

CHAPTER 4

Attakulakula Visits King George II, 1730: Native American–English Relations

In 1730 America's newspapers carried a series of articles from London concerning the arrival of foreign dignitaries in the British capital. The reports followed the visit of the king, princes, and generals to the sites of the capital and with the nation's political leaders, including King George II. What made the news reports unique was the fact that these leaders were not from other European countries, Africa, or Asia. From North America, specifically the colony of South Carolina, they were the leaders of the Cherokee nation.

The news accounts refer to the Cherokees as the leaders of a nation, and this element of the story is important. This delegation from the largest group of Native Americans in the British colonies of North America had not been brought to England without purpose. They were there to meet with the prime minister and king in an effort to benefit the British Empire politically and financially. As one article explained,

Sir Alexander Cummings, Bart. The Gentleman who lately arrived from South-Carolina, who brought over the Indian Chiefs from the Cherokee Nation, is now employed in drawing up a new Scheme to be laid before Sir Robert Walpole and the Board of Trade, where the Trade, Riches and Power of the British Nation, and of all his Majesty's Dominions may be increased, the Debts of the Nation paid.¹

Before the Cherokees left England, they were treated to royal affairs of state, and they visited privately with King George at Windsor, where the king presented the Cherokees with a purse of money.² In order to ensure

that trade could be enhanced with the Cherokees, London merchants held parties for them, and a ship belonging to the king was outfitted specially for their return.³ The British crown and its merchants did all within their power to make sure that a strong relationship could be cemented between them and this powerful nation in North America. Their perseverance succeeded. Leaders of the two nations signed the Articles of Agreement, which regulated trade between them for the next half century. The Articles also included a pledge made by the Cherokees to fight for the English in the event any country—specifically France—should attack English settlements in America.

Among the Cherokees who traveled to England was a young leader named Attakulakula. Better known to the English settlers of North America as the Little Carpenter, Attakulakula played a vital role in South Carolina and American development through the 1760s. In 1736 he convinced Cherokees not to accept French aid following a failed fall harvest and to remain allied with the English. During the French and Indian War, the Little Carpenter organized groups of Cherokee warriors to fight with the colonists and with British regulars. Attakulakula negotiated the peace settlement between the Cherokees and South Carolina in 1761 that ended the Cherokee War (see Chapter 15).

Attakulakula's significance in America may be seen in an event of 1756. Rarely did Attakulakula refuse to help the English, but when he appeared to break his promise and did not lead an excursion against the French, it was news throughout America. Newspapers in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Annapolis reported the apparent breach with the valued Cherokee leader. South Carolinians, especially, wanted an explanation. That is why the *South-Carolina Gazette* happily reported to its readers on January 27, 1757, that "The *Little-Carpenter* coming to Town is now no longer a Doubt, for we can assure our Readers, that he is already arrived within a few Miles of it." Attakulakula met with the governor and council and resolved the differences.

The political ties between the Cherokees and their leaders such as the Little Carpenter represent part of the diplomacy that occurred in colonial America. Native American nations were viewed as autonomous governments capable of forming alliances with individual colonies as well as with Britain. Native Americans, as was seen with the 1730 treaty between Britain and the Cherokees, were regarded as valuable trade partners. Indians were also viewed as dangerous enemies and were for the most part feared by settlers moving into regions of colonial America sparsely settled by whites and inhabited primarily by Native Americans. This perception of Native Americans led to a dual understanding of Indians in newspapers. For colonials, Indian alliance and trade was imperative, but Indians were also bloodthirsty savages capable of the most horrific atrocities.

This chapter discusses the political relationships between the colonies

and Native Americans as presented in newspapers. It includes reports by both Native American and colonial leaders. Within these news articles, one can see the significance of each group to the other. One also sees how whites viewed Native American groups as sovereign nations and how Native Americans reciprocated. What is also evident is the fact that when the colonies no longer needed Native American assistance or trade, or whenever the numbers of Native Americans within a particular colony decreased to the point they were no longer considered a threat to whites, colonial political actions toward Indians were often harsh. What was needed from Native Americans often determined how the newspaper information was expected to persuade readers.

The first section presents positive aspects of Native American–colonial relationships. It begins with a report during King George’s War that the Six Nations confederacy has renewed its agreements with England and the colonies to fight the French and their Native American allies. The second entry is an eloquent speech made by a Cherokee chief that reaffirms that nation’s loyalty to King George. These accounts are followed by three stories that demonstrate how the colonies attempted to protect Native Americans and their lands because of the sovereign status tribes maintained and because to do otherwise would likely lead to Native American attacks on white settlements. The first two discuss violations of Native American lands and land use. One asserts that whites are violating Indian territory by hunting illegally and must be stopped. The second warns whites not to stop Native Americans from deer hunting at any time. The third, which includes part of an official announcement made by the government of Virginia, places a £100 reward on the head of anyone who killed Indians in the colony’s backcountry.

The last entries in the section on positive political relationships with Native Americans include the Anderscoggin nation’s “Declaration of Independence” from all interference by whites or other Native Americans. It calls for autonomy and respect by all groups for the sovereignty of the Anderscoggin. The last two news reports deal with Native American alliances formed during the Revolution.

The negative political relationship entries in the chapter begin with a speech made by the headman of the Cape Sable Indians to the governor of Nova Scotia. In it, the Indians plead for a place that they may go that will not be taken from them by immigrating whites. It is followed by a warning from a New York resident that colonists must placate Native Americans or the Indians will destroy all whites moving westward into Indian territory. The third entry is an essay written to appear as if it is a news story. In the story, all male Native Americans on the continent obediently hang themselves so that they will no longer be a bother to whites.

The section concludes with a series of three official reports from Massachusetts Governor William Shirley that appeared in the *Boston Evening-*

Post dealing with the Penobscot tribe of New England. In the first, war is declared and bounties are announced on all tribes except the Penobscot. In the second, a bounty is placed on the lives and scalps of all Penobscot. In the third, the Penobscot are told that all of them will be hunted down and killed if they ever cause any more trouble for whites living within their territory.

POSITIVE NATIVE AMERICAN–COLONIAL RELATIONS

OFFICIAL REPORT: “THE SIX NATIONS ALLY WITH ENGLAND”

In 1744 England and France were at war. It was the third time the two European powers had declared war on each other since the two began colonization of North America. Known as King George’s War, the fighting involved Native American on both sides. Because the French had better relationships with most Native Americans than did the British, gaining a fighting alliance with the Six Nations—the largest and most powerful group of Native Americans in the Middle and New England colonies—was seen as vital for the British colonists. In this official report, Massachusetts reported that the Six Nations had promised to help the British and “take up the hatchet” against the French and their Indian allies.

New-York Evening Post, 4 November 1745

Boston, Oct. 28. On the 20th Instant in the Evening the Commissioners appointed by this province, return’d from Albany; and we are inform’d that the Indians of the six Nations have very readily renew’d their Covenant with the several Governments that treated with them; that the jealousies that were raised among those nations the last Winter, are entierly [*sic*] removed: That they have taken the Hatchet against the French and Indian Enemy, and only wait till the Governor of New-York shall order them to make use of it.

AN ANONYMOUS SOUTH CAROLINA WRITER: “THE SPEECH OF CHULOCHCULLAH”

When hostilities between the French and Indians and the British colonies began in 1754, colonial leaders quickly scrambled to firm up relationships with those Native American nations closest to them. South Carolina desperately needed to make sure its alliance with the Cherokees remained intact. For that reason, an official delegation from Charleston traveled into the backcountry of the colony to meet with

Cherokee leaders in 1755. In this anonymously sent report, the speech of a Cherokee headman gracefully describes Cherokee loyalty to King George. At the end of the meeting, the two signed an agreement bound with the seal of the colony.

Virginia Gazette (Williamsburg), 19 September 1755

CHARLES-TOWN, July 31.

HIS Excellency the Governor having, by the Advice of his Majesty's Council, yeilded [*sic*] to the pressing Instances of the Cherokees, to meet them at a Place 200 Miles distant from hence, set out on that Expedition....

The Head-men who were sent hither to solicit this Favor alledged, that at the Meeting, they proposed to consult him about several Affairs, of great Importance to their Nation; that they wanted his Advice, how to secure their Towns against the Attempts of their Enemies, who were very numerous....

The Cherokees have not, like some other Indian Nations or Tribes, wandered and moved from Place to Place, but inhabited the Lands where they still dwell long before the Discovery of America. They have no Tradition, that they came originally from any other Country, but affirm, that their Ancestors came out of the Ground where they now live....

The Cherokees are computed to be three Times the Number of the Six Nations put together; they are a free and independent People; were never conquered, never relinquished their Possessions, never sold them, never surrendered or ceded them.

It would, no Doubt, be entertaining to our Readers, could we acquaint them with all that passed at the several Conferences betwixt the Governor and them, on this Occasion, which lasted six or seven Days, as these Conferences were not only very interesting to this Province, but all his Majesty's Colonies on this Continent: But at present, we can only lay before them the Conferences of the second of July, being the sixth Day....

On Wednesday July 2d Cannacaughte the Chief, and the other Indians, arrived from their Camp...all the Head-men and Head-warriors were placed on Benches fronting them, the other Warriors and Indians (to the Number of 506) sitting all around the Ground under the Trees, Chulochcullah, the Speaker, rose up, and holding a Bow in one Hand, and a Shaft of Arrows in the other, he delivered himself in the following Words, with all the Distinctness imaginable, with the Dignity and graceful Action of a Roman or Grecian Orator, and with all their Ease and Eloquence.

"What I am now to speak, our Father the great King George shall hear. We are now Brothers with the People of Carolina, and one House covers us all: The Great King is our common Father. (At this Time a little Indian Child was brought to him, whom he presented to the Governor with

these Words.) We, our Wives, and all our Children, are the Children of the Great King George, and his Subjects; he is our King, our Head, and Father, and we will obey him as such. I bring this litle [*sic*] Child, that, when he grows up, he may remember what is now agreed to, and that he may tell it to the next Generation, that so it may be handed down from one Generation to another for ever.”

The Indian then opening a small Leather Bag, in which was contained some Earth, laid the same at his Excellency’s Feet, adding, “That they gave all their Lands to the King of Great-Britain; and as a Token of it, they desired, that this Parcel of Earth might be sent to the King, for they acknowledge him to be the Owner of all their Lands and Waters.”...

The Indian then opened another small Bag of Leather, filled with parched-Corn Flour, and said, “That as a Testimony, that they had not only delivered their Lands, but all that belonged to them, to be the King’s Property, they gave the Governor what was contained in that small Bag, desiring, that it might be sent also to the Great King George.”...

The Indian then delivering a Bow and Arrows to the Governor... “The Bow and Arrows which they delivered to be laid at the Great King’s Feet, were all the Arms that they could make for their Defence; they therefore hoped, that he would pity the Condition of his Children, and send them Arms and Ammunition, to defend them against his and their Enemies....”

The Indian then added, “That the new Governor of Carolina and the Head-men of Chotte were both present, he hoped, the Governor of Carolina would soon let the Great King know all that had passed; and that the Head-men of Chotte should let all the Cherokees know, that every Thing that had now passed must be performed, and that it must remain for ever.”

His Excellency the Governor, in a Speech to the Indians... “That, in his Name [King George], he accepted of what they had delivered to him at this present Conference, and promised, that they should be soon sent....

The Governor promised it should be done, and that he would order the Great Seal of the Province affixed to it.

AN ANONYMOUS GEORGIAN: “KILLING BEAVER IN CHEROKEE TERRITORY”

In 1765 the memory of the Cherokee War (1759–1761) was still fresh in the minds of most colonials from Virginia to Georgia (see Chapter 15). Colonies took efforts to ensure that the Cherokees would have autonomy and land. Whenever these guarantees were broken or threatened, newspaper reports alerted officials. In this news story, accounts of beaver

trapping in Cherokee lands are supplied as a warning that the Cherokees have been complaining about white activities on their hunting lands.

Georgia Gazette (Savannah), 28 March 1765

CHARLESTOWN: Several white men from the western parts of this province and North-Carolina, have lately gone into the Cherokee settlements and killed beaver, which occasions some uneasiness, as it is expressly contrary to treaty; and we hear the Cherokees have complained of it; but in the same modest terms they have adopted for two or three years past.

GOVERNOR WILLIAM BULL: "AN ACT FOR THE PRESERVATION OF DEER"

Deer hunting was imperative for the Native American nations in the Southern colonies. As whites pushed farther west in South Carolina, land for hunting decreased for Native Americans. In Governor William Bull's decree, he limited the hunting of deer by South Carolinians while reminding all that Native Americans, in this case the Catawbias, had rights to hunt deer at any time. The move was a good one politically for South Carolina because it maintained friendly ties with the tribes in the colony.

South-Carolina Gazette; and Country Journal (Charleston), 3 April 1770

Charlestown: WHEREAS it has been represented unto me, that the CATAWABA INDIANS have lately been interrupted in their Deer-Hunting by sundry Persons, from a Misapprehension, that the Act passed in the last Session of the General Assembly, intituled, "An Act for the Preservation of Deer, and to prevent Mischiefs arising from hunting at unseasonable Times," extended to them, I DO therefore think fit, by and with the Advice of his Majesty's honourable Council, to publish this my Proclamation, to NOTIFY, That in and by the said, Act, it is provided, that nothing therein contained should extend, or be construed, to extend, to deprive the Indians in Amity with this Province, of any Right or Privilege, that they are intituled to, by Virtue of any Treaty now subsisting between them and this Government; and I DO THEREFORE hereby strictly inhibit and forbid any Person or Persons whatever, to interrupt or hinder the said Catawba Indians, or any Indians in Amity with this Government, in their Deer-Hunting, for the future.

Wm. Bull.

GOVERNOR FRANCIS FAUQUIER: "SETTLERS WANTED IN THE MURDER OF CHEROKEES"

In 1759 a group of Cherokees returning to South Carolina after fighting with colonial and British troops against the French were killed for the bounties placed on Native American scalps by Virginia. The action, in part, led to an uprising of the Cherokee that lasted until 1761. When a group of Cherokees was attacked in 1765 and five were killed, Virginia Governor Fauquier placed bounties on the heads of those involved, the amount of money equal to or greater than the rewards given for Indian scalps during the French and Indian War.

New-York Mercury, 3 June 1765

WILLIAMSBURGH: WHEREAS a party of Cherokees arrived at Staunton in Augusta, and intended to proceed from thence to Winchester, having obtained a pass from Col. Lewis for that purpose, were on their way thither attacked by upwards of 20 men, and their Chief, and four more of the said Indians killed, and two others of them wounded, in violation of the treaties subsisting between that nation and us: That such villains may not escape with impunity, and that the honour of the country may be vindicated and maintained, by inflicting the severest punishment on such atrocious violators of the laws, I have thought proper, by and with the advice of his Majesty's Council, to issue this proclamation in his Majesty's name, hereby promising a reward of One Hundred Pounds for the apprehending and securing each or any two who shall be proved principal promoters of and ringleaders in the said murders, and Fifty Pounds for every one of the others who was aiding and assisting therein; and I do further offer a pardon to any person concerned in the same, and not an actual perpetrator of murder, who shall make a full discovery of the principal actors therein, so that they may be brought to Justice.

THE ANDERSCOGGIN NATION: "DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE"

The Anderscoggin Indians lived in New Hampshire, Maine, and Canada. Their name came from the central river of the region, now spelled Androscoggin. Their declaration of independence coincided with the beginning of the Revolution. In this declaration, the Anderscoggin acknowledge the autonomy of all groups and the right to protect one's land from encroachment. Readers should pay attention to the land rights and issues of privacy addressed by the Anderscoggin.

New Hampshire Gazette, and Historical Chronicle (Portsmouth), 5 May 1775

Portsmouth: A LETTER from the Anderscoggin Tribe to Col. SAMUEL THOMPSON of Brunswick.... WE allow that passive Obedience, and Non-resistance, is only due to the Laws of God, and our own Tribe.

We allow that Unanimity in our own Tribe, or among the Tribes of this Land, strengthens like the Bone of Steel, and Sinews of Brass.

We allow for the keeping up, & nourishing that Unanimity, it is necessary that the Heads of the Tribe should assemble often together.

We allow that every Sannop, Squaw, and Papposs should stand to, and abide by the Determinations and Resolutions agreed to by the Heads of the Tribes when so assembled.

We allow that Mobs and Tumults in any Tribe, relaxes their Nerves, breeds Contentions, Confusions, and every evil Work ensues.

We allow that every Indian's Wigwam, is his own Citadel of Defence, in which he has a Right to defend himself, his Squaw & Papposs.

We allow that every one's Person and Property ought to be protected by the Laws of his own Tribe.

We allow that if any Tribe or even white People with their great Canoes should attempt to stop our little Canoes from going to catch Fish, get Clams, sell our Furs and Skins, or to buy Rum, their great Canoes ought to be set on fire, as ever they come into our River Anderscoggen.

We allow that no white People or great Folks ought to endeavour to stop or hinder our Tribe from meeting together when we please.

We allow that no other Tribe of black or white Folks ought to come and build Forts on any of our Land without the Leave of the Heads of our Tribe, or buying the Land first of us.

We allow that every Tribe on this our Land ought to make their own Sagamors, Sachems and Captains, to learn & instruct their young Men in the Use of the Bow, the Tomahawke, and Scalping-Knife, & to muster them together often for that Purpose.

The above were the Sentiments of our Tribe when assembled last. We shall assemble at Scundogoda, on Anderscoggin River, the next new Moon; and after that will send you our further Sentiments on the Affairs of the present Times. Selah.

AN ANONYMOUS REPORT: "NO INDIANS FOR ENGLAND"

With the outbreak of the Revolution, America and Britain scrambled to align Native Americans as allies, just as had been done during the French and Indian War. Here, a writer from Massachusetts explains that no tribes have yet allied with England.

New-York Mercury, 14 August 1775

Cambridge: ... We can't yet learn that a single Tribe of Savages on this continent have been persuaded to take up the Hatchet against the Colonies, notwithstanding the great Pains made use of by the vile Emissaries of a savage Ministry for that Purpose.

AN ANONYMOUS REPORT: "SIX NATIONS TO REMAIN NEUTRAL"

Every time Americans could report something positive during the Revolution, especially during the first few months of fighting, they did so. In this article from Connecticut, warriors from the Six Nations report on the nations' neutrality. Not having the Six Nations fight against Americans was good news and its appearance in newspapers no doubt helped bolster American resolve to fight.

Connecticut Journal, and New-Haven Post-Boy, 16 August 1775

NEW LONDON: We hear from Westmoreland, in the western Part of this Colony, that last Thursday se'nnight about 50 Indians of the Six Nations came to that Place, and incamped at a small Distance from the Settlement; the next Day they came in and delivered a Message, which was to this Purpose.——That they were sorry to hear of the Difference which subsisted between Great-Britain and the Colonies——That they should not take up the Hatchet on either Side——That they meant to be at Peace with the English as long as the Stream ran down the Susquehannah River——That should Difference in future arise between us and them, they would try every gentle and healing Measure to obtain Redress of the Grievance——That as Col. Guy Johnson had left his Habitation, and they were destitute of a Superintendant, they desired Col. Butler to take upon him that Trust; and that the Place for holding their future Congresses might be Westmoreland.

NEGATIVE NATIVE AMERICAN–COLONIAL RELATIONS

CAPE SABLE INDIANS: "SHOW ME WHERE I CAN GO"

In most cases, whenever colonial governments no longer felt they needed alliances with Native American tribes, hostile decrees were issued against the Indians. In this notice, the Cape Sable Indians acknowledge that there is nowhere left for them to go, that they have been driven from all that once was theirs by the whites. In a passionate plea, the

Cape Sable leaders request that the whites tell them where they can go to live in peace because all they believe that is left for them is death.

Pennsylvania Gazette (Philadelphia), 2 January 1749 (1750)

Boston: Dec 4. The place where thou art, the place thou dost lodge, the place where thou dost fortify, the place where thou thinkest to establish, the place thou desirest to make thyself master of; that place is mine.

I am sprung from this land as doth the grass, I that am a savage, am born there, and my fathers before me. This land is mine inheritance, I swear it is, the land which God has given to be my Country for ever.... Shew me where I an Indian can retire. 'Tis thou that chasest me; shew me where thou wilt that I take refuge. Thou hast taken possession of almost all this country, insomuch that Chebucta is my last recourse; yet thou enviest me, even that spot, thou wouldst drive me from that.... The worm creeping, that creeps, knows how to defend itself when attacked; surely savage as I am, am better than a worm, and must know how to defend myself when attack'd. I shall come to see thee soon; yes, trust me, I will see thee.—I hope that what I shall hear from thy own mouth will afford me some comfort.—I greet thee well. Signed, All the Savages of Isle Royal and Malkakonnock.

AN ANONYMOUS REPORT: "THE INDIANS MUST BE OUR ALLIES"

The colonial situation in 1755 was precarious. Unless colonists could thwart French attacks, British Colonial America would cease to exist under British rule. In a simple statement from Boston, an unidentified writer pleads that the colonies' governments do all in their power to make alliances with Native Americans. To do anything less, the writer intimates, will mean sure defeat.

Boston Gazette, or Weekly Advertiser, 28 January 1755

If the Indians are neglected, and nothing more done to secure them in our Interest than has been, Time will shew the great Disparity between us (be we ever so regular) and the Indians in the Woods; for we are an unequal Match to them in the Wilderness.

AN ANONYMOUS WRITER: "THE 'GRAND' INDIAN CONGRESS"

Writers to newspapers sometimes liked to present imaginary events as if they had happened. In this anonymous letter to the Maryland Gazette, the writer speaks of a congress of Native Americans where all the men obligingly kill themselves. By 1765—in the East—the numbers of Native Americans had been reduced greatly, and most colonists no longer felt

that treaties were needed with Indians or that Indians needed to be treated with any kind of equality. This vision demonstrates how Native Americans often were not considered human and their removal a blessing.

Maryland Gazette (Annapolis), 20 June 1765

His Majesty's Agent in order effectually to prevent all farther Ravages by those barbarous Savages, had summoned all the Indians in America to meet him at a grand Congress, at which every individual adult Indian in America attended; the whole Number amounting to Three Million Five Thousand Seven Hundred and Thirty-four. At this Congress the Agent informed them... that they were a People whose Promises could not be relied on; and that from the immense Increase of the Whites the Country would soon be too narrow for both, if they were really determined to give the highest Evidence in their Power of their Loyalty and Affections to the Crown of Great-Britain, and of their so frequently pretended Friendship for him.... Upon which the whole Audience who all heard him very distinctly and easily took the Hint, unanimously rose up and immediately went and hanged themselves.——It is thought that the Subject of Ways and Means how to dispose of their Wives and Children to prevent the tragical Consequences of the Repopulation of America by such Savages, will be one of the first that will engage the Deliberation of the Parliament at their next Sitting.

GOVERNOR WILLIAM SHIRLEY: "DECLARATION OF WAR ON NATIVE AMERICANS"

Early in the French and Indian War, Native American tribes took sides with either the French or the British. In this decree from Massachusetts Governor William Shirley, all tribes in the colony except one are declared enemies of the colony. The governor offered a bounty on the scalps of Native Americans, even those of children.

Boston Evening-Post, 16 June 1755

I Have therefore thought fit to issue this Proclamation, and to Declare the Indians of the Norridgewock, Arresaguntacook, Weweenock and St. John's Tribes, and the Indians of the other Tribes now or late inhabiting in the Eastern and Northern Parts of his Majesty's Territories of New-England, and in Alliance and Confederacy with the above-recited Tribes, the Penobscots only excepted, to be Enemies, Rebels and Traitors to His Most Sacred Majesty: And I do hereby [*sic*] require His Majesty's Subjects of this Province to embrace all Opportunities of pursuing, captivating, killing and destroying all and any of the aforesaid Indians, the Penobscots excepted....

I have thought fit to publish the same; and I do hereby promise That there shall be paid out of the Province Treasury to all and any of the said Forces, over and above their 'bounty upon Enlistment, their Wages and Subsistence, the Premiums or bounties following, viz.

For every Male Indian Prisoner above the age of Twelve Years, that shall be taken and brought to Boston, Fifty Pounds.

For every Male Indian Scalp, brought in as Evidence of their being killed, Forty Pounds.

For every Female Indian Prisoner, taken and brought in as aforesaid, and for every Male Indian Prisoner under the Age of Twelve years, taken and brought in as aforesaid, Twenty-five Pounds.

For every Scalp of such Female Indian or Male Indian under Twelve Years, brought as Evidence of their being killed, as aforesaid, Twenty Pounds.

GOVERNOR WILLIAM SHIRLEY: "A BOUNTY ON PENOBSCOT SCALPS"

The Penobscot were considered allies of Massachusetts in June, but by November 1755, they, too, were declared enemies of the colony. In this decree, the governor offers a bounty for Penobscot scalps, just as he had on other Native Americans in June. The Penobscot no doubt had reacted to bounty hunters who did not care to what tribe an Indian belonged because an Indian scalp brought money.

Boston Evening-Post, 10 November 1755

BOSTON: ... Forevery Male Penobscot Indian above the Age of Twelve Years, that shall be taken within the Time aforesaid and bro't to Boston, Fifty Pounds.

For every Scalp of a Male Penobscot Indian above the Age aforesaid, brought in as Evidence of their being killed as aforesaid, Forty Pounds.

For every Female Penobscot Indian taken and brought in as aforesaid and for every Male Indian Prisoner under the Age of Twelve Years, taken and brought in as aforesaid, Twenty-five Pounds.

For every Scalp of such Female Indian or Male Indian under the Age of Twelve Years, that shall be killed and brought in as Evidence of their being killed as aforesaid, Twenty Pounds.

GOVERNOR WILLIAM SHIRLEY: "WE TAKE POSSESSION OF PENOBSCOT LAND"

By 1760 the Americans and British had successfully driven the French and Indians from most places in the colonies. In addition, Massachusetts' war against the tribes within its borders had depleted them. As a

result, Governor Shirley no longer felt that any alliances or treaties were necessary with Indian nations. In this report, the governor tells the Penobscot to either assimilate or leave the colony.

Boston Evening-Post, 12 May 1760

Boston: WHEN the Governor was at Penobscot the last spring in order to take possession of the Country and build a fort therein, he sent the following message to the Penobscot Indians by some of the tribe who had come in.——Tell your People that I am come to build a fort at Penobscot and will make the land English——I am able to do it——and I will do it; if they say I shall not, let them come and defend their land now in time of war——take this red flag to remember what I say: When I have built my fort and set down at Penobscot, if ever there be an English man killed by your Indians——you must all from that hour fly from the country, for I will send a number of men on all sides the river, sweep it from one end to the other and hunt ye all out....As to the people of Penobscot, I seek not their favour nor fear them, for they can do me neither good nor harm——I am sorry for their distress and would do them good, let them become English, they and their wives and families, and come and live under the protection of the fort, and I will protect them.

NOTES

1. *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), 1 December 1730, 4.

2. For assorted stories about the Cherokees in London, see *Boston News-Letter*, 15 October 1730, 1; *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 15 October 1730, 4; *Boston Gazette*, 23 November 1730, 2; *New-York Gazette*, 15 December 1730, 2; *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), 22 December 1730, 4.
3. *Boston News-Letter*, 19 November 1730, 1.