than two hundred bow-men.

De Brahm, at a later date, reckons the population of the Upper and Lower Creeks at fifteen thousand men, women and children; and rates their warriors and gun-men above three thousand.[1]

In 1733,—the year in which Georgia was settled,—the territory of the Creek confederacy, including at that time the Seminoles, was bounded on the west by the Mobile river and by the ridge which separates the waters of the Tombigbee from those of the Alabama, on the north by the Cherokees, on the north-east by the Savannah, and on every other quarter by the Atlantic ocean, and the Gulf of Mexico.[2]

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[1] *History of the Province of Georgia, etc.,* by John Gerar William De Brahm. Wormsloe, MDCCCXLIX, 55.

[2] *Synopsis of the Indian tribes,* by the Hon. Albert Gallatin; *Archæologia Americana,* II, 94.

It seems probable that the small tribe of the Yamacraws, over which Tomo-chi-chi presided as mico, was composed in the main of Yamasees, acknowledging the supremacy of the Creek confederacy.[1]

At what particular period occurred the consolidation of the Creek confederacy, cannot now be definitely ascertained. Tradition points to the country west of the Mississippi as the original habitat of at least some of the tribes composing this confederacy. The Muskhogees,— constituting the prevailing nation, and comprising more than seven-eighths of the entire population,— claimed that they issued originally out of a cave near the Alabama river. The Hitchittees on the contrary declared that their ancestors had fallen from the sky.

[2] The Uchees and the Natches,— who were both incorporated in the Creek confederacy,— spoke two distinct languages altogether different from the Muskhogees. The Natches, a residue of the well-known nation of that name, came from the banks of the Mississippi and joined the Creeks.

The original seats of the Uchees, — so far as they can be ascertained,— were east of the Coosa, and probably of the Chattahoochee. They considered themselves as the most ancient inhabitants of the country, and may have been the same nation which is called Apalaches by the historians of De Soto's expedition. At the beginning of the eighteenth century they were located, at least in part, on the western bank of the Savannah river. In 1736, they claimed the country above and below Augusta. In 1715, the Yamasees, who had been assisted by the Creeks, suffered a signal defeat

[1] *Archæologia Americana,* II, 85; *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society,* III, part I, 15.

[2] *Archæologia Americana,* II, 95.

and were driven across the Savannah river. It is not improbable that in this struggle they numbered the Uchees among their auxiliaries; and that weakened by this defeat, they found it prudent to withdraw to a greater distance from the English settlements in Carolina, and seek a more secure retreat in the direction of the Flint river. The Uchee language is the most guttural, uncouth and difficult to express with our alphabet and orthography of any of the Indian languages within our knowledge. After quoting with approval the synopsis of Mr. Gallatin, in his contribution to the history of the Creek confederacy, Mr. Hodgson says,[1] "To my mind it is evident that the whole Atlantic coast, from the Mississippi to the country of the Six Nations in the north, has for centuries past been the theatre of constant revolutions among the aborigines of the soil. Wars, conquests, subjugations, extinctions and productions of new races, migrations and new settlements, I do not doubt, have marked the life of western as well as of eastern nations. On this continent there are no Persepolitan, Etruscan, Egyptian or Runic inscriptions to attest the rise and decay of nations, their wars, conquests and migrations; and where no records have been made of such movements among races and tribes, the modern science of comparative philology has detected by speech, the far distant emigration of tribes of men with as great certainty as the comparative anatomist detects congeners among fossil animals. Thus the Anglo-Saxon derives his origin through Teutonic and Zend to Sanscrit in Central Asia, with positive certainty.

"The historians of Carolina and Georgia have preserved some slight vestiges of the original inhabitants.

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[1] *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society*, III, part 1, 16, 17.

The Shawnees appear to have been a peculiarly roving, romantic race. Lawson reports that the Catawbas in Carolina drove back the Shawnees from the Peedee and Santee rivers. At one time they were repelled by the Six Nations, and retired to the valley of the Ohio. At another they were found on the Savannah river, which was called *Chisketalla fau hatche*, and sometimes *Sauvannogee*, the name for *Shawanœ*. This is the report of Mr. Hawkins. It was called *Isundiga* by the Carolina tribes. My own opinion is that the river was so called from the tribe of Savannahs occupying its banks, who belonged to the great Uchee family. There are many indications however which favor the settlement of Shawnees on this river.

"Hawkins says that the 'village of Sauvanogee, on the waters of Coosa and Tallapoosa, is inhabited by Shawanee. They retain the language and customs of their countrymen to the north-west, and aided them in their late war with the United States. Some Uchees have settled with them.'

"Entertaining the suspicion that these Shawanee were in reality Uchees, I found confirmation in Bartram. He says 'their (Uchees) own national language is radically different from the Muscogulgee tongue, and is called Savanna, or Savannuca, Savanogee. I was told by the traders that it was the same as the dialect of the Shawanese. The Uchees are in confederacy with the Creeks, but do not mix with them.'

"The language of the Shawnese is most certainly not like Uchee; and this contradiction of the traders I cannot well explain. Yet I have the conviction that the tribe of Savannahs were Uchees. All travelers concur in assigning to the Uchees great influence in the confederacy; and Bartram asserts that they 'excite the jealousy of the whole Creek nation.' Palachoocla

or Parachoocla, the capital of the confederacy, with two thousand inhabitants, on the waters of the Chattahoochee is a very ancient Uchee town. There is at this day an old Indian station in Carolina on the Savannah river called *Parachoola*, which is Uchee. *Saukechuh*, (Saltketchers) where Gov. Craven defeated the Yamassees, is most likely to be a Uchee word. Indeed, until the contrary shall be proved by comparative vocabularies, I shall think that the Savannahs, Sevannahs, and Uchees who conquered and expelled the Westos and Stonos, were one people with the Yamassees.

"The Yamassees were in turn expelled from Carolina by the English, and took refuge in Florida. The Yamacraws belonged to this tribe. The Uchees seem to have been a conquering people, whose tide of success having been checked, flowed back towards the west, and there met the advancing waves of the Muscogee emigration from the west rolling eastwardly. Policy and self-preservation combined to suggest a coalition. And thus from these principles, acting upon other nomadic or migrating tribes, may have sprung the powerful Creek or Muscogee confederacy."

The glowing descriptions of the natives which have been handed down by the early Spanish adventurers were not fully justified by the appearance and occupations of the Indians as they were observed and related by the Georgia colonists. Mr. Oglethorpe, speaking generally, describes the Indians as "a manly, well shaped race." [1]He says, they, as the ancient Grecians did, anoint with oil and expose themselves to the sun, which occasions their skins to be brown of color. The men paint themselves of various colors, red, blue, yel-

[1] See *Salmon's Modern History*, III, 770, 4th edition; *Harris's Memorials of Oglethorpe*, 319.

low and black. The men wear generally a girdle with a piece of cloth drawn through their legs and turned over the girdle both before and behind, so as to hide their nakedness. The women wear a kind of petticoat to the knees. Both men and women in the winter wear mantles something less than two yards square, which they wrap round their bodies as the Romans did their toga, generally keeping their arms bare; they are sometimes of woolen bought of the English, sometimes of furs which they dress themselves. They wear a kind of pumps which they call moccasins, made of deer skin, which they dress for that purpose. They are a generous, good-natured people; very humane to strangers; patient of want and pain; slow to anger and not easily provoked, but when they are thoroughly incensed they are implacable; very quick of apprehension, and gay of temper. Their public conferences show them to be men of genius, and they have a natural eloquence, they never having had the use of letters. They love eating, and the English have taught many of them to drink strong liquors; which, when they do, they are miserable sights. They have no manufactures but what each family makes for its own use; they seem to despise working for hire, and spend their time chiefly in hunting and war; but plant corn enough for the support of their families and the strangers that come to visit them. Their food, instead of bread, is flour of Indian corn boiled and seasoned like hasty-pudding, and this called hominy. They also boil venison and make broth; they also roast or rather broil their meat. The flesh they feed on is buffalo, deer, wild-turkeys and other game; so that hunting is necessary to provide flesh, and planting for corn. The land belongs to the women, and the corn that grows upon it; but meat must be got by the men, because it is they

only that hunt; this makes marriage necessary, that the women may furnish corn, and the men meat. They have also fruit trees in their gardens, namely peaches, nectarines and locust, melons and water-melons, potatoes, pumpkins, onions, etc., in plenty; and many kinds of wild fruits and nuts, as persimons, grapes, chinquepins and hickory nuts, of which they make oil. The bees make their combs in the hollow trees, and the Indians find plenty of honey there, which they use instead of sugar. They make what supplies the place of salt, of wood ashes; use for seasoning long-pepper, which grows in their gardens; and bay-leaves supply their want of spice. Their exercises are a kind of ball-playing, hunting and running; and they are very fond of dancing. Their music is a kind of drum, as also hollow cocoa-nut shells. They have a square in the middle of their towns in which the warriors sit, converse and smoke together; but in rainy weather they meet in the king's house. They are a very healthy people and have hardly any diseases except those occasioned by the drinking of rum, and the small-pox. Those who do not drink rum, are exceedingly long lived. Old Brim, emperor of the Creeks, who died but a few years ago, lived to one hundred and thirty years, and he was neither blind nor bed-rid till some months before his death. They have some pleurisies and fevers, but no chronical distempers. They know of several herbs that have great virtues in physic, particularly for the cure of venomous bites and wounds.

In a letter dated the 9th of June, 1733, Mr. Oglethorpe furnishes additional information in reference to the Georgia Indians. He writes as follows:

There seems to be a door opened to the colony towards the conversion of the Indians. I have had many conversations with

their chief-men, the whole tenor of which shows that there is nothing wanting to their conversion but one who understands their language well, to explain to them the *mysteries* of religion; for, as to the *moral* part of Christianity they understand it, and do assent to it. They abhor *adultery* and do not approve of a *plurality of wives*. *Theft* is a thing not known among the Creek Indians, though frequent and even honorable among the Uchees. *Murder* they look on as a most abominable crime; but do not esteem the killing of an *enemy*, or one that has injured them, murder. The passion of *revenge* which they call *honor*, and drunkenness which they learn from our traders, seem to be the two greatest obstacles to their being truly Christians; but upon both these points they hear reason; and with respect to drinking *rum* I have weaned those near me a good-deal from it. As for *revenge* they say, as they have no executive power of justice amongst them, they are forced to kill the man who has injured them, in order to prevent others doing the like; but they do not think any injury, except *adultery* or *murder*, deserves revenge. They hold that if a man commits adultery, the injured husband is obliged to have revenge by cutting off the ears of the adulterer; which, if he is too strong or sturdy to submit to, then the injured husband kills him the first opportunity he has to do it with safety. In cases of murder, the next in blood is obliged to kill the murderer, or else he is looked on as infamous in the nation where he lives; and the weakness of the executive power is such, that there is no other way of punishment but by the revenger of blood, as the scripture calls it; for there is no coercive power in any of their nations; their kings can do no more than to persuade. All the power they have is no more than to call their old men and captains together, and to propound to them the measures they think proper; and after they have done speaking, all the others have liberty to give their opinions also; and they reason together with great temper and modesty till they have brought each other into some unanimous resolution. Then they call in the young men and recommend to them the putting in execution the resolution, with their strongest and most lively eloquence. And indeed, they seem to me both in action and expression to be thorough masters of true eloquence. In speaking to their young men, they generally

address the passions. In speaking to the old men they apply to reason only.

The appearance and characteristics of the Indians of the coast-region of Georgia, are thus described by an eye-witness,[1] whose observations were made in 1734.

Thursday, March 14th.— This afternoon we were carried to a camp which some Indian hunters had in this neighborhood, [i. e. Savannah] who were in such condition as made our hearts bleed; for in the absence of their chiefs [who had gone to meet Mr. Oglethorpe] they had much disordered themselves with drinking of rum, a liquor very pernicious to them, and which has occasioned the death of great numbers. They were painted with red, and made strange postures. The most part of them are marked with blue figures on their necks, faces and bodies. They have beads about their necks, and rings or colored feathers in their ears. * * * * * * * *

The Indian language, from the best information we can get, containeth not above one thousand primitive words, and can best be written with Greek letters, because of the long and short vowels; and some of their sounds cannot be expressed by any other alphabet but the Greek. They say that all nations descend from two brothers: that one of them,— the ancestor of the Indians,— was red, and the other,— the ancestor of the Europeans,— was white. 'Tis probable these their thoughts are grounded upon the history of Esau and Jacob. They had known nothing of drunkenness if they had not learned it of the Christians. They give each other several names of honor, according to the time and circumstances, as a title or reward; whereby they encourage young people to valor, industry and fidelity.

They have some religion, believing in a Supreme Being which they call SOTOLYCATE, who is in all places, though they would not teach us the word by which they express the name of GOD in their language. They believe that from the Supreme Being comes everything, especially wisdom. They

[1] Rev. Mr. Bolzius.

use no ceremonies, nor outward religious exercises, except at a solemn festival held once a year. They worship no idols; however they sing some songs about the ancient heroes. They are unwilling to talk to profane people about religion. They are very ambitious; for which reason they make war, but not to gain land. They love to be praised; though they seem to turn it off, and transfer it to others. They show great respect to old people, to whom one must speak first before one can speak to the young people. If any one dishonors them, they are not to be reconciled. They account themselves to be rude and ignorant, but are desirous to be better instructed. Of Indians they have several nations, the best among which are the *Creeks* who talk one language. One of the other nations, who are called *Uchees*, are much inclined to robbing and stealing, but these Creeks are honest, serviceable and disinterested. He that does a kindness to them, they will remember forever. And they likewise are willing to give what one desires of them, though they should want it themselves. If Mr. Oglethorpe was to desire one of them to go with him to England, or any other place, he would be willing; unless he had an old father who was helpless and wanted his assistance. They love one another so that they venture their lives for one another. They abhor adultery. They provide for the poor, the widows and orphans. In their language are no words which denote obscene things or oaths, unless they learn them from the Europeans. Their kings do not reign with absolute power, but give counsel. The king proposes to the old men, and the old to the young men; after which it is put in execution. They do not contradict one another with vehemence, but endeavor to agree; and if that cannot be, the superiors are not angry. The king's office is to divide the time; to tell the season when to go a hunting, when to planting, and when to harvest. Likewise he is to attend the sick, give them physic, provide for widows, and these are called *Kings of Peace.* When a king is not fit for his office, they choose another. The wisest is their king, who doth not distinguish himself from others by clothes. Besides these they have *War Captains.* They give the king the tenth of all they have. If a present is made to the king he doth not keep it, but distributes it among all, and keeps no-

thing for himself: and afterward they give him back the tenth part, or pretty near it. The widows do not cut their hair, nor tie it up, but let it hang loose. Every nation hath a peculiar way of cutting their hair, whereby they are distinguished. They honor Mr. Oglethorpe as their father, and ask his advice in all their circumstances. He understands somewhat of their language. * * * * * * * * * * *

When they promise a thing they keep their word, and would rather die than go from it. If they find one in a lie they account him unworthy to look upon, or shake hands with. An old man, one of the wisest among them, believed and told them that the Supreme Being would soon send them some person that would show them the right way to wisdom, [by which they mean religion] though he might not live to see it. They seldom ask for anything from any body, but if one offer them anything, they do not refuse it. They love equality, and will be pleased with our Saltzburgers who both eat and labor in common. They very much observe people's behavior. They hate self-interested people. They reckon themselves all gentlemen, and will do nothing but what they think to be generous. They account laboring and working for hire to be a slavery; therefore they will not work for gain. They reckon it a shame to wear breeches. When they go a hunting they wear boots of woolen cloth. Some of them are willing to send their children to our schools; of these children we shall by degrees learn some words. * *

We have learned some words of their language, for instance, τυτχα, fire, αξξε, the sun, ζυκκω, house, ςιλλιναιχα, the heel, αφαλιχα, stockings, ιφεα, a dog. * * * * * * *

Tuesday, March 26. * * * This afternoon an Indian man that is married, cut both ears and hair off from an Indian woman, his wife, for being too familiar with a white man. This is the usual punishment for adultery amongst the Indians. The white man was tried by a jury at Savannah, found guilty, and punished severely; with which piece of justice the Indians were greatly satisfied.[1]

[1] See *Journal of Mr. Bolzius*, 33, 39, *et seq.*

Mr. William Bartram [1] in perpetuating his impressions of the American aborigines, says, "The males of the Cherokees, Muscogulges, Siminoles, Chicasaws, Chactaws and confederate tribes of the Creeks, are tall, erect and moderately robust; their limbs well shaped, so as generally to form a perfect human figure; their features regular, and countenance open, dignified and placid; yet the forehead and brow so formed as to strike you instantly with heroism and bravery; the eye, though rather small, yet active and full of fire; the iris always black, and the nose commonly inclining to the aquiline. Their countenance and actions exhibit an air of magnanimity, superiority and independence. Their complexion of a reddish brown or copper color; their hair long, lank, coarse and black as a raven, and reflecting the like lustre at different exposures to the light.

"The Muscogulgee women, though remarkably short of stature, are well formed; their visage round, features regular and beautiful; the brow high and arched; the eye large, black and languishing, expressive of modesty, diffidence and bashfulness; these charms are their defensive and offensive weapons, and they know very well how to play them off, and under cover of these alluring graces are concealed the most subtle artifice; they are, however, loving and affectionate; they are I believe, the smallest race of women yet known; seldom above five feet high, and I believe the greater number never arrive to that stature; their hands and feet not larger than those of Europeans of nine or ten years of age; yet the men are of gigantic stature, a full size larger than Europeans; many of them above

[1] *Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, etc.*, London, 1792, 481, *et seq.*

six feet, and few under that, or five feet eight or ten inches; their complexion much darker than any of the tribes to the north of them that I have seen. This description will, I believe, comprehend the Muscogulges, their confederates the Choctaws, and, I believe, the Chicasaws (though I have never seen their women), excepting, however, some bands of the Siminoles Uches and Savannucas, who are rather taller and slenderer, and their complexion brighter. * * * * The national character of the Muscogulgees, when considered in a political view, exhibits a portraiture of a great or illustrious hero. A proud, haughty and arrogant race of men, they are brave and valiant in war, ambitious of conquest, restless, and perpetually exercising their arms, yet magnanimous and merciful to a vanquished enemy when he submits and seeks their friendship and protection; always uniting the vanquished tribes in confederacy with them, when they immediately enjoy unexceptionably every right of free citizens, and are from that moment united in one common band of brotherhood. They were never known to exterminate a tribe, except the Yamasees, who would never submit on any terms, but fought it out to the last,— only about forty or fifty of them escaping at the last decisive battle, who threw themselves under the protection of the Spaniards at St. Augustine."

Like other American Indians, they were fond of ornaments, colors and decorations. Their lives were spent in comparative idleness,— the men lounging about their places of abode, except when engaged in the chase, in fishing, in war or the dance, and the women being compelled to assume all the drudgery of their wigwams and the scanty cultivation of the soil. Their seats were generally more permanent than those of the northern Indians, and were usually located upon the sea-

islands, along the coast, or in the neighborhood of streams or deep swamps, whence could be readily obtained an abundant supply of oysters, fish and game. Few are the organic remains reminding us at present of the former existence of this once powerful confederacy. And yet the Creeks have not passed away without a mark. Their language,— often so soft and musical,— is linked with many a prominent natural object. The Chattahoochee in its onward flow bears upon its bosom the memory of those who long ago cherished a special attachment for and named this stone-flowered stream. The sullen swamps of the Alatamaha are typical of their darker moods, while the clear dancing waters of the Ogeechee and its low-lying shores bespeak their former joys and peaceful avocations. Long after the graves of their chieftains shall have been levelled with the plains from which they rose, when the plough-share no longer reveals the stones which they chiselled into use and symmetry, these names will perpetuate the recollection of those who beheld and admired and floated upon and drank of these life-giving streams.

The most prominent organic remains of the Creeks are the earth and shell mounds, which occur not unfrequently upon the islands, along the coast and upon the banks of the streams. The limits of this sketch will not permit either their classification, or a particular description of them.[1] These tumuli were chiefly designed as the last resting places of the departed, and their erection appears to have been entirely abandoned very shortly after the contact between the white and red races. In addition to these mounds may be enumer-

[1] The writer has in course of preparation an extended description of the Indian remains extant within the limits of Georgia.

ated elevations for the chieftain lodges or town houses, and carefully prepared spaces for ball-playing and the quoit-game. The remains of funereal vases, terra-cotta pots, pans and vessels, specimens of stone axes, knives, arrow and spear points, mortars, pipes, beads and ornaments of various kinds are to be still seen in many localities. To these may be added hurling stones, agakwuts, discoidal stones, pestles, fleshing knives, bone-awls, and various articles at one time in common use among the Creeks. Fashioned all in the same rude manner, and born of their simple necessities, they barely answered the purposes for which they were designed by the unskilled aborigines, and are now garnered up only by the antiquary as in lonely places he seeks for the perishing memorials of a neglected past.

It seems quite probable that the Creeks possessed little if any knowledge of metals. There is certainly in their ancient tumuli a remarkable absence of all metalic implements and ornaments. After no mean search the writer has thus far failed to discover a single well authenticated specimen of this character. Iron hatchets, portions of swords and corroded gun barrels, and silver ornaments are sometimes found, but they are evidently of European manufacture and are the least interesting of all the organic remains. In the valleys of the Etowah and Oostenaulla, and elsewhere within the limits of the state of Georgia, antique implements and ornaments of copper, silver and gold have been found; but they were never fashioned by the Creeks, and are to be referred for an origin to a race antedating the Indians who occupied these regions when they were first visited by the whites.

It may not be deemed uninteresting to mention the fact that the existence and worship of idols were un-

known among the tribes composing the Creek confederacy. The writer has, at no little labor and expense, collected many interesting relics illustrative of the manners, customs, arts, manufactures and amusements of the Indians of southern Georgia. A specific description of them is here pretermitted, as he cherishes the hope, at no distant day, to present, with accurate illustrations, all that is known of the organic remains of the Creek confederacy and other southern tribes.[1]

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[1] For further description of the manners and customs of the Georgia and Carolina Indians, see *De Brahm's History of South Carolina, Georgia and East Florida; Manuscripts*, 53, 76, Harvard Library. See also partial reprint in *Documents connected with the History of South Carolina*, edited by Plowden Charles Jennett Weston, and printed for private distribution only, 216, *et seq.* See also *Sketch of the Creek Confederacy*, by Col. Benjamin Hawkins; *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society*, III, part 1.

CHAPTER III.

Anecdotes of Tomo-chi-chi — His visit to England.

SUBSEQUENTLY to the ratification of the treaty of amity and trade between the colony of Georgia and the head men of the Lower Creeks, Tomo-chi-chi returned to his town at Yamacraw, where he continued,— by his personal aid and advice, and by every means at his command,— to further the interests of the settlers at Savannah. He was in daily intercourse with the whites,— presenting them with game and fish,— furnishing guides for their parties of exploration,— encouraging good feeling between them and the natives, and on every occasion exerting his influence in behalf of peace and justice. With Mr. Oglethorpe he frequently dined, and between them sprung up a mutual regard and attachment which never knew abatement or lacked of increase.

For Mr. Oglethorpe the Indians entertained a profound respect, amounting almost to veneration. So strongly impressed were they with his probity and ability, that at an early day they referred to him for settlement a controversy which had arisen between the Uchees and the Lower Creeks. At the time, this altercation had assumed such a violent form that it betokened a fierce and general war between the respective tribes. In his decision they coincided without a murmur, and peace was at once restored.

During Mr. Oglethorpe's absence in Charleston in June, 1733, an Indian shot himself. His uncle [who was a war-king] and his friends finding him dead,— and fancying that he had been murdered by the Eng-

lish,— declared that they would be revenged on them. When informed of the uproar, Tomo-chi-chi hastened at once to the spot and endeavored by every argument to pacify the excited multitude, asserting his positive persuasion that the English could not have been guilty of the murder, and earnestly desiring them to inquire further into the matter before proceeding to any act of violence. The uncle of the deceased continuing in a great rage, and swearing vengeance, Tomo-chi-chi finally bared his breast and said to him, "If you desire to kill any one, kill me; for I am an Englishman." Having finally succeeded in pacifying him, and a thorough examination having been instituted into the facts of the case, it turned out that the deceased had been for some time in a very dejected mood, and that he had on more than one occasion during that period desired different Indians to shoot him. His request being continuously denied, an Indian boy saw him finally put the muzzle of his own gun under his chin, and pull the trigger with his toe; thus terminating his existence by his own act.[1]

In a letter of the 9th of June, 1733, Mr. Oglethorpe mentions the following circumstance. He had ordered one of the Carolina boatmen, who was drunk and had beaten an Indian, to be tied to a gun until he was sober, in order that he might be whipped. Tomo-chi-chi requested Mr. Oglethorpe to pardon him, which he refused to do unless the Indian who had been beaten would unite in the request. This Tomo-chi-chi desired him to do, but he insisted upon having satisfaction. "O Fonseka," [that was the Indian's name] said Tomo-chi-chi, "this Englishman being drunk has beaten you: if he is whipped for so doing, the Eng-

[1] *New England Weekly Journal* for August 23d, 1733.

lishmen will expect that if an Indian should insult them when drunk, the Indian should be whipped for it. When you are drunk you are quarrelsome, and you know you love to be drunk, but you don't love to be whipped." Fonseka was convinced, and urged Mr. Oglethorpe to pardon the man. So soon as this request was granted, Tomo-chi-chi and Fonseka ran and untied him; which was done in order to show him that he owed his release to their intercession.

These occurrences, unimportant in their character, are recounted to show the anxiety at all times manifested by Tomo-chi-chi to prevent any act of violence on the part of the Indians, and to encourage a feeling of friendship between the two races.

To De Brahm we are indebted for the following narrative illustrative of the supposed visit of Sir Walter Raleigh to the coast of Georgia:

[1] "Between the city [Savannah] and the trustees' garden, is an artificial hill upon the bay, part of which in 1760 was dug through; [to open a communication with this suburb and the city] whereby a stratum was opened near the plane of the city, filled with human bones; this confirmed the history of this mount which had traduced it to be an ancient Indian burying ground, in which [as Thamachaychee, the last Iamacraw king, related to Gen. Oglethorpe at his arrival;] one of the Iamacraw kings had entertained a great white man with a red beard, who had entered the port of Savannah stream with a very large vessel, and himself came up in his barge to Iamacraw, and had expressed great affection to the Indians, from which he hath had the return of as much. The white man with his red beard, intending to present the king with a piece of curiosity [he had on board of his vessel,] for which he desired some Indians

[1] *History of the Province of Georgia, etc.*, by John Gerar William De Brahm, his Majesty's Surveyor General, etc., Wormsloe, MDCCCXLIX, 37, *et seq.*

might go down to receive it from his lieutenant on board, to whom he wrote a note which he signified the Indians would deliver to this officer, who [pursuant to the order in the note] delivered what was demanded, and the Indians brought it up to Iamacraw, at which their king was greatly surprised, but more so that this white man could send his thoughts to so great a distance upon a white leaf, which, surpassing their conception, they were ready to believe this white to be more than a man, as the Indians have no other way to express time passed or to come than by rising and setting of the sun, by new moons, by sprouting of the trees and the number of their ancestors; the General [Oglethorpe] by the nearest computations, and comparing history with chronology, concluded the person to have been Admiral Sir Walter Raleigh, who probably entered the Savannah port in 1584 when on his navigation upon this coast."[1]

Having advanced to the utmost of his ability the security and material interests of the colony, having rendered certain the good-will of the natives and located the Saltzburgers comfortably at Ebenezer, having made an extended survey of the southern coast and

[1] This visit of Sir Walter Raleigh to the coast of Georgia is thus alluded to by Rev. Dr. Hewitt, in his *Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia*, II, 25, London edition of 1779 :

"Some say that James Oglethorpe when he came out to settle this colony in Georgia brought along with him Sir Walter Raleigh's journals written by his own hand; and by the latitude of the place and the traditions of the Indians, it appeared to him that Sir Walter had landed at the mouth of Savanna river. Indeed, during his wild and chimerical attempts for finding out a golden country, it is not improbable that this brave adventurer visited many different places. The Indians acknowledged that their fathers once held a conference with a warrior who came over the great waters. At a little distance from Savanna there is a high mount of earth under which they say the Indian king lies interred who talked with the English warrior, and that he desired to be buried in the same place where this conference was held. But having little authority with respect to this matter, we leave the particular relation of it to men in circumstances more favorable for intelligence."

established posts of observation at convenient distances, and having employed every means which the utmost care, prudence and sound judgment could suggest, in furtherance of the prosperity and development of his province, Mr. Oglethorpe resolved to visit England to the end that the trustees and the public generally might be fully informed of the true state of affairs, have their sympathies enlisted anew in behalf of the benevolent enterprise, and thus increase the population and resources of the colony by liberal contributions of men and means. Rightly judging that the advantage and security of the province would be materially promoted by taking with him some of the most intelligent of his Indian neighbors, in order that they might, by personal observation, acquire a definite conception of the greatness and the resources of the British empire, and, moved by the kindnesses and attentions which he was quite sure would be extended to them on every hand while in England, bring back with them memories which would surely tend to cement the alliances and perpetuate the amicable relationships which had been already so auspiciously inaugurated, Mr. Oglethorpe invited Tomo-chi-chi to accompany him on his intended visit. The old mico gladly accepted the invitation and took with him his wife Scenawki, and Toonahowi his adopted son and nephew. Hillispilli the war-chief of the Lower Creeks, four other chiefs of that nation, to wit: Apakowtski, Stimalchi, Sintouchi and Hinguithi, and Umphichi a Uchee chief from Palachocolas, with their attendants and an interpreter, constituted the retinue. Leaving Savannah, they reached Charleston on the 27th of March, and sailed from that port for England on board his majesty's ship Aldborough on the 7th of April, 1734. After a voyage of seventy days that vessel arrived safely at St. Helens in the Isle of Wight.

In announcing his arrival in a letter addressed to Sir John Phillips, Baronet, Mr. Oglethorpe says: "An aged chief named Tomo-chi-chi, the mico or king of Yamacraw, a man of an excellent understanding, is so desirous of having the young people taught the English language and religion, that, notwithstanding his advanced age, he has come over with me to obtain means and assistant teachers. He has brought with him a young man whom he calls his nephew and next heir, and who has already learned the Lord's prayer in the English and Indian language. I shall leave the Indians at my estate till I go to the city, where I shall have the happiness to wait upon you, and to relate all things to you more fully: over which you will rejoice and wonder."

On the evening of the 21st of June, a grand entertainment was given in honor of Mr. Oglethorpe, who presented to the trustees a detailed narrative of the progress and the then status of the colony of Georgia.

His reception was cordial and appropriate. Every mark of distinguished consideration was bestowed, and the trustees,— at a special meeting convened for that purpose,— by a unanimous vote, thanked him for the ability, zeal, activity and perseverance with which he had conducted the affairs of the province, and assured him that they would hold his services in lively and grateful remembrance. The return of this philanthropist was heralded throughout the kingdom with pride and in honor. His Roman virtues were glowingly recounted in prose and verse.

The visit of Tomo-chi-chi was also commemorated in the following lines:

TOMO-CHA-CHI,

AN ODE.

Hanc olim veteres vitam coluere Sabini,
Hanc Remus et frater: sic fortis Hetruria crevit,
Silicet et rerum facta est pulcherrima Roma.

What Stranger this? and from what Region far?
This wond'rous Form, majestic to behold?
Uncloath'd, but arm'd offensive for the War,
In hoary Age and wise Experience old?
His Limbs, inur'd to Hardiness and Toil,
His strong large Limbs what mighty Sinews brace!
Whilst Truth sincere and artless Virtue smile
In the expressive Features of his Face.
His bold free Aspect speaks the inward Mind,
Aw'd by no slavish Fear, from no vile Passion blind.

Erst in our Isle, with such an Air and Mien,
Whilst Britain's Glory stood in Times of Yore,
Might some redoubted Chief of her's be seen,
In all his painted Pride, upon the Shore.
Or He, who graceful from the Chariot's Height,
When conqu'ring *Julius* landed from the Main,
Urg'd his confederated Tribes to fight
For gen'rous Freedom,— fierce *Cassibelan;*
Or He, whose Fame, in Roman Annals told,
Must live thro' ev'ry Age,— *Caractacus* the Bold.

From the wide Western Continent of Land,
Where yet uncultivated Nature reigns,
Where the huge Forests undiminished stand,
Nor Towns, nor Castles grace the naked Plains;

From that new World undaunted he pursues
To our fam'd Nation his advent'rous Way;
His Soul elated high with glorious Views,
Our Strength, our Arts, our Manners to survey;
The boasted *European* skill to find,
And bear triumphant home, and civilize his kind.

And O! the idle impotent Disdain
Of vulgar Error, partial to decide!
Must he be stil'd by Us a Savage Man?
O! the blind Folly of conceited Pride!
Ever by Reason's equal Dictates sway'd,
Conscious of each great Impulse in the Soul,
And all his Words and all his Actions weigh'd
By unaffected Wisdom's just Controul,
Must he be rank'd in an inferiour Place,
In our inglorious Times, to our degenerate Race!

Alas! brave *Indian*, good old England's Fame
Thou sees't sunk down from its Meridian Height;
The noblest Ardors now no more inflame,
Of conscious Worth and Honor's dear Delight;
As then, when welcom'd to your happy Shore,
Our Fleets first landed from the wat'ry way,
And each strange Region studious to explore,
Pass'd the long Gulf, and vast Pacific Sea;
And round emerging to the Eastern main,
Maintain'd from Sun to Sun their *Gloriana's* Reign.

Wealth without End, from such Exploits as These,
Crown'd our large Commerce, and extended Sway;
And hence, dissolv'd in soft luxurious Ease,
Our ancient Virtue vanish'd soon away.
Rare to be found is the old gen'rous Strain
So fam'd amongst us once for Patriot Zeal,
Of try'd Good Faith, and Manners stanch and plain,
And bold and active for their Country's weal;
Clear from all Stain, superior to all Fear;
Alas! few such as These, few OGLETHORPES are here.

Oft hast thou seen His gallant Spirit prov'd,
His noble Scorn of Danger oft hast known,
Admir'd his Wisdom, and his Candor lov'd,
And Openness of Heart, so like thy own;
What time, at home before long lov'd and blest,
He to Thy Country brought his Godlike Aim,
Born as he is, to succor the Distrest,
The Prey from proud Oppression to reclaim,
Of lawless Might to curbe the impious Rage,
And strike with conscious shame the prostituted Age.

Oft hast thou seen with what assiduous Care
His own young Infant Colony he rears;
Like a fond Parent, anxious to prepare
His tender Offspring for maturer years,
To love of Labor he subdues their Minds,
And forms their Morals with instructive Laws,
By Principle their solid union binds,
And Zeal that only heeds the Public Cause;
Still with Example strengthening Reason's Call,
Still by superior Toil distinguish'd from them all.

Whate'er of Empire underneath the Sun
Time thro' revolving Ages has survey'd,
First from such manly Discipline begun,
And Merit summon'd Fortune to its Aid.
And hence, when Op'ning scenes of Fate make known
The long determin'd Purpose of the Skies,
Shall GEORGIA, to a mighty Nation grown,
In Arts and Arms and Glorious Actions rise,
And stand renown'd upon the Western Shore,
Ev'n then, when *Europe's* Fame shall cease and be no more.

Renown'd shall GEORGIA stand it's own short Hour,
For soon must all that's Human pass away;
Fix'd are the gradual Dates of Earthly Pow'r,
To rise, to grow, to flourish, and decay;

Still the Effect must follow from the Cause,
And every Work of mortal Men must fall,
And kingdom's change by Nature's stated Laws,
Forever round the habitable Ball:
All must, in turn, the self-same Tenor run;
All raised by honest Toil, by License all undone.

But sacred Virtue, ever self-sustain'd,
Whilst all things fleeting round her she surveys,
Alone to Time shall unobnoxious stand,
And live and flourish in perpetual Praise.
Thine with thy OGLETHORPE'S fair Fame shall last,
Together to Eternity consign'd,
In the immortal Roll of Heroes plac'd,
The mighty Benefactors of Mankind;
Those Heav'n-born Souls from whose high Worth we know
The Deity himself best imag'd Here below.[1]

Having for some days enjoyed the hospitalities of Mr. Oglethorpe, the Indians were transferred to the Georgia office where comfortable quarters had been intermediately provided for them. There they were suitably attired, and there they painted their faces according to the custom of their country. Crowds flocked to see them. Presents of various kinds were bestowed upon them and no effort was spared to interest, amuse and instruct these strange visitors.

On the 1st of August Sir Clement Cotterell was sent to conduct the Indians to Kensington Palace where they were to be presented to the king. He found them

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[1] *Georgia a Poem, Tomo-cha-chi, an Ode.*— A copy of verses on Mr. Oglethorpe's second voyage to Georgia.

Facies non omnibus una,
Nec diversa tamen.

London, printed and sold by I. Roberts in Warwick Lane, MDCCXXXVI, 12, 16.

all prepared for the important event, except one who was suffering severely from an attack of small-pox. They were conveyed in three of the king's coaches, each drawn by six horses. At the door of the palace they were received by the king's body guard; and then by the duke of Grafton, lord chamberlain, were presented to his majesty.

The following account of what transpired on this interesting occasion is borrowed from the *Gentleman's Magazine:*

Thursday, August 1, 1734.

Tomo-cha-chi, the king, Senauki his wife, with Tooanakowki their son, Hillispilli the war-captain, and the other Cherokee Indians brought over by Mr. Oglethorpe from Georgia, were introduced to his Majesty at Kensington, who received them seated on his throne; when Tomo-cha-chi, micho, or king, made the following speech, at the same time presenting several eagle's feathers which are trophies of their country:

"This day I see the majesty of your face, the greatness of your house, and the number of your people. I am come for the good of the whole nation called the Creeks, to renew the peace which was long ago had with the English. I am come over in my old days, although I cannot live to see any advantage to myself. I am come for the good of the children of all the nations of the Upper and of the Lower Creeks, that they may be instructed in the knowledge of the English.

"These are the feathers of the eagle which is the swiftest of birds, and who flieth all round our nations. These feathers are a sign of peace in our land, and have been carried from town to town there; and we have brought them over to leave with you, O great king! as a sign of everlasting peace.

"O great king whatsoever words you shall say to me I will tell them faithfully to all the kings of the Creek nations."

To which his Majesty graciously answered, "I am glad of this opportunity of assuring you of my regard for the people from whom you come, and am extremely well pleased with the assurances you have brought me from them, and accept very

gratefully this present as an indication of their good disposition to me and my people. I shall always be ready to cultivate a good correspondence between them and my own subjects, and shall be glad of any occasion to show you a mark of my particular friendship and esteem."

Tomo-cha-chi afterwards made the following speech to her Majesty. "I am glad to see this day, and to have the opportunity of seeing the mother of this great people. As our people are joined with your Majesty's, we do humbly hope to find you the common mother and protectress of us and all our children."

And her Majesty returned a most gracious answer. The war-captain and other attendants of Tomo-cha-chi were very importunate to appear at court in the manner they go in their own country,— which is only with a proper covering round their waist, the rest of their body being naked,— but were dissuaded from it by Mr. Oglethorpe. But their faces were variously painted after their country manner, some half black, others triangular, and others with bearded arrows instead of whiskers.

Tomo-cha-chi and Senauki his wife, were dressed in scarlet trimmed with gold.

Three days after, the chief, who had been prevented by illness from accompanying his companions when they were presented to the king, died of small-pox. Every medical aid and kind attention had been invoked in his behalf, but neither the skill of the physician nor the efforts of nurses could arrest the progress of the loathsome disease. His death weighed heavily upon the spirits of the other Indians who were very averse to interring him in a strange land. His immediate sepulture, however, was a matter of absolute necessity; and here, so far as our information extends, occurs the first burial of an American chief on British soil. A grave was prepared in St. John's cemetery, Westminster. Tomo-chi-chi, three of the chiefs, the upper church-warden and the grave-digger were the only persons present on the lonely and melancholy

occasion, — the fear of infection, in all probability, deterring many who otherwise would doubtless have been in attendance to witness the novel funeral rites.

The custom of the natives was observed as nearly as circumstances would permit. The corpse, sewed up in two blankets, with a deal-board over and another under lashed together with a cord, — was carried to the grave on a bier. When the body was lowered in the earth, the clothes of the deceased, a quantity of glass beads and some pieces of silver were thrown in the grave, after the manner of the American Indians whose universal custom it was to bury with the dead the effects of the deceased.

So depressed were the Indians by this bereavement, in order to divert their attention and afford them an opportunity for quietly regaining their wonted composure, Mr. Oglethorpe very kindly took them out to his country-seat. There they remained for nearly two weeks; when, having bewailed the dead according to the established usages of their nation, they recovered in great degree from the affliction which had so greatly distressed them. The deceased was a brother of the queen.

On Saturday the 7th of August, Tomo-chi-chi and his companions were conveyed in the barge of the Archbishop of Canterbury to Putney, where they were most hospitably entertained by the Lady Dutry. After dinner, in taking leave of her, the aged mico expressed his regrets that he was unable in English to convey the thoughts of his heart, and tell her how sensibly he was moved by the generous and noble reception she had given him, and the great gratification he experienced in being permitted to see and thank her in person for the assistance she had rendered in peopling the colony of Georgia.

The following day they waited upon the Archbishop of Canterbury, at Lambeth. His venerable grace received them with the utmost kindness and tenderness, expressing a fatherly concern for their ignorance with respect to Christianity, his strong desire for their instruction, and his sincere gratification at the probability that a door was now opened for the education and evangelization of their race.

Although very weak, his grace, when pressed to do so, declined to sit during the interview. Tomo-chi-chi perceiving this, with becoming propriety and consideration omitted the reply which he had proposed making; and, craving the blessing of the aged prelate, added that he would not trespass further upon his weakness, but would communicate to his son-in-law, Dr. Lynch, what he desired to say. He then retired. Subsequently, at a splendid collation given in his honor, he had an extended and cordial conference with Dr. Lynch, during which he expressed the great satisfaction he had experienced in his interview with the archbishop, and stated that he was deeply moved by the tender consideration which had been accorded to him. He urged upon the doctor's earnest consideration the necessity for sending teachers to Georgia, by whom his people might be educated and their minds enlightened in the doctrines of Christianity. At parting he assured him of the joy which filled his heart in anticipation of the fact that good persons would soon be commissioned for the accomplishment of this most important and desirable work.

Upon the occasion of their visit to Eton, the Indians wore received with every mark of respect by the Rev. Dr. George, Dr. Berriman and the rest of the fellows. "On closing their visit to the school-room, Tomo-chi-chi begged that the lads might have a holiday when

the doctor thought proper; which caused a general huzza. They were then shown the several apartments of the college, and took a respectful leave. Afterwards they went to Windsor where they were graciously received; and thence to St. George's chapel, where the prebends present named Dr. Maynard to compliment the mico for the dean and chapter. The following day they went to Hampton Court, saw the royal apartments, and walked in the gardens, where a great concourse of people had assembled to see them. After these more distinguishing attentions they were shown the Tower, the public buildings, Greenwich Hospital, and all the great and interesting spectacles in London." Nothing was neglected which might serve to awaken and gratify their curiosity, or inspire them with a true conception of the power and grandeur of the British nation.

Tomo-chi-chi was much impressed with the strength, riches and greatness of the English empire. The solidity of the London houses particularly attracted his attention. In the simplicity of his heart he expressed his surprise that short-lived men should erect such long-lived habitations. Nothing appeared to escape his observation. At times he seemed oppressed by the contrast, everywhere presented, between the ignorance, helplessness and poverty of his own people, and the intelligence, power and wealth of London and its environs; and on more than one occasion freely confessed, that, without the aid and friendship of the English, the Indian tribes would, in his opinion, be doomed to early annihilation. His sympathies were most earnest in their behalf, and his constant wish was that competent teachers should be sent over to counsel, educate and Christianize the youth of his nation. Every one who came in contact with him was impressed with

the accuracy of his observations, the pertinency of his inquiries, the maturity of his judgment, the wisdom and liberality of his views and the integrity of his professions. Recognizing the importance of confirming the friendship which he had formed for the infant colony; aware of the influence he was capable of exerting for good or for evil, not only among the members of his immediate tribe, but also within the limits of the Creek confederacy, and appreciating how largely they were already indebted for his good offices and kindly intervention in behalf of the early settlers, the trustees were peculiarly anxious that this visit of the aged mico should prove in all respects satisfactory and productive of future good. No pains therefore were spared, either on their part, or on the part of all who were interested in the welfare of the province, in ministering to his constant entertainment, and the enjoyment of his companions.

Nearly four months had elapsed since the arrival of the Aldborough, and Tomo-chi-chi felt it was time that he should return to his little village on the banks of the Savannah, and tell his friends the incidents and lessons which were born of his sojourn in the home of the white man. In an interview with the trustees he remarked, that, although in his own country all travelers were entertained without expense, he was quite sensible that the stay of the Indians in England was a severe charge upon the trustees; and, as cold weather was coming on, he desired to return home at an early convenient day. [1] He requested that the weights, measures, prices and qualities of all goods to be exchanged by the colonists for deer-skins and other peltry, should be settled in accordance with established

[1] *M'Call's History of Georgia*, I, 48.

rules; that no person should be allowed to trade with the Indians without special licenses from the trustees, so that if at any time his people were defrauded by the traders they would at once know where to apply for redress; — and further, that a store-house might be established in every principal Indian village, where the natives could be supplied at first cost with such articles as they desired to purchase. In justification of this application he referred to the exorbitant prices demanded by the traders for their goods, and the frauds practised by them in weights and measures, insisting that to such impositions were to be chiefly ascribed the animosities and quarrels which had sprung up in adjacent settlements between the English and the Indians. From the trustees he received the assurance that this subject should secure the careful and immediate attention which its importance demanded.

Although Tomo-chi-chi desired to leave the shores of England, it was not because there was any diminution in the attentions shown him, or that the visit of the Indians began to be regarded with indifference by a public so keenly alive to its novelty and importance when the strange guests were first installed in the Georgia rooms. By the nobility, "curious to see them and observe their manners," princely entertainments were constantly given. Whenever they appeared in public, multitudes followed, shaking hands with these "rude warriors of the forest," making them many presents and treating them with every mark of friendship and civility. It is said that the presents received and carried home by the Indians amounted in value to at least £400. During their stay in London, the portraits of Tomo-chi-chi and his nephew Toonahowi were painted and hung up in the Georgia rooms.

In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for October, 1734, appears the following notice of the departure of Tomo-chi-chi and his companions:

Wednesday, October 30, 1734.

The Indian king, queen and prince, etc., set out from the Georgia office in the king's coaches for Gravesend, to embark on their return home. During their stay in England, which has been about four months, his majesty allowed them £20 a week for their subsistence, and they have been entertained in the most agreeable manner possible. Whatever is curious and worthy observation in and about the cities of London and Westminster, has been carefully shown them; and nothing has been wanting among all degrees of men to contribute to their diversion and amusement, and to give them a just idea of English politeness and our respect for them. In return they expressed themselves heartily attached to the British nation. They had about the value of £400 in presents. Prince William presented the young mico John Towanohowi with a gold watch, with an admonition to call upon Jesus Christ every morning when he looked on it: which he promised. They appeared particularly delighted with seeing his highness perform his exercise of riding the managed horse, — the Horse Guards pass in review, and the agreeable appearance of barges, etc., on the Thames on Lord Mayor's day.

In the same ship embark several relations of the English already in Georgia, who were allowed the preference of going; also Sir Francis Parkhurst, his son, three daughters, and servants, together with fifty-six Saltzburghers newly arrived from Rotterdam. These people were at the German church in Trinity Lane, where £47 were collected for them.

The vessel in which Tomo-chi-chi returned was the transport-ship, "Prince of Wales" — George Dunbar, captain. She arrived in Savannah on the 27th of December, 1734.

In communicating to the trustees the fact of his remarkably quick and prosperous voyage across the

Atlantic, Captain Dunbar writes, [1] "We arrived here [Savannah] all cheerful and in good health. The Indians behaved with their accustomed modesty, as did also the Saltzburgers, who are a sober and pious people, and gave much less trouble than I expected; nor do I think any of them were dissatisfied while on board." He adds in conclusion, "Tomo-chi-chi, Toonahowi, Hillispilli and Umpechi were so kind as to come on board on the morning of our intended departure, to see me. They have a very grateful remembrance of the many civilities which they received in England, and desire me to inform your honors that Santechi has gone to the Upper and Middle Creeks, who are at present extremely well disposed to the British interest, and their deputies are expected down in two months."

[1] *London Magazine* for March, 1735.

CHAPTER IV.

Effect of the mico's visit to England — Welcomes Gov. Oglethorpe upon his return — Accompanies him to St. Simon's Island — Makes a formal delivery of the lands ceded by the Creeks — Serio-comic adventure — Services rendered by Tomo-chi-chi during the troubles between the Colonists and the Spaniards.

UPON his return we are informed that Tomo-chi-chi freely imparted to his tribe and nation the impressions he had formed, during his recent visit, of the power of the British empire; and assured them of the marked courtesies, kindness and hospitality with which he and his companions had been every where entertained during their sojourn in England. He exhorted them to continue in friendship with their neighbors the colonists, and sacredly to observe the obligations of the existing treaties. Says M'Call, "He acknowledged that the governor of the world, or Great Spirit, had given the English great wisdom, power and riches, so that they wanted nothing. To the Indians he had given great extent of territories, yet they wanted everything. Therefore he exerted his influence in prevailing on the Creeks to resign to the English such lands as were of no use to themselves, and allow them to settle amongst them, that they might be thus supplied with useful articles for the cultivation of the soil, and with the necessaries of life. He told them also that the English were a generous nation, and would trade with them on the most honorable and advantageous terms; that they were brethren and friends, and that they would protect them against danger, and go with them to war against their enemies."[1]

[1] See *M'Call's History of Georgia*, I, 46.

The beautiful and novel presents which Tomo-chi-chi and his companions brought home with them went very far towards a positive confirmation of his praises of the liberality of the English, and produced a profound impression upon the natives; to a number of whom the generous mico freely presented, from his treasures, articles of value and ornament.

This visit of Tomo-chi-chi and his companions, and the interest awakened by their personal presence in London, materially assisted Mr. Oglethorpe and the trustees in enlisting the renewed and earnest sympathies of the public, and in securing substantial aid not only for the colonists, but also for the education of the natives and their instruction in religious knowledge. Application was made to the Rev. Dr. Wilson, bishop of Sodor and Man, to prepare a manual for their more facile indoctrination in the principles of Christianity. With this request he readily complied, and the results of his labors in this behalf are embodied in *The Knowledge and Practice of Christianity made easy to the Meanest Capacity, or an Essay towards an Instruction for the Indians*, a work which was printed at the expense of the "Society for propagating the Gospel in foreign parts," and passed through several editions. It does not appear, however, that it was ever very extensively used among the Indians, or that any marked progress was achieved in the contemplated labor of their evangelization.

A letter was composed by a Cherokee chief and sent to the trustees. It was drawn, and curiously marked in red and black figures on the neatly dressed skin of a young buffalo. A translation was prepared by an Indian interpreter, when it was first delivered at Savannah, in the presence of fifty chiefs and many prominent citizens, for the purpose of transmission to England. This unique epistle contained the grateful

acknowledgments of the Indians for the honors and civilities which had been extended to Tomo-chi-chi and his companions, their admiration of the grandeur of the British court and kingdom, and a declaration of their strong attachment to Gov. Oglethorpe. Upon its receipt by the trustees this hieroglyphic painting was set in a frame and suspended in the Georgia office in Westminster.[1]

It is apparent from this circumstance how widely disseminated among the Indian tribes of Georgia was the knowledge of the visit of the mico of the Yamacraws, how faithful the report of his reception and hospitable treatment by the English, and how grateful were the feelings of the red-men for the special kindness and consideration shown to one of their race. The beneficial results flowing from, and the sentiments of kindness and gratitude engendered by this visit tended most emphatically to perpetuate the amicable relations subsisting between the colonists and the natives.

Mr. Oglethorpe returned to Georgia on the 5th of February, 1736, with valuable accessions for the colony. By no one was his coming more ardently greeted than by his firm friend the aged mico of the Yamacraws, who, with his nephew Toonahowi, had been for two months on the lookout for the arrival of the governor. During all this time he had retained two Indian runners in order that the intelligence of Mr. Oglethorpe's arrival might be communicated at the earliest moment to the Lower and Upper Creeks. It was with evident satisfaction that the governor contemplated the increasing comfort and development of the colony. On every hand assurances were given of the friendly aid which had on every occasion been rendered by Tomo-chi-chi

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[1] *American Gazetteer*, London, 1762, II, article Georgia.

in furthering the interests of the settlers, in facilitating the convenient location of fresh arrivals, and in furnishing from time to time such assistance as his scanty means would allow.

The Rev. John Wesley and his brother Charles accompanied Mr. Oglethorpe on this return voyage. Their special mission was to preach the gospel to the Indian nations adjacent to the colony. A passable road to connect Savannah with Darien was deemed a work of pressing necessity, and Capt. Hugh Mackay, Jr., with a company of rangers, was sent forward to make observations on the intervening country, compute the distance, and select the most practicable route. Guides for the party were furnished by Tomo-chi-chi.

On the 12th, Gov. Oglethorpe returned to the ships which were still riding at anchor at Tybee. While on board the "Symond" he received a formal visit from Tomo-chi-chi, Scenauky his wife, and Toonahowi, with a number of attendants. They brought presents of venison and other refreshments. After an introduction to the missionaries, Tomo-chi-chi remarked to Mr. John Wesley, "I am glad you are come. When I was in England I desired that some would speak the *great word* to me. I will go up and speak to the wise men of our nation, and I hope they will hear. But we would not be made Christians as the Spaniards make Christians; we would be taught before we are baptized." Scenauky then presented the missionaries with two large jars, one containing honey, and the other milk, and invited them to come to Yamacraw and teach the Indian children, saying that the milk and honey represented their kindly inclinations.

On this occasion Tomo-chi-chi informed Mr. Oglethorpe that he had dispatched the two runners to communicate the fact of his arrival to the Creeks, and that

he then had a party of his warriors at Darien assisting the Highlanders in the construction of their town. He likewise told him of a complaint made by the Uchees, that, contrary to the terms of the treaty, cattle had been brought into their country; and, in opposition to their wishes, planters from Carolina had come, with their negroes, and formed settlements within their territorial limits. Orders were thereupon issued by Mr. Oglethorpe directing Capt. McIntosh to notify these trespassers to withdraw their cattle and negroes within three days, and that if within the designated period they were not sent away, those who neglected or refused to obey these orders should be arrested and brought to Savannah and there handed over to the magistrates, by whom proceedings would be immediately instituted against them.[1] At the same time he issued a proclamation announcing the provisions of the act for maintaining peace with the Indians. This prompt action on the part of the governor illustrates alike his decision of character, the sedulity with which he guarded the rights of the Indians and sought to maintain the good faith which should be observed between the colonists and them, and the implicit confidence which he reposed in the veracity of his aged friend.

After the return of Tomo-chi-chi from England the Creeks had, by solemn compact, confirmed the grant of lands previously made to the colonists; and the old mico was anxious to point out to Gov. Oglethorpe, at the earliest practicable moment, the precise limits of the territory included in that cession. This was one reason why he had been so solicitous about the return of Mr. Oglethorpe, in order that there might be positive delivery of the lands granted.

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[1] See *Wright's Memoir of Oglethorpe*, 115.

So soon as he had hastily inspected the condition of the colony at Savannah and its vicinity, the governor proceeded to Darien to encourage the hearts of the Highlanders. The newly arrived emigrants, which he had brought over with him in the "Symond" and the "London Merchant," he determined to locate upon the beautiful island of St. Simon's. Frederica was chosen as the headquarters of the settlement. The colonists were delighted with the scene. The magnificent forests of cedar, bay, laurel and live-oak, the luxuriant vines drooping in graceful festoons even to the water's edge, the voices of song birds filling the soft air with sounds sweeter far than they had ever heard in Europe, the vernal atmosphere redolent of jessamines, orange blossoms, and the thousand delightful flowers which lend their commingled fragrance and beauty to this charming spot, the presence of game and fish in great variety, and the generous appearance of the soil, all inspired the emigrants with a sense of satisfaction, happiness and hope.

Frederica was situated on the west side of the island, on a bold bluff washed by a bay formed by one of the mouths of the Alatamaha river before passing to the ocean through Jekyll Sound. The town was laid out in streets which were subsequently named after the officers of Oglethorpe's regiment. [1] It was altogether about a mile and a half in circumference, including the camp on the north side, the parade on the east, and a small wood on the south which served as a blind to the enemy in case of attack from ships coming up the river. There were two gates called the town and the water posts. The fort was strongly built of tabby; and

[1] See *Wright's Memoir of Oglethorpe*, 264.

several eighteen-pounders, mounted on a raveline in front, commanded the river. The entire town was protected on the land side by a deep entrenchment which admitted the tide.

In speaking of Frederica, Mr. [1] Spalding wisely institutes the following contrast between it and Savannah. At the latter place everything gives evidence of an enlightened mind and taste. At Frederica, however, which formed the southern outposts of the colony, there were no extended squares or broad streets. There were simply an esplanade and a parade ground. South of the fort the streets were about forty feet wide. There were no trees in them. Trees would have been in the way of military movements. The houses were all built of either brick or tabby.

St. Simon's island became the Thermopylæ of the southern Anglo-American provinces; and there is no brighter chapter in the military history of the colony, no more illustrious period in the eventful life of Gen. Oglethorpe, than that which commemorates the protracted and successful struggle with the Spaniards for the retention of this charming island.

About the middle of March, Tomo-chi-chi, Toonahowi, and a party of forty warriors waited upon Mr. Oglethorpe at Frederica, to designate the precise boundaries dividing the lands ceded by the Creeks to the colony from those claimed by the Spaniards, and to give the governor formal possession of them. To accommodate the party for this expedition two ten-oared boats were placed in readiness, and Maj. Horton and Mr. Tanner and several prominent gentlemen requested by Mr. Oglethorpe to accompany him as an escort.

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[1] See *Georgia Historical Collections*, I, 272.

The Highlanders, under command of Capt. Hugh Mackay, were detailed as a military guard, and were transported in the periagua.[1]

It will be remembered that Mr. Charles Dempsey,—who had been commissioned by the British government to confer with the governor of Florida in reference to a settlement of the proper boundary line between the province of Georgia and the lands claimed by the Spanish,—accompanied Mr. Oglethorpe on the occasion of his recent return. Anxious to compass his mission at the earliest practicable moment, he sailed from Savannah on the 19th of February, in company with Maj. Richards of Purysburgh, bearing a conciliatory letter from Mr. Oglethorpe to the governor of Florida. A long period had now elapsed, and no advices had been received from Mr. Dempsey. Wishing to ascertain the cause of this silence, and being solicitous for his safety, Mr. Oglethorpe gladly hastened the inception of the expedition; knowing that its course would lead to the Florida coast where he hoped at an early day to learn definitely of the movements and success of the commissioner. Another reason which induced Mr. Oglethorpe to go just at this time when his services on St. Simon's island were greatly needed, was the fear that the Indians, if unrestrained by his personal presence, might in their animosity feel themselves strong enough to attack some of the feeble advanced posts of the Spaniards, and by this means, in the unsettled state of feeling, precipitate general hostilities between the Spaniards and the colonists.

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[1] The periagua was a long flat-bottomed boat capable of carrying from twenty to thirty-five tons. It was constructed with a forecastle and cabin, the rest being open. It had no deck. There were two masts which the sailors could strike. The sails were like those of a schooner, and it was generally rowed with only two long oars.

The following narrative of the expedition, as well as the account of the serio-comic adventure of Tomo-chi-chi, are borrowed in the main from *Mr. Francis Moore's Voyage to Georgia:*

On the 18th of April, Mr. Oglethorpe set out with the two scout boats, with Tomo-chi-chi and a body of Indians,— about forty in number,— all chosen warriors and good hunters. Rowing across Jekyl sound, he went up another branch of the Alatamaha to see what passages might lie that way for boats, and encamped in a grove of pine trees upon the main where were many trees fit for masts for the largest ships. Three fires were built, one for the Indians, one for the boatmen, and a third for the gentlemen. Mr. Oglethorpe lay, as he usually does, in the woods under a tree, wrapt up in a cloak, near a good fire. Mr. Horton, Mr. Tanner and the rest of the gentlemen lay round the fire in the same manner.

The next day, soon after daybreak, they discovered the periagua which made a fine appearance, being full of men. Capt. Hugh Mackay who commanded, had been indefatigable in making this dispatch. There were on board thirty Highlanders and ten other men,— a portion of the independent company, lately reduced, come over land to Darien under command of Ensign Hugh Mackay. They had with them tools for entrenching, and provisions. That afternoon they saw an island which the Indians formerly called Wissoo, in English, Sassafras. This is over against Jekyl island on the south. The northern end of it rises fifty feet or upwards above the water, like a terrace, a mile in length, and covered with tall pine trees. The western extremity of the hill commands the passage for boats from the southward, as the northern end of the island does the entry for ships. Here they met with some bark-huts which our friendly Indians had sometime since built for their lodging when they hunted there. They saw a great many deer, and a wide savannah lying at the foot of the hill, extending two or three miles, so that from the western point they could discover any boat that came from the southward.

Mr. Oglethorpe, upon the extreme western point of the hill,— the foot of which is washed on the one side by the bay, and by

the channel that goes to the southward on the other,— marked out a fort to be called St. Andrews, and gave Capt. Hugh Mackay orders to build it, leaving with him the periagua and all who came in it, and also some Indians to hunt and shoot. The next morning Mr. Oglethorpe proceeded with the two scout-boats, and Tomo-chi-chi and his Indians, who new-named this island *Cumberland*, in memory of his royal highness the duke, who had been very gracious to them,[1] particularly to Toonahowi, nephew to Tomo-chi-chi, to whom his royal highness had given a gold repeating watch, which Toonahowi holding in his hand said, the duke gave us this watch that we might know how the time went, and we will remember him at all times, and therefore will give this island his name.

They encamped that night on the south end of Cumberland, and the next morning discovered another island beyond it, between which and the main they rowed through very narrow and shoaly passages, amongst the marshes. To this island Mr. Oglethorpe gave the name of Amelia, it being a beautiful island, and the sea-shore covered with myrtle, peach trees, orange trees, and vines in the wildwoods. They rowed across a fresh water river, * * * and that night Tomo-chi-chi chose to encamp upon a ground where there were but a few straggling pine-trees, and the land being clear for half a mile round, and thick of shrubs and palmettoes. His reason was, that if any Florida Indians were out there, they would be discovered, if they approached in the night, by the noise of the palmetto leaves. Addressing Gen. Oglethorpe he said, you being Englishmen who are used to fight in open ground, I choose this spot as being most to your advantage.

The next morning Tomo-chi-chi conducted the expedition through several channels until they arrived at two rocks covered with cedar and bay trees. Disembarking, and climbing to the top of those rocks, he there pointed out a wide river,— the St. John's,— and a house or hut on the other side, adding, *That is the Spanish guard. All on this side that river we hunt. It is our ground. On the other side, they hunt, but as they have lately hurt some of our people, we will now drive them away.*

[1] During their visit to England.

We will stay behind these rocks, where they cannot see us, till night, and then we will fall upon them.

Mr. Oglethorpe with great difficulty prevailed upon the Indians not to attack the Spaniards, but to return to the palmetto ground where he promised to meet them. Some of the Indians were related to those who had been killed the winter before by the detachment from St. Augustine; and one of them, Poyeechy by name, had been wounded by the Spaniards.

Not caring to trust the Indians by themselves, lest they should turn back and do mischief to the Spaniards, Mr. Oglethorpe ordered Mr. Horton, with one of the ten-oared scout boats, to attend upon them. With the other boat he went into St. John's river intending to inquire of the Spanish guards what had become of the boat and men he had sent to St. Augustine. The hut which they had seen from the rocks was the upper Spanish look-out. Seeing no people there, they concluded that it had been deserted, and therefore stood down to the lower look-out. The boatmen fancied they saw a battery of cannon, for there appeared some black things which they thought looked like guns at a great distance, but Mr. Oglethorpe desired to see them nearer. As they stood in they proved to be cows lying down among the sand-hills. There were no people at the look-out, so they went down to the sea, and rounding the point St. George, passing between that and Talbot island, came to the rendezvous at the palmetto ground. There they met Mr. Horton in the scout-boat, and some boats of Indians, but Tomo-chi-chi with two boats was gone.

About four hours in the night their sentry challenged a boat; and Umpeachy, one of those who had been in England, answered, and at the same time leaped on shore with four others, and ran up to the fires where Mr. Oglethorpe then was. They seemed in such a rage as is hardly to be described. Their eyes glowed, as it were, with fire. Some of them foamed at the mouth, and moved with such bounds that they seemed rather possessed. Mr. Oglethorpe asked Umpeachy what the matter was? He replied "Tomo-chi-chi has seen enemies, and has sent us to tell it and to help you." Being questioned why the mico did not come back himself, he responded: "He is an old warrior and will not come away from his enemies who hunt upon our lands,

till he has seen them so near as to count them. He saw their fire and therefore sent to take care of you who are his friends. He will make a warrior of Toonahowi, and before day-light will be revenged for his men whom they killed whilst he was gone to England. But we shall have no honor, for we shall not be there." The rest of the Indians seemed to catch the raging fits at not being present. Mr. Oglethorpe asked if he thought there were many; he said "Yes," he thought the enemies were a great many, for they had a great fire upon a high ground, and the Indians never make large fires but when they are so strong as to despise all resistance. Mr. Oglethorpe immediately ordered all his people on board, and they rowed very briskly to where Tomo-chi-chi was, being about four miles distance.

They found him and his Indians with hardly any fire,—only a few sparks,—behind a bush to prevent discovery. They told him they had been to see the fire and had discovered seven or eight white men; but the Indians, they believed, had encamped further in the woods, for they had not seen them; but Tomo-chi-chi was going out again to look for the Indians, whom, as soon as he discovered, he intended to give the signal to attack both parties at once; one-half of his men creeping near and taking each their aim at those whom they saw most awake, and, as soon as they had fired, to run in with their hatchets, and at the same time those who had not fired should run in with their loaded arms; and if they knew once where the Indians were, they could be sure of killing all the white men, since, they being round the fire, were easily seen, and the same fire hindered them from seeing others.

Mr. Oglethorpe strove to dissuade them from that attempt, but with great difficulty could obtain of them to delay a little time; they thinking it argued cowardice. At last they got up and resolved to go in spite of all his endeavors; on which he told them: "You certainly go to kill them in the night, because you are afraid of seeing them by day; now I do not fear them. Stay till day, and I will go with you, and see who they are."

Tomo-chi-chi sighed and sat down, and said: "We don't fear them by day; but if we don't kill them by night, they will kill you to-morrow." So they stayed.

By day-break Mr. Oglethorpe and the mico went down with their men and came up to the fire which they thought had been made by enemies, which was less than a mile from where the mico had passed the night. They saw a boat there, with a white flag flying, and the men proved to be Maj. Richard returned from Augustine.

The Indians then seemed ashamed of their rage which inspired them to kill men before they knew who they were.

The same day they returned towards St. Andrews, and not having water enough through the narrows of Amelia, the scout-boats were obliged to halt there; but the Indians advanced to the south end of Cumberland, where they hunted, and carried venison to St. Andrews.

Mr. Oglethorpe arriving there, was surprised to find the fort in a forwardness;—the ditch being dug, and the parapet raised with wood and earth on the land side; and the small wood was cleared fifty yards round the fort. This seemed to be the more extraordinary because Mr. Mackay had no engineer, nor any other assistance in that way but the directions left by Mr. Oglethorpe: besides, it was very difficult to raise works here, the ground being a loose sand; therefore they used the same method to support it as Cæsar mentions in the wars of Gaul, laying trees and earth alternately; trees prevented the sand from falling, and the sand the wood from fire. He returned thanks to the Highlanders, and offered to take any of them back, but they said that whilst there was danger, they desired leave to stay. But he ordered two along with him, they having families at Darien, to whom he thought it would be agreeable for them to return. From thence he returned to Frederica with the white men and the scout-boats.

Next day being the 26th, the Indians arrived, and camped by themselves near the town, and made a war-dance to which Mr. Oglethorpe went, and all his people. They made a ring, in the middle of which four sat down, having little drums made of kettles, covered with deer skins, upon which they beat and sung. Round them the others danced, being naked to their waists, and round their middles many trinkets tied with skins, and some with the tails of beasts hanging down behind them. They painted their faces and bodies, and their hair was stuck

with feathers. In one hand they had a rattle, in the other hand the feathers of an eagle, made up like the caduceus of Mercury. They shook these wings and the rattle, and danced round the ring with high bounds and antic postures, looking much like the figures of the satyrs.

They shewed great activity, and kept just time in their motions; and at certain times answered by way of chorus to those that sat in the middle of the ring. They stopped, and then stood out one of the chief-warriors who sung what wars he had been in, and described [by actions as well as by words] which way he had vanquished the enemies of his country. When he had done, all the rest gave a shout of approbation, as knowing what he said to be true. The next day Mr. Oglethorpe gave presents to Tomo-chi-chi and his Indians, and dismissed them with thanks for their fidelity to the king.[1]

[2] Harris adds, that at the conclusion of these festivities the Indian mico explained in a long speech the object of the embassy. After this, an alliance was concluded and presents were exchanged. These consisted on the part of the Indians, of dressed skins; and on that of Mr. Oglethorpe of guns, red and blue cloth, powder, bullets, knives, and small whetstones. Among the women he distributed linen and woolen garments, ear-rings, chains, beads, etc.

[3] Maj. Richards gave the following explanation of Mr. Dempsey's delay, and continued absence. Before reaching St. Augustine, the boat in which they were proceeding was capsized and the entire party compelled to scramble through the breakers to the shore, dragging the overturned boat with them. After walking several leagues through the sand, they were met by

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[1] See *A Voyage to Georgia begun in the year* 1735, *etc.*, by Francis Moore,—reprinted in *Georgia Historical Collections*, I, 122-7.

[2] *Memorials of Oglethorpe*, 148.

[3] See *Harris' Memorials of Oglethorpe*, 144.

Don Pedro Lamberto, a captain of horse, who conducted them to the Spanish governor, by whom they were received with great civility. Mr. Dempsey's return was postponed in consequence of repairs which it was necessary to put upon the boat. Maj. Richards brought letters to Mr. Oglethorpe from Don Francisco del Moral Sanchez, captain general of Florida, and governor of St. Augustine, in which,— after profuse compliments and expressions of his thanks for the letters received at the hands of Mr. Dempsey,— he complained that the Creek Indians had fallen upon some of the Spaniards and defeated them; and that he was in daily expectation of further hostilities which he desired Mr. Oglethorpe to prevent. Maj. Richards added that the Spanish authorities at Havana had been fully advised of what was transpiring on the coast, and that he had promised the governor of Florida to return within three weeks with the reply which Mr. Oglethorpe might desire to make to his communication.

By private advices Mr. Oglethorpe received information that, notwithstanding these professions of friendship and assurances of an earnest desire on his part to perpetuate the amicable relations existing between Georgia and Florida, the governor of St. Augustine had sent to Charleston to purchase arms which he intended placing in the hands of the Florida Indians; and that by their assistance, in conjunction with the Yamasees and a detachment from the garrison at St. Augustine, he purposed an early movement upon the colonists at Frederica, with a view to their utter destruction, or total expulsion by force of arms from the island of St. Simon. He was also advised that the alleged hostility on the part of the Creeks was simply a pretext for this covert movement, and designed to shift in advance the burden of a commencement of hostilities from the

shoulders of the Spaniards upon those of the English ; — that the garrison at St. Augustine consisted of five companies of infantry of sixty men each, and a company of horse numbering about forty men, and that reenforcements had been called for and were daily expected from Havana.[1] Regarding this information as entirely reliable, Mr. Oglethorpe dispatched a periagua with twenty oars, and four swivel guns,— accompanied by a scout-boat, well armed,— to the mouth of the St. John's river, with orders to patrol that river and prevent any Indians from crossing; hoping thus to preclude the possibility of an attack by the Indians in this quarter. The fort located upon the St. George's island passage was rapidly pressed to completion in order that its guns might assist the periagua in hindering the ascent of any hostile boats through the island channels. Two ships were posted in the river near Frederica to engage the Spanish vessels, should an entrance from the sea be attempted by them. The fortifications on St. Simon's island were strengthened by every means at command, and additional troops summoned for their defense. Through the aid of Tomo-chi-chi, parties of Indians were sent out with instructions to intercept the Creek hunters and dissuade them from attacking the Spanish outposts until a general conference could be held. Other warriors were stationed in the woods, on the coast opposite Frederica, with orders to prevent any Spanish cavalry from advancing across the country upon the settlement of the Highlanders at Darien, and at all times to hold themselves in readiness to cross over and unite in the defense of Frederica should that place be threatened.

[1] See *Francis Moore's Voyage.*

Having attended in person to these dispositions, Tomo-chi-chi returned with all dispatch to Yamacraw to secure and forward reenforcements.

On the 2d of May further advices were received from St. Augustine which induced Gov. Oglethorpe to expect an early demonstration against Frederica. Every precaution was taken, and all preparations were made, which the utmost prudence, forethought and military ingenuity could devise, to place the colonists in the best possible state of defense. The more closely we scrutinize the efforts of Gov. Oglethorpe at this important juncture, the more remarkable do the results appear which he then achieved with the small numbers and scanty resources at command. His energy was untiring and his watchfulness unceasing. No exposure proved too hazardous, no personal labor too onerous. During this period of doubt and peril he was bravely seconded in all his plans and efforts by the venerable Tomo-chi-chi, who, so soon as he could, returned with the much needed reenforcements, and, during the remaining days and weeks of suspense and anxiety, remained ever near his friend the governor; — accompanying him upon his scouting parties by land and by water, assisting in the construction of defensive works and in the disposition of troops, by means of his guides giving information of any movements of the enemy, and, by his personal presence and influence, inciting his warriors to the cheerful performance of continued and valuable services.

Beyond all question it was the intention of the Spaniards to have made an earnest and determined attack upon Frederica. By the time, however, that they had consummated their arrangements, such reports were conveyed to them of the strength of the position occupied by the colonists, the difficulties to be overcome,

and the probable loss if not utter discomfiture which would be encountered, that the purposed expedition was delayed. When, more than two years afterwards, it was renewed, it eventuated in defeat and demoralization to the Spanish arms. The history of the settlement of St. Simon's island, and the heroic memories of its gallant defense, are among the most treasured recollections of the colonial period of Georgia, and illustrate at once the ability and skill of Gov. Oglethorpe, the patience, endurance and bravery of the colonists, and the fidelity of the aged mico of the Yamacraws and his followers.

The circumstances attendant upon the temporary suspension of hostilities between the colonists and the Spaniards, are thus narrated by Mr. Moore:

On the 12th of May, Gov. Oglethorpe, accompanied by Tomo-chi-chi and his Indians in their canoes, started with a large periagua and two ten-oared boats containing fifty men, cannon and two months provisions, to relieve fort St. George which he feared might at that time be besieged. On his way he met a boat in which was Mr. Horton, who had been released and was at that time returning home, by whom he was informed that two Spanish officers were coming on a friendly mission to St. Simon's. Not being able to postpone his visit to St. George, Mr. Oglethorpe sent orders to Capt. Gascoigne to entertain the Spanish officers on board his vessel the "Hawk," and to keep them on board until his return so that they might not be able by personal inspection to gain any definite knowledge of the strength or location of Frederica. When within a few miles of his destination, the launch hove in sight having on board the Spanish commissioners, Don Pedro de Lamberto, colonel of horse, and Don Manuel D'Arcy, secretary to the governor, and also Mr. Dempsey and Maj. Richards.[1] Wishing to avoid the ceremony which must have ensued if he had made himself

[1] *Wright's Memoir of Oglethorpe,* 159.

known to them, and anxious to compass his visit to fort St. George, Mr. Oglethorpe desired Mr. Mackay to communicate with the launch and advise the commissioners to come to an anchor until a safe-guard could be furnished,—because the country was full of Indians. They accordingly did so. It was with great difficulty that Tomo-chi-chi and his Indians could be restrained from attacking the launch and killing the Spanish commissioners, so intense was the desire for revenge which animated their breasts.

Mr. Oglethorpe having concluded his visit to fort St. George, set out on his return to Frederica in order that he might receive the commissioners with becoming state. He passed unobserved very near Capt. Gascoigne's ship, where the commissioners were being handsomely entertained. As soon as he reached Frederica he sent Ensign Mackay up to Darien to bring [1]"some of the genteelest Highlanders" that they might be present at the conference. He "ordered two handsome tents lined with Chinese, with marquises and walls of canvas, to be sent down and pitched upon Jekyl island." He also sent a present of some refreshments, and two gentlemen to the commissioners to acquaint them with the fact that he would wait upon them in person the next day.

[2]On the 18th Mr. Oglethorpe, with seven horses and men upon them, (which were all we had) went down to the sea-point that the Spaniards might see that there were men and horses there. At his setting out a number of cannons were fired, which they also could hear at Jekyl island. When he arrived at the point, the independent company was under arms, being drawn up in one line at double distances, to make them appear a larger number to the Spaniards who lay upon Jekyl island; the independent company saluted him with their cannon, managing them so as to seem to have many more guns by reloading.

Capt. Gascoigne came over in his boat with two scout-boats, and, having taken Mr. Oglethorpe on board, conveyed him to Jekyl island, where he landed and welcomed the Spanish officers. An invitation for dinner the next day on board the "Hawk"

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[1] *Moore's Voyage.*

[2] *Georgia Historical Society Collections*, I, 150.

was extended by Capt. Gascoigne, and accepted by Mr. Oglethorpe and the commissioners,— Mr. Oglethorpe saying that he would on that occasion formally receive any communication they desired to make.

The following day, the 19th, Ensign Mackay arrived on board the man-of-war, with the Highlanders, who, with their broadswords, targets, plaids, etc., were drawn up on one side of the ship, while a detachment of the independent company in regimentals lined the other side. The sailors manned the shrouds, and kept sentry with drawn cutlasses at the cabin door. The Spanish commissaries were very handsomely entertained, and after dinner delivered their messages in writing. They drank the healths of the king of Great Britain, and the royal family; so did Mr. Oglethorpe those of the king and queen of Spain. The cannons of the ship fired, and were answered by such cannon as were within hearing. The next day they were entertained in like manner, and had long conferences with Mr. Oglethorpe.

On the 21st he gave them their answer. They made him some presents of snuff, chocolate, etc., and he returned them very handsome ones. All the time they were there we sent down sheep, hogs and poultry, with garden stuff in plenty for all their men, as also butter, cheese, wine, beer and all other refreshments.

Tomo-chi-chi, Hyllispilli and near thirty of the chiefest Indians, being returned from the southward, came on board painted and dressed as they are for war. Hyllispilli demanded justice for killing the Indians, and other outrages. The Spanish commissary Don Pedro, knew some of the facts, but seemed to doubt the rest. Each party had an interpreter.

The Indians proved that a party of forty Spaniards and Indians had fallen upon some of their nation, who then lay depending upon the general peace between the Spaniards, the Indians and the English, without suspicion and consequently without guard. Thus surprised, several were killed and several taken captive. The boys who were captured were murdered by having their brains dashed out, and the wounded were slain. Don Pedro, struck with horror at this cruelty, inquired how they knew these facts? A young Indian was produced who had been

wounded upon the occasion. He exhibited the scar, and told how, in the confusion, he had escaped by concealing himself among some bushes. He further stated that he had for two days followed the attacking party, hiding himself in thickets, seeing all that passed, and intending to revenge himself upon stragglers should there chance to be any. It was also proved that an Indian, who had formed one of the party, bragged of what had been done to one of the Creeks who went down to St. Marks to trade with the Spaniards, at the same time saying that the party had been sent out from St. Augustine.

Upon this Mr. Oglethorpe desired Don Pedro to represent these facts to the governor of St. Augustine, and to say to him that he should expect satisfaction in behalf of the Indians for this insult, they being subjects of the king of Great Britain. This being interpreted to the Indians, Hyllispilli said he hoped Mr. Oglethorpe would go with them and then he would see what they would do to the Spaniards; but that if he would not accompany them, they would go by themselves and take revenge.

"When this happened," said he, "I was gone with you to England. Had I not been with you this would not have happened, for had I been with my men they should not have been so surprised. You will go with me, and you shall see how I will punish them, but if you will not help me I have friends enough who will go with me to revenge the murder." At this all the young Indians gave a shout. Don Pedro said that there was a party of Indians which he knew went from the neighborhood of St. Augustine, but that they were not Spaniards; that he himself at that time was at Mexico on a message from the governor; that such cruelty must be abhorred by every Christian, and that he would take it upon him to say that the people who had committed this outrage should be punished. Pohoia, king of the Floridas, was named as the party who commanded the expedition. Don Pedro gave his assurance that if ever he came into St. Augustine so that the Spaniards could secure him, the governor and council of war would punish him as his cruelty deserved; and that if he came not within their power, they would banish him.

To this Hyllispilli said, "We hear what you say. When we see it done, we will believe you." Tomo-chi-chi persuaded them

to be content, and, during the remainder of the visit of the commissioners, exerted his influence in restraining the violent passions of his people and preventing them from offering direct insult and personal violence to the Spaniards.

This conference resulted in a temporary restoration of apparent good feeling, and brought about a practical pacification between Florida and Georgia, which suffered no violent interruption for a period of more than two years.

CHAPTER V.

Tomo-chi-chi and the Moravians — Rev. John Wesley — Interviews between the mico and missionaries — Tomo-chi-chi's religious and moral sentiments.

PORT St. Andrews on Cumberland island, and the advanced work of St. George, near the mouth of St. John's river, having been suitably garrisoned and furnished with ordnance and ordnance stores such as the limited supplies at command could afford; the fortifications at Frederica having been materially strengthened; the Highlanders at Darien having been confirmed in their occupation by every precautionary measure which could conduce to their comfort and security; signal stations having been established at important points, and methods of communication between detached posts provided for mutual warning and assistance in the event of any unlooked for hostile demonstration; and, being in his own judgment well assured that all immediate danger of an attack from the Spaniards was overpast, Gov. Oglethorpe returned to Savannah to provide for the wants and encourage the development of the other portions of the colony, from which the troubles on St. Simon's island had necessitated a protracted absence. Tomo-chi-chi accompanied him; and, after the fatigues which he had lately undergone, and which it was quite remarkable that one of his advanced age could have endured with such spirit and activity, sought rest and quiet beneath his humble shelter at Yamacraw. There he remained attending to the wants of his family and tribe. He frequently sent presents of game, and such

articles as his scanty stores supplied, to his friends at Savannah, and to the Saltzburgers. Upon their arrival, the Moravians had sought the personal acquaintance of the aged mico and the members of his tribe. Between them a marked attachment sprung up which was never interrupted. Through their exertions,— aided "with money advanced by Mr. Oglethorpe,"— a school-house had been built, very near Tomo-chi-chi's village, for the accommodation and instruction of the Indian children. This school was called *Irene*, and in its successful conduct the mico manifested a constant and earnest interest. The history of the Moravians in Georgia is soon told. Fleeing from the oppressions which they encountered in Bohemia, the United Brethren determined to emigrate to Georgia, whither the Saltzburgers had preceded them. Count Zinzendorf,— their spiritual adviser,— having enlisted the sympathies of the trustees in their behalf, procured for them a free passage from England to Savannah. Arriving in the spring of 1735, they selected as a place for settlement the tract of land lying between the town of Savannah and the village of Ebenezer, at which latter point their friends the Saltzburgers had established themselves. Such was their industry, and so marked their frugality, that they were in condition at an early day not only to satisfy all their own wants, but also to furnish service and supplies to their less provident neighbors. With the erection of the school-house "Irene," Tomo-chi-chi was greatly pleased, and frequently expressed his sincere gratification that the "children of his tribe would now have a place where they could hear the good word." The conversion of the Indians to the Christian faith enlisted the serious and genuine interest of the Moravians. In the prosecution of their labors they received the coun-

tenance and encouragement of the venerable mico of the Yamacraws.

When summoned to take up arms in defense of the colony against the anticipated invasion of the Spaniards, the Moravians refused to do so; alleging, that not being freeholders there was no civil obligation resting upon them to perform military service; further, that their religious belief would not permit them to become soldiers, and finally, that before they formed a portion of the colony of Georgia, it was expressly stipulated that they should be exempt from the performance of any military duties. In January, 1737, Count Zinzendorf sought a personal interview with Gov. Oglethorpe and the trustees in London, and, after mature consideration of their peculiar religious tenets, and the facts connected with their settlement in Georgia, secured for the Moravians an exemption from the performance of all military services. This exemption, however, embittered the minds of the colonists against them, and rendered a further residence in Georgia very unpleasant. Accordingly in 1738 some of them, having first refunded to the authorities all moneys which had been expended in the defrayal of the expenses connected with their passage from England and their subsequent location in the province, abandoned their farms, already so comfortable and affording such evidences of thrift and remuneration, and removed to Pennsylvania. The rest remained in Georgia, undisturbed, until the commencement of hostilities between the Spaniards and the colonists in 1739, when, being again summoned to the field, they a second time refused to take up arms; and, bidding farewell to their homes on the Savannah, joined their brethren in Pennsylvania in the spring of 1740. Thus again united, they founded the settlements of Bethlehem and Nazareth, which preserve to

this day many of the distinctive features which characterized this peculiar people.[1]

Great hopes were entertained of the beneficial influences which the religious teachings of the Rev. Mr. John Wesley would exert upon the natives. The sequel showed that he was not only unfit for the mission, but that his example and conduct in the colony were alike prejudicial to the cause of love and religion, and positively subversive of law, order, and becoming respect and obedience to the constituted authorities. On more than one occasion he sadly perplexed and annoyed Mr. Oglethorpe. In the language of Mr. Wright,[2] tenacious though he was of his own privileges as a clergyman he not only preached upon the duty of resistance to public authority, but in open court spoke against the proceedings of the magistrates in such a manner as to excite the passions of the people. In a community of such heterogeneous elements, even under the most favorable circumstances it was difficult enough to enforce the laws; and, with so powerful a champion of disloyalty, it is no wonder that the magistrates should have apprehended personal violence, and feared that the colony would be reduced to a state of anarchy. Wesley's conduct therefore could not but tend to alienate Gen. Oglethorpe. Despite his zeal, devotedness and piety, notwithstanding the good he in after life effected, there never was a man more unfit for the office of a missionary than he, now under our notice; and perhaps also there never has been a more remarkable transformation of character than that of the self-sufficient, arrogant young priest into the subsequent

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[1] *Cranz's History of the United Brethren*, 193, *et seq.*

[2] *Wright's Memoir of Oglethorpe*, 182.

[3] See also *Stephens's Journal of Proceedings in Georgia*, I, 15-19.

reviver of the Methodist church. While stationed at Savannah, Wesley did not consider himself so much a minister to the inhabitants, as a missionary to the Indians. Yet he never so much as attempted to learn their language; and his own notions of divine things were then so mystical that no interpreter could render perspicuous in a strange dialect what even an English hearer could not comprehend.

It will be remembered that Tomo-chi-chi during his visit to England, on more than one important occasion manifested great anxiety in reference to the religious instruction of his people, and requested that pious teachers and good men should be sent over to enlighten the Indians in the doctrines of Christianity. Previous to this visit, and as early as March, 1733, Mr. Oglethorpe mentions, in a letter to the trustees, that Tomo-chi-chi was a constant worshiper at the church in Savannah, desired knowledge of Christian doctrines, and had confided his nephew and "next heir," Toonahowi, to him for the purposes of moral and intellectual education. During the earliest days of the colony, such was the tractable disposition of the natives, and so favorably impressed did they appear with the religious exercises of the first settlers, it was the belief of Mr. Oglethorpe and the trustees that a door was opened for the accomplishment of great good in the evangelization of the savages. As a natural consequence, the labors of Mr. Wesley in this behalf were anticipated with peculiar interest, and the most marked and beneficial results were confidently predicted of his efforts in this missionary field. Contact with the whites, however, and the demoralizing influences exerted by unscrupulous traders caused the native mind to question the purity of that religion whose professed votaries were not unfrequently at variance with each other, encourag-

ing excesses of drink among the children of the forest, and by every means seeking to secure an undue advantage in trade over those who, in offering for barter or exchange their simple peltry, were ignorant of the actual values of the goods exposed, and unable to judge correctly of the weights and measures by which the respective purchases and sales were to be consummated. It is a common error to estimate the character of a religion by the conduct of its professed believers. By this standard Tomo-chi-chi weighed the religion of the colonists, and as he became more intimately acquainted with the white race, as he observed that in their daily conduct his more intelligent neighbors were subject to passions, animosities, excesses and frauds very like to those which characterized his own people, he was naturally led to distrust the wonderful influence and the restraining graces of that religion which they professed. Although somewhat disabused of the exalted impressions which he had evidently formed in this respect upon his first introduction to Mr. Oglethorpe and the early colonists, he still retained a marked respect for the superior intelligence of the whites, and earnestly longed for the mental and social amelioration of his race. So far from ever interposing any objections to their being influenced, counselled and instructed, on every occasion by personal aid, acquiescence and commendation he countenanced every effort, whether of a religious or intellectual character, which tended to elevate the minds and morals of the members of his tribe.

Upon his introduction to Mr. Wesley, shortly after the arrival of that missionary, addressing him in that frankness of spirit and honesty of heart which scorned subterfuges and eschewed everything likely to create a false impression, Tomo-chi-chi said: "I am glad you

are come. When I was in England I desired that some would speak the great word to me; and our people then desired to hear it; but now we are all in confusion. The French on one side, and the Spanish on the other, and the traders in our midst have caused us much perplexity, and made our people unwilling. Their ears are shut. Their tongues are divided, and some say one thing and some another. But I will call our chiefs together and speak to the wise men of our nation, and I hope they will hear. But we would not be made Christians as the Spaniards make Christians. We would be taught, and then, when we understand all clearly, be baptized.[1]

In this there was sound, practical wisdom. Conviction, a thorough persuasion of the truth of what was taught, conversion actual and not constructive, practical, tangible assurances of the change wrought in mind, heart and conduct by the legitimate operation and influences of the principles advocated and adopted, these the old chieftain desired to see, but not the vain formalities which, while they conferred a new name, brought with them no radical revolution in sentiments and acts. There was a deal of genuine philosophy and salutary advice in this welcome of Tomo-chi-chi. It contained suggestions so pertinent that they furnished the young ecclesiastic with the key note to what should have proved the main object of his mission; first, thorough

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[1] This interview occurred on the 14th of February, 1736. Tomo-chi-chi, Thleeanouhee, Sinauki and a number of other Indians were present. They are described as "tall, well proportioned men, having a remarkable softness in their speech, and gentleness in their whole behavior."

Extract from the *Journal of the Rev. Mr. John Wesley*, Bristol, MDCCXLIII, 10.

See also *Von Reck's Account of the Settlement of the Saltzburg Emigrants at Ebenezer in Georgia*, Hamburgh, 1777, I, 7.

persuasion of the truth of the evidences of Christianity, practical, intelligent explanation of its cardinal principles and doctrines, and apt illustration of its precepts, tendency and design, and then, when honest conviction and conversion followed, the administration of the ordinance of baptism as an outward public acknowledgment of the inward change wrought in the heart. By the simple rite of baptism he evidently laid but little store; and the satire pronounced upon the *made Christians* of the Spanish priests is as just as it is pungent. In Christians *made* after this fashion he had no confidence. He knew what he said, and his evident intention was to direct the mind of Mr. Wesley to a contemplation of the error committed by the Jesuits, and an appreciation of the necessity which was laid upon him to discharge in a higher and better manner the duties appertaining to his exalted mission. But little difficulty might be encountered in making formalists of the natives, and in proselyting them from the primitive faith in which they had been reared, thereby converting them simply into hypocrites and liars, but there was great labor in the thorough evangelization of the Indians.

The words of this aged mico suggest a further and a deeper significance so far as the relationships between himself and Mr. Wesley were concerned, and it is this; since my attention was first called to this subject, I have closely observed and reflected upon the conduct of those who style themselves Christians. The results of those observations are unsatisfactory, and while I am willing to afford you every facility in my power for the prosecution of your labors, and by my influence and example will counsel others to hearken to your teachings, I have my doubts whether your present mission will prove successful. You have however my best wishes.

Mr. Wesley's reply was ill calculated to inspire the confidence or enlist the special interest of the strong-minded chieftain. "There is but one,—He that sitteth in the heaven,—who is able to teach man wisdom. Though we are come so far, we know not whether He will please to teach you by us or no. If He teaches you, you will learn wisdom; but we can do nothing."

Abstractly considered, this response was most just, and, to the appreciation of a learned believer in the doctrine of predestinarianism would doubtless have been accepted as most convincing; but it was certainly poorly adapted to win the trust or encourage hope in the breast of a stern Indian warrior, who, for ninety-four years, had wandered amid the gloom of absolute spiritual darkness. The effect produced upon the mind of Tomo-chi-chi was unfortunate; and subsequently there does not appear to have existed between himself and Mr. Wesley that affection and confidence which so often characterize the personal intercourse between a zealous missionary and an attentive hearer.

At a later interview, when Mr. Wesley urged Tomo-chi-chi to hearken to the doctrines of Christianity and become a convert, the old man scornfully responded; "Why these are Christians at Savannah! Those are Christians at Frederica! Christians drunk! Christians beat men! Christians tell lies! Me no Christian."

On one occasion Scenauki, Tomo-chi-chi's wife, in the gentleness of woman's heart, anxious to soften the seeming asperity of the mico's conduct toward the missionary, presented him with two jars of honey and one of milk, and invited him to come up to Yamacraw and teach the children; adding, "the honey represents the inclination of our people there, and the milk, the

need of our children."[1] Beautiful illustration, comparison most apt!

On another occasion, upon the termination of a public audience with the Indians, Wesley and the venerable chief dined with Governor Oglethorpe. After dinner the missionary asked the gray-headed old man "what he thought he was made for?" "He that is above," replied the mico, "knows what He made us for. We know nothing. We are in the dark. But white men know much, and yet white men build great houses as if they were to live forever. But white men cannot live forever. In a little time white men will be dust as well as I." Wesley responded, "If red men will learn the Good Book they may know as much as white men. But neither we nor you can understand that Book unless we are taught by Him that is above; and He will not teach unless you avoid what you already know is not good." "I believe that," said the Indian. "He will not teach us while our hearts are not white, and our men do what they know is not good. Therefore He that is above, does not send us the Good Book."[2]

When Anaxagoras was asked the end of his coming into the world, he replied "to contemplate the sun, the moon and the other wonders of nature." In the estimation of this philosopher the supreme good consisted in the calm contemplation of the secrets of nature. The severe study of natural phenomena constituted the chief end and proper object of man's existence. The pursuit of pleasure is the supreme end and aim of our being, responds the disciple of Epicurus; — the mortification of natural appetites, answers the stoic; — the attainment of honor and distinction, pleads the man of

[1] *Harris' Memorials of Oglethorpe*, 165.

[2] See extract from the *Journal of Rev. Mr. Jno. Wesley*. Bristol, MDCCXLIII, I, 23.

ambition; — to obtain the desired good and perish with its using, sneers the satirist; — to obey God and love your neighbor as yourself, urges the Christian.

There is in this response of the aged mico a strange commingling of satire, irony and candor, which derived strength from an apparent confession of weakness, evinced knowledge by an admission of ignorance, and pointed the self-satisfied clergyman to the contemplation of that stern decree which levels both small and great, wise and foolish, civilized and savage, returning the mightiest as well as the lowliest to one common grave.

> Between two worlds Life hovers like a star,
> 'Twixt night and morn upon the horizon's verge.
> How little do we know that which we are!
> How less what we may be! The eternal surge
> Of Time and Tide rolls on, and bears afar
> Our bubbles; as the old burst, new emerge
> Lashed from the foam of ages; while the Graves
> Of Empires heave but like some passing waves.[1]

In *Spence's Anecdotes*[2] the following is related of Tomo-chi chi: "When Gen. Oglethorpe was conversing with a sensible old native of Georgia about prayer, the latter said that they never prayed to God, but left it to Him to do what He thought to be best for them; that the asking for any particular blessing looked to him like directing God; and if so, that it must be a very wicked thing. That for his part, he thought everything that happened in the world was as it should be; that God of Himself would do for every one what was consistent with the good of the whole; and that our duty to Him was to be content with whatever hap-

[1] *Byron.*

[2] *Idem,* 318, London edition of 1820.

pened in general, and thankful for all the good that happened in particular."

In this conviction the aged mico was not singular. Appollonius frequently asserted that the only supplication which ought to be offered by worshipers in the temples of the gods was, O gods, grant us those things which you deem most conducive to our well-being. Socrates,— that oracle of human wisdom, — because the gods who were accustomed to bestow favors were best able to select such gifts as were most fit, warned his disciples against the danger and the impropriety of offering petitions for specific things. The prayer of the old poet, "O Jupiter, ea quæ bona sunt nobis orantibus, aut non orantibus, tribue; quæ vero mala, etiam orantibus ne concede," has been, on more than one occasion, lauded in the school of the philosophers as most suitable. In that wonderful *Satire of Juvenal* in which the poet by illustrious examples portrays the ruinous consequences which have ensued where the gods complied with the expressed desires of men, it will be remembered, that in answer to the question

Nil ergo optabunt homines?

he responds,

* * Si consilium vis,
Permittes ipsis expendere numinibus, quid
Conveniat nobis, rebusque sit utile nobis.[1]

Epicurus believed that invocations, prayers and sacrifices were superfluous; that in all the accidents and difficulties of life there was no propriety in having recourse to the gods, or in prostrating ourselves before theiraltars; but that we ought, in perfect tranquillity

[1] See *Tenth Satire of Juvenal*, line 346, *et seq.*

to contemplate all the vicissitudes of life, and, without emotion, encounter the changing circumstances which might befall us.

So far as our information extends, there is but one other recorded interview between Tomo-chi-chi and the missionaries, although he was doubtless in frequent communication with them. It occurred not very long before his death. Learning that he was ill, Mr. Whitefield called to see him. He found him thin and weak, lying on a blanket. His wife Scenauki was sitting by his side fanning him with feathers. He was too feeble to hold any conversation, and the clergyman could only shake hands with him and take his leave. A few days afterwards he returned, and finding [1] Toonahowi there, requested him to ask his uncle "When he thought he would die?" "I cannot tell," was the laconic reply. Mr. Whitefield then inquired of the emaciated old chief "Where he thought he would go after death?" His answer was "To Heaven." "Further inquiries, however," adds the missionary, "led me to doubt the preparedness of Tomo-chi-chi for such a state of purity."

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[1] This nephew of Tomo-chi-chi subsequently accompanied Gen. Oglethorpe upon his expedition against St. Augustine. Still later, heading a party of Creek Indians, he made an incursion up to the very walls of that city, capturing Don Romualdo Ruiz del Moral, lieutenant of Spanish horse and nephew to the late governor of Florida, and delivering him in person to Gen. Oglethorpe.* During that memorable and successful resistance offered by Gen. Oglethorpe to the Spanish attack upon St. Simon's island in 1742, Toonahowi, true to the impulses of valor, personal courage and friendship which characterized his venerable uncle, remained firm in his devotion to the interests of the English, and performed valuable military service. The following instance of his gallantry has been preserved. On the 7th of July, about nine o'clock in the morning, a ranger from the patrol brought information

* See *Letter of Gen. Oglethorpe to the Duke of Newcastle*, under date Frederica, 12th December, 1741.

In forming an estimate of the religious views of Tomo-chi-chi, it will not be forgotten that he was an aged and prominent chief of that family of Indians who, so far as our positive knowledge extends, and organic remains furnish proof, never fashioned or worshiped idols. Like the ancient Germans they did not deem it consistent with their ideas of the dignity and majesty of the Supreme Divinity to attempt to confine him within the limits of rude temples, or to liken his image to that of beast, or bird, or created thing. Believing in the omnipotence and omnipresence of One Great Spirit, who dwelt above in the regions of infinite space, they rested satisfied in the conviction that there was a future state,— a further land in which the departed would be happy or miserable according as they had conducted themselves well or ill in this life. In the one case, they would forever roam at ease in the midst of beautiful savannas, watered by cool and limpid streams, abounding in game of every variety

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to the general that a body of the enemy had approached within two miles of Frederica. He ordered four platoons of the regiment immediately to follow him, and marched with some rangers, Highlanders and Indians, who were then under arms, and attacked the enemy about a mile from the fort, as they were entering a savanna to take possession of a ditch which they intended to use as an intrenchment. The general attacked them with such vigor that they were soon defeated, and one hundred and twenty-nine were killed and taken prisoners. The general took two prisoners with his own hand. Lieut. Scroggs of the rangers took Capt. Sachio prisoner, who commanded the party. Toonahowi an Indian chief was shot in the right arm by Capt. Mageleto. He drew his pistol with the left and shot the captain dead upon the spot.*

This brave warrior and faithful ally was finally killed in 1743 at Lake di Papa, while valiantly fighting for the English against the Yemasee Indians.†

* *M'Call's Georgia*, I, 180, 181.

† *Wright's Memoir of Oglethorpe*, 126, 243, 286, 305; *Harris' Memorials of Oglethorpe*, 255, 256; *Gentleman's Magazine*, XII, 497.

and excellence, filled with delicious fruits and pleasant shade-trees, fanned by refreshing airs, where cloudless skies were darkened by no rude storms, where peace and friendship and quiet rest were interrupted by no tumults or hostile alarms: in the other, the unhappy delinquents would be doomed to perpetual want and strife and hunger amid barren and inhospitable wastes. True, the Indian home of the blessed was but a material paradise, yet, in his simple appreciation, the ultimate enjoyment of its promised happiness inspired in his bosom as much genuine desire, and the hope of entering its joyful confines was as ardent as the longing of the follower of Hassan for his Epicurean garden, or the thirst of the Scandinavian warrior for the prodigal feast in the great hall of Odin.

In all the recorded acts and incidents,— and they are but few,— which illustrate the life of Tomo-chi-chi, there runs a vein of manhood, of honor, of friendship, of generosity, of integrity, of courage, of fidelity, of love for his fellow-man, and of interest in whatever was elevating and of good report, which was quite remarkable in one of his advanced age, confirmed habits, station, and opportunities. We search in vain for a single instance of duplicity, a doubtful word, a breach of faith, a criminal indulgence, a manifestation of hypocrisy. His impulses were good, his influence on the side of truth and justice, and his sentiments at times not unworthy a disciple of Plato. That he was received into the close friendship and companionship of Gov. Oglethorpe, is no mean commendation of his worth. That he was by common consent regarded as the most valued ally of the colonists, entitles his memory to special preservation. His affiliation with the English was marked, and is calculated to excite surprise in the minds of those who do not contemplate the fact that

he appears at the very outset to have formed a just appreciation of the overshadowing influences of that new and superior civilization. He coincided with its impulses and aims, because his judgment assured him of its predestined triumph over every opposition. For the missionaries, as a class, he seems to have entertained a becoming respect, although he may not have yielded himself blindly to doctrines the precise import of which he probably did not fully comprehend. It will not, we presume, be denied, that the religous teachers with whom he was immediately associated, were, in their doctrines, too abstruse for the facile comprehension of the unlearned and the semi-civilized. Besides, they actually devoted but little serious consecutive attention to the evangelization of the Indians. As a general rule, they did not master the language of the natives so as to place themselves in positive sympathy with their hearers. As a natural result, but little was either attempted or accomplished by them. The harvest was plentiful, but the laborers were few and inefficient. To whom much is given, of the same shall much be required. The converse is perhaps equally true; and we would fain hope that this aged son of the forest, who, for aught we know, earnestly endeavored to live up to the teachings of that light with which the God of nature illuminated his pathway,— who, in his contact with a superior civilization, strove to profit, at least in some measure, by its excellencies without suffering contamination from its demoralizing influences,— who brought to a companionship with his new and more powerful neighbors a spirit of generosity, enlarged views, and a maturity of judgment scarcely to be expected in one of his race,— who, in his interviews with the missionaries, manifested a regard for truth and an abhorrence of the shadow without the substance, the

offering without the incense which perfumes and sanctifies it,— did, through the tender mercies of Him who is boundless in His compassion, when his disembodied spirit left the aged and emaciated frame upon the bank of the Savannah, find entrance into a home of peace and forgiveness and love.

CHAPTER VI.

Last public interview between Oglethorpe and Tomo-chi-chi — Mr. Oglethorpe's visit to Coweta — Last illness — Death and burial of Tomo-chi-chi — Concluding observations.

AFTER his return from St. Simon's island it does not appear that Tomo-chi-chi was, for some time, actively engaged in the performance of any services of a public character connected with the affairs of the colony. All probability of an attack from the Spaniards had passed away. The Indian tribes were at peace with their white neighbors, and every one was chiefly busied with those important but tedious details which characterize the occupations of early settlers charged with subduing forests and developing new plantations. Toward the close of 1737 Tomo-chi-chi disposed of his possessions at Yamacraw, and moved about two miles or more, higher up the Savannah river. The history of this primitive alienation is thus told by Mr. Stephens :

1737, *Tuesday, December* 13.—In my walk towards evening, upon hearing of some preparations made for a small collation at the old Indian town, where Tomo-chi-chi formerly lived, which is about a furlong out of town, I went out of curiosity (with some others) to see what passed, and there I found a table spread with a cloth, etc.

Mrs. Matthews (formerly Mrs. Musgrove) was sitting at the end of it with two young girls,— her husband and Tomo-chi-chi near by, and a young shote just ready barbacu'd over a fire in the wood, was set on the table. They asked us very kindly to sit down and take part with them, which one or two did; and we, who had no stomach to eat, did not refuse taking two or three glasses of wine. The occasion of this, I found, was meant as a

treat to Tomo-chi-chi and three or four Indians, upon his making a grant of that spot of land to Mrs. Matthews and her husband; and Tomo-chi-chi addressing his discourse to me by Mrs. Matthews (who interpreted), said to this effect: That he desired notice might be taken of his claim and property in that land; that he had granted it to Mrs. Matthews and her husband, and that he hoped the trustees would not be offended if henceforth Mr. Matthews allowed no cattle to go there but his own; all which I promised to take notice of. N. B. This land begins at the rails near the [1] town's end, runs away west to a small creek, bounded on the north by the river, on the south by several blazed trees, and is judged about two or three hundred acres more or less.[2]

The interests of the colony requiring his presence again in England, and being very desirous of securing at an early moment an additional supply of soldiers for the defense more particularly of the southern and south-eastern portions of the province, Mr. Oglethorpe embarked for the mother country on the 29th of November, 1736. During his sojourn in England his attention was deeply enlisted in raising a regiment for Georgia. In October, 1737, he enjoyed the privilege of kissing his majesty's hand upon receiving his commission as colonel. Sailing from Portsmouth on the 5th of July, 1738, with the compliment of his regiment [several companies having preceded him] and their wives and children, in five transports, convoyed by the men of war, "Blandford" and "Hector," he arrived at St. Simon's island on the 18th of September; nothing having occurred to interrupt the success or the pleasure of the voyage. [3] At Frederica he was received with a salute of fifteen

[1] Savannah.

[2] *A Journal of Proceedings in Georgia, etc.*, by William Stephens, Esq. London, MDCCXLII, I, 59, 60.

[3] See *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1739, 22.

guns, and by the magistrates and townspeople in a mass, who congratulated him upon his arrival, and testified the great sense they had of his majesty's goodness in providing for their security. He remained on the island until the 8th of October. During his stay he was visited by a number of Indians, who reported that the chief men from the towns of the Upper and Lower Creeks would come down and see him so soon as they should be notified of his arrival. To them Mr. Oglethorpe expressed his intention of returning shortly to Savannah, where he assured them he would be most happy to meet and confer with them and the other delegates from the Creek nations. During their visit they hunted every day and brought in venison to the governor.

On the 8th of October, Mr. Oglethorpe set out for Savannah in an open boat, accompanied by two other boats. After rowing two days and nights he reached that town, and was received by the magistrates at the water's side, and saluted by the cannon and the militia under arms. The people spent the night in rejoicings and in making bonfires.

The following day Tomo-chi-chi waited upon the governor. He had been very ill, but the good old man was so greatly rejoiced at his return, that he said it recovered him, making him "*moult like an eagle.*" He informed Mr. Oglethorpe that the chiefs of several of the towns of the Creek nation were at his house waiting to present in person their congratulations upon the safe arrival of the governor, and assure him of their fidelity to the king.

The 13th was designated for their reception. At the appointed time Tomo-chi-chi came down the river from his settlement, bringing with him the mico or king of the Chehaws, the mico of the Oakmuges, the

mico of the Ouchases, and the mico of the Parachacolas, with thirty warriors and fifty-two attendants. As the Indians landed and walked up the bluff at Savannah, they were saluted by a battery of cannon, and escorted by a detachment of militia to the Town Hall, where Gov. Oglethorpe was in readiness to receive them. On seeing him they expressed great joy, and said that the Spaniards had endeavored to persuade them that he was at St. Augustine, and had invited them down to their fort to meet him there. That they accordingly went thither, but as soon as they ascertained the fact that he was not there, they returned, although valuable presents were offered them by the Spaniards who pretended to account for Gov. Oglethorpe's absence by saying that he was very ill on board a ship in the harbor. They further stated that although strongly advised by the Spaniards to fall out with the English, they still adhered to the terms of amity contained in the existing treaties, were firm in their attachment to his majesty the king of England, and had come to testify in person their loyalty. They assured the governor that they would on all occasions assist him in repelling the enemies of the king; that deputies from the remaining towns would come down and express their congratulations and good-will as soon as they were apprized of his arrival, and that the Creek nation was prepared to send one thousand warriors to any point the governor should designate, where they would be entirely subject to his command.

They desired that correct brass weights and sealed measures should be lodged with the king of each town, so that they might be enabled to protect themselves against the false weights and measures of the Carolina traders, by whom they were constantly and sadly defrauded. An invitation was extended to Gov. Ogle-

thorpe to visit their towns during the coming summer, and see their people. This he promised to do. Handsome presents were distributed among them, and the interview terminated with great good feeling. At night the Indians had a dance at which Mr. Oglethorpe was present, and the next day they set out on their return homeward.[1]

Subsequent events demonstrated the necessity for an acceptance of the invitation extended by the Indians to Gov. Oglethorpe during this interview. Alluding to the existing troubles, and his purpose of executing this journey at an early day, Mr. Oglethorpe on the 15th of June wrote the trustees:

I have received frequent and confirmed advices that the Spaniards are striving to bribe the Indians, and particularly the Creek nation, to differ from us; and the disorder of the traders is such as gives but too much room to render the Indians discontented; great numbers of vagrants being gone up without licences either from Carolina, or us. Chigilly and Malachee, the son of the great Brim, who was called emperor of the Creeks by the Spaniards, insist upon my coming up to put all things in order, and have acquainted me that all the chiefs of the nation will come down to the Coweta town to meet me and hold the general assembly of the Indian nations, where they will take such measures as will be necessary to hinder the Spaniards from corrupting and raising sedition amongst their people. This journey, though a very fatiguing and dangerous one, is quite necessary to be taken; for if not, the Spaniards who have sent up great presents to them, will bribe the corrupt part of the nation; and, if the honester part is not supported, will probably overcome them and force the whole nation into a war with England. Tomo-chi-chi and all the Indians advise me to go up. The Coweta town, where the meeting is to be, is near five hundred miles from hence; it is in a straight line three hundred miles from the sea. All the towns of the Creeks and

[1] See *Letter from Savannah*, under date October 22d, 1738.

of the Cousees and Talapousees, though three hundred miles from the Cowetas, will come down to the meeting. The Choctaws also and the Chickasaws will send thither their deputies; so that 7,000 men depend upon the event of this assembly. The Creeks can furnish 1,500 warriors, the Chickasaws 500, and the Choctaws 5,000. I am obliged to buy horses and presents to carry up to this meeting.[1]

On the 17th of July, 1739, Mr. Oglethorpe started upon this adventurous expedition. Accompanied by Lieut. Dunbar, Ensign Leman, and Mr. Eyre, a cadet, and attended by his servants, he proceeded in his cutter up the Savannah. Landing at the Uchee town, five and twenty miles above Ebenezer, where he had engaged Indian traders to meet him with saddle and sumpter horses, the general entered upon his journey of three hundred miles through a trackless wilderness. Along rough ravines, through tangled thickets, and over dreary swamps in which the horses mired and plunged, the travelers patiently followed their native guides. More than once they had to construct rafts on which to pass great rivers, and many smaller streams were crossed by wading or swimming. Wrapped in his cloak, with his portmanteau for a pillow, their hardy leader lay down to sleep upon the ground; or, if the night happened to be wet, he sheltered himself in a covert of cypress boughs spread upon poles. For a distance of two hundred miles the adventurers neither saw a human habitation nor met a single soul; but, as they came nearer to their journey's end they here and there found provisions which the primitive people they were about to visit had deposited for them in the woods. When the general had approached within forty miles of his destination, he was received by a

[1] *Wright's Memoir of Oglethorpe*, 213, 214.

deputation of chiefs who escorted him on the remainder of his way to Coweta, the principal town of the Muscoghee or Creek Indians; and, although the American aborigines are rarely demonstrative, nothing could exceed the joy manifested by these red men on Oglethorpe's arrival.[1]

By having undertaken so long and difficult a journey for the purpose of visiting them, by coming amongst them with only a few attendants in fearless reliance on their good faith, by the readiness with which he accommodated himself to their habits, and by the natural dignity of his deportment, Oglethorpe won the hearts of his red brothers, whom he was never known to deceive. On the 11th of August the chiefs of the several tribes assembled, and the great council was opened with all the solemn rites prescribed for such occasions. After many "talks," terms of intercourse and stipulations for trade were satisfactorily arranged; and Oglethorpe, as one of their beloved men, partook of the [2] *Foskey*, or black-medicine drink, and smoked with them the calumet or hallowed pipe of peace.

On the 21st of the same month was concluded a formal treaty by which the Creeks renewed their fealty to the king of Great Britain, and in terms more full and explicit confirmed their previous grants of territory; while the general, on the part of the trustees, engaged that the English should not encroach upon

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[1] *Letter to the Trustees*, dated Fort Augusta, September 5th, 1739.

[2] Foskey, a decoction of the leaves and young shoots of the *cassena* or *yaupon* (prinos glaber) producing an exhilarating effect. It is prepared with much formality, and, being considered a sacred beverage, none but the chiefs, war-captains, and priests or beloved men partake of it; and these only upon special occasions. Accounts of its preparation and use may be found in *Lawson's Voyage to Carolina* (London, 1709), 90; *The Natural History of Florida*, by Bernard Romans, 94, and *Adair's History of the American Indians*, 108.

their reserves, and that the traders should deal fairly and honestly with them.[1]

Commenting upon this remarkable journey of Gen. Oglethorpe, Mr. Spalding,[2] with no less truth than fervor remarks, "When we call into remembrance the then force of these tribes,—for they could have brought into the field twenty thousand fighting men,—when we call to remembrance the influence the French had everywhere else obtained over the Indians,—when we call to remembrance the distance he had to travel through solitary pathways * * * exposed to summer suns, night dews, and to the treachery of any single Indian who knew,—and every Indian knew,—the rich reward that would have awaited him for the act from the Spaniards in St. Augustine, or the French in Mobile, surely we may proudly ask, what soldier ever gave higher proof of courage? What gentleman ever gave greater evidence of magnanimity? What English governor of an American province ever gave such assurance of deep devotion to public duty?"

Upon this important and momentous mission the aged mico, Tomo-chi-chi, was too feeble to accompany his friend the governor; but we are assured that he exerted his every influence in bringing about the memorable convention, and in securing in advance for Mr. Oglethorpe assurances that he would be received with the utmost cordiality and treated with the most distinguished consideration.

The interview of the 13th of October was the last, so far as the journals of the day give evidence, in which Tomo-chi-chi participated, in a formal public manner, at the head of an Indian deputation. For some time

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[1] See *Wright's Memoir of Oglethorpe*, 215-17.

[2] *Georgia Historical Collections*, I, 263.

previous to his death, his health, we infer, was feeble, and he was generally at home in his new and humble dwelling upon the banks of the Savannah. He had attained the extreme old age of ninety-seven years, and, although remarkably vigorous and active, and in the full enjoyment of his mental faculties, could not resist the inevitable law which finally induces decrepitude, decay and death. His last illness seems to have been protracted, and we may very justly conjecture that during its continuance he was the constant recipient of marked attentions from his friends the colonists, whom he had always so signally cherished, and who should have been most anxious to alleviate his sufferings, most solicitous to prolong his valuable life. Preserving his mental faculties unimpaired to the latest moment of his existence, his dying injunctions and last expressions were but the logical sequences of a life characterized by fidelity, sincerity, truth and magnanimity, friendship and generosity. The following notice of his death and obsequies is borrowed from *Mr. Stephens's Journal of Proceedings:*

1739, *October 4th, Thursday, 5th, Friday, 6th, Saturday.*— So little intermission was found these few days from attending the general's commands, which rather multiplied than abated through his incessant application, that the most material thing which happened abroad that I thought worth noting, was the death of the old mico Tomo-chi-chi, said to be upwards of ninety years of age. And, as the general always esteemed him as a friend of the colony, and therefore showed him particular marks of his esteem when living; so he distinguished him at his death, ordering his corpse to be brought down; and it was buried in the centre of one of the principal squares, the general being pleased to make himself one of his pall-bearers, with five others, among whom he laid his commands on me to be one, and the other four were military officers. At the depositing of the corpse seven minute guns were fired, and about forty

men in arms, (as many as could instantly be found) gave three volleys over the grave, which the general says he intends to dignify with an obelisk, or the like, over it as an ornament to the town, and a memorial to the Indians how great regard the English would pay to all their nations who maintain true friendship with us.[1]

A far more interesting and satisfactory account of the last moments and sepulture of the venerable mico is contained in the following letter written only five days after his lamented demise:

SAVANNAH IN GEORGIA, *Oct:* 10, 1739.

King Toma-chi-chi died on the 5th, at his own town, 4 miles from hence, of a lingering Illness, being aged about 97. He was sensible to the last Minutes, and when he was persuaded his death was near he showed the greatest Magnanimity and Sedateness, and exhorted his People never to forget the favours he had received from the King when in England, but to persevere in their Friendship with the English. He expressed the greatest Tenderness for Gen. Oglethorpe, and seemed to have no Concern at dying but its being at a Time when his Life might be useful against the Spaniards. He desired his Body might be buried amongst the English in the Town of Savannah, since it was he that had prevailed with the Creek Indians to give the Land, and had assisted in the founding of the Town. The Corpse was brought down by Water. The General, attended by the Magistrates and People of the Town, met it upon the Water's Edge. The Corpse was carried into Percival Square. The pall was supported by the General, Col^{n} Stephens, Col^{n} Montaigut, M^{r} Carteret, M^{r} Lemon, and M^{r} Maxwell. It was followed by the Indians and Magistrates and People of the Town. There was the Respect paid of firing Minute Guns from the Battery all the time during the Burial, and funeral — firing with small Arms by the Militia, who were under arms. The General has ordered a Pyramid of Stone,

[1] See *A Journal of the Proceedings in Georgia*, beginning October 20, 1737, by William Stephens, Esq. London, MDCCXLII, II, 152, 153.

which is dug in this Neighbourhood, to be erected over the Grave, which being in the Centre of the Town, will be a great Ornament to it, as well as testimony of Gratitude.

Temo-chi-chi was a Creek Indian, and in his youth a great Warriour. He had an excellent Judgment and a very ready Wit, which showed itself in his Answers on all Occasions. He was very generous, giving away all the rich presents he received, remaining himself in a wilful Poverty, being more pleased in giving to others, than possessing himself; and he was very mild and good natured.[1]

Words, spoken during those supreme moments when the soul seems trembling upon the verge of the eternal world, command special attention, and are invested with peculiar interest when they are the last utterances of the great and the influential. As the light of the planet grows more lustrous as it hangs for an instant upon the brow of a dark and engulphing cloud, so does the intellect not unfrequently increase in the clearness of its conceptions and grow more potent in its utterances as the frail body is sinking into decay and absolute dissolution. The hopes, the disappointments, or the errors of a whole life are sometimes conveyed in a single sentence. A breath foreshadows the wish which lies nearest the heart, the joy which hallows the present, or the fear which invests the future with something terrible. While the closing scenes are not always the logical sequences of the spent life, as a general rule the latest exercises of the mind involve the contemplation of matters of the deepest concern; and we hearken to words then spoken, as to the sayings of one who is reviewing the past in the opening light of the great hereafter. Hence

> * * The tongues of dying men
> Enforce attention like deep harmony,

[1] *Gentleman's Magazine*, x, 129.

and we regard that record as incomplete which pretermits the story of their deaths.

The dying Napoleon dreaming of battle and fancying himself still at the head of his armies,— the poisoned Demosthenes challenging Archias for a commencement of the part of Cleon in the tragedy,— the brave Bertrand Du Guesclin in silence and in tears embracing his constable's sword which he had always wielded with an honorable and a victorious arm, and with his last breath cautioning his old captains to remember that in whatever country they waged war, churchmen, women and children were never their enemies,— Epaminondas delaying the extraction of the spear head from his mortal wound until the memorable battle of Mantinea was won, and then, when the shouts of victory fell upon his ear, exclaiming as he tore the barbed weapon from his side; "I have lived long enough since I die unconquered," — Haydn expending his feeble voice in singing "God save the Emperor," while the French armies were thundering by his garden,— Klopstock rendering his death chamber vocal with the sublime strains of his own "Messiah,"— Mozart deriving supreme solace and delight from his wonderful "Requiem,"— the consecrated memories which cluster about the last words of Ascham, and Addison, and Luther, and Cromwell, and Laud, and Knox, and Hampden, and Buonarotti,— the final scintillations of intelligence in those who have swayed the sceptre alike of thought and empire,— the inspirations of dying painters and poets, and men skilled in the profound secrets of nature,— the calm composure with which saintly men have accepted the "crown of martyrdom," and the air of unshaken constancy with which brave men have confronted the last enemy,— the sublime courage and heroic faith with

which weak women also have met death, these all inspire us with confidence, fill us with awe, furnish lessons of special moment, and awaken emotions which dwell ever with us.

Although the memories bequeathed by the closing scenes in the life of the aged mico are few and unimposing in their character, they are nevertheless pleasing, and afford additional reasons why his name and deeds should be cherished in grateful recollection.

His dying injunctions placed a seal of consecration upon the professions and acts which had characterized his intercourse with the colonists. For himself he expressed no concern: but for his friends at Savannah,—few in number and battling with poverty and the diseases incident to the climate, threatened with most serious molestation by the Spaniards, and still dependent in great degree for their existence upon the goodwill of the natives,—he manifested every solicitude. With his latest breath avowing his regard and affection for Gov. Oglethorpe, encouraging his people to cherish in lively remembrance the kindnesses which he had experienced from the king during his visit to England, and counseling them to persevere in their friendship for the whites, he gave the highest proof of his preference for a superior civilization and of his devotion to the interests of the colonists when he desired that his body might be buried among his friends, the English, in Savannah.

The selection of this spot as his last resting place was most appropriate and fortunate; appropriate, because through his intervention the settlement had been peaceably effected, and the growth of Savannah shielded from those retarding enmities of powerful tribes whose determined opposition would have surely accomplished the early and utter destruction of the colony. Tomo-

chi-chi might almost have claimed that town as the offspring of his fostering care. It was fortunate, because his grave in the heart of the village would hallow the recollections of his acknowledged devotion to the best interests of the colonists, perpetuating even in death the remembrance of his friendship for the whites, and his admiration of the superior civilization which they enjoyed, and would serve to remind his countrymen of the lessons of amity which he had always inculcated. In the appreciation of the Indians the graves of their dead were invested with peculiar sanctity and guarded with ceaseless care. The last resting places of their chiefs claimed general attention, never losing either their distinctive memories or the tribal regard to which they were entitled by common consent. The reasons why this special respect was paid to the bones of their departed are thus stated by the Viscount De Chateaubriand.[1] "The motives of this attachment to sacred relics may easily be discovered. Civilized nations have monuments of literature and the arts for memorials of their country; they have cities, palaces, towers, columns, obelisks; they have the furrows of the plough in the fields cultivated by them; their names are engraven in brass and marble; their actions are recorded in their chronicles. The savages have none of these things: their names are not inscribed on the trees of their forests; their huts, built in a few hours, perish in a few moments; the wooden spade with which they till the soil has but just skimmed its surface, without being capable of turning up a furrow; their traditional songs are vanishing with the last memory which retains, with the last voice which repeats them. For the tribes of the new world

[1] *Travels in America and Italy*, I, 215.

there is therefore but a single monument — the grave. Take from the savages the bones of their fathers, and you take from them their history, their laws and their very gods."

Surely the highest proof that the aged mico could give of his abiding affection for his friends the whites, was the dying request that his body might be buried amongst them. The sequel shows that the influence of this act of confidence and final trust lingered in the recollection of his people long after his bones had mingled with the sands of Savannah. Every respect and the proudest funeral honors were paid to this early and fast friend of the colony. The governor and the most noted men of the city bore him to his grave; — a grave not located in a spot designated for the general dead, but prepared in Percival square. On every hand the citizens assembled to testify the universal sorrow, while minute guns from the batteries gave marked token of the public respect. Nothing was omitted which could evidence the profound esteem and grief of the entire community.

More than a century and a quarter has elapsed since those funeral honors were paid; and the monument ordered by Gen. Oglethorpe has never been erected. Even the precise spot where this Indian chief was interred has passed from the recollection of the thousands who daily throng the streets and loiter among the parks of the beautiful city of Savannah. Neither street, nor public square perpetuates his name, and his memory scarce lives in occasional remembrance. This should not be. Ingratitude, alike in communities and individuals, is a grievous fault; and it is earnestly hoped, for the sake of her good name, in response to the express wish of Gen. Oglethorpe, and as an acknowledgment of the debt of gratitude which she owes

to this noted Indian, that the city of Savannah,— itself a living witness of the enterprise, courage, and taste of the founder of the colony of Georgia,— a city which has rendered such signal tribute to the memories of Greene and Pulaski, will, at no distant day, cause to be erected in one of her high places a suitable monument in honorable appreciation of the virtues and the valuable services of the venerable Tomo-chi-chi.

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