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Essay on Middle Florida (Essai sur la Floride du Milieu)

Comte de Castelnau



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ESSAY ON MIDDLE FLORIDA, 1837-1838
(ESSAI SUR LA FLORIDE DU MILIEU)
by COMTE DE CASTELNAU

Translated by ARTHUR R. SEYMOUR

(Note—This essay was published in Nouvelles Annales des Voyages et des Sciences Geographiques, cx, vol. iv (1843) pp. 129-208. It will be followed in subsequent issues of the QUARTERLY by extracts translated from "Vues et Souvenirs de l'Amerique du Nord," also by Francis de Castelnau (Paris, 1842), descriptive of eleven plates (of thirty-five in the volume) which are of Florida interest. Seven of these will be reproduced. There will be published also a translation of "Note de deux Itineraries de Charleston a Tallahassee" by the same author, which appeared in Bulletin de la Societe de Geographie, vol. xviii, ser. 2 (1842) pp. 241-259; and his "Note sur la Source de la Riviere de Wakulla dans la Floride" from the same periodical, vol, xi, ser. 2 (1839) pp. 242-247.

The French texts in all of the above have been translated for the QUARTERLY by Dr. Seymour, Professor of Modern Languages, Emeritus, Florida State University. Ed.)

FOREWORD
by MARK F. BOYD

Available data pertaining to the author of these Florida papers and monographs are meager. Larousse states that Francis de La Porte, Comte de Castelnau, was born in London in 1812 and attained eminence as a naturalist and scientific traveler. He made an extended scientific journey in North America from 1837 to 1841, during which period he visited the Canadian lakes, the United States and Mexico. After a brief sojourn in France he led a scientific expedition sponsored by the French government, which traversed South America from east to west from 1843 to 1847. He became French consul in Melbourne, Australia, in 1862, where he died in 1880.

Middle Florida seems to have been the objective of his earliest journeys, rather than a place of sojourn during a lengthy circuit. He spent four months, from November 15, 1837, to March 15, 1838, within the limits of the territory. A search through the Tallahassee and Apalachicola newspapers published during the period of the Count's visit to Florida for some mention of him, without result, would indicate the possibility that he travelled incognito. We are unaware whether his Florida journey was wholly prompted by his scientific interests or whether in some degree there may have been ulterior motives. In the former event his acquaintance with Joseph Delafield may have determined the choice, in the latter case it might be surmised that Louis Phillipe may not have been without interest in the situation of one Achille Murat, who had been intermittently identified with Middle Florida. Such a hypothesis is not too incredible as it is well known that several earlier scientific French travellers had dual missions.

The monograph on Middle Florida appeared in 1843, after the Count's departure for South America, so that the numerous errors in the spelling of proper names perhaps may be attributed to lack of proof reading, or dependence on a printer who could not decipher correctly the author's script.

The eleven lithographs of Florida scenes presented in the "Vues et Souvenirs" are among the most important items of Florida iconography extant, as no other illustrations for these places and times exist. Four prints of this series are not reproduced, as they relate wholly to unimportant landscapes. The differences in the draftmanship presented by different plates is very striking, and it is very evident they are not all the work of the same artist. A comparison for example, of the four crude sketches of Plate 9 (the same crudity prevails in the scenes on the Wakulla and Apalachicola rivers, which are not reproduced), with the artistic and tasteful sketch of the Capitol, or the street scene in Tallahassee, makes it apparent they are not the work of the same hand. It

is of course possible that the crude field sketches were redrawn by a competent artist, or even by the lithographer upon the Count's return to Paris. In our opinion the sketches may be accepted as faithful portrayals of that which they purport to represent, a matter of considerable importance in the interpretation of the Tallahassee scenes. The reason for this belief is afforded by the 3rd illustration of Plate 9, entitled the "Arsenal at Mount Vernon," otherwise Chattahoochee. This building with its shot tower, the wall, and the dwelling to the left can be seen today without any significant change on the grounds of the Florida State Hospital, the present legatee of the arsenal. If these surviving structures faithfully exhibit the characteristics given them by our artist, we must presume that his other scenes were reproduced with an equal fidelity.

The only reference to the Count discoverable in the Florida press was called to our attention by Miss Dorothy Dodd. In the issue of the Tallahassee Sentinel of December 5, 1843, there is a legal notice by Mathew J. Allen, petitioner, addressed to Francis Louis Nompard de Caumont Laforce de Castelnau (*sic*) formerly of the city of New York, informing the latter of his intention to foreclose a mortgage on certain lands in Madison county and elsewhere in Middle Florida, in satisfaction of a mortgage given on the 23rd of March, 1838.

The date is rather curious, as it would appear that at that time, according to the itineraries, the Count was distant from Florida on his return journey.

THE ESSAY *

Middle Florida, a name which is almost unknown in Europe, deserves however to receive attention for the fer-

*This work of a traveler, who is today entrusted by the French government with a mission of discovery in the central part of South America, was presented to the Academy of Sciences April 3, 1842, and became the following December 5 the subject of a very favorable report of Messrs. Isidore Geoffroy-Saint-Hilaire, and Elie de Beaumont and de Gasperin. It was then shown to M. de Quatrefages who gave an interesting account of it in the REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (March 1843).

tility of its soil and the products, already quite important, that leave its ports., Scarcely fifteen years ago the country was entirely in the possession of savage tribes, and already important towns exist in several places and especially in the neighborhood of the Gulf of Mexico; no one can predict what degree of prosperity this territory might have already attained without the Indian war that has been devastating it for several years, and that is the reason why too often scenes occur at the very edge of these flourishing settlements which make one shudder.

This account is divided into three sections: the first deals with the geographical description; the second with the climate, the temperature, the agriculture and the principal vegetable and animal products; and the third is devoted to the three races of inhabitants: white, black, and Indians, the former possessors of the soil.

I

GEOGRAPHY

Although possessing the oldest town in North America, Florida is still only a territory, that is to say that it is a part of the American Union only as a colony and without enjoying the political liberty reserved to the States. It is however probable that it will be granted statehood by the present session of Congress. However that may be, its capital is today Tallahassee, a town situated in Middle Florida, about seven leagues from the Gulf of Mexico.

Florida is at present divided into four judicial districts: (1) East Florida which includes Saint Augustine, and which is bounded on the east by the Atlantic, on the north by Georgia, on the west by the Suwanee River, and on the south by an imaginary line passing through still unexplored regions stretching from Indian River to Tolopchoko River at latitude about 28 degrees 30 minutes; (2) South Florida which includes all the southern region of the peninsula as well as the group of islands known by the name of Florida Keys, the most important

of which is Key West * (3) Middle Florida which entirely unknown a few years ago, is today the part of the territory containing the most inhabitants; it is bounded on the east by the Suwanee River, on the north by Georgia, on the south by the Gulf of Mexico, and on the west by the Apalachicola River; (4) Finally, West Florida which contains Pensacola, is likewise bounded on the south by the Gulf of Mexico, on the north and the west by the State of Alabama, and on the east by the Apalachicola River.

The third of these divisions, or Middle Florida, is the one dealt with in the present account; this district, famous for the fertility of its soil, is divided into five counties, and we are going to give a detailed description of each of them, going from west to east.

[*Gadsden County*]

Gadsden county extends from the Georgia border to the Gulf of Mexico, which gives it a length of about twenty-two leagues, and from the Apalachicola River to

* [Indian Key] Number 63 of the bulletin of the Geographic Society contains an interesting account of M. David about Florida, but the careless statement is found in it that Key West is the only island of this group that is inhabited. Since but little is known about these regions, we feel that we ought to mention here Indian Isle [Indian Key] which is in the same class. However, it is only a little island of about twelve acres in extent. It was completely bare of fertile soil, but they have brought some from neighboring islands; coconut, banana and orange trees grow there. There are about fifty inhabitants, twenty of them negroes; almost all of them live on the wreckage of shipwrecks common in those parts. I mention this little settlement only because it is a county seat, has a court, and sends a member to the Assembly. There are a dozen houses, but not a bush, and no wild animal lives there. There it is forbidden to sell strong liquors to sailors. They can get to Matacumbe Island a mile away at low tide with no more than one foot of water. A causeway is needed to join them. This little island is six and a half leagues from the coast. Several cannons have been taken there since the beginning of the Indian Wars. The climate is magnificent and very healthy. There are no fevers and the sun shines every day, trade winds blow there continually, moderating the heat which never exceeds 25 degrees Reaumur. The thermometer is never in winter below 13 degrees above zero. Huge sea turtles are very common on the shores, and the inhabitants say that there is also a kind of conger eel or sea serpent whose bite may be fatal.

the Oclockony River, giving thus an average breadth of ten to twelve leagues.

The Apalachicola River is one of the most beautiful streams of North America, formed at the northern border of Florida by the junction of the Chattahoutchie and the Flint Rivers; it crosses, making quite numerous turns, a region of the greatest fertility, and empties into the Gulf of Mexico near the town of Apalachicola. About thirty steamboats, several of which are very large, are already employed in the transportation of its rich products. The thick vegetation that covers its banks is very beautiful, and among the huge trees that crowd together one notices the live oak and the magnolia, which here reach a huge size; they are bound together by wild creepers and vines, and everywhere the high grass and the reeds offer an almost unsurmountable obstacle to the progress of a traveler. We shall mention also a feature that everywhere arouses the attention of one who explores the southern regions of the continent, we refer to the long moss (*Tillandsia*), which hangs from all the branches of the trees and often reaches a length of forty or fifty feet.

The river we are dealing with, since it is already of importance from a commercial viewpoint, and it seems to us, destined for a great future in this connection, we are going to describe, giving details of its two banks, although only one of them is a part of Middle Florida.

As we have already remarked, it is formed by the junction of two rivers of considerable size. First, the Chattahoutchie which rises near the meeting point of the four states of Tennessee, North Carolina, Georgia and Alabama; the navigation of which is stopped above the town of Columbus (Georgia) by waterfalls remarkable for their picturesque wild beauty; but from that point to the Gulf of Mexico it is open to navigation and furnishes to the planters of an immense region a reliable outlet for their cotton and the other products of their farms. This river for a considerable distance is the boundary between the states of Georgia and Alabama; its

banks are generally very steep and in many places perpendicular. Second, the Flint rises in Kalbe county and flows southwest to its junction with the Chattahouchie (30° 43'). Boats with a draft of eight feet can ascend it about fifteen leagues to the village of Bainsbridge, [*sic*]. On descending the river beyond the junction point, the traveler is at first struck by the different colors which the water presents at this point; it is of three very distinct colors, the water of the Flint being cut in two by the water of Spring Creek, and retains its clearness for a long time in the midst of the muddy current into which it enters. Everywhere the banks are low and subject to overflow. At some miles from the junction point, and on the western bank (West Florida) is the Indian village of Hitchetan, the chief of which, Ecouchatemico [Econchatemico] is also called the King of the red lands.* He is an old man, bent with age, who has had his nose and ears cut off for the crime of adultery. This people, who are generally called by the name of Apalachicolas or Chattahouchis, are a branch of the Creeks or Muscogis, former allies of the Spaniards. They fought bravely against General Jackson, but since then they have remained friendly to the whites and served as allies in the war against the Seminoles; their houses are covered either with bark or with palm leaves; their canoes are of the smallest size and made of tree trunks hollowed out. On going up this river in 1838 I was deeply impressed by the strange sight that this village offered. The evening was warm, and the crew of the boat on which I was, composed entirely of black slaves, was occupied on deck in part, with those foolish and ridiculous dances peculiar to negroes while others raised their voices and sang almost savage melodies. On each bank of that majestic stream, groups of Indians gathered. These former possessors of this region, today dispossessed everywhere by foreign races, are isolated in the midst of a land which for centuries was trod only by the free feet of their an-

*This tribe has just been sent west of the Mississippi.

cestors. They were gloomy and silent, but could not conceal their admiration for the huge roaring mechanism that carried us. Below the junction point, and still on the western bank, is another village of Indians called Choakanickla, governed by a young chief who is called by the Americans John Walker, but whose Indian name is Emachilochustern.

Opposite on the eastern bank, and two and a half leagues [*sic*] from the junction of the two rivers, is the village of Chattahouchi or Montvernon, situated on an elevation about a mile from the river; it is composed in general of wooden cabins built in the form of Italian houses, but one cannot help noticing the arsenal, which is a rather fine building of lilac colored brick flanked by pentagonal towers and surrounded by quite a high wall; below the village and right on the bank of the river is a tavern, which at the time of high water to which the river is subject, is entirely separated from land and wholly surrounded by water. When I was there in March, 1838, I could reach it only by making my horse swim across one of the arms of the river. This point is however the only place where one can take a boat. From the porch of this tavern one enjoys the most beautiful view of the river that flows below it, which the Indians of the opposite bank often swim across, in the midst of numerous alligators.

Near the tavern are two enormous *tumuli* covered with trees, and adjacent to the river, one sees a very remarkable artificial elevation; it is about one hundred and eighty feet high, square in form and may cover perhaps two-thirds of an acre. It is reached by a fine artificial dirt causeway. This work seems to date from great antiquity, but it is covered with earth intrenchments evidently modern, and probably made by American soldiers at the time of the invasion of Florida under General Jackson, at least that is what an old soldier who took part in this expedition told me. * Below these constructions

* [It is probable this is the outpost erected by Nicholls in the War of 1812.]

the country is very wet and covered with little dwarf palms. The banks of the river below Chattahoutchi are very beautiful. Everywhere forests of magnolias are to be seen together with huge live oaks with intertwining creepers and huge vines.

On the left bank, going down stream is the village of Aspalaga, if one may give this name to two wooden cabins situated on an elevation, and consequently protected from the floods so common during the great inundations of the river. Below, the river stretches out in the form of a lake, covering a considerable extent of ground and having in its midst an island of irregular form. On a level with the northern point of the latter, going down stream, is a little stream called Fresh-Water Creek, [Sweet-Water Creek] which is the northern boundary of an immense tract of land owned by a company known under the name of Apalachicola Land Company. It is in possession of a very large tract of land ceded by the Seminole Indians to an English merchant by the name of Forbes, as compensation for some losses which he had previously suffered from them. On the opposite bank, at about the same distance from its mouth (about thirty-three miles) it receives the waters of the Chipola River which rises in Alabama, and which is remarkable for its natural bridge and the curious caves in the neighborhood, as well as for the great fertility of the lands through which it flows.

Below the river is very winding, contains several islands and different streams empty into it, and finally it flows into the bay of the same name, forming different branches and covering a considerable extent of low marshy land.

[Apalachicola]

The town of Apalachicola is situated on the west bank of the river near its mouth. It is a seaport. It is situated on high ground. Founded in 1830, it contains a great many fine brick stores, which seen from the river offer a fine prospect. A newspaper is published there,

and there is a bank ; it is a considerable business center, and as early as 1830 it exported 58,500 bales of cotton. In 1836 the foundations of a new town were begun on the east bank of the bay of St. Joseph, the avowed purpose of which is to destroy the trade of Apalachicola, but although St. Joseph has increased greatly in population, and has attained a prosperity unknown elsewhere, it does not seem in any way to harm its rival; however, situated in a sandy infertile region it has the advantage of healthfulness.

About thirty very large steamers, some of which carry as much as 1,800 bales of cotton, trade on the Apalachicola River which they ascend as far as Columbus (Georgia). It takes ordinarily four to five days to make this trip.

[*Quincy*]

The principal settlement in Gadsden county is Quincy ; it is a pretty village [1838] containing numerous wooden houses. It was started in 1825 in the midst of a rich district especially well adapted to the cultivation of tobacco, which used in cigars, almost rivals that of Havana. It is situated on the west bank of the little river Atapulgas.

The country between Quincy and Chattahoutchie is in general infertile, sandy and covered with pines. A road leads from the first of these villages to Tallahassee ; it crosses several streams of water that are arms of Little River. The woods along the sides of the road are very beautiful, and some few plantations are to be found. Another road goes from the village to the north, to Bains-bridge [*sic*] on the Flint River.

The northern part of this county is rather well populated, while the southern part is uninhabited and covered with marshes. It is bounded on the west by the Oclockone River that rises in the southern part of Georgia; it is formed by a great number of branches, chief among which are Crooked River, Rocky-Comfort, Tuloge, Little River, Robinson's Creek etc., etc. At its mouth in the Gulf of

Mexico it is blocked by a sandbar and here it is only seven feet deep.

If now we go along the coast we shall see that the entrance of the Apalachicola River, which has a rather large number of islands, is almost closed by two islands of considerable size. They are called St. Vincent and St. George. Only the last mentioned, situated to the east, is a part of Middle Florida. It is about thirteen leagues long and two-thirds of a league wide; it extends at first toward the southeast, then turns and stretches out toward the northeastward, and it is at this end, about one league from the shore. Its banks are indented irregular and marshy ; it is covered in general with pine woods and scattered cedars and live oaks, on its southern end there are sandy dunes which in certain places are forty-five feet high.

One league to the east is Dog Island, about two leagues long and having at its northeast end a bay which can accommodate ships with a draft of ten feet.

James Island is separated from the mainland only by Crooked River, which is one of the outlets of the Oclockone; it is probably about seven leagues long and two wide. It is very irregular in form and its southern end is called South West Point. To the west is Alligator Bay which is of considerable size. Its soil is poor, covered with marshes and ponds ; its vegetation is composed of pines and' little palm trees. At South West Point which he have just mentioned, the reefs stretch out two or three leagues into the sea.

[*Leon County*]

Leon county comes next; it is the richest and the most populous part of all Florida; its soil is generally a red, very ferruginous, clay, which in the southern states always shows that it is good land for cotton. This stratum, which varies in depth from twenty to two hundred feet, is on top of the limestone; it forms here the southern end of a very extensive strip of land that begins

in New Jersey and extends through the two Carolinas and Georgia, always following the eastern slope of the Alleghanies. This county is noteworthy for the number and beauty of its lakes and springs. Among the first we shall mention the following one: Lake Jamoni which is situated toward the northwest corner of the county near the boundary of Georgia. It is about three leagues long and one league wide; it is remarkable because of a great ridge that appears near the middle and almost divides it into two parts. Its water overflows into the Oclockone which is near it.

Lake Jackson is situated south of the preceding one and a league and a half from Tallahassee. According to the Indians, its water gushed forth suddenly from under the ground, covering a vast cultivated plain. It is certain that trees are still to be seen there, and that when the water is low Indian trails may be noticed. Recently the same phenomenon has just taken place in the interior of Florida, the water of Lake Fuskaville having entirely disappeared underground leaving the soil entirely dry. Lake Orange is in almost the same situation, its water having already left about ten thousand acres of land dry.

Lake Lafayette is situated on the lands granted by the American government to the general of that name, in memory of his fine conduct during the war of Independence, which won for him a reward very precious in another way: the friendship of the great Washington. This lake is about a league long. It is situated to the west [actually east] of Tallahassee and near by; the Indians give it the name of Belleville. Finally we shall mention Lake Mickasasky [*sic*] which is situated in the northeast part of the county near the Georgia state line, at about eight leagues from the capital. It is about four leagues long, but it is shallow in depth. A tribe of Indians of the same name used to live a few years ago on its banks, and by their courage and perseverance they are still famous among the tribes of savages who are fighting for their independence. In the peninsula this lake is famous for the great fertility of its shores and its

memory is dear to the Indians. A great number of little lakes or ponds are scattered to the south of Tallahassee. All these lakes are surrounded by dense woods, within which are scattered some fine cotton and sugar cane plantations. Most of them seem to be sinking gradually leaving on their shores a great deal of fertile land. They are often almost entirely covered with rushes and aquatic plants. In their water are found great numbers of fish, water serpents (mocassins), soft-shelled turtles and alligators, among which swim large flocks of aquatic birds, their shores are crowded with bands of deer and a great many white headed eagles soar over them or alight on the oaks and the immense magnolias that are on the shores.

[*Wakulla*]

The rivers of the county are of but little importance. We have already mentioned the Oclockone that bounds it on the west, the Saint Mary [Marks] River rises to the southwest of Lake Mickasasky, flows through a pond at about seven leagues from its mouth, and at its outlet is nine feet deep. A little below is the small settlement of Magnolia, in which are a few stores today almost abandoned, after this it is quite winding and flows into Apalachee Bay at the village of St. Marks where the Wakulla River empties into it. This latter, concerning which I have published a report [to be published in the Quarterly] in the Bulletin of the Geographical Society of France, is very remarkable. I visited it about the middle of February, 1837 [1838]. I was accompanied by my learned and excellent friend Mr. Delafield, * president of the Natural History Lyceum of New York, whose private business had called him to this distant region. Our little expedition left St. Marks at sunrise, and having gone around the point where the old fort is, entered Wakulla River; it is at first very wide and on its marshy shores there are a few scattered pines. The morning was cool for

* [Joseph Delafield, General Agent of the Apalachicola Land Co. in Florida in 1838.]

this country, for the thermometer registered only seven [degrees Reaumur, 48° F.], dipped into the water it rose to twelve and a half. When we had ascended to about half a league from the mouth, the scene changed entirely, and thick forests covered both winding banks. Among such different trees as were crowded together, we saw several species of the family of palms whose long branches bend gracefully under the weight of their huge finger-like leaves; most of them are not high, but some reach a height of thirty to forty feet, the magnolia which is here from sixty to eighty feet high, the magnificent live oak which is called in English "live-oak" or living oak, alluding to its leaves always green; it grows generally in the water or at least in moist places, and assumes the most peculiar shapes. On the whole the woods are about as green in winter as in summer; the river is very winding, and we had to struggle against a current of about a league per hour; the shores are very marshy and flooded, the river bed is covered with high grass which blocks the passage ; in some places very big bushy canes also increase the difficulty of travel by water. We soon arrived among vast cypress groves whose trees are grouped in the form of islands; everywhere fallen tree trunks blocked our way. I noticed several times in the trees the nests of the paper wasps, and huge flocks of birds came to give life to the scene, we noticed especially among them beautiful herons of a dazzling white, pelicans with huge beaks provided with a big pocket below them, numerous long legged water fowl, the pretty Carolina parrakeet, etc., etc. In the midst of numerous obstacles we advanced slowly but steadily toward the spring, and when we were no more than a league away the thermometer showed in the water 17 degrees and in the air 10 and 1/2 degrees. The spring is oval in form and three hundred feet wide. By taking soundings we found that it was 76 feet deep. We were told however that in some places it was 100 feet deep ; its water is wonderfully pure, and one can distinguish the smallest ob-

jects that are on the bottom; the temperature of the surface was 17 and 1/2 degrees and at the bottom we found that it was half a degree less. The basin is divided by a ridge of lime rock that rises to within thirty feet of the surface ; the water of the spring is very good to drink, although we found that it had in the river a very disagreeable taste; it is surrounded everywhere by very dense woods. We returned quickly.

It is a rare instance of a great river coming suddenly from the ground at only seven leagues from its mouth. It probably has an underground connection with Lake Jackson, although the latter is some considerable distance away.

Since my trip on this river I have learned that several planters had come to settle in its fertile neighborhood, but last year they were all massacred by a Seminole war party and their homes burned and pillaged ; near the river Oclockone and the little stream of Secheopoko [Sopchoppy], one has recently installed a saw mill.

The coast is very irregular and indented by bays among which the most remarkable is that of Apalache which we have already mentioned ; it is about twenty-five leagues around it but it is open to the southwest and does not have a safe harbor; its western end sticks out as a point and bears the name of South Cape. Above is Shell Point. Ships with a draft of ten to twelve feet can anchor safely in Spanish Hole, the entrance to which is blocked by several beds of oysters. Along this coast beautiful palm trees are to be seen.

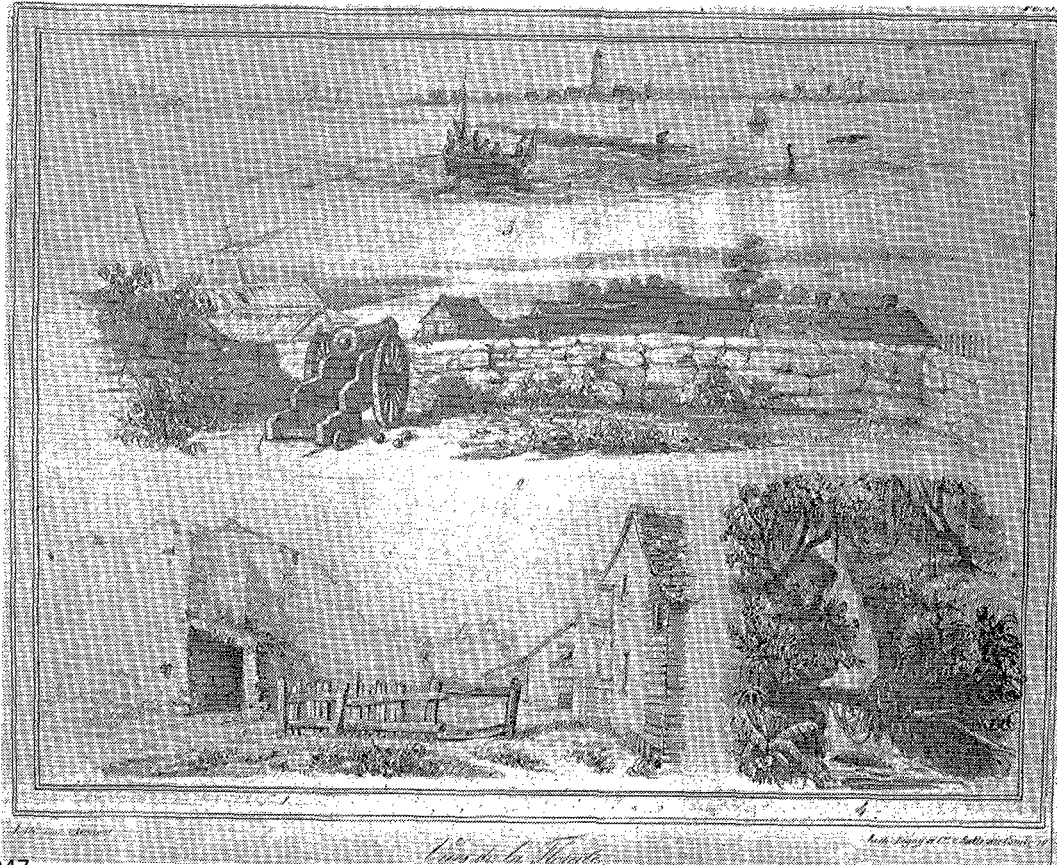
[*Tallahassee*]

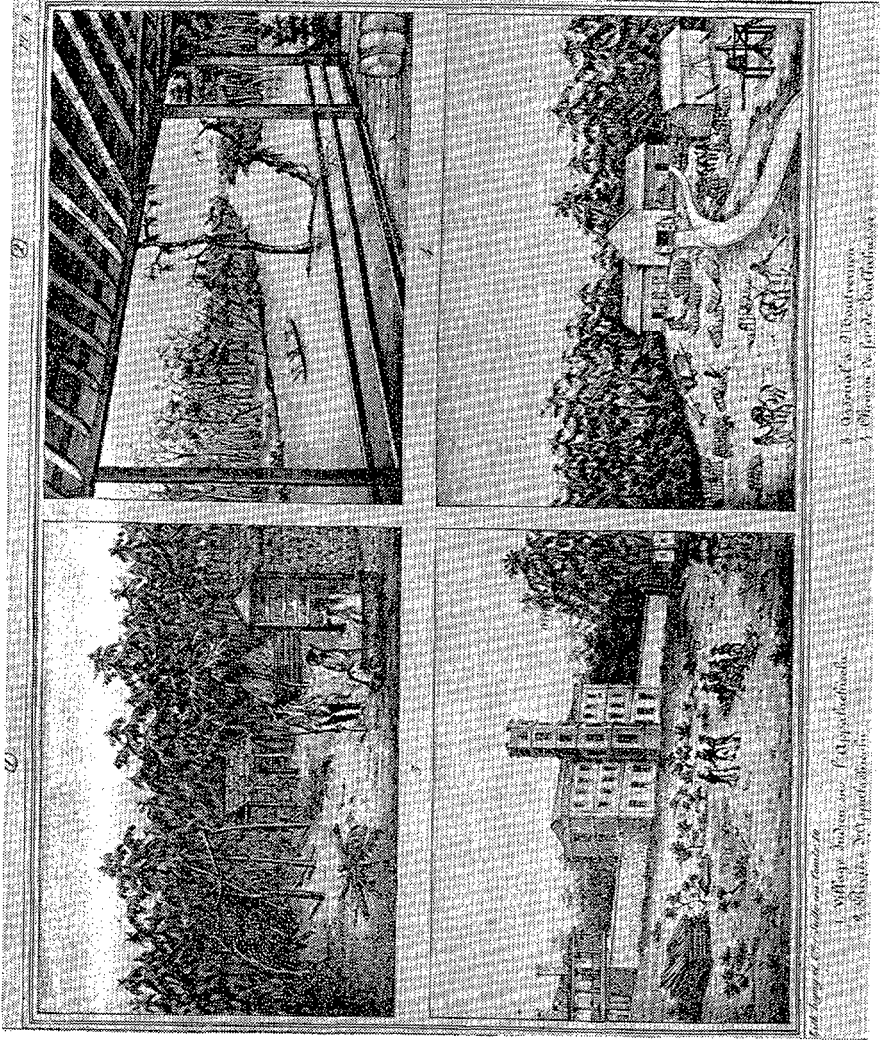
This county contains two quite important towns, one of which, Tallahassee, is today the capital of the Floridas. This town, whose Indian name means *old field*, was founded in the spring of 1824 when Mr. Duval was governor of the territory. It is situated at about an equal distance from the ocean and the western border of Florida, at about seven leagues from the Gulf of Mexico; it

is located on hills in the midst of rich fertile country, but opposed to this advantage, I must mention the unhealthiness of its climate, while if they had built the city one or two leagues further to the south in the midst of vast pine forests and on poor sandy soil, it would have had the advantages of a more healthful climate while preserving the advantage of being at a central point and a market for the rich products of plantations it would have had back of the city.

All of this district at the time above mentioned, when they built the first house there, was covered by forests of oaks and magnolias and inhabited by the Tallahassee Indians. There are still to be seen there traces of some clearings that the Indians had made for raising corn. The present population may be around 1,500 inhabitants. The city is scattered over a vast extent of ground, the houses, about three hundred of them, are generally built of wood, Italian in shape, and some are made of brick. There are several churches; the Episcopal Church is a fine little building that they finished during my stay in December, 1837. The building in which the territorial Assembly meets bears the imposing name of capitol. According to the American custom it had been started on a huge plan, one single wing has been constructed, and it is improbable that they will ever finish it. Besides, this building is surrounded by a kind of natural park in which are seen magnificent trees and very many yuccas. There are two taverns, one of which is of considerable size, although one can say nothing in favor of the comfort one finds there, for in exchange for two *gourdes* and a half per day (13 francs), one gets only a piece of pork and cabbage, together with a detestable bed on which the water falls in torrents during the tropical rains. The market is a wretched little spot, still more wretchedly provided, the principal use of which is to serve as the scene of the bodily punishments imposed on the slaves, transactions that seem to amuse the other negroes greatly, who seem little concerned by the thought that the next

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day they may experience the same fate; still it is true that at each stroke of the whip they burst out laughing, and by their capers show the pleasure which the charming spectacle they are viewing causes them. There are few resources in Tallahassee, often it is impossible to get an orange or lemon there, neither can one get leeches for the sick. Having been attacked during my stay by a severe case of bronchitis I sought some remedies for myself; the only thing that was offered me of that sort was some cherry brandy! There are so few carriages that on Sunday they usually use the hearse to go to parties in the country; they hitch a strong horse to it and leave on the gallop in what was yesterday and will again be tomorrow the bearer of a corpse. A few years ago there were two banks but today they have been combined in one. Two weekly newspapers are published. Near the city is a little stream that dashes among rocks and forms a little waterfall.

[*Tallahassee-St. Marks Railroad*]

Considerable business is carried on through this city, all the cotton of the neighboring plantations being brought there in bales on carts or wagons drawn by mules or oxen, and taken then to Saint Marks on the Gulf of Mexico by means of a railroad. The latter, although certainly the very worst that has yet been built in the entire world, is however very useful, for without its help it would be almost impossible to take a heavy load of cotton across the sand that covers the country to the south, into which horses sink at every step. They have tried several times to put a locomotive on this railroad, but its construction is so poor that the plan has been admitted to be impossible. Two mules hitched to carts, or to a kind of uncovered truck, and driven by black slaves, make the trip of about seven leagues in seven hours. At each end of this *model railroad* is a very fine building or depot. Moreover, instead of being astonished at the bad construction of this railroad, one is inclined

on the other hand to admire the bold thought that inspired a project of such a sort in a country inhabited by hostile savages, and through almost impenetrable forests, which so few years ago were not even explored by the whites. On approaching St. Marks the monotony of the pine woods is visibly lessened by the presence of little hammocks of greater or less extension, covered with live oaks and palm trees which are enlaced by interwoven vines and creepers; these are generally surrounded by *swamps*, which are nothing more than terrible marshes, although in these hot regions they are during a great part of the year, covered with the most brilliant flowers. On approaching the Gulf of Mexico, by this route, one begins to encounter calcareous rock.

[*St. Marks*]

The village of St. Marks is situated, as we have already said, at the junction of the river of the same name and Wakulla River. It consists of rather large houses and shops wretchedly built ; the streets are often covered by the salt water from the river, its location is low and unhealthy whatever may be said for it. It is surrounded by vast marshes. The only thing worth attention that it offers is the old Spanish fort, today abandoned but which because of the thickness of its limestone walls held together by a cement of coquina, recalls old feudal buildings. It is surrounded by a moat on the landward side, and the trees have been cut down for quite a great distance around to protect it from surprise by the savages, but this did not prevent it from falling into their hands while it was in the possession of the Spaniards. On its walls are to be seen nothing more than one or two old dismantled cannons. When its strong location is considered, it is astonishing that the American government leaves it in this abandoned condition. Since I have been visiting this country they have built a little village on the eastern shore of the bay, or rather of the Apalache River, and at about two leagues from St. Marks, in a low

submerged locality, and they have given it the name of Port Leon. The railroad now ends there. There are as yet only a few houses, but several big stores and a tavern. This location seems to me to be well chosen, since boats of ten to twelve feet draft may enter there, while only those of much less draft may reach St. Marks. Below, the entrance is partly closed by several huge rocks, and a short distance away is a lighthouse on the Gulf of Mexico. The seashore is very beautiful in this place, formed of fine sand and covered by yuccas.

I must still say a few words about a section of the district of Leon county which formerly was often mentioned in French newspapers, I mean Lafayette *township*. This region, equivalent to twelve square leagues [*sic*], was granted to General Lafayette as a national reward. It is situated in the immediate vicinity of the city of Tallahassee (to the northeast) and consists in general of very fertile land, today mostly cultivated; the land is worth here from 100 to 125 francs an acre when it is not cleared, but the general's family long ago granted this magnificent gift to a company of speculators and at a price much lower than its real value. The family has however reserved for itself two sections, each of a square mile, which are in the immediate neighborhood of the city. The trees that cover this section of the territory are generally *Quercus*, *Juglans*, *Acer*, *Magnolias*, etc., with huge creepers and various kinds of wild vines intertwined.

As we have already said, the southern part of the county has a very sandy poor soil covered with pines. The poorest land is generally that covered by pines, mingled with small jack oaks (*Quercus ferruginea*).

[Jefferson County]

Jefferson county is bounded on the north by Georgia, on the east by the Oscilla River, on the west by Leon county and on the south by the Gulf of Mexico. It is about thirteen leagues long and seven wide. The north-

ern part is generally very fertile, while as it approaches the sea it is, as usual, very infertile.

The coast affords one single bay of some size, then it projects in a point toward the mouth of the Oscilla River. The only settlement of some importance in this district is the village of Monticello, situated on the location of a former Indian village ; it contains a certain number of wooden houses, a tavern, and a courthouse, all made of logs simply laid together, and leaving between them numerous holes through which the rain falls in torrents. On the shores of lake Micasasky are seen very fine cotton plantations. All this country was occupied a few years ago by a tribe of Indians having the same name as this lake; they are still noted for their courage and ferocity among the scattered bands who defend, foot by foot, their lands against the invasion of the whites. It is in this part of the territory that General Murat's plantation is located, one, who born on the steps of the throne of Naples, is content today, with rare philosophy, with the modest position of a Floridian planter. I am happy to be able to here pay my regards to the hospitality that I received with this son of one of the bravest soldiers of the heroic times of the empire.

[Madison County]

Madison county is the largest of all, but it is still little known, and contains up to the present, few plantations. However, as soon as the war with the savages is ended, it will certainly gain a considerable population. It is bounded on the north by Georgia, on the northeast by Hamilton county, on the east by the Suwanee River and East Florida, on the south by the Gulf of Mexico and on the west by Jefferson county. It is about thirty leagues long and fifteen wide. The land is very diversified, with considerable portions of the greatest fertility, and others hopelessly infertile. To the north, and at a short distance from the Oscilla, is Hickstown, which is not, properly speaking, a village but a collection of plan-

tations. Toward the southeast along Lake (Riv.) Suwanee are excellent sugar cane lands. The land between this river and the Histehache is also very rich but usually covered with water.

The principal rivers are at first *Confina [sic]* and *Tennahalloway*, [Fenhalloway] which meet and flow into the *Oscilla*, then *Stenehatche*, *Chattahatche*, *Achenahatche*, *Istehatche* and finally the *Suwanee*; this last is a river of considerable size, formed by the junction of the little *Suwanee* and the *Allapaha*; the *Wilhacoche* also flows into it. Of the three preceding that we have mentioned, the *Chattahatche* or Stony River, crosses a poor unproductive county, and empties into the Gulf of Mexico at about five leagues southeast of the mouth of the *Oscilla*; the *Achenahatche* or Cedar River, is of little importance, but it waters a rich fertile country. The *Histehatche* finally is formed of three rivers which meet at the falls, at about three leagues from the sea.

[Hamilton County]

Hamilton county has as yet been explored very little. It is small in size, being only fifteen leagues long by seven wide. It is bounded on the north by Georgia, on the east and the south by the Suwanee River and on the west by the Allapaha, which is a branch of the preceding one. It contains considerable good land.

II

GEOLOGY, CLIMATE, AGRICULTURE, PRODUCTIONS

Although St. Augustine and Pensacola have always been famous for the healthiness of their climate, however as far as Middle Florida in particular is concerned, I cannot say anything favorable in this respect, still the great mildness of its winters makes this region the favorite refuge of people attacked by pulmonary tuberculosis so common in the northern states of the Union, and it has been noticed that those who are in this condition seem

to be immune from the fevers that too often afflict these regions.

Although yellow fever is not usually prevalent in Florida, it sometimes appears with terrible effects. In 1821 it ravaged St. Augustine, the year following Pensacola. In 1824 and in 1839 the population of Key West was almost entirely wiped out by this scourge, and in 1839 it appeared again in Pensacola, but here as well as almost everywhere else it spread only a short distance from the seashore. However, in 1841 all Middle Florida and West Florida were seriously attacked by it, and the localities that suffered most were Pensacola, St. Joseph and Tallahassee. The disease that is the most fatal in Middle Florida is bilious fever, which is almost as serious as its terrible rival, most doctors even admit that in certain cases it is almost impossible to distinguish one from the other, for a fatal result is quite common the third day, and black vomit which is said to be peculiar to yellow fever, quite often accompanies bilious fever. An autopsy however shows considerable difference in the digestive organs.

The most unhealthy season begins at the end of June and extends into November, then in many localities almost certain death awaits the imprudent stranger who dares to face this murderous climate, and ten to twelve years stay here are far from making one acclimated. Moreover this country having been inhabited by the whites for so few years, we do not yet know the influence of its climate on the children who may be born there. The shores of the rivers and lakes are especially unhealthy. Although the negroes endure much better than the whites the pernicious effects of tropical climates, still the slaves brought from Virginia and even from Carolina are almost always subject to fevers during the early years of their stay, but they are very rarely victims of them.

Exposure to the burning rays of the sun, and especially to the dampness of the nights, is considered particularly dangerous. I believe that I can state that this

region is becoming yearly more and more unhealthy due to the immense quantity of vegetation, that according to the bad system of clearing the land, is allowed to rot away instead of being burned by fire. In my opinion, if this is admitted as a cause, its effects will be felt in a more serious way until a rather large part of the land is brought to an advanced state of cultivation, whereas at present only one hundredth part of it is in this condition. Calomel is here the only remedy, and a quack wanted to give me some for a sprain caused by a fall from a horse.

The city of Tallahassee is especially unhealthy, and although the legislative Assembly is held in winter and lasts only one or two months each year, one or several of the twenty or thirty members of it who gather there are victims of its baleful influence. They speak of changing the seat of government to St. Joseph, which, situated on the seashore on a sandy barren beach, is comparatively very healthy, for it is worth noting that the richer the soil is, the more dangerous is the climate.

Now we shall take some interesting details from the reports of military physicians of the United States stationed in different forts of Florida, details gathered by Thomas Lawson, the learned surgeon general of the army.

If one compares the mortality of the southern part of the United States with the northern part, taking the latitude of Washington as the boundary line, he will find that the average mortality in the south is $5 \frac{3}{100}$ and in the north $2 \frac{1}{10}$ and in Florida 6 percent. It must be noted that this proportion is enormous, that of the English army in Ceylon being only $4 \frac{8}{10}$, in the Ile de France $3 \frac{5}{10}$, at Cape Good-hope $1 \frac{8}{10}$, at Bombay $3 \frac{8}{10}$, at Madras $5 \frac{2}{10}$, at New Holland $1 \frac{4}{10}$, at Bermuda $2 \frac{9}{10}$, at New Scotland $1 \frac{4}{10}$, in Canada $1 \frac{5}{10}$, in Gibraltar $2 \frac{1}{10}$, in Malta from $1 \frac{1}{10}$ up, and in the Ionian Islands $2 \frac{4}{10}$. The average of deaths in the French army is about two percent, and in the Prussian army only $1 \frac{1}{10}$ percent.

As regards more particularly Florida we find:

	1822		1823		1824		1825	
	Pop- ula- tion	Deaths	Pop- ula- tion	Deaths	Pop- ula- tion	Deaths	Pop- ula- tion	Deaths
Fort Marion (St. Augustine)	76	23	110	3	107	7	109	3
Fort Brook (Tampa-Bay)	.....	.....	.....	.....	207	2	186	2
St. Marks (Gulf of Mexico)	98	5	47	1	43	1	.....	.....
Pensacola	430	51	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Barrancas	.....	.....	156	12	92	2	.....	.....

In 1836 the mortality in Florida was 11 4/10 percent, in 1837 it was 6 9/10, in 1838 and 1839 4 7/10. Among the officers the mortality was greatest in 1836, it was 13 3/10 percent, in 1837 11 6/10 and in 1838 3 4/10 percent. If now we examine more specially the different kinds of sickness we shall find:

In St. Augustine on an average force of about 400, there were

Diseases	1st. Quarter	2d. Quarter	3d. Quarter	4th. Quarter
Intermittent fevers	4	10	37	10
Other fevers	3	5	24	3
Diseases Respiratory Organs	41	32	24	10
Diseases Digestive Organs	22	75	47	25
All inclusive	145	176	232	114

In Ft. King with an average force of 412 men:

Intermittent fevers	41	82	205	177
Other fevers	2	18	40	40
Diseases Respirator Organs	20	25	6	12
Diseases Digestive Organs	38	56	34	51
All inclusive	171	244	347	388

In Ft. Brook (average force of 594 men):

Diseases	1st. Quarter	2d. Quarter	3d. Quarter	4th. Quarter
Intermittent fevers	60	86	178	111
Other fevers	10	11	16	20
Diseases Respiratory Organs	71	37	54	38
Diseases Digestive Organs	170	188	162	154
All inclusive	542	435	560	474

Key West with an average force of 108 men:

Intermittent fevers	19	12	1	9
Other fevers	12	4	18	22
Diseases Respiratory Organs	19	9	20	15
Diseases Digestive Organs	90	52	55	33
All inclusive	318	227	260	197

The following observations will give an idea, although imperfect, of the temperature: December 2 at noon in my room in Tallahassee it was 17 degrees [R.], outside in the shade 20, in the sun 28. The sixth of the same month in my room 16, the weather was cloudy. The 13th rain (in the woods). The thermometer at 9 in the morning was 10 degrees, and at three o'clock in the afternoon 14. The 18th at noon in the shade it was 15. The 25th of the same month there was a slight frost during the night. The 30th at noon 10 1/4, fog and very cloudy weather. The 2d and 3d of January it was very warm, but traveling in the woods I could not be sure of the temperature. The 5th at one o'clock it was, in the shade, 19. The 10th cloudy weather, at noon 15 degrees. The 13th at noon 18 degrees in the shade and 25 in the sun. The 15th fine weather, at noon 29 degrees in the sunshine, 19 degrees in the shade. The 19th at nine o'clock in the morning 10, at noon 12, rainy weather and cloudy. The 20th rain, at nine o'clock in the morning 9, at noon 10. This is the coldest day that I have experienced in Florida. The 24th at nine in the morning 12, at noon 15, fine weather but very damp. The 26th at eight o'clock in the morning 11, at noon 16, in the sun 28. The 27th at eight o'clock in the morning 12, at noon 18, in the sun 30. The 28th at eight o'clock in the morning 12, at noon 19, in the sun 30. The 29th at eight o'clock in the morning 11, at noon 20, in the sun 31. Shortly after, all my thermometers having been accidentally broken, I could not continue my observations.

According to observations made on the Apalachicola River, the average for the months of August and September 1799 was 77 (Fahrenheit) at 7 o'clock in the morning and 86 at 2 o'clock. During the winter of 1800 the average was, at Pensacola 44 (Fahrenheit), at 7 o'clock in the morning and 54 at 2 o'clock in the afternoon. At St. Augustine, during the years 1825, 1826, 1827, and 1828, the average temperature was 68 1/2 (Fahrenheit). The coldest day in 1825 was December

30, 42. The warmest, Aug. 20, 94. In 1826 the coldest was Jan. 21, 44; the warmest, July 5, 92. In 1828 the coldest was April 6, 27; the warmest 95. In 1829 the coldest 32; the warmest 96.

There have been one or two instances of snow, especially in 1774. Several times the frosts have been heavy, and in these cases have destroyed the crops of the orange trees in the parts of Florida where this tree grows; the most severe case of this kind occurred in the month of February, 1835.

Some of the preceding details are taken from the work of Mr. Williams. So as to give an idea of the temperature of Florida we shall copy here the following observations made at Key West and taken from official reports submitted to congress (March, 1838).

Average temperature (Fahrenheit)

January	69.725
February	70.502
March	75.245
April	75.880
May	79.436
June	81.578
July	82.642
August	82.760
September	81.304
October	77.057
November	74.680
December	70.650
Yearly average	76.622
Maximum heat	89 1/2 (August)
Minimum	44 (January)

It is to be noted that the average temperature in Havana is 77.67 and in New Orleans 66.

The following observations have been made in St. Augustine:

1838	Maximum (Fahrenheit)	Minimum (Fahrenheit)	Days of rain
April	73	54	3
May	78	61	2
June	79	71	18
July	89	70	4
August	86	76	12
September	86	64	12
October	85	52	8
November	85	46	3
December	80	24	4
1839			
January	78	42	4
February	79	46	6
March	86	36	3

The following table will show the amount of water (in English inches) fallen in different places on the Gulf of Mexico. The averages are taken from several years.

	Key West	Indian Key	New Orleans
January	1.819	0.20	4.69
February	1.339	1.10	2.08
March	1.983	0.09	2.64
April	1.087	2.00	5.34
May	6.341	0.09	2.44
June	6.388	3.10	6.17
July	2.889	3.70	5.08
August	3.297	6.75	5.24
September	4.350	7.25	5.79
October	3.350	8.75	1.29
November	1.491	6.10	3.70
December	1.107	2.12	2.97

Tropical rains occur in Florida that can only be compared to a real deluge. They are most often accompanied by terrible claps of thunder. During one of these storms, being in the woods, I took refuge under a huge magnolia which the lightning struck. My horse was so frightened that he trembled like a leaf and it took him more than an hour to be calmed.

Among the causes that we have given for the unhealthiness of the climate, we have emphasized first the way of clearing the land. Here we must take up some details concerning this. When a planter settles in the midst of the woods with his slaves, he begins by cutting down a few trees and builds for himself a kind of cottage called *Log-House*, then after fencing in a field he has most of the trees cut down at about two feet from the ground, has the brush burned, and as for the larger trees he is satisfied to have them girdled, that is to say that with an ax they cut a ring around the bark ; this cut, which interrupts the flow of the sap, kills the tree after one, two, or three years, and it falls in the field without anyone thinking of taking it away ; thus huge trees pile up on each other until they are completely rotten. It is easy to imagine the unhealthy miasmas that this immense mass of vegetable matter gives forth.

[Productions]

We shall now consider the principal productions of the country.

In the first place we shall put cotton, in which we distinguish first the common ordinary sort, and second, the long staple. Cotton is cultivated everywhere in Florida, and it is almost the only thing exported from the territory, for it is to cotton that the inhabitants, who get without exception all their supplies from the north, owe the possibility of paying their debts. I shall not give here details about its cultivation, but I shall say only that this plant, which in Virginia scarcely grows a foot high, is here a bush six to eight feet high. Ordinary land produces half a bale per acre (a bale weighs 350 pounds), good lands produce twice as much. A slave can cultivate from five to seven acres. When cotton is at a favorable price this crop brings in about twenty-five percent income on the capital. During the years 1835 and 1836, when it had reached very high prices, many planters made up to one hundred percent on their money, although the value of slaves rose in proportion. Cotton raising is especially successful on red clay soil. It draws the strength from the soil and it is best to alternate it with corn, however, I have seen land produce fine crops continually for ten or twelve years.

Long staple or Sea Island cotton is cultivated only near the sea, although it was first cultivated on the east coast of Florida. Soon it was discovered that it grew better in Georgia and South Carolina where the heat is not so great. Today this crop is almost abandoned in Florida, for although this fine variety has its place in European markets, and especially in Le Havre at high prices, yet when it is realized that taking into consideration the care which it requires, since a slave can look after no more than one acre, it is clear that it is more advantageous to grow the ordinary kinds.

I have also seen in Florida some fields of nankeen colored cotton; which is a variety peculiar to China, but

the same shade can be obtained by leaving the ordinary kinds exposed to a slight frost; however this experiment is very dangerous for the cotton must be picked immediately afterward, since a second frost generally destroys the crop. In a slave country, as one cannot obtain temporary help, the moment of gathering and storing the crops is of the utmost importance. They cultivate still another natural variety which is a deep brownish red.

Sugar cane comes next, and although it grows quite well in Florida and even in the extreme southern part of Georgia, the growing of cotton is more advantageous, for the great amount of work that cutting the cane demands each year, and replanting it (required because of the frosts that although slight are annual), prevents competition with the West Indies where the same plants grow sprouts for ten or twelve years in succession. Three varieties of cane are cultivated : *creole*, *otahiti* and *rubanne*, the last one maturing most promptly, is consequently better adapted to this country although it produces less saccharine material. A slave can cultivate about five acres of cane, the product of which may be estimated at about two thousand francs. It produces about a thousand "livres" per acre.

Moreover, although in my opinion this crop cannot be considered as certain north of the 29th degree, still almost all the farmers obtain enough sugar for their consumption, and there are some sizeable plantations in Middle Florida.

The maize, which is here called corn, comes next, and, although its growth is generally neglected by the owners of large plantations who devote themselves entirely to raising cotton and sugar, it nevertheless generally produces more satisfactory results than the capitalists obtain. The climate is however in general too warm for this crop, and on the average they do not get more than twenty bushels per acre ; however they say that some plantations on the Apalachicola River have produced eighty bushels. This is one of the most necessary crops

in regions in which ordinary wheat cannot grow, and it is often sold at exorbitant prices, a dollar, and a dollar and a half, per bushel. They can often get two harvests in a season.

Cuban tobacco succeeds remarkably well in Middle Florida, and particularly in the light and somewhat sandy soils around Quincy. It requires continual care, as it is attacked by many insects. A slave cannot take care of more than two acres. It is recognized that tobacco requires new land, and generally the same ground is planted to it only two years and then it is planted to corn or cotton. It is felt that this manner of cultivation can be followed only in a country where the land is cheap. This product has been considered the most profitable of all and some small planters have made from three to five thousand francs from the work of each slave.

A certain number of Spaniards have been brought from Cuba who excel in making cigars, and although usually they do not like to admit foreigners into their shops, I have seen them working several times. They begin by taking a package of leaves, and they moisten them by sprinkling them with water which they hold in their mouths, and expel in a very fine spray. They then take a leaf, place it on a layer of cork, and by means of a very sharp instrument smooth it, and obliquely cut the ends which are put in the center to form the inside of the cigar. It is then rolled and quickly assumes the form in which it is sold.

As spotted cigars are generally preferred, they sprinkle them with an acid and thus give them that appearance.

Rice is cultivated very little in Florida, they say that it can be grown to advantage on the St. Marie [Marks] River.

Indigo grows naturally in the woods. At the time when the country was in the possession of the English its cultivation was undertaken on a considerable scale, but just as with the preceding product its cultivation is

so dangerous to health that one would not wish to see it grown more extensively.

Sweet potatoes grow wonderfully well in the pine woods and on the poorest soil. Three, and even four hundred bushels per acre of them have been obtained. They are sold sometimes for as much as one dollar per bushel.

The ordinary potato does not grow any better than the other vegetables and fruits of Europe. - I have seen near Lake Lafayette huge mulberry trees that were planted ten years ago by a Frenchman, Mr. de Laporte.

The calabashes, which are here called squashes and pumpkins, grow to a huge size, and when one finds them on the ground in the woods one is often astonished by their odd shape. Watermelons are also very common.

The cocconut tree is found in the most southern part of Florida but not in the middle part; I'll say as much about the banana tree and Adam's figtree (*Musa paradisiaca*), although some of them are found in open ground in some Tallahassee gardens.

Neither does the orange tree grow in this region, although it thrives perfectly in the neighborhood of St. Augustine and in all the region to the south. Besides, as we have already said, frost killed these trees near this city in 1835, and as five years are needed to obtain new fruit, this important article of food has scarcely been resumed. The orange trees previously formed the principal resource of a considerable portion of the inhabitants. A full grown tree provides about five hundred oranges. They can plant about a hundred trees per acre, and as oranges are worth from thirty to forty francs a thousand, a crop worth from fifteen to eighteen hundred francs per acre is obtained. It is estimated that before 1835 two million oranges were sent each year to the north. Besides, these oranges like those of Cuba, although very superior to those of the Mediterranean regions, cannot be kept, and generally spoil after ten to fifteen days.

I shall now say a few words about the animals and vegetables of the district with which we are concerned, without however speaking extensively about the natural history of this region, which will be the topic of a special study.

There were formerly wild horses on Florida prairies, but the Indians, not being able to keep their own horses that constantly ran away to share the liberty of those of their species more fortunate than they in this regard, decided to kill off the race, and the massacre was so general that not one has probably escaped. However a very old Indian assured me that he had seen some in his youth. Besides, all these horses were the descendants of those that the Spaniards had brought to this country.

The Floridian horse, such as it is today, and which is called generally Indian pony is small, long haired and bright eyed, lively, stubborn, and as wild as the Indians themselves; it has wonderful endurance of fatigue and hardship ; it has a singular instinct in finding its way in the dense woods. Its food consists only of the high grass that covers the prairies and it does not require any care. The price of horses varies in Tallahassee from 50 to 120 dollars (about 250 to 600 francs). For farm work mules are generally preferred, and they bring them every year in large numbers from Tennessee, and even from Mexico; in general they endure better extreme heat, and all considered are more docile; their price is generally from 600 to 1,000 francs.

The cattle are remarkable because of their huge horns ; although they do not take any care of them and leave them all the year in the woods and prairies, they are generally fat and strong and their hair wonderfully sleek. Their flesh is quite good but the cows give scarcely any milk. I have sometimes, at the homes of planters who had several hundred cattle (they never know exactly how many), had coffee without milk, for lack of being able to get for myself a single drop of milk. Their price varies from four to six dollars (20 to 30 francs).

Sheep do not do well, and their meat is worthless. Goats on the contrary are frequent, but the animal that gives the most extraordinary results in this respect is the hog, the meat of which replaces all others for the American farmer.

[Fauna]

They also eat squirrels, one species of which grows to be very large.

The cougar, which they call panther, is quite common in some parts of the territory. It rarely attacks a man. The young ones are spotted with white. The little black bear is common enough on the Apalachicola River; it lives almost entirely in the trees and never attacks anyone. Wolves are quite rare, the only one that I have seen seemed to me almost black.

Deer are very common, they belong to the Virginia species, and the young ones are spotted. The wildcats, opossums and raccoons are common. The flying squirrel (polatouche) is a little animal seen rather often flying from one tree to another.

There are no buffalos in Florida.

The manatee which is specifically different from the African one, is seen sometimes in the rivers, especially to the south of the Suwanee.

Fossil remains of mammoths have been found several times, and I have found on the shore of the Gulf of Mexico the skull of a huge kind of porpoise.

Florida is very rich in birds; among the eagles we shall mention the white headed eagle which hovers continually above the rivers and lakes. When it notices that a heron has caught a fish, it pursues it and forces it to give up its prey which is seized before it reaches the surface of the water. Among the vultures, two species (*V. aura* and *atratus*), here called turkey buzzard, are very common, and sometimes cover the trees; they appear exceedingly stupid. The wild turkey is very common. They are found everywhere in little flocks of five to ten or twelve; it is difficult to get near them. The pretty Carolina parrakeet appears often in large flocks;

the flamingo is found on the seashore. Two kinds of humming birds are found there, one of which is very rare but most beautiful.

The mocking bird is very common. Ducks of almost limitless varieties are found. The orioles are very numerous. We shall add only that although the beautiful cardinal is very common, it goes unnoticed in the midst of the many birds of bright plumage seen in the bushes.

Among the reptiles the turtles are, above all, remarkable for the variety of their species. Among them the soft shelled turtle (*trionis*) is one of the most interesting for the naturalist. It is to be noted that animals of this sort generally are to be found in warm countries, but in North America they sometimes go up big rivers like the Mississippi to very cold latitudes; their fossil remains found around Paris would not then indicate positively past existence in a tropical climate.

[Alligators]

The alligator is of all the reptiles the one which at first sight appears most dangerous for the traveler. It is ordinarily about ten feet long although it may reach fifteen feet in length. Bartram in his Travels in Florida has given interesting details in regard to this animal which have seemed to me for the most part very accurate. He attributes to it however a ferocity that I believe quite exaggerated. I have often seen them lying in hundreds on the banks of rivers, and I can state that when men approach they run away, clacking their huge jaws. Once I saw one of the biggest ones inclined to block my way in the neighborhood of Lake Mikasaski [*sic*]. A negro who was with me stabbed it, but the monster in dying rolled upon the slave and gave away only after repeated thrusts with his knife, and two gunshots that I fired at it point-blank, a sight that was as strange as it was terrible. As for the negro, he got up laughing uproariously although covered with mud and blood. It is only when in the water that this animal is to be feared, and yet I

have often seen Indians cross the Apalachicola River, swimming among numerous denizens of this sort. My first meeting with one of these huge reptiles was less than agreeable. A few days after my arrival in Florida I had gone to the shores of Lake Jackson. I was keenly interested in the really charming sight that this beautiful sheet of water offered, so covered with aquatic birds that it seemed to be in continual motion. Soon I was awakened from this sweet reverie by a movement in some neighboring brush, and on turning around I saw quite near me a huge head that I took at first to be that of a serpent which might be no less than thirty to forty feet long. I must admit that I felt a cold sweat cover my face and for a few moments I was unable to load my gun, but the movement that I had made then caused my antagonist to withdraw to the lake and then only I saw my mistake, but it took me some time to be able to consider it a laughable matter. It is very difficult to kill an alligator, for a bullet bounces off its armor without causing it the least damage; the only two vulnerable places are the under side of its throat and its eye sockets. These animals hide during winter in holes and underground caves. The young ones bark and yelp like dogs. They lay their eggs in layers, and separate each layer by a bed of grass and clay, then they cover up all with mud to form cones about four feet high.

It is worth noticing that alligators are often found at a considerable distance out at sea; I have seen some at two or three leagues from the shore at the mouth of big rivers, which supports perfectly the supposition of the learned M. Lejel (*New Elements of Geology*) who in speaking of the iguandons recently discovered in the sea limestone of the lower green sandstone, says "This circumstance which naturally leads one to conclude that some of the saurians that live in the country of the Great River continued to live there even after a part of the land had been submerged by the sea inclines one to suppose that in our own days the burial of the bones of cer-

tain big alligators occurs very often in the recent fresh water strata deposited in the delta of the Ganges. But if a part of a delta should sink down so as to be covered by the sea, there may result an accumulation of marine formations where fresh water strata might have been formed at first; and as in spite of this sinking of the delta the Ganges would continue nevertheless to send its waters loaded with mud in the same direction, and to carry to the sea the remains of the same species of alligators, it would follow that the bones of these animals might just as well be found in sea strata as in underlying fresh water strata."

The rattlesnake (*Crotalus*) is not common, but it sometimes reaches a huge size, nine or ten feet long. Its bite, as is known, is fatal. Doctor Holbrook of Charleston has however discovered an easy way to remedy its dangerous effects, and all the experiments that he has conducted in this respect have been crowned with success. His way of proceeding consists in making as soon as one has been bitten, a tight ligature around the wounded limb, and as soon as the patient recovers from his fright to loosen the ligature and let thus a little of the poison enter the circulation, then to close it tightly immediately; a convulsion follows, then the patient having recovered his senses, a quantity of the poison is permitted to pass in again; by this procedure, as the poison is introduced gradually the patient recovers after a succession of convulsions. Besides, the rattlesnake is considered a table delicacy in the homes of the richest planters.

There are a good many other species of serpents, but most of them are not poisonous; besides, the proportion of these animals does not seem to me more considerable than in the northern states of the American Union. Pigs kill a great number of them, for it is to be noted that thanks to their fat, they can without danger endure the bite of the most poisonous reptiles.

The fish are quite varied in species but are still very little known ; several of the seacoast are brightly colored.

Among the insects we shall mention only the mosquitos, which because they are so numerous make some sections of the country absolutely uninhabitable.

The entomology of these regions is however quite poor, and is more like that of temperate countries than the heat of the climate would make one suppose.

Among the trees we shall speak only of the pines that cover most of the territory and which most often denote an infertile region ; however, when they grow in a clay soil the soil may be as good as that of the hammocks, although it is generally not so durable. We have already said that the hammocks are plots covered by different kinds of trees such as oaks, magnolias etc., etc., closely intertwined with vines and creepers.

The *Magnolia grandiflora* is the real ornament of the forests; it attains a huge size.

The live oak (*Quercus virens*) is as wonderful because of its large size, as it is serviceable by furnishing to the navy wood for construction purposes.

The palm trees of Florida belong to the genera *Sabal* and *Chamerops*. There are four or five species of them.

III

INHABITANTS

There are about fifty-four thousand five hundred whites and negroes living in Florida, as well as three to five thousand Indians. This population is scattered over a space of nearly twenty thousand square leagues, two-thirds of whom are to be found in Middle Florida.

Florida has, as is known, belonged for a long time to the Spaniards, and in St. Augustine as well as in Pensacola a great many of their descendants still are to be found who have kept the manners and the costumes of their ancestors; therefore the charming dance the *fandango* still may be seen sometimes in those places, but Middle Florida, which those conquerors had never penetrated, and which the encroaching spirit of the Anglo-

Americans alone has partly snatched from the Indian tribes, offers no evidence of their customs.

Most of the planters of Florida have emigrated from Virginia and South Carolina. Having settled recently in the country they are consequently not acclimated, so every year they leave these torrid regions during the summer heat and go to find a healthier climate in the northern states. The cause of their immigration to this country is the fertility of the land which makes them abandon the family home where the soil has very often become worn out by uninterrupted cultivation during many years, and which according to the custom of the country never receives any fertilizer. They put all that they own into wagons, and together with their slaves, they go through the woods hunting for a new dwelling, sometimes a hundred leagues from their former one.

The large plantation owner is generous and hospitable but accustomed to exercise absolute power over his slaves, he cannot endure any opposition to his wishes, and the universally adopted habit of always going armed leads only too often to bloody scenes to which the public is so accustomed, that it pays very little attention to the one who is its victim. During my stay in Florida I had the opportunity several times to see scenes of this sort; one morning the body of a murdered man was found in the streets of Tallahassee; beside him was a bowie knife recognized as belonging to an influential planter who had immediately left the city to withdraw to his home, where he was never disturbed. I have seen two hostile planters meet on horseback in the street and immediately start fighting with pistol and bowie knife, a fight in which their friends and their slaves took part. Being in the village of Chattahoutchi on the Apalachicola River in the month of February, 1838, some travelers came up in the evening to the opposite shore of the river, tired by a long day's journey; they wanted to cross it and called loudly for the boatman to go and get them; the latter lying carelessly in his ferry boat heard them for an hour pre-

tending to be asleep and did not condescend to even answer them; finally at my urging he decided to do his duty, but having been rebuked rather keenly by the travelers, he coolly seized a pistol and fired it point blank at one of them who miraculously was not hit.

Finally, as I was going from Tallahassee to the Apalachicola River, I was accosted by a young man on horseback, who, according to the custom of the country, immediately started a conversation. His manner was gentle and affable and I felt sympathetically drawn toward him. Soon we spoke of the purpose of his trip, and then he drew from his bosom a bowie knife a foot and a half long, and told me very quietly that he was going to Columbus to find one of his cousins who owed him some money, and that he intended to kill him if he didn't pay him. I saw him again in that town, and having inquired about the health of his relative, I learned that fortunately he had heard of the arrival of his amiable relative, and that he had left for Texas.

As I have said already the habit of carrying arms is universal. Every man has constantly on him a bowie knife, and when he is on horseback he has a long rifle in his hand. Since the beginning of the war against the savages many plantations have been surrounded by a palisade and armed slaves mount guard as in a regular garrison.

Of all vices, intemperance is the most common one, whose effects are the most to be deplored; it often happens that men of responsible position are found rolling drunk in the streets until their slaves come to look for them and carry them home in their arms. The habit of gambling is common too, and it is to this that may be attributed largely the murders so frequent in this country. To inform people of the death of someone, a slave runs through all the streets carrying a pasteboard framed in black ribbons, on which is written the name of the deceased; he presents it to all those he meets for them to read.

The class of whites which remains for us to study, is the little farmers who sometimes themselves cultivate a cornfield, but most often have it done by two or three slaves, their only property. Most of them do not own any land, but settle in the first place that they find vacant, without being concerned about the name of the owner, who, if he comes to assert his authority, does not receive more response than a bullet from a rifle. These men are called squatters. Generally speaking they are tall, sturdy, bold, addicted to drinking, and habituated to interlardng their words with terrible curses. Accustomed to living alone in the woods, they have adopted the habits of the savages with whom they are in constant contact; at every moment their conversation is interrupted by war cries. They leap about and howl and make no effort to restrain their passions. Most of the young men have the strange habit, when they are excited, of slapping their sides imitating the triumphant cry of a cock. So as to make known the habits of these people, I am going to say a few words about an excursion to the village of Montiulko [Monticello] November 30, 1837.

[Monticello]

This village is situated thirty miles from Tallahassee. I left on horseback with several other persons at six o'clock in the morning. We arrived there after traveling constantly in the woods, at two o'clock in the afternoon. The village is built almost entirely of wood, and the difficulty of getting boards has delayed its prosperity ; about one hundred and fifty people live there. On that day they were holding court in a log house, and a rain had come so that the judge was for two hours exposed to the water that poured in abundantly between the poorly joined beams. This place is famous for the quarrelsome, spirit of its inhabitants, and I learned from the judge, Mr. Randall, a learned and well brought up man, that in two years eleven men had been murdered in the market place. During the day that we spent there we

were present at several fights and saw several heads bruised. As for bloody noses they were so ordinary that one might have considered them universal. When a young man longs to fight, which is very often, he is accustomed to go to the square and after having imitated a cock, to cry out from on horseback: "I am a horse but I defy anyone to ride me." Sometimes they fight with their fists, but generally with a pistol, a bowie knife or iron covered cudgel. The entire village seemed to be fighting; here two drunken men were dragging themselves along to attack each other; there farmers were amusing themselves by lashing unfortunate slaves, laughing to split their sides at their contortions and cries; farther on young men were blaming each other for the murder of a relative, and murderous weapons gleamed immediately in their hands. Finally night came to put an end to all these horrors, and I was glad to leave that cursed place the next morning and to be surrounded by majestic peaceful forests. We returned by going along the north shore of Lake Mikasaski, one of whose branches we forded.

The type of men I am speaking of are brought up from childhood with the idea that the Indians are the usurpers of a land that belongs to them, and even in times of peace they are always ready to go hunting savages rather than deer hunting. Like the Indians they scalp their dead enemies, and in war time their arrival at plantations is almost as much to be feared as that of the enemy they are pursuing. Not being checked by human laws, that cannot reach them in the midst of the woods, nor by religious principles that are totally unknown to most of them, these men know no other power than physical force, and no other pleasure than carrying out their brutal passions.

In a region where laws are not enforced, a sort of arbitrary tribunal has been organized that succeeds in carrying out its decisions in the depths of the forests; it is called Judge Lynch and its decrees are carried out

without appeal. More than one corpse hanging by the neck from the branch of a tree can testify to its power. Besides, its severity is exercised usually only against those suspected of being opposed to slavery of the negroes, and also horse thieves.

[*Slaves*]

The slaves, and in this category are included all colored people of the territory, are generally treated with the greatest severity. A whip is the only language used with them. They have besides all the vices of degraded men, and the customary punishments have become necessary for them. Twenty-five lashes with the whip for women, and fifty for men, are the ordinary punishment for the smallest offenses, and in serious cases this number is sometimes increased to three hundred. Moreover, their high price is their only protection in a country in which they can not expect any from the law. At the time of my residence there, a man was worth about six thousand francs and a woman four thousand. I believe that prices have gone down since. A child at its birth is considered to be worth from seven hundred and fifty to one thousand francs.

In the midst of this terrible misery the black people prosper, and seem even to be happy under a yoke that should remind them of that of the stocks [*cabachirs*] of the African coast. Their numbers increase every year, and the burning sun of Florida seems to be the proper surrounding for this singular variety of the great human family. They are proud of their state of slavery, and cannot speak of free negroes without pitying them: "poor fellow" they say, "he has no master." Here as among the Romans a child belongs to the owner of the mother, and whatever its color, a child of a slave is a slave himself. The outward appearance of the negroes is here much better than in the Northern States, and according to their own ideas I believe they are happier. The system of slavery is so thoroughly established that they are

not afraid to leave weapons with them, and the hundred and fifty leagues of woods that separate them from the Free States forbid any idea of running away. If sometimes a slave runs away to escape extreme punishment, he will remain near the plantation, and after a short time he will return of his own volition to his master and submit to his unhappy fate. I shall not introduce here a discussion of the big question of slavery, I shall only say that if it is unjust and contrary to divine law that man should have despotic power over his fellow men, and that slavery cannot consequently be defended in principal, however, when we come to study the facts we find that the negro whose intelligence is less developed than that of the white race * seems not to have been created to govern himself ; in the interior of Africa he is subject to the laws of the Moors, on the coasts he bows trembling before the slave hunters, who treat lightly his life and his liberty. In America finally, setting aside the servility of the state of slavery which the negro, besides, is far from understanding, he is certainly happier on the southern plantations than in the free states of the North. Especially as far as the United States are concerned we must consider that the rich districts of the South, that alone can produce cotton, sugar, rice, tobacco and corn, have a climate fatal for the whites, but which on the contrary seems to fit admirably the black race. As for the last two mentioned of these products, since they grow in the middle states, such as Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee, they could really be cultivated by the whites, but the three first mentioned need the almost vertical rays of sunshine and the marshes of low regions in which members of our race cannot risk themselves, even a single night, without running an almost certain risk of death.

* It is understood that I am speaking now generally and not absolutely. In any case I must even say that generally the children of the black race have seemed to me to be about equal to the white children until they reach the age of ten or twelve, but that then their intelligence seems to stand still, as if it had reached the highest point of development nature has intended for it.

[Liberation of Slaves]

As to obtaining voluntary work from negroes in hot climes, my conviction is that it is almost impracticable, and that in the present state of affairs a proclamation of freedom, supposing that it might be constitutionally possible, and putting aside the inevitable political consequences, would bring about the ruin of the American Union, and consequently the loss of civilization in America. Besides, everybody will admit that the only way of carrying out justly a measure of this sort, would be to indemnify the planters for the loss of their only property, but the number of slaves in the Union is two million five hundred thousand, who on the average are worth two thousand francs each. In truth it seems that the only way of redeeming the black slaves would be to sell the white population at auction.

Some philanthropic Americans have sought to establish at the Cape of the Palms on the Guinea coast a colony of freed slaves, and have given it the name of Liberia; the reports concerning the condition of this settlement are very contradictory, but in any case one cannot refrain from justifying the honorable intentions of those who have conceived the plan and who have made great pecuniary sacrifices in order to carry it out; unfortunately the two or three hundred persons taken each year to Africa at the expense of the society may very well furnish interesting observations to philosophers, but according to me, due to the insufficiency of their resources they will never attain the aims that were proposed. Besides, the resistance evidenced on the part of the negroes themselves seems to me an insurmountable obstacle to success.

After all, if any particular State of the Union, for the federal government cannot in any way intervene in questions of this sort, if any State, I say, should decide to bring about the liberation of its slaves, this act ought to be carried out in a thoughtful and circumspect manner,

and the following plan might perhaps facilitate its execution.

The government might name a certain number of public officials whose principal duty would be to estimate the value of each slave according to the market price. This value would be recorded in registers kept for that purpose, and the masters would be obliged, under penalty of a heavy fine, to have made out in the same manner the estimated value of all their slaves. Sunday should be considered, as it already is, as belonging to the slave without his master being able to make him work ; the number of days being thus reduced to six, I should wish that the slave, as soon as he has amassed a sufficient sum to buy another day might, by appealing to the public official in question, oblige his master to sell it to him. He would then have two days of the week for himself which would make it easy for him to buy a third day and so on until he should be entirely free, and this proceeding would not cost the state or his master anything. This plan would have the immense advantage of accustoming the slave to work, before giving him the precious gift of liberty, in a word in order to obtain it he would have to deserve it.

This is not the place for entering into a discussion of this system; I am pleased to submit it to those who are called to solve the great political problem of slavery.

Nothing proves better the moral degradation of the negro than the joy and content he shows in the state of slavery. Draw near to a plantation, and the noisy outbursts of laughter that you will hear there will make you forget the overseer who goes about provided with his huge whip; then come the rest days, and all the miseries of the week are forgotten in the wildest dances and the most ridiculous capers ; the orchestra is provided with a sort of mandolin made of a gourd, and a horse's jaw bone, the teeth of which are scraped with a hollow stick.

[The Seminoles]

It remains for us to speak of the Indians known as Seminoles, who still inhabit this country, and who, although reduced to a rather small number by a long war of extermination, have found a way until now not only of defending their independence as savages, but even of keeping all the country on the alert by the ravages of their war parties, committing murders up to the gates of Tallahassee and St. Augustine.

At the time of the discovery of the country by the Spaniards, Florida was inhabited by tribes called Yamesses, Polarches [Apalaches] and Kaloosas. These people were, about a hundred years ago, entirely overthrown by a part of the Muscogis or Creeks, who, leaving their native lands came to settle in Florida. They received from other Indians the name of Seminoles, which means refugees. Soon they became a powerful and warlike tribe that continued to add to its numbers from the malcontents of other tribes.

The Muscogis themselves probably come from Mexico (isthmus of Panama), for the old men often told me that formerly their fathers dwelt in a mountainous country from the heights of which they could see two seas. Not wishing to yield to the Spaniards, they came and settled on the banks of the Mississippi, from where they were again driven by the French settlements.

The Yamesses were, they say, very dark in color, and some people think that the tribe of Ocklewahaws is made up of their descendants; however, the most common opinion is that they have been entirely massacred. Bartram tells, that according to Indian traditions, the great swamp of Okefenoke was inhabited by extremely beautiful beings, whom the Seminoles call *daughters of the sun*, and this author thinks that some unhappy remnants of the tribe of the Yamesses may have sought refuge in that inaccessible place, and that appearing from time to time, they have aroused superstitious ideas; however, recently (December, 1838) the American troops

commanded by General Floyd penetrated this swamp, and did not find any trace of inhabitants. According to the report of the Spaniards, the Indian population of Florida was formerly as dense as that of Mexico, and it is known that the powerful tribe of the Shawnees also comes from that region. We shall not dwell more at length on the history of the Seminoles, but we shall merely say that this warlike tribe after having always fought successfully against the Spaniards and the English, has likewise been able to resist until now all the efforts that the Americans have made to send them beyond the Mississippi, and that today, after several years of a war of extermination, the unfortunate remnants of this famous tribe, dispersed and without chiefs, prefer to live naked in the woods, hunted like wild beasts, and having no other nourishment than mandioca and wild fruit, rather than leave the bones of their parents. Nevertheless, if we cannot deny a sight of pity for this heroic race, let us avoid thinking that the fanciful dreams of some pretended philosophers regarding savage man are realized more here than elsewhere, for the Seminole, aside from the noble qualities that we have recognized in him, is an untrustworthy savage, pleased only by blood, for whom the cries of the unhappy victim fastened to a stake are sweet music. Like other savages he has no pity at all, and the scalp of a girl is for him a trophy as glorious as that of a warrior.

As among all savages, it is to be noted that the pains of childbirth are almost lacking, if one compares them with what women of civilized nations feel. A few hours afterward the Seminole woman walks, and the next day she resumes the hard work imposed on her sex. The child, with bandages binding it to a board, and with glass beads on it, is held on her back by two straps. When she works in the field, she hangs it thus on the branch of a tree. The children are brought up in a very kindly way, and early assume independent habits; until the age of ten or even twelve, boys and girls remain naked, but be-

fore that age the boys already have warlike ideas, and they pretend to scorn the women. They spend all their time testing their skill shooting with a bow and arrow. A few years later they join a war party and if they return with the scalp of an enemy they are considered as citizens of the tribe. A warrior's occupations consist in hunting and fighting, all the rest is left to the women. The Seminole warrior is brave and proud. When General Jackson had overpowered the Mikasouki Indians, their principal chief Neomathla came to him and said: "You are a great warrior but those who preceeded you were only old women ; you are a great warrior, torture me to death, for if you were my prisoner, I should like to see how courageous you are." When he learned that they not only left him alive but besides granted him lands, he cried: "Take me far, very far away, for not being able to fight the whites any longer, whom I hate, I wish at least to see them no longer." He still lives in Arkansas.

We have just spoken of the Mikasoukis; they were republicans and their name means without hereditary chiefs.

The Seminoles, like other southern Indians, have black slaves who share the farm work with their women, that is to say the care of a few small fields of corn; they generally treat them in a kindly way, and let them do what they please, provided a harvest is gathered. Those negroes live generally in little villages beside those of their masters; they are dressed and fed like them, and go with them to war in which they usually make themselves famous for their cruelty, even among savages. The latter seem however to have carried that terrible sin to the last degree. I once saw a farm that had been attacked the preceding night by the Indians; two men had been killed with weapons in their hands, their bodies mutilated and their scalps taken, a woman had been burned alive, then cut up into pieces, and two children had been roasted alive; around the fire were still to be

seen moist traces of blood left by the feet of the savages who had danced around those unfortunate victims, laughing at their terrible sufferings. We learned afterwards that the woman was killed only after being forced to see her children tortured before her eyes. What refined cruelty! It reminds one of the inquisition, but here at least these are idolatrous savages!

However, these Indians, so barbarous in war time, have severe laws to protect human life, and form a singular contrast with the corruption and unrestrained passions of the whites who are their neighbors. Adultery is punished by cutting off one's nose and ears, and an old chief who had been treated in that way, admitting to me the cause of the scars which disfigured him, added: "It is the law, it is all right."

Homicide is punished by death even when it is unintentional. A few days before I reached the villages on the Apalachicola River, two young men, close friends from their childhood, having gone hunting together, one of them had the misfortune to accidentally kill the other; the guilty man came before a council of the chiefs and a death sentence was decreed. When taken to his home the unfortunate young man divided the little that he possessed among his wife and children, then kneeling down with bowed head he received from the nearest relative of the dead man a blow with a club that crushed his skull. Being intoxicated or being a chief never saves a guilty man.

Their language is very similar to that of the Creeks of which it is merely a dialect.

The principal amusements of the Seminoles are dancing and ball games; their war dance resembles that of other tribes. They have also pig, deer, alligator and opossum dances, etc., etc., in which they imitate the cries and motions of those different animals. The most remarkable of these dances is the *green corn dance*, a kind of offering of the first fruits of their harvests which they make to an unknown divinity, and which recalls similar customs among ancient peoples.

When they dance they often accompany themselves with small drums, and fasten shells to their feet and knees that hit together at every motion, and make the sound of castanets. For a ball game they generally have twenty-five to fifty on each side; they are naked with a piece of cloth around their loins ; their bodies are painted and they put feathers in their hair. They often prepare themselves for this exercise by fasting and sometimes they cut their arms and legs with a knife to bleed themselves, and, they say, to lose weight. Then a leader throws the ball between the two groups and the side that has thrown the ball first for twelve times is considered to have won. They must never touch the ball with their hands but catch it skillfully with two little sticks. They play this game very vigorously, and it rarely ends without serious wounds being received.

It is very unusual for women to be admitted to men's dances; however, sometimes all the persons of both sexes gather in two lines facing each other, then hand in hand they come forward and move backward singing a solemn monotonous air.

The old men are generally very respected as well as the chiefs; among the latter some are hereditary, and others are chosen for their courage in war. The first mentioned generally have more influence than the others.

The Seminoles do not bury their dead, but in general leave them on the ground in the woods, covering them with vines and branches so that wild animals cannot get to them. The relatives and friends of the dead person come regularly during several years, to cut the grass around so that the fires which are often started in the forests cannot burn them. Sometimes too, they put their dead in the trunks of old trees, often very high up.

The cabins are generally made of branches covered with palm leaves or pine bark. The one destined for the council is almost always large. Their villages are permanent. Their canoes are made of bark or of tree trunks hollowed out; the latter are so narrow that a man can

scarcely sit down in one and the slightest movement is enough to tip one over.

The Seminole women as well as those of the other Muscogis are physically more attractive than most other Indian women. Some chief's daughters owning slaves, and spending their lives lying carelessly on mats, may even be considered pretty. They are marriagable at twelve or thirteen, and at twenty-five may be considered as in the decline of life. Their garb consists of a long cloth dress embroidered with little pearls and spangles, of richly ornamented leather moccasins, and a piece of cloth which they wrap around their bodies and with which they cover their heads.

The men ordinarily wear a hunting shirt made of cloth or of deer skin, long leather stockings, moccasins, and they sometimes wrap a cloak around themselves. They wear red handkerchiefs on their heads. They always carry a scalping knife and a long rifle. When they are at war they generally go naked with painted bodies; they then often use bows with poisoned arrows, and always carry tomahawks in their hands; sometimes they make shields of alligator skin that are bullet proof; usually they shave their heads, keeping only the characteristic tuft of hair. They tell that in a fight, an old white man having been wounded, a savage rushed up to scalp him but since he wore a wig, the desired scalp remained in the victor's hand, who after the first moment of surprise threw it down disdainfully on the poor wounded man whom he left without finishing him, crying: "The coward has cut off his scalp ahead of time." Besides scalping is not always fatal; I have seen in Washington an officer who had experienced it, but I believe that his health always suffered from it.

I hope that I may be allowed to introduce here the following anecdote which will give an idea of Indian character.

When I was in Tallahassee I had the opportunity to see a man who had been the keeper of a lighthouse on

Florida Cape before the war. He told me of the following way he almost miraculously escaped in an Indian attack, and his story was confirmed by several trustworthy people. The night when he was attacked by the savages he was alone with a single black slave. On hearing the war cry resound in the woods they closed the door tightly and defended themselves for a long time through an embrasure, but the Indians set fire to the tower which was made entirely of wood; they then climbed the stairs as the fire caught up with them and continued to shoot through the openings at the group of savages. Finally seeing that they had no hope of escape, they decided to blow themselves up so as to escape the terrible tortures with which the besiegers threatened them, and for this purpose they threw into the flames below them a barrel of powder that was in their possession, but contrary to their expectation it only blew up the stairway, and it left them thus hanging about a hundred feet up in the air, and entirely separated from their enemies. The savages then climbed the nearby trees to continue the fusillade, and the negro soon fell pierced by a bullet; the white man in despair and having no more powder seized the negro's body and hurled it at the Indians several of whom he crushed. But at every moment the heat became more and more intolerable and the beams were so hot that, forced to cling to one of them, he swung his feet so as to find relief for his suffering by making the air circulate around, but the Indians took advantage of this circumstance and sent a bullet through each foot. The whole night passed in this way and he was forced to drink his own blood and the water in the blisters formed on his feet. He found it, he told me, delicious. The next morning the Indians no longer being able to reach him and considering his death certain, went away and the poor fellow stretched out to die; then by a special favor of providence a boat from which they had heard the fusillade from a distance drew near the coast and curiosity made some sailors come to shore. Not seeing any-

one alive they were about to leave when the poor fellow hearing them gathered together all his remaining strength and with his shirt waved to them so that they finally noticed him. They tried to help him, but how could they reach him? At first they tried to get a rope to the top of the tower by means of a kite, but since they did not succeed in this way they put an iron rod in a gun and fastened a rope to it, and after several fruitless trials they succeeded in establishing communication with the top of the tower, but the poor fellow was too weak to make use of it, and in despair he fell back on his wretched support; then a sailor took courage and climbed along that slight support. He succeeded in accomplishing his purpose and fastening the poor wounded man to his shoulders he came down again in the midst of the applause of all his comrades.

I have related this anecdote merely to show to what dangers those who settle among the Indians of these regions are exposed. Although I do not wish to give details about the Seminole war, I think I ought to say a few words about some of the chiefs who have become famous in it, and whose names have become well known in the United States.

Micanape is the supreme hereditary chief of the tribe. In his youth his name was Sint Chakke but at the death of his brother he took the title that we have mentioned and which means heir of the chief. He is an old man; through treachery he fell into the hands of the Americans, and he has been sent west of the Mississippi.

Osceola, called Powell by the whites, is the most famous of the Seminole chiefs. His mother was Indian but it seems certain that his father was white. At the beginning of the war he was a chief of but little importance, but he protested vigorously against the treaty by which a part of the tribe consented to go to Arkansas, and in a moment of great fury he killed the most influential among the leading officers. His courage and savagery having soon singled him out, he was, in 1835, made

chief of the Mikasouki warriors. He appeared several times at the head of five hundred warriors; finally in 1837 he fell into the hands of the whites through treachery, and was taken to Charlestown where he was imprisoned in Fort Moultrie on Sullivan Island ; he soon died there of grief, and one may see on the shore the tomb of this warrior as bold as he was savage, who on several occasions displayed extraordinary genius, and who, if he had been sent beyond the Mississippi would have, it is thought, conceived the idea of uniting all the tribes of those distant regions to come at the head of a hundred thousand warriors to carry tomahawk and flames among the whites. At the time of his death he was about thirty years old.

Otemathla, called by the whites Jumper, is the brother-in-law of *Micanope*; he is of the warlike tribe of Mikasoukis. He is the great council chief.

Yobly or *Abraham* is a negro who was a slave of *Micanope*, but who is today a distinguished chief; he is very intelligent, cruel, brave, and may be about forty years old.

Tiger-Tail is today one of the principal chiefs of the hostile Seminoles. He was for a long time a friend of the whites, but having been abused by them he is today their most pitiless enemy.

Wild-Cat ordinarily leads the war parties that ravage Middle Florida.

Conchattemico and *Emachilochustern*. (John Walker) were the chiefs of the peaceable Indian villages on the Apalachicola River, but in 1839 they were obliged to abandon their lands for a meager compensation and they were sent away to the wilds of Arkansas.

The Indians remaining in Florida are to be divided into two principal groups : first those rightly called Seminoles, and second, the lower Creeks. The first mentioned are divided into seven tribes : *Latchions*, *Topkclakes*, *Fatehoughahas*, *Tallahassees*, *Pyaclekahas*, *Chokehuittas*, and *Ockleouachas*. The second group is divided into six

tribes : *Mikasoukis, Echitos, Souhaines, Santafe's, and Redsticks*. There are also, they say, some remnants of the old tribes of *Cahauitas, Outchis, Chias, Canaaches*, who, former enemies of the Seminoles, are today united with them.

Until the beginning of the war they had estimated the number of the Indians much below their real number. According to an official report of John Bell, Indian agent, addressed to Congress in 1821, their principal villages were the following: *

1st. Red Town on Tampa Bay, unknown number of inhabitants.

2d: Oclakonayahe, above Tampa Bay, sizeable population.

3d. Oponay, back of Tampa Bay.

4th. Totstalahhoetska, to the west of Tampa Bay.

5th. Ahapopka, on the Mosquito River.

6th. Lowwalta, governed by the prophet Francis.

7th. Village of Macquan, on the east shore of Tampa Bay.

8th. Alackawaytalofa, sizeable population, situated on the plains of Alachawa.

9th. Santafetalofa, on the east branch of the Suwanee.

10th. Wawkasaw, east of the mouth of the Suwanee.

11th. Old town of Suwanee, burned in 1818.

12th. Alapahatalofa, west of the Suwanee.

13th. Wacissatalofa, at the beginning of the St. Marks (St. Marie) river.

14th. Willanouchatalofa, near the preceding.

15th. Tallahassee, near Lake Mikasouky about 1,000 inhabitants.

16th. Topkegalga, near the preceding on the Ocklockney.

17th. Wethoecuchyalofa, between the St. Marks and the Ocklockney.

*Cf. Am. State Papers, Indian Affairs, v. ii, 413. Neamothla to Gen. Jackson. Sept. 19, 1821.

18th. Ochucesulga, governed by Chief Blunt, 350 inhabitants.

19th. Choconickla, west of Apalachicola, about 60 warriors.

20th. Tophugar, near the preceding.

21st. Tocktoethla, ten miles from the forks of the Chattahatchie, about fifty warriors.

22d. Ochupograsa, on the point of East Florida, about thirty warriors but many women and children.

23d. Pelaclakaha, living on the Miacanpe, forty leagues south of the Alachua.

24th. Chukuchatta, about seven leagues from Tampa Bay.

25th. Hichapulsusse, seven leagues from the preceding.

26th. The Big Hammock, north of Tampa Bay.

27th. Oclawahaw, west of the St. John's River.

28th. Villages of Mulatto girls, south of Lake Casawilla.

29th. Buckerwomanstown, near Long-Secamp.

30th. Leifah, south of the Alachua.

31st. Village of negroes on the Alachua, about 300 inhabitants.

32d. Hickstown, today occupied by a town of whites.

33d. Village on the big swamp Okefanoke.

34th. Beech Settlement, governed by Chief Uchebilly.

35th. Spring Garden, above Lake George.

36th. Village south of Tampa.

Most of these villages have been destroyed by the whites since the beginning of the war, but the southern part of the peninsula never yet having been explored, must certainly contain many villages still unknown. It is estimated that since the beginning of hostilities they have succeeded, in one way or another, in capturing or killing about 2,500 savages, and it is estimated that this Indian war has cost 20 million dollars (about 106 million francs) which amounts to a cost of more than 40,000

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francs for each Indian seized. It can easily be imagined that it is impossible to form an idea of the exact number of Indians who today inhabit Florida since their war parties are still wandering over almost all the territory, and, since they sometimes appear together in bands of several hundred, it is probable that the Indian population of this region is from three to five thousand, and if it is impossible to know how long this war of extermination is destined to endure, it is still easy to foresee that it will end by the entire extinction of a race which for more than three and a half centuries has been fighting for its freedom, and which under the different governments, Spanish, English and American, has succeeded in maintaining to this day its native independence. However frightful the cruelty of this barbarous race may be, one cannot help feeling sorry for those poor savages, but it is in the nature of things that the red race is to be blotted out before the all powerful breath of civilization.

(The next issue of the QUARTERLY will include the other descriptive material relating to Florida by the same author mentioned in the introductory note. This also will be translated by Dr. Seymour.)