CHAPTER VIII.

The Indian Trader--Old Anthony Park--Daugherty the first trader among the Cherokees--Peltries and Packhorses—First legislative Act in relation to the trade--The character of the traders—The Governor of Carolina interested in the traffic—Alexander Cameron—The first Board of Commissioners, &c.

The Indian trader of the Cherokee Nation was a far more interesting character than either the hunter or cow-driver. Devoted as he was to the arts and wrangle of gain, he nevertheless possessed not only a fearless intrepidity, but a high order of intelligence; and in more than one instance education and extraordinary learning. "He advanced without ceremony into the heart of Indian settlements;" and for the sake of pushing his lucrative business, was content to live, in many instances, a long life-time, deprived of the comforts and amenities of civilized society.

Speculative men have drawn comparisons between savage and civilized life, highly colored in favor of the former. Their theories have been acted upon ever since the discovery of America by individuals, who, turning their backs upon the society in which they were reared, have voluntarily chosen a residence among the Indians. Of this description there were several, who, at an early day, had settled among the Indians, at a great distance from the

white people. Anthony Park—of whom we have already spoken—one of the first settlers of the back-country, and who lived to a very advanced age in Newberry District, traveled, in 1758, a few hundred miles among the Indians to the west of the Alleghany Mountains. He found several white men, chiefly Scotch or Irish, who said that they had lived among the Indians as traders twenty years, a few from forty to fifty, and one sixty years. One of these said that he had upwards of seventy children and grandchildren in the Nation. If these accounts be correct, the oldest of these traders must have taken up his abode among the savages four hundred miles to the west of Charleston before the close of the seventeenth century, when the white population of Carolina scarcely extended twenty miles from the sea coast.*

In 1690, several years before the English settlers on the Ashley knew that such a people as the Cherokees existed, one Daugherty, a trader from Virginia, ventured to take up his residence among them for the purposes of traffic.† And from this time, numerous adventurers in search of trade and fortune, began to frequent all the towns, and great war-paths of the Nation. The business proved, for a considerable time, exceedingly profitable; vast quantities of peltry were purchased from the Indians, and being conveyed on pack-horses, sometimes by water, to the markets of Charleston, and other ports, were readily

* Dr. Ramsay, vol. I. † Ramsey's Anls. of Tennessee.

disposed of to merchants, who entered largely into the traffic.

This system of exchange was exceedingly advantageous to the English adventurer; for a few trinkets, looking-glasses, pieces of colored cloth, hatchets, and guns of small value, he could procure, on the Savannah and Catawba, peltries which, in Charleston, would command many times their original cost. And unequal as it appears, it would have conferred real benefits upon the Indians, as well, if it had been possible thus to introduce among them many articles of which, in their savage state, they stood in real need, without introducing, at the same time, evils that first corrupted and afterwards ruined them.

The trade during this period, and until 1716, was conducted solely under the auspices of individual enterprise. But now partly for the sake of its enormous profits, and partly with the design of having better control of the Indians, in view of the public safety, the Provincial Government assumed the direction of all its affairs, and conducted them, ever after, as a great public monopoly. And, like all public monopolies, it was not long before it began to exhibit a lack of the energy and life that had previously made it the most lucrative business in America.

So true it is that commerce even with savages, as all other institutions growing out of the natural wants and activity of human society, has its laws, that may not be violated with impunity. Even-handed justice would have required, however, that

the evil results which followed should fall exclusively upon the offenders; it will be seen that they fell heaviest upon the poor Indians.

As early as 1707, the exciting abuses of the trade, the rapid profits of which, had allured into the Indian nations many irresponsible men of the most despicable character, induced the passage of an Act by the Assembly, by which a Board of Commissioners was instituted to manage and direct everything relating to the traffic with the Indians; and all traders were compelled, under heavy penalties, to take out a license as their authority in the nation.

The same Act embodies all the principles, and most of the regulations, by which the trade was henceforth to be conducted, and contains, besides, no little incidental history, in relation to the Indians and the times:

"Whereas, the greater number of those persons that trade among the Indians in amity with this government, do generally lead loose, vicious lives, to the scandal of the Christian religion, and do likewise oppress the people among whom they live, by their unjust and illegal actions, which, if not prevented, may in time tend to the destruction of this province; therefore, be it enacted, that after the first day of October next, every trader that shall live and deal with any Indians, except the Itawans, Sewees, Santees, Stonoes, Kiawas, Kussoes, Edistoes, and St. Helenas, for the purpose of trading in furs, skins, slaves, or any other commodity, shall first have a license under the hand and seal of the Commission-

ers hereafter to be named; for which he shall pay the public receiver the full sum of eight pounds current money. The license shall continue in force one year and no longer, and he shall give a surety of one hundred pounds currency. One of the conditions to which he was bound under this surety was, never to sell or give to the Indians, under any pretence whatever, any rum or other spirituous liquors. We shall have ample reason to observe with what conscientious strictness this obligation was discharged. No ammunition was to be disposed of to hostile Indians, under the penalty of being declared guilty of felony, and deprived of the benefit of clergy.

The Commissioners were to frame general instructions, to be given to every trader applying for a license, and likewise particular instructions and orders, according to the diversity of time, place, and other circumstances. To these instructions the traders were to give implicit obedience, under the penalty of forfeiting their license. They were forbidden, under heavy penalties, to seize the person of any free Indian, and sell him as a slave; they were not to extort from the Indians any skins or other goods by means of threats and abuse. Previous to this, it appears, that the Governors of the Province had been greatly benefited, and perhaps too much influenced by the numerous valuable presents made them by the various Indians in alliance with the authorities in Charleston. It is now provided that the public receiver, pay to the present Governor the sum of one hundred pounds annually, in lieu of all

Indian presents whatsoever; and the same provision shall effect his successors forever.

The Act fixes the equivalent for these Indian presents at one hundred pounds; it was in reality, however, twice as large. In the manuscript Records of Columbia, there has been ferreted out an old correspondence between Gov. Nath. Johnson and the Assembly, "in which two hundred pounds were offered as an equivalent for his Indian perquisites, and refused. In 1716 the annual compensation was two hundred pounds."*

By the same statute was also appointed the first General Indian Agent, whose duty it was to reside during the entire year—excepting two months, allowed him for business in Charleston—among the Indians, for the purpose of inquiring into and redressing their grievances, and deciding all disputes between them and the traders. He was also to act as a magistrate and justice of the peace, with power to decide cases involving sums of one hundred and fifty dollars—there being the right of appeal to the commissioners.

Many will recollect that Alexander Cameron, the deputy superintendent of the celebrated John Stewart, was a leading magistrate, at his residence of Lochaber, in the present territory of Abbeville, at the commencement of the Revolution. John Stewart was one of the last general superintendents of Southern Indians in alliance with Great Britain, as Thomas

*Prof. Wm. J. Rivers.

Nairne—appointed under the Act whose provisions we are considering—was the first agent. Of both Steuart and Cameron we shall have much to say in another place.

The bond of the agent, or superintendent, was fixed at two hundred pounds, and his salary at two hundred and fifty—equivalent to about twelve hundred and fifty dollars. There is a curious item in this old statute, assigning a special duty to the agent, which savors of the ancient belief that something wonderful and enriching was yet to be disclosed in the deep solitudes of the north-western wild: "It is also ordered, that if the agent, or his lawful successors, can procure any person residing among the Indians, or who may hereafter go amongst them, to undertake to make any new discovery, or settle any new trade, such person shall be rewarded by the House of Commons for such discovery as they shall think fit."

It was finally enacted that nine commissioners should be appointed, to direct, as before related, the whole business of the trade. The first Board was composed of the following gentlemen: Ralph Izard, James Cochran, Robert Fenwick, Col. George Logan, Lewis Pasquereau, Richard Beresford, John Ash, John A. Motte, and Major John Fenwick.*

Such were the first public enactments, and provisions, for the management of the Indian trade. All else, however, was free and untrammelled; the

* Statutes of South Carolina, Vol. 11.

traders went and came, as they pleased; trafficked, as yet, in any part of the Nation; bought their own goods, and bartered them on terms sufficiently remunerative to the Indians for peltries and slaves, which they disposed of in Charleston with equal freedom. And the laudable designs of the government, with no mean pecuniary advantages, would still, in great part, have been secured, if the commissioners had continued to adhere rigidly to the spirit of these provisions.

One of the principal grievances which they sought to remove was the employment, in the Indian country, of men of vicious practices, who brought disgrace upon the English name, and endangered, by their crimes, the safety of the province; yet, it was not long before the temptations of the license fee, or a want of foresight, induced them to proceed in such a manner as to increase, rather than diminish, the evil. Bad men were now licensed to do violence to the poor Indian, and to the principles of justice and humanity; and so great a number of traders of all characters found authority to drive their fortunes in the traffic, that a far worse state of things was soon experienced than ever before.

The adventurous, wild life of the trader, as well as the prospect of enormous profits, held out peculiar attractions to men who, anxious to acquire wealth, cared nothing for the means by which they attained their end. The Cherokee towns, as well as those of the Creeks and Chickasaws, lay far beyond the border; and though frequently visited by their

watchful agent, were yet well fitted for the residence and operations of the lawless.

A large portion of the commissioners' time, at each meeting of the Board, was consumed in hearing and considering abuses in the Nation, and on the trading paths. Their records abound with the minute particulars of these perplexing irregularities.

At one of their meetings, in 1710, Richard Edghill, P—— G———, and Captain Musgrove, were cited to answer for the alleged crime of having reduced to slavery several free Indians. G——— had seized an Indian fellow named Ventusa, and his wife; Musgrove, Masoony; and Edghill, Diego. They were required by the Board to prove these Indians lawful subjects of slavery. Musgrove, it appears, was exceedingly oppressive and troublesome to the Indians. They brought another complaint against him, to the effect, that in the spring of the same year, he had gone to one of their towns and ordered all the people to turn out and hoe his corn, under penalty of a severe flogging for every one that refused.

Capt. Musgrove is also mentioned as commandant of a caravan of twenty-three pack-horses, which was sent from Carolina to the factory among the Creeks, in the winter of 1817; and he is, without doubt, the same successful, though unscrupulous trader whose history has been given, in good part, by the historians of Georgia, under the name of John Musgrove.

Oglethorpe, on his first ascent of the Savannah

River, found him established, with his famous half-breed wife, Mary, on the same bluff where now stands the chief city of Georgia. "This Indian, Mary, was born in the year 1700, at the town of Coweta, upon the Chattahooche, in Alabama. Her Indian name was Consaponaheso, and, by maternal descent, she was one of the Queens of the Muscogee Nation, and the Indians conceded to her the title of Princess. When ten years of age, her father took her to Ponpon, in South Carolina, where she was baptized, educated, and instructed in the principles of Christianity. Afterwards, she fled back to her forest home, laid aside the civilization of the English, and assumed the ease and freedom of the happy Muscogee. In 1716, Col. John Musgrove was dispatched to the Chattahooche, by the government of Carolina, to form a treaty of alliance with the Creeks, with whom that colony had been at war. It was there stipulated that the Creeks were to remain the free occupants of all the lands east, as far as the Savannah River. The son of the British negotiator, John Musgrove, had accompanied his father to Coweta, and falling in love with the Princess Mary, made her his wife. After remaining in the Nation several years, and after the birth of their only child, they removed to South Carolina. There residing several years, in much happiness, they afterwards established themselves upon Yamacraw Bluff, at the head of an extensive trading house, where Oglethorpe found them. By his alliance with this remarkable woman, who was well versed in the Indian

and English languages, Musgrove obtained considerable influence over the natives, and became exceedingly wealthy. Mary was afterwards the warm friend of Oglethorpe, and several times saved the early colonists of Georgia from savage butchery.*

On the death of Musgrove, she married Captain Jacob Mathews; and, becoming the second time a widow, was finally married to Thomas Bosomworth, a clergyman of the Church of England, and of notorious memory. We will not inflict upon our readers the voluminous details of her subsequent history; it fills, with that of her ambitious husband, a large and inglorious part of the early annals of Georgia and Carolina. After her death, the disconsolate Bosomworth married her chambermaid.† They lie buried on St. Catharine's Island.

One Joss Crosley, a trader, having become jealous of his Indian mistress, laid hold of a suspected Indian and abused him in a most barbarous manner; and when Cocket, another trader, and who acted as interpreter on this occasion before the Board, interfered to save the fellow's life, Crosley turned upon him, and beat him till the blood issued from his mouth.

P—— G——— took an Indian girl, against her will, to be his mistress, and when she objected to his

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* Pickett's History of Alabama.

† Whoever is fond of investigating the truth of history under difficulties, can be amply gratified in the numerous closely-written manuscript pages devoted to the Bosomworths in the Journals of the Secretary of State's Office, Columbia.

violence, he cruelly beat her. He also conceived a jealousy, even, of the girl's own brother, because he had accepted from her a trifling present of a few beads, and beat him as he had done the sister. These things, it is recorded, greatly grieved the Indians. On another occasion, he made a girl drunk with rum, and locking her in his room, threatened to take the life of her mother if she did not go off, and leave her daughter with him.

It was often the case, when the licenses of many of the traders expired—which they did at the end of one year—that they continued to traffic, nevertheless, without renewing them according to law. In 1710, the following traders had their bonds put in suit for this offence: Capt. John Jones, Matthew Smallwood, Anthony Probat, James Lucas, Abram Pierce, Joseph Crosley, Roger Hoskins, Alex. Clark, William Smith, Theophilus Hastings, William Scarlett, and John Jones. A few of these delinquents were sufficiently refractory to tear to pieces, in the presence of the agent, the warrants that had been sent up for their arrest. James Lucas reported to the Board that Capt. Musgrove had unjustly detained two of his Indian slaves; and one Capt. Fitch brought the complaint that the Appalechian Indians had killed his *ram*, for which he had seized two of their guns. A Captain Peterson was also notorious for his abuses among the Indians. From a letter addressed by the Board to their agent in the Pocotalligo towns, we made the following extract: "We will do all we can to assist you in

abating these abuses, particularly the settling of the white men upon the Indian lands. We are but a bare Board, and your complaints being of so high and grievous a nature, as we with you believe, tend to the utter ruin and desolation of the government, if not timely prevented; we thought fit to send you this in answer, and that we would have you proceed with vigor in the defence of the province."

This same agent, one Wright, came down soon after from the Yamassee towns and reported to the Board the bonds of several traders who desired licenses; among them were, Even Lewis, James Patterson, William Ford, Thomas Simonds, Alex. Mackey, Nicholas Deas, Thomas Seabrook, and Capt. John Cochran. He presented on the same occasion several of the Yamassee chiefs, who had come down to make some inquiries in relation to certain abuses of the traders. They were introduced with two interpreters, Bray and Cockct, and the conference began by the Indians representing to the Board, that an agent had been sent up to their towns to redress their grievances, and to acquaint them that their *rum debts* should be forgiven them. They added, that they had come down, to learn, themselves, from the Commissioners, if this was true. The president assured them that such was the fact, and more: not only were their rum debts not to be exacted of them, but they should not be required to pay the debts contracted with the traders by the relations of any of them, for whom they had not engaged to stand.

The traders were in the habit of selling goods

without scruple to the most worthless of the Indians, with the expectation of persuading or of compelling, if necessary, their more active and thrifty relatives to discharge the debt. The president of the Board finally remarked to the chiefs, that it was impossible to prevent unprincipled traders from carrying up rum to their country. They further complained of several white men, who were encroaching upon their hunting grounds; these were Thomas Jones, John Whitehead, Joseph Bryan, Robert Steel, John Palmer, and Barnaby Bull. The Board promised that they should be removed.

The following year Capt. John Cochran was charged with having sold a free Indian as a slave; and one Cornelius McCarty, with the seizure of the wife and child of a warrior, who was absent on a war expedition against the enemy. The Board decided that the woman and child should be sent for and brought back from New York, where McCarty had sold them as slaves.

This forcible reduction of free Indians to slavery, became, at this time, so great an evil, that the Board ordered, as something of a preventive of the nuisance, that no trader should purchase an Indian as a slave, until he had been, at least, three days in the town of the warrior who captured him. None were subject to slavery but those taken fairly in war; and so profitable was the traffic, even under this general restriction, that the traders in their scrambles for the newly captured prisoners, in the possession of friendly bands of Indians returning from war, that

they hastened to meet them even in the woods, and at distant points on the war-paths—every one struggling to acquire for himself the largest profits from the last spoils of the war.

The oppressive abuses, necessarily growing out of such irregularities as these, called loudly for the interference of the public authorities.

The first introduction of the Cherokee Indians to the people of Carolina, took place in Charleston in 1793, on an occasion similar to that which we have just seen brought down the Yamassees, to complain to the Governor and Council, that the Savannahs and Congarees had attacked their extreme eastern settlements—now the territory of Chester and Fairfield—captured their people and sold them as slaves to certain merchants of Charleston.*

In 1711, Stephen Beadon was summoned before the Board, and asked what he knew of one John Frazer's beating the King of Tomatly? He answered, the common report was, that Frazer was apt to beat and abuse the Indians; he had forcibly made a slave of one of the people of Cohassee, and had sold an Indian boy into slavery, which he had been ordered to hold, until it could be ascertained whether or not he was a slave.

It was in the summer of the same year, that circumstances arising from some of these abuses, occasioned the first notice in the State records of the Waxhaw Indians, and the warlike Catawbas. The

* Pickett's History of Alabama.

superintendent, John Wright, was ordered by the Board to proceed with all expedition to Savannah Town—(of this more in another place)—and thence send messengers to the Waxhaws, Esaws, and Catabas, inviting their head men to meet him and the chiefs of Savannah Town at the house of one Benjamin Clea, where he was to inquire strictly into all the complaints recently made to the government by those nations.

Notwithstanding this display of confidence on the part of the Board towards this agent, he was not long after charged with having forcibly taken possession of Ahela, a relative of the King of Tugaloo, whom he sold into slavery, though she was declared to be a free woman of the Cherokees. He was likewise instrumental, it was asserted, in driving the Alabama Indians away from the Carolina trade to that of Mobile, by seizing several slaves belonging to a man of that nation, and giving them up to one Gower, to whom the Indian owed nothing.

The first mention made of the Cherokees in the old State records, occurs in 1713, in the following entry: Two Cherokee women it was asserted before the Board, were held in slavery by one Peter St. Julian, a farmer, who lived in the country on the road leading from Charleston to the Congarees. He was ordered to appear before the Board and answer the charge.

At this period, therefore, it is obvious, that many of the traders engaged in the commerce with the Indians, were much more intent on dealing in slaves

or Indian captives, than on legitimate barter of goods and peltries. And the greater portion of the testimony afforded by the ancient records of the trade, in relation to its abuses and irregularities, are found principally connected with the wrongs and oppressions of the authorized commerce in Indian slaves. It came to be a custom with a few of the most hardened to keep a body of slaves around them in the Nation, whom they sent out to war with the other Indians, in order to add yet more largely and expeditiously to their profits arising from the sale of captive enemies.

In 1711, the Board, fully aware of this inhuman practice of some of its licensed traders, issued the following order to them all: "You shall permit none of your slaves to go to war on any account whatever." Yet not long after this, the complaint, in one instance, at least, was brought down, that a trader had sent out a body of his slaves to war against the enemy.

We shall present, from the same source,* but one more example on this head; and it is one which for cool, diabolical atrocity, was surely never surpassed, even in the gloomy traditions of Guinea and Dahomey. There lived at this time near the present Silver Bluff, in Barnwell District, a small detached tribe of Indians, known as the Euchees.†

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* Records of Indian Affairs, in the Secretary of State's office, Columbia.

† Their lands extended from Brier Creek south, to the site of a town afterwards built by the Georgians and named Ebenezer.

The name of their town was Chestowee. Two men connected with the Indian trade, Alex. Long and Eleazer Wiggon, had frequent dealings with these people as well as with the more numerous Cherokees, and their chief object, it appears, were the gains arising from the sale of captive Indians. Be that as it may, it happened, on a certain occasion, that Long, and an Indian from Chestowee, had some difficulty in their trafficking, and came to blows and a struggle, in which the Euchee tore away from Long's head a portion of his hair. Long, not less vindictive than the savages around him, from that moment vowed vengeance against the whole Euchee race. But his desire to be avenged, though deep and lasting, was not without a method and calculation that looked to the main profits of his trade.

He resolved upon the destruction of Chestowee, and the capture, from its ruins, of as many slaves as he could get for his portion, among the several accomplices necessary for the accomplishment of such a scheme. His plan was soon arranged, and no trader in the Nation, it appeared, was better acquainted with the men best fitted to assist him in the work. Eleazer Wiggon, a kindred spirit, was let into the secret, and was to share in the expenses and profits of the venture. Crossing the mountains, he paid a seeming business visit to some of his acquaintances among the Over-Hill Cherokees, and was soon in close conference with three or four of their head men—with the leading warrior of Euchasee, and a Capt. Flint, and Cæsar, and some three

others. Everything was settled to his satisfaction; it was agreed that these Indians should pass stealthily beyond the mountains, and make a clandestine attack upon the unsuspecting and defenceless Euchees. The pretext was, that the Euchees, some time before, had murdered some of their people. Long, in order to make sure of his game, exhibited to his accomplices a forged order from the Governor, ordering the destruction of the Euchee town, for the alleged offence against the Cherokees. He was to supply the powder and ball necessary for the enterprise, and the spoil was to be equally divided among them. It was afterwards confessed, that the reason they did not invite the lower Cherokees to join them was, that there would have been too many to claim shares in the anticipated spoil. Cæsar and his companions set out, and having crossed into the lower settlements, passed silently through, and came at night fall, like hungry panthers, in striking distance of Chestowee. They then halted, and having coolly painted and decorated themselves for the diabolical work, rushed, with a whoop upon the town, and soon wrapped it in flames. The frightened Euchees, completely surprised, made, it appears, little resistance, but suspecting the object of their enemies, hastened to collect their wives and children in the war-house of the town, and preferring to see them dead rather than the slaves of their persecutors, cut the throats of them all with their own hands.

Long afterwards testified before the Board, that he and Wiggon had received, as their portion of the

spoil, but one woman and five children, which they had claimed in lieu of a debt due them by the unfortunate Euchees. It is only necessary to add, that others swore, on the same occasion, that both Long and Wiggon, had been heard to declare that if they could bring about the destruction of Chestowee, there would be a "*fine parcel of slaves in the market.*"

After a patient hearing of the case—for it was brought, at once, before the Board—it was resolved that Long and Wiggon were guilty, their licenses were taken from them, their bonds put in suit, and a request made the Governor that he would proceed with the utmost rigor against them in the Court of Sessions.

These practices were a disgrace to the people and the times, and impartial truth requires this account of them at our hands. It cannot be shown, however, and no recreant Southerner or God-forsaken agitator of another section needs assume it as true, that South Carolina for one moment winked at these abuses, in order to enhance the profits of a lucrative traffic.

Full and special instructions, on this head, were repeatedly, and from the first public recognition of the trade, enjoined upon all connected with it. "You are," said the Board to its agents, "to acquaint all persons trading among the Indians with the duty incumbent upon them by this Act, which you are hereby ordered to publish and read to them, and to give them such other instructions as you shall think good for the safety of the province and the trade.

"You are to use your utmost endeavors to regulate the *lives of the traders*, so that they give no offence to the Indians, and bring no scandal against the Christian religion; keep them, at least, within the bounds of morality, and to this end rebuke all actions that tend to the contrary. If any one so rebuked, persist in his course, let us know him."

In the statute of 1707, already mentioned, a special clause was provided for this abuse, "That if any person trading among the Indians, shall, by his own confession or verdict of a jury in any Court of Session or gaol delivery, be convicted of selling any free Indian for a slave, at any time after the ratification of this Act, shall, for every such offence, forfeit the sum of sixty pounds current money of this province; and for want of such payment shall receive such corporal punishment as the Judges of the General Sessions shall think fit, not extending to life or limb, and upon conviction of such offender the Indian slave so sold is hereby declared free."

"It shall be your constant aim to promote peace and good-will among all nations of Indians with whom we trade, and to engage as many others as possible, to embrace our friendship and amity."

This last clause, so far even from a *legitimate* provision for the trade in captives, was the severest blow that could have been given its prosperity; for it will be recollected, that none but the prisoners of tribes at war with Carolina, and her Indian allies, were subject to slavery. In the proportion therefore, that she extend her amity and trade to the surrounding

nations, in the same measure was the field lessened for the operations of the Indian slave trade.

But one of the expressed designs of the Assembly, in assuming some authority in the direction of the lucrative commerce with the Indians, was to secure the safety of the province by the abatement of its abuses.

The question, however, may be asked, should a Christian people have tolerated such a practice under any form, with or without its abuse?

The circumstances by which the colony was then surrounded, clearly vindicate its humanity as well as its discretion, in the measures enacted for the enslavement of even the poor Indians. As late as 1703, the entire population of Carolina, did not exceed four thousand souls; out of these, there could scarcely have been mustered eight hundred fighting men; yet they were surrounded on every side, except that of the sea, by countless hordes of warlike savages, whose prowess in arms they had already too many reasons to know was formidable; while still more bitter and impressive had been their experience of the remorseless cruelty with which they disposed of their unfortunate captives—a calm, untortured death at the stake even, being far too tame and unexciting to gratify the devilish spirit of revenge, which it was both their nature and glory to indulge.

It was impossible that the colonists could have dealt with such enemies by the ordinary rules of humanity and policy. When captured, as they often were, in the conflicts which took place on the border,

or far beyond it, between hostile tribes and friendly nations in alliance with the English, it was absolutely necessary to destroy them there—to shoot them in cold blood in the streets of Charleston, imprison them for life, or ship them to the West Indies as slaves.

A healthful sensibility will hasten to choose the last alternative as the one most honorable, as well as prudential, for an intelligent Christian people; and this was just the course adopted by our forefathers. The famous traffic in African slaves had already begun under the auspicies of the motherland, and her slave ships were opportunely at hand, provided with every necessary appliance for securing similar cargoes on the coasts of Carolina, whence they conveyed them to the West Indies or to the more northern colonies.

This traffic began under the wise administration of Gov. West, and was continued just so long as the safety of the colony required that its numerous Indian captives should be so disposed of, or massacred in the province.

It would appear, however, from the following letter, written by a Catawba trader, one Matthew Toole, to the Board, that this plea for its continuance was protracted through many years. "The Catawbas held a council yesterday in the king's house, and have resolved to go with the English against the French. They want me and my people to go with them, and we are willing to do so, even without pay, on one condition—that we be allowed to keep, as our own

property, whatever plunder in the way of *Indian slaves* we may be able to capture." This transpired as late as 1754, in the midst of Braddock's war, and there are frequent intimations in the records, as we approach this period, that Indian captives were used as slaves, and not merely styled such from long previous, but now obsolete usage. Their regular delivery in Charleston, however, and exportation from the province, had, doubtless, ceased long before this period. Few of them were suffered to remain in Charleston after being once disposed of in the market, and the owners of those few, it appears, were to treat them as wards or apprentices. Col. Barnwell, it is recorded, took an Indian boy, and stipulated with the authorities to have him taught letters and a useful trade.

He purchased him for the term of nineteen years, paying down ten pounds, and entering into bonds in the penal sum of five hundred pounds to the Commissioners and their successors, for setting free the said boy at the expiration of that time, and that he shall not export him; and shall, further, educate him in a Christian-like manner, and cause him to be taught some useful trade.*

Those who are at all acquainted with the Indian character, know that the mere fact of their being almost constantly at war among themselves, formed no just ground for the conclusion that either the

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* Journal of Indian Affairs.

English, or any other civilized people in contact with them, instigated their hostilities. War was their passion—the necessary excitement to their otherwise indolent natures. Adair says, of the Cherokees, that it was impossible for them to live without war.

The traffic in Indian slaves began about four years after the first settlement of Charleston. The English colonists had already made considerable openings in the forest around their town, and were planting and embellishing farms, and rearing on them in great abundance the domestic animals and fowls, so necessary to the comfort, as well as beauty of an Englishman's home, when the Stono Indians, whose hunting grounds joined the plantations on the west, not caring, or not being able, in their frequent hunting rambles on the border, to discriminate very readily between the tame geese, turkeys and stock of the planters, and the wild birds and animals belonging to the wilderness, freely made game of them to the great injury of the English.

The latter vigorously resented these encroachments, and killed several of the savages while in the act of depredating upon their property. An Indian war was the consequence, in which many of the whites suffered death in return, with the usual barbarities of the red man's vengeance. A strong military force was called for. Those of the colonists who were not immediately interested in defending the farms, or in retaliating upon the Indians for the loss of relatives, manifested great reluctance

to obey the summons. Indeed the treasury was low, and men are not apt to turn out in the public defence without pay.

Gov. West, in this emergency, resorted to the plan of fixing a price upon every savage that should be taken and brought alive into Charleston.

Numerous adventurers now volunteered their services, and the war, after a protracted struggle, was brought to a close by the overthrow of the refractory Stonoes, and the lucrative transportation of many of them to the West Indies. The plan worked well. It was applied to succeeding Indian wars—even to those waged between hostile tribes and the red allies of the English. Hundreds of dangerous savages were thus disposed of in the most humane manner possible under the circumstances, and with a pecuniary reward to the struggling farmers, of which they stood in much need; for their lands, tilled as yet by no efficient laborers, had returned them little else than their bread. A new impulse was imparted to every branch of business, and prepared the way, in a great measure, for the speedy reciprocal introduction into the colony of savages of a darker hue from Africa, whose magic touch converted the before almost valueless plantations into mines of wealth.

And so long as this traffic was regularly and honestly conducted, neither humanity nor good policy had, perhaps, anything to regret. It was not purer, however, than other wordly interests, whose profits are sufficient to excite the rapacity of bad men, and abuses followed apace. We have already shown

with what care and assiduity the authorities of Carolina labored to remove these, and to load her with the odium of their existence, is as illogical as it is historically unjust. As well may the whole body of bank officials in the country be charged with robbery, since several of their number proved disgracefully untrustworthy in the last financial panic.

As well may the whole population of the free-soil States of the Union, be charged with the horrors of the middle passage, because so many of their own citizens and seamen are the chief agents in promoting the present contraband slave trade; or the entire people of New England with evils, which surpass, according to a truthful eye-witness, all the calamities of the slave traffic itself, inflicted upon the natives of Western Africa, by the annual importation of her *rum.**

As in the case of the African slave trade, evidently ordered, despite the whining fanaticism of both North and South, in the righteous providence of God, for a blessing upon the negro race, infinitely nobler in its magnitude and preciousness than any ever granted from the same source to the perishing red man; the

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* This is asserted by the Rev. Leighton Wilson, missionary to Africa, in his recent interesting work on the tribes of Western Africa. It is very probable that the saintly people of New England are not aware of the fact, that while Southern slave-holders are oppressing the poor negroes with the stupendous wrong of making them work in their cotton and rice fields, *they* are *murdering* them by wholesale, at long shot, with mean rum, in Africa; for, Mr. Wilson being a Southerner, his book has doubtless never reached the luminous regions around Massachusetts Bay.

duty of the colonists was to guide, with a firm hand, the passing course of events which they were appointed to direct, mitigating, as far as possible, the necessary abuses as they arose, and committing the gracious results to the wisdom of Him who first designed them.

Seventeen years after the Stono war, so considerable and lucrative had the peltry trade become, that it was decreed by the Assembly, that an impost duty laid upon its commodities, should supply a revenue to be used in all such emergencies as had inaugurated the traffic in Indian captives. Their preamble strongly sets forth the straitened and exposed condition of the colony. "In the former several invasions of this province, the want of a public treasure hath occasioned such delays in the preparations, and in providing such necessary provisions, men, arms, boats and ammunition, as might easily—by God's blessing—have repelled and utterly defeated the enemy, which, for want thereof, have inflicted and done great depredations on the persons of theire Majesties' subjects and estates in this colony. And since the several persons who employ themselves in trading with the Indians, by reason of the distance, the most convenient place for that trading lyes from the settled part of this colony, cannot possibly, upon like occasions, if any such happens, (which God forbid,) personally give their assistance in defence of this colony; it is, therefore, enacted, that a duty be laid on all skins and furs exported from any part of this province; for every deer skin not stamped or tanned,

three pence; for every pound avoirdupois of beaver, seven pence half-penny; for every otter skin, three pence; for every fox or calf skin, one penny; for every boare* skin, six pence; and for every raccoone skin, one half-penny, and soe proportionably for a greater or less quantity to be disposed of, as is hereafter provided." †

In 1695, it was again enacted, for the same purpose, that every skin shipped from Charleston should pay a duty of one penny each. A little later, a specific sum was raised from this impost to discharge the debt incurred by the first expedition against St. Augustine. Indeed, during these early calamitous years of the colony's history, and until the introduction of an efficient complement of laborers by the welcome providence of the African slave trade, her only source of regular revenue was the active peltry traffic with the Indians. As late even as 1686, a fund of three hundred pounds was raised, by assessment on all the people, to defray the expenses of the public defence against the hostile incursions of the Spaniard: for he had "several tymes made incursion into his Majestie's colony, robbing and burning several of the inhabitants' houses, pillaging their stores, and murthering and carrying away divers of his Majestie's subjects."

It cannot be denied, that the government of South Carolina instituted and sustained for years the traffic

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* This must be a misprint for bear.

† Statutes of South Carolina, Vol. ii.

in Indian captives and slaves—just as she chooses now to maintain the traffic in negroes—yet has neither the increased enlightenment, nor the enlarged humanity of her people, tended in the least to convince them that in so doing they have been guilty of any great moral wrong. Indeed, thanks to the abuse and opposition of their enemies, the fierce discussions and patient investigations into which they have been driven in defence of their rights and safety involved in this momentous question, have led them almost insensibly, but surely, to an elevated stand-point, from which they decry, at one view, the tottering, crazy systems of social reform that fanatics would foist upon them, and the truthfulness, the unspeakable superiority of their own well-tried institutions.

The full time has come when our people are to light their torches of wisdom from purer fires than those that burn on the altars of Northern fanaticism. The slave trade is no more incompatible with the genius of Christianity, than are the evils incident to poverty and disease in the ordinary providence of God. While the dispositions of mankind remain as they are, certainly no greater calamity could befall the race than that men should become universally prosperous and healthful. In a like sense, has the slave trade been indirectly productive of incalculable moral good; to millions of benighted Africans, and to millions more of native bondmen, it has been as a rock in the heated desert, as a house of refuge from the storm and tempest.

The inexorable logic brought to bear upon this question by numerous able writers of the South is telling silently, but widely, upon the popular mind. The chief obstacle in the way of a complete apprehension of this view of the question appears to be the laudable scruples of many who are yet unable to reconcile the practical details of the traffic in slaves with the right precepts of morality and religion.

Do they not, who thus hesitate, overlook the important fact, that in the arrangements of divine Providence, however distasteful to men, or incongruous with their notions of morality, there are many things that must be left without a word to the decrees of the all-wise Governor of the world. Gamaliel was a good philosopher as well as learned teacher, and his famous argument in relation to a far nobler institution than any that has since attracted the attention of mankind, is not out of place here. If this thing be of God, it will prosper, and the world be vastly the better for it. If it is not, it will speedily come to naught.

It is unnecessary to relate, how that for more than four hundred years, the African slave trade has continued to subsist with various fortunes, but steadfast energy; how the efforts that have been put forth by the great powers of the earth to suppress it, have resulted chiefly in augmenting in a tenfold degree the enormities of its abuses, and how at this moment, the unscrupulous monarchies of Europe, bitterly repentant of their egregious blunder of emancipation, but not of their hatred to the cotton-producing

States of America, have already set about restoring it to more than its pristine vigor, under the fraudulent device of the "apprentice system."

The practical relations of the traffic to the principles and sentiments of a Christian civilization, may be familiarly illustrated. The manufacture of brandy, notwithstanding its lamentable abuse by many, yet supplies the world with one of the necessaries of its domestic and mechanical uses. That was a day of fanaticism and crude notions, which declared the manufacture, and all use of alcoholic liquors unnecessary, and a foul blot upon the piety of the people. Who now, will, so far, risk his reputation, as to persist openly in such an opinion? Yet it is not inconsistent to say, that the *Christian* may not become a professed manufacturer or vender of strong drink, any more than he should become a fanatical shrieker against all who do make such employments their daily business. The abuse of them, is the only legitimate object of his reprobation and attack.

A Christian citizen of South Carolina may not engage in the Southern, domestic trade in negroes; but will he take the ground that *nobody* should do it, because inconsistent with his character and profession? If he does, then, as a consistent, as well as conscientious man, it becomes him to speak out boldly, and assert before the world the injustice and atrocity of all Southern slavery. Let the question be reviewed as it may, there is no neutral ground to stand upon in a fair discussion of it. It is either right in the sight of God, and frought with bless-

ings for both master and slave, or it is not, and deserves the opprobrium and condemnation of every good man. If the first view be the true one, then in no sense, can negro trading be condemned any more, at least, than the manufacture and legitimate vending of alcoholic liquors can be.

Again, war is sometimes a necessary evil, and will continue to be so, as long as sin and pride find a resting-place in the human heart, despite all the unspeakably sublime and foolish morality of the Elihu Burrett school. The manufacture and sale of bowie-knives and Colt's revolvers, becomes, therefore, one of the necessities of national progress and defence, and even, under some circumstances, of individual safety;* and while the intelligent Christian may not resort, for a livelihood, to the manufacture and dissemination of those deadly weapons, he cannot cry down those who do, nor refuse, when duty and patriotism prompt the act, to buy and use them in his own and country's defence with all the strength with which God has endowed him. The opposite sentiment is the prevailing morality of that section, where, for *a consideration*, all the bowie-knives and revolvers used in the country are manufactured.

These illustrations afford, as we conceive, a strong popular argument in favor of slavery as it exists in the South; for there are specific benefits inherent in the institution, and the foreign slave trade, *properly*

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* The habit, however, of carrying deadly weapons should stigmatize every one guilty of it, as a coward and unfit for the society of the decent and virtuous.

conducted, which surpass all the ordinary claims in favor of the uses of alcoholic liquors, and weapons of defence. The following remarks on this important subject from the able and judicious pen of Bishop Elliott, formerly of the South Carolina College, should be read and studied deeply by the people of the upper-country; for the time is already upon them, when manfully, they must contend, as they have never yet contended, for the rights and institutions with which a munificent God has entrusted them; and a soldier fights all the better, for having a clear view, and an immovable appreciation of the faith that is within him:

"It is well for Christians and philanthropists to consider whether, by their interference with this institution, they may not be checking and impeding a work which is manifestly providential. For nearly a hundred years the English and American churches have been striving to civilize and Christianize Western Africa, and with what result? Around Sierra Leone, and in the neighborhood of Cape Palmas, a few natives have been made Christians, and some nations have been partially civilized; but what a small number in comparison with the thousands, nay, I may say millions, who have learned the way to heaven, and, who have been made to know their Saviour, through the means of African slavery! At this very moment there are from three to four millions of Africans educating for earth and for heaven in the so vilified Southern States—educating a thousand ways of which the world knows nothing—edu-

cating in our nurseries, in our chambers, in our parlors, in our workshops, in our fields as well as in our churches; learning the very best lessons for a semi-barbarous people—lessons of self-control, of obedience, of perseverance, of adaption of means to ends; learning, above all, where their weakness lies, and how they may acquire strength for the battle of life.

"These considerations satisfy me with their condition, and assure me that it is the best relation they can, for the present, be made to occupy. As a race, they are steadily improving. So far from the institution degrading the negro, and keeping him in degradation, it has elevated him in the scale of being much above his nature and race, and it is continuing to do so. Place an imported African—of whom a few still remain—side by side with one of the third or fourth generation, and the difference is so marked that they look almost like distinct races—not only in mind and knowledge, but in physical structure.

"That monkey face, the result of an excessively obtuse facial angle, has become, without any admixture of blood, almost as human as that we are accustomed to see in the white race; and it has a facial angle, as distinctly a right angle as that which belongs to the Caucasian family. The thick lips have become thin; the dull eye is beaming with cunning, if not with intelligence; the understanding is acute and ingenious. Their knowledge, when they have been instructed by missionaries or by owners, is re-

spectable. A man has been made out of a barbarian—an intelligent and useful laborer out of an ignorant savage—a Christian and a child of God out of a heathen: and this is called degrading the African race, by holding them in slavery! Such language is only of a piece with miserably false sentimentalism which is pervading the world: such sentimentalism as thinks it cruel that a child should be disciplined or a criminal punished—which looks so tenderly upon the means as quite to overlook the great *end those means may be working out.* God's ways are not discordant with this way of slavery. He who sees everything in its true aspect—with whom a thousand years is as one day—in whose sight the light affliction of this life, which is but for a moment, is far outweighed by the glory which is to follow, cares very little for the present means through which his will is working. What is it that a man should be a slave, if through that means he may become a Christian? What is it that one, or even ten generations should be slaves, if by that arrangement a race be training for future glory and self-dependence? What are the sufferings—putting them at the worst—which the inhumanity and self-interest, and the restraints of law, can inflict for a few generations, when compared with the blessings which may thus be wrought out for countless nations inhabiting a continent? What is to be the course and what the end of this relation, God only knows. My feeling just now is, that I would *de-*

fend it against all interference, just as I should defend my children from any one who would tempt them to an improper independence; just as I should defend any relation of life which man was attempting to break or to violate, ere the purpose of God in it had been worked out."