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WILLIAM & MARY DARLINGTO MEMORIAL LIBRARY ENIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH

# NOTICES

OF

# east florida,

WITH AN ACCOUNT

OF THE

## Seminole Nation of Endians.

PP 6 6 6 444 p

BY A RECENT TRAVELLER IN THE PROVINCE.

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CHARLESTON:

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR.

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1822.

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## ADVERTISEMENT.

THE author of the ensuing Notices having travelled in East Florida, and had opportunities of associating with persons well acquainted with the country, is induced to hope, that the information here offered to the public, will not prove unacceptable at this time, when much attention is drawn towards the new territory, by its recent addition to our Union.

Charleston, June, 1822.

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## NOTICES

OF

# EAST FLORIDA.

### CHAPTER I.

HE portion of Florida, lying to the east of the St. John's, having been long known, has been often and pretty accurately described. Such, in fact, is its uniformity of surface, that a very few words would serve to give a correct idea of its general character, and of the nature of its chief vegetable productions. While the sea-coast is much broken and indented by short streams, creeks, and inlets; the rest of the country, with the exception of one or two rich swamps, and the narrow hammocks\* along the rivers, may be described as an immense and sterile forest of firs, interspersed with cypress and pine ponds, and a few inconsiderable lakes. Though there be thus a deficiency of good lands, what there is of these, compensates by its value, for its comparative scarcity; being capable of producing a greater variety of staples, than soils of similar quality, in any other part of the union; while even the extensive pine

<sup>\*</sup> According to Noah Webster, hommoc is the proper orthography of this word.

barrens are not without their utility, as they afford excellent grazing grounds for cattle, and from the nature of the climate, are not altogether insusceptible of cultivation.

The lands included in the bend of the St. John's, at the head of the Diego Plains, are fertile and tolerably well settled; and are abundantly stocked with oak timber, which forms a valuable store-house of materials for ship-building; and has already afforded considerable

supplies to our Navy.

The Diego Plains, which commence a few miles from the head of the North river, and extend for twelve or fourteen miles, until intersected by the hammock lands about Pablo Creek, are said to afford good pasturage; and from their extent, would maintain large herds of cattle. They are bordered on the west, by a Cabbage Swamp, or region of low hammock, which might be easily drained and reduced to cultivation. To the south of this, occurs Twelve-Mile Swamp, which runs nearly parallel with the coast, and is distant about fourteen miles from St. Augustine. This is a very fertile tract, overshadowed with a rich growth of the various species of laurel, oak and bay, and cypresses of extraordinary girth and altitude. By means of St. Sebastian's Creek, which heads near it, it might be easily connected by navigation with St. Augustine; and its produce thus, at once, conveyed to a market, or to a point where it might be conveniently shipped.

The soil, immediately within the vicinity of St. Augustine, though light, is good and lasting, and is considered as remarkably fine garden ground, producing most kinds of vegetables and fruits in great perfection. On the small peninsula which extends in the rear of the city, several flourishing Orange Farms are cultivated, which are said to yield a good profit to their owners.

If, indeed, the usual calculation be correct, that each tree is annually worth ten dollars, and that an hundred of these can be raised to the acre, the orange, as far as the demand for it goes, would prove a more valuable

export than either cotton or sugar, and will doubtless, attract the attention of American settlers.

As it is said to require ten years to establish a grove, there is, therefore, no danger of the market becoming suddenly overstocked. The beauty of these groves, their evergreen shades, and boughs laden with vegetable gold, that recall to the imagination, the classical fable of the orchards of the Hesperides, cannot fail to occasion their being extensively multiplied, if only as ornamental objects, and pleasant summer retreats.

To the south of St. Augustine, there is some very good land on Matanza River, which, though having in some places, the poor appearance of beach sand, yet produces cotton of the finest quality, equalling in firmness, and length of staple, the best sea-islands, and surpassing the latter in silkiness of texture, so that it has commanded five cents more per pound than the cotton of St. Simons,

in the markets of Liverpool.

The hammocks along the Musquitto, Tomoka, and other rivers and inlets further south, are thought by competent judges, to be peculiarly adapted to the cultivation of sugar, and afford also considerable bodies of live oak—the value of which, as a material for our Navy, I have already adverted to.

On the banks of Haw and Dunslake Creeks, there occur, some small but rich savannas, which might be made to produce abundantly, any of the southern sta-

ples, or would form fine ranges for cattle.

The eastern banks of the St. John's, as far up as Bonavista, are generally high, and consist of narrow and insulated strips of hammock, well suited to the growth of cotton and provisions. Beyond Bonavista, the river loses somewhat of its lake-like character, and winds in reaches, bordered by partially inundated swamps, and interspersed with small and low islands. These islands and swamps, with but few interruptions, continue to characterize the stream to its source, while at Little Lake it resumes its embayed form, which it preserves to its termination, ending, as has been

demonstrated by the late expedition of Captain Le-

conte, in an extensive lake.

As the St. John's is not subject to freshes or violences of any kind, but has a remarkably gentle and equable current; it is the opinion of most of the residents of the country, that the low hammocks and islands along its course, might be very easily banked in, and so far freed of water, as to admit of their being planted in rice, which cultivation, having a tendency to elevate the soil, would ultimately prepare these lands for the reception of the sugar cane.

Colonel Forbes, in his Sketches, observes—"The planting of rice has the singular and double advantage of elevating the land, by the stocks it leaves, and of subduing it, by drawing off the subtle juices. When the rice ceases to be productive, the sugar cane re-

places it very advantageously."

The practicability of reclaiming all these tracts, seems, indeed, to be demonstrated, by the fact of rice having been cultivated on a large scale, during the British time, at Mount Tucka; a plantation lying on both sides of the river, near the mouth of the Ocklewahaw. The remains of a canal, cut into the swamp, for facilitating the harvest of the crop, are still to be seen at this place.

The timber of the pine barrens that abound in the country, is not of a very good quality. The trees are often below the usual height, and grow so sparsely, that the sun, in their regions, has nearly as much power as on an open plain; and the traveller, in the midst of a

wilderness, often experiences the want of shade.

The usual undergrowth is the fan palmetto—the roots of which, protruding lengthways out of the soil, give the ground, in many places, the appearance of being floored, or rather, logged over, in every direction, and renders the footing very bad for travelling. These districts, however, afford very good pasturage, and are said by many, to produce corn, potatoes, and the upland rice, very well. They would, undoubtedly, be

suitable to the olive, and perhaps the vine—both of which, delight in a poor and sandy soil. This poverty of a great proportion of the country, is further counterbalanced by the extraordinary abundance of the seas along the coasts, which are stocked with a greater variety and quantity of fish, than are to be found upon the coasts of any other parts of the United States. The fisheries along the rivers and inlets, would alone support a considerable population.

I think it, then apparent, that, notwithstanding the unfavourable aspect of the country to the east of the St. John's, it will be found, upon examination, that the soil possesses capabilities, which, if properly called forth, would place this division of Florida on a level, in advantages, with any other portion of the Union, of

similar extent.

We have seen, that the richest staples, and most of the tropical fruits can be produced upon its best lands; while the poorer districts are well adapted to grazing, so that both exports and provisions; both the means of commerce, and abundant living, might be readily drawn forth from this really favoured region. The present condition of the Province, affords no criterion by which

to judge of its capacities for improvement.

The revolutionary movements of the soi-disant Patriots, and the marauding conduct of many of General M'Intosh's followers, affected the total destruction of most of the settlements of the country. And the subsequent negotiations for the transfer of the Province to the American government, occasioned the Spaniards, who intended to remove, as soon as this event took place, to neglect all cultivation, or further improvement of their property.

Hence, the new acquired territory came into our possession in an impoverished and depreciated state; from

which, it will require some time for it to recover.

That this country is capable of being rendered highly productive, and valuable, there can be no rational doubt entertained; and an extensive inter-communication between its different parts, may be readily affected, by means of the numerous navigable waters with which it is every where intersected. By a canal of not more than six miles, the head waters of the North River may be connected through Pablo Creek, with the St. John's; and an excavation, or ditch, of no greater extent, would, by means of Six-Mile Creek, divert the latter stream into the harbour of St. Augustine.\*

The St. John's penetrates through the very centre of the Province, and answers all the ends of the most judiciously contrived canals, running in a direction the best adapted to the purposes of internal trade.

A town, therefore, of some commercial consequence, must soon arise upon the banks of that majestic stream. Though St. Augustine, from the shallowness of its bar, will probably never attain to much importance as a sea-port; it yet seems likely to become a great summer resort, both for health and pleasure, from the extraordinary salubrity and amenity of its climate.—Those who arrive there in an invalescent state, never fail to derive immediate benefit from its temperate and restorative air; and pulmonary patients experience a remarkable relief, by even a short visit to the place, and are generally cured by a prolonged residence in it.

Colonel Forbes, in his Sketches, remarks—" That the climate of East-Florida is more uniform, than in any part of the continent, without either extreme; being too remote from the north, to admit the dominion of the cold winds to prevail long enough for any sensible effect, while its proximity to the south, affords the mild and refreshing coolness of the trade winds. Accounts from all quarters, correspond in representing St. Augustine as the Montpelier of North-America; to which the healthy repaired for refreshment, and invalids for health.

<sup>\*</sup> It is thought by many, that bringing the waters of the St. John's into the harbour of St. Augustine, would have the effect of deepening the bar, by the increased momentum that would thus be given to the tide, at its ebbing.

This does not depend upon bare assertion, but can be substantiated directly by facts. One of these facts to be relied upon, was the extraordinary healthiness of the 9th British regiment, which quartered and performed garrison duty there, for eighteen months, and never lost a man by natural death. A detachment of artillery, which arrived from the West-Indies, in a sickly state, soon recruited, and left no traces of the contagion."

The usual range of the mercury, is from seventyfour to eighty-eight degrees, and rarely or never sinks below thirty. The fatal sickness of the last season, was undoubtedly occasioned by a combination of circumstances, that can scarcely ever occur again, without the most wilful neglect on the part of those, who are

charged with regulating the police of the city.

Previous to the transfer of the place to the American authority, the Spaniards having contemplated quitting it as soon as the event took place, had neglected most of the precautions of cleanliness which they usually adopt, so that great accumulations of filth were formed in the streets, and different yards and lots. The removal of these was injudiciously attempted in the midst of the heats, and when there existed a great degree of moisture, from an unusually rainy season. The stirring of these sources of disease, at a time when the city was filled with strangers, who were mostly from high northern latitudes, and when the effect of the effluvia was aided by an uncommonly sickly season, unquestionably gave rise to the dreadful epidemic which desolated the town during the last summer; and impaired, in the minds of those who had no opportunities of examining into the subject, its long established reputation for healthfulness.

Dr. Irvine, in his Treatise on the Yellow Fever, was the first, I believe, among our Physicians, who noticed the fact, that whenever the Yellow Fever occurred in any of our cities, it was always in combination with a season of general unhealthiness. His remarks upon this subject, are deserving of great attention, as leading to the true rationale of the formation of the disease. They are as follows :-- "The doctrine of the non-contagion of the disease in question, is at once so rational, and is supported by so many obvious facts, that, it had at one time made its way to almost universal reception; but, some distrust of its correctness, has latterly been entertained, from its having been observed, that our cities often enjoy an exemption from the pestilence, during those seasons, when the causes which are ordinarily supposed to be most concerned in its production, (such as the effluvia from docks, drains, sinks, &c.) exist in full operation, while, vice versa, some of its severest visitations have occurred at periods, when the circumstances of the climate, and the strict execution of our police laws, seemed to promise us a freedom from its attacks; and that, finally, in seasons of totally opposite character, either wet, or very dry, it has still made its appearance. The medical world has been much puzzled by these phenomena; and while some few adopt the notion of contagion, a majority of those who have speculated on the point, though they admit the disease to be of indigenous formation, seem to have come to the conclusion, that its real cause is altogether inscrutable, or is involved in some occult principle, or unknown condition of the general body of the atmosphere. All the above difficulties are, however, I conceive, to be solved, or in a measure reconciled, by advertence to a single fact, which has hitherto been unaccountably overlooked; at least, as respects its bearing upon this question. It is this: that at every period in which the Yellow Fever has appeared in Charleston, the summer, or season at large, has been unusually sickly; that is, the country, as well as the town, has been afflicted by fevers of a fatal and violent type. I am enabled, from my own experience and observation, in the course of the last twenty years, to bear testimony to this circumstance, the philosophical application of which, seems at once obvious. It is easy to perceive, that if to an atmosphere, which has already, from various causes, become so deleterious, as to occasion general unhealthiness, be

superadded, all those effluvia which, from foul streets, sewers, &c. are constantly contaminating the air of cities, a malignant disease must necessarily be produced: and where the system is probably thrown open to its attacks, by the relaxing effects of the moisture, always prevalent in maritime situations, (for it is to such that the disorder is confined,) the fatal consequences may be readily anticipated. Accordingly, under such circumstances, the Yellow Fever has invariably broken out, with greater or less violence, in proportion to the sickliness of the country, or season generally. The causes arising within the city, acting alone, that is during healthy summers, are never sufficient to produce the fever : Charleston being always healthy, when the country around it has continued free from any remarkable The fevers of the town and country being mortality. thus always concomitant, surely indicates beyond the possibility of dispute, that they have a common origin, or are congenerous to the climate; though, indeed, widely distinguished from each other in symptoms and character."

The correctness of this doctrine, was remarkably confirmed by the history of the fever in Florida. Many persons died of Country Fever at the time the epidemic prevailed in St. Augustine, though these individuals had been previously accustomed to visit their plantations on the St. John's, or in other situations, with impunity.\*

<sup>\*</sup>Owing to the unfortunate death of Dr. M'Coskry, a young man of fine talents and promise, who was the Assistant Surgeon of the detachment of the 4th Regiment of Artillery, stationed at St. Afgustine, Colonel Eustis, commander of the Post, requested the author to take charge of the Military Hospital. But few cases of the fever occurred after his entering upon this duty, as the season was much advanced; but, in these instances, he had opportunities of testing the good effects of the sugar of lead, so strongly recommended by Dr. Irvine. The first patient who came under his care, was cured by this remedy. And in other cases, that occurred out of the Hospital, he had occasion to witness its efficacy in mitigating the symptoms of the disease, even where it failed to produce a cure. It was observed in the midst of the pestilence, that children enjoyed a remarkable

I know, that the disease was referred to a foreign origin; but, as I believe this to be a mistake, and as it is literally of vital importance, that such an error should be corrected, I hope I may be excused for going into a short examination of the subject, on the present occasion.

Dr. Hosack of New-York, is, I believe, the chief champion of the doctrine of importation; and, as this idea is somewhat elaborately set forth in his Discourse on Contagion, printed two summers ago, I shall refer to that work, in the following remarks upon his

opinions.

In Charleston, where there has occurred greater opportunities for observing the disease, than could ever have been afforded to the Physicians of New-York, the opinion is uniformly in favour of the local origin of the fever; and it happens, that the professional men of the former place, can discover nothing, either in the facts or reasons brought forward by Dr. Hosack, that are at all calculated to shake their belief in this doctrine. The idea of the New-York Professor, that the disease can be conveyed three thousand miles across the ocean, to Cadiz, Malaga, &c. but cannot be propagated fifty miles beyond those places, although there exists no interior quarantine, or non-intercourse, to arrest its progress; certainly does not, by any consistency it can boast of, or the facts advanced in its support, recommend itself so strongly to adoption, as to render those who may reject it, obnoxious to the charge which the Doctor brings against some of his opponents, of being deficient in judgment and gentlemanly candour.

As the Doctor admits, that the disease never spreads beyond the influence of the sea, we cannot conceive of any explanation that will reconcile this fact with the

exemption from its attacks; and that those of all ages, were uncommonly healthy during the whole summer. The disease, as I had an opportunity of seeing, was, in all respects, similar to the Yellow Fever of Charleston, only running a somewhat shorter course; as is always the case, in proportion, as the theatre of its ravages is removed more southwardly.

doctrine of contagion. Though communication goes on, during Yellow Fever summers, with sea-ports and inland towns, without the interference of health officers and resident Physicians, the subtle contagion is yet invariably restricted to a particular range, in the same way that marsh fevers are circumscribed within certain districts, favourable to the evolution of unwholesome effluyia.

As the local history of the last mentioned diseases necessarily refers them to a local origin, does not the like confined sphere of Yellow Fever, equally point to a domestic source? Does Dr. Hosack know of any other contagion, that like the latter, can be transported from one side of the globe to the other: but becomes radicated immediately on landing, in particular districts, beyond which it never extends? Is there any other contagion, against which the natives of warm climates enjoy an exclusive security? Finally, are we acquainted with any other contagious disease, which is arrested by the access of cold weather, and can only be propagated in the heat of tropical latitudes? To say that the Yellow Fever has never made its appearance in any of our sea-ports, but as immediately connected with the arrival of infected vessels, is, we conceive, an unfair method of stating the question; for the fact chiefly to be regarded, is, that during certain seasons, the arrival of vessels from infected ports, has been attended with no evil consequences: our cities having been often exempt from the fever, while their intercourse with the Mexican Archipelago has continued open, and has even been briskly carried on, as was the case during the American Revolution, when frequently whole fleets and armies arrived in the United States from the sea-ports of the West-Indies.

Dr. Hosack concedes, that a foul atmosphere is necessary for the propagation of the disease; yet, why does it terminate when carried within the influence of the contaminated air of marshy districts, which gives birth to bilious fevers of a fatal and malignant type? I humbly think that all this goes far to confirm the theory

I am advocating, that a single case is not sufficient to produce the disease; but that a season generally sickly, or a state of the air, predisposing the constitution to disease, in combination with the putrescent effluvia of a crowded city, and the moisture, or some other circumstance connected with maritime situations, constitute, at least, a part of the causes and various juvantia, which go to the

formation of the pestilence.

Dr. Hosack lays much stress upon the case of Middleton, where the disease appeared to be consequent, upon the arrival of a tainted ship. But, it appears by the statement of Dr. Beck, that one half of the patients recovered. This, unfortunately, is not the history of the Yellow Fever, in any part of the world; but, answers very well to the more manageable character of a bilious disorder; and the severe chills, spoken of by Dr. Beck, decide the question. For, as far as our experience goes, the Yellow Fever is, in no instance, ushered in by violent rigours; while Bilious Remittents invariably are; so that severe chills may be considered as, in a measure, distinctive of the two diseases.

I am the more surprised at Dr. Hosack's error here, as with his usual intelligence, he, in general, carefully distinguishes between the two disorders; while many of his brethren of New-York, continue obstinately to confound them. It has been mentioned, that according to observation here, a season, generally sickly, is a necessary accompanyment of the Yellow Fever; but, we are told in the discourse, that, contrary to this, during many of the visitations of the disease, New-York has, in other respects, enjoyed an unusual portion of health. In this statement, Dr. Hosack seems somewhat at war with himself; for he has admitted, that a foul atmosphere is necessary for the propagation of the contagion; and, surely, it is not likely, that unusual health should exist in a contaminated atmosphere.

What other proof is required of a sickly state of the air, than the prevalence of a desolating pestilence? By unbiased minds, the presence of other diseases;

would only be regarded as additional proof of the fact; while the absence of this superfluous testimony is relied on by Dr. Hosack, as giving support to the extravagant doctrine of contagion. But, whatever may be the case in New-York, no one acquainted with the history of the Yellow Fever in the south, will deny the correctness of our doctrine, that a sickly season invariably accompanies the disease. If it be otherwise more northwardly, and the prevalence of other disorders connected with the climate, has not been observed during the visitations of Yellow Fever, still it is an unavoidable inference, from the fact above mentioned, that a malignant constitution of the atmosphere existed at such periods, which predisposed the human system to the reception of disease.

Dr. Hosack gives great weight to the circumstance, of the fever's having "often originated at the water's side, and in the immediate vicinity of a tainted ship." But if, as is more rational to conclude, there prevailed, in these instances, a state of the air favourable to the production of disease, the addition, (if I may so express it) of the foul atmosphere of an uncleansed ship, would render such ship the exact point of commencement, and apparent source of the fever.

We are asked in the discourse, to account for the circumstance of the fever's breaking out at Cadiz, Gibraltar, and other places, at a comparatively recent period; this being a proof with Dr. Hosack, that the

disease was imported from the West-Indies.

We ask, in turn, whether other formidable diseases have not appeared at particular epochs, without any traceable cause, except a malignant constitution of the air, the exact nature of which defies elucidation.

It is attempted to be shown in the discourse, that neither animal nor vegetable putrefaction, have any thing to do with the origination of the disease, because, separately, they have been found inadequate to this effect. But, it is no where proved, that these causes, conjointly with heat and moisture, are not capable of

engendering the fever. On the contrary, wherever these agents are brought into combined operation, we invariably have Yellow Fever, or they, at least, always co-exist with the disease, which evinces and illustrates the connection between them so strongly, that the advocates of contagion must find other supports for their doctrine, than those they have hitherto brought forward, in order to maintain it successfully, in the face of the above facts.

With Dr. Hosack, the fever is a tropical disease, and cannot originate out of certain equatorial latitudes; but, tropical circumstances, (with the exception of heat)

have no agency in giving rise to it.

In the midst of these chaotic inconsistencies, the only light which is afforded us, breaks forth in the following passages:—From various facts, the Professor tells us, "he is led to the inference, that long continued heat, acting on the northern man, is the exclusive source of the Yellow Fever."\*

Here we have Dr. Hosack's ablast, in propria persona, not referring us, as is usual with him, to authority for his opinions; and that most commonly, the authority of foreign Physicians; but, his own particular theory of the disease.

This hypothesis, if hypothesis it can be called, (for there is no philosophical explanation given of it) is, unfortunately, opposed by the fact, of children being

<sup>\*</sup> The fever's having sometimes appeared, when there existed no extraordinary degrees of heat, is considered, by Dr. Hosack, as strong evidence of the agency of contagion, and local peculiarities in producing the disease. But, we have often had occasion to observe, that where other circumstances have not come in aid of extraordinary degrees of heat, the existence of even such temperature is not sufficient to originate the fever. But, where those other causes, which have been indicated, happen to cooperate, the disease will appear though only the ordinary degrees of heat, may prevail. According to the discourse, high degrees of heat have no agency in the case; but, it seems, long continued heat is the exclusive source of the disease. O! wonderful distinction!

liable to Yellow Fever in Charleston, until twelve years of age; which evinces, that the disease can originate in persons, other than those from northern latitudes; and also in places exterior to that tropical demarcation, which the Professor has laid down with such geographical and scientific accuracy.

The exposure of the northern man to long continued heat, would, indeed, in all cases, multiply his chances of escape; for the longer he is subjected to the action of a tropical temperature, the greater is the likelihood of his becoming climated, and placed on the same footing

of safety as a native.

The theory, then, is contradicted by fact, and is without explanation or plausibility to sustain it; and is, in truth, neither more, nor less, than the barren *ipse dixit* of a sturdy disputant, who has not the candour to acknowledge his ignorance, nor ingenuity enough to conceal it.

Dr. Hosack disregards the opinions of his professional bretheren in the United States, who have had constant experience in the disease; and refers us to the authorities of Haygarth, Currie, and others, writers on Typhus Fever, a disease that has no analogy, whatever with Yellow Fever, and which is, at any rate, as well understood in the United States, as in any other part of the world.

To conclude, we must say, that we have met with nothing in the discourse, but dogmatic assertion without proof; and a set of opinions, which lag most lamentably behind the intelligence of the age; and the present improved state of our knowledge, respecting the disease

of which it treats.

We wish to be understood, that we highly appreciate the science and abilities of Dr. Hosack, and subscribe as fully as possible, to his claims, both as a man of worth, and as an accomplished Physician; but, we really consider him as labouring under a species of hallucination, in respect to the subject we have been discussing, which obscures his otherwise clear percep-

tion, and occasions him to support with a perverted ingenuity, a doctrine, which daily and justly loses ground, opposed, as it is, to reason, the conclusions of experience, and the opinion of a great majority of his

professional bretheren.

While the doctrine of the domestic formation of the fever, is most consistent with reason, experience, and facts, it also tends to put us on our guard against the sources of disease; and to induce our attention to those measures of police, which are best calculated to promote the health of communities; whereas the contrary opinion, occasions a delusive reliance to be placed on quarantine regulations, and a system of non-intercourse, interruptive of, and greatly vexatious to commerce.

The success which has attended a strict attention to cleanliness in Philadelphia and New-York, affords an example, that ought to be closely followed up by all other cities, liable to the attacks of Yellow Fellow.

Dr. Irvine, on this point, observes—" Another argument that I shall urge in proof of its non-contagious nature, is deduced from the success, which has attended the application of police measures to its prevention, in the case of Philadelphia. Though that city has resorted to the experiment of quarantine laws, sporadic cases of Yellow Fever, take place there every summer; yet the disease, as we have seen, never spreads itself, but is kept down, or confined to very narrow limits, certainly by no other conceivable means, than by the vigilance with which every thing is removed, that might favour its extension, or impair the general state of the air."

If an early and strict attention be paid to these hints, there is no doubt, that St. Augustine can be effectually secured against any further visitations of Yellow Fever; and that the character it once so justly enjoyed, of being the *Montpelier* of North-America, will be restored, and render it, once more, the resort, not only of invalids, but of all who desire the enjoyment of an agreeable

climate.

Its general salubrity, renders it an eligible seat for a great seminary of learning, whither our southern youth might be sent, with manifest advantage; as they would preserve at this place, that peculiar habit and constitution, which affords a protection against the diseases of warm latitudes; a security which they lose, by being placed at the Northern Colleges; from whence, they often return, only to fall victims to the climates from which they have been estranged.

#### CHAPTER II.

OWING chiefly to the jealous and occlusive system of Spain, East-Florida, though among the earliest discovered portions of America, seems to have been destined to be last known; being even at the present mo-

ment but very imperfectly explored.

Below the 28th degree of latitude, we have but little acquaintance with its interior geography or natural productions, though some information on these points, has been recently afforded to us, by means of the enterprise and intelligence of Captain Leconte, a United States' Officer of Engineers, who, under the orders of the government, lately penetrated to the head of the St. John's.

Mr. Vignoles, also, a surveyor of the Province, a gentleman of talents and science, guided chiefly by an enlightened curiosity, made an excursion into the interior of the country, as soon as its transfer to the American authority, rendered it safe to do so, and collected much geographical information, which he embodied in a short description, that appeared in some of our daily gazettes. He, subsequently, visited most of the rivers and inlets of the eastern coast, to the south of St. Augustine, so far as the Cape of Florida.

In the course of the last winter, the author of the present work, also travelled into Alachua, and made a voyage down the St. John's, from Volusia, the most southern settlement upon the river, to Picolata, which lies due west of St. Augustine. He had the pleasure of

being accompanied in these excursions by Mr. Horatio S. Dexter, a planter of the Province, whose intelligence, long residence in the country, and inquiring mind, had put him in possession of a great deal of information, which was liberally imparted to the author; who avails himself of this opportunity, to acknowledge the further obligations which he owes to this gentleman, whose boats, horses, and other facilities for travelling, were freely placed at his command; and at whose house, he was long most kindly and hospitably entertained.

By means of the communications of the persons abovementioned, and by his own personal investigation, the writer has been enabled to collect many particulars of the geography and history of the interior of the newly acquired territories, which, he hopes, may prove

acceptable to the readers of this work.

Captain Leconte, after encountering much difficulty from the intricacies of the navigation, succeeded in following out the channel of the river, and found it to head about fifty miles beyond Lake George, in a lake surrounded by a savanna, to which there was no visible boundary. He often sounded the channel, and found it to afford six feet water to its source; thus furnishing a fine interior navigation of great extent.

Being a scientific Botanist, he made many botanical acquisitions; and, among other vegetable productions, discovered a species of indigenous olive, which proves the adaptation of the climate, to the cultivation of this invaluable tree, which may be made to flourish in poor districts, and sustain a population where no other staple

can be produced.

Captain Leconte testified to the geographical and botanical accuracy of Bartram, which he had frequent opportunities of ascertaining in his voyage up the river. His description of the source of the St. John's, corresponds very exactly with the information given by a previous explorer of the river.

Dr. Turnbull, the founder of New Smyrna, upwards of forty years ago, dispatched an expedition over land,

to the head of the stream. He employed his relation, Mr. Andrew Turnbull, who, accompanied by native guides, pursued the eastern bank of the river, until he reached the great savanna, mentioned by Captain Leconte; and although he could not here see the river, ascertained that it terminated in this savanna. This immense waste is mostly inundated; and from recent investigations, appears to form a very important feature in the geography of East-Florida.

Mr. Vignoles, in his recent excursion to the south, met with many Indians and Negroes, who had often crossed it, and who stated, that it was of such extent, that in passing down from Tampa to the cape, they were generally three days in journeying over it; and their usual rate of travelling, is never less than forty miles a day. They mentioned, that in the whole of this distance, there was no spot sufficiently elevated to form a

dry encampment upon.

I was informed, from another source, that, in this journey, they were obliged to defend their horses' feet with wrappings of cow-hide, in order to prevent their being injured by the sharp saw grass, a species of triaugular reed, with which this watery desart is thickly

overgrown.

Mr. Vignoles mentioned, that below Indian River, he found the coast to consist of a narrow strip of high land; its average breadth being from five to seven miles.—
That in penetrating up the creeks or inlets, or over land, he was uniformly arrested by this submerged tract, which extends to within five miles of Cape Sable.

That this is the character of the greater part of the interior country, below the St. John's, I have reason to

believe, from other sources.

I was informed in Alachua, that the Indians reported the existence of great savannas to the south of Tampa Bay, portions of which formed their chief hunting grounds.

In confirmation of the open nature of the country, it was observed, that, when setting out on their hunting

expeditions, they were in the habit of packing their horses with small bundles of sticks made of the sweet-bay tree, which they use in roasting their meat, to which they say, this wood imparts a pleasant flavour. They were obliged thus to provide themselves, as nothing of this kind could be procured in the prairies where they hunted. For fuel, they used the cabbage tree, which is thinly scattered over these regions.

It would thus appear, that below the St. John's, the peninsula consists of an immense basin, which, probably, forms the chief supply of the latter stream, and

gives origin to most of the rivers to the south.

Mr. Chazotte, a gentleman of Philadelphia, who recently explored some part of this country, in order to find land suitable to the cultivation of coffee, is said, in some of the public papers, to have reported favourably on this subject. In the present state, however, of our knowledge of this part of the world, it is difficult to conceive, where he could have found such situations and soils as he is said to describe.

Even, however, were there a sufficiency of terra firma in this quarter, for the establishment of coffee plantations, it is now known, that in the course of every two or three years, the influence of frost is felt as far down as the Cape of Florida, and often on the Keys beyond. This circumstance totally precludes the cultivation of coffee, as this plant is not merely nipt, but entirely killed by the slightest frosts.

The influence of the sea air, also, which extends over most parts of the peninsula, is proven to be very unfavourable to this plant; while it is highly beneficial to the growth of the sugar cane. While, therefore, there is no likelihood of coffee being ever introduced into Florida, the cane will, undoubtedly, be cultivated there

to a great extent.\*

<sup>\*</sup> The cane will probably flourish in Florida, better than even on the Mississippi, as a great portion of the country lies to the south of the latter stream, while the air is drier, and of less intemperature than in any part of Louisiana.

The Coolisihatchie, a stream that falls into the Gulf of Mexico, heads within twenty miles of the St. John's, and the intervening country, is said to be an open prairie; so that a communication between the two streams might be easily formed. The latter is also approached by Indian River on the east, the distance between them being only eighteen miles.

The head of the St. John's, doubtless communicates, or may be easily connected, with Lake Mayaco to the south; by which, and the abovementioned streams, an extensive inland navigation may be opened throughout

the peninsula.

Captain Leconte doubts the reality of Lake Mayaco; but, Mr. Chazotte, who recently visited the southern extremity of the country, and explored some of the rivers in that direction, appears to be satisfied, that it really exists, occupying the position assigned to it, by Romans and others.

#### CHAPTER III.

On the twenty-ninth of December, the author left St. Augustine on a visit to Volusia; at that time, the most southern settlement on the St. John's. The country through which he passed, having already been sufficiently described in the first chapter of this publication, he deems it unnecessary to give the particulars of his

journey.

Volusia is about sixty-five miles to the south of St. Augustine, and is a very fine tract, lying on both sides of the St. John's—the greater portion being on the western side of the river. A good part of it is suitable for cotton; and the rest is highly valuable, from its adaptation to the culture of the sugar cane. The settlement was made nearly three years ago, under circumstances of great difficulty and danger, by Mr. Horatia S. Dexter, its present proprietor. It has the advantage of lying immediately adjacent to the fine navigation of the St. John's. A vessel of thirty tons, has recently been up to its landing; and were it not for the bar of Lake George, a ship of the line might ride here, on either side of the river.

The stream at this point, is reduced to about two hundred yards in width, but soon resumes its expanded character, and preserves it to its source, which is fifty miles to the south of this place. The banks of the river, from Buffalo Bluff upwards, are singularly characterized by immense accumulations of the periwinkle shells, the exuviæ of an insect, that is often found upon the shores of the stream.

At Volusia, the ground appears, in many places, as if covered with snow, from the abundance of these shells scattered over the surface, while they are found by digging at twenty feet below the level of the soil.

The cliffs on the river often exhibit a complete shellwork, from the vast congeries of these remains; or rather appear as if stuck full of birds' eggs, half buried

in the clay.

From this place, to its head, the current is lined by an equatic plant, with floating roots, here called the wild lettuce, which very much adorns the river, giving a deep green margin to its dark and ample stream.

The alligators are uncommonly numerous in the St. John's, being to be met with, on a warm day, at every hundred yards, basking or reposing on its rushy banks.

The roots of the bonnet leaf, a species of lotus, often of the thickness of a man's leg, and jointed somewhat like the sugar cane, is frequently seen lying in heaps upon the water. It is said, that they are thus uprooted by the alligator, who feeds upon them when much pressed by hunger. On these rafts, the wild ducks, and other waterfowl, make their roost at night, and are often seen perched on them during the day. Game is abundant on the river; and the snake-bird, here sometimes called the water-turkey, from the resemblance of its tail, and manner of flying to the latter bird, is frequently to be met with, but is very shy, and difficult to be shot.

It is said, that both fresh and salt-water fish are found in the river; and that sheephead have been taken as far up as Silver Spring on Lake George, one hundred and

fifty miles from the sea.

I made an excursion to this famous fountain, of which so romantic an account is given by Bartram, and found it well worth the trouble of a visit. It is situated on the west side of Lake George. The water has somewhat of a mineral taste; but is, nevertheless, pleasant and refreshing, and is as transparent as air, or melted chrystal. Even where it boils up with a considerable jet, the

smallest object may be discerned at the bottom, at a depth of twenty feet. It at once forms a wide creek of a mile in length, emptying into Lake George, and bordered on each side by stately forests. The stream is perfectly straight for the greater part of its course, but forms a short curve near its fountain. The Sun may be seen shining, with undiminished brightness, on the sand at the bottom of the spring. The genius of classical antiquity, would have represented this by the allegory of a water-nymph, yielding to the embraces of Apollo. We observed many fish darting about, or suspended in the stainless element, but not in the numbers described by Bartram. A snow-white bluff and beach of periwinkle shells, the height crowned by a beautiful orange grove, mark the southern side of the outlet into the lake. There is a salt spring a little further north, but we had not time to visit it.

It has been observed, that none of the plants called wild lettuce, are ever found to the north of Lake George, though abundant just above its southern bar. This is probably owing to the violence of the lake, which is easily thrown into commotion by the winds; at which time, it is very dangerous for small craft. The frequent agitation of the waters, it is supposed, prevents the plants from taking root, or being propagated farther north. The river often presents a very strange scene after a storm, from the fields of this herb, which are detached from the banks by the winds, and float down in such quantities, as to give the stream the appearance of a floating savanna.

The bonnet leaf, a species of lotus, also abounds in the dead water formed by the meeting currents of the river and the creeks, that fall into it. Their appearance, therefore, indicates from a distance, the influx of

some tributary of the main stream.

The water is generally deep where these plants are found, their stems being of great length. Under their green canopies, the fish take shelter; and these spots are considered the best for angling. Their umbrella-like

leaves are exceedingly stiff; and the smaller land-birds

are often seen walking very securely upon them.

The lands on the eastern side of the river, are generally much higher than on the western, which is mostly bordered by low hammocks. The swamp, however, seldom extends more than a half a mile in breadth. This side of the river is, therefore, generally speaking, much the richest.

From Buffalo Bluff to the head of the stream, the cabbage tree, or palmetto, often shows itself in the low grounds along the banks, and is considered as an indication of good land. It is sometimes seen very much torn and broken by the bear, who is fond of feeding on its purple berries. The cabbage, or pulpy termination of its stem, is very delicate eating. As the trees are numerous, they afford a great supply to the Indians, who also easily construct a hut, that will keep out the weather, with its stiff and palmated leaves.

Orange groves also abound along the banks of the river, being generally situated on the high headlands that point into the stream, though they are also found growing on the low grounds. We landed in one of these, which we found very beautiful, being extensive, and quite free from underbrush; while an immense mulberry tree, the monarch of the spot, occupied the centre, and rose like a dome above the surrounding grove. We surprised an opossum and an alligator in this orchard, who were probably feeding on the fruitof which, a considerable quantity lay upon the ground.

Having mentioned the alligator, I will state a fact respecting it, which I had from the best authority .-Mr. Wanton, a gentleman of the Province, well known for his integrity of character, assured me, that he had seen one of these animals opened, in whose stomach was found, a large quantity of what was, at first, supposed to be pebles, but which, on examination, proved to be hickory nuts, which had been swallowed whole. Some of these, my informant mentioned, were in a very singular state, approaching to petrifaction. Their real nature could only be discovered by their internal structure, which bore marks of the former divisions of the

nut-the whole being of stony hardness.

When one of these creatures dies, or is killed, the river sometimes exhibits a singular sight. As the body floats down, the buzzards and carrion crows, light upon to devour it; and the whole, at a distance, looks like a canoe filled with people.

The orange groves are another great support to the Indians, who generally roast the orange previous to eating it. With this fruit, the palmetto cabbage, and the wild potatoe, they are often enabled to live, without either hunting or cultivation. They frequently encamp for months along the river, sometimes in the deepest swamps, subsisting on these wild provisions, as they usually term them. Their being enabled to exist in this way, will prove a great obstacle in any attempt to wean them from their erratic habits.

The St. John's is a truly magnificent stream, preserving an average breadth of upwards of two miles, for an hundred miles from its mouth, and often enlarging itself into beautiful expanses or lakes of four or five miles in width. Its banks, or rather coasts, at present, exhibit an unbroken line of towering forests, that will doubtless soon bow their proud heads to the axe, and open new avenues to the march of civilization. By recent investigation, more water has been found upon its bar, than it was previously supposed to afford. It is navigable for vessels of thirty tons, as high up as the bar of Lake George, where there is six feet water in ordinary seasons. Beyond this, it deepens again, and is navigable for vessels of the same size, up to its source.

[The Author had intended to abridge the ensuing Journal, and digestit into the form of the foregoing Chapters; but his engagement with the Printer, has not allowed him time to do so: He hopes therefore, that the reader will excuse the many personal particulars introduced, and the perhaps unnecessary expansion of this part of the Work.]

## JOURNAL.

FEBRUARY 5th, 1822.—Set out from Volusia, on a visit to Alachua, accompanied by an Indian Negro, as a guide—the same who had attended us on our

journey from St. Augustine.

I much regretted, that business prevented Mr. Dexter from bearing me company on this excursion; as I felt both the loss of his society, and of the information which he could have imparted, of the country through which I was to pass. I still, however, experienced the benefit of his friendly kindness, in having the use of his horses, and the aid of every convenience for the rough route I was to pursue, which it was in his power to provide for my accommodation.

The horses having been swam over the St. John's the night before, I was enabled to set forward without delay. After passing through the low hammock that borders the western side of the river, I entered upon a tract of flat pine barren, interspersed, as usual, with small ponds and lakes. The first, and most considerable of these.

lying on the right of a road I called Lake Wortola.\* It is about three quarters of a mile in length, and probably a half a mile in width. This district of country, crossed in one place by a small scrub, continued for six miles, when it was terminated by an immense cypress swamp, which presents a novel and picturesque object, from the amazing altitude of the trees, and the almost palpable darkness of its recesses, which, being thickly crowded with bays, has an unusually benighted and even awful appearance.

Immediately to the northwest of this, begins what is called the *Little Scrub*, which is said to be five, but, I think, is not less than seven miles in width. It is an untimbered region, covered with dwarf firs, oak, and

myrtle, and the prickly pear.

Soon after entering this, a fine lake presented itself on the left. It is spotted with shady islands, and bordered in many places with rich hammocks. Having no appellation as yet affixed to it, I took the liberty, as I have done with other nameless beauties of nature, which I met with on my route, to provide it with a cognomen, and called it Lake Senufky, after the old Chief of the Ocklewahaw Indians, who resides upon its banks, and plants in the fertile islands scattered over its surface.

I had a conversation with this old man at Mr. Dexter's, which I thought somewhat remarkable. I observed to him, that he would find the Americans to be his friends—that we were all the children of one great Father, and ought, therefore, to live in peace and harmony together. He replied, that he had no doubt of our friendship—that he was not such a fool as to believe, that there was any more than one Great Spirit, who created all things—and that, if it was not for the badness of mankind, they might live very happily together. On going away, he came up and shook hands with me, and bade the interpreter tell me, that he was happy to

<sup>\*</sup> The Indian name for the whooping crane.

have formed my acquaintance; and evinced in his conversation and deportment, a degree of sense and courtesy, that I did not expect to find in the forest; and that is but rarely to be met with in the rough outerborder

of civilized society.

On emerging from this dreary region, we rode for about three miles through a district of pine land, when we reached the commencement of the *Big Scrub*, which is seven miles wide. It extends, I was told, a great way northeast and southwest, a part of it showing itself on the western borders of Lake George.

Nothing can be more sterile than the soil; and these tracts are, in fact, concealed deserts, as they are too poor to admit of cultivation, and afford nothing that is

fit, even for the browsing of cattle.

It had begun to rain just before I entered the scrub, and the bushes being charged with drops, I underwent a double aspersion in passing through it, by which I

was completely wet.

The growth upon these places, from its tough and stunted character, forms a complete live fence, which, probably, would never have been penetrated through, but by the Indians, who made the present trail, for the purpose of hunting the bear; that animal frequenting these spots at certain seasons of the year, in order to feed on the acorns that abound in them. It is his habit to stop when he comes to a path, and reconnoitre it before he crosses; and the Indians, aware of this, formed these trails, which afford them an opportunity of killing him with great certainty. Some of the hunters station themselves along the path, while others go into the thickets, and drive the bear towards the ambuscaded spot, where, stopping, he is easily shot down.—
The wild turkies, also, are said to be numerous here.

There are here many spots covered with a yellow broom-grass, and resemble the old deserted fields of the Southern States. I, at first, supposed that they had been planted by the Indians; but, from the small circles of water often found in them, I am inclined to think, that they are filled-up ponds, the soil in them being, generally, a white sand, similar to that of the higher grounds, from which, it has been probably washed down.

Beyond the scrub, a region of high rolling pine land occurs, and continues to within a short distance of the Ocklewahaw. Some of this land, I should suppose to be good, as it is often mingled with the black-jack; and the soil, where it is turned up, (as it frequently is in heaps, by a reptile, here called the salamander,) exhibits a rellow appearance, indicating a clay foundation.

We passed, in this day's ride, an Indian tomb, consisting of pine logs, laid on each other to the height of about three feet, and lashed together by grape vines. The body could be seen through the interstices, extended on the ground. They seem to have no fixed mode of disposing of the dead, as they sometimes scaffold them, and at others, place the body in hollow trees. Mr. Dexter told me, that he once cut down a large cypress tree, in which, he found the remains of an Indian; and I saw near Vibrillia, a gum, in which a corpse had been thus placed, the feet being visible, on looking a little way up the hollow.

At night, I encamped near a pond, about eight miles from the Ocklewahaw. It rained heavily, yet we were enabled to kindle a fire without difficulty, by the help of the lightwood, which lay in abundance around. This fuel is, truly, the traveller's friend, as it affords him a hearth in the wilderness in the worst weather, burning, inextinguishably, in the heaviest showers.

I had provided myself with a cow-hide, to protect our baggage, and also for the purpose of forming a boat, with which to ferry over the Ocklewahaw. Under the edge of this, I contrived to shelter my head, and hoped, with my surtout, and a blanket, to keep myself dry; but, the continued rain soaked both coverings through in a few hours, and I passed a very unpleasant night.

Towards morning, the horses charged at full speed by the camp, frightened, as we had reason to believe afterwards, by a wolf, for we heard one howl at daybreak, not very far from us. The guide set out early in pursuit of them, and was gone so long, that I had begun to fear that they had taken the road home, and that I should have to walk back to Volusia. He, however, found them, and resuming our journey, we arrived in about an hour, on the banks of the Ocklewahaw. This stream runs, generally, a north eastern course, until near its disemboguement into the St. John's. The Indians and Negroes say, that it heads in a lake\* larger than Lake George, at about sixty miles from the point where I crossed it, which is forty niles from its mouth, by water.

The Ocklewahaw, runs, for a great part of its course, through a fresh marsh, which is very wide in many places, and would afford fine rice fields, if sufficient embankments can be formed against the inundations

of the river.

The streams in this country, not being subject to sudden or violent overflows, there would not, I conceive, be much difficulty, in reclaiming all the low lands that border upon them.

We found the river extended much beyond its usual bounds; and the hide we had brought for a conveyance over, was so much soaked by the previous night's rain,

\*I have called this Lake Duval, in honour of the present Governor of the Territory.

i There being no ferries in this country, skins are used for boats, as abovementioned. The hide is stretched upon the ground, and two stout sticks placed crosswise upon it; and the edges being loop-holed, a cord is passed round it; by which, the sides are drawn up to the necessary height—the sticks keeping it sufficiently extended to receive the passenger. A cord is then attached to one end, which the guide takes in his mouth, and swim-across, drawing the traveller after him. I passed several streams in this way, without accident, having always had the luck to get over in a whole skin. I was, however, I must confess, always very glad to land; and am inclined to think, that the phrise of jumping out of the skin for joy, must have originated with some traveller, who chanced to be conveyed in this way.

as not to be sea-worthy, we were, therefore, obliged to make use of our live craft, and swim over on horse-back. We stript off our clothes, to prevent their getting wet. As it continued to rain, I found undressing in a shower a very unpleasant part of the undertaking.

About midway, on the left side, there is a spot where horses can touch, and where it is usual to rest them; but, the one I rode became so ungovernable, as soon as he found a foot-hold, that I was obliged to turn him off into the deep channel, and swim him the whole way, which tried his wind and strength not a little.

On the northwestern side of this river, the land is generally more elevated, and of a better quality, than the portion on its southeastern side; the pine being more mingled with oak; and the soil, though light and sandy, reposing, generally, on a clay foundation. Numerous ponds and lakes are found here, as on the southeastern side. The first of these of any note, that occurs, is Lake Ware, which lies in the picturesque form of a crescent, and is about eight miles over in the widest part. The road runs along the beach, which forms the chord of this watery bow, and is bordered with bays and palmettos, that are, in many places, so regularly set, as to have the appearance of an artificial enclosure. The banks of the lake are, in some places, elevated, and appeared to consist, generally, of very good land.

The forest, at present, forms a virgin cestus around it; and its pure waters, unpassed, as yet, but by the wing of the eagle, or the wild-duck, are so extremely clear, as to admit the Sun's rays to a considerable depth; and the light may, for some distance, be seen,

playing upon its bed of silver sand.

The next large lake that is met with, is about two miles further on. It appears to be something more than six miles in length, by a mile in breadth; and is adorned with several pretty islands. I called it Lake Worthington, after the then acting Governor of the Province.

A few miles further on, four small, but very pretty sheets of water are found, enwreathed, as it were, by bays and dwarf palmettos; and these I have named *The Beads*, as they succeed each other at short distances, and in regular order, and are almost perfectly oval.

I shall not attempt to note the endless succession of the lakes, ponds, and savannas, which I continued to meet with, until within about fifteen miles of the Big Swamp, when they suddenly disappeared, though the face of the country, to the borders of the hammock, on the edge of the swamp, does not, in other respects, vary very materielly.

The number of these pieces of water, which gleam upon the traveller's eye, from a distance, or lie along his route, in this direction, is scarcely credible, and presents a singularity that, I believe, is not to be met with in the topography of any other region of the world.

The same peculiarity, I was told, appears upon the road to *Pulacklicaha*, (signifying scattered hammocks) a distance of twenty-five miles from the crossing place on the Ocklewahaw, and also on the road from Picolata to Alachua, a distance of forty miles.

The St. John's itself, is, in fact, but a continued range of these lakes; thus exhibiting, in its chief features, a striking analogy to the nature of the country

through which it flows.

So much is this the case, that a stream, similar in all respects to this river, might, I am convinced, be formed, by merely connecting the various bodies of water that lie parallel to its course. As it preserves this lake-like form through its whole extent, and ends in a lake, it may, from analogy, be concluded, that all the unknown region between it, and the ocean on the west, is also like the country I have just described—a land of lakes, and innumerable sheets of water.

Some new term in geography must be invented to describe this extraordinary land of many waters, which has, I believe, less of a terraqueous character, than any other region of country, perhaps in the known world.

Not far from Lake Worthington, we put up two Whooping cranes in the pine barren. This being an unusual haunt for a bird, which I supposed to be altogether equatic in its habits, I made some inquiries of my guide respecting its history. He said, that it fed like a deer; and was as often to be found in the high lands as in the savannas.

I was, subsequently, informed, upon better authority, that it very much frequented the drier grounds, for the purpose of getting gravel; and is sometimes termed by the inhabitants of the country, the Sand-hill crane. It is never seen in the rivers; but haunts the swamps and savannas, feeding chiefly on the root of a plant, which it pulls up with its beak. It also unearths and eats the worms and insects that are found in these situations. A person, who once kept two of the young ones for some time, informed me, that he fed them upon worms and insects.\*

Soon after seeing these cranes, we observed an opossum retreat from the side of a lake near the road, and ascend a pine tree of no great height, that grew near the bank. On coming up to the spot, it was a considerable time before we were enabled to discover where it had concealed itself; but, at length, perceived

<sup>\*</sup> This bird is very fine eating. Its extraordinary croak or whoop, may be heard echoing from a great distance. It is said to be sometimes six feet in height. It is called Wortola-lacha, by the Indians. There is said to be a still more gigantic crane, which they call Wortola hatki. This bird is white, with black tipt wings. It has a very plaintive and pleasing note, which it utters when flying. This is, no doubt, the species alluded to by Bartram, when he speaks in his strange language, of the "Sera-phic Cranes." They are supposed not to breed in the Province, as their nests have never been found. When the time for incubation approaches, they are observed to depart towards the northwest, soaring to a prodigious height. Their haunts are on the islands and bars of the sea coasts, on the western side of the peninsula. The Indian name for the common crane, is Wortola-mahi.

it, nestled closely in the topmost brush of the tree. My guide fired four or five times at it, without bringing it down, though he evidently hit it each time. He was, finally, compelled to give up the attempt to kill it, attributing his failure to the weakness of his powder; but, the extraordinary vivaciousness for which this animal is distinguished, was, probably, the true cause of our not getting it. After being severely wounded, they have been known to lie for several hours as if dead; and when an opportunity has occurred, have made their escape. Hence, the expression of "playing possum," is common among the inhabitants, being applied to

those who act with cunning and duplicity.

Some of the lakes of which I have spoken, though fine sheets of water, are without any other beauty, owing to their being surrounded by melancholy and monotonous forests of pine. The waters of all of them are remarkably clear; hence, they are termed in the country, "Clear Water Ponds." In summer, when diminished by drought, the edges that are left dry, are covered with a fine verdure; which renders the districts that they occupy, the finest grazing country in the world, affording both stock, water and pasturage, as they never become completely dry. Some of them are said to be unfathomable; and it is pretended, that a rise and fall of water of several inches, has been observed in them.

It has also been conjectured, that a subterraneous intercommunication exits among them, from various phenomena, which have been noticed by the inhabitants; while the waters of others are supposed to be

discharged under ground, into the sea.

It is asserted, that a spring of fresh water rises in the ocean, opposite to the south end of Anastatia Island, five or six miles from the coast. I have met with persons who averred, that they had seen this fountain, and drank fresh water from it. They further said, that they had sounded round it, and had obtained seven fathoms water; while in the middle, they could find no bottom.

This spring may be one of the outlets of the great interior mass of waters, for which, there seems to be no sufficient exit on the surface.

I had expected to reach the Negro settlement at the Big Swamp before night; but, it became dark, without any signs of our being near our destination. My guide had never been at the place, and proceeded merely by the directions he had received; which, I feared, the darkness of the night would prevent his following cor-We frequently lost the trail, and were obliged to return upon our steps, in order to retrace it. We, at length, arrived at a small Indian town, where we found only one family, the rest having gone out a hunting. We here got directions to the Negro settlement, which we reached at about eleven o'clock at night. Negroes said, they were apprized of our approach by the crowing of the fowls; which we had also noticed, as being unusual at that hour.

At the house of Cudjoe, one of the principal characters of the place, I took up my lodging for the night, on a bunk by the fire-side. The smoke, however, and the conversation of the Negroes, who sat up till a late hour.

prevented me from getting much rest.

These people were in the greatest poverty, and had nothing to offer me; having, not long before, fled from a settlement further west, and left their crop ungathered, from an apprehension of being seized on by the Cowetas, who had recently carried off a body of Negroes. residing near the Suwaney.

There was, also, a general impression among them. that the Americans would seize upon all the Negro property of the Indians; and the latter were also induce to believe, by designing persons, that the Americans would rob and treat them with every degree of

injustice and oppression.

I, several times, in my route, saw the sites of Indian towns, which had been recently broken up, and the crops left standing on the ground. These were chiefly settlements of Lower Creek Indians, who, after their defeat by General Jackson, in the late war, came down among the Seminoles, and supposing themselves peculiarly obnoxious to the Americans, dispersed themselves in the woods, or retired to remote situations, as soon as the transfer of the Province took place.

The unprincipled persons who spread these unfounded alarms, were enabled, by these means, to purchase the Negroes and other property of the Indians, at a cheap rate, and defrauded these ignorant people, to

a very considerable extent.

The indulgent treatment of their slaves, by which the Spaniards are so honourably distinguished: and the ample and humane code of laws which they have enacted, and also enforce, for the protection of the blacks, both bond and free, occasioned many of the Indian slaves, who were apprehensive of falling into the power of the Americans, and also most of the free people of colour who resided in St. Augustine, to transport themselves to Havana, as soon as they heard of the approach of the American authorities.

I wish, that this satire upon us could be considered as undeserved. It is, however, a fact, but too notorious, that the laws in the Southern States, respecting slaves, are most lamentably imperfect, and but little operative, bearing no comparison with the legislation and conduct of the Spaniards; where the latter hold the same kind

of property.

It is with great reluctance that I touch upon this subject; but, as years roll on, without any regard being paid to a point of such moment, both to our interest and character, I should deem it criminal, in adverting to the topic, not to mark with reprobation, however little it may be calculated to produce effect, the callous indifference evinced in all the slave holding states, upon this subject.

February 7th.—In the morning I parted with my guide, who was to go from hence to Vibrillia, with horses, to meet some settlers, who were on their way to

Alachua. I took a new guide and horses for the next Negro town, distant, I was told, thirty miles. Our miserable ponies, could not go out of a walk, so that I had full leisure to observe the country through which I passed.

We rode for upwards of an hour, through the rich tract of the Big Swamp. In the deepest parts of the swamp, and also among the high grounds along its edges, I observed considerable masses of lime-stone, protruding out of the soil, or lying about in large fragments.

The various species of oak, laurel and bay, here tower in unfading luxuriance, and jealously exclude the Sun from their moss-grown recesses. The moisture of the adjacent low grounds, and warmth of the climate, nourishes the moss into tresses of unusual volume and length; many flakes of it depending ten and twelve feet from the boughs.

About twelve miles to the southwest of this hammock, there occurs another of nearly equal extent, called Long Swamp; and forty miles further still, to the southwest, the Big Hammock commences, which is said to be forty miles in length, by six and seven in width, and extends

to within twelve miles of Tampa Bay.

On emerging from the swamp, we entered upon a region of pine land, of very good quality, which continued for twelve or thirteen miles, when the soil became inferior, and exhibited a scattered growth of stunted pines, intermixed here and there with small scrub oaks. The cabbage tree ceased to appear, after we passed the limits of the Big Swamp.

Through all this pine region, portions of flint rock presented itself: in some instances, forming a nucleus surrounded by sea-shells; in others, projecting from the ground in masses, formed with almost mathematical regularity, their tops and edges appearing to have been

sawed and smoothed off by artificial means.

This country being a portion of the ridge which divides the waters that fall into the gulf of Mexico, on the west, and the St. John's on the east, is considerably elevated above the sea, as appears by the streams that

run in different directions from it.

The country between the heads of the Ocklewahaw, and Withlacouchy Creek, which rises near the Big Swamp, affords a high and dry route, through which, a very easy communication might be formed between the St. John's and the gulf of Mexico, or Tampa Bay, on the west.

Withlacouchy Creek takes its rise from a very remarkable spring, called Oakihumki, which is said to resemble an artificial fountain, being surrounded by a lime-stone wall, of regular form, which continues lengthways along the stream, in parallel branches, for some distance. I saw many deer in the course of this day's ride.

ride.

Owing to the dullness of our horses, night overtook us on the road; and though there were several Negroes going the same way, who had often travelled it, there was no one but my guide, who, after it became dark, seemed to know the route.

As many of these Negroes were refugee slaves, and some had been soldiers under Woodbine, and fought against the Americans, I did not feel perfectly safe, while travelling in such company, through swamps and

obscure paths, in the Seminole country.

The Indians and Negroes had been taught by the Spaniards, to view the Americans with jealousy and distrust; and thought, that every one whom they saw from the States, came among them with objects more or

less hostile and designing.

We, at last, arrived at the settlement; and I was lodged in a new and excellent house, which the Negroes had built to dance in on Christmas. It was constructed in the Indian manner, without nails—the boards and shingles being lashed to the posts and rafters, by strips of oak, which last a long time. Here, under "smoky rafters," lulled by the sleep-compelling sound of an incessant shower, I enjoyed, upon a bed of deer skins, a night of refreshing rest.

The Negroes here, both men and women, were, as

usual, stout, and even gigantic in their persons.

The union of ignorance and civilization, as displayed in the manners of these people, and among the lower orders, in even the most enlightened countries, presents the general condition of the human race, in a singular point of view; and seems to show, that the greater part of civilized mankind, can hardly be placed on a level with the savage portion of the species; for the latter retain many striking virtues, and a simplicity of character, that are wholly wanting in the former; who are mostly, in fact, plunged in the grossest vices, and brutal in manners; and ever ripe for the commission of outrages and crimes.

February 8th.—In the morning it continued to rain, and I had the prospect of a very uncomfortable day's ride. The Negroes had no refreshment to offer me; but, having provision along with me, I prepared myself a cup of coffee, and with some dry bread and bacon, managed to make a tolerable breakfast.

The road, as is usual, in savage countries, lay through the driest, and, therefore, very poor regions; but, a hammock was occasionly visible on the right, where the

growth indicated lands of the best quality.

The fields planted by the Negroes at the settlement, were originally of that growth of pine and oak, of which there is so great a quantity in this Province, and had been previously worked by the Indians; having been, as I was told, under cultivation for, at least, fifty years. It yet continued to produce well, which must be attributed, in part, to the warmth of the climate, and the influence of the sea air—the effect of which, is, probably, felt over every part of the peninsula.

Land of the same quality, in any of the states, would have been worn out in half the time, during which this

had been cultivated.

In estimating, therefore, the value of the lands of Florida, the climate is to be taken into consideration;

and they must be rated with some view to the beneficial effect exercised by the maritime air, upon the surface of the soil.

About one o'clock, I reached Mr. Wanton's, who had been, for some time, settled in Alachua, upon an extensive grant, which several gentlemen of capital had purchased, while the country was under the Spanish dominion. They had also obtained a cession of it from the Indians; and having a great deal of enterprize, and the necessary means, were about introducing a large body of industrious settlers; by whom, the wilderness will soon be converted into a smiling scene of cultivation, and civilized improvement. I was most hospitably received by Mr. Wanton, and had the pleasure of meeting with Mr. M-, an Irish gentleman, with whom I had been previously acquainted, and whose company and conversation afforded me, in the midst of the wilderness, the advantages and recreation of enlightened society. The distance from Volusia to this, is something more than seventy miles, the route being in a northwestern direction.

The settlement, and intended town of Micconope, is situated on an elevated spot, on the northwestern border of Cuscowilla Lake, near to the scite of the ancient Tuskawilla town, mentioned by Bartram. A few wild plumb trees, and corn hills, mark the spot where the

rude forefathers of the wigwam once dwelt.

Not more than two miles further north, are the remains of the Loatchaway town, burnt during the late war, by an unauthorized act of Colonel Newland's.

About a mile beyond this, expands the great Alachua Savanna, extending east and west, fifteen or sixteen miles, by two or three in average breadth. I shall give

a more full description of it in another place.

Mr. Wanton observed to me, that the Indians who visited him, rarely went near the scites of the above-mentioned ancient towns; it being a trait in their character, to avoid the painful recollections, which such scenes would naturally call up in their minds; while it

was characteristic of their more civilized brethren, rather to linger round such spots as revive melancholy associations; and even seek to arouse the most afflicting reminiscences and views of the past. Who shall say, in this case, on which side the most natural feeling and truest sensibility is displayed?

The incipient town of Micconope, will, probably, be fixed on as the seat of government for the Floridas, as it is sufficiently intermediate between St. Augustine and Pensacola, if the route from the latter place, be pursued partly by water, as far as the Suwany, or Tampa Bay.

This settlement was effected at great expense, and under many difficulties, by the hardy enterprize and perseverance of Messrs. Dexter and Wanton, assisted by the resources of Mr Mitchell, one of the grantees.

The proprietors of the grant, are under immense obligations to these gentlemen; and, I conceive, that the government itself, has been greatly advantaged by their efforts; which have been the means of facilitating the exploration of the country, and occasioned it to be settled and cultivated at a much earlier period, than these objects could otherwise have been effected.

February 9th.—In the morning, the Sun, after a week of gloomy obscuration, shot his rosy rays through the forest, into the log cabin where I slept, and roused me, with welcome interruption, from a sound and refreshing sleep.

After breakfast, Mr. M—— and myself made a pedestrian excursion to the Alachua Savanna, guided by two Indian Negroes, belonging to King Hijo's sons. These people, I was told, had never been far from their native settlement, and appeared as shy and ignorant as savages.

We had to wade through a good deal of water, before we reached the savanna. I was somewhat disappointed at its appearance, owing, no doubt, to its present russet, and wintry aspect. In the spring, when it exhibits a green and flowery carpet, bordered by stately shades, it must afford a very picturesque view. It is surrounded by rich hammocks, some of which, point like promontories into the sea of grass; while others appeared like islands in the level waste of weeds. These primeval groves of nature, here exhibit a verdure and altitude, that are, perhaps, no where else to be paralleled. The live oaks, in particular, attain to a surprizing magnitude. The tallest pines and laurels, are, absolutely dwarfed beside these Titans of the shade. Their great numbers and massiness must, I should suppose, present a very serious obstacle to the clearing of these lands.

The savanna, in many parts, had the appearance of a beautiful lake, whose purple expanse, bordered by lofty groves or level fields of reeds, afforded a novel and pleasing prospect. Though two or three feet deep in water, in many places, I was told, that it is often

quite dry in summer.

We had not an opportunity of visiting the rock at the western end, where the waters discharge themselves under ground. This fine tract would, alone, sustain a considerable population. The rich hammocks around it, might be settled like the banks of a river; while the fine range of the savanna, would pasture numerous herds, or might be successfully laid under cultivation.

February 10th.—Game \*abounds in this country: An Indian Negro brought in to-day, a deer and three wild turkies; and towards night, another came in with

six wild geese.

Mr. M—— and myself explored the hammock on the northwestern side of Tuscowilla lake, and walked five miles through the finest body of lands I have ever seen. We found an oak lying on the ground, which had been cut down by the Indians, to get at a hive in the top; we had the curiosity to measure it, and found it to be thirty feet in circumference.

The glorious magnolia, here, attains to its utmost perfection and beauty; and the laurel and bay, far from the scenes of discord and war, entwine their fairest wreathes over the peaceful paths of nature, and hang never fading garlands around the pure and beautiful

temple of solitude.

I do not recollect meeting in this country, with the tulip-bearing poplar, the chief glory of the western forests, where its shafts shoot up, with "swift loftiness," for sixty or seventy feet, without a limb, having a full foliaged head, that is adorned, in the beginning of sumer, with the richest flowers, being, certainly, the most beautiful tree in the whole garden of nature.

On the banks of the Talapoosa, in the Creek country, and in Alabama and Tennessee, I have seen them exhibit a peculiarly picturesque appearance, growing in groupes, which resembled gigantic porches and colonades, when viewed from a distance through the forest.

February 10th.—The weather, at this time, remarkably mild, the spring having already begun. In fact, vegetation is very little checked here, even in January. I, yesterday, observed the red-bud in bloom, which, in South-Carolina, does not put forth its blossoms before April. There is, at least, two month's difference of climate between Carolina and this country. The inhabitants have observed, that the winters of Florida, are, generally, genial and warm; while the spring is cool and variable.

There was ice on the 18th of last April twelvemonth; though, I think it was stated, that there had been none

in January.

February 11th.—Three Indians came in to-day, with venison and wild turkies. Mr. Wanton informs me, that they furnish him with an unfailing and abundant supply of game.

Having long known Mr. Wanton, they are pleased at his residing among them, and had often invited him to settle in their country, before he resolved to do so.

This was a special favour, as they are, in general, very

jealous of the neighbourhood of the whites.

Mr. Wanton had been a clerk in the house of Panton, Leslie & Co. which, in the British time, dealt with the Indians; and these people, with a natural feeling, place great confidence in those whom they have long known, even where they have no particular acquaintance with the moral qualities of the individuals, whom they thus repose trust in.

Another trait in their character, is their great indulgence to their slaves. Though hunger and want be stronger than even the sacra fumes auri, the greatest pressure of these evils, never occasions them to impose onerous labours on the Negroes, or to dispose of them, though tempted by high offers, if the latter are

unwilling to be sold.

February 12th.—Rode to the site of Bowlegs' town, a distance of ten miles from Micconope, in a southwest direction.

We passed several small lakes, and six or seven wide savannas in this short distance. Most of them were full at this time; but, I was told, are generally dry in summer.

In some of them, there were very picturesque oak goves or islands, which could not possibly be improved by the hand of taste, as they are free from undergrowth, and appear to have been trimmed and dressed by the

Dryads themselves.

The country, though marked by these peculiarities, yet seems laid out by nature, for the support of a large population. The savannas are calculated for the nurture of large stocks of cattle and horses; while the rich hammocks around them, would form "fortunate fields," under the hand of industrious cultivation; and in the rear of these, there generally extend, high and dry pine lands, which would probably prove healthy situations for settlements.

We soon reached Waucahutche savanna, along which Bowlegs and his people had been settled. The Indian name of this chief, was Islaapaopaya, signifying Farawau.

His sequestered situation, however, did not place him out of the reach of his foes, and the wide spreading

evils of war.

By the incursion of the Tennesseeans in 1814, his country was laid waste, and he, himself, in a subsequent rencountre with the Americans, mortally wounded.

His deserted homestead was still visible, and clumps of alder trees marked the situations of the former cowpens along the savanna. Waucahutche signifies cow-

pen in the Seminole language.

I felt a melancholy sensation in listening to the remarks of our guide, a Negro, who had once resided on the settlement, and spoke of its former plenty and population.

The numerous paths that led to and from the town, were half grown up in bushes, and could, with difficulty, be traced.

Most of the land that we saw, in this day's ride, which was so circuitously extended, that it was night before we got in, was of the finest quality.

I have been informed, from good authority, that the whole region of country extending from Okefanokee Swamp, down to Tampa Bay, is, all along, equal in excellence to the lands we passed through to-day.

This tract, about an hundred miles in length, by fifteen or twenty in breadth, is considered by those acquainted with it, as superior to any body of soil in the United States, of similar extent—from its fertility, the nature of its climate, and the adjacency of the greater part of it, to convenient navigation.

The lakes and streams to the west of Alachua, are numerous; and wherever these abound, there must be a large body of good lands, as water courses are almost invariably bordered by an alluvial soil; and the ponds and savannas by which the peninsula is so much cha-

racterized, are generally found to be encircled with hammocks.

Into Alachua a very good navigation has lately been discovered to exist.

The northwestern branch of the Ocklewahaw, though, at present, obstructed by logs, has been found to be deep enough for keel-boats, up to Orange Lake, from which it flows, where there is always three feet water in the driest seasons.

This lake is fifteen miles in length, and approaches within six miles of Micconope, being to the northeast of the latter place.

Through this channel, not only will the produce of the interior country obtain a water carriage to the St. John's—but the vast bodies of oak timber, with which this region abounds, can be readily wasted to the points

where they may be wanted for ship-building.\*

From what has been here said, and the account given in the first part of this work, it will be seen, that the two sides of the peninsula, as divided by the St. John's, are very strongly contrasted in every respect. The western region being comparatively high, fertile, and well watered, and particularly characterized by innumerable lakes and savannas; while on the east, the land is low, generally stirile, and unmarked by the features of lakes and prairies. The whole, however, as I think I have shown, comprises a country of great value and resources.

In a political point of view, also, the acquisition of the Floridas, is of immense importance to the United States.

An enemy holding this country, would, in a time of war, have been enabled, from the shelter which its numerous creeks and inlets afford for privateering, greatly to annoy our commerce, and totally cut off the

<sup>\*</sup> It is the opinion of many, that the produce of this country will be transported to the head of the St. Mary's, and from thence to the town of that name; and that the latter will become the chief shipping port of the Province.

communication by sea, between the Atlantic and Western States.

Our obtaining these Provinces, therefore, brings into closer, and more solid contignation, the immense fabric of our confederacy; and may be said to have set the key-stone to the political arch of the Union.

The deep bays of Tampa and Pensacola, afford ample and secure southern stations to our Navy; and the whole country yields abundant materials and supplies

for our Naval Establishments.

The soil and climate being well adapted to the cultivation of sugar, will contribute to render us independent of other nations, for the supply of an article, which is

as well a necessary of life, as an elegant luxury.

It is a further advantage, that the Indians within our Southern limits, are now safe from the malignant influence and incitements of our enemies, to which they were previously subject; and will be thus rendered more docile to the humane measures, that have been adopted by our Government, for their civilization and improvement.

The Negro property, also in the South, is now surrounded with greater security, and rendered less susceptible of being converted into a source of domestic danger.

[The following account, has been hastily drawn up from detached notes, which the author made while travelling in the Seminole country: He must, therefore, bespeak the indulgence of the reader, towards any errors he may meet with in the composition. He trusts, that any defects of this kind, that may exist, will be, in some degree, compensated for, by the many new particulars which he has been enabled to glean, respecting a people, who have been recently brought into relations with our Government; and hopes, that some of the views presented on the interesting subject of civilizing the Indians, will be found not unworthy of attention.]

## ACCOUNT OF THE SEMINOLE NATION OF INDIANS.

IT has been generally understood, that this tribe of Indians were formed originally, by a casual association of fugitives and outlaws, from the Creek nation; and their name was supposed to indicate this origin, being said to signify Runaway, in the language of the last mentioned people. On making a particular inquiry, however, into this point, I find, that the foregoing account is not altogether correct.

The term Seminole, when strictly translated, means, a 'Wild People,' or Outsettlers; the ancestors of the tribe having detached themselves from the main body of the Creeks, and dwelt remotely, wherever the induce-

ments of more abundant game, or greater scope for freedom of action, might casually lead them; pursuing, in this respect, a course of life, analogous to the habits of many of our western borderers, at the present day.—They were thus, in fact, *Emigrants* from the Creeks, and entered Florida, as would appear, about an hundred years ago.

The period at which they assumed the character of a separate community, seems to be ascertainable with tolerable accuracy, both from their own chronology, and the connection of their history with that of the Yemasees; of whom, there occur, frequent notices in the accounts of the early settlement of Georgia and South-

Carolina.

In a Talk, which the Chiefs of the Seminole's lately transmitted to the American Government, they say, alluding to their ancient independence, and expressing themselves, as usual, in a figurative style—"An hundred summers have seen the Seminole warrior, reposing, undisturbed, under the shade of his live oak; and the Suns of an hundred winters, have risen on his ardent pursuit of the buck and the bear, with none to question his bounds, or dispute his range."

As they are, generally, very exact in these computations, as far as they undertake to carry them—the language here used, no doubt, points out, with correctness, the date of their national formation; and coincides very well, with other historical traces of this event, which

have lately come to our knowledge.

The greater part of East-Florida, appears to have been, originally, in possession of the Yemasees—a powerful people, who not only occupied this Province, but spread themselves over Georgia, and into the limits of South-Carolina, which, on its first demarcation, was bounded on the south by the Alatamahaw. Indeed, some of the tribes resided within the present borders of that State, in and about Beaufort and Savannah River, and also on the Sea-Islands.

Bartram relates, that these people, after a hardy contest, and many bloody defeats, were entirely extermi-

nated by their ancient enemies, the Creeks, who had tradition, which he preserves, that a beautiful race of Indians, whose women they called *Daughters of the Sun*, resided amidst the recesses of the great Oakefanokee wilderness, where they enjoyed perpetual felicity in ever blooming islands, inaccessible to human approach.

Bartram, with probability, supposes, that this fable took its rise from a fugitive remnant of the Yemasees, who found a refuge in this swamp, and were, perhaps, after a lapse of time, accidently seen by some of the

hunters of the Creek nation.

There is frequent mention, in the early Colonial History of South-Carolina, of wars between the first settlers and the Yemasees, the latter having been excited to attack the Colony, by the Spanish authorities in St. Au-

gustine.

In the year 1815, a formidable war was kindled by these people, which would have proved destructive to the infant settlement of Carolina, had not timely intimation of the danger been obtained, by means of one of the outsettlers, to whom, Sanute, a Chief of the hostile Indians, from a feeling of friendship, gave notice of the impending attack.

On this occasion, the Indians were defeated by Governor Grant, and driven out of the Province; and our historians relate, that they never, afterwards, proved

troublesome to the Colonists.

Dr. Ramsay mentions, that they retired into Florida; to which country, they seem to have been subsequently restricted, by the increasing power of the whites, and, probably also, by the hostilities of their hereditary

enemies, the Creeks.

No further mention of them occurs in our histories, until the Seminoles came into notice, by whom, they were conquered and exterminated, in the manner mentioned by Bartram. From all circumstances, this event appears to have occurred about the year 1721.

The Yemasees, as we have seen, were driven, in 1715, within the limits of Florida; and there are persons, now alive in that Province, who remember, in their youth, having seen some of the descendants of these people, who were in the condition of slaves to the Seminoles.

They relate, that the former were remarkably black Indians; and it is thought, the Ocklewahaw tribe, who are marked by a deeper shade than any of the Seminoles, are, probably, descendants of the conquered race.\*

From the best accounts I could obtain in Florida, it appears, that it was under King Payne, grandfather of Micconope, the present Chief, that the Seminoles invaded and achieved the conquest of the territories they now occupy. He is said to have lived to near an hundred years of age, and, late in life, married a Yemasee woman, his slave; by whom he had the late Chief Payne, who bore, in the darkness of his complexion, an unequivocal mark of his Yemasee descent.

I have been informed, that his people, when offended with him, or over their cups, were accustomed to question the legitimacy of his authority, from the circum-

stance of his being the son of a slave.

Holding the lands they possess, by the right of conquest, and also by the *Jure Divino*, which, as aboriginals, they may justly plead, it is to be hoped, that our Government will pay a proper respect to their national claims.

The late language, however, of our executive, upon this subject, inculcates a new policy, and seems to look to the extinguishment of all the native sovereignties within our limits.

The non-mention also, of these people, in the late treaty with Spain, augurs still further against the chance of their being treated as an independent nation.

President Monroe, in a message to Congress, broaches the doctrine—that as most of the misfortunes of

<sup>\*</sup> The Seminoles do not differ in complexion from the Creeks.

the Indians, have arisen from their being treated as independent communities—which has subjected them to the evils of wars, and overreaching negociations; that, therefore, to cease regarding them any longer in that capacity, and adopting some coercive plan for their improvement, would be the best means of promoting their future welfare and happiness. This argument, however, is of much too sweeping a character—as it would go to the justification of slavery, and would sanction any usurpation that we might choose to practice upon the rights of others.

It is very certain, that were the Indians reduced to servitude, they would no longer be liable to the various public evils, incident to their exercise of national functions; but, these evils, however numerous, in no way lessen the value of independence; in the same manner, as an exemption from them, does not render subjection

less odious, or more tolerable.

Were the least attempt made against their independence—rapidly progressive as has been their depopulation, we would soon see the remnant of their numbers

totally disappear.

The awful and swift destruction which took place among them after the Spanish conquest, was not the result of the labours imposed upon them—for, no people are more capable of continued exertion, as some facts I shall hereafter adduce, will satisfactorily show—but, it was solely the subjection of their spirit, the bitter cup of humiliation, drugged by servitude, that produced their speedy depopulation, and occasioned them to perish by nations, whenever they were brought into a state of slavery.

I am well aware, that it is not the intention of our Government, to act oppressively towards these people; but, neither, must we trench in any degree upon their independence; for, if we would preserve their numbers, or render them in any way useful, we must treat them, not worse, but rather better than we have hitherto done.

But, to go on with our history:—The aggregate number of this tribe, previous to the late war, was computed at fourteen or fifteen hundred, but they are now supposed not to exceed eleven, or, at most, twelve hundred. This body is, as usual, subdivided into several smaller tribes, who reside apart, but without claiming any particular property in the soil they inhabit; every part of which is held in common.

The Micasukies, form the largest of these distinct communities, there being many of the Lower Creeks among them. They reside on the western side of the Suwaney, within the limits, I believe, of West-Florida.

Another tribe, the Uchees, reside at Spring Gardens,

on the St. John's, ten miles south of Volusia.

A small number, called the Ocklewahaws, inhabit the shores of Lake Senufky, situate about midway between Volusia and the Ocklewahaw River.

The King, or Chief of the nation, Micconope, is settled with his Negroes, but not many Indians, at Pulacklicaha, distant thirty miles to the southwest of the crossing place on the Ocklewahaw.

At Chukichati and Hitchepucksasa, further west, towards Tampa Bay, there are a few others, forming a

very scattered population.

The families composing these several associations, are all distinguished from each other, by a regular heraldry, and by particular practices, or privileges—some of which have, probably, been accorded in remuneration for great national services, or conspicuous bravery in war.

Thus, the Wind family, exercise the right of inflicting certain punishments upon delinquents, among themselves, even after the solemn oblivion, which, according to their customs, is drawn over all past transactions, by the celebration of the green-corn festival, and the kindling of the new year's fire.

The general punishment for adultery, is ear-cropping, indiscriminately inflicted upon both sexes; but the above family, are in the practice of confining the pe-

nalty to the women alone, exercising it, at any time that the offender many fall into their power. They suppose an inherent frailty in the sex, who they alledge, are not sufficiently deterred from a commission of the crime, by the certainty of the penal award that awaits it. This idea, they illustrate by a figure, saying, probably, in allusion to their own name, that a tree, though broken by the wind, will yet continue to put forth new branches.

Their usual armorial bearings are, an eagle, bear,

opossum, turtle, &c.

It is not impossible, that these distinctions, which are common to many nations, and are very ancient, may have given rise to the singular invention of apologues or fables, in which animals are introduced as interlocutors.

These symbols of lineage, with the privileges annexed to them, would seem inconsistent with the general democracy of their practice and principles, and presents the singular connection of a military aristocracy, with civil equality: an institution, which many legislators have thought to be the very perfection of Government.

Their punishments, as might be expected, from the rarity of crimes among them, are few, but summary, and are never remitted: so that they have attained one of the greatest objects of penal legislation-that of imparting definity to their laws, and absolute certainty to their operation. They never employ torture—and no unnecessary pain is inflicted, in the execution of their Their regulations being adapted to an punishments. unvarying state of society, never require alteration; and, therefore, though unwritten, are well understood-undeviatingly enforced-and unmurmuringly obeyed; which is, certainly, much more than can be said for the recorded laws and labouriously digested codes of civilized communities.

In the savage state, laws at first arising out of obvious exigencies—undergo, after a lapse of time, owing to the unchangeable nature of the aboriginal condition—a happy transmutation, assuming the character of revered

customs; and thus derive a double sanction from their intrinsic justice, and their venerated antiquity.\* Their laws, being originally rational, and having acquired this vast strength from time—bind them to their particular mode of existence, by almost infrangible ties. Hence, one of the difficulties we meet with, in attempting to civilize them—for they cannot be brought to respect laws that they do not understand—and which, being to them new, must want the recommendation of antiquity, which belongs to their own principles—for novelty, is equivalent to recency in its effects upon our imperfect senses.

If there were folly, or mere superstition in their general practices, there might be some hope of bringing them over to the adoption of our habits; but, to live in the woods, and maintain themselves by their cunning, dexterity and exertions—to be content with a sufficiency—to regulate their society by obvious principles; and proportion punishments to the moral grade of offences—is a mode of life, and a system of government, continued, indeed, through ignorance, but not inconsistent with natural reason; while many of our habits and customs

are so, as we ourselves acknowledge.

The savage, then, enjoying the use of right reason, sees a great deal to revolt his understanding, in many of our customs; and is particularly struck and repelled by what is unnatural and over-artificial in our institutions and conduct.

Philosophers, among ourselves, see a great deal to condemn in the arrangements and imperfections of the social system, and minds of strong perceptions and keen sensibility, though familiarized to the defects of society, have been driven into misanthropy, by dwelling too long upon this dark side of the picture—by their sense of the general injustice, the vices, corruptions, and moral deformities of all kinds, that encounter their observation, at every step in life, and every view of the

strange variety of being, included in our vaunted state of civilization.

Considering, then, that ignorance is not inconsistent with a clear and active state of the reasoning powers, we cannot be surprized, to see the savage reject our boasted improvements and silken luxuries—and more abstinent than our first parents, untempted even by the blooming fruit of the tree of knowledge, of which they behold so many suspicious effects in our unjust actions, and in the anomolies and unequality of our condition.

But, to return to their laws:—The punishment for murder, is always death; for adultery, ear-cropping and mutilation of the face. In cases of theft, they inflict, for the first offence, flagellation; for the second, ear-cropping; and a third repetition of the crime, is pun-

ished with death.

In instances, where an offender escapes—the penalty attached to his offence, is visited upon his nearest relatives, and his mother, sister, or brother, are subjected to punishment—but never the father; for they have a strange opinion, that they are more nearly related on the mother's than on the father's side. This singular notion occasions a further peculiarity in the devisal of

property among them.

Where the father of a family dies, the mass of his property is always inherited by his sister's son, upon the principle before mentioned—that his sister, being from the same womb—her children are more nearly related to him, than a son, born to him from a woman, not connected with him by the natural ties of blood. The authority of a Chief descends in the same way. Thus, Micconope, the present head of the nation, is the nephew of King Payne; and Sitarky, the next in authority, is in the same degree related to Bowlegs, from whom he inherited a considerable property; while the wife and children of the latter, have scarcely a sufficiency. I saw them at Mr. Dexter's, who, I believe, has taken the children under his care.

They allow Polygamy, and a man has, in general, two wives, and sometimes, though rarely, three. Even where there is this number, and though the husband confines himself, in some cases, exclusively to one—thus destroying the balance of power among the female parties to the alliance; these circumstances, I am told, never create any discord in the household; but, each neglected spouse, with exemplary patience and duty, submits, without murmuring, to the preference, by which she is thus extruded from the bed, though not from the board of her imperious lord.

May not this happy arrangement be likened, in some degree, to that Virginia management, by which, pre-eminence has been given to one member of our confederacy, to the exclusion of the claims of the other fair daughters of the Union, without materially interrupting that married calm of states, which we so fortunately enjoy, though it has, certainly, sometimes threatened to intro-

duce trouble into the wigwam.

Courtship, in all cases, consists merely in asking the consent of parents; and where this is obtained, the sending a present by the lover, to the object of his affections, who is herself but little consulted, and generally ac-

quiesces in the arrangements of her parents.

Where objections are made, strange to relate, they commonly have reference, solely, to the temper or character of the suitor—but, never to his circumstances; a suitable establishment, in our sense of the phrase, being no object with those, to whom love in a cottage is no romance; but, on the contrary, is their highest condition, and includes both content and sufficient possessions. Thus, a poor fellow may always get himself a wife—and the charms of the unportioned maid, are not left to wither on the thorn of neglect, for the want of gold and gear to attract her admirers.

Love arms his bow against the softer sex, with arrows drawn from the quiver\* of the successful huntsman, or

<sup>\*</sup> The rifle having been rather prosaically substituted for archery by the Indians, the above observation is not strictly cor-

hero, and wounds the warrior, from amidst the well-

braided tresses of the tawny maid.

The Indian lover is not like more polished suitors, satisfied to obtain the hand and money of his fair-one-marriage being with him, not an affair of the purse, but of the heart; and like the nightingale, he wooes his rose in shade, attracted solely by its beauty and

grace.

The indulgence of the natural affections, is permitted to a people, whose barbarous condition places them above want, and below the proud cares of wealth, and the voluntary anxieties of ambition.\* Satisfied with the shelter of the tree, and the usual supplies of the forest, they can literally live without either bread or gold, and are happy in this simple condition. The husband is, of course, expected to maintain his wife—but, this are can always do, as soon as he acquires the usual accomplishments of the huntsman.

I do not know, that the tender passion ever assumes a very sentimental character among them, though I have heard anecdotes, which would countenance the idea, that such is sometimes the case: and seem to show, that while love flies the circles of refinement, and the palace of Kings, he does not disdain to suspend his lamp under the bark hut, and pillow his head upon the

deer-skin couch.

I shall not, however, inflict any love-stories upon the reader, but proceed with the opposite subject, of matrimony, as it is regulated among these people, who, though they resign themselves to this honest state, with sufficient fortitude, yet take some liberties, which a

rect; but, on the subject of love, we may be allowed to be a little poetical.

<sup>\*</sup> The gaity attributed to the Seminoles, by Bartram, I have had no opportunity of observing. When I was among them, however, their natural spirit could not be expected to display itself, as they were then suffering under the protracted effects of the late war.

Bishop would not approve, but which, as their historian,

The pluralties, contracted by the husband, are but little valued on his part, as he puts away a wife, wheneven he sees lit to do so, without being obliged to assign a reason for it, and, forthwith, supplies himself with another rib; while the women, if they have previously planted a crop, is not disengaged, until after the kindling of the new-year's fire. This regulation was probably adopted, in order to prevent the loss of any part of the harvest, from the want of a sufficient number of hands to gather it in—for I could not learn, that their tilling the earth together, is regarded by them as a sacred ceremony.

If the parties separate before the setting of the crop, the repudiated wife is under no restraint, and may im-

mediately contract another marriage.

Widows are condemned to an abstinence from matrimony for four years; during which, they neglect their tresses, as a mark of grief for their deceased consort.

It is singular, that this mode of manifesting affliction, is an ancient custom, common to many nations, as if it were the idea of those who practice it, that the force of grief, like the strength of Sampson, resided in the hair.

This long widowhood, certainly evinces a regard to decency, and a propriety of sentiment, not to have been expected among savages; but, being only the observance of an ignorant race, and altogether unknown in civilized society, where, on the contrary, even a "wicked speed" is allowed to those, who happen to be in a partial hurry to get married again; I am bound, according to all historical usage, to set down the above as a barbarous custom.

It might possibly, however, contribute to the harmony of the married state, if a deceased husband were thus always honoured, as the good man, in the case of an unhappy marriage, would be sure of being revenged in this way, for any disquiet which an unmanageable virago may cost him, and thus would be more reconciled

to his fate—while his amiable help-mate, instead of the ancient and approved method of tormenting him to death, would, rather than encounter an enforced grief, be induced to submit to and cherish him, as the least evil of the two.

It is remarkable, that savages are never wanting in respect to the dead; and the people I am describing, svince an excess, and even madness of grief, on the death of friends or relatives.

The ululations at the Irish funerals, are outdone by the shrieks and wailful cries, that are uttered, and extravagance of affliction, exhibited by the Indians on such occasions. They often wound themselves, and give a loose to the most frantic sorrow. It looks as if their feelings, generally pent up by pride, and rendered gloomy, by the vast solitudes in which they dwelk, break forth, when they do find vent—as under the foregoing circumstances, or in the day of battle—with the ungovernable fury of a subterraneous stream, that suddenly finds an escape from its concealment.

Some few other customs of this tribe are peculiar,

and deserve notice.

Baron Humbold mentions, that the Indians of Guiana, and also the inhabitants of some of the Pacific islands, have the custom, where twins are born, of destroyin gone of them; and it is very remarkable, that this practice

prevails among the Seminoles.

The people of Guiana, according to the Baron, assign several reasons for this proceeding; and, among others, allege, that the production of twins, assimilates them to beasts. The Seminoles, also, have this idea; but, their chief motive, as they attempted to explain it to me, I could not exactly understand. They say, that where twins are born, if both were suffered to live, their affections would go together, and they would be exclusively attached, either to one or other of their parents, in which case, whoever of the latter they should decide against, would inevitably die, or fall under some misfortune. This shocking custom, undoubtedly, does

exist; and twins, I am told, are not unfrequent among them.

While at the Negro town on the Big Swamp, I saw a black woman, who had twins; and she assured me, that when they were first born, the Indians strongly urged her to destroy one of them. Yet, no people are more fond of their children, and none so indulgent.

This is, indeed, a general characteristic of the Indians. Charlevoix, on this point, says—"The care they take of their children, is beyond expression," &c. He again observes—"They may justly be reproached with that manner of bringing up their children—they know not what it is to chastise them," &c. He states—"That some mothers have been known, to have kept the dead bodies of their children whole years, and wanted never to go from them. Others draw milk from their breasts, and pour it upon the tomb of these little creatures."

These traits evince, that the moral affections and human sympathies, those honours of the heart that elevate our nature, and confer on it a higher dignity than any titles it can derive from the proudest achievements of intellect, are not denied to the savage breast: but, perhaps, burn there with an intenser glow, and diffuse a more genuine warmth around the hearth of the wigwam, than in the loftier circles of civilization and social refinement. For it should seem, that the human mind, like steel, most grow cold, before it can receive its utmost polish and highest finishing; while among the lower walks of social life, in the hovels of poverty, we seek, in vain, for those generous virtues, which are found to abide under the humble hut of the untutored natives of the forest.

Some philosophers, confining their view to the bright side of the savage character, for it certainly has its bright side, have run into paradoxes upon this subject; and have questioned, whether the glories of civilization and social refinement, are not more than countervailed, by the full compliment of disadvantages and evils, by which they are always accompanied; and whether our intellectual advancement, and the improvement of society, do not contribute much more to our pride, than to the promotion of our real and solid happiness.

If the inquiry could, with any regard to its true merits, be restricted to an investigation of the comparative advantages, of the savage and the civilized state; if the question involved no higher considerations, than those that relate to our wordly welfare and comforts-the philoso. pher and the sophist, might without any stretch of toleration, be allowed to carry on the discussion, and display, both for our amusement and instruction, all the resources and inventions of disputative defence and attack; and all the latest and most approved arts of literary dexterity and gladiatorship-for were it merely contended, that civilization enlarges the bounds of the understanding and the sphere of our pleasures, and the social state can be only recommended as affording the hest securities to our worldly interests and happinessknowledge would, under such a view be divested of one half of its dignity and importance; and the paradox, that "ignorance is bliss," might, without harm, be advocated, and even plausibility maintained. when we revolve the animating truth, that in proportion as we progress in wisdom, in the same degree, are we elevated in the scale of moral beings; and so much the nearer is the human soul, assimilated to the divine mind from which it sorung, and prepared for the participation of an immortal existence, in a higher state hereafter: the question is, at once, put upon its proper basis, and the spider-threads of sophistry, ceasing to entangle the understanding, rather serve as so many clues, to guide it out of the dark and treacherous labyrinth of controversy and doubt. Who would not rather climb, however arduous the ascent, the lofty Pisgah of divine knowledge, from which the blissful land of promise is discried afer, then linger in the vale below, in the "valley of the darkness and shadow of death?" Instructed man cannot be ignorant of his Creator: and once informed

of his origin and duties, he becomes a moral and accountable agent, approaching by every step, either theglowing goal of endless felicity, or the gaping gulf of

irreversable misery.

The savage, also, is not without his aspirations after futurity, and hopes "to meet the warriors of his youth in the country of spirits;" but, this is rather a wish than a faith; and he, at any rate, looks only to a repetition of his earthly existence, and conceives of no superior moral condition in another state. Yet, let us not decide, illiberally, against either the character, the intellect, or

feelings of the uninformed Indian.

I think it has been shown, that some of the emotions that do most honour to our nature, have a place, in his breast: and even the Christian philosopher may admit, that the unconverted son of the forest, in general, evinces, both a knowledge of, and a disposition to discharge most of the main duties of life; for this concession is not inconsistent with his favourite texts of scripture, in which we are taught, that a moral formation was originally given to the mind of man, and a light of nature imparted to it, which enables him, in the absence of revelation, to distinguish between right and wrong; and leads him to the practice of virtue, though it cannot conduct him to the knowledge of God.

Even the cruelties practised by the Indian, in time of war, arise less from a barbarity of disposition, than from the ancient law of retaliation, which he deems of impe-

rative obligation.

One of the early historians of our tribes, (Adair,) whose information has never been impeached, and who was forty years a trader among them, has given us a very important clue, to the true character of their well known conduct towards their prisoners. He says—"When an Indian sheds blood, it does not proceed from wantonness, or the view of doing evil—but, solely to put the law of retaliation in force—to return one injury for another. But, if he has received no ill, and has no suspicion of the kind, he usually offers no injury

to those who fall in his power; but is moved with compassion, in proportion to what they seem to have undergone. Such as they devote to the fire, they flatter with the hope of being redeemed, as long as they can, to prevent giving them any previous anxiety, which their

law of blood does not require."

He elsewhere mentions, that so far do they carry this principle of retaliation, "that a boy, shooting birds in the high thick corn-fields, unfortunately chanced slightly to wound another with his childish arrow; the young vindictive fox was excited, by custom, to watch his ways with the utmost patience, until the wound was returned in as equal a manner as could be expectedthen all was straight, according to their phrase."

That this spirit of revenge, which they are supposed to nourish so inveterately, is often exercised, rather in obedience to overruling custom, than from a strongly impelling feeling of vengeance, has been confirmed to me by an anecdote, that has lately come to my knowledge. A family of Indians is at present residing at Volusia one of whom, Mr. Dexter, likening his situation, when he first settled in a savage solitude, to that of the hero of Defoe's tale, has called Friday, from the faithful attachment which this honest creature evinced towards him. under many trying circumstances, and when his life was exposed to daily danger. Friday, like all the rest of his race, is very fond of ardent spirits, but has voluntarily requested Mr. Dexter, as a friend, to withhold them from him; alleging, not that they injured his health, but, that when excited by their effects, his memory ran upon a deed of blood, committed in his youth, a remorse for which, he says, will haunt him while he lives. His story is briefly this :- His brother, to whom he was greatly attached, was killed in a quarrel by Friday's most particular friend. Though greatly exasperated at this injury, he confesses, that he felt the utmost reluctance to put the law of retaliation in force. as was usual in such cases; but, a dread of the contempt with which the whole nation would have viewed him, had he failed to revenge the death of his brother, prevailed over every other feeling; therefore, loading his rifle, he, in open day, advanced up to, and shot the murderer—the latter making no resistance—for it is notorious, that among these people, an offender rarely, if ever, avoids punishment, though if he flies, and returns after the kindling of the new-year's fire, he is safe from molestation.

One of the causes of their submitting thus quietly to the award of justice, is, the great disgrace that is attached to the avoidance of punishment. He who makes his escape, and afterwards returns into the nation, is overwhelmed with a weight of odium and contempt,

which he prefers death to encountering.

General Mitchell, late Agent for the Creeks, informed me, when I was passing through that nation some years ago, that at a meeting of the Indians, which took place at the agency, one of the warriors killed another in a rencounter-but, far from attempting to fly, remained near the spot where the action was committed, until he was taken into custody by the Chiefs, who, after a short investigation of the circumstances, condemned him to · die. According to custom, they appointed the nearest relative of the deceased to be his executioner. Their mode of inflicting death, in these cases, is, to hold the arms of the culprit, who never gives any trouble by struggling, while a person, armed with a long knife, stabs him under the mid-riff, by which, he is generally killed without much suffering. The Indian, who had this duty to perform, on the above occasion-through agitation, or want of strength, gave the stroke so feebly, as only to wound the prisoner, who, with imperturbable fortitude, cooly pushed him aside, and observed, he was an old woman, and unfit for his office. One of the Chiefs then took the weapon, and dispatched him at a blow. General Mitchell mentioned, that their famous Chief, M'Intosh, was present, who observed to him, that he would rather have lost any ten of his warriors, than this man; but, such is the unchangability and regular operation of their laws, that he dared not interfere.

or use any influence to save him.

Such traits as these, are calculated to awaken a doubt, whether we have yet properly appreciated the character of these people; and should, at any rate, occasion us to look more narrowly, than we have been accustomed to do, into the conduct of our Western and Southern borderers; who, I hesitate not to say, are, in general, inferior in honesty, and elevation of feeling to the Indians, and often aggress most unjustly upon the latter.

I have heard a person, well acquainted with the Indians, aver, that where they commit hostilities, it is always upon the principle of retaliation; and this being known to be the chief spring on all their violent actions, we cannot but be inclined to give some credence to the above opinion. Even were it only partially correct, we would have a very heavy account to settle with this

much injured race.

All the first visitors of the continent, testify, that the Indians received them with hospitality, and the most affecting simplicity of kindness; and the first blood that was shed between them and the whites, was due to the

aggressive acts of the latter.

The little that these is deserving of imitation in the manners of the Europeans, and the injuries they received, which their principles taught them never to forget, have been among the chief causes of the failure of all attempts to civilize them. The remembrance of their wrongs, occasions the light of knowledge to fall, in vain, upon the darkness of their brooding revenge; and their contempt for our vices and injustice, will, probably forever prevent their receiving as teachers, those whom they can neither respect nor love.

Smyth, a traveller, who visited this country soon after the Revolution, pointedly observes of the Indians, that "they have fallen into many of our vices, these appearing, in the most conspicuous point of view; and I am afraid, that our virtues are so few, and even those

so difficult to be discovered, that the poor Indians can-

not distinguish any of them to follow after."

It is certain, that without being civilized, they have adopted many of our worst vices and habits, and have been deteriorated by their intercourse with us. It forcibly illustrates the fell nature of our depravities, that they have been capable of adding a stain even to barbarism, and depreciate the very savage to lower grade in the moral scale, than he before occupied.

Colden, in his history of the five nations, exclaims—
"Alas! what have we Christians done, to make them
better? We have reason, indeed, to be ashamed, that
these infidels, by our conversation and neighbourhood,
have become worse than they were before they knew
us—instead of virtues, we have only taught them vices,
which they were entirely free from before that time."
He explains the process by which they acquire some of
those vices—"They have never been taught to conquer
any passon but by some other passion; and the traders,
with whom they chiefly converse, are so far from giving
them any abhorrence of this vice, (drunkenness) that
they encourage it all they can, not only for the profit of
the liquor they sell, but that they may have an opportunity to impose on them."

The hostilities, also, which were fomented amongst them, by the rival Colonies of Great Britain and France, kept them in a state of perpetual warfare which tended to render them more barbarous, than

they were found on the first discovery.

The breaking up, too, of their old settled towns, which frequently happened in these wars—the destruction of their synedrions or temples, in which their sacred things were kept, occasioned the discontinuance of many of their religious rites, which could not but produce a further deterioration of their character.

That they are much altered for the worse, there can be no doubt. The writers, who speak of them at early periods of their history, seem scarcely to have regarded them as savages. Charlevoix thus expresses himself"It must be acknowledged, that the nearer view we take of our savages, the more we discover in them some valuable qualities. The chief part of the principles by which they regulate themselves, their conduct, the general maxims by which they govern themselves, and the bottom of their character, have nothing which appears barbarous."

Smyth, whom I have before quoted, uses nearly the same language. He says—"In every thing but their revengeful disposition, I admire and respect the real character of the native, uncivilized, uncorrupted In-

dians."\*

I have shown, that their revengeful practices, and their treatment of prisoners, have not been properly understood; but, allowing these to be as bad as they have been represented, we must subscribe to the truth of the remark made by Colden, that there has been, generally, as much cruelty in the customs of civilized nations, if not a great deal more. "Witness," he exclaims, "the Carthagenians and Phenicians, burning their own children alive in sacrifices, in several passages of the Jewish history; and witness, in later times, the Christians burning each other for God's sake."

It is but lately, that Christians can boast of more humanity than savages; and if we look to the treatment of the Irish Catholics, and the late massacre of Protestants in France, even this concession might

justly be withheld.

The people I am describing, suffered severely from the late contest with the United States—which has been erroneously termed the Seminole war, as they never aggressed upon, or intended to wage hostilities against the Americans—but, were involved in the conflict by the Lower Creeks, who, after their defeat by General

<sup>\*</sup>They greatly sully, however, their noble virtues by the passion of revenge, which, they think, it not only lawful, but honourable to exert, without mercy, on their country's enemies, and for this only it is, that they can deserve the name af barbarians:—Colden.

Jackson, took refuge among the Seminoles, and were pursued by M'Intosh and his warriors, who, making war, indiscriminately, upon both people, laid waste the country, and destroyed a great amount of property, belonging to the unoffending party—for the Seminoles acted wholly on the defensive.

The number of the Creeks, thus forced in among them, adding greatly to the consumption of their remaining means of subsistence, they have been reduced to the brink of famine; and the present appearance of most

of them is squalid, and wretched in the extreme.

Previous to their misfortunes, they were considered the most wealthy of the American tribes, possessing immense herds of cattle, as their country afforded an uncommon fine range for stock. Bowlegs, one of their Chiefs, sold, annually, a thousand head of steers, and was in the habit of killing, daily, a portion of cattle, for the use of his people. In addition to this, they had a number of horses, and a large body of Negroes, distributed among them-who raised a sufficiency of provisions, both for themselves and their Indian owners. About four hundred of these still reside among them, but, it is probable, that this hoard will be broken up by the American Government—as their existence, in their present state, is incompatible with the safety and interests of the planters of Florida. They are not all fugitives, the Indians having been in the habit of purchasing slaves with cattle, when they were rich in the latter species of property.

In the late war, the infamous Colonel Woodbine, who received a colonial commission from one of the English West-India Governors, at the very time that a reward was offered, by his Government, for his apprehension: regularly embodied and armed several hundred of these Negroes—by whom, the Indians, themselves, were kept in awe—and for a period, were placed in the worst of all political conditions, being under a dulocracy or

government of slaves.

The Negroes uniformly testify to the kind treatment they receive from their Indian masters, who are indul-

gent, and require but little labour from them.

Hence, though their number was, at one time, considerable, they never furnished the Indians with any surplus produce, for the purposes of trade; but, barely made them sufficient provisions for necessary consump-The Negroes dwell in towns apart from the Indians, and are the finest looking people I have ever They dress and live pretty much like the Indians, each having a gun, and hunting a portion of his Like the Indians, they plant in common, and form an Indian field apart, which they attend together. They are, however, much more intelligent than their owners, most of them speaking the Spanish, English, and Indian languages. Though stouter than the aborigines, it is very singular to observe, how much they resemble the Indians in figure, being longer limbed, and more symetrically formed than the Negroes of the plantations in the States.

It was observed to me by the late Agent for the Creeks, that it was easier to make fifty white men savages, than to induce one Indian to adopt the habits of civilization; and the facility with which their customs are assumed by others, is exemplified in the case of the Negroes, who, though comparatively civilized, in their manners pursue pretty much the same mode of life as their owners—while the latter do not, in any circumstance, imitate the conduct of the blacks, but, in every particular, adhere to their primitive mode of existence.

The partial union of wild and of social habits, as exhibited in the Negro settlements, presents a very singular anamoly, no where else, perhaps, to be met with. The gentle treatment they experience from the Indians, is a very amiable trait in the character of the latter.

Whan, a very intelligent black interpreter, who had been one of the slaves of King Payne, on my questioning him upon this subject, assured me, that his old master, as he called him, had always treated him with the utmost humanity and kindness, and often condescended to give him lessons for his conduct, instructing him to adhere to truth and honesty, and endeavour to act well in his course through life. Whan has profitted by these inculcations, being remarkable for his good character and intelligence—the Indians reposing the utmost confidence in him, when making use of his services, in their dealings with the whites. This Negro mentioned to me, as a proof of the kindly feelings of his master, that the latter, on announcing his will, a short time before his death, particularly directed, that his favourite horse should not be shot, (for it is a custom with the Indians, to destroy all the personal property of the dead) but, be well taken care of by his surviving daughter.

Micconope, his nephew, the present Chief, is a young man, and does not seem to be much respected by the nation. They say, that if their old Chiefs, Payne and Bowlegs, were alive, they would, ere this, have come to some understanding with our Government, on the subject of their future limits, and the just rights of the nation.

This Chief resides at Pulaclicaha, sixty-five miles to the southwest of Volusia, being about midway between the latter place and Tampa Bay. I designed, at one time, making a journey in that direction, but, was obliged from circumstances, to give it up; and, therefore, have never seen him. Mr. Dexter told me, that he was well settled, and was hospitable, and affable in his manners.

It is understood, that the Government is desirous of inducing these people to evacuate the peninsula, and remove to the west of the Suwaney's. The Creeks, who have been spoken to on the subject, are willing to receive them.

No understanding has, as yet, been had with them upon this point; but, they have had some intimation, that such a proposition will be made to them, and I am informed, have expressed themselves very averse to it.

They have remarkably fine hunting grounds to the south, which are not to be equalled any where else; and are, also, more erratic in their habits than the Creeks, occupying their flying camps for many months in the year. They are so long out, that their families always follow, and reside with them in this unsettled manner. The head of the family first goes out, and fixes on a favourable situation. The whole household follow, as soon as they think this has been done; and, I am told, are always enabled to find the person they are in search of, however distantly he may have located himself, by means of certain signs, which he leaves upon the trees

on his way.

It is known, that all the tribes possess the art of communicating with each other, by a species of picturewriting, which may either have been derived from the Mexicans, or possibly constitutes the rudiments carried to higher improvement by the latter. This is, probably, the nascent stage of all scriptive inventions. picture inditing, would, necessarily in time, be rendered more comprehensive by being shortened, that is, by means of abreviations, and thus, might gradually lead to the employment of hieroglyphics, the latter being, in fact, nothing more than a species of short-hand painting, if I may be allowed the expression. The ancients, struck with the wonder-working powers of the alphabet, concluded the invention to have been innascible from any human source, and considered it as a present from the Gods; while others, running to a contrary extreme, have traced it to the Pigmies, who were supposed to have dervied it " a volatu gruum," from the flight of cranes, whose flocks, when flying, exhibit a model of the letter A. But, though we may often trace great effects to little causes, we surely need not go, in this instance, quite to Gerania for the source of this wonderful invention; when we find that painting, one of the noblest of the fine arts, is not beyond the inventive powers of savages; and was, probably, the daughter of necessity in the earliest stage of society—having been, at first, more a useful, than an ornamental art.

Nature having furnished the colours—the power of designing, and the occasions for using them, to the hand of the savage—the contrivance of letters, was, in all likelihood, of later date; and, therefore, an easier achievement for the mind of man. The arts are all so intimately connected with one another, that the ancients well represented the Muses as sisters, and as the daughters of memory. This parentage may have been assigned from the circumstance of painting, which was, probably, the first stage of letters, having been, perhaps, originally employed as among the Mexicans, commemoratively—that is, in preserving the memory of past events.

I shall now proceed to notice a custom, which, I believe, is not peculiar to the Seminoles; but, being connected with one of the peculiarities of the aboriginal character, will lead me into a discussion of the causes—which, I consider, as presenting the chief obstacles to

the civilization of the race.

Two or three weeks after a child is born, the mother takes it to the public square, and walking three times round the place, proclaims, at certain intervals, the name that has been fixed on for the infant, but which, by a singular usage, is not permanently imposed-yielding, pretty early in life, to some nick-name, by which it is always better known. I was told, that an extraordinary peculiarity prevailed among them, which was, that they were always averse to tell their names; and that further, they never spoke to, or of each other, in conversation, by name, except where they referred to a person not present, or at a distance. I was at a loss to understand the meaning of this, until I learned the fact, that most of their names acquired, after a certain period of childhood, are sportively given, being often derived from some trifling or ludicrous occurrence. Hence, each individual is unwilling to acknowledge his own nick-name; and with a degree of deference towards his companions, avoids repeating their various mockadditions, except when they are absent, or at a distance. When I questioned an Indian upon this subject, and observed to him, that we could not carry on any intercourse among ourselves, without the constant use of each other's names, he merely said, that it was not so with them, and that it sounded strange to them, to be addressed by name. I could not learn, that there is any power in their language, or any mode of intonation. by which they are thus enabled to dispense with the use of the personal nouns; and, therefore, think that there can be no other explanation given, than the one I have offered above. My idea seems verified by the fact, that when they wish to show particular respect to any one of their countrymen, they do not call him by his common appellation—but, if he has a child, speak of him as the father of such a one; because, I presume, the names of children are solemnly imposed, and have in them nothing ludicrous. Another circumstance that throws light upon this practice, is that where they acquire a war title, or a name in the chase, they always challenge, and are proud to be called by it. mock appellations might, very possibly, be regarded even as reproaches, in as much as they are proofs, that those who bare them, have not yet acquired any higher distinctions, or signalized themselves in either hunting or war. May not these "petty brands" or satires, be politicly applied, for the purpose of stimulating the young, to seek more honourable designations by deeds of valour in war, or of daring in the chase. It is certain, that the imposition of a war-name, was a very solemn ceremony among many of our tribes. Adair describes the manner in which it was conducted in his time among the Creeks. He says, that on the day appointed, their Archimagus or Priest, presented hinself in the middle of the public square, holding a wreathe of swan feathers, the people being assembled on the occasiou. After some minor ceremonies, the successful warriors advanced towards the Priest, and

danced around him with wild and threatening gestures, repeating this three times, when they stop, and were crowned amidst the applauses of the people, each, at the same time, receiving a war title appropriate to the exploit he may have performed. The impermanence of their names, until they succeed in acquiring a military distinction, which becomes lasting when it is obtained, has the effect of keeping their minds in a state of ambitious abevance; and when the honour is won, their martial pride is gratified, and necessarily raised to the highest point of exaltation. Hence, Adair observes, that he who is a successful\* warrior among them, "is the proudest creature living." if we may so call it, if not an improvement, is certainly a refinement upon the aristocratic scheme, in which, honours alone are held out as incitements to the ambitious; while among these people, it would appear, that in addition to this stimulus, a set of degrading appellatives are reserved for those, who do not seek, or have not yet acquired renown, by any feats of the forest, or of war.

The hunter's state, also, is a necessary appendage, or rather, the first stage of the military institution of which I have been speaking; and is, consequently, equally opposed to any assimilation between their habits and

ours.

The chase, it has been justly observed, is an *image* of war; and so true is this, that the Indians view it exactly in that light, and pursue it partly with the object of accomplishing themselves as warriors.

By a regulation among the Seminoles, he who brings in a certain number of deer-skins, in a given time, is, with solemn ceremony, enrolled and ranked as a war-

<sup>\*</sup> From these causes it is, he observes, that there are no instances of desertion in war among them, each individual being equally desirous of distinction. "There are no instances of desertion in war among the Indians, for they do not, like the Swiss, fight for hire, but only for wreather of swan feathers."

rior. Thus, every conceivable difficulty is opposed to the object, of weaning them from their venatic habits.

We may further trace, in our own feelings and sentiments, some of the causes which bind them so strengly to their original condition. Inheriting from nature the magnificent possession of a world, over which they were free to roam, wherever wood or stream afforded them a more inviting abundance, while they neither toiled nor spun—it cannot be wondered at, that having long enjoyed this real aristocracy of condition, they should shrink from the degradation of personal labour, and rather continue to glean the forest, or troll the lake, while these sources yet furnish them a precarious subsistence.

Among ourselves, we see, that the titled and the wealthy, when brought down from their "high estate;" though sunk in fortune, remain unfallen in spirit, and are unwilling to descend to those honest employments, from which both comfort and independence might be drawn—being but too prone to consider these as incompatable with their pretensions; and in most cases exhibit a conduct very similar to that of our poor Indians—affecting their former associations and the habits of their

more fortunate days.

It cannot, then, be expected, that a people, composed chiefly of warriors, whose pride, as Adair observes, "surpasses all description," will, without great difficulty, be induced to engage in employments which they view as degrading—and the pursuits of agriculture to which we would lead them, they necessarily regard in this light—first, because the little tillage practised among themselves, is carried on by women; and they further see, that this kind of labour is generally assigned to slaves by the whites, or is the occupation of only the poorer sort of our people.

Laziness, which is ascribed to them as a leading fault, and is supposed to be the chief source of their aversion to work, has, I am persuaded, nothing to do in the case; and, indeed, from some facts which have

lately come to my knowledge, I am inclined to believe, that indolence or inexertion, are far from forming any

part of their natural character.

The efforts and fatigues of the chase, and the wars either of defence or aggression, in which they are so frequently engaged, necessarily occasions them to indulge in a temporary indolence while at home; and as it is during these periods of relaxation, that the opportunities of travellers for observing their manners, chiefly occur, the accounts we have of their occasional idleness, are both mistaken and greatly exaggerated.

Their devolving all domestic drudgery upon their women, is another circumstance very erroneously relied on as a proof of their tyranny, and indisposition to With respect to the charge of arbitrary conduct in this case, I think, that their general kind treatment of their slaves, which I had before adverted to, and their characteristic indulgence to their children, are traits, that ought to lead us to suspect the existence of some error, in the commonly received ideas respecting their manners towards the softer sex. The true history of this alleged oppressive conduct to their wives, I take to be this: The frequent and long absences from home, which were inforced upon the men, by their hunting and war expeditions, rendered it necessary, in a great degree, that the cultivation on which they partly relied for subsistence, should be remitted to the care and attention of the women,\* while their assigning to the latter, the labour of carrying the burthens and moveables of the family, during their journies, must have been an equally indispensable measure, from their liability to be surprized by their enemies in their progress, and the expediency of being armed and prepared against the ambuscades and attacks that might beset

<sup>?</sup> The employments thus, at first, devolved upon the women from necessity, have very naturally come to be considered as degrading to warriors; and pride, not laziness, is the true cause of the disinclination of the men to engage in any kind of drudgery.

their route. Indeed, the tillage practised among them, is so slight, that the labour of the women employed in it, cannot be great; and as they are as hardily brought up as the men, is, in all likelihood, in no way oppressive.

Adair, who was forty years an Indian trader, and, therefore, must have known something of their character, observes, that "they cannot endure the least shadow of despotic power;" and, in truth, such is their noble harred of tyranny, that they will neither bare it themselves, nor pollute their hands, by exercising it over others.

Having shown, I think, that laziness is not the source of their aversion to labour, or of their conduct to their women, I shall now mention some singular facts, that throw light upon what has been said, and will be found to be confirmatory of the foregoing observations.

On my visit to Volusia, I was not a little astonished to notice an Indian at work among the Negroes; and upon my making some inquiries of Mr. Dexter, respecting this anomaly, he informed me he had hired this man, and had frequently employed others, who, to his surprize, he found to be expeditious and indefatigable labourers. He said, that the alarms infused into their minds, at the time of the late transfer of the Province. by ill-designing persons, whose representations appeared to be confirmed by the seizure under the American authority, of a number of fugitive slaves, who had located themselves on an island at the mouth of the Suwaney-occasioned many of them to abandon their settlements, and disperse themselves in the woods, leaving their crops to perish on the ground: which, together with the previous loss of their stocks of cattle during the war, had reduced many of them to a state of absolute famine. Under these circumstances, some few of them had offered themselves to him as labourers, and submitted to engage in the different drudgeries of the plantation. Mr. Dexter stated, that he found them highly useful; and, upon the whole, was better pleased with them as workers, than the Negroes-and he mentioned

particularly, that wherever the employment they were put upon, was of a kind that required a little manual or mechanical dexterity, they much surpassed the blacks, being, for instance, more expert at splitting and preparing rails and shingles, which they got out, as the phrase is, with as much rapidity, and in a neater man-

ner, than the slaves.

Mr. Dexter related, however, a very characteristic circumstance of their conduct, which goes to confirm all the remarks I have made, respecting the overruling pride of their spirit and feeling. He assured me, that wherever it happened, as was often the case, that other Indians came upon the place, his proud hirelings would instantly quit their work, to which they never returned. until their countrymen went away-not enduring that the latter should see them engaged in servile occupations. I afterwards heard a gentleman of great respectability from Alabama, detail a circumstance very similar to this. He stated, that he had seen two Creek Indians at work on a farm in that State-of whose industry and usefulness, the proprietor spoke in the same terms that Mr. Dexter did of the Seminoles he had employed. The same trait of pride related above, was observed in these Creeks, who had determined never to return to their country, because, as they said, they would be looked upon with contempt by the nation. whenever it should become known to the latter, that they had submitted to the degradation of servile labour.

I have related these anecdotes, to show, that the haughtiness of their spirit, and not an inertness of disposition, has been the real barrier to success, in all the attempts hitherto made to civilize them, as we are pleased to term it.\* I think that this phrase is used

<sup>\*</sup>The depopulation which took place among the Indians, after the Spanish conquest, may be accounted for from the complete enslavement to which they were subjected, which broke their spirit, and rendered labour, therefore, doubly oppressive to them. Their confinement too, to work in mines, must have been peculiarly deliterious, to a people accustomed to spend the

somewhat erroneously, because there is no situation me which they could be placed, were they to adopt our customs, wherein their manners, their dignity, and good qualities, would not be rather impaired than im-

proved

As long as the demarcation of colour is regarded as a barrier to intermarriage with them, or to their being raised to a perfect equality with ourselves—it is obvious, that they must remain a degraded cast, and would certainly be reduced to a lower condition, than they now enjoy—being, at present, regarded and treated as

independent nations.

They now maintain and govern themselves, without giving us any more trouble than we gratuitously take upon ourselves; but, were they to place themselves under our auspices, and receive with the desired docility, the instructions we are so forward to give them they would probably become a burthen upon our hands, as the free Negroes are, at this day, wherever they have been emancipated, and for the same reason-that is, the inequality of their colour, if I may be allowed the expression-which would depress them in spirit even below our slaves, as our plan is, to give them more instruction than we think proper to impart to the blacks; and, thereby, would render them the more sensible to the many mortifications, and unjust disabilities, which our prejudices against their too red blood, would constantly subject them.

We see it exemplified in all countries, that where any class of individuals are excluded from the rights participated in by others, they almost invariably become a

greater part of their time in the open air. The depopulation, however, has, no doubt, been greatly exaggerated Dr. Ramsay observes, that the Indians were, probably, more populous along the sea-coasts and rivers, where they procured shell-fish and other subsistence, in abundance, than they were interiorly. There can be no doubt of the truth of this observation; and hence the accounts which the first visitors both of North and South-America give, of the numbers of the natives—their observation being, of course, confined to the sea-coast.

discontented portion of the community, and very generally sink in character, in proportion as they are degraded in condition. While, therefore, I think it somewhat doubtful, whether these people would derive as much benefit from civilization, as is commonly anticipated; and deem it nearly certain, from the considerations I have submitted, that continued difficulty will be encountered in the attempt to convert them into a body of industrious agriculturists—it appears to me, that there remains one mode by which they may, very possibly, be made useful.

The Indians, it has always been observed, possess a peculiar aptitude, and ready genius for the mechanic arts; and, indeed, the accounts given by Clavigero, and, subsequently, by Humboldt, of the native artists of Mexico, would lead us to conclude, that the talents of our aborigines, lie particularly in this way, and that they may be considered as superior to the Europeans in

these branches of industry.

General Pike also mentions in his expedition, that he saw in new Mexico, several towns of civilized Indians, where many kinds of stuffs, and various utensils, were nanufactured to a considerable extent, and the native inhabitants thus rendered very useful to the Spanish Government—and form an industrious and flourishing

population.

It is observable among our own Indians, that, while they are but little addicted to agriculture, and conduct what trifling tillage is practised among them, in a very slovenly manner—their arms, little wares, and habiliments, are manufactured with peculiar neatness and ingenuity; and that the preparing of these, is an employment not disdained by the men, but is engaged in by them equally with the women.

Manufactures and the mechanic arts, therefore, would appear to be the only two occupations of civilized life, suited to the talents and inclinations of our Indians, being, in fact, after hunting, the only kinds of industry that they excell in in their native state. They see

nothing degrading in these employments, an excellence in which, would rather be a source of pride to their minds, as being exercises of the faculties, and affording

room for the display of talent, as well as industry.

If I recollect rightly, the Jesuits, in their wonderfully successful experiment in South-America, employed them very much in this wav. Indeed, the talents they evidently possess, seem to deserve some higher employment and sphere, than would be afforded them in the mere drudgery of agriculture.

The aptitude displayed by the Mexicans, for acquiring the different arts, has been before adverted to, and,

I believe, is common to the whole race.

The genius evinced by our own Indians, in oratory, the beauty and ingenuity of many of the ideas introduced into their harangues, very clearly show, that as nature has not cast their forms in a less perfect mould. neither has she modelled their minds upon an inferior

scale to ours.

The Seminoles, like all the rest of our tribes, aim at excellence in oratory; and a recent Talk which they have sent on to our Government, contains several highly eloquent passages. The following beautiful simile, appropriately introduced, is truly a rich flower of the woods, gathered by the fortunate hand of native genius. Adverting to the difference between their mode of life and our's, as a plea in favour of a greater extent of country being allowed them, they say, "The Americans dwell in towns, where many thousand people busy themselves within a small space of ground; but, the Seminole is of a wild and scattered race-he swims the streams, and leaps over the logs of the wide forest, in pursuit of game—and is like the Whooping Crane, that makes its nest at night, far from the spot where it dashed the dew from the grass and the flower in the morning."

Mr. Dexter, who took down the above from the mouth of the interpreter, told me, that from the bungling manner in which it was rendered by the latter, he was long unable to understand it, and was near leav-

ing it out altogether.

In a subsequent conference with some of the gentlemen concerned in the Alachua grant, Sitarky, one of their Chiefs, took occasion to speak of the former happy condition of their nation, and said, "When I walk about these woods, now so desolate, and remember the numerous herds that once ranged through them, and the former prosperity of our nation, the tears come into my

eyes."

The eloquence of the Indians, has, certainly, never appeared to full advantage, the interpreters generally employed, being ignorant and illiterate persons. Colden mentions, that often when an Indian orator had taken up a considerable time in an harangue, the interpreter explained the whole in a few sentences. He states, "that they are very nice in the turn of their expressions, and that few of them are so far masters of their language, as never to offend the ears of their Indian auditory by an impolite expression. They have, it seems, a certain urbanitas, or atticism in their language, of which the common ears are ever sensible, though only their greatest speakers attain to it."

Smyth, whom I have before quoted, also remarks—"Their sentiments, under all the disadvantages of a poor and inexpressive language, and of what is worse, of a flat, dull, and deficient interpretation, contain and convey the most noble, elevated, and just ideas, delivered in that beautiful and elegant simplicity, and allegorical figure of explanation, which add dignity and grace to the subject, and are so much admired in the

Bible and sacred Scriptures, &c."

Charlevoix is still more encomiastic:—" Their speeches, in public assemblies, are full of energy, images, and pathos. The beauty of their imaginations is equal to its vivacity, and appears in all their discourses. They are quick at repartee, and their speeches are full of shining passages, that would have been applauded in the public assemblies of Greece and Rome.

The decorum with which they conduct their public meetings, has always been a subject of admiration." Charlevoix testifies, "that they proceed in their assemblies, with such prudence, maturity, and ability, and I will say also, such probity, as would have done honour to the areopagus of Athens, or the senate of Rome, in

the most flourishing days of the Republic."

There is often as much ingenuity as beauty in their ideas. The following has been related to the author. One of the settlers on our western borders, had used a great deal of argument to an Indian Chief, in order to dissuade him from a hostile expedition, on which he was about to set out. The Indian listened with great attention, and when his adviser had ceased, replied, "that what he had said, was, undoubtedly, extremely just: but, that his feelings and resentments were not to be thus reasoned away." "Your arguments," said he, "are like good medicine, which yet often fails of effect; the patient takes it, but the pulse continues high in his temples."

I have heard it observed by a person of intelligence, who had frequently had dealings with the Indians, that on any point level to their capacities, they were more difficult to reason with, than any people he had ever met with—that there was a directness and natural view in their mode of considering a subject, that defeated

argument, and defied reply.

I have, more than once, had occasion to verify the justness of this observation. Their faculties seem to lie dormant upon common occasions; but, whenever any unusual conjuncture calls their naturally strong sense into action, it breaks forth like the Sun on their savannas, with an unshaded lustre, and shows, that the light of their minds, though it "sojourns in cloudy tabernacles," exists in full affluence and splendor, and waits only for the hand of instruction to unveil and bring its brightness into view.

While I was at Volusia, Mr. Dexter lost some of his cattle, and having reason to believe, that an In-

dian, who was encamped on the other side of the river, might have been concerned in killing them, he sent some of his Negroes across, and had him brought over, in order to question him on the subject. The Indian denied any knowledge of the cattle; and upon Mr. Dexter's insisting that he had either killed them, or knew who had, he replied, "that as Mr. Dexter had taken the trouble to bring him over from the other side of the river, he must have been under an impression, that he would tell the truth, else where was the utility of having sent for him!"

This is a proper place to make mention of the gene-

ral honesty of these people.

Mr. Dexter told me, that though they had sometimes killed his cattle, when hard pressed by hunger, that they always came forward and confessed the fact, even when they might have successfully concealed it, and have offered him a horse, or some other property, in

payment.

Their not having fallen into the errors of idolatry, to which mankind, in general, exhibit so perverse a proneness, may, I think, be regarded as a further proof of the natural strength of their minds. It appears as if the human soul, naturally appetent of divine knowledge, indulges, in the absence of revelation, this original craving, even at the expense of reason and common sense—preferring the veriest dreams and extravagancies of superstition, to the chilling vacancy of unbelief, or the elaborate impiety of philosophic scepticism. is the course of uninstructed man-while in a state of improved reason, we are apt to run into the opposite extreme, and require that religion should first bow to the human understanding-and as a condition of our faith, demand that the vast and infinite scheme of Providence be made perfectly apprehensible to our limited faculties-though these scarcely serve to guide us in the ordinary transactions of our little span of existence.

It is singular, that the Indians furnish the example of an ignorant people, who do not participate in any of the

superstitious ideas of Heathenism, but entertain notions of the Supreme Being, so consonant, in some respects. with those taught in Scripture, that one of their historians (Adair) had been led to form the hypothesis, that they are originally descended from the Jews: an opinion. which he supports by pointing out some coincidencies between their rites and customs, and those of the Mosaic institution, that are not altogether undeserving of attention. He says, "The ancient Heathens, as is well known, worshipped a plurality of Gods, which they formed to their own liking, as various as the countries they inhabited, and as numerous with some as the days of the year. But, these Indian Americans pay their religious devotion to 'Loack-Ishtohollo-Aba,' the beneficient Supreme Holy Spirit of Fire, who resides, as they think, above the clouds, and on earth also, with unpolluted people. He is, with them, the sole author of warmth, of light, and of all animated and vegetable life. They do not pay the least perceptible adoration to any images, nor to dead persons-neither to the celestial luminaries, nor evil spirits, nor any created being whatever. They are strangers to all the postures practised by the Pagans, in their religious rites—they kiss no idols. The ceremonies of the Indians, in their religious worship, is more the Mosaic institution, than of Pagan imitation." Their reverence for the word Yehowah, (Jehovah) which they pronounce with the most awful solemnity, suspending the breath for some time between each syllable—and their swearing by the divisions of this word, each syllable being a binding and irrevocable oath-are circumstances, which, in connection with other parallellisms, given by Adair, may be considered as affording some colour to his singular theory.

The religious opinions and ceremonies of the Seminoles, are pretty much the same as those of our other North-American tribes, which have been so often described, that they need not be particularly detailed here. The green-corn festival is celebrated in July, with previous fasting and purgation, and the whole concludes with feasting and dancing. They are fond of the latter amusement, but, I do not believe that they possess any musical instruments. Their different songs for dances have names, being called the Partridge, the Rabbit, the Wild-Turkey, &c. I heard an Indian boy sing some of these tunes in a very pleasing manner—some were lively, and well adopted to quick movements, while others were slow and melancholy in their cadence.

There appears to be more attention paid, at present, to the object of christianizing the Indians, than to that of bringing them into habits of agricultural industry; but, hitherto, the one undertaking, seems to have met with as little success as the other, and probably from the

same cause.

Though their freedom from idolatry be a favourable circumstance, a religion, whose first inculcation is humility, and whose first convictions would lead to a sense of self-unworthiness-whose precepts command forgiveness of our enemies, must require in its teachers, the courage necessary in the conduct of a forlorn hope, when they undertake to recommend it to the adoption, and establish it over the hearts and spirits of a people, composed chiefly of proud warriors, who, while they inherit the implacable disposition, and unforgetting feelings of their ancestors, are acquiring each day, fresh stores of resentments, to be transmitted to their children. Yet, were the attempts for their conversion undertaken upon a larger scale, if I may so express it, than they have hitherto been, I certainly should not dispair of seeing them eventually brought to embrace christianity.

The remarkable success of the Jesuists with the tribes of South-America, was, I think, undoubtedly in part owing to the numerical force with which they commenced, and carried on the great work, which they, at

last, so wonderfully accomplished.

The example of a large society, such as they formed, exhibiting a constant illustration of the sincerity and

practical advantages of their principles—a whole community, as it were, of teachers—could not fail to make a successful impression upon a people, who, being without much system themselves, were, necessarily, so much the more struck with an artificial scheme of society, thus located in the midst of them, and steadily kept up and extended.

It is for this reason, that the Moravians have done more than any other sect in this country, in extending Christianity among our tribes. It is because they always act, if I may so phrase it, in a body, and settle themselves in large townships, where no other example but their own, is presented to their raw Neophytes—while the scattered and forlornly situated Missionaries of other persuasions, can make but little impression upon the vast mass of barbarism, which they undertake to encounter; and have their precepts and the excellent pattern they set in their own conduct, rendered of little effect, or rather totally counteracted by the bad and profligate example of the white outsettlers, by

whom they are generally surrounded.

Mr. Wright of Maryland, whose manly independence on the floor of Congress, deserves the applauses of his countrymen, made, during the last session, a somewhat funny speech, in opposition to a petition from some of the sect of Moravians, who were desirous of engaging in the objects of which I have been speaking; and, if I recollect rightly, wished to obtain a grant of land for those purposes. I humbly think, for the reasons I have given, that the petition ought to have been granted; and that these people should be encouraged, to enter upon the task which they seem so willing to undertake .-There has been so much failure, however, in all these attempts, that, perhaps our wisest policy, and the best course also for the good of the Indians, would be, to assign them, while there is yet room for this-certain specific and ample limits; and leave them to govern themselves, as they are always well capable of doing, when not incited into hostilities against us by foreign intrigues.

If Great Britain could possibly be induced to join us, in this policy, I am persuaded, that the depopulation of this much-wronged race might be arrested, and that they could very well reside in peace and happiness among us.

There is no part of the United States, where fewer disorders are committed, or where there exists more quietude and content, than among the Creeks and Cherokees, wherever their rights and limits are respected, and they are uninterfered with by the whites.\*

In many parts of the States, we have seen bodies of emigrants from Europe settle down, and continue their original habits, and preserve even their language from generation to generation, without any detriment to their immediate neighbours, or disadvantage to their adopted country. To meddle with them on this account—to insist upon their receiving any particular faith, or to require them to change their established manners and customs, it will be acknowledged, would be both inequitable and absurd.

"What surprizes infinitely, in men whose external appearance indicates nothing but barbarism, is, that all of them behave to each other with such kindness and regard, as is not to be met with in the most swilling herica."

with in the most civilized nation."--Ibid.

"Instead of coercive power—good manners, education, and respect for old men, and parental affection, maintained peace in their societies, where there was neither laws nor property"—RAYNAL.

<sup>\*&</sup>quot;One would think at first, that they have no form of government—that they acknowledge neither laws nor subordination—and, that living in entire independence, they suffered themselves to he guided by chance and the wildest caprice; nevertheless, they enjoy almost all the advantages that a well-regulated authority can procure for the best governed nations. Born free and independent, they look with horror on the least shadow of despotic power; but, they seldom depart from certain principles and customs, founded upon good sense, which are to them, instead of laws, and which supply the place of lawful authority. They will not bear the least restraint, but reason alone keeps them in a kind of subordination, which, for being voluntary, is not the least effectual for obtaining the end proposed"—Charlevoix.

And is it less unjust to persecute, as we may be said to do, the unhappy Indians, on account of their particular modes of thinking and acting, because these happen to be such as we do not exactly understand, or choose to term barbarous.

A complete toleration of all religions, and even of irreligion; where the latter does not interfere with public order, is secured by our constitution: and were a colony of Turks settled in our country, we would scarcely be authorized to send Missionaries among them, to meddle with their faith, though the tenets of Mahomedanism, are far less rational than the religious ideas of our Indians.

It is said, that the latter require a great deal more territory than their sparse numbers entitle them to occupy. Have we, however, any right, thus, to reason away from them their native inheritance—" the land which the Lord, their God, giveth them?" But, do not many of our rich Southern planters, hold prodigious bodies of land that they do not cultivate, or which are occupied by their slaves, to the exclusion of a white population? If the Negroes, who do not labour for themselves, can yet flourish in undiminished numbers, surely the Indians, whose exertions are made exclusively for their own benefit, ought to exist upon still better terms among us.

Whenever our population presses upon their's, it would be more just that we should give way and emigrate, than that they should be ultimately annihilated—as if our existence and their's were incompatible.

I do not, of course, expect, that these ideas will either be acted upon or readily admitted; but, I adduce them to show, that our self-complacent reasonings upon this subject, are, at least, disputable; and that our conduct towards our aborigines, is much more unjust than we generally conceive it to be.

<sup>\*</sup> Agreeebly to the reference made at page 61, the author had prepared a note of considerable length, to be added here; but, teme recent occurrences have determined him to suppress it.

# VOCABULARY

OF

### The Seminole Language.

There are several dialects among the different tribes of the Seminoles. The Uchees, in particular, speak a language wholly distinct from any of the Southern Indians; and the Creeks settled among the Seminoles, use their own tongue. The language of the Seminoles is partly original, and partly derived from the Creeks, and the Yemasees. It will be perceived, that there are some Spanish words in my list, which, it is supposed, the Seminoles learnt from the Yemasees, who were long under the Spanish influence, and some of whom had been brought over to Christianity, at the time that they were invaded, and conquered by the Seminoles.

Hesakitaemisi, Honanowaw, Hockta, Chacteka, Chatski, Chatlahaw, Chatsosi, God.
Man.
Woman.
Father.
Mother.
Elder Brother.
Younger Brother.

(

Chawanwaw, Chackpootsi, Chackshosti, Hopoewaw, Hocktoche, Chahi, Chahiwa, Istelasti, Estechali, Wisanalki, Spanalki, Stelasti,

Steka,

Sister.
Son.
Daughter.
A small child.
A little girl.
Husband.
Wife.
Slave.
Indian.
American.
Spaniard.

#### PARTS OF THE BODY.

Negro.

Chanokewaw. Chatalthewa, Chaloliski, Chatchockwaw. Chanotockhaw, Chatchockhissi, Chacaissi, Chatolaswaw, Chanati. Chayopo, Chasocpaw, Chanki. Choski, Choskisosawaw, Chahaffi, Chahatskewaw, Chalimpocco, Chaletampes, Efeki,

Elopi,

Chati,

Epuf ka,

Head. Neck. Eve. Eye-brow. Mouth. Jaw. Beard, signifying joined to the mouth. Hair. Tongue. Teeth. Nose. Arm. Hand. Finger. Finger-nail. Thigh. Legs. Calf of the leg. Foot. Heart. Liver.

Entrails.

Blood.

Sota, Hassi, Hatliest. Cochosompa, Nilthi, Hatatki, Hachapitsalakin, Yaf kus, Ymochecks. Hitloschi. Oski, Miscostos. Miski. Tlafo, Hotalit, Hotalitesooskit, Tocliki,

Sky.
Sun.
Moon.
Stars.
Night.
Morning.
Noon.
Evening.
Dark.
Clouds.
Rain.
Spring.
Summer.
Winter.
Wind.

Storm and also hail.

Water. Rum. Fire.

#### NAMES OF ANIMALS.

Waucahoanowaw,

Wauca, Echo,

Wewaw,

Weomi,

Toteka,

Caballo.

Efa, Caatsa, Eyaha, Hithlo, Nocossa, Oussauna, Cheloccohocta, Cheloccocha, Bull, corruption of the Spanish word Vaca.

Deer.

Horse, (Spanish.) The Creek for Horse is Chelucco, and is as often used by Seminoles as the other.

Dog.
Tiger.
Wolf.
Squirrel.
Bear.
Otter.
Mare.
Colt.

Echoche, Chola, Cowowiccohe, Chitto, Fawn. Fox. Wild Cat. Snake.

#### NAMES OF BIRDS.

Fuswa, Penwaw, Coosa, Fotcho, Fuschati,

Tuswahaya,

Fuslalucho,
Alolo,
Alolochati,
Opa,
Ochafanwaw,
Pochelani,
Pochewawaw,
Wortola Mahi,
Wortola Lacha,
Wortola Hatki,
Cheyacka,

Спеуаска, Hantasacotsi,

Lamhi, Catacwi, Sochahaka, Tushatka, Bird.
Wild Turkey.
Goose.
Duck.

Red-Bird. Mockbird. (

Mockbird. (Naya signifies Mockery, so that the name in Indian is the same as in English.

Bluejay. Curlew.

Red Curlew or Heron. Owl.

Crow. Parroquet.

Dove.
Common Crane.
Whooping Crane.

Crane with black tipt wing,
a gigantic species.

Hawk.

Humming-Bird, (the same meaning as in English.)

Eagle.
Ganet.
Pelican.
Indian Pullet.

NAMES OF FISH.

Chalo, Tockawo, Trout. Mullet. Slastochali, Hoitliko, Okeauwaw, Notesasci, Esapanote, Oyupofeka, Hatchastalaha, Opelowaw, Acassihiapa,

Bass.
Oysters.
Cat-Fish.
Shark.
Gar.
Porpoise.
Stingray.
Hammock.
Savanna.

#### NAMES OF TREES AND VEGETABLES.

Tree.

Itto, Ittomico, Tola, Helocoppi, Tolaliocko, Chuli, Chuli-tali, Atchena, Atcheanahoe. .. Kei. Tofompa, Haino, Seopho, Assi, Passa, Talulocho, Huha, Alozo, Aspeen, (Seminole) Atsche, (Creek) Atchehotowaw. Chassa, Hitche, Impopoco, Yallaha, Yallahaatsompa, Yallahaachena,

Loblolly Bay. Bay. Gum. Laurel. Pine. Dry Pine. Cedar. Cypress. Mulberry. Cherry. Maple. Palmetto. Cassina. Snake-Root. Cabbage. Potatoes. Rice. Corn. Corn-flour. Pumpkins. Tobacco. Flower. Sweet Orange. Bitter Sweet. Sour Orange.

Otche, Sockcha, Awannah, Chastali, Connalalako, Tallako, Hickory Nut. Acorn. Willow. Melon. Musk-Melon. Peas.

#### NAMES OF THINGS.

Soko, Topa, Pithlo, Pithlohocta, Etsa, Ashelahatki, Totekafolka, Tockfoloa, Tohobowaw, Tapototcoche, Ataschopco. Hilliswaw, Ayacophela, Shacotoisi, Ila, Halo, Hanawela, Itssahihi. Eschif keta, Klelaposki, Achetatasti, Oputaka, Chocksaka, Chateknonowaw. Conowwaw, Fohota, Hompusche, T nitkee, Miski,

House. Bed. Boat. Vessel. Gun. Blanket. Homespun. Binding. Powder. Pistol. Sword. Physic. Clothing. Bow. Arrow. Tin Quart. Osnaburgs. Rifle. Spurs. Shot. Strowds. Saddle. Bridle. Money. Beads. Beeswax. Breakfast. Thunder. Year.

Ockhassie, Wepalokesi or Itteniah, Wekewa or Weliki,

Eslapota,
Oaksaowaw,

Assokolla, Foinsampi, Echepuckawa,

Talaofo, Slafkaw, Micco,

Micconope,
Apetosee,

Focka, Ahowki,

Ahowkisakotka, Chatto, Cawpa, Assoka, Haiska, Cossatulki,

Slaolochali, Echohothlepi, Tafa,

Hascotalka,

Chati, Sopa, Natkatit,

Natkatit, Lastatit, Ockolatat, Lanite,

Cheheloseli,

Pond.

Lake.
Spring.
Horns.
Thread.

Needles.
Salt.
Sugar.
Honey.
Pipes.
Town.

Knife. Head Chief or Governor.

Young Chief. Shade.

Rope.
The aperture of a Door.

The Door.
Rock.
Jacket.
File.
Music.
Drum.
Brass.
Skins.
Feathers.
Ear-Rings.

COLOURS.

Red. Blue. White. Black. Green. Yellow.

PHRASES.

How do ye do—addressed to the sick.

Likasche,	Sit down.
Cosapi,	Used for begging and also
Cosapi,	for praying.
Enca,	Yes.
Hicoscha,	No.
Atesche,	All gone.
Lopko,	Make haste.
Acheesche,	Come in.
Atimawhaneche,	A good person.
Esticha-bucke-nawhansle,	A bad or cruel person.
Apocksi,	To-Morrow.
Ailkatesa,	Salutation after long absence
Ouatelasche,	Stand up.
Istehopothlena,	Wise.
Istehpothleneca,	Foolish.
Ahessi,	Friend.
Istehachohawkit,	Mad.
Impetechepectalea,	Revenge.
Islehelvettet,	Pride.
Ocheepeas,	Forgiveness.
Isteichenawhee,	Strength.
Cassapanawche,	Cold.
Haganawche,	Hot.
Schalasemauche,	Hunger.
Chawawnki-Maushe,	Thirst.
Isteameheilst,	Love.
Istefotsete,	Honest.
Lauxemausta,	Lie.
Tustanuggie,	War-Leader.
Mistehoka,	Religious ceremony—also,
misichoru,	the house of God.

The following numerical words are Creek, and are generally used by the Seminoles, though the latter sometimes employ phrases of their own, which I had not an opportunity of obtaining.

Homkin, One. Two. Hopkolin,

Tuschanin, Ostin. Chackspin, Epawkin, Colapawkin, Chenapokin, Ostapokin, Parlin, Talihomkin, Hopcolakakin, Tuchanocakin, Osticakin, Chachopicakin, Eupawkikin, Colosocakin, Chenopokakin, Ostapokakin, Parlihopkolin, Omulka,

Three. Four. Five. Six. Seven. Eight. Nine. Ten. Eleven. Twelve. Thirteen. Fourteen. Fifteen. Sixteen. Seventeen. Eighteen. Nineteen. Twenty. All.

### ERRATA.

Pag	ge I, lin	e 11,	for stirile,	read	steril.
,	10,		for canals,		canal.
	18,	20,	part of the edition for ablast,		at last.
	30,	36,	for pebles,		peoble.
	60,	2,	for many,		may.
	60,		for conidion,		condition.
	62,		for unequally,		inequality.
	65,	3,	seperate plural from ties.		
	81,	2,	for stop,		stont.









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