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JULIEN C. YONGE, Editor

Pensacola

EMMA ROCHELLE PORTER

Assistant Editor, Jacksonville

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This records the passing of
PHILIP KEYES YONGE
President of the Florida Historical Society
who died on August ninth

HENRY A. WISE AND THE PRESIDENCY
By J. E. DAVIS YONGE

Henry A. Wise was never elected to the presidency, he was never nominated as a candidate for that office, his name was never brought before a nominating convention of his party and yet his connection with the presidency is interesting. The immediate occasion for the secession of the Southern States was the election of Lincoln, and in all probability he would not have been elected had the two factions of the Democratic party been united in the election of 1860. Among the many aspirants for the Democratic nomination the only one on whom the party could have united was Henry A. Wise of Virginia. Had his political views been rightly understood by the men of his own party, he might have united his party and by defeating Lincoln would have postponed secession for at least four years.

The question at issue in the presidential election of 1860 was the existence of slavery in the territories of the United States. The controversy over this question began before the adoption of the constitution with the ordinance for the government of the Northwest Territory in 1787. Its settlement was attempted by the Missouri compromise in 1820 and by the compromise of 1850, but in 1854 it was still unsettled and from that time until 1860 it was the predominating question in the politics of the country.

When the United States acquired New Mexico and California by the treaty at the close of the Mexican war, territorial governments for them were proposed

Note—This paper is based in part upon a number of letters written by Wise to W. F. Samford, of Alabama, during the decade prior to the War. The originals are in the possession of Dr. George Petrie, Professor of History and Dean of the Graduate School, Alabama Polytechnic Institute; and it was on his suggestion that the paper was written, some years ago, soon after the letters were brought to light. - Ed.

in Congress. This afforded another occasion for the discussion of the slavery question which was continued until compromised in 1850 by the establishment of the principle of non-intervention by Congress with slavery in the new territories. The compromise of 1850 had applied the principle of non-intervention only to the territory newly acquired from Mexico. When the discussion was reopened by the Kansas-Nebraska bill in 1854 this principle was extended to the old Louisiana territory and a step further was taken in establishing popular sovereignty, that is the people of a territory were given the right to decide for or against slavery.

In 1854, then, the leading political question of the day was slavery in the territories and the events of the next few years increased its importance. The bitter struggle between the slavery and anti-slavery parties in Kansas for the control of that territory forced the question on the attention of the public. The Dred Scott decision encouraged the South by acknowledging its claims in a Supreme Court decision and strengthened the Free-soilers by making them unite to oppose it. By 1860 this question overshadowed all others and was the one important issue in the presidential election of that year.

In this election the principal parties were the Democrats and the Free-soilers or Republicans. The latter had grown rapidly in strength during the decade preceding the war by the acquisition of both Democrats and Whigs. Its fundamental principle was opposition to the extension of slavery. They declared in their platform of 1860 that they had no intention of interfering with slavery in the states where it already existed, but confined themselves to opposing its extension into the territories. They declared : "that the normal condition of all the territory of the United States is that of freedom", and

that Congress had the power to abolish slavery there, and should do so when necessary. The right which the South claimed of protection for slaves in the territories, they denounced as "dangerous political heresy" and denied the authority of Congress or of a territorial legislature or of any individuals to give legal existence to slavery in any territory of the United States.

The Democratic party had united in 1856 on the Cincinnati platform which affirmed the principle of non-intervention, established by the Kansas-Nebraska bill. During the four years of Buchanan's administration different constructions had been placed on this platform by different parts of the Democratic party, and by 1860 two well defined factions had developed—the Northern or Douglas faction and the Southern-rights faction.

The Northern faction, led by Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, believed that the question of slavery in a territory should not be decided at all by Congress, but that a territorial legislature could establish or abolish slavery. This was soon brought face to face with the decision of the Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case which stated clearly that neither Congress nor the territorial legislature had the right to abolish slavery in a territory. In order not to directly oppose a decision of the Supreme Court in the presidential campaign of 1860, they avoided committing themselves to either position by declaring in their platform that since there were differences of opinion regarding slavery in the territories "the Democratic party would abide by decisions of the Supreme Court on questions of constitutional law."

The Southern-rights wing still favored the popular sovereignty of the Cincinnati platform, but claimed that the people of a territory could exercise

this right only in forming a state constitution and not before.

At the Charleston Convention this wing of the Democrats objected to the Northern wing platform because it took no definite position on the slavery question. They demanded a platform making a clear statement in favor of protection.

Besides the new Free-soil element and the two factions of the Democratic party, there was still to be reckoned with the remnants of the American or Know-nothing party. In 1856 this party had showed considerable strength under the principles of opposition to foreigners and Roman Catholics and neutrality on the slavery question, but now only a remnant of its old members formed the Constitutional Union party with the policy of neutrality on the slavery question. It had no chance of winning the election and was feared chiefly by the Southern Democrats who thought that it might break the solid Democratic South by winning some of the Southern states. It was generally conceded up to a few months before the Republican convention that William H. Seward would be the choice of the Free-soil party. Therefore the Democrats would have to select a nominee who would be especially strong against him. But the question as to who this Democratic nominee should be was answered in various ways. As the party was divided in principle and could unite on no platform, so they could agree on no candidate. Douglas was in the field representing the Northern wing ; Buchanan, who desperately sought to please both sections, was a candidate for re-election ; and Henry A. Wise of Virginia was the most prominently mentioned Southern man.

Stephen A. Douglas had no rival in his faction. He had introduced into Congress in the Kansas-Nebraska bill the doctrine of popular sovereignty which

was the foundation of his policy and had continued its persistent champion. He claimed that this principle had been established in the compromise measures of 1850 and should be applied thereafter in the formation of all territorial governments. He understood popular sovereignty in the sense of squatter sovereignty, that is, that during the territorial period the people of a territory through its legislature might establish or prohibit slavery. When the Dred Scott decision contradicted the doctrine of squatter sovereignty by stating that neither Congress nor the territorial legislature could interfere with slavery, Douglas was compelled to state his position anew and he attempted to please both sections. To the South he said that the decision of the court was supreme and must be obeyed. To the North he said that though the decision of the court was supreme and forbade the territorial legislature to abolish slavery, yet by refusing to protect it by necessary police regulations the legislature might make the existence of slavery impossible. This answer lost him the support of the South because it did not uphold protection.

Buchanan had been elected in 1856 on the Cincinnati platform which endorsed the Kansas-Nebraska bill. It affirmed the principle of non-intervention, but on the question of popular sovereignty it was ambiguous and probably intentionally so in order that both wings might interpret it to suit themselves. During his administration Buchanan had done all in his power to keep in favor with both factions and hence had attempted to avoid committing himself to the views of either.

Between these two presidential aspirants, Douglas and Buchanan, there was a personal antagonism which had sprung from a difference of opinion on popular sovereignty and chiefly on the Lecompton

question. Buchanan had been in favor of the admission of Kansas under the Lecompton constitution and had tried in every way to have Congress accept it, but he had been opposed by Douglas to whose efforts the defeat of this plan was mainly due.

While Douglas and Buchanan each had claims on one section of the Democratic party, there was reason to believe that both wings might unite on Henry A. Wise. On the question of most importance, that of slavery in the territories he was extremely Southern, taking very advanced ground. He was one of the earliest and most ardent supporters of the doctrine of protection. As early as 1854 when it had hardly been discussed at all he opposed the Kansas-Nebraska bill because one of its clauses provided against reviving a law protecting slavery. On this point his friend Col. W. F. Samford of Alabama writes on Dec. 28, 1858,

Gov. Wise has taken higher ground on the territorial question than any other presidential aspirant North or South. While Douglas, Davis, Orr and Stephens have been ducking, diving, dodging and hiding and openly declaring in favor of the power of a territorial legislature to exclude slavery by refusing to it the "peculiar" protection and "police regulations" necessary to its maintainance in a territory, or anywhere else, Henry A. Wise stands up boldly and declares for the South without reservation or equivocation. He says the territorial legislature, no more than Congress, has the right to exclude or to cripple the institution in anyway; or to any extent but, on the contrary, are bound by the Constitution and the law, as declared by the Supreme Court, to protect slavery just as they are bound to protect any other property, and to give that sort and degree of protection which its peculiar nature demands. The Kansas act had a double-side which many of us did not see in 1856, but which we may be made to feel in 1860, and ever thereafter. Out of this has come a doctrine absurd in theory and ruinous to the South in practice. It is this: That Congress and the President shall not interfere to protect any more than to destroy slavery in the territories or states. This is the very genius and spirit of the Kansas Act, and an evil spirit it is for the South. I did not see this consequence of the Act in 1856, my eye rested on the repeal of the Missouri Restriction, and I little dreamed that in 1858, that Act would be claimed as establishing the doctrine, that the South has no right to Protection of her property from this Federal Government in the territories or States.

I know Gov. Wise was originally opposed to the Act with the Badger Proviso, and suspicious of its operations and he stands today among the presidential aspirants, the only man who from the beginning, has asserted the right of the South to have her property protected in the territories.

Gov. Wise approved of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise but he opposed the Kansas-Nebraska bill because of the Badger amendment which provided against the revival of any law protecting or establishing, prohibiting or abolishing slavery. Without this proviso, he claimed, the old Spanish law of the Louisiana territory protecting slavery would have been revived. On Aug. 6th, 1857, he writes to Samford:

I happened unfortunately to agree with my friend Mr. Wilson in opposition to the Kansas-Nebraska bill. The Dred Scott decision proves too late our sagacity. The law of slavers was the law of the Louisiana territory, N and S. of 36° 30', prior to 1820. It was unrepealed, up to the Kansas Act, by any law other than that of the law and line of the Missouri compromise. That compromise was constitutional or unconstitutional. If constitutional, it affected only the territory N. of 36° 30' - that S. of it was left unaffected. In other words slavery was the status south of 36° 30' in Kansas. But for the Kansas bill, the Dred Scott decision would have established that the compromise law of 1820 was void and that the old Spanish law of slavery was untouched, unrepealed north of 36° 30' in all the Louisiana territory not organized into a state government. What did the K-N bill? By a proviso twice repeated in the 14th Section and in the 32nd Section it enacted: "that nothing herein contained shall be construed to revive or put in force any law prior to 1820 either protecting or establishing, prohibiting or abolishing slavery." There was no law prior to 1820 prohibiting or abolishing, but there was a law establishing and protecting slavery in Kansas and that law this proviso repealed. How can they who repealed slavery in Kansas abuse Walker for saying, it is, or it will be a free state. I was at Washington when the amendment passed and protested against it. It came from that Danaos Badger. Stewart of Michigan protested against the revival of slavery north of 36° 30' and Badger, superservicably, instead of confining the proviso to north of 36° 30' which, true, would have been only to reenact the Missouri compromise law and line made it sweeping South and North, not only to revive, but also not to "put in force" the Louisiana territorial law establishing and protecting slavery. In a clause of non-intervention it intervened to discriminate "between all other property and slavery and repealed the law, the only law establishing and protecting slavery.

As Wise favored protection he necessarily opposed squatter sovereignty because to sanction squat-

ter sovereignty would be to admit that a territorial legislature could prohibit slavery, and according to his doctrine of protection it not only could not prohibit but must protect it. In a speech delivered at Norfolk during the campaign of 1860 he said,

The only difference between Lincoln and Douglas is that Lincoln claims the power and duty of Congress to abolish slavery in the territories, and Douglas practices intervention and preaches non-intervention by Congress, but claims that a territorial legislature, a mere creature of Congress, a most subordinate Federal authority, can intervene to abolish property in slaves. It is safer for us to contest the power in Congress, we can't risk our slaves to contest it in the territories. In Congress we are represented and in Kansas Legislature we can't be.

During July of 1859 Gov. Wise received a letter from a body of New York Democrats asking his views on the leading questions of the day, as his "name had been prominently brought before the American people of the Democratic party, both in this section and in other quarters of the Union as their choice for the nomination of the Charleston convention as a candidate for the Presidency". In a lengthy reply Gov. Wise explained his views on naturalization, on protection abroad for naturalized citizens, on the powers of a state relating to naturalization, on the reopening of the slave trade and no protection in the territories. On the last point he said,

You ask my views also regarding the legitimate bounds of congressional legislation, which, while maintaining non-intervention on the question of forcing or excluding slavery from them, yet should claim the constitutional power if necessary to protect the rights of persons and property within their borders, leaving the people free at the proper time to form a state constitution and seek admission in the Union, whether Free or Slave states as they may elect.

This question in itself, in the shortest space states my views in substance with precision. All persons and all property, equal and alike, require only not to be assailed and destroyed in, or excluded from the common territories. Every species of right require laws, it is true, suited to their character and their case. Personal property for example must have a law that it shall not be "taken and carried away"; and land which cannot be "taken and carried away" must have a law that it shall not be trespassed

upon in some other way, and so with slaves and everything else, they must have provisions according to their kind. But the Constitution of the United States and the laws of Congress heretofore organizing territories are sufficient, and if amendments of the laws are required, it is the duty of Congress to see that they are provided, of the Executive of the United States to see that they are executed and the Judiciary to decide upon the rights under the laws. The Slave states should never pretend to any peculiar privileges and do not so far as I know. They ask only that their rights shall not be assailed and invaded and, if they be assailed, that they may be protected as other personal and proprietary rights are protected; that they may have equal confederate, federal privileges and immunities, and they ask for no special or peculiar code. The sole question is: What protection does the Constitution guarantee in the territories? We contend that it guarantees, all protection required, to all persons and all rights recognized within its jurisdiction.

When the issue of popular sovereignty was made to leave the people perfectly free to form their state constitution, without force, fraud, or dictation or intervention from Congress or any other power, I declared openly for the sovereignty of the people, But I am utterly opposed to "squatter sovereignty" and hostile to the cry of "no code" for the sake of protection-and utterly opposed to the equally vicious doctrine lately put forth: "That the Congress may renounce its powers and duties of protection".

On reopening the Slave Trade, Wise said in this same letter,

I can easily defend the slavery of the United States as it now exists and has existed from first to last, and show that it is now, at least, well founded on principles wholly opposed to the re-opening of African Slave trade; that the one is wholly irreconcilable with and opposed to the other; and that the reopening of the slave trade would be as offensive to the moral sense of the large majority of slave-holders and of the people of the South as to any other people in our own or in any other country.

This advanced Southern-rights ground taken by Wise, demanding protection for slaves in the territories, gave him great strength with the Southern wing of the Democrats but his bold stand against the Lecompton constitution on account of its injustice was entirely misunderstood and lost for him the support to which he was entitled and which his position on protection alone would have given him. He claimed that the power to ratify the Lecompton constitution had not been delegated by the people of Kansas. to the convention which framed it, but had been re-

served to the people themselves, and that therefore, since only one section of it had been ratified by them, the constitution as a whole was not the act and deed of the people. He believed "that the inhabitants or people of a territory are sovereign to form for themselves a constitution and State Government", and as this constitution was not the act and deed of the inhabitants he thought it was neither right nor just to force it upon them.

Besides opposing it on the ground of its injustice he said also that there was no advantage in its being adopted. In 1858 he wrote,

And why impose this constitution of a minority on a majority? Cui bono? Does any Southern man imagine that this is a practicable or sufferable way of making a Slave State? Who believes that Kansas will be made a Slave State or kept one for any time by the admission of this constitution? Who will carry a slave there now to become a bone of contention in a border war? The sport of violence and fraud and force like that which has so long endangered person and property and political franchise in that unhappy battle ground of sectional feuds? To what end is this to be done if speedily it is to be undone with State authority, created to drive slave property from the territory?

We have proudly, heretofore, contended only for equality and justice; but if this be wantonly done without winning a stake—the power of a slave state, thereby it will be worse than vain. It will be snatching power *per fas aut nefas*, to be lost "speedily" with the loss of something of far more worth than political votes, our moral prestige.

On the ground of justice then and of expediency, Wise opposed the Lecomption constitution and thought that Congress should reject it and send it back to the people of Kansas. He denied the right of Congress to alter it in any way, claiming that this power belonged only to the people of the territory. If anything within it made it inadmissible then it was not the duty of Congress to change it but simply send it back to the people who might change it or not as they chose. On his Lecomption policy he wrote in 1859 to Samford,

My dear Sir: My position was—that Congress must either *accept or reject* the proposition of the people to be admitted as a

state. This would depend upon two questions-1st: Is the proposition in form, the act and deed of the people, legally and in due form expressed. 2nd: If so, is its form Republican, and are its terms and conditions admissible.

To ascertain these inquiries we were not to go behind the returns. The return was the Schedule or Ordinance. Did it show on its face that it was not Republican, or that its conditions were inadmissible?

I contended that it showed both. What then? That Congress was to send it back to the people to be voted on by them as it might prescribe? No. On the contrary, that Congress was not to intervene for any such purpose, but was simply to admit or reject the state. If for either reason above it rejected, the matter was to be left to the people or their Legislature in the territory to order a new convention and form another constitution or not as to them might seem proper, without dictation or prescription from Congress. That Congress could not, in justice or reason, adopt the Lecompton Schedule, and if it did not that it was obliged to reject the proposition after being obliged from its own nature to change it. That if Congress changed the terms of the proposition, it went back rejected of its own nature, and not referred back rightfully to be voted on.

Because Wise opposed the admission of Kansas under the Lecompton constitution, and thus failed to take advantage of an opportunity to bring a slave state into the Union he was accused by many Southern Democrats of deserting his principles and his party.

In opposing the adoption of the Lecompton constitution, Wise and Douglas occupied the same position. They both opposed it on the ground that it violated the right of the people to form their own state government in that it had not been voted on by them. The questions on which these two men differed, protection and squatter sovereignty, were not involved. Wise's agreement with Douglas on this question brought him into favor with the Northern Democrats.

Each of Wise's positions on the slavery question brought him into favor with some faction of his party. His advanced position on protection and his support of the Dred Scott decision gained him favor in the South. His opposition to the Lecompton constitution brought him into favor with Northern Dem-

ocrats but was entirely misunderstood at the South and brought him into disfavor there. If the Southern-rights men could have seen that he was simply acting on principles of justice in not wishing to force the Lecompton constitution on Kansas, if they could have seen that they would lose nothing by his policy since Kansas must necessarily become a free state, they would have supported him and it is probable that the whole party would have united on him as a candidate in 1860.

Whatever differences there might be on these questions there was none as to his success in overthrowing the Know-nothing party. From time to time there had been feeling in favor of a Nativist or American party but the first one of any importance was formed in 1852. The fundamental principle of this party, opposition to foreigners and Roman Catholics, was strongly objected to by Wise, and besides he protested against the secrecy with which all its actions were covered. The solemn oaths, the passwords, the initiation ceremonies, he said, did not properly belong to a political party all of whose actions should be open and above board. In 1854 he wrote concerning this party to a committee of Virginia citizens,

Here is proposed a great primary, national organization, in its inception--What? Nobody knows. How organized? Nobody knows. Governed by whom? Nobody knows. How bound? By what rites? By what test oaths? With what limitations and restrictions? Nobody, nobody knows!!! All we know is that persons of foreign birth and Catholic faith are proscribed, and so are all others who don't proscribe them at the polls. This is certainly against the spirit of magno chasta. I am an American in every fibre, and in every feeling an American; yet in every character, in every relation, in every sense, with all my head and all my heart, and all my might, I protest against this secret organization of Native Americans and of protestants to proscribe Roman Catholics and naturalized citizens!

The American party had gained rapidly in strength partly on account of disruption of the Whig

party, and by 1855 had succeeded in carrying many states in the North. Though not so far advanced in the South it was increasing in strength in that section and bid fair to continue to do so, especially as one of its principles was opposition to the agitation of the slavery question. The first real test of this party in the South was the election for Governor in Virginia, in 1855. Wise was the Democratic candidate and his only opponent was the Know-nothing nominee. At the beginning of the campaign the outlook was unfavorable for Wise, for his opponents were strong and well organized and he was not the unanimous choice of his party. However, he took the stump in an aggressive campaign and by his eloquence, his logic and his enthusiasm he raised his party from despair and succeeded in defeating his opponents. The eyes of the whole country were turned on this election and its result was watched with keenest interest. This defeat of the Know-nothings marked the beginning of the decline of their power and the credit for it was universally given to Wise.

When the name of Henry A. Wise was before the country for the nomination for the presidency in 1860, he claimed the support of the party on account of his past record. As we have seen, he claimed the support of the whole party because of his campaign against the Know-nothings; that of the Southern-rights faction because of his position on protection; and that of the Northern wing because of his position on Lecompton. Besides his past record his striking personality would also have been a factor greatly in his favor. He was known to be a man of bold, fearless and determined character. He cared little for public opinion. His doctrines were clear and it was generally believed that he would unhesitatingly put them into practice. In speech he was eloquent and

persuasive, and in a campaign tireless and aggressive and in a presidential contest he would certainly make himself popular.

Of his own nomination Wise was at times very hopeful. In a letter to Samford under the date Nov. 3rd, 1858, he says, "Douglas would not consent to be Vice. He would regard the offer as an insult. Let him run his line out and he will then be obliged to come to me. I will leave him no excuse. I have every evidence of more strength in the North than he has." On July 7th, 1859, he writes, "The Letcher nomination and election have made me in Virginia invincible. We will go to Charleston a unit determined on a platform of protection." Though he had hoped for Pennsylvania's support, on July 24th, 1859, he writes, "The Herald says my chance is gone since the Enquirer's savage attack on the administration and a Pittsburgh paper openly announces Mr. Buchanan for re-election and that Pennsylvania is rabid against me". On Jan. 27th, 1859, he writes, "You have hoisted my flag. Well I owe you more than I can ever pay for the motive. I fear Distraction rules the hour and a Black Republican will be the next president."

At the National Democratic convention in 1852 Wise led the Virginia delegation. After voting for Buchanan for some time, he persuaded his delegation to support Pierce and won the nomination for him. In 1856 Wise was prominently mentioned for the presidency, being supported by Buchanan. Finally he lent his influence to Buchanan and procured him the nomination, it is claimed, by giving him Virginia's vote.

In his own state Wise had never failed to secure an election and as has been shown he had a great influence over the delegations of his party to the National conventions. In 1860, he expected the vote

of Pennsylvania for his own nomination. As Virginia had voted for Buchanan, Pennsylvania's candidate, so he thought Pennsylvania should vote now for Virginia's choice.

In writing to a Mr. Donnelly of New York concerning his chances for securing the New York delegation at Charleston Wise said, "Our only chance is to organize by districts and either whip the enemy or send two delegations." This letter, though private, got into print and was copied in the newspapers throughout the country, and Wise was severely criticised for this paragraph. He was accused of deserting the regular party machine and of resorting to intrigues to win the New York delegation.

He believed that the time had come for the South to stand for her rights and to accept no more compromises or ambiguous platforms. Concerning the action of the South in the coming convention, he wrote, July 1st, 1859,

You must decide! 1st: To go into no nomination without a platform satisfactory first. 2nd: To take no platform which don't aver the principle of protection, or exclude the contrary conclusion. 3rd : If we can't get the principle, not to be responsible for the nomination. 4th: If the nominee is not trustworthy on our principles, to come out and appeal to an independent Democratic conservative nomination.

In order that the South might. control the convention and carry out his plan, he wished that votes in the convention be taken according to Democratic strength. On this point he wrote,

We can hold them to our man by forcing them : 1st; Either to Scale states according to Democratic or Non-Democratic strength. Or 2nd: To adopt the rule that a majority of the convention carrying two-thirds Democratic states; or 3rd : two-third of convention, carrying a majority of Democratic states-shall make a nomination. This, with the Dred Scott decision will do. I would abide by a nomination thus made. But, if we get no fair mode of nomination, no reliable man, no just programme of principles, what are we to do? Secede as armed neutrals? I have no compromise with anyone that you may rely on.

Wise's name was never brought before the Charleston convention. The Virginia Democratic convention in sending delegates to Charleston had expressed no preference for any candidate, and in April, 1860, Wise wrote for the press,

Whomever else the preference has been expressed for, it has not been expressed for me. Without the voice of Virginia clearly and indisputably declared for me, I decline to allow my name to be presented primarily before the convention for a nomination. In no event am I willing that it shall cause any division of the vote of our delegation. I beg my friends therefore not to offer my name, but to unite cordially with the majority of the delegation and to present the vote of the state a unit before the convention.

He gave his support to Breckenridge and Lane but thought they never had any real chance. After the Democratic party had failed to unite at Charleston, Wise saw that Lincoln's election was certain. He thought that under the Republican administration the rights of the South under the constitution would be utterly disregarded, and therefore in his usual fearless way he called for immediate action, he did not wish to wait for the election, he did not advocate secession but demanded that the South prepare for war within the union to protect her rights.

Nobody South is going to be led into Revolution, and you and I won't shame men enough into resistance to be led into halts; I have thought so for years. I snuff "tyranny itself in the tainted breezes" of Pennsylvania and Indiana elections. They show that Lincoln's election is certain in event and certain in effect too! It will be an avowal at the polls that the past aggressions upon us are justified by the North:—that they will be persisted in and aggravated: that whilst territories west may govern themselves as they please, Southern states will be inhibited from regulating their own domestic institutions for themselves: that we shall be civilly disfranchised, and socially and morally revolutionized. Now would-ought any sovereign and independent people upon earth to be thus threatened without instantly flying to arms? It is actual though not declared war. The worse because it comes in all the panoply of legal forms. The form is election, the election is constitutional. That is the pore out of which the courage of resistance will ooze. But in substance, in reality is it not aggression-war upon our very vitals? The elections may be constitutionally formal, but is the avowed object of the election not to disturb our very social safety? Why then wait a moment in pre-

venting the election giving all power of nationality into the hands of the aggressors? If this view don't prevail, none will with the cowards and traitors who will submit servilely to be degraded. "Overt Act" after "Overt Act" has come and may come a thousand fold, iterated and intensified and they will submit. What can we do? Appoint "committees of safety" and "minute men" as in Revolutionary times. If masses and conventions won't, let the few who will, meet and arm-and, if they can do no more alarm.

A TOPOGRAPHICAL MEMOIR ON EAST AND WEST FLORIDA WITH ITINERARIES OF GENERAL JACKSON'S ARMY, 1818
 By Captain Hugh Young, Corps of Topographical Engineers, U. S. A.*

PART I THE MEMOIR (Continued)

5. Indians. The Seminole Indians are a branch of the great Muscogee nation and are divided according to the following table:

Aborigines	{ Palaches Eamusses Kaloosas }	Dispossessed by the nomade Muscogees
	} Seminoles	Hitchetas { Mikasukeys Foul Town Oka-tiokinans
		Uchees Uchees
		Eha-who-has-les Ocheeses
		Tamatles
		Attapulgas
		Telmochesses
		Cheskitalowas
		Wekivas
		Creeks { Emusses Ufallahs
		Redgrounds Eto-husse-wakkes Tatto-whe-hallys Tallehassas Owassissas Chehaws Talle-whe-anys Oakmulges

*See Introduction by Mark F. Boyd, pp. 16-19, *Quarterly*, issue of July last.

(311). The different tribes of Seminoles are no-made emigrants from the Muscogee nation and settled originally near the Alachua country and Chuckochatte. The word Seminole means wild and is applied indiscriminately by the creeks to all the vagabonds from their nation.

The ancient possessors of the country now held by the Seminoles were, as stated in the table, the *Palaches*, the *Eamusses*, and the *Kalosas*. These tribes were dispossessed by the vagabond Seminoles sometime after the first settlement made by the Spaniards. A decisive battle was fought in the fork of Kichufone and Flint, in which the three native tribes were defeated and driven to the Spanish Fort St. Rose on Okalokina, here they were followed by the Muscogees who after a long siege drove the Spaniards and Indians with great slaughter from post to post out of the country.

The Seminoles have among them three distinct languages-the Hitcheta, the Uchee and the Creek-and the names of the different settlements of these tribes are derived from their towns without indicating any difference either of language or customs.

1. *Hitchetas*. The Hitchetas have the tradition common to many of the southern Indians of their having come from the west-from which quarter they were driven by a more warlike people than themselves.

1. The Mikasukeys have been long settled on a large pond or lake, thirty miles N.N.E. from Fort St. Mark-and before the late campaign they had one hundred and sixty warriors, and eight or nine times that number of women and children. The lake is twelve or fourteen miles long with a breadth of two and three miles the surrounding land fertile and of beautiful aspect. Here the Indians raised abundance of corn, rice, potatoes, peas, beans, and

ground nuts-the soil yielding plentiful crops without much labour of cultivation. They had immense droves of cattle and hogs roaming through the woods, and the abundance of game gave them plenty of venison and skins. They also raised numbers of small but hardy horses. They traded to St. Mark's and Apalachicola with skins, furs, rice, cattle etc., and received in exchange woolens, cutlery, guns and ammunition. They had no arts. Even of pottery they were ignorant from the want of proper clay for the manufacture. Of spinning they knew nothing. They pounded their meal and never had the art of grinding even in its rudest forms. Their agriculture was of the simplest kind. The looseness of the soil obviated the necessity of heavy labour and the work of a few hoes soon opened a field and prepared a crop. Their cabins were neatly built and their rude furniture kept in decent condition. The Mikasukies were considered a warlike tribe and the reputation of the chief Kinhega for talents and enterprise added not a little to their confidence and presumption. Their war chief was Coche-Tustemugge - a brave man and a better soldier than Kinhega.

Kinhega is seventy or eighty years of age and has long been inveterately hostile (312) to the Americans. He always endeavored to keep up the same spirit among his young men. "War" he told them was a manly exercise and the whites "they were bound to hate and exterminate". He always upheld the notion that no army of Americans could penetrate the swamps of their country and on the whole was the most mischievous enemy the United States had among the lower tribes. It was Kinhega who stopped Mr. Ellicot at the junction of Flint and Chattahouchie, when that gentleman was preparing to run the line to the head of St. Marys.

2. *Fowl Town*. The last settlement of these Indians was twelve miles east of Fort Scott, in a tolerable body of land. They had between thirty and forty warriors and their chief Innematla was a man of talents and courage. In manners, trade and agriculture they were similar to the Mikasukees. Formerly the Fowl Towns were neatly (sic) but after their settlement near Fort Scott they had few cattle and depended on their crops and hunting for subsistence. This tribe had the arts of spinning and weaving which they learned before their expulsion from the upper Creeks. In character, they were perfidious, cowardly and mischievous.

3. *Okatiokinas*. This tribe was settled near Fort Gaines. They had sixty-five warriors, and their chief Hones-higa was a peaceable honest Indian who kept his warriors perfectly quiet during the late war. They are considerably advanced in civilization as they use the plough, spin and weave. They have not much cattle but a moderate share of industry supplies them from the soil and chase with an easy subsistence. In character they are warlike-but friendly to the whites.

2. *Uchees*. The Uchees derive their origin from some of the northern tribes, probably the Shawnees. In East Florida they had only fifteen or twenty warriors who were settled near the Mikasukees. Their chief Uchee-Billy was a man of neither talents nor honesty. The Uchees have the worst character among all the Muscogee tribes, being notoriously guilty of every species of crime and vice. In thieving they are peculiarly dexterous and impudent. They spin and weave a little.-

3. *Greeks*.

1. *Ehawhohasles* were settled on the Apalachicola twelve miles below Ocheese Bluff. They had fifteen or twenty warriors, and their chief Apiok-

hija was a good but weak old man. They draw their subsistence chiefly from fishing and hunting having neither arts nor cattle-and no implement of husbandry but the hoe. Their agriculture of course was simple, but their land was good and gave them as much corn and potatoes as they could consume.

2. *Ocheeses*. Settled at the Bluff of the same name. They had only twenty-five warriors and their chief Jack-mealy was a well disposed half breed. They were honest and peaceable and tilled some good land on the river. Before the Creek war, they had abundance of cattle which they lost in the contest, and like many other tribes, were obliged to depend for subsistence on agriculture and the chase. They had no arts.

(313). 3. *Tamatles*. Settled on some good river land seven miles above the Ocheeses numbers twenty-five warriors-chiefs Yellowhair and the black King. In all other respects the same as the Ocheeses.

4. *Attapulgas* were settled in a fine body of land on Little River a branch of Okalokina fifteen miles above where the Mikasukey path from Fort Gadsden crosses that stream. They had twenty-five warriors and their chief Passukemahla was a great rogue and no soldier. With the exception of a few honest families, the Attapulgas were perfidious and unfriendly to the whites. They had no arts and few cattle.

5. *Telmochesses*. Settled on the west side of Chat-tahouchie fifteen miles above the fork and in a good body of land, numbers ten or fifteen.-Chief William Perryman a well disposed Indian but without talents-rather of doubtful character-governed in their feeling towards the whites pretty much by policy. They spin and weave and use the hoe in agriculture.

6. *Tattowhehalys*. These Indians were scattered among the other towns, numbers fifteen or twenty-

chief not known. They were dishonest and unfriendly and had no arts.

7. *Cheskitalowas*. Settled on the west side of Chattahouchie two miles above the line they had sixty-five warriors and their chief Yaholamico is a good honest and sensible Indian, son of a half-breed. They are honest and friendly-cultivate good land, spin and weave and have a few cattle.

8. Red Grounds. Settled two miles above the line. They have only ten or fifteen warriors and their chief Conchallamico is a man of talents, but inveterately hostile to the whites. The Red Ground tribe are dishonest and turbulent-spin a little-have a few cattle and raise a little corn on good land.

9. *Wekivas*. Situated four miles above the *Cheskitalowas* numbers from twenty-five to thirty warriors-chief Ben Perryman a sensible good Indian, character-honest and friendly. They have a little spinning, weaving and ploughing-good land and a few cattle.

10. *Emusses*. A party of fifteen or twenty were settled on the west side of Apalachicola at the fork under Emusse-mico and Ohulluckhija. These were the Indians who massacred Scotts party. The chief of the whole tribe Oshahija has a good character, but the Indians are dishonest and troublesome. The greater part of the Emusses live two miles above the Wekivas on the west side of Chattahouchie-they understand spinning and weaving, cultivate good land, and own a few cattle.

11. *Etohussewakkes*. Situated three miles below Fort Gaines-numbers only ten or fifteen. Chief Micotocoxa killed in West Florida by a party of friendly Indians since the close of the campaign an inveterate enemy of the whites and well supported by the savage hostility of his people. They spin and weave-have good land and no cattle.

12. *Ufallahs*. Settled twelve miles above Fort Gaines-in numbers seventy or eighty warriors, their chief, Tallapahija, is a keen ingenious fellow and friendly they are cunning and dexterous Indians and probably friendly from policy. They spin and weave, have good land and some stock.

13. *Chehaws*. Settled on Flint River in the fork of Makully Creek numbers seventy or eighty warriors chief old Howard or Cochamico-(killed by Capt. Wright) a good old man. The Chehaws are friendly but not to be too far trusted.

(314). Falemmes' Town is on the east side of Flint and a small branch of the larger chehau town. The Chehaws spin, weave and plough. Their land is second-rate and they have a good many cattle.

14. *Tallewheanas*. On the east side of Flint not far from the Chehaws-numbers twenty-four warriors-chief Spokock Tustemugge-keeping up a show of friendship but inveterately hostile to the whites-noted for horse stealing, spinning and weaving-good land and a good deal of stock.

15. *Oakmulges*. East of Flint near the Tallewheanas. Numbers twenty-five, chief *Hotlepoemico*, a brother of *Hoponne* inveterately hostile to the whites. Warlike but perfidious and dishonest-they spin and weave, have abundance of cattle and cultivate good land.

16. *Tallehassas*. Settled on the road from Okalokina to Mikasukey numbers only fifteen. Chief Okiakhija a weak man and unfriendly. Character worthless, dishonest and inveterately hostile. They have neither arts nor cattle, but their land is excellent and gave them fine crops with very little labour.

17. *Owassissas*. Situated on the eastern waters of St. Marks river, numbers from ten to fifteen warriors-chief *Opai-uchee*. Similar in every way to the Tallehassas.

The Indians settled on Sahwanne were emigrants from different tribes-numbers seventy warriors under Bowlegs, a stupid and ill-disposed man-a body of worthless vagabonds. They had abundance of cattle and no arts except the manufacture of excellent moccasins. Cultivated a thin sandy soil on the west bank of Sahwanne river.-

The *Cheuckochattes* are situated sixty or seventy miles S.E. from the towns on Sahwanne-emigrants from different tribes principally from the Ufallahs. Chief not known-similar in habits and disposition to the Sahwannes. They have vast numbers of cattle, no arts and excellent land.-

Customs, Manners etc.

1. War and treaties. The Indians make no declaration of war. Alliances offensive and defensive are made by sending round a red *stick* the acceptance of which binds the tribe accepting to aid in prosecuting the contemplated expedition. Their excursions are then made without the least warning and with the greatest secrecy-the mode of warfare not differing from that of other Indians. Peace is made by the exchange of a white feather and the treaty is concluded with the feather dance and Eagle-tail song.

2. Councils are called by the chief for consultation on any subject of a public nature and consist of all the men of the tribe. The only speakers are the chiefs and old men-the young men preserving a respectful silence and merely voting on the settlement of disputed questions. Councils of several tribes are only called by chiefs of great influence and they fix the place of meeting. The sessions of councils are held in the squares of the villages, in buildings erected for the purpose near the dwellings of the chiefs. The square is occupied by four cabins, one for the old men, one for the warriors-one for

the young men and one for the women. The place of the chief is in the midst of the old men. (315) The next in rank sits nearest to him and the others take their seats promiscuously. In the warrior cabins the chief warrior sits on the left hand when the cabin is on the right of the square-the reverse when the cabin is on the left. On the meeting of the council the warriors are appointed to hand round the *Black drink* which is made by a chief particularly designated and consists of a strong infusion of the cassino leaf previously dried in the sun and parched in a clay pot over the fire-The *Black-drink* is a ceremony of great influence and solemnity-the Indians believing that the white scum of the tea and the white smoke of the calumet pipes have a purifying effect in destroying all malice, envy or animosity that may have previously lurked among them. The tea is served in a large gourd first to the chief men-then to the warriors and young men, in order-and they vie with each other in the quantities they drink. The medical effect of the drink is emetic-from which quality they probably derive by a metaphor, the principal part of its moral virtue. Pipes are smoked without any order or distinction each individual offering his tobacco pouch to his neighbour, and using his in exchange.-After the business of the council is settled the numbers separate without any ceremony of feast or dance connected with their corporate functions-the only furniture of the council cabbins are sitting benches and utensils for preparing the black drink-and the only ornaments are the painted scalps of their enemies which during war are suspended on a red pole in the square, and in peace decorate the walls of the houses.

The cabins of the square occupy three sides of it-and are built of light materials a little elevated and open on the inner sides, the outer sides of the

houses are merely closed by a light trellis work of cane and split pieces of wood.

3. *Marriages.* There is no marriage ceremony among the southern Indians, application is made to the relations of the girl who grant the suitor permission to make the trial. The lover then goes, at night, to the corn-house where he is joined by the bride, if she approves the bride-groom-if not, the lover passes a lonely night. This is tried three nights successively and if all fail, the gentleman is considered as ultimately rejected-if successful, the bride is carried to the cabin of her husband and set about her domestic duties.

The authority of the husband is absolute, but for tyrannical treatment the wife can abdicate without ceremony. The property of the wife is distinct from her husband's - her duties are servile-the whole domestic and agricultural labours falling to her share-hunting being almost the only employment, of the men. Polygamy is allowed to any extent and among a number of wives the favorite sultana rules with despotic sway.

4. *Trade.* The Indians carry furs and their other products to the white traders and receive in exchange cutlery etc., and money. Their pecuniary accounts are regulated by "Chalks" the value of the "chalk" depending on the factor with whom they trade, Their articles of trade are carried on pack horses.

List of articles exchanged by the Indians with the factors-with the customary prices at the trading house on Apalachicola.-

Deer skins	\$ 0.25	per lb.
Raccoon do .....	.12 $\frac{1}{2}$	each
Fox skins .....	.18 $\frac{3}{4}$	each
Otters-best	3.00	each
Cow-hides	1.00	each
Wild cat skins .....	.25	each
Tiger skins .....	.25	per lb.

Corn	\$ 0.75	per bushel
Pease .....	.75	" "
Rice	1.50	" "
Bacon .....	.12 1/2	per lb.
Cow and calf	10.00	
Cow	8.00	
Aged steer	10.00	
Three year old	8.00	
Two year old	6.00	
Yearling	4.00	
Fowles	3.00	per doz.
Bees wax .....	.25	per lb.

For these articles they received money, woolens, coarse linens, calicoes, cutlery, farming utensils, axes, hatchets, hoes, etc.-powder and shot, sugar, coffee, salt and rum.-

5. *Amusements.* Consist of ball playing and dancing. The ball-play is precisely similar to the same game among the Choctaws. The dances are numerous and all have different names. There is however great monotony in the figures.-Generally they dance in a circle, accompanying their motions with singing. The motions are compounded of shuffling and leaping. Both feet are kept together and the body faced in different directions with the beats of the music. The musician sits generally in the center and merely beats two pieces of cane together accompanying with his voice-the beating to give the time to the dancers.

6. Influence and rank of women.-None whatever. The women are regarded as made for the service of the stronger sex and are obliged to perform all the drudgery of domestic and agricultural duties.

7. Property. The Indians have a special property in their stock, moveables and the materials of their cabbins. These they may dispose of-their fields they cannot. They may grant their chattel property by will to any friend they please but the goods of an intestate are equally divided among the children. The wife has no dower-her right to hold property dis-

tinct from her husband being deemed an equivalent. In litigation about property the strongest party gains the suit and the chief in his judicial capacity has only a moral influence by advice and persuasion without the power of applying legal sanctions. But the mutual peaceable deportment of the Indians is never broken except in drunken excesses and quarrels cease so soon as the effects of the liquor are dissipated. Enmities however are not soon forgotten and generally break out in frolics however distant the intervals.-

8. *Power of chiefs.* This is almost entirely confined to the influence of their experience and eloquence. Exclusive legal privileges they have none nor can they enforce an order when unpopular. They may by (317) common consent, be deposed and are sometimes gradually displaced by the ambition and talents of other demagogues. In the field-actually employed in warlike duties the power of the war chief is considerable. The pride of a warrior prompts him to a cheerful discharge of his military duties and disgrace is feared worse than death. Desertion cannot be punished but by loss of character and the warriors when tired of a campaign may with impunity oblige their leaders to return with them to their homes.

The treaty making power resides under the consent of the tribes, with the war and peace chiefs, who arrange the terms of the compact, sign, and see them enforced. There is no special election of chiefs. Popularity gradually acquired induces a distinguished man to take an active part in the national concerns-and he is thence forward entitled a chief with rank in the council and field. In a campaign, the subordinate officers are chosen from among the more daring of the warriors under the war chief, and have no other influence but what their enterprise, genius and courage naturally give them.

9. *Burials.* An Indian dying at home is buried in his cabin and the family mourn for him without artificial ceremonies. In the woods, the dead are either elevated on scaffolds or laid on the ground and a small pen built around them. The gun and ammunition of the deceased were formerly deposited with them-but latterly this custom has been given up.

10. *Religion, Superstition, etc.* The Seminoles have an idea of a Supreme being Whom they call "He-sak-ke-te-mass," maker of breath but they pay him no reverence, and have not even the rudest kind of worship among them. Sorcery is common, but they attribute the pretended effects of magical preparations to physical causes originating in their mixtures and not as connected with the agency of invisible beings. Their sorcerers pretend to the power of controlling the elements, curing diseases, and killing their enemies, however distant. The incantations are performed with the greatest secrecy and the rites and preparations not known.

The prophets are not numerous. Francis (Hillis-hija) and a negro girl were the only prophets among the lower tribes. The girl always commenced the process of divination by wrapping herself in a blanket, in which she made singular whistling sounds for several minutes. She said an invisible being then communicated a view of future events.-Francis was unable to foresee his capture and execution.-

11. *Moral obligations.* None of conscience or principle. Policy is the only tie among the Seminoles. Lying is not a vice, on the contrary, dexterous lying is a considerable qualification and regarded as a virtue. Thieving and perfidy are ingenuity and political wisdom.

12. *Holidays.* The green-corn-feast is the most important. This takes place at the latter end of June when the corn becomes eatable. The tribe meets at

the council square where they are seated in the same order as at other ceremonies. They then cleanse out thoroughly with black-drink and snake-root tea to prepare for the feast. All the old fires are then entirely extinguished and new ones lit by the attrition of two pieces of wood. Finally the green corn is roasted and boiled and presented to the guests who eat to excess in honor of the season.

13. *Infancy, Boyhood, Puberty and old age.* No authority is exercised by parents after the period of infancy. The boys do as they please and their subsistence is the only care of the father and mother. The father teaches them hunting and other manly exercises-the wife instructs the girls in the domestic duties. The periods of the different stages are not particularly designated but depend on the strength, enterprise and disposition of the candidate for advancement. The respect (318) universally paid to age is a striking feature of the Indian character. This is with them both a feeling and a habit, and an Indian would feel himself disgraced who could so far forget himself as to treat a senior with disrespect. It is worthy of remark that this amiable characteristic is generally the first they loose in learning the habits of civilized life.

14. *Doctors.* There are no men among the Seminoles who are professedly doctors. They almost all however dabble in physic, which is with them a mixture of incantation and herbal preparations, they are acquainted with a variety of plants possessing cathartic, emetic and sudorific virtues and some that are useful in allaying the inflammation of external injuries. These are generally kept secret and the Indians have obstinate objections to discover them.

The view of the Indians taken applies to their situation and circumstances before the late campaign.

Their condition now is woefully altered. Spirited on by G. Brittain and urged by their own restless and vindictive tempers they had carried on for years a system of depredation and cruel outrage on our southern border. The threats of our government they laughed at. The feeble efforts of the frontier settlers were easily repelled and secure in their swamps and thickets they looked forward to years of murder and exaction without interruption or punishment. -The events of the late expedition under General Jackson, have taught them it is to be hoped an awful and durable lesson. They have now seen their morasses of fancied security penetrated with ease by cavalry and artillery and their "impene-trable thickets" scarcely giving perceptible delay to the march of an army. They have seen their chief and prophet executed-their cattle and provisions destroyed and their flourishing towns and fields burnt and ravaged by a painful but just and necessary retaliation. What course of conduct they will next adopt is doubtful. If still unawed by their late chastisement, they concentrate their strength on the east of St. Juan's, they may yet give serious trouble to the settlements on St. Tilla [Satilla?] and Ste. Marys. But their numbers are too inconsiderable to effect much and proper exertions with but little expense of men or money may not only repel but finally and effectually disable them.

Where the remnants of the different tribes have gone to is in some degree a matter of conjecture, most of the Indians of Apalachicola have retired into West Florida and are suspected to be hiding near the coast about St. Rose's Bay. -The Ocheeses gave themselves up at St. Mark and were furnished with canoes and provisions to carry them up the Apalachicola to the Creek nation, where they were promised protection. But, since leaving the fort, nothing has

been heard of them and they have probably joined those in West Florida.* -The Attapulgas, Fowl Towns, and those who massacred Scotts party joined the Mikasukeys and fled with them towards *Chuckachatte* and *Tampia*. The party of Peter McQueen which was overtaken and beaten by McIntosh on the route to Sahwanne, is probably scattered near the coast about the mouth of Assilla creek. The negroes of Sahwanne fled with the Indians of Bowleg's Town (319) toward Chuckachatte. In considering the history of all the southern Indians as handed down by their own traditions-this important truth is manifest-that their title to territory rests only on forcible occupancy and the dispossession of other tribes now partially or entirely extinct. The Choc-taws, the Chickesaws, the Cherokees, and Muscogeas are all emigrants from other countries and they all had to fight their way into the territories which they now possess. Nor did they merely make a forcible partition of soil. Their right does not rest on any species of purchase-either imposed on the weaker nation or fairly made by the offer of an equivalent.

*They have since arrived at Fort Scott.-

Extermination of the most ruthless kind was the only security which they aimed at obtaining for their possession and at this day even the names are scarcely known of whole tribes swept by these different invaders from the earth.

In what a different point of view does this fact place our Indian relations in the eye of the Philosopher and Philantropist. Our pacific and forbearing policy towards the savages is no longer a "partial atonement. for the deep wrongs of our fore-fathers" -Mankind must view it as springing from feelings wholly uninfluenced by such considerations and prompted by justice and benevolence. It entirely does away those shadowy and romantic excuses for

Indian perfidy and outrage which ignorant writers have so plausibly urged and by placing the Indians on the footing of other nations in their political relationship to these states enables us to pursue a course of conduct towards them unbiased and untrammelled by feelings as false as they are impolitic. It is not contended that because the Indians hold their present possessions by right of conquest, that we are therefore justifiable in dispossessing them by the same means and holding their territory by the same right, but it is fairly questionable whether it be not proper to adopt such a line of policy towards them as shall be based on our own views of beneficial result-without being trammelled by discussions and objections on their part which are always prompted by ignorant and interested individuals or whether the Government will suffer the dishonest influence which such individuals have among the Indians to defeat schemes of policy, devised for mutual advantage however grand and beneficial.

6. *Spanish Settlements.*- Very little is known of the early Spanish settlements in East Florida-altho from the remains of forts, highways, bridges, etc., scattered through the country, they must have been considerable. The government of Spain soon saw the importance of Florida, and when emigrants had begun to cultivate the good soil of the interior, they resolved to secure those infant settlements by a chain of defences. In consequence, a line of works was extended from Little River to St. Augustine running nearly in an east and west direction and connected by a broad highway, made practicable through the lower parts of the country by durable causeways and bridges.-At each of the points where the population rendered a fortification necessary a work was regularly constructed. Generally on a square, with bastions and a rampart and parapet of earth.-The first

of these posts was on the west bank of Apalache, two miles S. W. of the present Fort San Marcos. The next was twenty-six miles north of it, and not far from the Mikasukian Lake. Then in order-Little River, St. Rose at Okalokina-a fort on Assilla-St. Pedro on Histenhatche and St. Francisco on St. Juan's. The highway connecting these different settlements is yet to be seen in many places where the Indian routes through the country (320) cross or run along with it. The upper Sahwanne path is parallel with the great road for a considerable distance and one of its forks is crossed by the path from St. Marks to Assilla. The deep indentation in the soil will preserve the road visible for centuries. At the crossing place of Assilla creek, the remains of a bridge and extensive causeway of cabbage tree logs evidence the industry of the Spaniards and the population of their settlements at a former day. Since the destruction of these fortresses, the only post the Spaniards have kept up in this part of East Florida is Fort San Marcos on the Apalache. The plan of this work given by Capt. Gadsden supersedes the necessity of a description here. It is situated at the junction of Wakally and St. Marks rivers and nine miles from the Bay. The land about the fort is open prairie for one mile when the flat pine woods commence. The prairie is swampy and has a thin covering of rich mould on a base of calcareous rock and firm white sand.

Traders. - The only trading establishments were-a branch of the House of Forbes & Co., formerly Panton Leslie & Co., on the Apalachicola and one made by an Englishman named Arbuthnott at Sahwanne. The former brought goods from Cuba-the latter from New Providence.

The house of Forbes and Co. have made an immense fortune by their trade with the lower Creeks

from whom when their debts accumulated, they take large bodies of land in payment under the consent of the Spanish Government. The tracts of land owned by them in East Florida comprehends almost all the good land described in the foregoing sheets. Extending on the east side of Apalachicola from the mouth of that river, to a point not far below Flint thence, eastwardly across Little River to Okalokina and thence southwardly to Apalache embracing the Wakally and its head spring. This tract of country will be of incalculable value to the proprietors should the United States retain the Floridas. At present the good land does not sell high and might be probably bought for two dollars per acre.

7. *Negroes.*-The negro fort at Prospect Bluff on Apalachicola is described by Captain Gadsden. The negroes at Sahwanne were fugitives from Georgia and St. Augustine and were living in quiet and plenty without a single temptation to depredate in our territory. Their distance screened them from the single efforts of their masters to recover them and the abundance of cattle and corn obviated every plea on the score of subsistence. They were situated handsomely on the west bank of Sahwanne, thirty-six miles from its mouth-in a hammock of thin but productive soil where they raised corn, potatoes, peas, beans and rice. Their cabbins were large and better constructed than those of the Indians and many of them had neat gardens enclosed by paling and affording good fruit and vegetables. Their form of government was similar to that of the Indians. The chief was a *Mulatto* whose talents formed his only tie of authority and who knew that the respect and affections of the negroes were the only security to the continuance of his magistracy. In numbers they were about two hundred men with the usual proportion of women and children.

8. *Agricultural products.*- A much greater proportion of Florida is cultivated than a traveler from northern climates would probably imagine. (321) Such an observer would in all likelihood pronounce the pine land sterile and useless, limiting his opinion of productiveness to the soil with a growth of oak and hickory-or to river bottom with cane and other growth;. But the corn crops raised on the sandy hammock at Sahwanne-the crops at Chehaw town on Flint, and the successful culture of some other pine districts show that a soil where sand greatly predominates may in such a climate be made productive even by Indian agriculture. But with the industry and superior farming knowledge of the whites, even in the sand hills would produce valuable cotton.

A planter accustomed to examine lands would discover that the sand of the higher parts rests almost uniformly on a bed of stiff marly clay, which when worked up with the sandy stratum at the surface would make a fertile and productive soil. He would also discover that in the hilly parts where the ferruginous sand rock is visible at the surface-there is often an argillaceous mixture which renders the soil friable and holds out hopes of raising crops even on those desolate looking eminences. But there is no need of doubtful adventure in the river and hammock land of Florida. On the Apalachicola, the soil of the bottoms equals that of the Mississippi and on many of the Bluffs there are, as already described, the most desirable situations-a rich ochrish soil with security from inundation. The land of Little River, Okalokina, Tallehassa, Mikasukey, Wakally, Assilla and St. Juans presents an aspect of most prepossessing beauty-a surface gently rolling, fine large timber, good water and generally a deep red soil with strength and fertility equal to any kind of

culture. It would be unfair to estimate the prospective agricultural importance of this country from the crops of the Seminoles. The Indians make no experiments, having few wants, and despising luxuries, they prefer raising a sufficiency of corn and potatoes to the labour of a trial which might have proved the aptitude of their soil for cotton and sugar without affording them any direct or speedy benefit. They would naturally prefer the easy task of occasionally hunting large droves of cattle to the drudgery of testing the productiveness of the pine lands where those cattle found abundant pasturage, to ascertain therefore the one or the other-whether sugar can be raised on the richer land and whether anything can be raised on the poorer-the enterprise of the white planter must be admitted to a trial-and of the success there is little doubt.

Sugar on the Mississippi is raised as high as Point Coupee in Nat. 31° n.-why should it be a more precarious crop in Florida below Lat. 30° 4" within which parallel is the body of good land described before-cotton and hemp will succeed beyond a doubt and indigo will on the bottom land where the stiff marl has but a little mixture of sand. Rice succeeds already among the Indians and of horticultural products both vegetable and fruits-all the southern varieties may be successfully introduced. Hitherto, neither cotton nor sugar have been tried in this part of East Florida-the Indians and few white settlers confining themselves to corn, rice, potatoes and beans-of fruits, the fig grows at St. Marks and some old trees are found among the ruins of the Spanish settlements on Okalokina and Assilla. Thriving peach trees were blooming at Sahwanne and the wild plum is found in every thicket. Melon, cucumber, peas, salad, cabbage and other garden vegetables are found in the garden at St. Marks-flourishing in

spite of a broiling sun and a soil of almost unmixed sand.

9. *Climate.* - The climate of the northwest part of Florida is pleasant and healthy. The sea breezes cool and refresh the air in the warm months-and the absence of fogs and wet springs secure it. from the visits of intermittents (322) and other southern fevers. The spring and fall are generally dry and the rainy season usually commences in December. There are then occasional spells of cold weather until March, when the pleasant season begins and lasts until June with a regular alternation of light breezes from the N. E. and the Gulf, either of which is cool and refreshing. After June, the warm weather commences with suffocating breezes from the S. W. relieved by variations to the S. E. and occasional showers. At this season the dews are remarkably heavy. The most unpleasant part of the day in summer is generally in the morning from sun-rise to 8 o'clock-at which period not a leaf stirs. After 8 a light breeze from the sea revives everything and continues till evening. It is then either succeeded by a distressing calm in which the unmitigated heat of the sun cannot be escaped even in the closest shade-but more generally by a land breeze from the N. E. quite as agreeable as that from the water. The nights are always cool and strongly tempt the dangerous indulgence of exposure. But this imprudence is highly hurtful from the heaviness of the dews and the great change of temperature-which checks perspiration and induces a long train of diseases. The thermometer* in summer, ranges from 80° to 89° in the shade, but sometimes rises to 95° and even a hun-

*Fahrenheit.

dred-but this is very rarely. In the winter it is seldom below 30° and from that mounts occasionally to 50°.

This country is not often visited by Equinoxial hurricanes. More damage is done by summer storms, which sometimes rise suddenly from the S. W. and although of transient duration are often very destructive. The spring of 1818 was the coldest that has been known in Florida for many years. On the 22d of April a frost of most destructive kind blighted all the young vegetation along the southern frontier from Mobile to Sahwanne and probably to the Atlantic. It was followed by several days of excessively cold weather in which a large fire, even in the middle of the day, was far from uncomfortable. The effects of this frost, which I noticed on the whole route from St. Marks to Pensacola were singularly various in situations and appearance. On some of the high grounds, the vegetation was scarcely effected, whilst in places much lower, and apparently sheltered, the frost had the same appearance as the blasting of a fire among the low bushes and shrubs. Even large trees had their small leaves partly withered and the foliage of some young oaks presented a singular motley show of russet and green.

(The itineraries of Gen. Jackson's army will follow in the next issue of the QUARTERLY.)

THE PANTON, LESLIE PAPERS

JOHN LESLIE TO JOHN FORBES
(*The cession of Louisiana*)

London 21 September 1803.

John Forbes Esqr.

Dear Sir:

Pensacola is such an out of the way place that it is very seldom I can find the means of communicating with you, which is the reason that I have not sooner acknowledged yours of the 19th January, 28 March, of the 4th, 5th, 8th, 24th of April, and of the 5th & 12th June from the Indian Country, very lately come to hand. At present however I do not mean to make a regular reply to these, as I do not know how or where this letter is to find you, which I mean to send to Liverpool, to wait for a chance of some Conveyance from thence to N. Orleans, which I understand sometimes occurs.

My last to you was of the 2d April, via Nassau; and I have since advised your Brother, as occasion served, of anything Material in our Concerns here, which he would impart to you, as opportunitys of Conveyance may have offered.-

The strong probability of a renewal of the War, early in March last, and the Actual commencement of Hostility not long after; together with the generally received opinion, which still remains to a certain degree, that Spain would or will be obliged to join with France therein, put a stop to my proceedings here, else before now you would have received the Goods you ordr 'd for August. In addition to the War, the circumstance of British property being

Note-This letter is in continuation of the series of records of Panton, Leslie & Co., and its successor John Forbes & Co., the publication of which has been continuous in the *Quarterly*. These are in the possession of Mrs. John W. Greenslade who has transcribed them.

seized in most of the ports of Europe, where French influence or power prevailed, contributed to Stagger me, as doubting whether the same might not extend to ports in America similarly Circumstanced-Three Ships almost loaded for Cadiz lying in the River, in the same tier with the Jean, put their Cargoes ashore again, & are still lying by there empty as Hyndman informed me. In the meantime we learned that Mr. Munro the American Minister had concluded a Treaty with the French Government for the cession of Louisiana to the United States, which Cession would include Mobbille, & as far as the River Perdido, but of this I could not obtain any certainty, I mean as to the limits, and about the same time I was credibly informed, the American Minister at Madrid, was negotiating with that Court for the Cession of the Two Floridas, including Pensacola, & St. Augustine, in addition to Louisiana; but this it seems has not yet been Accomplished-About the same time I learned that Mr. Munro was shortly expected here from France, in the Capacity of American Ambassador to this Court, which induced me to suspend operations till his arrival, hoping through him to be enabled to see my way more clearly-than I then could-Accordingly about the middle of last month, two or three weeks after his arrival in London, I waited on him, and informed him of my connections and Concerns in Your Country, and learned from him that Mobbille did fall within the American Government, which he thought would be established there, at N. Orleans &c, in about six weeks from that date; and that such of the Inhabitants and Settlers there as Chose it, might be immediately Admitted as Citizens, on taking the Oath of Allegiance to the U. States, and that at any rate, private property of all description would be inviolate.

I told him that I thought of sending out a ship with an Assortment of goods Chiefly for the Indian Trade, to Mobile, and asked him if I should be safe in doing so, to which he answered in the affirmative; I asked him if he would furnish such Ship with his passport, to which he replied that was a question he was not then prepared to answer on the sudden; (he had not then had his Audience, or delivered his Credentials to the King, to which perhaps he alluded in that reply) but he said generally, that he would do anything in his power, or that he could do with propriety, to promote our interest and facilitate our trade in that Country; He asked if the ship I meant to send was an American or British ship; when I told him, the ship I had in the River was British, but if that made much difference, I could probably dispose of her, & charter an American, which he seemed to think was the more eligible Mode.

Upon the whole, the conversation I had with him was so far Satisfactory, that next day I began to overhaul your orders, and set about making extracts. & a kind of compound from both of them, to give out to the Trades men, especially to such of them as would require some time for Manufacturing & preparing the goods, & getting them up from places in the Country; I had the Jean Advertised for sale, & a Broom stuck up at her Masthead, and directed the Broker to look out for a suitable American ship to charter for Mobile, Thinking there at least under the American Government, there would be little risque of the Fraternal hug.

Commercial business here, has for months past, been extremely slack, a great many ships for Sale but no buyers, insomuch that we have never had an offer for the Jean, tho' she has been in the Market for weeks past; I had her Advertised also for Charter, but no notice was taken of it; On the other hand

several American ships were offered for Charter, but on such terms that I did not think it right to agree to; Such as 2500 - to 2700 for the Voyage, 5% Primage, 2/3d Pilotage and Port charges, 60 running days allowed on the whole here & with you, and after them from 10 to 12 Guineas Per day for demurrage; 500 to be paid in Advance, to the remainder the ships return & discharge of her Cargo, &c.. Rather than conform to these hard terms, & having little or no prospect of doing anything with the Jean, I have lately determined on making use of her, & have told Hyndman to get her ready for Sea, which he is now about. The goods I expect will be all ready; a full Assortment in about three weeks, and they talk of a Convoy for Jamaica, about the latter end of October, which I propose Hyndman to join, if he should even wait a fortnight or so at Portsmouth or Plymouth for that purpose; so that upon the Whole I think you may be looking for him about... Christmas, barring accidents. It is my intention to clear her out for Mobbille, an American port, but Hyndman in running down the back of Rose Island, will hoist an English Ensign at his main top Gallant Masthead, and lie to about three hours, off the bar of Pensacola, when if you want him in there, & think it SAFE, you can send out a boat to him for that purpose; or previously concert with the Officer of the Guard at the Barrancas to send off such boat, which he can do more readily than from the Town and deliver Hyndman a Letter of instructions, from you, which you can have lying with the Officer, ready to send off-but if Hyndman sees no sign of any Boat coming off to him, after lying about three hours, he will conclude you do not wish him to come in at Pensacola, & will proceed to Mobbille.

It appears to me, that if it will be Convenient that you or Mr. Simpson, or James Innerarity, or all of

you, should get Naturalized as Citizens of the U. States, by which means the homeward Cargo may be reckon 'd, and will in fact become Neutral property, being ship'd in the name of such Naturalized Americans. Some such Measure as this will probably have suggested itself to you, as soon as you learned the change of Government about to take place.-

It grieves me to have to Advise you that Henry who had in his hands the proceeds of the Resolution's Cargo, stop'd. payment before he could be made to refund any part of it,-but still I do not give it up for lost, as he will, its said, be able to pay all his debts in 3 or 4 years, and have a considerable surplus; meantime a power of Attorney from Penman & Co., has been sent to Kingston Jamaica, to try what can be done with his partner & connections there, to whose credit he had placed about half of the said proceeds.-

I do not think of sending you any other ship than the Jean, this Season; because I think you will have no difficulty in getting, either by purchase or charter, some suitable American Vessel when wanted, in the now American Ports of N. Orleans & Mobile, on better terms than here, and I presume there will be no more difficulty in your shipping Cotton or anything else from an American port. Cotton is very low here at present, but I do not know the exact price, indeed I believe it is in no demand, and any that has been sold lately is I think about 15d to 18d.-

Your Deer skins Per Jean netted from	
the Brokers Sale	22676.15.7
Those from E. Florida-30 Hhds ..do....	3927.10.6
The Deer skins P Supply	do 1024.13.6
The Cow Hides	do 268. 4.4
	<hr/>
	27.897.3.11

I have not yet got the Sales of the Fur, nor of the Cedar. the former went off at much the same prices as last year; the latter not so well, and will not Average 81/4d P foot, on the gross sales.-

There is hardly anything talk'd or thought of in this Country but the Invasion from France & Holland; the whole Kingdom is under arms, & learning Military discipline &c; and tho' no one I believe has any doubt but an Invasion will be attempted, yet no one seems to have any Apprehensions from the result, and I for one think Bonaparte cannot succeed in it; this Country is so powerful both by Sea & Land, that I have no fear for its Safety. - In the meantime I remain

Dear Sir,
ever Yours,
John Leslie

NEW BOOKS

Florida place-names of Indian origin and Seminole personal names. By **WILLIAM A. READ** (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1934, pages v, 83.)

Dr. Read is professor of the English language and literature in Louisiana State University and his excellent work is No. 11 of "University Studies". He has divided this pamphlet into five parts as follows: Introduction, Symbols and Abbreviations, List of Geographic Names; Names of various Indian Chiefs, and Conclusion. Section III is subdivided into four parts, namely: Names from the Florida dialects; Florida name of dubious and unknown origin; important names; and sundry names on Taylor's war map of 1839. While most of its Indian geographic names in Florida are derived from the three languages of the Muskogean family the Seminole, the Hitchite, and the Choctaw, "many Indian names drawn from other dialects have been brought into the State by white men and conferred on post offices, railway stations, and settlements." (p. iii)

Other names are reminiscent of the Yuchi, Timucua, and the Calusa Indians. Some were first reported by early Spanish and French explorers, writers, and missionaries. The book is full of surprises. For instance, "Charley Apopka Creek" in Hardee County which is noted on the Davis map, means "the place where trout are eaten", "Charley" being a corruption from Seminole chak, trout, and Apopka from Seminole papka, "eating place". Again "Olustee" is a corruption from Seminole Creek Oklasti, "blackish", a very appropriate name, as later history was to record.

The author concludes that "The prosaic character of the native geographic names in Florida is re-

markable. Animals, fish, reptiles, trees, conspicuous features of the landscape, trivial incidents, and personal names form the chief sources from which these names are drawn, with keen powers of observation, it is true, but apparently with little or no difficulty or emotion on the part of the Indian. Among the numerous native names comprised in this study there is, indeed, scarcely a single one that would appeal to a white man's sense of beauty."

Dr. Read believes it is quite otherwise with various Indian names in Louisiana which are extremely poetical in their meaning.. The book is very suggestive and will be useful, though it may not be the last word.

JAMES A. ROBERTSON.

* * *

Salt as a Factor in the Confederacy. By ELLA LONN, Ph. D., Professor of History, Goucher College. (New York, Published by the author, 1933. 324 p. Frontispiece and folded map.) \$3.00

Only if it be lacking could one realize the importance-the necessity, of salt; and almost every page of this volume shows how continually and how greatly this lack was felt by the people of the Confederacy and especially by those in authority-those in authority, for the work is based largely on official records of every kind, both of the general and the state governments. Throughout also can be seen the continuous and at times extraordinary efforts made by the people and the different governments to secure salt; too, that salt was the reason for many naval and military expeditions; and also, that its scarcity was one of the numerous contributing causes of the downfall of the Confederacy. The nearly one hundred pages of references, notes, and bibliography indicate the wide range and thoroughness of the author's research.

“Nowhere else were federal naval attacks so frequent, so persistent, and so exclusively directed against the salt industry as on the Gulf coast of Florida.” (p. 172). Dr. Lonn has given an account of these Florida raids in this periodical (Vol. X. pp. 167-184) to which little is added. The extent of the industry on the Florida coast is all but incredible. At that period the region of St. Andrews, Bay was little more than a wilderness, yet during only one of several raids there a Federal naval force destroyed salt works of an estimated value of over three million dollars.

As the Confederacy was not primarily overthrown in the field, the volume takes no unimportant place in the history of the struggle.

To THE MEMBERS

The annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society, for the election of officers and other business, will be held at its headquarters in the Willow Branch Library of the Jacksonville Public Library, Park and Cherry streets, on Tuesday, November 20, 1934, at eleven o'clock A. M. All members are urged to attend or to mail an appointment of proxy in the form below.

I hereby constitute and appoint

.....

in my place and stead to vote and act upon any and all questions arising at the meeting of the Florida Historical Society (or its adjourned meeting) to be held at Jacksonville, Florida, on Tuesday, November 20, 1934; hereby ratifying and confirming all votes and acts of my said proxy at said meetings.

(date)

(signed)