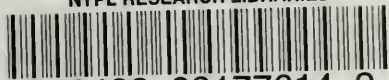


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# REMARKS

MADE ON A

**TOUR TO PRAIRIE DU CHIEN;**

THENCE TO

**WASHINGTON CITY,**

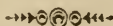
IN

**1829.**



**BY CALEB ATWATER,**

LATE COMMISSIONER EMPLOYED BY THE UNITED STATES TO  
NEGOTIATE WITH THE INDIANS OF THE UPPER  
MISSISSIPPI, FOR THE PURCHASE OF MIN-  
ERAL COUNTRY; AND AUTHOR OF  
WESTERN ANTIQUITIES.



**COLUMBUS, (O.)**

PUBLISHED BY ISAAC N. WHITING.

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1831.

DISTRICT OF OHIO, TO WIT:

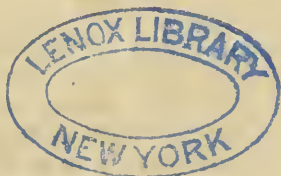
BE IT REMEMBERED, That on the twenty-fifth day of June, A. D. 1831, Caleb Atwater, of the said District, hath deposited in this Office the title of a book, the title of which is in the words following, viz: "Remarks made on a Tour to Prairie Du Chien: thence to Washington City, in 1829. By Caleb Atwater."— The right whereof he claims as Author, in conformity with an Act of Congress entitled "An Act to amend the several Acts respecting copy rights."

ATTEST:

WILLIAM MINER,

Clerk of the District.

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1831, in the Clerk's office of the District Court of Ohio.



*Jenkins & Glover, Printers.*

Checked  
May 1913

## PREFACE.

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This little volume is offered with great deference to the public. Employed as I was, on my Tour, I had only leisure to reduce to writing a few leading facts, at the time, the remarks were made. From my original remarks, I have selected only a part of them, for the public eye. Whether the selection has been a judicious one, is left to the reader. I have had in view, constantly, in this volume, the aim, to be useful to my readers, of all ages, and both sexes; and in order to be so, I have dwelt, upon subjects, that were either new, to most of them, or, I have endeavored to present, a new view of them. I have avoided, as carefully as I could, technical terms, and have used popular language, throughout.

To relieve the mind of my reader, amidst my most serious reflections, I have not unfrequently, thrown into my book, something of a lighter cast of character. And, I will not dissemble the fact, that I wrote sometimes, to cheer my own spirits, depressed by ill health, and almost sinking under that depression. Indeed, I hesitated not a little, about presenting my lighter remarks, at all, to the reader. But as those incidents, to which such remarks refer, interested me, when they occurred, and enlivened my spirits, when I related them, I entertained a faint hope, that the reader would be kind enough to the author, to be pleased with them also. The remarks, withheld now, may yet be presented, to the public, in some form. They relate mostly to the dismissed members of the late cabinet, and "the scenes at Washington." Whether those remarks will yet appear, must depend on the future conduct of those men. Sunk as they have, by their own leaden weight, perhaps, no public good

would be produced, by raising them again, above the surface.

If I have done injustice to any one, I can only say, I did not intend it. As I travel along through this world, I would not, knowingly, tread even on a worm, if I could avoid it. I endeavor to upturn the sturdy oak, on the Alleghanies, not the bending willow, on the brink of the Wisconsin.

It is unnecessary to say, that I have fearlessly given my candid and honest opinions, on all subjects, discussed by me, in this volume; and in so doing, have exercised a RIGHT, guaranteed to every citizen.

Where I have condemned, I have taken no pleasure in doing it—quite the reverse; and where I could praise, I have done it, cheerfully. To this general rule, my picture of Philadelphia, is a remarkable exception; otherwise, I must have dealt out unbounded praises only. In that city, I found all the faults, I could, and praised as sparingly as possible. The artists in that city, need not be told, that every picture, to be perfect, must have shade, as well as light thrown upon it. The eye must be relieved by shade, if possible.

Fearlessly examining every thing, for myself, it is quite possible, that no reader will always agree with me, in opinion. He must do, as I have endeavored to do, select what he does like, and lay the rest aside, for further consideration.

Party politics, and narrow, and selfish views, I have endeavored to avoid. A person who finds any immodest or immoral ideas, in this volume, may be assured, that the page, is as pure, as the plaster is, which has been mutilated, in the Academy of Fine Arts, in Philadelphia. *The impurity is in the mind of the person, not in the plaster.* That very mutilation more effectually points out, the obnoxious parts of the statues.

On perusing my remarks, I feel assured, that political opponents, will rise from their sofas and easy

elbow-chairs, and cheerfully extend to me, their right hands, in token of cordial friendship. I have extended, and still do, heartily and cheerfully extend mine to them, one and all.

For the expression of my opinions, I make no apology, further than to say, I have intended to do no evil, and if I have done any, it is sincerely and deeply regretted by

THE AUTHOR.

Columbus, O. November, 1831.

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NOTE.—Having shown the character, I have drawn of a Clergyman in Philadelphia, to a gentleman formerly of that city—he informs me, that there is no such Clergyman there, though there is one, whose conduct is generally condemned for his imprudence, by every one. I am happy to learn that I was in part misinformed and take a pleasure in saying so.—The same informant, suggests to me, that, I was not correctly informed as to any person's making a fortune by the Sunday School Union—so I stand corrected in that particular, likewise.



## TABLE OF CONTENTS.

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	PAGE.
Disturbance in the Mineral country,	1
First Commissioners appointed,	2
Second set of do. do.	3
Maysville, Ky.	3
Cincinnati,	5
Corner of Fourth and Main streets, do.	7
Louisville, Ky.	9
General character of the Louisville people,	22
Scenery along the Ohio river,	23
Mouth of the Ohio river,	26
Mississippi river and its tributaries	29
Missouri river and its branches,	31
Future prospects of the People of the United States,	32-37, &c.
St. Louis, Missouri,	40
Character of the People of St. Louis,	52
Expedition leaves St. Louis,	56
Keokuk Village,	58
Quasquawma Village,	60
Beautiful country below Rock Island,	63
Rock Island,	64
Galena,	66
Arrival at Prairie du Chien,	67
Opening of the Indian Council,	69
Treaties made, and Mineral country purchased,	71
Principal men of the Sauks and Foxes,	73
Origin of the North American Indians,	75
Indian Form of Government,	97
Manners and Customs of the Indians,	101
Polygamy among the Indians,	107
Character and influence of Indian women,	111
Bucktail Bachelor,	115
Gambling among the Indians,	117
Indian Eloquence,	119
Indian Poetry, Music and Dancing,	124
Savage and civilized life compared,	132
Miscellaneous Remarks,	140
Civilization of the Indians,	142
Dacota Indians,	148
Marsh's Grammar of the Sioux Language,	149
Vocabulary of the Dacota Language,	152
Old Maid of the Wisconsin,	173
Departure of the Indians,	175

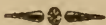
	PAGE.
Mr. Calhoun's Military Posts, in the North West,	176
Officers of the United States' Army commended,	179
Parting Scene at Prairie du Chien,	180
Wisconsin River,	181
Sublime and Impressive Views,	183
Wisconsin Country	185
Dodgeville,	187
Gratiot's Grove,	189
Tribute of Gratitude to Woman,	190
Mineral Region,	193
State of Illinois,	197
The North West,	201
The Far West,	203
Vincennes,	205
Augusta, Ky.	207
Miami Country,	209
Scioto Country,	211
Prairies in Ohio,	211
Climate, &c. &c.	217
Alleghany Mountains,	228
Rocky Mountains,	231
Visit to Philadelphia,	235
Return to Washington,	265
Senate of the United States,	265
Gov. Troup,	266
Mr. and Mrs. McDuffie,	266
Gen. Jackson's First Levee,	269
President's Family,	270
Dialogue at Gadsby's,	272
Clay and Webster, as Orators, compared,	283
Levi Woodbury, Secretary of the Navy,	284
Martin Van Buren,	286
John C. Calhoun, (Vice President,)	289
William B. Lewis, Esq.	292
Edward Livingston, (Secretary of State.)	293



# REMARKS

MADE ON

## A Tour to Prairie du Chien.



A FEW years since, having ascertained the mineral riches of the country near the Mississippi river, and south of the Wisconsin, General Henry Dodge, of Missouri, and many others, settled themselves on the mineral lands, and began to work the mines for lead. The lands, where the mines existed, were claimed by the Winnebago nation of Indians, in part, and partly by the Chippeway, Ottawa and Pottawatimy Indians. The owners of the soil, having destroyed nearly all the wild game, in the mineral country, had abandoned it as a place of residence, though they resided near it; and the only use they made of it, was an occasional visit to it, to procure lead, or to catch fish in its pelucid streams. The occupation of this country by the whites, soon roused up the minds of the Indians, and the United States were compelled, I think, in the summer of 1826, to send a considerable military force into the country, to protect the "miners;" to arrest and punish the murderers of a white man, who had been killed by Red Bird, and his associates in guilt—in fine, to quell "the Winnebago disturbance," as it was called, in the familiar language of that day. Red Bird, and other Indians concerned in the bloody work of death, were given up to the whites, who imprisoned them in Fort Crawford, at Prairie Du Chien. They were tried by a court of law, some of them acquitted, perhaps, and one or more found guilty of murder, and subsequently pardoned by Mr. Adams, the then President of the United States.

No more murders were committed, the military force was withdrawn, and the whites continued on the lands and to work the mines, though in fear of the Indians, who were dissatisfied with the trespassers.

In the winter of 1828, I believe, the President appointed Governor Cass and Col. Pierre Menard, commissioners, to treat with the Indians, for a cession of the country in question. Owing to the lateness of the season, before the commissioners received their instructions, and perhaps other causes, not necessary to be stated, the commissioners arrived at Green Bay, where they had been ordered to meet the Indians, so late in the summer of 1828, that they closed their mission on the 25th of August, of that year, by an agreement with the Indians, to the following effect: That for the present, the whites should occupy the country where the mines were then worked—that a treaty should be attempted to be made in the next year, 1829, with a view to the purchase of the mineral country of the Indians—that no white person should cross a certain line, described in the aforesaid agreement, to dig for lead ore; but if any one should so trespass, the Indians should not injure the trespasser, but the United States would remunerate the owners of the land, for the trespass done on it—that certain ferries were to be established on rivers in the Indian country, and they be paid twenty thousand dollars in goods, at the time and place, when and where the treaty was to be made, for the trespasses already committed on their lands by the miners.

This agreement was ratified and confirmed by the President and the Senate of the United States, on the 7th day of January, 1829. Congress by an act of theirs, passed about the same time, appropriated the sum of twenty thousand dollars, to purchase goods for the Indians, in pursuance of a stipulation to that effect, in the aforesaid agreement, but did not appropriate even one cent, in order to defray the expenses of holding the treaty mentioned in the same agreement! That item of expenditure, fell on a disagreement between the two Houses of Congress—one House was willing to give forty thousand dollars, while the other insisted on forty-five thousand dollars, as necessary to defray those expenses. They amounted however, in the end, when all, and even much more was accomplished, than they anticipated, to not quite nine thousand dollars.

Nothing further was done in this business, by the Government, until General Jackson came into office, on the

4th of March 1829. Almost immediately after he entered on the duties of his office, he appointed Gen. M'Niel of the United States' army, and Col. Pierre Menard, commissioners to fulfil Gov. Cass' agreement, already so often mentioned. Very full instructions were given to these commissioners—they met at St. Louis, whither they had been ordered, and from whence the expedition was to embark for Prairie du Chien, where the treaty was finally ordered to be made. These gentlemen were so unfortunate as to agree in nothing, but to disagree; and forty-nine days after their appointment, and as soon as their disagreement had become known to the President, he was pleased of his own free will, and without my knowledge, or any application for that or any other appointment, to add to the commission above referred to, the person who writes these lines.

Receiving my commission, and a copy of the instructions already given to the commissioners above named, one day, at 4 o'clock, p. m. in the last days of May 1829, I left my home at Circleville, (Ohio,) on the next day at noon, for St. Louis, whither I was directed to repair.

Getting into the stage and passing through Chillicothe, Bainbridge and West-Union, I arrived at Maysville, (Ky.) about 7 o'clock, p. m. the next day. The whole distance is about 90 miles.

When I arrived on the 'landing,' a steam boat from Pittsburgh, being on the point of starting for Louisville, I went on board, and in five minutes was on my way descending the Ohio river.

### MAYSVILLE

Is one of the most important towns on the river between Wheeling and Cincinnati. It presents from the river an unbroken front of elegant brick buildings, the streets are well paved, has good landing—and appears better from the water, than almost any town on the banks of the Ohio. It contains 28 stores of dry goods, three of them large wholesale ones—one large queensware and china store—four groceries—an iron foundry—an extensive paper mill—a manufactory of stone ware, whose make is superior to almost any thing of the kind any where—three large

churches, belonging to the Presbyterians, Baptists and Methodists. As a place of business it ranks second in this State, Louisville being the first.

It has derived some notoriety from the President's rejecting the bill appropriating money, towards making a road from this point to Lexington—the only effect of which veto, we hope will be, to rouse up the energies of the people of Kentucky to make the rejected road, and all others necessary for the public convenience, in this State.

If we know the people of Kentucky, and we think we do, they will rise up under the pressure of the veto, in every part of the State, and commence and carry into effect, a system of Internal Improvement, which will do honor to the present population, and be useful to generations yet unborn.

The people of Maysville, for intelligence, industry, enterprise, and sterling patriotism, are surpassed by none in the Union.

The rejected turnpike is in progress, and will be made in a reasonable time. The people along the whole line of this road, are as hospitable, as intelligent and as worthy citizens as in the State. The town of Maysville was formerly called Limestone, and was either the starting point, or the place where many an Indian expedition ended in early times.

The completion of the Ohio Canal, will be of vast advantage to this place, where all the hemp and tobacco of the State will be brought from the interior, intended for a Northern market: here too, the foreign goods for the central parts of Kentucky will be landed. The country back of Maysville is rich, fertile, and the farmers are among the best and most wealthy in the West.

It contains about 3000 inhabitants and is increasing in numbers, wealth, business and importance every hour. A steam boat runs daily between Maysville and Cincinnati.

The situation of the town is high, dry and healthy—stone for building is abundant, on the spot, and every article used by the builder is plenty, cheap and good.

It must increase rapidly in all respects, and forever be a town of importance.

Why the authors of maps of the United States, have neglected, as many of them have, to notice so important a place as this, seems strange indeed.

## CINCINNATI.

We arrived early on the next morning at the City of Cincinnati, which now contains about thirty thousand inhabitants. Cincinnati is situated on the north side of the Ohio river, opposite the mouth of Licking river, in Kentucky, and extends from Deer creek to Mill creek, along the bank of that beautiful stream. On a medium, the low ground, called the "bottom," 800 feet in width from north to south, lies so low, that in its natural state, it was sometimes overflowed by the Ohio in a freshet. Towards the north, from the river, which here runs from east to west, the ground rapidly ascends, on an average, perhaps fifty feet, and thence for one mile northwardly, it is nearly level. The earth, after you leave the alluvial "bottom," and ascend the "hill," is made up of sand, pebbles, clay, lying in a horizontal position, in strata, to a great depth, 100 feet or more. In this diluvial deposit, there is little water, which is mostly obtained from the Ohio river, by water works, operated by steam power. Hills, several hundred feet in height, bound the city on its north side, and confine it along the Ohio, to a mile, or at most, a mile and a half in breadth. I speak from impressions made upon me, by a mere glance of the eye upon it, without troubling myself or the reader with more exact information. The city, I believe, occupies about three thousand acres of surface, and is improving in all respects most rapidly. The following rough estimate of its increase in population, is nearly correct.

In 1795,	500 inhabitants,
1800,	750
1805,	950
1810,	2,320
1813,	4,000
1820,	10,000
1824,	12,016
1826,	16,230
1829,	25,000
1830,	27,000
1831,	30,000

In the estimates for the two last years, the Northern Liberties are included.

In this city are 100, at least, mercantile stores, and about 20 churches. Some of the stores do business in the wholesale way, though quite too many of them are occupied by retailers on a small scale. There are a great many taverns and boarding houses. Among the churches, the First and Second Presbyterian, one belonging to the Unitarians and the Roman Catholics, and perhaps two or three belonging either to the Episcopalians or the Methodists, are the best. There are two museums, in either of which, more knowledge of the Natural History of the Western States can be attained in a day, than can be obtained in any other place in a year. These collections are very well arranged, and kept by persons of taste, science, and politeness. No traveller of learning should ever pass through the city without calling to see them both, and having once seen them, he will never neglect to see them as often as he visits the place.

There are nine bookstores, and a greater number still of printing establishments, that issue newspapers. The two principal publishers of papers, issue each, a daily paper.

The mechanics of this city are numerous and very excellent, in their several trades. Manufactures of iron, of wood, of stone, of all the metals indeed, are carried on with zeal, industry and talent. The builders of houses, are unrivalled in the rapidity with which they do their work, and they exhibit genius, skill and taste.

There are nearly sixty lawyers, who for learning, zeal, fidelity, industry, morality, honor, honesty and every other good qualification of the heart and head, are equal to a like number of the same honorable and highly useful profession, in any city in the United States.

The number of physicians and surgeons in the city, must be, I presume nearly eighty, who are skilful, learned and highly respectable in their profession.

There are probably about forty clergymen in the city, and from the morality of the place, I give them credit for a considerable degree of usefulness.

Cincinnati stands on dry ground, where every drop of rain that falls, upon its surface, runs off and leaves it dry; and though its winter is as cold as the north part of France,

and its summer as warm as southern Italy—yet it is as healthy a place as can be found any where.

Except the healthiness of its site, and its beauty, Cincinnati is wholly indebted for its unparalleled growth and prosperity, to the industry, enterprize and energy of its worthy citizens. They have entered extensively into the building of steam vessels, eighty having been built here—their trade on the Ohio and Mississippi rivers is great and increasing every day.

It will with great ease, increase in population to about 50,000 inhabitants. Its increase beyond that number depends on so many causes, not yet fully developed, that human foresight cannot now scan them. It will, however continue to be the largest town in the State, unless Zanesville or Cleaveland should exceed it.

Great attention is bestowed on the Education of children and youth here—and the Cincinnati College, the Medical College of Ohio, the Messrs. Pickets' Female Academy, the four public Schools, one under Mr. Holley, Mr. Hammond's School, and forty others, deserve the high reputation they enjoy. There is too, a branch, a Medical one, of the College at Oxford, here located, and conducted by gentlemen of genius, learning, science—whose reputation stands high with the public.

The Miami canal, extending into the interior to Dayton, connects itself here with the Ohio river. It is of great value to this city, to the country through which it passes, and to the State.

There is but one evil hanging over this city—the price of land is extravagantly high, and so are house and ground rents. Every material used in building is cheap, mechanical labor is low in price, and so is every article of food and raiment.

Main street, for a mile in length from north to south, presents a scene as busy, as bustling, as crowded, and if possible more noisy, especially about the intersection of Fourth street with Main street, and also any where near the Ohio river, as can be found in New York. If the ear is not quite so much afflicted with strange cries, as in Philadelphia or Baltimore, yet for drumming and organ grinding, I should suppose some few spots in Main street, Cincinnati, would exceed any thing of the sort, in the

world—at least, I should most heartily and charitably hope so.

At the close of the late war, this city was injured for a time, deeply, by several local Banks, whose concerns were so managed as to produce great pecuniary embarrassment.

A depression in business was the result—the United States' Bank located a branch here, which has been so wisely conducted, that business revived, prosperity followed after it, and is now spreading its blessings far and wide, in and around it. Wherever that Bank has located a branch in the West, with one exception, it has infused new life, increased activity and energy into every thing around it. Commercial enterprize, manufacturing industry need capital in all countries, and in none, more than this.—Capital is needed too, by the man who breeds cattle, horses and hogs, in large numbers for the Eastern market. Our State Banks possess scarcely capital enough for the stockholders themselves—who keep money to *borrow*, not to *loan*, and on the whole, do no good, and some harm to the public. There are exceptions, perhaps, to this general rule, but quite too many of them, are unworthy of much confidence, and deserve no praise.

Should not the United States' Bank be re-chartered, in due season, Cincinnati would be overwhelmed with distress—business would die away, and the noise, bustle, activity, now in its streets, would cease to be heard, seen, or felt. Let us hope for better things; that Congress will not raise their hands to destroy this fair city, by plunging in ruin, that portion of this community, who are the authors of all the prosperity we see here.

Having tarried in this city about two hours, I went on board, and the "Home" started for Louisville. Descending rapidly, until we overtook a boat, that had met with some mishap, which prevented the use of steam, our captain hove to, went on board of the other vessel, and so delayed our passage, by towing it along down the river with us, that we were about two days on the way between Cincinnati and Louisville. The distance is not more than one hundred and fifty miles, and a current of four or five miles an hour, was in our favor! It generally occupies, in a good stage of water, from twelve to fifteen hours go-



ing down and a few hours more in ascending the river between the two places.

The Pittsburgh boats, generally, and this unfortunate one in particular, when descending the river, stop at almost every little town, in order to peddle off their wares of all sorts; and if they only had a few horn flints, starch colored blue for indigo, wooden clocks, a prospectus or two for publishing some catchpenny work, at Hartford, (Con.) they might fairly pass themselves off as "Yankee pedlers" without exciting suspicion of a counterfeit. Wo to the unfortunate traveller who is in haste to get on with speed, if he gets on board one of these descending boats. He may calculate when an eclipse will certainly happen, but cannot ascertain the period when he will be one hundred miles on his journey.

However, at the end of two days and nights, I landed at Louisville, and learned to my regret, that by the delay on the river, above referred to, I had lost an opportunity of leaving this place for St. Louis, this morning, and would be detained here four days. Deeply mortified at the disappointment, I determined to employ my time as usefully as I could, while detained here.

I ascertained that it would be better to purchase gunpowder and tobacco, though produced in Kentucky, at St. Louis, where large quantities had already been shipped; and that every article used in the Indian trade, might be procured of the best quality and on very cheap terms there, and I concluded to go there and there purchase them.

## LOUISVILLE

Is situated at the Falls of the Ohio river, in the State of Kentucky, in latitude 38 degrees 10 minutes north, upon an elevated plain, on the south side of the beautiful river Ohio, opposite to its falls. The plain on which the town stands, extends southwardly twenty miles along the eastern bank of the river, to the mouth of Salt river, a tributary of the Ohio. At Louisville, this plain from east to west, is about six miles in width, gradually growing narrower, until it is only one mile in width, at its southern end.

The first white man who visited Kentucky, from the present United States, so far as we are informed, was

James M'Bride, who travelled through it, in 1754. About thirteen years afterwards, John Finley, an Indian trader, on his return home to North Carolina, gave so flattering an account of the country to Daniel Boon, that the latter, in the year 1769 was induced to visit it, in company with Finley and others. All the company, except Boon, were killed by the Indians. This happened in 1771. He then returned to North-Carolina.

In the year 1779, Boon, accompanied by his family and forty men from Powell's valley, traversed the wilderness, and settled on the banks of Kentucky river, at a place which they named Boonsborough.

In the spring of the year 1778, general George Rogers Clark, acting under the authority of the State of Virginia, descended the Ohio river, with three hundred men, for the purpose of reducing the then British posts, Kaskaskia, Cahokia and St. Vincennes. The General landed his troops on Corn island, opposite the present town of Louisville, and cleared off land enough, to raise corn sufficient for the supply of six families, which he left there. The names of the heads of these families were, James Patton, Richard Chenoweth, John Tuel, William Faith and \*\*\*\*  
\*\*\*\*. General Clark, after thus settling these families, proceeded on his expedition. In the autumn of 1778, these families removed on to the main land, where the town of Louisville now stands. In 1779, a few more families arrived and settled there, from Virginia. In the autumn of 1779, and spring of 1780, seven stations were formed on Beargrass creek, in the vicinity of what is now Louisville. From such small beginnings, and so recently, has the present flourishing town of Louisville arisen. In the autumn of 1779, the State of Virginia opened a Land Office at this place, and appointed the late Richard Anderson, Esq. to keep it. Having thus briefly disposed of its early history, I proceed to mention its

#### PLAN.

The town was laid off by William Pope, in the year 1780. A new survey was afterwards made by William Peyton and Daniel Sullivan. All these original surveys are said to be lost, and the plat now adopted, is one made in 1812, by Jared Brooks.

The principal streets, running nearly east and west, are Water, Main, Market, Jefferson, Green, Walnut and South. Main, Market and Jefferson streets, are each one hundred feet wide—the others sixty feet wide, except Water street, which is only thirty feet in width. These streets are intersected by twelve others, sixty feet wide, named First, Second, Third, &c. commencing at the eastern end of the town, running westwardly to Twelfth street. The different squares formed by the intersection of these streets, are divided into half acre lots, as far as Green street, but those south of that are laid off into five, ten, and twenty acre lots.

The principal streets are well paved with secondary lime stone. The paving stones, I should suppose, from appearance, (for I did not measure them,) are about three or four inches thick, and a foot or more in width, so laid on the earth, as to present the edges of them uppermost. This forms the best pavement in the world, and as durable as time. The streets of Cincinnati, Maysville and other towns along the Ohio, in the limestone region, are all thus paved. The materials are found in abundance near the places where they are needed, and nature has formed them of the size necessary for the use to which they are applied. Main street, for the distance of about one mile, presents a proud display of wealth and grandeur. Houses of two and three lofty stories in height, standing upon solid stone foundations, exceed any thing of the kind in the Western States. The stores filled with the commodities and manufactures of every clime, and every art, dazzle the eye—the ringing of the bells and the roaring of the guns, belonging to the numerous steam boats in the harbor—the cracking of the coachman's whip, and the sound of the stage driver's horn, salute the ear. The motley crowd of citizens, all well dressed, hurrying to and fro—the numerous strangers from all parts of the world almost, visiting the place, to sell or to buy, goods—the deeply loaded dray cart, and the numerous pleasure carriages rolling to and fro, arrest and rivet the attention of a mere traveller like myself.

#### COMMON BUILDINGS.

There are at this time about twelve hundred dwelling houses, in the town, mostly built of brick. Many of them

are equal to any in the Atlantic cities. The bed of the river opposite the town, supplies the stone used in building, and the crow bar is all the instrument needed to obtain them. Kentucky river and its vicinity, furnish beautiful marble, and the brick yards in the suburbs of the town, supply the best of brick.

Boards, shingles and scantling, manufactured from white pine, are brought down the Ohio river in rafts, from the sources of the Alleghany river—black locust posts, are brought from the State of Ohio, in the same manner, and red cedar, from the cliffs along Kentucky river. The vast quantities brought here, render these articles very cheap in this market. Stone and lime, being in the immediate vicinity—bricks being made on the spot, and every article used in building, always in abundance, on hand, renders building cheap. It is said though that lots are dear, the more to be regretted, as it will prevent the immediate growth of the town, at the rate it otherwise would.

#### PUBLIC BUILDINGS.

The Courthouse is a very handsome structure, and was built in 1811, on a plan drawn by John Gwathmey, Esq. It consists of a body and two wings, with a portico of the Ionic order of architecture. Four columns support it, and the cupola is terminated by a spire. In the second story of the south wing, is deposited a public library of more than 500 volumes. In the wings and in the second story of the body of the building are kept the several public offices of the county, except that of the clerk, which is kept in a very convenient building near, by that distinguished and worthy gentleman, Worden Pope, Esq.

A large jail is erected near the courthouse, and when I was there, twenty-eight persons were confined in it for various crimes, from murder down to petit larceny.

The following reasons may be offered for the frequency of the commission of crimes in and near this town. First, the Penitentiary of Indiana, is in sight of Louisville, on the northern shore of the Ohio river, at Jeffersonville. As soon as any convict is discharged from this "school of vice," his first act is to cross the river, and begin his criminal life anew, in this wealthy town. Secondly, once started from any place above on the Ohio river, *in his stolen canoe*, the hardened villain is floated down its gen-

the current, until stopped by the falls. Commerce holds out her wealth to his view, and he here begins his *old trade* again.

In winter, and in the lowest stages of water in the summer, the boats of all sorts and sizes are laid up here, and the hands employed on board of them are here discharged. Being out of employ, and none too honest, they betake themselves to dishonest practices for a livelihood. Of those confined in jail for crimes, not one in ten is an inhabitant of the town.

The police of the place is remarkably strict and prompt to detect and punish offenders. The principal magistrate before whom offenders are examined, is unrivaled in a prompt and correct discharge of his official duty.

#### CHURCHES.

Of these there are six in number, built of brick, belonging to Baptists, Catholics, Presbyterians, Episcopalians and Methodists, and an African church.

#### THE KENTUCKY MARINE HOSPITAL,

Was established partly by the State and partly by individual contributions. Its exterior is finished in a style which reflects honor on its founders, and especially on the Board of Managers under whose superintendence it was erected. I did not see its inside, but understood that it was not entirely finished for the want of funds. It is however so far completed, I was told, as to be very useful to that class of improvident, and of course afflicted persons for whom it was intended. It will doubtless receive such aid from the State, from time to time, as shall serve to render it a lasting monument of the benevolence of its patrons. The United States contribute something towards its support also. To the sick seamen, who navigate the waters of the Ohio and Mississippi, this institution offers an asylum in distress.

#### THE ACADEMY,

Is a handsome brick building, and the institution is under the charge of a learned and worthy gentleman, by the name of Butler.

There are twelve common schools in the town. Besides these, many families employ private instructors, and in many of the first families for wealth, learning and reputa-

tion, the parents disdain not the task of "rearing the tender thought, and of teaching the young idea how to shoot."

At one gentleman's, I saw a set of globes, and soon learned that his sons and daughters understood their use.

#### THEATRE.

There is a handsome one of brick.

Three printing offices, on a large scale, six taverns, three of them on an extensive scale; the one where I stopped, (N. P. Porter's,) had in it, while I lodged there, from seventy-five to one hundred and fifty guests, daily.

Two carriage makers, six saddlers and harness makers, six bake houses, twenty-eight grocery's and two confectionaries shops, three book stores, fourteen wholesale commission stores, eight tailors, a silversmith, a gunsmith, ten cabinet makers, three watchmakers and jewellers, three fancy and plain chairmakers, one stone cutter on a large scale, one potter, four turners of wood, iron and ivory; two hundred carpenters and house joiners, one hundred and fifty bricklayers, thirty plasterers, six boot and shoemakers, twelve lawyers, and twenty-two physicians—several steam sawmills and gristmills, a steam engine factory, several breweries and distilleries, five tobacco manufactories on a large scale, and an extensive sugar refinery.—Tobacco is the principal article of export—of which more than ten thousand hogsheads are exported annually.

Eighty thousand dollars worth of tobacco is manufactured here annually into chewing and smoking tobacco, and snuff.

#### SOAP AND CANDLE MANUFACTORY.

This is the largest establishment of the kind, so far as I know, in the Western States. It is capable of producing 12,000 pounds of soap weekly, and 1000 pounds of candles a day.

#### THE MARKET HOUSE,

Is a neat building and well supplied twice a week, with beef, pork, ducks, chickens, eggs, venison, wild fowls, fish from the river, turkeys, wild and tame ones, indeed with all the necessaries and not a few of the luxuries of good living, in abundance and very cheap. For apples, peaches and strawberries in their season, this market is unrivaled. European grapes, melons, and cherries, are not wanting in their seasons. The town is well supplied with milk, and

in summer ice is always at hand, to give it a proper temperature. Like those of every other western town, the tables at the inns are loaded with a vast abundance of well prepared food. Abundance may be sometimes *found* in the east, but her permanent HOME is in the Western States, where the very poorest man has always enough and to spare.

#### FACILITIES FOR MANUFACTURES.

These are unrivaled in some respects. In the distance of two miles, commencing opposite the town, the Ohio river at this point, about a mile in width, descends about twenty-two feet, and when the canal is completed, which will be this autumn, that stupendous work, will forever afford enough water power for every useful purpose, for the distance of twenty miles still further down the river. In a dry time our Western streams fail, even the largest of them, this noble river excepted, and falls in them are few, which renders this favored spot the more valuable; and the day is not far distant when the Eastern capitalist and manufacturer will here fix his home. Consider the cheapness of labor, of food, of raiment—the abundance of iron ore, near the Ohio river, in a thousand places—the inexhaustible beds of marble near the Kentucky river and easily conveyed hither—the abundance of sandstone near the Ohio river, in the counties of Scioto, Lawrence, Gallia and Meigs in the State of Ohio, and in the States of Kentucky and Virginia, on the southern shore of Ohio river opposite the counties above named—the limestone of Indiana and Kentucky near the town—the beautiful sandstone in the silver hills, in sight of Louisville—the lead of Missouri—the hemp and the tobacco of Kentucky—the cherry, the walnut and curled maple of the adjacent forests are, and always will be, within the reach of the enterprising manufacturer. The cotton and the sugar of the South, are as cheap here, almost as where they are produced. Fossil coal, sufficient for all the Western States, is found over a vast region in Ohio, Western Virginia and Pennsylvania. The abundance of the article and the ease with which it is quarried, and the cheapness with which it may be floated down the river to this point, are worthy of notice likewise. To all which considerations may be here added, the vast extent of country, over which articles manufac-

tured here, can be easily distributed, by the one hundred and fifty steam boats which here find their home.

Indiana, Kentucky, Tennessee, Illinois, Missouri, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Louisiana and Upper Alabama can easily be supplied from this place, with manufactured articles. A vast field to be furnished with manufactured goods, is here presented to view, and yet the laborers in it are comparatively few!! The hardy, ingenious, industrious and enterprising manufacturers of the North and East, may here find friends, a fortune and a home, for themselves and their posterity. Such are the manufacturing advantages of Louisville, far preferable in my mind to any thing presented by the silvery heights of Potosi, or the far famed mines of Golconda and Peru; yet comparatively neglected! When will some sleepless statesman, some *Clinton* arise in the West, to point out to the people, those vast resources of industry, of comfort, of happiness, wealth and power! How long shall pitiful party strife about men, embitter social intercourse in these States, and learning and science find no place where they can raise their heads among the crowd? Let us hope that Louisville, flourishing as it is, will ascend to that lofty eminence, to which nature has destined it.

There are three Banks in this town and an Insurance Company.

#### TRADE AND COMMERCE.

Employed in these, from a list of their names and tonnage now lying before me, I perceive there are upwards of 150 in number of steam boats, and their annual increase is considerable.

As the introduction of steam boats forms an important era in the Western States, a history of the first ones built on these Western rivers may not only be entertaining to the reader, but form an item in a general history of this portion of the United States. In what follows, I have copied from Henry M'Murtrey's M. D. "Sketches of Louisville." I take pleasure in here acknowledging my obligations to the same author for many of the preceding facts. The above named little work was presented to me by Shadrack Penn, jun. Esq. Coleman Rogers, M. D. Worden Pope, Esq. Rev. Daniel C. Banks, S. S. Goodwin, Esq. and Mr. Godard, a graduate of Harvard College, kindly



furnished me with all the information I needed, relating to the town—its early settlement, its present state; and the minerals in and near it, were presented to me by Dr. Rogers, in a large box containing about 400 lbs.

The following account of the steam boats only reaches to 1819, since which time vast improvements in their construction have been made, and there are more than 150 of them now running on the Western waters. At this time, the steam boats in use on the Ohio measure upwards of 25,000 tons.

1st. The Orleans, the first boat built at Pittsburgh, owned and constructed by Mr. Fulton, sailed from Pittsburgh in December 1812, and arrived at New Orleans about the 24th of the same month, and ran between New Orleans and Natchez about two years, making her voyages to average seventeen days. Was wrecked near Baton Rouge, where she sunk on the upward bound passage.

2d. The Comet owned by Samuel Smith, built at Pittsburgh by Daniel French, stern wheel and vibrating cylinder, on French's patent, granted in 1809. The Comet made a voyage to Louisville in the summer of 1813, and descended to New Orleans in the spring of 1814; made two voyages to Natchez and was sold—the engine put up in a cotton gin.

3d. The Vesuvius, built at Pittsburgh, by Fulton, and owned by a company of gentlemen belonging to New York and New Orleans. Sailed for New Orleans in the spring of 1814, commanded by Capt. Frank Ogden; sailed from New Orleans for Louisville about the first of June following; grounded on a sand bar 700 miles up the Mississippi, where she lay until the 3d of December, when the river rose and floated her off. She was then employed some months between New Orleans and Natchez, under the command of Capt. Clemont, who was succeeded by Capt. John De Hart; shortly after she took fire near the city of New Orleans, and burnt to the water's edge, having a valuable cargo on board. The fire was supposed to have communicated from the boiler in the hold; her bottom was afterwards raised and built upon at New Orleans. She has since been engaged in the Louisville trade, and has since been sold to a company at Natchez.

4th. The *Enterprize*, built at Brownsville, Pa. on the Monongahela, by Daniel French, on his patent, and owned by a company at that place. She made two voyages to Louisville in the summer of 1814, under the command of Capt. I. Gregg. On the first of December she took in a cargo of ordnance stores at Pittsburgh, and sailed for New Orleans, commanded by Capt. H. M. Shreve, and arrived at New Orleans on the 14th of the same month, and was then dispatched up the river in pursuit of two keel boats, laden with small arms, which had been delayed on the river. Twelve miles above Natchez she met the keels, took their master's and cargoes on board, and returned to New Orleans, having been but six and a half days absent, in which time she run 624 miles. For some time after, she was actively employed in transporting troops, &c. She made one voyage to the Gulf of Mexico, as a cartel; one voyage to the rapids of Red river with troops; nine voyages to Natchez; set out for Pittsburgh on the 6th of May, and arrived at Shippingport on the 30th, (25 days out,) being the first steam boat that ever arrived at that port from New Orleans. From thence she proceeded on to Pittsburgh, and the command was given to Captain D. Worley, who lost her about a year afterwards, in Rock harbor, at Shippingport.

5th. The *Etna*, built at Pittsburgh, and owned by the same company as the *Vesuvius*, sailed from Pittsburgh for New Orleans, in March 1815, under the command of Capt. A. Gale, and arrived in April following; continued in the Natchez trade. Was then commanded by Captain R. De Hart, who made six voyages in her to Louisville, and is now commanded by Capt. A. Gale in the same trade.

6th. The *Dispatch*, built at Brownsville, on French's patent, and owned by the same company as the *Enterprize*; she made several voyages from Pittsburgh to Louisville, and one from Louisville to Shippingport, where she now lies a wreck, her engine out—was commanded by Capt. I. Gregg.

7th and 8th. The *Buffalo*, 300 tons and *Jamos Monroe* of 90 tons, built at Pittsburgh, by Latrobe, for a company at New York, but failed in finishing them. They were sold at sheriff's sale, fell into the hands of Mr. Whiting, and finished by him with engines—both dull sailers.

9th. The Washington, a two decker, built at Wheeling, Va. constructed and partly owned by Capt. Henry M. Shreve; her engine was made at Brownsville, under the immediate direction of Capt. Shreve. Her boilers are on the upper deck, being the first boat on that plan, and is a valuable improvement by Capt. Shreve, which is now generally in use. The Washington crossed the falls in September, 1816, commanded by Captain Shreve, went to New Orleans, and returned to Louisville in the winter.—In the month of March, 1817, she left Shippingport, being absent but 45 days. This was the trip that convinced the despairing public that steam boat navigation would succeed on the Western waters—she has since been running with similar success in the same trade.

10th. The Franklin, built at Pittsburgh, by Messrs. Shiras & Cromwell; engine built by George Evans; sailed from Pittsburgh in December, 1816; was sold at New Orleans, and has been in the Louisville and St. Louis trade since that time—she was sunk in the Mississippi, near St. Genevieve, a few months since, under the command of Capt. Reed, on her way to St. Louis.

11th. The Oliver Evans, (now the Constitution,) 75 tons, was built at Pittsburgh by George Evans—engine his patent—she left Pittsburgh in December, 1816, for New Orleans: in April, 1817, she burst one of her boilers off Coupee, by which eleven men lost their lives, principally passengers. Has done but little since. Is now owned by George Sutton and others of Pittsburgh.

12th. The Harriet, built at Pittsburgh, owned and constructed by Mr. Armstrong, of Williamsport, Pa.—she sailed from Pittsburgh, October, 1816, for New Orleans, and crossed the falls in March, 1817; made one voyage to New Orleans, and has since been run between that place and the Muscle Shoals.

13th. The Pike, a small boat built by Mr. Prentiss, of Henderson, Ky.—run some time from Louisville to St. Louis, from thence in the Red river trade. Was lost on a sawyer, March, 1818.

14th. The Kentucky, built at Frankfort, Ky. and owned by Hanson & Boswell—in the Louisville trade.

15th. The Governor Shelby, built at Louisville, Ky. by Gray, Gwathmey & Gretsinger—Bolton and Watt's

engine. Now performing very successfully in the Louisville trade.

16th. The New Orleans, built at Pittsburgh, in 1817, by Fulton and Livingston—in the Natchez trade. Near Baton Rouge she was sunk and raised again, and sunk at New Orleans, in February, 1819, about two months after her sinking near Baton Rouge.

17th. The George Madison, built at Pittsburgh in 1818, by Messrs. Voorhies, Mitchell, Rodgers & Todd, of Frankfort, Ky.—in the Louisville trade.

18th. The Ohio, built at New Albany, Ia. in 1818, by Messrs. Shreve & Blair—in the Louisville trade.

19th. The Napoleon, built at Shippingport, in 1818, by Messrs. Shreve, Miller & Brackenridge, of Louisville; in the Louisville trade.

20th. The Volcano, built at New Albany, by Messrs. John and Robinson De Hart, in 1818—in the Louisville trade.

21st. The General Jackson, built at Pittsburgh in 1818, and owned by Messrs. R. Whiting, of Pittsburgh, and Gen. Carroll, of Tennessee—in the Nashville trade.

22d. The Eagle, built at Cincinnati, in 1818, and owned by Messrs. James Berthoud & Son of Shippingport, Ky.—in the Louisville trade.

23d. The Hecla, built at Cincinnati, in 1818, and owned by Messrs. Honore & Barbaroux, of Louisville—in the Louisville trade.

24th. The Henderson, built at Cincinnati in 1818, and owned by Messrs. Bowens, of Henderson, Ky.—in the Henderson and Louisville trade.

25th. The Johnson, built at Wheeling, in 1818, by George White, and owned by Messrs. J. & R. Johnson, of Kentucky—in the Louisville trade.

26th. The Cincinatti, built at Cincinnati in 1818, and owned by Messrs. Pennewit & Burns, of Cincinnati, and Messrs. Paxson & Co. of New Albany—in the Louisville trade.

27th. The Exchange, built at Louisville, in 1818, and owned by David L. Ward, of Jefferson county, Ky.—in the Louisville trade.

28th. The Louisiana, built at New Orleans, in 1818, and owned by Mr. Daplissa, of New Orleans—in the Natchez trade.

29th. The James Ross, built at Pittsburgh, in 1818, and owned by Messrs. Whiting & Stackpole, of Pittsburgh, and engaged in the Louisville trade. This boat has lately made a trip from New Orleans to Shippingport in sixteen days and a half, having lost sixty-one hours and eight minutes discharging cargo on the way. Had on board 200 tons cargo.

30th. The Frankfort, built at Pittsburgh, in 1818, and owned by Messrs. Voorhies & Mitchell, of Frankfort, Ky. and is in the Louisville trade.

31st. The Tamerlane, built at Pittsburgh in 1818, and owned by Messrs. Boggs & Co. of New York—employed in the Louisville trade.

32d. The Cedar Branch, built in 1818, and owned at Maysville, Ky.—in the Louisville trade.

33d. The Experiment, built at Cincinnati in 1818, and owned at that place.

34th. The St. Louis, built at Shippingport, in 1818, and owned by Messrs. Hewes, Douglass, Johnson, and others—in the St. Louis trade.

35th. The Vesta, built at Cincinnati in 1818, and owned by Capt. Jenkins of that place—in the Louisville trade.

36th. The Rifleman, built at Louisville, in 1819, and owned by Messrs. Butler & Bartners, of Russellville, Ky: in the Louisville trade.

37th. The Alabama, a small boat built on Lake Ponchartrain, in 1818—in the Red river trade.

38th. The Rising States, built at Pittsburgh, in 1819, and owned by William F. Petterson & Co. of Louisville—in the Louisville trade.

39th. The General Pike, built at Cincinnati, in 1819, intended to ply between Louisville, Cincinnati and Maysville as a packet, and owned by a company in Cincinnati.

40th. The Independence, altered from a barge, owned by Capt. Nelson, and intended to ply between Louisville and St. Louis.

41st. The United States, built at Jeffersonville in 1819, owned by Hart and others, and has two separate engines, made in England. She is doubtless the finest merchant steam boat in the universe, drawing but little water, and capable of carrying 3,000 bales of cotton—in the Louisville trade.

The whole number of stores, probably, for I did not count them, is at least sixty.

In the summer months, when the waters are low, merchants from Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee and Upper Alabama, resort to Louisville for supplies of goods, in order to keep up their assortments. I counted at one time thirty large four horse wagons, in "the barrens of Kentucky," loaded with goods from Louisville, to Nashville, Florence, Huntsville, &c.

During high waters, this place resembles a seaport, vessels continually arriving and departing. All is life, activity and motion. The drayman is constantly employed, and all the hackney coaches, fifty or upwards, are filled with passengers.

When the waters are low, in summer, the stages are crowded with passengers coming to town or departing from it; so that in all seasons of the year, this is a busy, bustling place. The situation of the town, owing to the falls, naturally called into existence a great number of dray carts; and as to coaches, this is truly the paradise of hackney coachmen. A traveller, at a few moments notice, can at any time get a passage in one for Shippingport, Portland, or if he chooses, he can be carried through every street of Louisville, for twenty-five cents. The actual amount of goods sold here, I could not ascertain, but it is great. The merchants here do business in a large way, though the number of stores is by no means equal to those in Cincinnati. As the Western States fill up with inhabitants, the trade of this place must increase in amount, and if it should eventually surpass that of Baltimore or Philadelphia, no one need be surprized who would take the trouble to examine the map of the Western States.

#### POPULATION.

Including Shippingport, Portland, and the other villages around the falls, the population now amounts to about 14,000.

#### THEIR GENERAL CHARACTER.

The people themselves, as will be remembered, who originally settled here, emigrated from Virginia. The present inhabitants are the most hospitable in the Western States. A worthy man will never want friends here, and it is the last place in the world for one of an opposite char-

acter to visit. The constant influx of strangers, has rendered the people here shrewd observers of men. If a bad man, an active police, instantly detects and punishes him for the very first offence. If the stranger be a good man, he is instantly taken by the hand, all his wishes are consulted and his interests advanced.

When I was there, a contested election was just coming on, yet I daily, hourly, saw gentlemen of both parties, associating together in the utmost friendship.

The professional gentlemen are highly gifted, and their talents are duly appreciated and rewarded. At present, I should suppose, however, no addition to their number is needed.

In this town, I can say with great truth, that order and good family government every where prevail—that the youth are trained up by their parents to virtuous habits—and the soundest moral principles are instilled into the youthful minds of both sexes. Better parental government never existed on earth, than I found in this town.

On entering the drawing room, the mother and daughters, I found, employed in sewing or some other labor, all except one, who was reading aloud to the others; or they were discussing some topic growing out of the remarks of the author. I saw scarcely one novel, among the books thus read—but History often, Scientific works frequently, and Mr. Walsh's Review, or the National Gazette, almost always.

Mr Walsh is the idol of our Western ladies, and with abundant reason, in my opinion. The field of his fame, and his dominion is in the West. While those who are born to give a tone to the manners, customs, habits and morals of the community, are thus educated, our republic is safe, and Heaven will continue to prosper and bless the American people.

It is only necessary for the people of this Union to become personally well acquainted, to make them the best of friends. No state has been more slandered of late years, than Kentucky, and no one perhaps, deserves it less.

There are probably, more ease and affluence in this place, than in any Western town—their houses are splendid, substantial, and richly furnished; and I saw more large mirrors in their best rooms, than I ever saw any

where else. Paintings and mirrors adorn the walls, and all the furniture is splendid and costly. More attention is bestowed on dress, among the young gentlemen and ladies of Louisville, than with those of Cincinnati.

There is one trait of character among the Louisville people, common indeed, throughout the Western country, which must strike the Eastern man with surprize; and that is the ease, with which any decent stranger becomes acquainted with them. Instantly, almost, he may be said to become acquainted with the people, without any sort of formality. The wealthy man assumes nothing to himself on account of his wealth, and the poor man feels no debasement on account of his poverty, and every man stands on his own individual merits. The picture is true to the life. The recollection of my reception at Louisville, will always remain with me, while memory lasts, among the most agreeable ones of my life.

The hospitality of this people, consists not solely, in furnishing the guest, with the best of every thing, the house affords, but all his inclinations are consulted, (I mean virtuous ones) and every art, though, exhausted to do so, carefully concealed from him. He may set his day and hour to leave them, but before they arrive, some new inducement is held out to him, to tarry longer, and finally, he will find it almost impossible to leave them. Their perceptions, are instantaneous; their manners are highly fascinating—and he must be a bad man, or a very dull one, who is not highly pleased with them.

To the man of fortune—to the scholar and man of science—to the manufacturer and the industrious mechanic, Louisville may be recommended as a place, where as much happiness is to be attained, as would fall to his lot any where in the world. Industry and enterprize here find a certain reward. This is Louisville.

Taking a passage for St. Louis, on board the steamer Cleopatra, Captain Swager, just before sunset, on the 7th of June, the vessel, anchored for the night, immediately below an island, at the foot of the falls of the Ohio. T early dawn we weighed anchor, started on our voyage, in four days we were in St. Louis, where we arrived on the morning of the 12th of June.



Nothing remarkable happened on our passage. We stopped at most of the towns on both rivers, but no where long.

The River Ohio is bounded (except near its mouth, and especially below the Wabash) generally by a bottom of considerable width, sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other, though rarely on both sides.

These bottoms are as fertile as any lands can be. The French whose taste is as correct as that of the Greeks, called this "The beautiful river." The scenery along it, is indeed beautiful, in the highest degree. It is bordered by beautiful farms, to which industry is adding houses and barns, orchards, and vineyards. Pleasant towns, villas and villages appear very frequently as you glide along this enchanting river. Cities, with their tall and glittering spires, steam vessels, with their dashing oars, leaving a stream of dense smoke behind them floating horizontally along in the air, attended by a convulsive swell in the water, snore or snort, as they appear and disappear on the silvery surface of the river.

The hills bounding your sight, some approaching, others departing from you, like all earthly joys, while you are exactly side by side with others, are cloathed with trees, whose great variety, in size, color and appearance, add vivacity to the ever changing, ever new, ever beautiful prospect, in all directions. The eye of the beholder is delighted, and his heart filled with joy. Sometimes, the woods approach the river so closely, as to shade it, and to paint every tree, and almost every leaf, on its placid and unruffled surface. Sometimes the hills recede to a distance from you, and show you the awful and sublime cliff, standing erect, frowning defiance and threatening destruction to all below it. Ascending from the "falls" to Pittsburg, I have described its aspect; below the "falls" it possesses less beauty to my eye. In one section of it, the northern shore presents, for several miles, perpendicular rocks, and below Shawneetown, it becomes very crooked, is sluggish, lazy, dull, insipid, and comes to a bad end, at the last, considering how fairly it promised in its infancy, youth, manhood and prime. From Maysville to Louisville you see the Ohio basin in all its glory. You pass twenty beautiful towns, or more, in that distance, which, being newly built,

shine brightly, as they should do, to keep up the harmony, the newness, and freshness of the picture, painted by nature and by man. The Author of nature never created a more beautiful river, and for the time, our people have had to cultivate its banks, and dwell upon its borders, man never did more nor better to beautify and adorn any portion of the earth.

The Wabash river is a geological boundary, from its utmost spring to its mouth, below which, along the Ohio river, few hills, and not one pleasant prospect, to my eye, appears. The Cumberland and Tennessee rivers, enter the Ohio, within a few miles of each other, and the country between them is low, presenting a dull and uninviting prospect.

At the mouth of the Tennessee, there is some elevated ground, where a tavern is kept, and a storehouse or two, erected, in which, goods are stored, belonging to the trade, of the towns situated in Upper Alabama, in Tennessee valley.

Below this point, the country on both sides of the Ohio, becomes level and flat, and is overflowed by the river. As we passed along downwards, surrounded as we were, by musquitoes, gnats and bugs, and heard only, the dull music of the frogs, of all sorts and sizes, some of them, seemed to be hoarse from a cold, others from their feeble and shaking voices, must have had the ague—some had voices so shrill, others yelled so loud, and vociferated so boisterously, that every one of us on board the vessel, would have most cheerfully dispensed with their music, for a very small consideration. However, determined to neglect no part of their duty, their labors to please us, continued, and if possible increased, as we passed through their rightful eminent domain, into the Mississippi.

On beholding this largest and longest river in the world, for the first time, a person who has heard of it, all his life time as being the greatest and the mightiest river on the globe, would probably, experience a feeling of disappointment. And to us, who had just passed down the Ohio, over a space of many hundred miles, in a river, short in its course indeed, compared with the one we now entered, but which was no where, less in width, than half a mile, and sometimes a mile; the first appearance of the Mississippi, disappointed the raised expectations of all the

persons, who first saw it here. It is so muddy too, boiling like a pot, and rising in places, in whirls, presenting an aspect far from agreeable, to my unfortunate eye, so that our escape from the hateful and hated objects along the Ohio, from the mouth of Tennessee downwards, on entering the "Great River"\* was not as grateful to our feelings as might have been expected. However, to see the junction of these rivers, the deck was crowded by all the passengers old and young of both sexes. Several of the ladies on board, scolded both rivers, severely, for not making a better appearance at their junction. They seemed to think, that, for two such rivers, that drained a surface, two thousand miles in length, from east to west, and nearly the same in breadth, from north to south, irrigating and fertilizing a valley, extending from the Alleghanies to the Rocky mountains, from latitude fifty degrees, north, to twenty-nine degrees where their mighty united volume of waters entered the Gulph of Mexico—for such rivers to unite, where a sound was scarcely ever heard, but the whizzing of gnats, and the croaking of frogs—here all was dreary in prospect, as low, drowned lands could make it! and that rivers rising in pellucid lakes, clear springs, and running along a great distance, in the purest streams; for such rivers to unite in a miserable swamp, and show waters, no purer than the dirtiest mud puddle contains, they thought it a shame, and a disgrace to their riverships, and I half assented to the proposition.

Distances from the mouth of the Ohio to St Louis—from the mouth of the Ohio to

Tiwapety bottom	27 miles
Great Bluff of rocks	1
Cape Girardeau	11
Apple Creek	18
Kaskaskia river	40
St. Genevieve	24
Fort Chartres	12
Herculaneum	11
Mouth of Merimac	18
St. Louis	19—Total 192

\*Mississippi, the Indian name is derived from "Meesy," great, and "See-gee," water. The Indians apply the same terms to the ocean, or any other large body of water.

The Ohio, as all know, begins to be so called at Pittsburg, and the mouth of the Ohio, is 945 miles below Pittsburg, and 192 below St. Louis. Its mouth is in latitude, about 37° north.

The country as we ascended the Mississippi, presented, not a single prospect, that pleased me, until we arrived in sight of Jefferson barracks, 12 miles perhaps, below St. Louis. Sometimes, the banks were low, and like the islands in many parts of this river, were tumbling into it, while the river was adding to its banks and islands in other places. Sometimes, and indeed often on the western shore, lofty, rocky, abrupt and unsightly precipices presented themselves to us as we passed them.

As the objects we passed on the Mississippi, from the mouth of the Ohio, until Jefferson barracks came into view on the western bank of the Mississippi, below St. Louis, have left not one agreeable emotion on my memory, so I pass them by in my narrative; and as the discovery I made, on my first landing at St. Louis, of the disagreeable situation, I had been, (unknown to myself,) thrown into, by my appointment, in order to carry into effect, a great measure of the government, which had utterly failed of success, filled me with emotions which I will not either now, nor never perhaps attempt to portray, but will now make some remarks upon the Mississippi river, and its branches. This course, will relieve the reader, from the tedium produced by reading the account of the little incidents which happened to myself. We should always remember, and be sure never to forget, that but few persons, in the world, feel attachment enough for us, to relish a very particular account of, either our pleasures or our pains, and that we may be placed in circumstances, so nice, so critical, so difficult and disagreeable—or on the other hand, in those which are so pleasant, so agreeable, and so happy, that a profound silence about the whole subject is best. The former case was mine, inasmuch as the Secretary of War, in addition to my public instructions, had written to me *a private letter*, intimating that the expedition was in readiness to depart for the upper Mississippi—that it would be a pleasant summer trip for me, and that I must hasten to join it, or be left behind! Thus baited, I had bitten at the hook, and was caught! in order to save the

reader the task of reading, for some time longer, and myself too, the trouble of narrating, what gave me nothing but anxiety, I go to the head of the Mississippi, and there begin, by remarking, that, this river, above the mouth of the Missouri, in latitude thirty-eight degrees, thirty-eight minutes, assumes the name of the Upper Mississippi. This river, rises in a great number of ponds and lakes, in latitude forty-eight degrees north, about twenty degrees of longitude, west of Washington city. It originates in a poor miserable country, and descending through three degrees of latitude, in nearly a south course, it falls twenty feet or more, at St. Anthony's Falls, presenting a beautiful cascade to the eye. About twenty or thirty miles below these falls, the St. Peters enters it, on its western side. The latter river is said, at times, to contain, in it more water, than the Mississippi itself. And if the Indians are to be credited, with whom I conversed—who lived on its banks, and were well acquainted with both rivers, and the country through which they pass; the district of country along the St. Peters is far preferable, to any lands bordering on the Mississippi, above the falls of St. Anthony. The St. Peters rises in latitude forty-six degrees north, and within a mile or two of a lake, which is the head of Red River of Hudson's Bay! The Indians told me, that they passed with ease from lake to lake, both rivers rising in lakes or ponds within sight of each other. From the same source of information, I learned, that, ascending the St. Peters to latitude forty-six degrees north, to the mouth of Goose river, which there enters the St. Peters from the north west and then ascending Goose river to a certain point—then crossing over a ridge, not very difficult to be passed, in a south western direction from Goose river to the head waters of Shepherd's river, a water of Missouri: my informant said he had passed, frequently, in four days time, by this route from the St. Peters to the Missouri. Higher up still, he had passed from river to river, by land, in four days. Yellow Medicine river, a tributary of the St. Peters, is connected with Sioux river a water of the Missouri, in latitude, about 43 degrees north, by a portage of only about six miles. So the Upper Mississippi, is connected with lake Superior, by very short portages, in five or six places.

If any one wished to cross the Rocky mountains, at the head waters of Missouri, in latitude about forty-nine or fifty north, the Upper Mississippi, not the Missouri, ought to be ascended, by any one going from east to the west. By going to the head of the St. Peters, and then descending the Red River, of Hudson's Bay, to nearly latitude 49 degrees, then turning westward, the Rocky mountains might be passed with ease. By that route, a thousand miles of distance might be gained, and the swift and strong current of Missouri avoided and one month's time saved also. It is a curious fact, in the Geological features of this country: that starting at its mouth and after the ascending the "Great River" through the Upper Mississippi, until, you are three thousand miles from the ocean, on the north side of the Gulph of Mexico, you are only one mile, from a lake, that discharges its waters into Hudson's Bay. The length of Red river, of the Frozen ocean, I do not exactly know, but I saw on my tour, several persons, who had travelled the whole route, along this river, from Hudson's Bay, to Prairie Du Chien, and they had no great difficulties to encounter, on the route. The Upper Mississippi rises so near the waters of Red river, that one easily passes from river to river. A person then might start from the mouth of the Mississippi, at the Gulph of Mexico, and by ascending the river through the St. Peters' branch of it, crossing only one portage, of only a mile in length, and by passing down the Red river, reach Hudson's Bay: and sailing out of that, and passing down the Atlantic ocean, along the coast, arrive through the Mexican Gulph, at the point where he took his departure. Or he might leave New Orleans, when our canal is completed in Ohio, as it soon will be, and ascending the Mississippi and Ohio rivers to Portsmouth—then, stepping into a canal boat he might reach Cleaveland, where a steam boat would carry him to Buffalo, and when arrived there, he would find a canal boat waiting to transport him to Albany, and thence a steam boat would take him on to New York; and he could sail in another vessel to the place from whence he started, without even placing his foot on the land, during the time of his absence from home, or if he wished to visit Quebec, and pass through the Gulph of St. Lawrence, instead of sailing from Cleaveland to Buffalo N. Y. he might pass

through the Welland Canal, down lake Ontario, through the St. Lawrence to the ocean and then over its surface to his place of residence.

The Missouri river is the real Mississippi, as all know, and is, perhaps, three times, (perhaps even more than three times) as large as the Upper Mississippi itself. It rises in latitude, about fifty degrees north, four thousand miles and upwards from the ocean. Eighteen hundred miles above the mouth of the Missouri, it receives, as a tributary, the Yellow Stone, a river larger than the Ohio. One is almost bewildered, when contemplating, on the vastness of such a stream as this. From St. Louis, to the Pacific ocean, the route now followed, is up the Missouri to the river Platt—thence up that river, which passes through the Rocky mountains to a lake near the navigable waters of the Columbia, and down those waters to the sea. If we can credit General Ashley and others, whose veracity no one ever doubted, who knows them, a wagon might now pass without difficulty, from Baltimore to the Pacific ocean. Loaded wagons, every summer, go from St. Louis, by way of the river Platt to the Rocky mountains, and return again to St. Louis the same season. Along the National Road, when completed from Wheeling to Jefferson City, in Missouri, a rail road might be made, and from thence up the Piatt, all the way to the Pacific, without a hill in the way, worth naming. I know from personal observation, that not a single hill or valley prevents the construction of a rail road from Wheeling to St. Louis; and that I doubt not, is the worst part of the route. When locomotive engines are brought to the perfection, experience and ingenuity will soon bring them, goods and passengers could pass between the two seas, in ten days. That this will be the route to China, within fifty years from this time scarcely admits of a doubt. From sea to sea, a dense population would dwell along the whole route, enliven the prospect with their industry, and animate the scene.

The mind of the patriot is lost in wonder and admiration, when he looks through the vista of futurity, at the wealth, the grandeur, and glory that certainly await our posterity, unless it be their own fault—unless some miserable nullifier destroy us, by dividing these United States.

But we hardly need fear such an event—the good sense of our people will prevent it.

Running eastwardly from the Rocky mountains, beginning in the north, we see the main Missouri, the Yellow Stone, the Platt, the Konzaw, the Osage, the White river, the Arkansaw, the Red river (of the Mississippi) and they are all large and long rivers, which go to contribute their portion of the waters in the Mississippi. As the Mississippi itself passes from north to south, nearer the Alleghanies, than the Rocky mountains, so the streams issuing from the base of the Alleghanies are shorter and carry along in their currents, a less quantity of water, than the streams issuing from the foot of the Rocky mountains. Though a greater number of acres of land, covering the surface of, and constituting this great republic, lie west of the Mississippi, than belong to its eastern shore; yet from many circumstances, not now, necessary to mention, we may consider “the great water” as the true centre of our empire. Comparatively poor, sterile, narrow and pitiful in point of extent, as the States are bordering on the Atlantic coast, yet they have gotten the start in point of time, over the west—the far west—they are already settled—their foreign commerce and manufactures, will employ a great many people; and indeed the growth of the west, will afford great additional employment to the people east of the Alleghanies. All the while, our two thousand miles square of territory is filling up with people, Baltimore, and Philadelphia—New York, and Boston—indeed all the States east of the mountains, whose people are employed in carrying on commerce, of all sorts—those which go largely into manufactures, will grow up, in a considerable degree, with us in the west. We shall, forever, so far as I can now foresee, be the best customers, the eastern people will have for their fish—their cotton, linen and woollen cloths.

One glance of the eye, over the map of North America, shows us a country, laid off by its Author, for one people, and to form one great nation, free in its form of government. The country is so divided by mountains, so intersected by long, large and navigable rivers, branching out too, towards their sources, into smaller water courses, with rapids and falls in them, and these interlocked with



each other and connected, so as to enable the people inhabiting the whole country, to keep up a constant intercourse with each other. Covering, as this country does, such a great extent of surface, passing through sixty degrees of latitude, and nearly four thousand miles of longitude, whose soils are as various as the whole earth affords; such a country, can produce in abundance and sustain with ease all the plants and animals found any where upon the globe. This dissimilarity among the productions of different portions of the same country, produced in different soils and higher or lower latitudes, leads to commercial intercourse among their own countrymen—to enterprize—to wealth, comfort and happiness. Where commerce leads the way, liberty always follows her footsteps; and much civilization cannot exist any where, without both of them. He who raises the olive, the lemon, the orange, the sugar cane, the coffee and cotton plants, in the south—wants the wheat, the rye, the apple, the pork, the beef, the flour, the lard, and even the hay of the north. And if the southern planter employs slave labor, he will forever, be compelled to purchase his glass, his iron tools, even his cabinet furniture, his cutlery, his clocks, watches, jewelry, pins, needles, hats, shoes, and all his cloths from the northern manufacturer. The mutual wants of the productions of each other, furnish strong inducements to trade with each other; and the navigable waters passing through the whole country, afford the highways, on and by means of which, a constant, rapid and easy interchange of productions can be effected. Here, then are the rivers, which are to the body politic, exactly what the arteries and veins are to the human body, in them, and through them, circulates the commerce, which is the life blood of this vast country.

This commerce, this interchange of productions, produces a healthy action in the body politic—it leads to industry, to enterprize, and they again lead to competency, comfort and happiness. Mutual wants, produce mutual dependence, and thus an union of interest forms a cement, a bond of union which no one but a nullifier would ever wish to withdraw, from our political fabric.

These waters all have their sources in latitudes, and in places so elevated, that the people who will dwell near

and among them, will be healthy and vigorous, both in both in body and mind. These people too, will be, must be, in New England, manufacturers, mechanics, fishermen, seafaring, or commercial men, because their soil is too thin, too sterile, naturally; or exhausted, as in parts of Maryland and Virginia, by raising tobacco on them, to enable their owners to produce even their own meat and bread much longer. It is not so in the Mississippi valley, where the soil, rich, deep, fertile, new, unexhausted and almost inexhaustible, will produce in vast abundance, all the grains and grasses, and of course all the animal food, and all the wool which their own people, numerous indeed, as I foresee they will be, at no distant day, or all the people dwelling in the southern parts of our country will need, to the end of time. The people in the East will be the greatest manufacturers in the world; whereas in the higher latitudes, and in the more elevated portions of our own valley, the people will be agriculturalists, mechanics, manufacturers and merchants; building up cities, towns, villages, rearing sheep, hogs, horses and cattle. Every water fall will be occupied by mills, and used for manufactories—every iron mine, will produce its forges and furnaces, and the neighboring hills supply the fuel needed to keep them in operation.

Our vast natural meadows produce grass enough now, to feed and fatten all the domesticated animals, whose food is grass, now existing in Europe and America; and they will one day furnish grass, grain and meat enough, for all mankind.

To these now, unoccupied mines, waterfalls, fine, fertile lands for tillage; and to these vast natural meadows, covered with tall grasses and beautiful flowers, the genius, the activity and enterprize of the eastern people—the New Englanders, the New Yorkers, the New Jersey people, Pennsylvanians, Marylanders and Virginians, will find their way. The wealthy men of those States, may wish to retain their people where they are, to labor for a mere trifle for them; but the poor man, naturally, wants to go to a country where he can own a large farm—have his own houses and barns, cribs and mills—own large droves of cattle, horses and hogs, and see his own fields of wheat, corn, flax, hemp, potatoes,

beans, peas and grass waving in luxuriance, before every gentle breeze of air, far as his eye can extend.

He wishes also, to rear his family where his sons can be physicians, lawyers, divines, members of the Legislature, sheriffs, judges or members of Congress.\* Here he can place them on a stage, where they will be the first players and actors, who appear on it, and they thus have an opportunity to get possession of the audience and to keep it. To get possession of this theatre and these boards, the young, the athletic, the enterprising, the ambitious, the high minded, honest and honorable; the learned, the wise, the grave and the gay—the man of small fortune and large family, may come from all parts of the world, and here find a fortune and a home for themselves and their posterity forever. At this moment fifty thousand old maids could find good industrious husbands in the Western States. For my testimony, I refer to the late census.

In the southern portion of this valley, the soil, the climate, the want of seats for mills and machinery moved by water power—the absence of all the minerals, all point out clearly to this, as the dwelling place of the planter and his laborers, and here will be produced all that the northern people cannot produce, and they again will produce all he cannot, to render both people happy, united, one and the same community.

Between the Alleghanies and the Rocky mountains, which are about two thousand miles apart, navigable rivers pass through the country at suitable distances from each other, except that portion of it where the Indians are to be sent. There the soil is so poor too, that it produces nothing but the prickly pear, (*cactus opuntia*,) and is the only portion of this valley, that is not of some use either to man, beast, fish or bird. With this exception, all and every portion of this country will, at some some future day support a dense popu-

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\* In Ohio, those men who have deservedly risen so high as to attract a large share of public notice, not a single individual of them descended from wealthy, nor very distinguished parents.

DUNCAN M<sup>R</sup>ARTHUR, the present Governor of Ohio, came into the western country when a youth of 17 years, without one cent of property, with little or no education, and his occupation was that of a chain carrier and a hunter for some surveyor of unappropriated lands! By the energy of his own character he raised himself from his humble situation, to be an excellent mathematician, a good surveyor and a well informed man, on

lation. Where the prairie country now is, trees of all kinds suitable to the climate, will grow rapidly and to a great size, wherever man plants or sows the seeds of them in the earth, and bestows a very little culture upon them.

Who will say, that one square inch of all this valley shall not belong to this nation? Who will say, that one drop of rain or flake of snow should, ever fall between these mountains, and not fall on our country, politically, as it is naturally? From ocean to ocean, east and west—from the Frozen sea to Darien, the Creator has laid off its boundaries and so irrigated it with rivers, throughout its whole vast extent in its interior—so indented it with bays, and sharpened its exterior with capes along its oceans—so located its mountains, filled them with minerals of all sorts, that we are compelled to look upon North America, as one grand and sublime whole. Under this confederated form of government, where just as many States may exist, as the local interests, feelings and peculiar views of the people, who inhabit each section of the country, shall demand, one grand, simple, general government, may, and I doubt not, finally will govern the whole of North America. The several States, like the planets in our solar system, may revolve around such a general government, as their political centre of gravity.

To these materials, so well calculated to form a natural cement and a bond of union, there are considerations, which tend to produce a moral cement as valuable, and I would

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almost every subject. He was a brigadier general in the United States' army in the late war, was often a member of the State Legislature—and Speaker of the same, in both branches, member of Congress, where he made a respectable figure; and now is the Governor of the State of Ohio, and as good an one as we ever had.

By his industry, enterprize and energy, he has become one of the most wealthy men in the State; has reared and educated a large family of children, who are honorably allied by marriage to the best families in the country. This good fortune is all his own, obtained by himself, unaided by the rich and powerful. Such a man, is Duncan M'Arthur.

Another instance, among many, is Gen. JOSEPH VANCE, now and for many years past, a worthy member of Congress from Ohio. Like Gen. M'Arthur, he begun the world miserably poor, and had to support an aged mother and younger brothers, and obtain his education himself. As a member of Congress, he ranks among the first from Ohio—conciliating, affable and polite in his manners; no member is more attentive to the interests of his constituents, and no one is more willing to aid any one who

tain hope, as enduring as the world itself. Who can compensate for the breaking up of this Union, the last hope of liberty? The example of this Nation, governed by laws, emanating from the people who obey them, casts a steady and enduring light on the path of nations. It has done wonders already in the old world—it will continue to do wonders towards breaking down despotic governments all over the world, until MAN is every where free and happy.

To establish more firmly the bonds of our Union, not by physical power, but by the moral cements of mutual interest and mutual affection, is a work the most exalted, most patriotic and morally sublime, of any which can employ the thoughts, the time, the labor and the genius of man.

The continuance of this Union, forever, not only transmits to our posterity forever the richest inheritance that any people ever did or ever can possess, but our example holds out the only prospect of freedom and happiness for all mankind.

While this Nation remains one and undivided, free, prosperous and happy, no despotic government can long exist in Europe. Every throne in that quarter of the world, not founded on the will of the people, is now shaking and ready to tumble down in the dust.

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attends on Congress, to do business with that body, from any part of the Union.

JEREMIAH MORROW, who was during a long term of years, a member of the United States' Senate; also, Governor of the State four years, and one of the framers of our State Constitution; member of both Houses of our State Legislature &c. &c. was a poor young man, when he came into this country; without money, or the means of procuring it, except by hard labor on a farm, or as a clearer of wild lands. He is now wealthy, well informed, a good mathematician, a sound, sensible, worthy and highly respectable man, and so esteemed by all who know him.

JOHN McLEAN, late Postmaster General, and now Judge of the United States' Supreme Court, was the son of a poor, but worthy man, an Irish weaver! By his own industry, perseverance and energy, he obtained a very good education—became a lawyer—a member of Congress, Judge of the Supreme Court of Ohio and Commissioner of the General Land Office.

BENJAMIN RUGGLES, now so long in the United States' Senate, and a respectable member of that body, came into this State a poor young man, without means, except his own unaided industry, though liberally educated. He has been a President Judge, member of the Legislature, &c. has become wealthy, and has reared a worthy family.

JACOB BURNET, our late Senator in Congress, is now wealthy and learned, but he came here a poor young man.

The fear of change perplexes monarchs, and the time is not far distant when the Divine right of Kings, and of constables, corporals and bum-bailiffs will be considered as standing upon the same foundation.

Who will say, that our Revolution and the lights shining out of it on the world, have not opened the eyes of mankind, to the true sources of all earthly power? and that our prosperous condition as a people, and unexampled growth in knowledge, numbers, wealth and power, have not produced the happiest effects on the nations of Europe?

Who then wishes to put out these lights, and to leave the world in darkness once more?

Who is mad enough among us, to harbor the thought of dissolving this Union?

Who can calculate its value, even to our posterity? Who can calculate its value to mankind in every clime, and in all succeeding ages of the world?

As he looks upon the map of this country, where is the man, whose mind is not expanded, with the extent of this vast National domain? How is the heart of the patriot, the statesman, the philanthropist, the lover of liberty filled with joy, unutterable, when he looks with prophetic eye, over this vast field of future happiness, grandeur and glory, yet in reserve for the human race? Here science, learn-

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JOHN W. CAMPBELL, long a member of Congress from this State, and now Judge of the United States' District Court for Ohio, though well educated in Virginia, his native State, yet when he came into this State, he was poor, and has raised himself to his present high station, by his own industry and good conduct.

THOMAS WORTHINGTON, late Governor of Ohio, member of Congress, &c. &c. was a deputy Sheriff in Virginia; but coming into the West, he made himself a good mathematician, surveyed a great deal of new lands, amassed a great deal of useful knowledge, accumulated a considerable fortune, reared a large family in the best manner, who are mostly, respectably settled in the world, and the younger ones, soon will be so settled.

The late Gov. TRIMBLE, is an instance of the same kind.

But I forbear—the names of thousands, in every part of the State, present themselves to my memory, who came here poor and illiterate, and were in the humblest circumstances; but by their industry, enterprise and moral and natural energy, have raised themselves into wealth, have held high and responsible offices, educated large and respectable families, and are now the pride and the boast of Ohio. We see such persons every hour, in our towns, in every walk of life.

Indeed, our physicians and our lawyers, who are as respectable, as worthy and as useful, as any of their profession any where; generally,

ing, art, free government, human happiness and human glory shall be consummated under the guidance of those benovolent principles and precepts, which christianity has introduced into the world. Here one language will prevail over a great extent of country, and be used by three hundred millions of people. Here, nearly the same ideas as to government, laws, religion, and every thing else, almost, will also prevail. What a vast field of fame, for our authors, our statesmen, jurists, men of science, of literature, is here spread out to their view? Those, whose actions merit glory and renown, will be known to a vast number of people, and their names handed down from age to age, forever. This field is ready for the harvest, and the reapers may now put in their sickles. If the reapers now be few, their several rewards will be the richer.

The scholar may trim his lamp and begin his labors—the poet raise his song, in a language that will be used by one half of the whole human race, while time endures.—

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came into the country poor and penniless—or if not so, they have made no figure here. I regret to state, that not one young man, whose family was rich, and of very high standing in the Eastern States, has succeeded in Ohio. Every man stands upon his own feet here.

Those who have succeeded best in this state, came here poor, but descended from parents who were moral in their habits, and had instilled virtuous principles into the minds of their children. Not a few men—(perhaps, in almost every single instance,) who have done the best for themselves, their families, friends and the public, had excellent mothers, to whose constant care, wholesome counsels and advice, impressed by kindness and affection upon the tender minds of their sons, the world is indebted for the usefulness of our most distinguished citizens. Not a few of these men lost their fathers, at a very early age in life. Some of them when children were, left orphans, without a father's advice, protection, and support; without the benefit of a mother's tenderness, or a mother's prayers; or even a cent of property.

Want of general information, as respects the most distinguished men in other Western States, is my reason for confining these brief remarks, to citizens of Ohio. Further information, and a future edition, may remedy this defect.

Two remarkable instances of this sort, cannot be passed by—ANDREW JACKSON of Tennessee, and HENRY CLAY of Kentucky. They began the world at an early age, without a dollar at their command, with very limited education, and I need not say how high they have raised themselves, nor how deservedly, by their own industry, exertions and energy. The monuments of their fame, were raised by their own hands, in the West, and will endure forever.

Let the statesman lay his wise plans on a scale as large, and as grand as the country his policy is to govern, and his fame shall go down to all succeeding ages, as the benefactor of future generations. Let us then lay aside all low aims, and elevate our views and act upon principles as broad, as free, as liberal and as enlightened as our future destiny, grand and sublime, seems to demand.

It is possible, that there may be, for some few centuries to come, two or three governments in North America, beside ours—one in Canada, in the north—and one in Mexico in the southern part of this America.—there may be also, a free and separate government in the West Indies, Cuba being the seat of its General Government; but eventually the whole will form but one confederacy.

At the rate of increase in population, now known to be correct, North America, in one hundred years from this time, will contain three hundred millions of people, and two thirds of that number will belong to the United States. Let us hope that the seat of our National Government will not travel south and west of St. Louis.

What a field for internal improvement?

Our present roads are hardly wide enough, and our canals are neither wide nor deep enough, for our present population; of what value will they be to our posterity one hundred years hence? Very little, certainly, but with our present means, we are doing all we can to construct them so as to be useful to us, and they will answer a good purpose for twenty five years to come—some of them longer, others not so long, as the travel on them increases.

### ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI,

Is situated on the west bank of the Mississippi river, twenty miles by water, below the mouth of the Missouri, in latitude 38 degrees 20 minutes north.

By a treaty of peace made and concluded in 1763, Canada with the whole territory belonging to France eastward of the middle of the Mississippi river to the Iberville, thence through the middle of that river to the lakes Maurepas and Ponchartrain to the Gulf of Mexico, was ceded by France to Great Britain. By this treaty, the boundaries of the British Provinces were extended southward to



the Gulf of Mexico, and westward to the Mississippi; the navigation of which to its mouth, was to be free to both nations. When this treaty was concluded, Mr. Dabbadie was director general, commander civil and military of the Province of Louisiana; he was ordered to deliver to Great Britain the aforesaid ceded territory. He had, about that time, granted a company of merchants of New Orleans, the exclusive commerce of furs and peltries with the Indian nations of the Missouri, and those west of the Mississippi above the Missouri river, to the river St. Peters. This company under the style of Pierre Laclède, Liguette, Maxant and Co. by virtue of their privilege, sent from New Orleans a considerable expedition, to convey up the Mississippi the necessary goods and merchandize for their trade with the Indians, under the command and direction of Mr. Laclède, principal shareholder, who was chosen by the company, as being the most capable to conduct the expedition and to transact the business of the company.

There was then on the west side of the Mississippi, but the small and weak settlement of St. Genevieve, in which there was not a house sufficiently large to contain the merchandize of the company, and its situation being otherwise inconvenient, and not proper for the transaction of the business of the company, and being moreover too far from the mouth of the Missouri, Mr. Laclède resolved for the time being, to land his merchandize at Fort Chartres, although on the English side. Being there after Mr. Laclède had sent his merchandize for the Indian trade up the Missouri, as well as up the Mississippi, he resolved to look for a proper situation on the west side of the Mississippi river, where he could make a proper settlement for the purposes of his commerce, which would be more convenient than St. Genevieve; whereupon, after travelling over the country, the site where the city of St. Louis now stands, was chosen, (which was then covered with splendid forest trees, free of undergrowth,) as well on account of its beautiful situation, as its proximity to the Missouri, and the excellence of its soil. Having returned to Fort Chartres, he employed all proper means in his power, to procure the necessary things for the commencement of his new settlement; and having hired workmen of different trades on the 10th of February 1764, he sent an armament under the

command of the late Col. Auguste Choteau, who had accompanied him in all his travels, and who was then very young, to build a house at the place they had chosen.—Mr. De Laclède being obliged to remain at Fort Chartres, to finish his business before the arrival of the English. Col. Auguste Choteau commenced the settlement on the 15th day of February 1764, and built the first house, near where the market house now stands; and soon thereafter, several inhabitants of Fort Chartres and Cahokia, came thither and settled. These first settlers were favored and encouraged by Mr. De Laclède, who gratuitously gave them provisions and tools of all kinds; conveyances to transport their effects and families to this new settlement, and even ordered them to be helped by his men, in the building of their houses. Col. Choteau and these new inhabitants, full of gratitude for the liberality of Mr. De Laclède, desired to give his name to this settlement, but he would not consent to it, saying that he desired it to bear the name of St. Louis, which was that of the King, of whom they were all subjects. Mr. De Laclède died at the post of Arkansas on the 20th of June, 1778, when many of the inhabitants were about to abandon the settlement, but were prevented from doing so by Col. Choteau, who prevailed with them to remain, and furnished them with the means of support. He continued to reside at St. Louis until his death, which took place on the 24th of Feb. 1829—sixty four years after the founding of the city—having seen St. Louis merged in a wilderness, surrounded with different nations of Indians, rise to its promising and populous condition.

St. Louis is a town containing, now, I presume about 7000 inhabitants—about 40 stores, a considerable number of lawyers, who are very respectable in their professions; several physicians, well bred and well educated, and several clergymen.

Mechanics are much needed, of all sorts. Cabinet makers, house joiners, brick layers, stone masons, might here get full employment, liberal wages and good prices for their work, and every article of living is cheap, and in abundance. All sorts of foreign goods are very cheap having arrived here by sea, via New Orleans, and thence, shipped in large steam boats to this place. The freight from

Baltimore or Philadelphia, costs about a cent a pound, and goods are brought on here, all summer, as the Mississippi is navigable then, for the largest steam-boats, even, when they cannot reach Louisville, on account of low waters, in the Ohio river.

Several mechanics, with families, from Pittsburgh and Baltimore, were passengers, in the same vessel with me, and in two days after our arrival at St. Louis, they were all settled down comfortably and fully employed in their several trades. I saw them daily afterwards, and they all appeared to be very happy. I understood them to say, that their living cost them about half, what it did, whither they had come from, and their wages were now fully double, what they had heretofore received, for similar services. They were stone masons, cabinet makers, tailors, and brick layers.

There was but one tinner in the city, and he was noticed — taken into the best society in the place, and was making a fortune by his business.

I am of the opinion, that any number of good mechanics, almost, would do well to emigrate to this place, or its neighborhood.

The town occupies the western side of the river, from its very edge, a distance, from north to south, of about two miles, and it may be, about half a mile in width from east to west. The streets are laid out, parallel with the river, intersecting each other at right angles, like all our western towns. Main street, running parallel with the river and nearest to it, is well paved with limestone. In this street, are located, nearly all the stores, and the buildings in it, are, many of them, large and elegant. The ground, on which the city is built, descends, perhaps, in the distance of half a mile, from the west, down to the water's edge, in low water, 100 feet. Towards the west, from the highest ground, which is the edge of the town, in that direction, the surface rather declines than otherwise. From the mouth of the Missouri, along the western bank of the Mississippi, for a distance of twenty five miles southwardly; and from the river, westwardly, twenty miles or more, the surface of the earth is sufficiently elevated and level, but none too much so, for a city to stand on.

Limestone, underlays the whole surface of this country, at no great depth, of exactly the right thickness and texture, for building stone.

This rock lies in strata, about four inches in thickness, and is easily quarried, and cut into fragments, of the size of a common brick.

Springs of pure and wholesome water, are found in abundance, in and near the town, which would supply it with water, for every necessary purpose, except for water power.

Many persons however, prefer the dirty water of the Mississippi, and use it for drink and culinary purposes. When that is used, it is settled in tanks, at least several families, thus settle it. The old settlers, are almost superstitious about this water, believing that while they use it, they will enjoy their health. This turbid water comes from the Missouri river, the Upper Mississippi, being as transparent and as pure as the Ohio.

The river here, is scarcely a mile in width, running with a pretty strong current, which is crossed every few minutes, all day, by a steam ferry boat, carrying passengers, wagons, carriages of all sorts, horses, cattle and every thing else, which it is necessary to transport, from bank to bank of the river.

An island lies in the river, rather in the way in crossing, and the ferry boat is compelled to go partly round its lower extremity. Should this island increase in length, as it threatens to do, landings on each side of the river, higher up the stream must be made, or a channel be made sufficiently deep and wide, through the island, for the passage of the steam boat.

The fuel used in town I should suppose was fossil coal, to a considerable extent, as I saw grates for using it, in nearly every house I entered. This coal comes from Illinois, opposite the centre of the town and about four miles east of it. It is found in the highest ridge of rocks bounding the American bottom, on the east, near the bottom and exists in such quantities, that it will supply the town with it forever, at twelve and a half cents a bushel. My constant employment, by night and by day, while at St. Louis prevented my visiting this coal bed, while I was there. This coal is found, any where, almost, in the ridge I have mentioned, and along the Missouri and

its tributaries, in such quantities and is so easily obtained that the article itself will, at no future day, ever become scarce or dear, and will supply fuel, either, for culinary or manufacturing purposes to any extent, which the people, numerous as they must be, will need.

Land in and about the town, is cheap, so much so, that good land, on the Missouri side of the river, can be purchased now, within sight of the town, for three and four dollars an acre—and on the other side, in Illinois, for one dollar and twenty five cents an acre.

Farmers and horticulturalists, may here locate themselves, as soon as they please and make fortunes. Gen. Bissel, who resides in Missouri, about twelve miles from town, and cultivates I understood him to say, about two hundred acres of land, showed me a book, in which he kept an account, of the sums he received, for articles which he had sent to market here, during the then last year, and it amounted to the sum of two thousand dollars. I understood him to say, that he employed but seven laborers, on his farm, and one of them attended the market, to sell the articles produced on the farm.

All the boards and scantling used in building here, that I inquired, where they were brought from, came from Pittsburg, and were brought down the Alleghany river, from the pine groves, at the heads of that river and its branches. Though these boards were dearer, of course, than the same articles were at Cincinnati and Louisville; they were much cheaper than I should have supposed, considering the great distance, they had been transported, from their native forests and the mills where they had been manufactured.

Pine trees of every species, grow on the head quarters of the Wisconsin, and on the Mississippi, above St. Anthony's falls. Very little doubt exists in my own mind, as to the existence of this tree, on the Upper Missouri river, in a high latitude. These forests, thus located, in a country where water falls exist, will supply for ages, the country below them with pine timber and boards.

Every other species of timber, except the pine, used by the house builder, the joiner and cabinet maker, may be found near St. Louis, on the east side of the river, and floated to it in rafts.

The whole family of walnut trees, paccan and all, are found in Illinoicis, and may be easily transported by water, to this place. They exist on the west side of the Mississippi also, and near it, in many places, on the hill sides, and on their summits, from a short distance above the mouth of Missouri, to the lower rapids, two hundred and forty miles above St. Louis. I was informed too, that pine forests exist on the head waters of the Gasconade river, from which, they could be transported without difficulty to St. Louis. As this river rises among the Ozark mountains, the elevation where they grow, on Alpine heights, affords the same temperature for this tree to vegetate in, that a higher latitude would, and its growth here, creates no surprise in the mind of the botanist. It is true, that some species of pine, grow in low latitudes where the soil is sandy and sterile, as along our sea coast, in North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and especially in Louisiana, but the white pine prefers Alpine heights, or a higher latitude. The Ozark mountains, in 37 and 38 degrees north, from their elevation may produce the white, as well as the yellow pine. Growing near a navigable stream, and much nearer St. Louis, than any other forests of this tree, they may supplant all others of this family, in the market here. The restless, sleepless, activity, enterprise and energy of our western people, will soon find these forests, if they are on the waters of the Gasconade, and sawing them into scantling, planks and boards, land them safely at St. Louis, where the saw, the plane and the hammer will assail them, and thus fit them for the use of man.

The pine growing on the Ozark, I presume, from the latitude of the region, to be the yellow species, as I do not remember ever to have seen the white pine growing below the fortieth degree of latitude in any part of the United States, even on mountains, except in very elevated situations, among the Alleghanies. Those elevated positions, I presume were higher, than any summit among the Ozark chain of mountains, so that if the white pine is there, these summits must be very lofty, more so than I should suppose them to be, from the information I possess.

I regret deeply, my total want of information, as to the number of schools and churches in St. Louis, though

I do know, that the children and youth of both sexes, belonging to the best families, are well bred and well educated, and those I saw in the streets, behaved, at all times and in all places, where my eye saw them, with the greatest propriety. I should hardly suppose though, that schools existed in this city, in which the young ladies of this town, had obtained all the education they most certainly had received. I have seen no where, young ladies better educated, and the young gentlemen, were very little behind them, in this respect.

The presbyterian church was well attended on Sunday, and so was a Sunday school also. The state of society is doubtless improving here, as it is every where, west of the mountains.

The situation of the place, and the whole surface of the country west of it, indicates health, and there is as much of it here, as can be found any where.

The westwardly wind, that generally prevails here, does not pass over one drop of stagnant water near the town. The bright sparkling eye, the ruddy cheek, firm, quick and elastic step, indicate health among the people of the place.

The market is good, and not very dear, though I saw chickens brought to it from the state of Illinois, a distance of one hundred miles. To me it appeared strange and unaccountable, that the whole plain west of the town, wide spread, and not wanting in fertility, nor dear in price, should be suffered to grow up with bushes, instead of being cultivated, by the farmer, and the gardener. Why gentlemen of fortune, should all prefer in summer, the sight of a heated pavement, to the green grass, the orchard, loaded with delicious fruit, the corn field, the garden, and why they should, all prefer at the same season, the sound of the guns of the steamers arriving or departing, to the lowing of herds, and flocks of their own raising, I cannot divine. It is one of those freaks of taste, for which there is no accounting, and I almost regret, the absence of a law which would punish this, and some other of its strange vagaries.

The Philadelphians, would manage these matters, much better, if they lived here, I am sure, and so would the Bostonians. Let us hope, that a people, so worthy, deserving

every pleasure, this earth has to bestow on human beings, will soon build villas and country seats near the town, where they can assemble and enjoy, not only all the pleasure they now do, under their delightful groves, but even an additional one, the company of their beautiful and accomplished wives, daughters, sisters, and sweethearts, (a homely expression.)

While sitting near as pure a spring, as ever watered the earth, in company with a great number of citizens, three miles northwest of the town, surrounded as I was by genius, learning and science; all that can adorn the MAN, and fit him for usefulness on earth, or happiness beyond the grave; on looking around me, citizens of St. Louis, I saw none of your accomplished ladies there!!\*

Elegant country seats, would remedy this real evil, to me, an intolerable one. Either send your elegant ladies out of the country, altogether, or build country seats where they can appear with you, when you show your hospitality to any stranger of correct taste. Either never let us see such enchanting beings, or let us see them *always*, where we see their counter-parts, yourselves.

At Nashville it is not so, where, in addition, to all that a city can afford, beautiful country seats are seen in all directions where both sexes meet, and enliven the scene; are happy themselves, and make all happy about them.

The general reader, will pardon this digression I hope, and the people of St. Louis, to whom I feel grateful for their hospitality, forgive this suggestion, which forced itself upon my mind at the time, and was then noticed by me, and not condemned by the company, then and there assembled.

With the French people, of the better class, it is different the old and the young, the rich and the poor, all appear at their parties. The great-grandfather and his lady, if living, are there; and, all their descendants of a suitable age to appear in company, who are brought forward at a very early age, are not absent. In that case, a large number of families, appear to be only one family. The gaiety of youth adds vivacity to age, while the wisdom and gravity of age, temper the waywardness of youth. The presence

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\*Gen. Ashby and Col. O'Fallon, occupy each, an elegant mansion, near the town, but more—many more such, are needed near the town.



of the females, of all ages, puts a perfect extinguisher upon all conversation, of an immodest cast of character. Such an assembly is a perfect school of virtue, politeness, good sense and good breeding. This state of things, smoothes the rugged path of life, softens the temper, improves the manners and meliorates the heart. Such a people, will always be virtuous, innocent and happy. Gallipolis, on the Ohio, was formerly, when I visited it often, for many years, a perfect example of these parties. The impressions I received, at these little friendly assemblies, will forever remain on my memory, among the most pleasant and agreeable ones of my life. The last one I ever attended, was made by *Mrs. Vinton*, now deceased.

The English people, and the Americans, who have borrowed so much from them, manage things very differently—the men, congregate together, in little squads, even at assemblies of both sexes, while the other sex, are collected by themselves, in similar little groups. Conversations in each group, are had, that are improper to be listened to by the other sex!

Now to my mind, all this is unsociable, tends to moroseness, and the female character does not, as it should do, check any impropriety of conduct, in the men; nor does the presence of the latter, tend to exalt the female mind, to a certain degree of manliness of character, which, in some particular instances, it does not possess. The Creator who formed them both, intended them for the society of each other, that thus, what was deficient in each sex, should be supplied, by the other, and a perfect human character, be produced. These remarks are intended for all, and not for any one place in particular, certainly not for St. Louis, where the state of the intercourse between the sexes, is as pure, as agreeable, as good and as exalted, so far as my opportunities enabled me to judge of it, as can be found any where.

#### TRADE AND COMMERCE.

Considering the size of the place, these must amount to a large sum indeed.

The American Fur Company, have here a large establishment, and the furs, skins and peltry cannot amount to

less than one million of dollars annually, which are brought down the Mississippi and Missouri rivers.

The company trade over a vast region, occupying all the country north and west of this place, quite to the Rocky mountains, and to as low a latitude as the Arkansas river. I went through their establishment and examined every part of it, and it was well worth seeing. The Indian goods sold by this company, all come from England, and are of the best quality.

This town has the trade of nearly all the State of Illinois, along and near the Mississippi; it supplies the retail merchants of the State of Missouri, with goods of all sorts, and nearly all the produce of the upper country passes through the hands of the merchants of St. Louis.

The government expends large sums of money in St. Louis, and no small portion of all that is expended for the support of the army, is laid out here. The Navy Department too, purchases provisions in this place; and the Indian Department, has expended millions of dollars here. Six military posts, come here, for every thing almost they need; and the officers of the army, are here in greater numbers, than they are at any other one point. It was no uncommon occurrence, for forty officers, to sit down at the table to dinner, at Town's, where I lodged, and I saw them in other parts of the city daily, and in considerable numbers.

The trade to New Orleans is a heavy business, as to the amount of its value, and steam vessels of the largest class, arrive and depart, not only every day, but several of them in each day.

They were always well freighted, both ways. Steamers ply regularly between this place and Franklin, on the Missouri river, and they often ascend the Upper Mississippi. From New Orleans they bring European goods, molasses, sugar, cotton, alum salt, coffee and every article produced in the States of Tennessee, Mississippi and Louisiana, as well as the productions of the West Indies.—From Pittsburgh, Cincinnati and Louisville, they bring whisky, beer, porter, ale, pork, flour, beef, iron in castings, bars, bolts, and nails—indeed, all the articles manufactured of either iron or steel—cabinet furniture, hats, tobacco, gun powder, salt petre, hemp and cordage. These

articles are bought to sell again, to the upper-country people.

The trade in lead, manufactured, either in Missouri, or in the mineral region of the Upper Mississippi, has been a great business. The manufacture of lead, into the form of shot, has been carried on to a considerable extent, at Herculaneum, below this town. From my imperfect knowledge, having no estimate of any kind before me, of any branch of this trade and commerce, nor the means of obtaining one, from any very authentic source, it may look like presumption in me to make one; but were I to do so, I should estimate the commerce and trade of St. Louis, at this time, at ten millions of dollars annually. It cannot be less, I think, and may be more, much more.

This trade is increasing and must increase for ages yet to come, as the country fills up with people, over a surface larger than that of all France—a country for fertility of soil, and healthy and invigorating climate, equals any other country in the world. At some day not very distant, either, four or five millions of people, will transact nearly all their mercantile business at St. Louis. When the country is fully settled, and properly improved, on all the Mississippi and Missouri waters, thirty millions of people will trade here.

Their trade to the Upper Mexican Provinces, now amounts to several hundred thousand dollars annually, and that trade will increase in amount and activity, every year. This place too, will be on the direct route from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean, and when our settlements reach the latter, as they soon will, the trade between this valley and that ocean, will all, or nearly all, pass through this town. If not the first city in the nation, it must be the second in point of magnitude and importance, New Orleans being the first city, on this Continent. A surface of territory equal to one thousand miles square, must send its trade here forever, and the next census will place the seat of the National Government at this place.

We are often told by eastern scientific empirics, who have seen them, of the sterility of the soil where the prairies are; but the very reverse is the fact. All the country lying between the Mississippi and Missouri rivers, is the healthiest, most fertile and best watered country in the

world, and will one day support as dense a population, as any part of China, now does. From 37 degrees north, to 48 degrees north; from the Wabash river or near to it, to the Rocky mountains in the west, in all future time, the people of that whole region, will go to St. Louis to trade: because located as it is, no town can ever grow up, nearer to it than Louisville, and that will add to the business of St. Louis, but never will, and never can injure it, in the smallest degree. The same may be said of Cincinnati. the trade of each, adds to each, and not the reverse.

As a manufacturing State, Missouri will rank very high. having iron ore and fossil coal in its hills, enough to supply the world, with those articles, and whatever they can produce. Its lead ore, and its salt water, both abundant, in many places, are not without their value.

Little minds are apt to envy the prosperity of their neighbors or, in other words, many people are too selfish for their own self interest. The growth of St. Louis will not, cannot prevent the growth of Cincinnati or Louisville, more than it will the growth and prosperity of Boston, New York, Philadelphia or Baltimore. Indeed, the growth and success of our whole western country, will add vastly to the prosperity of the eastern section of our Union.—The political power of the East, it is true, is departing to the West, but that need not, ought not, to be any cause of heart burnin. in the East. When they erected this government, they gave it its boundaries, and provided for a representation of the people, wherever they dwelt, within certain limits; those who erected this government, certainly never intended that nine-tenths of the whole country—all, almost, of it, that was intended to be the most useful to man, was to remain, under the dominion of a few wandering savages, and wild beasts. No, the framers of our constitution, intended the whole country to be filled up, with civilized people, and then see what this vast country would be. This process is going on as rapidly as the heart of the patriot can wish, and that process will make St. Louis, situated as it is, the future capital of a great nation.

#### CHARACTER OF THE PEOPLE.

Although this town was originally settled by the French, and although Spain governed this country awhile, yet the

people now are of as mixed a character, as almost any town in the Union presents. The character of the people may be safely set down, though, as being nearly the same, with the best people of Kentucky, Tennessee and old Virginia, with one additional trait of character—they have all the hospitality of the old Virginians, Kentuckians and Tennesseans, and at the same time they are, without doubt, the most enterprizing people in the world. Should a whole town in Missouri unite, as they often do, to treat some stranger with attention, and even amidst their festivity, should any intelligence be received from Santa Fee—the foot of the Rocky mountains, or St. Peters, that would make it for the interest of any one present, to be off to any one of those places, or to all of them in succession, he would be on his way to the place of his destination, in an hour after he got the news. They think no more of a trip to the Rocky mountains, than they do of any daily occurrence, and not a few of them, have been there often, and every where else, almost, in the world.

I suspect, that for their numbers, the population of St. Louis, in particular, and of Missouri in general, is as intelligent, enterprizing, active and industrious as any in the world. I confess, that I have seen no people quite equal to them in these respects, any where else.

It has been, perhaps, justly remarked, that in old French settlements, made in America, the people had very little energy or enterprize, compared with descendants of Englishmen. That might have been true formerly, but certainly not true now. The Chouteaus, the Menards, Vallis, &c. &c. of Missouri, are as active, as restless, as stirring and as enterprizing as any people can be. They scale every mountain, swim every river, navigate every stream of water, they traverse every prairie, and explore every section of country east of the Rocky mountains, in quest of furs, peltries and skins. They build large houses and dwell in them—erect large store houses and occupy them—build vessels and sail in them to any part of the world. Their spirits are as stirring, their views are as extended, their aims as elevated, their flights as lofty, as any one could even desire.

## MY PERSONAL NARRATIVE IS RESUMED.

Landing on the morning of the 12th day of June, 1829, at St. Louis, I was introduced to Mr. Town, who keeps the principal tavern in the city. He had every thing in readiness to convey me and my baggage to his house, where I found myself comfortably lodged in a few minutes; and found there not a few officers of the army. Calling on Col. Benton, with whom I was personally well acquainted, I found him surrounded by his large and most interesting and amiable family, at home. As a member of the United States' Senate, he knew every thing about my mission, its origin, its objects and its difficulties. The two former he fully detailed to me, and gave me a glimpse of the last. Gen. M'Neil was out of town, somewhere, among the officers of the army, as he almost always was afterwards, when near any military post; and Col. Menard, the other commissioner, was at Kaskaskia, where he lived, sixty miles, or upwards, from St. Louis. These gentlemen had met, differed in opinion, and parted without appointing a secretary, or purchasing any goods, or in fact, doing any thing to forward the objects of the mission, scarcely.

On visiting Gen. Clarke, the superintendent of Indian affairs, I was more fully informed of the difficulties so unexpectedly thrown in my way—there was no appropriation of one cent, to carry the mission into effect; whereas large sums of money must be raised by the commissioners on their own individual credit—the day had passed by, when the council was to have been held at Rock island, and the time had been extended to a day too near at hand, to hold it, and the place had been changed to Prairie du Chien.—Treachery existed among the officers of the Indian Department, located in the Indian country, and their letters, detailing all their plots and manœuvres, were put in my possession! The politicians, opposed to the administration, were loudly proclaiming the total failure of the mission, and condemning the President and Secretary of War on that account. Discouraging as all these circumstances were, I determined to fully inform myself of every thing, before I gave up the mission. Gen. Clark, had with him several Sauk and Fox Indians, who had brought in to be redeemed, a Sioux woman, their prisoner. To them I was introduced

by Gen. Clark, with whom I sat in council, and held with them several long talks. They lived in the country where I was going, and were well acquainted in it. They knew all the Indians I was going to treat with. Some of them lived near Rock island, and other's near Du Buque's mine, not far from Galena, five hundred miles north of St. Louis. The acquaintance I made with these people, proved very useful to us afterwards, and the information I derived from them now, enabled me to take several steps immediately, to counteract an opposition to us, originating in the upper part of Indiana. From them I learned, that the Black Sparrow, and his band of Sauks, had gone to Drummond's island, to receive their annuity from the British government; and that a principal Sauk, had gone to the mouth of Eel river, of the Wabash, whither he had been invited by an officer of the Indian department.

Gloomy as all these circumstances were, I determined to go forward in the business in which I was engaged, and Gen. Clark, Col. Benton and others, promised all their aid to carry it into effect—and they faithfully performed all their promises to me. The former set his clerks to work, to make all the maps necessary for me, and he furnished me every book, paper and document I needed, and which he possessed or could obtain. Gen. Clark's collection of Indian clothing, manufactures, and every thing else relating to the Indians of North America, is probably the best in the world.

Occupying myself by night and by day, with my business, at the end of several days, Gen. M'Niel appeared, and after appointing as secretary, Charles Hempstead, we took all the pains we could to select our goods, and finally purchased them, and made ready as rapidly as possible, to fit out our expedition. The goods were selected with a view to be useful to the Indians, rather than showy ones; and they were the cheapest goods ever purchased in this market. Calicoes cost the Indians but fifteen cents a yard, when delivered to them at Prairie du Chien, and tobacco but four cents a pound; and every other article was equally cheap and of the best quality. When placed on board the vessel, they weighed forty tons, at least.

A few days before our departure for the Upper Mississippi, Col. Menard appeared, and approving of all that we

had done, as I supposed, we departed from St. Louis, on the 30th day of June, 1829.

The nineteen days which I spent here, were occupied almost every moment, in the public service, and I had no leisure at my command. Sometimes I had company at my room, attending to business there, and at other times, I was compelled to traverse the town and make calls at many places. While there, I found the people civil, polite, and as hospitable as I could have wished. My business wholly prevented my accepting numerous invitations to dine, at places where, under other circumstances, I should by no means have declined the invitation. Necessity, stern and unrelenting, prevented me from pursuing a course, which, had I had the command of my time, would have been very agreeable to me.

At noon, on the 30th day of June, on board the barge of the Missouri steamer, we took leave of Col. Benten, Gen. Clark, and a large number of friends, who had accompanied us to the vessel. We had a great number of passengers, male and female, bound mostly, either to Galena or to Prairie du Chien. Leaving the shore, we stemmed the strong current of the Mississippi, passed the mouths of the Missouri, and landed before sunset at Alton, on the Illinois side of the river, where we tarried until morning. This town is twenty miles or more above St. Louis, and not far above the mouth of the Missouri. It is located at the point where the ridge of rocks, bounding the American Bottom on the east, strikes the Mississippi, and there ends. Alton is owned by Major Hunter, formerly of the army, and the State is building, or rather, perhaps, has built before this time, a State Penitentiary here. Several steam mills, &c. are here, and the place is rapidly rising up to some importance.

Being near the mouth of the Missouri, and the point from whence a road could most easily be made, leading eastwardly, in the direction of Edwardsville, from which it is only about nine miles distant—the abundance of fossil coal on the spot, and many other advantages, give this place a decided preference, in my opinion, over any other between it, and any one on the east side of the river, above the mouth of the Ohio.



Early in the morning of the first day of July, we started again, and passing the mouth of Illinois river, we stopped a moment to land passengers at a nominal village, called, if my memory serves me, Passage des Sioux. Mr. Hempstead, brother of our secretary, and some others who were going to St. Charles, took this route in preference to the direct one, as they had but a few miles to travel across from the Mississippi to the Missouri, on the opposite side from St. Louis, where St. Charles stands.

We again moved forward, stopping at Clarksville, Louisiana and Hannibal, small towns on the Missouri side of the river, and tarried longer in the day time, at a little town called Quincey, two hundred miles perhaps, above St. Louis, than any where else, until on the morning of the 4th of July, we landed under a discharge of cannon, at KEEOKUK, 240 miles north of St. Louis, at the foot of the rapids of Des Moines.

The towns we had passed, were all small ones, and newly built, in which, we procured ice, butter, eggs, chickens and steam boat wood. Generally speaking, the Missouri side of the river, was by far the best, and perpendicular rocks not unfrequently formed the eastern shore. Lying in horizontal strata, for miles together, every stratum could be seen to a considerable distance.

Quincey stands mostly on a high bluff, and contains some forty families of very decent looking people, but paleness of countenance told us the same sad tale, that the low marshes along the river near them, and the wet prairie just east of the town, covered with grasses and weeds ten feet high, *might have told them*, if properly interrogated. The hill where the town stands, is high enough for all the fogs from the marshes along the river to rest on, and they take the liberty to do so. A land office is established here, but the location is a bad one, and never can be healthy. To me the people appeared better than any I saw in Illinois, as a whole, and my only regret is, that such a people, should have settled on a spot so insalubrious.

At the water's edge, I saw jasper, in place, though of a poor quality, just below where we landed, at Quincey.

All the rocks I saw along the Mississippi, from the mouth of the Ohio, upwards, were of secondary formation, and

limestone predominated, though deposits of sandstone were occasionally seen lying in strata, for miles together.

Above the Missouri, on the western side of the Mississippi, the streams putting into the "Great water," were quite small ones, and only valuable as mill streams, until we arrived at Fort Edwards, on the eastern shore, and opposite the Des Moines river. This river is a large one, compared with any one we had passed, above the Missouri. It may not be longer than the Illinois river, but I should think it carries in its current, more water, though perhaps it is not more than 300 miles in length.

Fort Edwards is three miles below the foot of the rapids, on the east side of the river, and the buildings being painted white, located on a high bluff, that juts out into the river, looks beautifully from KEEOKUK village. The rapids are twelve miles long, and in a common stage of the water, present no impediment to steam boat navigation; but low, as the river was, when we arrived there, it was impossible for any loaded steam boat to ascend them. The river is from half a mile, to a mile in width here, without any island in the river, in the distance of twelve miles; an uncommon feature in the Upper Mississippi, which is full of islands and sandbars, in a low stage of water. KEEOKUK, is in latitude about 40 degrees 20 north, and belongs to the half breeds, whose capital it is, on the western side of the Mississippi. The northern line of the State of Missouri, in running from its northwest corner eastwardly, is a straight line, until it strikes the Des Moines river; thence following that river to its mouth. A triangle containing 135,000 acres of land, north of and adjoining the lower end of the Des Moines river, by treaty, has been given to the half breeds, and is owned by about forty two persons. Congress have passed an act to divide it into shares for them, and at their own request they are to belong to the State of Missouri. From the mouth of the Des Moines, along the Mississippi, following the sinuosities of the river, their front on the river may be thirty miles. It is a very fine tract of land, generally well timbered, except on the bottoms of the Des Moines, which is valuable prairie land.

The village is a small one, containing twenty families perhaps. The American Fur Company have a store here, and there is a tavern. Many Indians were fishing, and

their lights on the rapids, in a dark night, were darting about, appearing and disappearing like so many fire flies; the constant roaring of the waters on the rapids, the occasional Indian yell, the lights of their fires on the shore, and the boisterous mirth of the people at the *doggerie*, attracted my attention occasionally, while we were lying here. Fish were caught here in abundance.

On the eastern side of the river, the lands are all occupied by white people, from Fort Edwards upwards, for many miles above the rapids. Farms are opening, and log houses appear, every half mile almost, on that shore.

On the west side, only a few places are opened by half breeds.

The beech on the western shore is narrow, and the hills of moderate elevation, come quite down to the high water mark.

Large blocks of coarse sandstone have been floated down, on the ice at different times, from the St. Peters river, and lodged on the beach. The rocks in place, are limestone though great numbers of geodes of quartz cover the beach.

After making every arrangement for conveying the public property over these rapids, and seeing every thing done here, that could be done by the commissioners, I started on foot to walk over the rough hills skirting the shore. Our provisions, though started nearly one month before, from St Louis, were scattered along these rapids, and I found a considerable part of them as I ascended the river's edge, lying on the beach and exposed to the hot sun.

After a tiresome walk of several miles, I reached Philip Blondeau's farm. Him I found sick, lying under a shade, out of doors. He was a sub-agent formerly, and his family are owners to a considerable extent of this fine tract of land. His wife is an Indian woman, and his daughters are well educated, well read, and accomplished young ladies.

His farm is a fine fertile one, and his dwelling house is on the bank of the river, within a few rods of the water's edge. His corn on the side hill, covered a great space, and looked finely. Here I ate as good a dinner as any one ever did, of venison just killed, and of fish just caught as I arrived there.

Highly gratified with the treatment I received, from this interesting family, I moved forward again on foot, and

reached an island in the river, just above the head of the rapids, and opposite an Indian town, where I found a steam boat lying, and went on board it.

This vessel was occupied by its owner, who had his wife and children with him. The boat was as poor an one, as ever was navigated, had been up the river and was detained here, by the rapids. During the night, it rained hard, and in addition to getting as wet in my birth as water could make me, a drunken set of fellows, who in addition to boisterous mirth, gambling and blasphemous oaths, finally, added quarreling to the turbulent scene. Knowing that one man by his example, had produced the whole wicked and disgraceful conduct that so much annoyed us. On the arrival of Col. Menard next day, I arranged every thing to stop any thing of the kind in future. On learning our determination, the author of all this turbulence, just about dark, inquired of me, as to the intended opposition, and I frankly told him that no more such conduct would be permitted, either now or hereafter, while I was with him. He told me I might leave the expedition and go home; but I informed him, that I would neither go home, nor would I permit him to conduct as he had done, constantly for some time past. Ascertaining my determination, and that every other person on board united with me, he was compelled to acquiesce, and behave himself better in future. He never ventured again to so conduct himself in my presence, though the effects of similar conduct afterwards, were but too visible on many occasions.

I suffered in Washington, through his misrepresentations, slanders and falsehoods, without my ever hinting the cause of his disappointed malignity. No other course was left to me—I took it, and it saved all, though it destroyed me at court. I had done my duty, and felt regardless of any injury to myself and still rejoice that I met the occasion as I did, promptly and efficiently.

In company with Mr. Johnson, formerly an Indian trader under the old factory system, I visited Quasquawma's village of Fox Indians. This town was exactly opposite our island, on the west bank of the river. & consists of perhaps, forty or fifty persons. Landing from our canoe, we went to Quasquawma's wigwam, and found him and several of his wives and children at home. These Indians had joined

the United States, during the late war. The wigwam, we visited, was a fair sample of all we saw afterwards, in the Indian country, and was covered with white elm bark, fastened on the out side of upright posts fixed in the ground, by ropes made of barks, passed through the covering and tied on the inside, around the posts.

I should suppose, that this dwelling, was forty feet long, and twenty wide—that six feet on each of the sides, within doors, was occupied by the place where the family slept. Their beds consisted of a platform, raised four feet high from the earth, resting on poles, tied at that height to posts standing upright in the ground opposite each other, and touching the roof. On these poles so fastened to the posts were laid barks of trees, and upon these barks, were laid blankets and the skins of deer, bears, bisons, &c. These were the beds. Between these beds was an open space, perhaps six or eight feet in width, running the whole length of the wigwam. In this space fires were kindled in cold and wet weather, and here, at such times, the cooking was carried on, and the family warmed themselves, eat their food, &c. There was no chimney, and the smoke either passed through the roof, or out at the doors, at the ends of the wigwam. On all the waters of the Upper Mississippi, no better dwelling is to be found, among the Indians.—Quasquawma was reposing himself on his bed of state when we went into his palace, and the only person at work was one of his wives at the door, dressing a deer skin. He appeared to be about 65 years of age, perhaps he was even older.

He appeared very friendly to Mr. Johnson, whom he well knew; and we held a long and interesting talk with him. We told him all our business, asked his advice and aid, which he cheerfully promised and he was of great use to us, from that time forward, until the treaties were concluded. His son-in-law, one of the principal civil chiefs of the Foxes was not at home then, and we did not see him until we arrived at Rock island.

Quasquawma showed us where he had cut out on a bark, a representation of a steam boat, with every thing belonging to it. This bark formed a part of his dwelling, and was cut on the inner side. It appears, that he had made three attempts before he succeeded to his

wishes. He finally succeeded so perfectly, that the cannon was going off, a dog was represented as sitting down near an officer of our army, with his chapeau de bras on, his epauletts were on his shoulders, and several privates were seen standing on the boat. Nothing could be more natural than this representation, of which he evidently felt quite proud. We praised it greatly, which did not displease him. A few small patches of corn were growing near by, but poorly fenced and badly tilled, among which, the weeds were standing between the hills of corn.

The chief went around his village, and showed us, whatever we wished to see, until we requested him to take us back, to our island in his canoe, ours having returned, which he politely did. Not long afterwards, the chief, at the head of all his band, old and young, waited on us, at our steamboat beside this island. They were dressed in their best manner, and Quasquawma introduced them, one and all to Mr. Johnson and myself. One woman, gaily painted, the one whom we had seen at work, remained by herself, some ten rods off and would come no nearer to us. On my inquiring the cause of her not approaching us any nearer, after having solemnly assured him and all of them, of none but the most kind and friendly treatment from our whole company; I was informed by Quasquawma that her appearance indicated that the woman so painted and dressed, "was for sale." Not understanding him at first, he explained himself so fully by words and by signs, that there was no mistaking his meaning. Any one determined to believe our Indians to be 'the lost tribes of Israel,' would have found proof positive, in favor of such an idea in this custom of sitting by the wayside, painted and dressed as this woman was on this occasion. Parallel instances in the old testament times and manners, are not wanting.

The visit was continued for some hours, until we had made our guests many presents of flour, meat and goods; when they returned to their village, highly gratified with the treatment, they received from us, on this island.

We were employed seven days in getting the public property over this rapid, when just before sundown on the seventh day, we went on board another steamer, "The Red Rover," and passed up the river a few miles where we lay by for the night. Next morning we raised the steam and

moved forward slowly, being often detained by low water, and sand bars, so that we did not arrive at Rock island until the third day about noon. About thirty five miles below Rock island, the beautiful country on the west side of the river opened to view, and from the first moment we saw it, all eyes were turned towards it. At every turn of the river, as we moved along, new bursts of wonder and admiration were poured out by all the passengers. The ladies were enraptured at the numerous and beautiful situations for dwelling houses, where they wished one day to live, in rural bliss.

Sometimes the east side of the river, offered as beautiful situations as the west, though, as a whole, the west was preferable.

Nature had done all—man nothing—and not a human being was seen upon either shore, nor a human habitation. That such a beautiful country, was intended by its Author to be forever in the possession and occupancy of serpents, wild fowls, wild beasts and savages, who derive little benefit from it, no reasonable man, can for a moment believe who sees it. The river here, may well compare with the Connecticut, at Northampton, in Massachusetts, and take away the buildings and fences from the lovely country, about the place just named, and you have the country below Rock island, with this exception, the bottom lands on the Mississippi are wider, they rise more regularly from the river and the hills are not so high, nor so irregular as those at Northampton. They are as fertile as the bottoms, and as well covered with grasses, as those of the Connecticut, without one weed intermixed, until you reach the very summits, when the woods, thick, lofty, green and delightful begin and extend back, west of the hills, to a considerable distance from the river. Adjoining the river is grass, on the western slope of the hills are thick woods.

The bottoms covered with tall grasses, begin on the very brink of the river, above high water mark, and they gradually ascend from one to three miles back, intersected every mile or two, by never failing rivulets, originating in the hills which descend beautifully into the river. They originate in pure springs on the summits of the hills and the ground between the springs is rounded, as if by art and fitted for a mansion house and all its attendant buildings.

Princes might dwell here, once within a mile or two of each other, fronting the Mississippi and along it, and possess handsomer seats than any one of them can boast of in the old world. We could hardly persuade ourselves, many times, when we first saw any one of these beautiful spots, that all the art that man possessed, and wealth could employ, had not been used to fit the place, for some gentleman's country seat, and every moment, as we passed along one expected to see some princely mansion, erected on the rising ground. Vain illusion! nature had done all to adorn and beautify the scenery before our eyes.

Setting down a pair of compasses large enough to extend thirty five miles around the lower end of Rock island and taking a sweep around it, you would have within the circle, the handsomest and most delightful spot of the same size, on the whole globe, so far as nature can produce any thing called beautiful. The island lies in latitude 41 degrees 30 minute, is two miles in length, and contains about two thousand acres of land. The extreme lower end, is occupied by Fort Armstrong and the village of Rock island. After passing through several feet of rich alluvial soil in perforating the earth, you come to lime stone rock, which forms the foundation of this island. Passing around this island, which is long and narrow, you every where see the rock on which the fort and village stand. The lower end of the island is high and dry above the river, whereas the upper end is overflowed in high waters, and all the upper end of the island is covered with a forest of excellent timber trees. The main channel of the river is on the western side of the island, and that part of the Mississippi, is half a mile in width, whereas in a low stage of the water, as when we saw it, the eastern branch of the river is not more than twenty rods wide perhaps, though so deep that it is ferried constantly, from the island to the main land.

When we were there, the ground where the fort stood, was 20 feet or more above the surface of the river, 10 or more feet of it were limestone rock, from the water upwards.

The officers have adjoining the fort, a most beautiful garden regularly laid out, with gravelled walks, in which are cultivated beets, carrots, onions, potatoes, corn, and every vegetable growing in this climate. Nothing could exceed



this garden, in fruitfulness, and every leaf appeared to shine in luxuriance. The gourd seed corn was fit to roast, the beets had attained a good size, and so had the potatoes, beans and carrots.

The village adjoins the fort on the north, and a few families live here, Mr. Davenport, who keeps a store for the American Fur Company, being a principal man among them. The sutler has a store here in addition to the company's store. Mr. Davenport is an Englishman, and formerly lived at Cincinnati, where I became acquainted with him. His son-in-law, and a few others, live on the island. With such persons I was happy to meet in the "Far West" and they were of use to us.

Gen. M'Niel went to the fort as soon as we landed, and Col. Menard and myself went to the Indian Agent's, Mr. Forsyth, where we were met by the Winnebago Prophet and about 200 Indians of that nation. Seating ourselves in the porch of the agency house, we were addressed by five orators in succession, who complained bitterly of neglect, as they had been here sometime awaiting our arrival without, having been fed as they expected by us. They wanted flour, hog meat, and whisky.

We explained to them the cause of our not appearing there sooner. They then complained of the change of place to Prairie du Chien, from this place, where they had come, but would not go to the latter place. We explained the reason why the place was changed; because Nawkaw had requested the change, and he was the principal chief, whose wishes governed the Secretary of War, in this matter. We immediately purchased 11 barrels of flour and gave them, with a suitable number of barrels of pork, and we gave them also, 200 pipes and a plenty of tobacco, which we procured of Mr. Davenport, our stores not having yet reached us here.

Giving orders to Mr. Forsyth, the agent, to follow us in four or five days, with the prophet, and certain chiefs and warriors, whom we named, we went to rest, not very late in the night. As soon as Gen. M'Niel made his appearance in the morning, we moved up the rapids, which begin at the lower end of this island, and extend upwards, eighteen miles. We had lightened our frail vessel, so that by traveling on foot ourselves, along the shore, in the sand

and over the pebbles, slipping back, every step, we made our way up the river very slowly. Col. Menard, myself, and every man who could walk, and not needed to navigate the vessel, went on foot—General M'Niel and the ladies continuing on board. Sometimes we turned out into the prairie, but the high grass, weeds, marsh and mud, soon compelled us to return to the sandy beach. Sometimes the woods approached quite to the river, on the east side, where we traveled, especially towards the upper end of the rapids.

Before sunset the vessel had passed the rapids, and we encamped for the night. The next day we moved on again, without any unusual accident, encamped again at night, and next day reached Fever river, ascended it seven miles, and landed at Galena, five hundred miles above St. Louis. This river is as crooked as any serpent's path need be, and it rises and falls with the Mississippi. Though seven miles by the Fever to the town, yet the village is but about three miles, on a direct line east of the Mississippi.

### GALENA

Stands on the land we afterwards purchased of the Indians, and is the largest town in Illinois. When we arrived there, it had been settled about three years. It contained several taverns, a considerable number of stores, about a dozen lawyers, four or five physicians, with little to do, as the country is healthy. There were three religious congregations in the place—Methodists, Roman Catholics and Presbyterians. The town is built on the side hill, in the form of a crescent, on the north side of Fever river, and contains, perhaps, one thousand inhabitants. It is a seat of justice of Joe Davies county, Illinois, and is situate in latitude about 42 degrees 30 minutes north. It contains at all times, very large quantities of lead, brought here, either as rent to the government, or for sale to the merchants. The superintendent of the mines, and his assistant, Major Campbell, live here. The latter gentleman and his amiable and interesting lady, had been with us on our passage from St. Louis, and they were happy to find themselves at the end of as disagreeable a journey as was ever made on these waters.

Numerous groceries appeared in the town, to us, and two billiard tables, were occupied by persons, who wished to amuse themselves at billiards.

Mr. James Barnes, formerly of Chillicothe, O., kept an excellent boarding house, and I found many old acquaintances in the town, enjoying the best of health, and they appeared cheerful and happy.

Here we learned, that a large body of Indians had already been assembled at Prairie Du Chien, for some time, and were in readiness to meet us. Knowing the necessity of supplying them with food, that ours would not reach us for some time yet, and knowing this to be the last opportunity we should find to purchase any food, we purchased 500 bushels of corn, and loading all we could convey, we left this beautiful town on the next day, and departed for our final destination, where we arrived about the middle of July, 1829.

As soon as we were discovered by our red friends, a few miles below the fort, opposite to their encampment, they fired into the air, about 1500 rifles to honor us. Our powder had become wet, and, to our extreme mortification and regret, we could not answer them, by our cannon. Having fired their arms, some run on foot, some rode on their small horses, furiously along over the prairie to meet us where we landed. Amidst the motley group of thousands, of all ages, sexes, classes of society, colors and conditions, of men, women and children, who met us, on the wharf—NAWKAW and HOOCHOPEKAN, with their families, eagerly seized my hand, and I was happy indeed, to meet them here. During twenty years, I had seen them, several times, and they recognized me in a moment, among the crowd, and assured me of their friendship and good wishes. These chiefs of the Winnebagoes, and their families, pressed around me, and continued close by me until we reached the tavern, where we went. There we entered into a long conversation, and they introduced me to their red friends. I assured them, of my ardent friendship, and “that they, and their people, should be dealt with, not only *justly* but *liberally*.” “That the President, their great father, was their friend, a warrior like them, and never would do them any injury: That I wished them all to remember what I now told them, and when we finally parted, if my solemn promise, thus vol-

untarily made to them, had no been kept to the very letter, I wished them to publicly tell me so." Shaking me heartily by the hand, and assuring me of their friendship, they then appealed to Col. Menard, who heartily agreed with me, in assuring them of our good intentions towards them.

Dr. Wolcott, the agent, for the Chippeways, Ottowas, and Pottawatimies, here met us, and he had been, at incredible pains, to get his Indians here, where they had been for nearly a month, perhaps. Mr. Kinzy the sub agent of the Winnebagoes, whose sub agency is located at Fort Winnebago, had also come, and with him all the principal persons of that nation, residing in that direction.

All the Indians with whom we were sent to treat, were represented on the ground, and all that was wanting to begin our councils, we urged forward, with all the energy that the officers of the government, and their numerous friends could muster. The next day, in company with Gen. Street, the agent of the Winnebagoes, resident here, several sub agents and interpreters, I met the principal men of the Winnebagoes, and we impressed upon them, the necessity of keeping their young men under subjection, and arranged with them, the outlines of the manner in which our business should be conducted. The talk was a long one and occupied the afternoon. Gen. Street was very zealous in the service of the government.

Gen. M'Neil and his officers at the Fort, erected a council shade, near the Fort and in about three days, we were ready to hold a public council; when Dr. Wolcotts' Indians informed me, that they could not meet in public council until an Indian was buried, and inquired of me if I objected to the burial, to which I replied that I could not object to the burial, certainly. On the next day to my regret, I learned, they would not assemble in council, until the Indian was buried, and again inquired, whether I was willing to have the person buried? To which question, I replied in the affirmative, when I was informed, that the relatives of the deceased, would not consent to the burial of the murdered person, until they had received a horse, as the compensation for his death. Understanding the difficulty at last, the commissioners gave the horse, the deceased was buried, and the Indians agreed to meet in council next day.

I took some pains to get the murderer and the relatives of the deceased together, in order to have a perfect reconciliation between them. They shook hands very cordially in appearance, but the relatives of the deceased person, informed me privately afterwards, that, as soon as the murderer got home with his horse and goods, they would kill him, and take his property, which he could better keep, than they could, until then. If I am correctly informed, they did as they assured me they would, after their arrival in their own country. So that compounding for the murder only procrastinated for a time, the punishment of the crime.

When every thing was in readiness for the opening of the council, the Indians of all the tribes and nations on the treaty ground, attended, and requested to have translated to them, severally, what we said to each tribe, which being assented to on our part, the Winnebagoes, the Chippeways, Ottowas, Pottawatimies, Sioux, Sauks, Foxes, and Munominees, half breeds, the officers from the fort, the Indian agents, sub agents, interpreters, and a great concourse of strangers, from every city in the Union—and even from Liverpool, London, and Paris were in attendance.

The commissioners sat on a raised bench, facing the Indian chiefs; on each side of them stood the officers of the army in full dresses, while the soldiers, in their best attire, appeared in bright array, on the sides of the council shade. The ladies belonging to the officers' families, and the best families in the Prairie, were seated directly behind the commissioners, where they could see all that passed, and hear all that was said. Behind the principal Indian chiefs sat the common people—first the men, then the women and children, to the number of thousands, who listened in breathless and death-like silence, to every word that was uttered. The spectacle was grand and morally sublime, in the highest degree, to the nations of red men, who were present, and when our proposition to sell all their country to their great father, had been delivered to them, they requested an exact copy of it, in writing, the request was instantly complied with, and the council broke up. Next day, we addressed the Winnebagoes, as we had the Chippeways, &c. the day before, and at their request gave them a copy of our speech,

After counciling among themselves, the Chippeways, &c. answered favorably as to a sale, though they would do nothing yet, until they had fixed on their terms.

The Winnebagoes appeared, in council, and delivered many speeches to us. They demanded, the twenty thousand dollars worth of goods. "Wipe out your debt, was their reply, before you run in debt again to us."

Our goods, owing to the low stage of the water, had not arrived yet, and the Indians feared we did not intend to fulfil Gov. Cass' agreement, of the year before. When our goods did arrive, and they saw them, they then changed their tone a little; but in the meantime, great uneasiness existed, and I was often seriously advised by Nawkaw and other friends, to go into the Fort, as Gen. M'Niel had done. Col. Menard's ill health, had compelled him to leave the ground and go to Gen. Street's, five miles (the General calls it three) from the council house. Unless we left the ground, we were told, by the Winnebagoes, that they "would use a little switch upon us." In plain English, they would assassinate the whole of us, out of the Fort. Two hundred warriors, under Keeokuk and Morgan, of Sauks and Foxes, arrived, and began their war dance, for the United States, and they brought word that 30 steam boats with cannon, and U. S. troops, and 400 warriors of their own, were near at hand! The Winnebagoes were silenced by this intelligence, and by demonstrations, not misunderstood by them.

When KEEOKUK arrived, he brought two deserters from the garrison here, whom he had made prisoners on his way up the river. Quasquawma and his son-in-law, Tiamma came with Keeokuk. It was a season of great joy with me, who placed more reliance on these friendly warriors, than on all our other forces. Good as our officers were, our soldiers of the army, were too dissipated and worthless to be relied on, one moment. Taking KEEOKUK aside, and alone, I told him in plain English, all I wanted of him, what I would do for him, and what I expected from him and his good offices. He replied in good English, "I understand you sir, perfectly, and it shall all be done." It was all done faithfully, and he turned the tide in our favor.

The goods arrived and also our provisions, Col. Menard's and Gen. M'Niel's health were restored and they appeared

again at the council house, and every thing wore a new aspect. They approved of all I had done in their temporary absence.

On the 29th day of July, 1829, we concluded our treaty with the Chippeways, Ottowas, and Pottawatimies.

On the 1st day of August, a treaty was concluded with the Winnebagoes.

So the treaties were executed at last, and about eight millions of acres of land added to our domain, purchased from the Indians. Taking the three tracts, ceded, and forming one whole, it extends from the upper end of Rock Island to the mouth of the Wisconsin—from latitude 41 degrees, 30 minutes, to latitude 43 degrees, 15 minutes, on the Mississippi. Following the meanderings of the river, it is called 240 miles from south to north. It extends along the Wisconsin and Fox rivers from west to east, so as to give us a passage across the country from the Mississippi to lake Michigan. The south part of the purchase extends from Rock Island, to lake Michigan. South of the Wisconsin, the Indians now own only reservations, where they live, which as soon as the white people settle on all the ceded lands, will be sold to us, and the Indians will retire above the Wisconsin, or cross the Mississippi, where the bear, the beaver, the deer, and the bison invite them. The United States now own all the country on the east side of the Mississippi, from the Gulph of Mexico to the mouth of the Wisconsin. When I have crossed Rock river, after having passed over the interior of the ceded country, I will describe it, more particularly.

It remains for me, to make a few remarks upon the country, along the Mississippi, from Fort Edwards, upward, and briefly describe Prairie Du Chien.

Ascending the Mississippi, the country appeared to rise up out of the river at Fort Edwards, and the hills assume a greater elevation, still, at Du Buque's mine and tomb, not far from Galena. From thence upwards, the bottom lands are narrow, & the river turns towards the north west, and becomes very crooked, bounded by high hills. Cassville, thirty miles below Prairie Du Chien, stands on a narrow bottom, where an opening into the mineral country, in the direction of Mineral Point, presents itself. This easy passage down to the river, has located a town here, of a few

houses, consisting of a tavern, a store house for the lead, belonging to the United States; and here a government sub agent to collect and receive the government's share of lead resides, Major Beall.

Opposite to the mouth of the Wisconsin, stands Pike's hill, lofty and abrupt, and just above this place, on the eastern bank of the river, begins the low prairie ground on which Fort Crawford, and the village of Prairie Du Chien stand. The town begins to show itself three miles above the Wisconsin, and extends upwards, about nine miles, where it ends. The river is full of islands, and when at its highest altitude in a freshet, is three miles in width, from hill to hill. Originally settled by the French, it was once a place of some importance, as the remains of old cellars and chimneys show. That importance is no more, and probably never will be again. Overflowed by high waters, and but little good land near it, without water power, I see little inducement, to build up a town here. On the north side of the Wisconsin, there is no land, on which a town can be located near the Wisconsin, and the south side is preferable for it, where one will, one day, rise up. The town, though, is a seat of justice for a county of Michigan, and perhaps 30 families, besides those belonging to the garrison, reside here. No Indians reside near here, and there is no sort of need of, nor propriety in having an agency, &c. here, for the Winnebagoes, because Fort Winnebago is the proper place for the agency.

Gen. Street, the agent, and near relative of Mr. Barry, the Postmaster General, is the present agent, and his residence, I consider to be about five miles above the Fort, though I am aware, that Gen. Street's estimated distance is only three miles.

The water found by digging in this prairie, is not always good, and that in our well, was the worst I ever tasted, operating upon the bowels like glauber salts, and I suffered excessively from using it. Even the food cooked in it affected me seriously. The well in the fort is better, and some persons obtain water, from springs in the river, when it is low. The river covers all the town, and where the fort is, in high water. The Mississippi rising late in the season, and subsiding in the summer solstice, this place must be sickly, in summer, every year, when a freshet takes



such a time to appear. In 1829, there was no rise in the river, of any amount, and the place was healthy.

The only Indians living on this river, below this place, and near it, are the Sauks and Foxes. The principal town of the former, on the east side of the Mississippi, is situated on the north side of Rock river, near its mouth, and in sight of the Mississippi. Not many years ago, this town contained, it is said, four or five thousand inhabitants. They have sold all the country east of the river Mississippi, and are withdrawing from it, to a new town, some ten miles west of their old town, and about the same distance from Rock island.

The principal town of the Foxes is on the brink, of the river near Du Buque's mine, and in sight of his tomb, which is erected on a high hill, where the cross on his grave can be seen from the river, to a considerable distance from it. Du Buque was an Indian trader and lived and died here.

The Fox town contains twenty wigwams or upwards, and I presume some two hundred Indians. I saw but a few acres of poorly cultivated corn near the town, and the wigwams looked shabby enough. Morgan is the principal warrior of this village, as Keeokuk is of the Rock river town.

The Sauks and Foxes were so useful to us as auxiliaries, that I feel grateful to them and make a few remarks on their principal men, who were with us.

KEEOKUK, the principal warrior, of the Sauks, is a shrewd politic man, as well as a brave one, and he possesses great weight of character in their national councils. He is a high minded, honorable man, and never begs of the whites.

While ascending the Mississippi to join us, at the head of his brave troops, he met, arrested and brought along with him, to Fort Crawford, two United States' soldiers, who were deserting from the garrison, when he met them. I informed him that for this act, he was entitled to a bounty in money; to which he proudly replied, that he acted from motives of friendship towards the United States and would accept no money for it.

MORGAN is the principal warrior of the Foxes, and resides at Du Buque's mine, on the western bank of the Mississippi. Though less versatility of talent belongs to him than Keeokuk possesses, yet he is a brave man and fond of

war. More than a year before we were in that country, this Indian general, had gone to the Sioux country and killed a woman and three children of that nation, which act produced the war, then raging between the two nations. This act has since been dreadfully avenged by a large party, on some twenty individuals of the Foxes.

TIAMA, a principal civil chief of the same tribe, is an excellent man, and the son-in-law of Quasquawma. Their village is already noticed as being located on the west side of the river, opposite where we lay on an island, at the head of the lower rapids.

QUASQUAWMA, was the chief of this tribe once, but being cheated out of the mineral country, as the Indians allege, he was degraded from his rank and his son-in-law Tiama elected in his stead. The improvisatori, whose name has escaped my recollection, is a shrewd wit, and a very good man, certainly a very amiable and agreeable one. He is highly esteemed by all his people.

TOM, a half blood, is a great pet, among the whites. He speaks prairie-wolf-French, and a little English, in addition to his knowledge of Indian languages.

Of the above named individuals, and several others belonging to these brave and generous allies, I brought away with me as correct likenesses as I ever saw drawn. Gratitude towards them, was my motive for being at the expense of these beautiful paintings, which have gone to London, a year since. Like many other expenses, I was necessarily put to, I have never received, even one cent from the government towards them, nor have I received one cent, either for my expenses or my services, at St. Louis; the lower rapids; Rock island; or Galena. I say this, because it has been stated, very differently, even on the floor of the House of Representatives. It is not true, that all my expenses were paid by the United States; nor is it true that my services have been paid for, by the government at all. In saying this, I do it in justice to myself as I would, to do justice to any other injured individual, however humble in the nation. I am even yet unpaid, but I never will condescend to beg for my pay, at the doors of Congress. I did once expect, very different treatment from my country.

Before I give an account of our parting scene, with our red friends, at Prairie du Chien, I proceed to give my views

of the Indian nations of the upper Mississippi, in particular, and of the man of America, in general. And I begin with the

#### ORIGIN OF THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS.

In order to trace the red men of America, to his origin, writers have generally had recourse to the languages of these people, compared with those of other nations, ancient and modern. Some writers have found customs among them, resembling those of the Greeks, the Romans, the Turks, the Phoenicians, the Gauls, the ancient Britons, and even the Jews! Some savage tribes, who are cleanly in their habits, and dwell in a cold climate, have fair skins, blue eyes, and light colored hair, and are fancifully supposed to be the remains of a Welch colony, which in truth never sailed from Wales, nor any where else, as Winterbottom has proved.

I propose, as briefly as possible, to remark upon their languages, in the first place, and afterwards, examine such of their manners and customs, as some persons have supposed go, to prove their origin. I shall be very cautious in the use of vocabularies, so often paraded before us with great ostentation, because, I know how extremely incorrect they are.

Unwritten languages, are very imperfect, at best, and unless great pains are taken by a good ear, the sounds of the words, are not caught, correctly. Illiterate interpreters too, make many blunders, and the same sounds are written down very differently, by Spaniards, Frenchmen, and the English. Hence a difference of spelling the same words, and even when spelt correctly, we Americans have widely deviated, in our pronunciation of words (which were, and still are written correctly,) from the true pronunciation. As an illustration, take the words, "Ches-e-ake," which signifies in the Ojibeway tongue, 'a town at the mouth of a river.' It was an Indian town, at the mouth of the Susquehannah river. We have made one word of it, and with it, covered a large bay, which we call Chesapeake. Similar mistakes exist in almost all our names of Indian nations, towns, lakes and rivers. Not a few of our supposed Indian names, are not Indian names, and never were used by any Indians, on earth. Ohio, itself, is not an

Indian word at all. "Oyo," a sort of interjection among the Indians, was applied to this river, by the earliest French travellers, through sheer mistake, and has acquired a local habitation, without Indian aid. The Indians called it "Kiskepeela sepe" or Eagle river. Ojibeway, we have changed into Chippeway—Hoatchungara, into Winnebago—Ozauke, into Sauks—Musquawkee, into "Foxes," (it means "red earth," and not red Fox, as some ignorant interpreter supposed,) Dacota, by some strange fatality, we call Sioux, or as we pronounce it, Soos.

These mistakes, have crept into all our books of travels, of laws, and our common conversation, until they are so sanctioned by use and time, that no one need think himself capable of rectifying and correcting them at this late day.

Fine spun theories, have been erected, upon these strange mistakes, and vast learning and ability, have been displayed upon a subject, which would have been far better employed on something which had some real existence. In this way, the poorest languages and least expressive of any ever spoken by man, have been represented as being by far more expressive, than the polished ones of Greece and Rome! It would lead me too far, from my path, were I to follow to their sources, all the errors, which have been propagated about the Indian languages. I will content myself by one or two illustrations. The poverty of all the Indian languages, they being unwritten, and being understood by one or two tribes, (except the Ojibeway) only, combined possibly, with other causes, have produced a habit among the aboriginies, of speaking by signs, more than by words. Hence, even in labored speeches, that interpreter who interprets merely the words used, gives not the full sense of the speaker.

Another source of error on this subject, is our taking a considerable number of words, for one word. I have noticed already Ches-e-pe-ake. Let us for a moment suppose that the English language was an unwritten one, and that a person should say, "I love you." And suppose further, that some one, unacquainted with the language, should imagine that "I love you" was only one word. How expressive! He would say, is this language? Should the speaker say, "thou lovest him," "he loves him, her, it or them." The ignorant hearer would be in raptures, at the

expressiveness of a language which, by a mere change of a few syllables, at the beginning and ending of a word, would convey in it the nominative, the verb, and the object on which it acted. I hope the illustration is sufficient, to expose this error.

But, it is with our Indians, as it is among all savage nations, a common custom, in speaking, not to use, either the nominative, or objective cases.

Suppose a savage should approach you, and ask for food, lying on your table—let us suppose the savage to use our own language—pointing to the food, he would make signs to you to go to the table and take the food and then give it to him, and he would say, “Give.” How enraptured would the ignorant believer in the expressiveness of savage languages, be, on hearing one word pronounced, which would convey, as he foolishly believed, all the meaning of one whole sentence in a written language.

If a Winnebago wished me to walk aside, and converse with him by ourselves, as NAWKAW often did, his only way of communicating his wish to me, was to point to his own breast, first, then to me, next; and finally to that part of the prairie (in which we happened to be standing) where he wished me to go; he uniformly said, “MAUNEE,” [walk] and that was the only word which was uttered, until we had retired to the place pointed out and thus designated. When arrived at the spot, the conversation was carried on between us, with as few words as possible, using signs for objects, by pointing to them. With his pipe stem or a stick, he would draw in the sand, the lines of demarkation, when the limits of the lands to be purchased of his people, were in discussion between us, and a stick was struck in the ground, to indicate a corner in the plat. If he approved of my proposition, “oah,” yes, was all he said in reply; and I answered him in the same way. If the proposition pleased either of us very much, the reply was uttered with great vehemence, otherwise faintly.

Should any savage, who used our language, and if he knew no other, call upon you when he was very hungry, and see no food in your house, he would simply say “hungry,” pointing to himself.

Though verbs are more used than any parts of speech, except interjections, yet, where signs can easily convey

their meaning, verbs are not used in common conversation. Interjections are the first, and only language then used by man. We weep, we smile and we laugh, and the sounds we convey to express the emotions of pleasure and great joy, of pain and great grief are the same, in all languages, in all times, and in every place on the globe.—Nature, without the dull and insipid aids of art, pours forth the feelings of the heart, spontaneously, in language perfectly intelligible to every human being. Art may imitate this language, but any shrewd observer easily detects the counterfeit coin, and nails it to the counter.

Nearly all the verbs among the Winnebagoes are not conjugated, and when they are, they are very imperfect verbs. "Maunee" is used, in all cases without conjugation, for the verb 'to walk,' in all the moods and tenses, and for the participles, likewise. Not a few of their verbs are equally imperfect, having neither mood, tense nor participles. In other Indian languages, I am almost tempted to the belief, that either white men, or educated Indians, have supplied many imperfections, originally belonging to their verbs. So far as uninstructed nature can go, is all that can be expected, almost, in any language, used by men roaming about in small numbers, in quest of food and raiment, and the merest necessities of nature. It is difficult, nay, hardly possible, for us in Ohio, who seldom see an Indian, to form correct ideas about them on any subject, and yet men who have never seen one, or seen only such as have more of our ideas, than they ever had of their own original ones, venture to pronounce opinions about languages, not even one word of which they ever heard correctly pronounced. Such writers have manufactured nearly whole languages, upon philosophical principles, and have then praised them in the highest strains of eloquence. So far as I am able to judge from my imperfect knowledge of the subject, who feel myself competent to hold a conversation with Indians of almost any tribe in North America, which I know, is perfectly understood by both parties, I should say without doubting the assertion, that those very learned authors, were they present at the "talk," could not comprehend one word, that was uttered by us. Such barefaced imposition, palmed off upon the world, deserves the severest censure. Hypocrisy in religion and politics is

bad enough, but in literature, ignorant pretension, so nearly allied to hypocrisy, becomes insufferable, and I cannot bear it. Thus far, I see nothing, except what Gov. Cass and his coadjutors have brought forward, of these languages worth preserving. Our Indian names of all sorts, are so wide of their pronounciation, that no Indian, who heard them pronounced, would even dream, what word of his language, was intended to be spoken. Indeed our alphabet does not, and cannot convey the sounds, in any Indian language. It is very amusing to see what attempts our missionaries have made, to spell Indian words. One word, sometimes occupies a whole line of the page, that an Indian utters in a moment, by breathing out and in his breath, while he is uttering it, with his mouth wide open, so that you can see quite down his throat. We need not therefore mourn the loss of their languages, more than the loss of their savage manners and customs. The interjections in their languages, never can be lost in the world, and whether the sounds an infant first utters, ought to be incorporated into the European languages, it will be time enough to consider, when such a proposition is gravely brought forward, by some manufacturer of Indian languages.— Unless a fair discussion is had on this subject, and a final decision is made in favor of the Indian and other natural languages; I shall continue to speak and write, my own artificial language, derived from England, France, Germany and other modern European nations, and the ancient ones of Greece and Rome. I wish also, to take a part in the discussion, when it is seriously brought forward, and pray to be heard in court on the question, before any decision be had. I shall insist on producing my witnesses in open court, to give evidence *viva voce*, and will most seriously object to the introduction of hearsay evidence, when testimony of a higher grade is in the power of the parties, to produce before the court. When I appear as counsel for the defence, I will bring into court with me, all the distinguished orators of the Northwest. These men shall address the court, but no book shall be read, nor any vocabulary of any Indian language, unless it be for the express purpose of showing it to be, a most perfect failure, to convey the true pronounciation of the words intended to be

conveyed by the letters, used by the authors of the aforesaid vocabularies.

Writers on language, have all run in the same channel—they have traced artificial languages up to their source, natural language, but that fountain has never been sufficiently analyzed by any author, ancient or modern. Any one who is a mere scholar, never going out of his closet, is incompetent to handle the subject of natural language.—Such writers have erred, and all the world has run into these errors. I wish to induce men of genius, learning and science, to go to the fountain head, of all human language, and to analyze the waters where they first appear. No one natural language is derived from any other language, but from nature. What is derived from nature, and what comes from art, should be carefully separated. Natural language is one thing, artificial language another, between which, the chain that connects them, should be thoroughly examined by persons well acquainted with both languages, and with the whole subject. Books may aid us in the examination of artificial languages, but do not, cannot aid us much in natural languages, because man has not yet done much towards conveying the natural sounds of the human voice; at least, there is not in the world, a very perfect alphabet of syllables. I am not unacquainted with all the alphabets in the world, ever used by man. I have examined them all carefully.

When the time arrives, that we have perfect alphabets, such as convey every sound correctly, of every language, then, we can pronounce a correct opinion on the whole subject, but not until then. The British nation could procure such alphabets; but, if that nation does not, this nation may do it some day.

The Germans have done a great deal, in examining artificial language, but they have made great mistakes, I know, and some of them I feel surprised at, they are so obvious. Their own language is more, much more artificial, than they are aware of, I feel assured.

On a subject so complicated, so vast, so deep, I can only glance an eye, as I proceed in my rapid march over a corner of the field. As I pass along, I point the finger to the fountain heads, and pray others, who have more leisure, to visit



them and thoroughly analyze their waters, and inform us what the ingredients are, held in solution by them.

Although, a savage has but a few words by which, to convey his ideas, yet, he does not often use one half of these in his conversation. Generally grave and sedate, and too indolent to use many words, he converses by signs. Besides, he believes that a great talker, is a man of no great consideration. I noticed, frequently, that when I received their whole council, with a very few expressions of friendship, seated them, gave them pipes and tobacco, and smoked a long time with them, in profound silence, they went away from me, highly gratified, with the treatment they received.

Having briefly, I hope sufficiently exposed the fountains, from whence, numerous and copious streams of error, have flowed, until they have spread over all the plains below them, I proceed to state, that the Ojibeway tongue, is the most universal of any, and must have been the language in former times, of most of the Indians, inhabiting the country now belonging to our eastern and middle States. It is in fact, the court language among the Indians. True, there are individuals among the Sauks, Foxes, Munominees and Soos, who do not understand it, but among any twenty of them assembled together, were they addressed by any person in it, and an inquiry made for one to interpret the speech, some one would immediately come forward, and act as an interpreter. As this is confessed by the Indians, to be the oldest language, and the people who speak it, to be their "eldest brother," it deserves considerable attention. It has been called by different names, and several tribes have derived their origin from the Ojibeways, such as the Ottowas, Pottowatimies, &c. Gov. CASS, and those whom he engaged to furnish him information as to this, and other Indian languages, deserve great credit, for their labors and it is to be hoped, those labors may be continued, and amply rewarded. I place great reliance on their labors, because, so far as I have had opportunities of judging, they are perfectly correct. Whether, other American writers, on Indian languages, have on the whole, been of any service to the cause of letters, is with me, to say the very least, very doubtful. It would require more knowledge of the subject, than I pretend to have, to enable me to separate

truth (if there be any) from falsehood, in their ostentatious displays of pretended learning, since the monstrous errors, I have indicated, lie at the bottom of it.

Guttural sounds, are almost the only ones which a savage utters, and all the time while he is speaking, his mouth is kept wide open—he speaks from his throat. It must be an extremely laborious operation, for him to deliver a public harangue on any important subject. From the situation I always occupied in the public councils, I had a fine opportunity to observe every public speaker, who addressed the commissioners. Doubtless, there are sounds, which occur quite too frequently to please a nice ear, in every human language. Foreigners complain of the constant “hissing” in the English language, and the “ong” of the French is not very agreeable to my ear. In all the Indian languages, the sounds which occur too often to please the ear, are, ah, gah, tah, rah, hah, dah, mah, nah, neeh, weeh, seeh, goh, yoh, cawn, sawn, tso, tsi, en, tsen, chen, hai, whang, hoo, woan, eeh, kai, quang, kon, tung, keen, &c—These sounds are found in the Winnebago language, and they belong to all primitive languages. The Chinese employ the selfsame sounds.

Let us examine the names of districts of country in China, and we shall find Quangsi, Hooquang, Shantang, Nantchang, Kiangsee, Shensee, Tungkeen, Tonkeen, Nankeen, So of districts of ocean around China—Whanghai, or Yellow sea; Tung hai, or Eastern sea. “Nan” is a place in Winnebago, so it is in Chinese and Hai nan (literally sea land) is the name of an island in our maps, lying south of China, and near the continent. The same alphabet of syllables, with a very few additions, would express every sound in both languages.

So of the languages of Hindustan—Labore, Gurwal, Agrah, Bahar, Mysore, Oudah and other names of large districts, in India, beyond the Indus, and in, and near the Ganges, are words among the Winnebagoes.

“Khane ke waste kooch chees  
do.” Hindostanae.

Give me something to eat,  
Anglicae,

Sounds exactly like Winnebago, so much so, that the nicest ear cannot detect the difference between them. Ali

Kawn, is the name of a man among the Winnebagos, as it was among the Hindoos. Kawrawkaw, (crow killer,) is an Indian chief, so are, Maunkawkaw, Wawnkawshaw (whirling thunder) Nawkaw (wood) Hoochopekah (four legs) Kayray mawnee (walking turtle) Wawtcheakaw (big canoe) Wawrootshekaw (yellow thunder) chahwaw-saipkah, (black eagle.) But although these sounds are common to the languages of India and North America, and indeed, although individuals of both countries bear precisely the same names, and are pronounced exactly alike, yet the meaning of those names is not the same, nor at all alike in the different languages. The Winnebago utters the sounds, only, which nature gives him, from the moment he first sees the light of day, and the first sounds he utters, are words, in his language, full of meaning. "Augoo," is the name, applied to the mother's breast, among some nations of the North West. "Gah," is a sound uttered by every infant as soon as it begins to creep about the floor. In the language of the Sioux—"Gah," means there! "Shah" is a sound uttered by the infant before it can speak an English word, and in the Sioux tongue, it means red. Toh, in the same language, means green, (a color,) skah! (white) pah! (the head) eah, (no.) tokehjah [what for?] chaah [penis] An English child before it can speak even one word of its own language, would make precisely the same sound, on handling the same part of the human body. Ahzah [the nipple] is a word among the earliest the infant utters.

Mamma, in both Greek and Latin, means breast, and the same word is used for mother, in English: and there is not perhaps, a language in North America, in which mahmah, is not a legitimate word, but it never means the same thing it does in the languages of Greece and Rome. So Pappa, is used in most of the European languages for father, and the same word is probably used by nearly every Indian nation, but means in no two languages the same thing.

Some persons draw a very learned argument from the pronouns (personal ones) being nearly the same, in many languages.

## SINGULAR.

In Sioux—Mea, vel, mish—I  
 Nea, *or* nish—thou  
 Eah *or* ish—he

## PLURAL.

Okeah *or* okish—we  
 Neahpe—ye  
 Eahpe—they

## RELATIVE PRONOUNS.

Takoo —what  
 Tooktah—which  
 Tooah—who  
 Kah—that  
 Dah—this  
 Oo-mau—the other.

Instead of deriving these words from any other source whatever, I go no further than to the sounds uttered by man in his earliest infancy, as THE TRUE FOUNTAIN from whence all human languages are originally derived. The most ancient languages of the Chinese, of the Hindoos, the Celts, &c. will be found to contain nearly the same sounds, and the same words, with our Winnebagoes, Sioux, Sauks, Ojibeways, &c. of the North West, but the same sounds, and the same words will in no case mean the same things, in any two different languages. The present languages of Europe have become like their state of society quite artificial, or in other words, unnatural, so that interjections seem almost all of our modern languages, that art has not either banished or, as we moderns deem it, improved.

On the whole, I am free to confess, that I find no proof in the languages of North America, of any origin of the red man, other than that he possesses, the same colloquial powers as the man of the eastern continent, and that man in every part of the world is the same being, in every essential power of body, and faculty of mind.

Not a few learned and ingenious men, have found the man of America, agreeing with the man of the eastern continent, in his manners, habits, customs, form of government, &c. &c., and have drawn such conclusions from their premises, as best suited their preconceived theories. The author of this essay has no theory to support, and no wish on the subject, but to arrive at a correct conclusion. The

Indian of North America, so far as I am able to judge, draws his manners, customs, habits, form of government, and laws, from the nature of man, his situation and its attendant circumstances, and the traditions and usages of his ancestors.

Polygamy is common to the North American and the Asiatic, but, so far as I can judge of this custom, for its true origin, we need only look into the nature of man and having been at first adopted, in a state of nature, by the law of the strongest and, having been established, and found useful in a state of nature, in order to form a community strong enough to support and protect itself, it is now too firmly established to be easily got rid of, in such a state of society as the one where it exists. Mohammed did not originate this custom among his followers, but merely sanctioned what he found already established among them. The Arabs then and now led a wandering life, in a country not very dissimilar to our prairie country, in the Northwest. The law of the strongest, prevails among both people, and an erratic course of life, produces and continues in existence nearly the same results. A more condensed state of society, the possession of more property more equally divided too, among the great mass of the population, more wants and more difficulty in supplying them more art and less nature, and above all a fixed habitation for every family, and every individual, would do considerable, at least something towards the abolition of this, and other customs. But after all, I doubt, whether polygamy will cease to exist in the world, until the influence of christianity eradicates it. So long as the nature of man is, what it is—in countries too, where custom sanctions it, and the state of society seems to call for it, so long it will exist in every part of the world, where we now find it. I derive this custom then, from no particular climate, from no one nation, but from man as he is by nature, by habit, and almost by necessity, when placed in a state of nature, or in one, nearly approaching it.

The law of retaliation for injuries received from an enemy, as it exists among our Indians, has been brought forward as a proof that our red man of America, sprung from the Jews. Moses has taught us that we have a right to exact "an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth:" but that

doctrine, so far as self defence, is concerned in it, was first written in an older book, than the five of which Moses was the author—it was written too by the finger of HIM, whose hand made the Universe, on the heart, not only of man, but of every fowl of the air, beast of the field, and fish of the sea. Moses found this law of self preservation, and self defence, inscribed on the human heart, by the finger of God, and did not (because he could not,) blot it out. Our Saviour himself, so intimates to us, of this custom as he does of polygamy likewise, and until the sublime and Godlike precepts of christianity abrogate or modify these customs, they will exist, among men forever. Self defence and self preservation will exist forever, all over the world. Their origin is divine. The avenger of blood, as he was called, among the Jews, that is, some near relative of the murdered person, (whose duty it is to avenge his death, unless the murder be compounded for, by the murderer, or his relatives, or friends) has been seized on, by writers who are determined to find among our Indians, “the lost tribes of Israel.”

This custom among men, is also older than Moses, and all he did, was to lay down rules by which to regulate it. He wished to mitigate what he felt himself unable to entirely abrogate, and with that view established certain towns, called “cities of refuge,” where, (not the willful and deliberate murderer) the person who had committed, what we term, “man slaughter,” could fly to, and be safe from the hand of the avenger. Though our Indians have their avenger of blood, yet they have no cities of refuge—no sacred places, to which the unfortunate man can fly and be safe from the avenger of blood. Where a city of refuge is found among Indians, it is easily traced to Catholic missionaries. Had our red man been once in the possession of the idea of a city of refuge, in cases of this kind, would he have lost it? I suspect that he would not. Moses probably found the Israelites, in the use of exactly such customs, as existed every where in the world, at that day. Some of them, he strictly prohibited, such as the practice of idolatry—others, he regulated by sumptuary laws, and his object was, as he has informed us, to render his nation “a peculiar people, zealous of good works.” What he intended to do, he actually accomplished, though had his peo-

He been better informed, he doubtless would have attempted more than he did. I entertain very serious doubts, whether even one custom, which is no older than the time of Moses, can be found among our Indians. Circumcision is older than Moses, by four hundred years, and yet it is not practised, on this continent. Had our red man derived his origin from the "lost tribes," would not this practice have been handed down from age to age to the present time?

But the green corn dance, and other feasts, are by some persons, traced back to the time of Moses. When the corn is just fit to eat and they possess for the time being, an abundance of food, after almost a famine, the Indians feast and sleep, and dance, and give a loose to joy and gladness of heart—and so they do, when they kill a fat bear, or a good fat deer, or take an abundance of fish. I see nothing in this custom, either unnatural or traditional.

The practice of having a standard bearer, for every tribe when going to war, or while met in national council, and indeed, while our natives are traveling as a nation, has been violently dragged into the argument, in favor of a Jewish origin. Carrymaunee (walking turtle) a Winnebago chief carries a large tortoise, fully extended, and beautifully painted, perfect in all its limbs, on his back as he marches onward at the head of the turtle tribe. In the same manner, Snake skin, marches at the head of the snake tribe, with the skin of a large snake tied around his neck. In fine, every tribe has its standard bearer, with appropriate emblems. Is this custom derived from the Jewish one of bearing the ark? In what part of the whole world, and in what age of it, did not this custom exist? This argument proves too much, then, because it proves, if it proves any thing, that all nations ancient and modern, now are, and always were Jews. Every tribe of savages on the globe, has its standard, and every civilized nation, its national colors, in the defence of which, oceans of human blood have flowed, and will flow again, until man ceases to be man. This custom, goes for nothing, except to prove man is man.

So the division of our aborigines into tribes, has been brought forward to prove them Jews! The same argument, would prove the original inhabitants of Scotland, of France, of Rome too, and indeed of all countries on earth,

originally Jews. No one, pretends to believe that the "Scots wha ha wi' Wallace bled, the Scots whom Bruce has often led," were of Jewish origin. It is as natural a division of mankind, into tribes, as it is, to divide them into families, and a tribe necessarily results from the increase of a family. So far as I know, almost every Indian tribe, originally, sprung from some one family. Additions to it by intermarriages with persons not originally belonging to it, by captives taken in war, and by persons born in it, very naturally, in time, produces too great a number, to belong to one family, and to be controlled by one head, and another family is set up, and so on, until a tribe is formed. In the Northwest, there is a most striking family likeness, among the individuals belonging to any one tribe, so much so, that the individual is easily recognized, as to what tribe he belongs.

The traditions of our Indians have furnished proofs, to many persons, of an Asiatic origin. Any tradition among them, almost, of what took place, more than a century since, must be dark and doubtful.

I have often listened to their traditions with pleasure because they appeared very anxious to obtain from me, a satisfactory explanation of them.

The furthest back, I was able to trace their traditions, was up to the time when our European ancestors, first settled on this continent. That story every Indian can tell, and the Sauks have some traditions as to their living, as I supposed, in Rhode Island, and of King Philip's wars.—Musquawkee (red earth) is the name of the Foxes, who, according to their account of themselves, must have resided in Rhode Island, originally, and have been driven away from thence on the death and overthrow of King Philip. I arrived at this conclusion, very unexpectedly to myself, from the very correct description of the physical features of that district of country, and the clear and interesting account, they gave me of those wars. Beyond that period of time, they know nothing.

A belief in the existence of a God, and of a future state of existence for man, not a few persons suppose are derived, exclusively from tradition. I confess myself to be of a different opinion. The existence of a GREAT FIRST CAUSE, and his superintending Providence, are too clearly written



on all the works of creation, not to be read and understood by every human being.

The Indian is exposed to every change of season, and feels more than we do, the immediate effects of every change of weather.

He trusts more than we do, to the bounty of Providence for his daily support. His modes of living in the open air, obliges him to notice every prognostic of any change of weather. The sun, the moon, the stars, or in their absence, the clouds are carefully observed by him at all times. His leisure enables him to contemplate on the works of creation, more than we do.

The evident marks of intelligence, design, wisdom, and power of the Creator, are every where so evident, and are written in characters so legible, that even the savage reads them. Not a savage roams over the prairies and forests of the Northwest, but very naturally inquires of himself, and reasons thus:

“Why did the fiat of God give birth  
 To yon fair sun, and his attendant earth?  
 And when, descending, he resigns the skies,  
 Why takes the gentler moon, her turn to rise?  
 Why do the Seasons still enrich the year,  
 Fruitful and young, as in their first career?  
 Spring hangs her infant blossoms on the trees,  
 Rock'd in the cradle of the Western breeze;  
 Summer in haste, the thriving charge receives,  
 Beneath the shade of her expanded leaves;  
 Till Autumn's fiercer heats and plenteous dews,  
 Dye them at last, in all their glowing hues.  
 Look where he will, the wonders God has wrought,  
 The wildest scorner of his Maker's laws,  
 Finds in a sober moment, time to pause;  
 To press th' important question on his heart,  
 Why form'd at all, or wherefore as thou art?  
 Truths, that the learn'd pursue with eager thought,  
 Are not important always, as dear bought,  
 Proving at last, though told in pompous strains,  
 A childish waste of philosophic pains;  
 But truths, on which depends our main concern,  
 That 'tis our shame and mis'ry not to learn,  
 Shine by the side of every path we tread  
 With such a lustre, he that runs may read.”

COWPER.

Abstruse writers, little acquainted with man, as he is by nature, have run into extremes; one party, decrying human

reason below, and the other exalting it above its true value. I run into neither extreme, and feel assured that I am perfectly correct.

Revealed religion, is merely an addition to natural religion. The former corrects the mistakes too, men run into, in construing natural religion—it modifies sometimes, and often explains, but never contradicts natural religion. The light of nature is good, as far as it goes; but does not shine bright enough, nor throw its beams far enough into the gloom, covering futurity, and indeed this life also, to enable us happily and usefully to pass through the wilderness of this world.

Which of these religions has been most corrupted by bad men, I cannot say, and I regret that I am acquainted with no book, impartially written on the subject, nor one wherein justice is done to it. The Church of England, ought to produce such a work, and the learned divines, at the head of it, are fully competent to do so.

For learning and talent they stand foremost in the world, at this moment.

For pure, gospel simplicity of doctrine and practice, I give them a decided preference, over all other christian sects.

I do not believe a nation can be found on the earth, who are athiests; nor one who denies the immortality of the soul. Human societies could not be held together without such a belief, and it is as natural for us to believe in these truths, as it is for us to breathe the vital air.

It is true, that the Indians of the Northwest have no ideas of a Trinity, none as I could learn, of sacrifices and of many other notions, which the Six Nations of New York have, and so have our Indians in Ohio; but the latter most evidently derived these notions from Catholic priests, sent to them from Canada.

The religion of the Winnebagoes, is the simple, unsophisticated religion of nature, unadulterated by any foreign mixtures whatever. The Prophet on Rock river is endeavoring to raise himself into consequence, by his craft, but how he will succeed, time must tell us. This reverend and learned doctor, is trying to join church and state together.

The religion of the people of the Upper Mississippi, consists of a belief in the existence of a God, in the immortality

of the soul, and in a state of rewards and punishments after death. I see no necessity for traveling any great distance, either into times past, or into any other country for the origin of these simple, and nearly self evident truths. The Indian has no traditions as to when or *where* his ancestors first received these truths, nor does he even suspect that any human being ever disbelieved them.

Had our red man sprung from ancestors, who had imbibed any of the religious ideas, peculiar to the Jews, the people of China, Persia, Egypt, or of India beyond the Ganges, traces of such ideas would be found among the people of this day: There are no such traces in existence. I am speaking of the wild man of the Northwest, be it understood.

I see nothing among the traditions of these people, which would lead us to Asia for their origin.

Had our red man descended from Jewish ancestors, that is the "lost tribes," he would have retained idolatry, the rite of circumcision and the Sabbath, but he has none of these.

The sound of the church-going bell,  
His rocks and hfs vallies never heard,  
Never sigh'd at the sound of a knell,  
Nor smil'd, when a Sabbath appear'd.

In fine, being an Israelite, he would not have abandoned these customs if he could, and could not if he would. No Indian of North America, unacquainted with the whites, ever heard of a single rite, derived from the Jews.

It is true, because I know it to be a fact, that individuals, Conkapot and others who were educated at Dartmouth College, taught a few of their brethren to assist them to impose on Dr. Boudinot, by singing parts of David's Psalms, in the Hebrew language, but no uneducated Indian ever did so. For myself, I disapprove of such a trick, to impose on such unsuspecting credulity. It produced a book, "The Star in the West."

It is time to bring the present inquiry to a close, as to the origin of the red man, which I cannot better do, than by repeating several of the ideas already brought forward, with such additional ones, as naturally present themselves to us.

The Indians, whom our ancestors found when they landed on the shores of the Atlantic ocean, within the limits

of the United States, were evidently a race of man, differing in no important particular, from the tribes then, and now, residing in high latitudes, on the Western side of the Pacific ocean. Their dogs were the same among both people; all the habits of the people were the same—their languages contained in them the same sounds, and there was and still is, a constant intercourse between the tribes living on each continent at Behring's Straits, and at the Fox islands. In color and appearance they are one people; and it is quite immaterial in my view of the subject, whether the red man of America, originally inhabited Asia or America. It is enough for us to know, that they are one and the same people.

If Asia was the original birth place and home of man, and there is nothing which proves very decisively to the contrary, then the ancestors of our Indians, emigrated from Asia in the very earliest ages of the world, before they had learned any one art, which has since, added to the comforts and conveniencies of human life. It must have been too, before men had domesticated the ox, the horse, the hog, the sheep, the goat, or any beast of the field, or fowl of the earth, or of the air—before any of the grasses, by culture, had been changed into grains, such as our wheat, rye, oats, millet or barley. Wheat and rye, in their wild state, grew within the limits of our territory—so they do still. Rye, in its wild state, is a biennial plant in Ohio, Virginia and New York. Cultivation has made it an annual, and rendered it less hardy, than it was in its wild state. The wheat plant grows in wet places, and the rye in dry ones.

The maize, or as we call it Indian corn, had been reclaimed by our Indians and originally belonged to this continent, and not to Asia. Our Indians had learned to cultivate the maize, and the tobacco plant only. I speak of Indians originally inhabiting our Atlantic States, and not of those living within the tropics, where many other plants were cultivated, and many animals were domesticated, not even known to our Indians.

I have said, that if our red man came here originally from Asia, it must have been before the ox, horse, &c. were domesticated, because, had he once been in possession of these animals, in their domesticated state, he would have

continued to make use of them—would have brought them along with him. These animals were in use among men, at a very early age of the world. In the days of Abraham and of Lot, the ass, the ox, the sheep and the goat, were domesticated in Asia, and they formed no inconsiderable portion of men's wealth. Large droves of these animals, were in the possession of the men of that day. Once in common use, no people would forego the privilege of owning and of using them; so that if our red man came here from Asia, his emigration must have been in the very earliest ages of the world. The same reasoning holds good, as to the use of iron, of copper, and of all the metals, of which our Indians knew nothing. They used neither candle or lamp in their dwellings—they cultivated neither beans, peas, squashes or pumpkins, of which they are now so fond, that they cultivate them.

Their clothing was made of the skins of beasts, or of cloth made of the wild nettle.

They slept upon mats, manufactured from the bark of the elm tree, or of rushes. Their wigwams were covered with the barks of trees; their canoes were made mostly of similar materials; their dishes were wooden bowls; their axes were made of stone; their arms used in hunting and war, were cross-bows, whose strings were the sinews of wild animals; their arrow heads were sharp stones of the flint, and so were the heads of their spears. The Sioux are but one step in advance of man, as we found him first in America.

If we suppose America to be the birth place of our red man, I know nothing that contradicts the supposition; and perhaps, circumstances rather favor that idea. If our red man came from Asia, (I mean our Northern Indian,) he brought nothing with him from that continent—not even one animal\*—not a single plant—no one art, nor anything indeed, but himself, naked and destitute.

For what he was when we found him here, he owed only to himself, to the climate in which he lived—to the soil which he partially cultivated, and to the forests, the rivers, the lakes and the ocean which supplied him with food.—

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\* The Indian dog, is the prairie wolf domesticated, and the jackall of Asia, is the same animal.

For all these he thanked the Great Spirit, and him only, and was glad.

Any people who emigrate, from one country to another, may forego the use of luxuries, which they have left behind them, especially, for a season, until they can, with ease procure them. The settlers in our new countries, furnish an example in point. But when or where, did men forget the use of iron tools, who had ever learned to manufacture them? What people, who had used lamps or candles in their dwellings ever forgot their use? This continent certainly furnished oil and tallow, as well as Asia. What people on earth, who had domesticated any animals, that were very useful to them, forgot their use, or left them behind, when emigrating to another country? Plants or animals might be left behind, by emigrants who were removing from a climate which was congenial to them, to one that was not so. This consideration weighs nothing in this case, because our climate is as favorable to the plants and animals, as that of Asia.

So far as history informs us, man's knowledge of every thing useful to him, has always been progressive. Like the Hugunots of France, men have been driven away from their native country, but when they went, they carried all their arts along with them. The Spitalfield weavers introduced the manufacture of silk into England. The arms of Rome conquered Greece, but the arts of Greece, captivated Rome. The Turks took Constantinople, but the learned men, driven away from the conquered city, spread their learning over Europe, and produced a revival of letters, wherever they went. Learning, commerce, science and the arts, and even liberty, may be expelled by force from one country, and be compelled to take refuge in another: but, like seed sown in good ground, they will produce an abundant harvest, in the field where they are sown. All history proves what we have advanced, on this matter, and exhibits in a clear light, the wisdom and goodness of Providence, as they are manifested in the government of human affairs. Human knowledge, and consequently, human happiness and power, have on the whole, almost always been progressive. It argues nothing against this proposition, that the red man of our country had learned so little, when we first found him on this continent. He knew all

that he absolutely needed to know—all his wants were easily supplied, as he was satisfied. He inhabited a vast country, but thinly settled; constant war among the different tribes left him little leisure, either to improve his mind, or his condition, and he continued stationary in knowledge until all his habits were fixed and fastened upon him. Under the existing customs of our Indians, certain persons have acquired rights, just as we have under our laws and our constitution, and who dare incur the dangerous consequences of disturbing them? The punishment of the crime of treason, is death, in each state of society, and he who would change the customs of the Indians, would overturn their very form of government, and thus commit treason. To teach the arts of civilized life, stands on a different footing, it both states of society.

When the red man first came into America, no one knows nor ever will know; indeed, I see no use to be derived from such knowledge, if attainable. At all events its use would be small. The united evidence of all the circumstances, with which our red man is surrounded, proves, at least, to me, that this continent is either the original birth place of our red man, or that he emigrated from the other continent, at so early an age of the world, that he knew at that time, little indeed, of the arts, the sciences, the comforts and conveniencies of life, which are now so widely diffused, so generally known and duly appreciated, in every other country almost, on the globe. The eagerness and celerity with which he learns to use the hoe, the axe, the gun, the steel trap, and the brass kettle of the European, show conclusively his capacity to understand their use, and his anxiety to obtain them. At any preceding period of time, had he ever manufactured and used any of these things, he never would have been found here, without them.

It would lead me too far, from the narrow path, in which I am traveling to examine into the geological facts which THE GREAT VALLEY OF THE MISSISSIPPI presents, and which go to prove, that man dwelt here before the flood.—Time, and a greater accumulation of such facts, will either confirm or overthrow such an opinion. The task of examining this vast CEMETRY OF AGES PAST, I leave to some future CUVIER. A fame as enduring as the world itself, will be his, while every leaf on which I write, will be swept away

by the hand of time, and buried, with the name of the author, in everlasting OBLIVION.

Some persons have supposed that man, a genus, was divided into several species. I will not repeat, no, not repeat, what such persons have brought forward as arguments, in favor of such an hypothesis. The color of skin, is certainly nothing, because among the tribes of North America, who are unmixed with European blood, I can find thousands with as blue eyes, light colored hair, and as fair skin, were it kept clean, as Europe can boast. Indeed, I have seen red hair, and a freckled skin among them.

And as to the form of the body, and the shape of the face I have seen among them as perfect Romans, and Greeks, as all antiquity could boast of, either in Rome, or Athens.

No matter in what country we find man, he has the same sounds in his language, if it be a natural one, he possesses the self-same corporeal powers; is moved by similar hopes and fears; he loves, and he hates; he weeps and he laughs, sings and dances. And he has every where the same powers of body, and the same faculties of mind.

All the varieties of shape, form, and the size of his body, found any where in the world, are seen among the pure unadulterated natives of the Northwest, except the banded leg, thick lip and deep colored skin of the African, and they actually existed in perfection, in the tropical regions of America, when first discovered by Columbus.

Theories, without one single particle of proof, are brought forward as the besom, with which to sweep away these indubitable facts! It will not do. Prove to us an African origin of the black Indians of the West Indies; and prove to us the foolish and unfounded reverie about Welch Indians. When we throw a whole continent and all its people into one scale, do not think to weigh it down by throwing into the other scale, two or three small feathers, plucked from a humming bird's wing.

We offer proofs equal to mathematical certainty, and are met and rebutted by dreams, reveries, suppositions and unfounded theories! I beg pardon of the reader, for occupying a moment of his time, on this subject, so plain, so easily understood, and perfectly certain, sure and incontrovertible, that no tongue nor pen can render it plainer, or more certain, than it now is, and so forever will remain.



The subject is of too grave a character, for ridicule, otherwise I might be tempted to use that weapon, upon the puerilities of learned fools, and sceptical babes of fifty years old.

#### INDIAN FORM OF GOVERNMENT.

Their form of government is aristocratical, and the whole structure of their society is equally so. The Winnebagoes are divided into seven tribes, or bands, some of these are named after animals, such as the Turtle tribe, the Snake tribe, Wolf tribe, &c., and others are named after inanimate things, as the Thunder tribe.

These tribes dwell in different places, in towns or villages; in each one of which, there are two civil Chiefs, who govern that town—for instance, Du Corri and Winnesheek are at the head of the government, of the Le Croix village situated near the Mississippi river, on its eastern bank, 80 miles north of Prairie Du Chien. So of all the other tribes, each of which, has its town or seat of government, and is governed by its two civil chiefs. The civil government of the Winnebagoes, is in the hands of fourteen civil Chiefs, and when they are all assembled in one council, it is the grand national council.

In each village, the two civil chiefs, appoint all the officers, deemed necessary, civil and military, who obey them implicitly. There are two ways of arriving at these high stations, by birth and by election. When the father dies, if he has a son, who has arrived at the age of manhood, and who bids fair to make a good chief—that is, if he possesses a good form, has good bodily powers and mental faculties—is brave, sedate, wise and prudent, he generally succeeds his father in the government, on his father's demise. If the chief, at his death, leave no son who is qualified for the high office of chief, but wills it to some other person, he succeeds to the government. If the chief has no son at his death, it is commonly the case, that his brother's son succeeds him. The line of succession may run out for want of a lawful heir, which is always supplied by an election. It may be changed too, where the heir is unqualified for the station. Great deference is always paid to the will of the dying chief, but every such case is always laid before a full national council, whose decision is final.

A chief may be degraded from his rank for bad conduct as Quasquawma was for signing a treaty with Gen. \*\*\*\*\* relinquishing the mineral country for no good consideration and which the General gave away again, for as little as he gave for it, to the very Indians, of whom the United States were compelled to purchase it, at a vast expense, in July and August, 1829.—When Quasquawma was degraded from his rank, of chief of the Musquawkee tribe, his son-in-law, Tiama was elected in his stead.

There is in every tribe, what answers to a standing army among us. The profession of arms holds out, to the great mass of the common people, the only road to the temple of fame, and no one can find a place in the army, unless he is well formed in body, of a good size, and possesses a good mind. He must be brave, artful, cautious, patient of fatigue and of hunger, and he must know no such thing as fear, where duty calls him to press forward. Death has no terrors for him, and cowardice is more despised than any one acquainted with them can imagine. The young man who aspires to the honorable distinction of a “brave” or warrior, must exhibit such traits of character, as are deemed necessary for a soldier to possess, before he can be admitted into the army. When admitted, he wears on his head just as many feathers of the bald eagle, as he has slain human beings, and the size of the feathers indicate the size of his victims. If he has slain a whole family, the father, the mother and five children, for instance, he wears two large feathers and five smaller ones. The feather denoting the father, in that case would be the largest, the one worn for the mother a size less, and the five for the children would vary in size to correspond with the size of each child. I do not remember one warrior of any nation, who did not wear at least, one feather, and some displayed a great number of them. If the warrior has taken a captive, he has a human hand as large as life, painted either on his face, or on some part of his body, or on his blanket, some individuals have several such hands painted on them.

At the head of the army, belonging to each tribe, there is a person who occupies the same station as a General does with us, and he appoints all the inferior officers. The chiefs when met in council, call into it, their warriors, with whom they consult, but frequently they are called to receive

the orders, which are obeyed to the letter. This council call before them, persons who are interested in the trial, if it be one, to hear his allegations and his proofs, in his defence. They call in persons who can afford information on the subject, under consideration; but in all such cases, when these persons are heard, they retire from the council, who debate on all matters by themselves.

Seated on mats, in the eastern manner, like the Turks, around the wigwam or the lodge, no one rises to address his fellow chiefs, nor does he speak in a high tone of voice generally, but what he delivers, is in a low tone of voice, and all he utters is listened to in the profoundest silence. No speaker is ever interrupted in the midst of his discourse and no calls to order, as in our public councils, are ever heard or needed.

If the Senate of the United States is the mildest, the most patriotic and wisest legislative assembly in the civilized world, as it truly is, the Winnebago council, is decidedly at the head of the savage world. Wisdom personified, either as a civilized man or as a savage, is seen in the deportment and conduct of each legislative body.—Like the court of Mar's Hill, at Athens, the Indian council, generally sits at night, when the mass of the nation is asleep. They sometimes sit in council nearly all night deliberating on some important matter, without coming to any result, which is again and again resumed, in the night until a final vote is taken and the cause decided. In many instances further information is needed, and in cases of difficulty, more time for reflection is wanted, or the council may be equally divided in opinion. Where the majority is small, and some members seem to be at a loss how to decide, the minority get a final decision, of a question postponed, in order to gain more strength, so as finally to succeed. I always ascertained at early dawn, the result of each night's council, through my friends, who belonged to it, and how each man had voted. The great body of the people have very little influence, almost none, with this council, and they never appear before it unless they are summoned to attend it.—They have no voice in electing the chiefs and in fact no political influence. The civil chiefs and the chief warriors, have in their hands, the whole government of the community, and they govern as they please. Disobedience to the

orders of the rulers is punished with death, though, like the British nation, the Indians are not savages enough to cut the traitor into quarters after hanging him until he is dead.

Though I have been describing the form of government among the Winnebagoes, yet the Sauks and Foxes have the self-same aristocracy among them. How much of this form of government has been borrowed from the English and French, I cannot say, but the Indians have no tradition of any other, ever in existence among them. If they had a house of Commons, elected by the people, I should suspect they had borrowed it from the English traders, who have visited them. Considering them as savages, and if they are to continue such, these are some of the advantages attending their form of government. It is an efficient one, acts promptly and many times wisely. The person who is born to be a ruler from his earliest years, knows it, and studies to prepare himself for it. He is more grave, sedate and dignified in his manners, if a young man, than others of his age. He exhibits a noble and dignified deportment in his intercourse with the world, he appears more thoughtful and less frivolous than other persons of his years. He acts up to his destination in society. In his whole conduct, he is an example of obedience to "the powers that be," and towards his equals, he is polite and conciliating, but always shows that he feels above the common mass of the people. The same remarks apply to the whole family of the chiefs, who always act as if they know their full value. The female part of it, exercised the same influence among the women, that the chiefs did among the men, and the presents they expected from us, had to be better, than those given to the common people. The daughter of a chief, never marries into a family below her's in dignity. The pride originating in birth, is as deeply seated in the hearts of those who are nobly descended, among the natives of the Northwest, as it is among the petty princes of Germany.

It is customary for the chiefs to appoint two soldiers, in each village to keep order in it, and they faithfully do so.

In each tribe, some one man acts as a divider, by order of the civil chiefs, and by general consent. Whenever we made the men any presents, of pipes, paints, tobacco, or any thing else, the self same seven men, if the Winneba-

goes were the Indians receiving the presents, appeared, took charge of the property, and divided it in the most equitable manner, among all present at the time. They reserved nothing for themselves, generally, but held up their empty hands to show their disinterestedness.

If the Sauks and Foxes received presents, two men, one for each tribe, acted as dividers, and the same individuals always performed the same duty.

### MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE INDIANS.

In their manners, the aborigines of the North West, resemble the people of the earliest ages of the world. The females pay the greatest respect to their husbands, children to their parents, and both sexes to the aged and infirm.

After preparing his food, the wife and her daughters, never sit down to eat with the head of the family, but stand around him while seated on his mat, in order to supply his wants, and anticipate them, if possible. If he appears to be pleased with his food, every female face wears a smile of satisfaction, but, if otherwise, visible signs of regret cloud every female's brow. The women are modest, silent and submissive in the presence of the men, who in return, never act harshly towards their wives and daughters.—The generally received opinion, that the men tyrannize over the women, I am satisfied, has no foundation in fact. According to their ideas of correct conduct, I am persuaded, the men treat their wives and children with kindness and attention. All the children belong to the women (their mothers) and they assist in raising the corn, cutting and carrying the wood for fuel, either for cooking their food, or for warming their wigwams in cold or wet weather.

The wood being, generally, at some distance from their dwellings, as the women cut it, the children carry it home, except such sticks as are too large for them, when the women themselves, or the younger men carry it for them. The fire once made, in winter, in the center of the wigwam, or in summer, just at the end of the lodge, the kettles, in which the food is to be prepared for eating, is placed, are hung in a row over the fire.

When they have it, a great quantity of food is cooked, five times as much as the same number of persons would

eat among us. They eat most voraciously, and they continue to eat all they can swallow, as long as it lasts.

The women contrive to hide some of the food, when they have an abundance, so as not to be at any time entirely destitute. While at Prairie Du Chien, I enquired for some wild rice, and to my surprise, a squaw produced several quarts of it, which had been gathered the autumn before, near Lake Puckaway, kept until then, and brought one hundred and fifty miles, for fear of needing it while away from home, attending on the council.

They parch their rice and corn, in order the better to preserve them, and sometimes bury them in the ground to keep them from being stolen. The thief who wishes to find it, goes about with a sharp stick piercing the earth, until he strikes upon the hidden treasure. Their parched grains would not be spoiled by lying in the ground, for a considerable length of time.

Their food consists of fish, either fresh or dried in the smoke—of the meat of wild animals, and wild rice or Indian corn. They are fond of soup, to make which they use meat and corn meal. They boil a kettle full of corn in water and wood ashes, until the hull will come off, when they wash off the ashes in pure water, and lay the corn on mats in the sun to dry. That operation being performed, thoroughly, they pound it quite fine in a mortar and put it in a kettle with the flesh, and boil it a long time, until the meat is boiled into rags, when the soup is placed in large wooden bowls for eating.

Though they have their likes and dislikes as to food, yet they eat almost any animal they kill. Not over nice about any part of the animal, they eat entrails and all. Of the entrails of the oxen we killed for them, they made soup, of which they appeared excessively fond. They change their diet as often as they conveniently can, and every season produces a change of food. Their dog feasts are greatly admired by them, and no epicure among us, can find any food more to his liking, than the flesh of a fat dog is to an Indian. They generally live on flesh of some kind, yet, they prefer that which is fresh, to salted meats, but they often mix the two sorts in cooking. The meats they eat being wild and tender, easily digested, and so thoroughly

boiled, broiled, roasted or fried, that they can eat large quantities of them without injury.

Their tenderness towards aged persons of both sexes, is very common, and places them in an agreeable point of view. When we delivered them their goods we required every person among the Winnebagoes to be present at the delivery of them, so that each one should receive his or her fair proportion of them. Until that day, the most aged and infirm persons had never appeared out of their camp. It was quite satisfactory to see the kindness with which these persons were treated by their young relatives and friends. Over these infirm persons, temporary lodges were erected to screen them from the heat of the sun. Food and water were tendered to them, frequently, and every comfort administered to them, in the power of their friends to furnish. This conduct evidently sprung from benevolent hearts; yet those Indians are the wildest and most savage of any in North America. Respect and sympathy for the aged and infirm are found among all savage nations.

The custom of giving presents as tokens of friendship is universal among all savage nations, as well as among our Indians. It is a custom springing from the best impulses of the human heart, common in every nation, ancient and modern, and will last as long as the world is inhabited by man. Such mementos of friendship are as highly prized by an Indian as by a civilized man; and no earthly consideration will induce him to part with him. Whenever I wished to purchase a war club, a sword or medal which had been presented to the owner as a token of friendship, the reply always was that it was "a great medicine." He would make me an article that by far excelled it, but would on no terms part with the present.

Like all savages, our red men of America are extremely fickle, and ready to change their minds in a moment. This trait of character, renders it extremely difficult to treat with them. Some idle report of danger to be apprehended from some quarter, an earthquake, an eclipse, a violent thunderstorm, or any thing unusual in the course of events, unless, instantly explained to them, would break off a council and they would be off to their coverts and their hiding places. So it was with the Greeks and Romans, and would be with us were it not for the lights of science, which have

dispelled the darkness that once rested on the phenomena of nature all over the world. Wherever man is unenlightened by science, he is as fickle and as superstitious as our own Winnebagoes! Ignorance is the parent of superstition, and this again begets fears which among the crowd create sudden panics. The early histories of all unenlightened nations, record accounts of such panics often produced, especially in war, by any occurrence almost, not strictly belonging to every day's events. The early histories of Greece and Rome are full of these sudden panics produced by some uncommon events, happening at the moment, which produced the most disastrous results among the crowds that followed the army.

Our red man of America is excessively fond of smoking tobacco, the leaves of the sumach, (kinne kennick) and of some other plants. Every Indian, arrived at the age of manhood has his tobacco pouch, his pipe and tobacco, and when he has the leisure he smokes so much, that he is perfectly saturated with the scent of tobacco and kinne kennick. So strong is this disagreeable scent, that the rooms much frequented by Indians, partake of it enough to render them unpleasant to one not habituated to such noxious effluvia. The pipes used by the Indians of the Northwest, are generally made of stone, on which great labor is bestowed. The Soos (Sioux) use a pipe made of jasper, red as blood, found any where on the margin of the Mississippi, from Rock island to its native beds, high on the St. Peter's river. The Winnebagoes use a black stone which they color a deep black, and both the Soos and Winnebagoes polish their pipes so as to make them look very well. The pipe stem is generally long, from two to six feet in length. Some pipes are beautifully carved, so as to represent some living object. The principal civil chief of the Winnebagoes, had a very good likeness of himself cut upon the front of a war pipe, which he forwarded by me to the President, with the request that it might be suspended under the President's looking glass. The request, I believe, was complied with.

They are the most ingenious beggars in the world.\* One or two illustrations will be offered to the reader.

While I was at Rock island, I inquired of the Sauks and Foxes, the name of Rock river, in their language, what it

\* Office seekers at Washington City only excepted.



meant, and also the name of their village, near the mouth of that river, and its meaning in our language? To these inquiries at the time they were made no answer was given.

After our arrival at Prairie Du Chien, one morning at early dawn, the principal chiefs and warriors, of both tribes entered my room, seated themselves for some minutes and their speaker arose, and repeating my former inquiries, as to the names of their river and principal town, he wished to know "whether I still wanted the same information?"— On my replying in the affirmative, he informed me what they called Rock river in their language, and that it meant "Beard river;" and what they called their town, and that it meant in English, "Beard's town." I naturally inquired why they so called their river and town? Instantly, all present, arose and adjusting their blankets, the speaker told me, "they so called the town and river, because the people who lived there had beards, and expected me to give them razors!" which I was obliged instantly to purchase for them, as I had not supposed they ever used them. These men had ascertained that we had no razors among our goods and they had recourse to this expedient, to procure them, from us. They knew too, how much depended on their aid, at that moment, and that I dare not refuse to grant them any request, almost they might make of us. The men received their razors with smiles, which, by the time they had departed about ten rods from me, became a loud laugh, at their own ingenuity and success.

In a few minutes afterwards, as I expected, their wives and daughters made their appearance, and complaining that the men had received razors, while they had none, I was compelled to purchase some for them. Departing from me with their presents, as soon as they thought themselves out of my hearing, they laughed most immoderately at their success.

Another instance will suffice. I had procured a Winnebago war song, with the words of it, accompanied with the musical notes belonging to it, which I had exhibited to the Sauks and Foxes. At the setting of the sun I had attended on these Indians, at their request, to see acted a particular dance, which pleased both actors and spectators, and I had expressed a wish to see another dance, hear another song of theirs, and take down the words of it in writing, accom-

panied by its musical notes. No answer was rendered over night to my request, but at early dawn they called upon me with it.

After being seated, some fifteen minutes in silence, Morgan, their speaker stood up and repeated every word I had said, on leaving them the night before, and he wished to ascertain from me, whether I still was of the same mind. "Do you still wish, said he, to hear us sing another song?" answer, yes. "Do you wish to see another and a different dance?" Yes. "Do you wish to take down the words of it, and its musical notes in writing?" Yes. "Do you wish a table to write on?" Yes. "Do you want a seat to sit on by the table?" Yes. "Do you wish for pen, inkstand and paper on the table?" Answer, yes." At that moment every Indian present, rose up and adjusted his blanket, in readiness to leave me; Morgan concluded the interview, by remarking: "at the setting of the sun, this evening, at our camp, you shall have a seat to sit on, a table to write on, pen, inkstand and paper, and you shall hear two new songs, and see two dances, but we shall expect to see, placed on the table by you, something to make us merry, so that we can sing and dance to please you." His proposition was acceded to promptly, and they all, instantly left the room, filled with joy at their success, which, as soon as they had left me, showed itself, in loud and repeated bursts of laughter.

As soon as they reached their camp, the female dancers hastened to appear before me, and presenting themselves in rags and the very worst garments they owned, or could procure, they urged the great impropriety of dancing before me, dressed as they were! They affected great distress of mind, at the sorry appearance they should present to me on an occasion, when they should dance merely to do me honor.

They wanted "the best of paints for their faces, ostrich feathers to adorn their heads, the best of beads for their necks; large silk shawls on their shoulders, beautiful leggins and calico shirts to adorn their persons." All these requests were instantly granted, and they departed highly gratified at their success.

At the appointed time, I went to their camp, where I found assembled, all the Indians belonging to every nation, on the

treaty ground. The actors in the comedy, for so I consider it, were dressed in the most splendid manner and acted their several parts to admiration. Universal joy diffused itself among the multitude; but, exhaustion, from continual fatigue, for weeks past, prevented my taking down either the notes of their music, or the words of their songs.—Professing to be carried away, with their acting I abruptly left the seat by the table, where I was seated and took my station between the two principal civil chiefs, near the performers. They were highly delighted with the supposed effect, which their acting had produced on me, and my leaving the table as I did, produced a burst of applause from all present. No people could have been happier than they were, for several successive hours.

The improvisatori, had prepared himself in his best manner, for the the occasion; the tamborin and several good natural singers, made very good music, and all was animation, life and glee. Enough wine and small beer were drank to make them all very merry, but no one drank to excess. At an early hour each retired to his lodge, well pleased at what had passed, and the meeting produced the best effects.

### POLYGAMY.

This practice prevails among all the Indian nations of the Upper Mississippi. I do not recollect to have become acquainted with any one family, where the man was fifty years old, who had not at least two wives, and the principal chiefs and warriors, have from two to five. The eldest woman, generally, was nearly of the same age with the husband; the others appeared to have been married at different times, and were of different ages. The eldest, as in Asia, has the control of the household affairs, and the others obey her. The consequence of the man is rated in some respect, by the number of wives belonging to him.

The number of wives, guns, medals, dogs, traps, horses, children, and slaves, show the wealth and consequence of the possessor. This state of things naturally reminds one of the patriarchal ages. In a rude state of society, where the laws of nature govern, polygamy always has, and always will exist. This custom has often been supposed to be derived from Asia, whereas, I derive it from the the na-

ture of man, who is always the same by nature. Christianity, in Europe, and among the descendants of Europeans, every where, has counteracted a natural propensity. Lawgivers have acted as moral philosophers have taught them, in prohibiting polygamy. Nature produces among the human family, thirteen males to twelve females. The excess of the males over the females, philosophers have told us, was intended to supply the losses by casualties, in war, navigation, &c., to which the males were more exposed than the other sex. Deducting those losses in war, and by various casualties, the number of the two sexes, being equal, our laws prohibit polygamy, for reasons of state. This leveling and truly republican principle, ill accords with the aristocratic practice of the chiefs and warriors of the Upper Mississippi. I discovered no evils growing out of this custom, and on the whole, I suspect, that, in their state of society, it is productive of good effects.—It tends to create a little community, which is capable of supporting, protecting and defending itself. I have seen forty persons belonging to one family. It is easy to see, that in a savage state of society, polygamy tends to produce a little community having one interest; directed by one head, strong enough to support itself, in times of sickness, famine and war. The father of it appears, like the patriarchs of old, to be beloved by all the members of the family. When the stranger approaches his wigwam, or his lodge, the patriarch goes out to meet and welcome him to his humble mansion. More hospitable than we civilized men are, he offers to his guest all he has—food for himself, his horse and dog; a mat for him to sleep on, skins for his covering, and a bed fellow. When the stranger leaves him, he is accompanied a short distance on his way, his course is correctly pointed out to him, and even protection on his journey is offered him, provided any danger is apprehended from enemies on his rout. All this is done without arrogance, or any airs of self-complacency, in the host, and no pay is expected from the guest.

No parents on earth are fonder of their offspring, than the Indians of the Northwest. I might mention numerous instances, in my intercourse with these people, where deep paternal fondness for their children, appeared to great ad-

vantage. Kindness to their wives and children always conciliated the Chiefs whom I wished to please.

It became my duty, in order to effect the views of the United States Government, to gain over to our interest, Winnesheek, the principal Chief of the Prairie Le Cross, lying 80 miles north of Praire Du Chien. As the readiest way to effect my object, I sent for his son, gave him many presents, of clothes, fish hooks, paints and jewelry. I showed him some cornelians and employed him to find them on the shore of the Mississippi. He attended on me daily every morning, with the products of his labor the day preceding, and received his daily presents. His father always accompanied him to my window, on such occasions, and though he never told me it was his son, he shewed in his countenance, strong marks of pleasure, at the kindness extended to his boy. The day was set for the departure of the band to which the boy belonged, and the morning had arrived, when Isaac Winnesheek was to visit me for the last time. At early dawn, dressed in the clothes he had received from me, painted in the best manner, and his hair filled with white clay, he made his appearance at my door, and was admitted — He took his seat, after the Indian manner, in silence, for fifteen minutes. He was filled with grief, in which I confess, I largely participated. At length he rose, and presented to me as a parting memento, the largest and handsomest cornelian I ever saw. The tears ran freely down his cheeks, and I could not prevent mine from mingling with his. Having kept until then, for him the choicest articles I had, while handing them to him, glancing my eye towards the window, I saw his father (who had secreted himself there until this moment,) covered with tears, and convulsed with grief. His likeness taken in the most correct manner, preserves the recollection of him.

When Du Corri, of the same band, presented his son to me, he shed tears; on inquiring the cause of his grief, he replied that, that son's mother was dead. On further inquiry, I learned that she had been dead ten years. Conjugal affection is not wanting, even in savage life, and paternal tenderness is as common among Indians as it is among

us.

In appreciating the happiness and virtue of a community, says Dr. Currie, there is perhaps no single criterion on which we can place so much dependence as on the state of the intercourse between the sexes.—Where this displays ardor of affection and attachment, accompanied by purity of conduct, the character and influence of women rise in society; our imperfect nature mounts high in the scale of moral excellence; and from the source of this single affection, a stream of felicity descends, branching into a thousand rills, as it rolls onward, fertilizing and adorning the whole field of life.—Where the attachment between the sexes sinks into an appetite, the heritage of our species is comparatively poor, and man approaches to the condition of the beast.—In any country where polygamy exists, it is doubtful whether love, in a refined sense, is very common. The operation of physical causes on this attachment, is small, because it is modified chiefly by moral ones.

An Indian family, of a distinguished chief, consists generally, of the man, who is called the father of it; his wives; his sons; who may or may not have wives—his daughters and their husbands; and the children, belonging to all the family. The captives taken in war, if any, may form a part of it, and the whole constitutes a little community within itself.

Cæsar, when he was in Britain, found, doubtless, exactly such a state of things, existing on that island, as now exists among our Indians of the Northwest, and like too many others, since his time, who decided before they comprehended the case fully, in all its relations and bearings concluded, that all the males and females, in the wigwam, had a promiscuous, sexual intercourse; and that the children, considered all the men, as common fathers to them! I do not believe this statement of Cæsar. It is contrary to human nature, so much so, that no such community of men women and children, ever did, or even could exist, even one day. To say the contrary, is to slander human nature and its Author, who has for the wisest and the best of purposes, so stamped the human heart with affections, connubial, paternal and maternal; that they never were, and never can be blotted out. Human society, without the full operation of these affections upon their desired objects, would,

in a moment, dissolve like the baseless fabric of a dream, and disappear from the earth.

That it is so, we ought constantly to thank the Author of all things; because, had it not been so, the cup of human misery, would have been full and running over, without even one poor, small drop of pleasure or of happiness in it.

Cæsar, travelling in Britain, and British travellers in the United States, have outdone all others in slandering mankind, against which, all nature cries aloud, in a voice, that reaches the heavens, and is approved there.

### CHARACTER AND INFLUENCE OF WOMEN.

The character and influence of women, among our red men, have been, and still are greatly misconceived. The females have been often represented as mere slaves of the men, whereas they are not. Each sex has appropriate duties to perform, and according to their ideas of things, the hardships, the labors and pleasures of life are equitably divided between them. Among civilized people, the females share with their male connexions in the same manner. A soldier's or a sailor's wife, expects to fare harder, and to suffer more than the wife of a man of wealth, who lives at ease, and is always with his family. Whatever be the condition of the husband, his wife participates with him in its pleasures and pains. So it is in savage life, and in every condition in which man is placed. Her animating voice, rouses up all the energies of his soul, when desponding—soothes him in affliction, and she affords him all the real happiness which this world contains. For her and her children, he undergoes all sorts of hardships with cheerfulness. For his wife and children, the savage traverses every hill and every dale in quest of game. For them he is willing to encounter every difficulty and every danger which the earth, the waters or the elements present. In their defence, he goes to war, conquers or is conquered—lives or dies in honor. They share with him all his renown and glory, or sink in ignominy, as he merits either.

A consciousness of his situation in society, and the consequences, not only to himself, but to those whom his heart holds most dear, which must follow his conduct, influences his mind in a powerful manner, in every situation in life.

The civilized man, in this view of the subject, is like the savage, and he who is so destitute of the feelings naturally belonging to man, as to remain in the world without a wife, is unfit for civilized or savage life; heaven itself could afford him no joy, and the society of angels no happiness.—Such a being (for I cannot call him a man) is a perfect nondescript in creation, unfit for earth, heaven or hell, and he offers the only plausible argument I know of, in favor of a purgatory.

The influence of women is as great among the savages of the Northwest, as it is among us. While the national council is deliberating about the fate of a prisoner of war, it is not an uncommon event, for the prisoner to be killed by the young men, if the women do not wish to preserve his life. The women may be said to govern the young men, as they please, and while the council is deliberating in a grave debate, if the women wish it, any act which the old men hesitate to do, is done promptly by the young men.

Some women rise into great consequence in their nation, by their wisdom, courage, fortitude and energy. Musquawbenoqué, among the Pottawatimies, exercises all the authority, and possesses all the influence of a Chief. She signed a treaty with us, as such, and the nation paid the greatest deference and respect to her.

Some of them I regret to state, are great scolds, taking their husbands to task for every trifling incident, and scolding their children almost incessantly. I suspect however, that circumstance is generally owing to the delicate state of their health, at the time. While scolding, their voices are as disagreeable, as harsh and as grating on the ear, as can be imagined; whereas, when good nature prevails, as it generally does, no earthly sounds can be more harmonious, more soft, more soothing, more melodious. As there is more elasticity in the mind of a female, than in the mind of the male, so there is in their voice, which can either grate harsh thunder, or produce sounds as agreeable as the music of the spheres.

So far as I could learn, from all I saw and heard, I should suppose, that the Indian women are faithful wives and kind mothers.



I suspect there is no marriage ceremony among them—an agreement between the parties, (if sanctioned by the parents of the woman) to live together in a state of matrimony, is all that is necessary to constitute a marriage.

One of the Winnebago chiefs pressed me very urgently, to give him a hoe, which request I could not comprehend, as every one of his females who used one, had been already presented with a hoe. I therefore refused to give him the wished for present, until he would inform me for whom he intended it. He repeated his request every day, and every day received the same answer. At length, when he ascertained, that he could obtain the hoe on no other terms, he informed me that there was a young woman about 30 miles off, whom he had purchased of her mother for a hoe! On the receipt of this intelligence, I cheerfully gave him the present, and suitable clothes for her to wear. Three days afterwards the chief returned to me with his new bride dressed very elegantly, according to all his ideas of things. After introducing her to me, and to his whole family, with each one of whom, she shook hands very cordially, her new clothes were laid aside for old ones, and I saw her at work pounding corn in a mortar, and preparing food for the family. She took the place of the youngest wife, waited on those who were her seniors in matrimony, and the whole family appeared to rejoice in the addition she made to their number. I saw no other ceremony than I have mentioned. After the marriage of the daughter, I frequently saw her aged mother visiting the family of the chief, to whom she was now honorably and happily allied. All parties were well pleased with the match—the elder wives were relieved in part, of their daily labors, the young woman was honorably allied to a distinguished family, her mother now had a good home in her declining age, (she was a widow) and the old chief, as he believed, a handsome young wife.

The females belonging to poor families, marry quite too young, which is very injurious to them. It is not uncommon among them to marry at the early age of twelve years. The consequence is, that they never attain to the size they otherwise would, but are dwarfish, which in many instances belittles their offspring. The daughters of chiefs rarely marry, until they arrive at the age of full maturity.

This may be one reason why those belonging to the families of the chiefs, are larger in their persons, better formed, well proportioned in their limbs, and are more perfect in body and mind than the common people. If it be an evil, and it certainly is one, to be compelled to marry off their daughters at too tender an age, it is one, which cannot be avoided by persons in their condition. Whereas the chiefs can and do wait, until some man, equal to them in dignity wishes to marry their daughters, before they permit them to marry.

If the father-in-law be a chief, his son-in-law, generally after marriage belongs to his family—and the husband becomes one of the tribe, to which the wife belongs. I know of some exceptions to this rule, though it is a general one. I am persuaded, that no chief expatriates himself by marrying, but that a common man may do so and when he marries out of his own tribe he does so.

It is not uncommon for a chief, on the marriage of his daughter to any distinguished man, to give with her a very liberal dowry. The bride is dressed in the best manner; she has a horse to ride, and blankets and skins, clothing and food. Painted in the best and most fashionable manner, gaily dressed, meek, modest, unassuming, and submissive to her husband, she is all, that nature assisted by all that her parents could instruct her in, can do for a female, to prepare her to become a wife and a mother. If her husband have older wives, she cheerfully obeys them, and learns every art, which they can teach her. The half breed women, generally, marry either half breeds, or white men. In either case, they make excellent wives, and many of their children are beautiful. While in the Indian country, I always rejoiced when I came in sight of one of their houses, as I felt assured of experiencing under their roofs, hospitable and kind treatment. The half breeds are excellent cooks, and many of them have been well educated in some Catholic seminary, either in Canada or Missouri.

After traversing a wild waste, and seeing no human being, or such only as are the wildest barbarians; to be suddenly introduced to persons of a refined education, whose only wish is to do all they can to promote our comfort, operates with great, almost magical force upon the mind and leaves an impression, which no length of time can ob-

literate. The Catholics deserve great praise for educating as they have done, a great number of half breeds. The women thus educated in every instance, have done extremely well, and so have such of the men as have not become dissipated. The females thus educated, are as well instructed in every thing, as any young women in the United States—they make as good wives too, and as good mothers.

### BUCKTAIL BACHELOR.

Where a plurality of wives is allowed, there will always be many old bachelors. While Col. Menard and myself, were sitting in the porch of the Indian agent, at Rock island, listening to several Indian speeches, my attention was frequently drawn towards a man belonging to the Sauk tribe, who, by his parade, singular and most disagreeable conduct, disturbed the repose of the Indian women and children, so much, that I was compelled finally, to interfere and order him off the ground. Neat to the very extreme, for an Indian, in his person and dress; every hair of his head, was placed exactly where he wanted it to lie, filled with white clay and red ocre, in order to set off his person to the best advantage. His mocasins were the nicest I saw in all my tour, and beautifully ornamented with porcupine quills. His beard was every hair of it carefully pulled out by the roots, his face painted in the most fanciful and fantastic manner imaginable, his blanket was of a deep red, ornamented with broaches and with many strange, and most unnatural objects, painted on it, in a green color. As he walked so nice and prim, he occasionally threw his head back and strutted backwards and forwards, north and south or east and west, near us, jingling a great number of small bells which were fastened around his ancles. A large BUCK'S TAIL, descended down his back, from the crown of his head, (where it was fastened very nicely.) Of his appearance and dress I do not complain, but, what gave me great uneasiness at the time, by disturbing the peace so as to almost break off our council, was his kicking at every innocent child, among our red friends, as it came any where near him; and he either looked excessively angry at every Indian girl about him, or looked askance, (Oh! how loving-

ly?) by stealth, at every handsome one he saw any where near by. I felt vexed at the continual interruption, occasioned by his most singular, and highly exceptionable conduct, towards the women and children; but on inquiring who he was, and what could be his inducement for so treating the women and children of his own tribe, I was informed by those around me, that he was A BACHELOR, SIXTY YEARS OLD, who had been so proud in his youthful days, that he would not marry any young woman who did not belong to some distinguished family, and that the daughters of chiefs refused to marry him, who was but a mere plebeian himself; and that now, he spent his time, as I saw he did, to our great annoyance. It appeared also, that he was excessively avaricious, almost starving himself at times, in order to save his furs, until he could get the highest price for them—and that when he received the money for them, he would hide it in some cave in the rocks, or some hole in the ground; and, in that way had lost it, either by having it found and stolen by some thief, or else he forgot, (as he often did) where he had hidden or buried it.

Determined not to be disturbed any longer, by this BUCKTAIL BACHELOR, I drove him from among us, and even off the island; and we had peace and quietness during the continuance of our council, and indeed, all the remainder of our stay at Rock island. His name I never learned, as I strictly forbid its mention, by those who offered for a drink of whisky, to tell it to me. For this course, I felt justified by my determination to suppress intemperance and had his name been mentioned, I was rather fearful that I should remember it. In remarking upon this miserable Bachelor, it may not be improper to state that the Indians will rarely tell you the name of any person against whom they speak. I once inquired in their encampment, for the name of the person who had introduced whisky, among them in the preceding night, and which had made thirty of them drunk, and perfectly crazy. Every one of my friends among the Indians, utterly refused to disclose the name of the guilty individual, but they cheerfully volunteered to go a mile or more with me, until we came upon the person, when they, one and all, pointed their fingers towards him. In all similar cases they never would implicate any one, by naming him to me. The offer therefore, at Rock island, for

a drink of whisky, to disclose to me the name of the Buck-tail Bachelor, is the more to be wondered at, because it was entirely aside from their common habit. I presume though, that his conduct towards the women and children, above described, is an ample apology for this extraordinary departure, from a common custom among them. I fully agree with them, in the opinion, their offer to disclose a name, so powerfully conveys, that any being, (he cannot be a man,) who treats women and children unkindly, by such conduct, puts himself outside of the circle of common civility, and deserves no sort of forbearance. I have, on the whole, after much, reflection, on this matter, finally concluded, (though I have no positive proof of the fact,) that this cross, neat, foppish old bachelor, with all his avarice, must have been a party politician, of some sort, otherwise he never would have slandered several women, as I was credibly informed, he did! If such a being any where in the world, among any people, has any name, I hope never to be informed of it, for fear I should remember it, and place it on record. I say, let his name sink into oblivion.

### GAMBLING.

GAMBLING, is very common among the Indians. On visiting the camp of the Winnebagoes, for the first time, I found nearly every individual of mature age, engaged in some sort of game. The young men were playing, the game of "old sledge" with exactly such cards as our gambling gentry use. They bet largely, and lost nearly all they had to lose, in some instances. Whether the winner always keeps what he gets in that way, I cannot say, though on rising from play, I have sometimes, seen all that was won, redelivered to the losers. The women play a game among themselves, using pieces of bone, about the size, and which have the appearance of a common button mould.— They are so cut out, that one side is blackish, and the other white. A considerable number of these button moulds are placed in a small wooden bowl, and thrown up in it, a certain number of times, when the white sides up, are counted.

Athletic games are not uncommon among them, and foot races, afford great diversion, to the spectators. The wo-

men and children are present at these races and occupy prominent situations, from which they can behold every thing that passes, without rising from the ground, where they are seated. Considerable bets are frequently made on the success of those who run.

They also play ball, in which sport, great numbers engage, on each side, and the spectators bet largely on each side. The articles played for, are placed in view of those who play the game. These consist of beads, paints, jewelry, &c. This game is a very animated one, and excites the greatest interest.

The game of cards must have been introduced among them, by the white men, who have visited them, from time to time. It is the only game they practice, thus derived, so far as I could learn.

On a day, when there was to be no council held, the young men, of the Winnebagoes and of the Chippeways, Ottowas and Pottawatimies, requested the commissioners, that instead of delivering to them, the beef of two oxen, that morning, as had been the case, every day previously that two living steers might be delivered to them, to be hunted as bisons are. The request was granted, and early in the morning, the young Indians on horse back, to the number of sixty or seventy, each equipped with a bow and a bundle of arrows, started the oxen, about three miles below the fort, and pursued them over the prairie, on which the town of Prairie Du Chien stands, in the direction of the town. The spectacle afforded us a fine opportunity, of seeing the manner of the buffalo hunt, which it resembled exactly. The running of the oxen, sometimes piteously bawling, pursued by the Indians, on their small horses, painted in the best manner, riding at full speed, bending forward, occasionally shooting at the oxen and wounding them on the side, just back of the fore shoulder, exhibited a scene more easily conceived than described. Sometimes the pursuers would cluster together as they pressed forward, and then again, they would spread out over the undulating surface of the prairie, covered with grass and a profusion of wild flowers. The spectators were numerous and occupied places which commanded a good view of the sport. The oxen were not killed, until they had run about three miles. Our red friends were highly gratified by the

indulgence which had been given them, and the white people were not less pleased at the exhibition.

The chiefs and warriors have a great thirst for fame and for glory, and I doubt whether any man in any age or in any country, exceed these people, in that particular. To acquire "the bubble reputation," they will undergo any privations or sufferings, whatever, even death itself.

Nothing pleased them so much as to tell them, that their likenesses were in the War Department, and that their fame was spread through the world. Carrymauny, the elder, three times repeated to me his history, and requested me to write it in a book. He complained to me that in all our accounts of Tecumseh, we had only said of him that, "Winnebago who always accompanies Tecumseh," without calling the Winnebago by his name—**NAWKAW CARRYMAUNY.**

### INDIAN ELOQUENCE.

The poverty of their languages tends strongly to excite exertions to express ideas by figures, which their language is not copious enough, to enable them, by words, to convey. Hence, their violent gestures, and their repetitions, in their public speeches. Their ideas, are all drawn from sensible objects; and being comparatively few in number, gives a character to their eloquence, differing materially from our's. Like the rays of light, brought to a focus, by a lens, their ideas being few, and with only a few words to express them, Byron would call them "ideas of fire." Unaccompanied by enthusiasm genius produces only uninteresting works of art. Enthusiasm, is the secret spirit, which hovers over the eloquence of the Indian. Can there exist any where and among any people, high wrought eloquence, without this enthusiasm? All the senses of the Indian from his modes of living, from necessity indeed, exist in the greatest possible perfection. Their persons are the finest forms in the world. Standing erect, with eyes flaming with enthusiastic ardor, with a mind laboring under an agony of thought, the Indian is a most impressive orator. He speaks too, before his assembled nation, on some great national subject, and shows most manifestly, that he feels an awful responsibility. At Prairie Du Chien, in the summer of

1829, while listening to several Indian speeches, I was forcibly struck with the evident marks the chiefs exhibited of the deep sense, impressed upon their minds, of the awful responsibility they felt. I have seen a chief when he approached the subject of a sale of his country, in his speech turn pale, tremble with fear, and sit down perfectly exhausted in body, from the operations of his mind. His audience is never less dignified, than his whole nation—frequently several other nations, and when the object of the council is the sale of his country; the officers of the United States, and an army drawn up in military array, with all its pomp and splendor. The Indian orator, according to all his ideas of things is placed in a situation, the most favorable, I can conceive of to be in the highest degree, eloquent. Before him sit the United States' Commissioners, attended by a great number of military officers, in full dresses, the Indian agents, sub agents, interpreters, and an army of soldiers under arms. The cannons with lighted matches, and indeed all the proud array of military life, so fascinating to men in all ages of the world, are presented to his near and full view.

On each side of him sit all the chiefs and warriors of his nation, while behind him, sit in the full hearing of his voice, all the women and children of his people. His subject is one then, of the highest conceivable importance to himself, and his whole nation. His country, which he is called on to sell and quit for forever, contains the bones of his ancestors, the remains of numbers who were endeared to him by a thousand tender recollections. The heart perhaps, that loved him most dearly, lies buried in that soil. His wives and his children listen in breathless silence to every word he utters, every eye among the assemblage, vast and imposing to his mind watches every gesture he makes.

Placed in such a situation, the character of his eloquence is easily conceived. It abounds with figures drawn from every object which nature presents to his eye. He thanks the Great Spirit, that he has granted them a day for holding their council, without or with a few clouds, as the case may be—that their several paths between their homes and the council fire, have been open and unattended with danger—that the storm is passed away and gone—and he hopes that during the time, he may be detained from home, he



beasts may not destroy his corn, nor any bad birds be suffered to fly about the council with false stories. All this is uttered without much gesticulation, and without enthusiasm; but should he touch upon the subject of a sale of his country, his whole soul is in every word, in every look, in every gesture. His eye flashes fire, he raises himself upon his feet, his body is thrown in every variety of attitude—every muscle is strained—every nerve is exerted to its utmost power, and his voice is loud, clear, distinct and commanding. He becomes, to use his own expressive phrase—**A MAN.**

He recalls to the minds of his audience the situation and circumstances of his ancestors, when they inhabited the whole continent; when they, and they only, climbed every hill and every mountain, cultivated in peace the most fertile spots of earth, angled in every stream, and hunted over every plain in quest of game, and glided along in their canoes, on every river and every lake. He tells his auditors that his ancestors had their lodges in the coolest shades in summer, beside the purest fountains, where an abundance of food was always at hand and easily obtained; that all the labor they had to perform, was only what the white man calls sport and pastime. That in winter he dwelt in the thickest forests, where he was protected from every piercing wind.

The white man came across the great water—he was feeble and of small stature—he begged for a few acres of land, so that he could by digging in the earth, like a squaw, raise some corn, some squashes and some beans, for the support of himself and family. Indian pity was excited by the simple tale of the white man's wants, and his request was granted. He who was so small in stature, became so great in size, that his head reached the clouds, and with a large tree for his staff, step by step he droye. the red man before him from river to river, from mountain to mountain, until the red man seated himself on a small territory as a final resting place, and now, the white man wants even that small spot.

To continue to use the language of the "LITTLE ELK," at Prairie Du Chien, in July, 1829. The first white man we knew, was a Frenchman—he lived among us, as we did, he painted himself, he smoked his pipe with us,

sung and danced with us, and married one of our squaws, but he wanted to buy no land of us! The "Red-coat" came next, he gave us fine coats, knives and guns and traps, blankets and jewels; he seated our chiefs and warriors at his table, with himself; fixed epaulets on their shoulders, put commissions in their pockets, and suspended medals on their breasts, but never asked us to sell our country to him! Next came the "Blue coat," and no sooner had he seen a small portion of our country, than he wished to see a map of THE WHOLE of it; and, having seen it, he wished us to sell it ALL to him. Gov. Cass, last year, at Green Bay, urged us to sell ALL our country to him, and now, you fathers, repeat the request. Why do you wish to add our small country to yours, already so large? When I went to Washington, to see our great father, I saw great houses all along the road, and Washington and Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York are great and splendid cities. So large and beautiful was the President's house, the carpets, the tables, the mirrors, the chairs, and every article in it, were so beautiful, that when I entered it, I thought I was in heaven, and the old man there, I thought was the Great Spirit; until he had shaken us by the hand, and kissed our squaws, I found him to be like yourselves, nothing but a man! You ask us to sell all our country, and wander off into the boundless regions of the West. We do not own that country, and the deer, the elk, the beaver, the buffalo and the otter now there, belong not to us, and we have no right to kill them. Our wives and our children now seated behind us, are dear to us, and so is our country, where rest in peace the bones of our ancestors. Fathers! pity a people, few in number, who are poor and helpless. Do you want our country? your's is larger than our's. Do you want our wigwams? you live in palaces. Do you want our horses? your's are larger and better than our's. Do you want our women? your's now sitting behind you, (pointing to Mrs. Rolette and her beautiful daughters, and the ladies belonging to the officers of the Garrison.) are handsomer and dressed better than our's. Look at them, yonder! Why, Fathers, what can be your motive?

Such is the substance and almost the very words of Hoo-waneka, in council. His gestures were very graceful, but, in those parts of his speech, where he felt deeply, what he

said, his gesticulation was violent, and his whole soul appeared to be agitated in the highest degree.

Among the Sauks and Foxes, Keeokuk and Morgan, the head warriors of the two tribes were their orators, who addressed us. They always consulted the civil chiefs, as to the matters to be touched on in their speeches. A solemn national council was called upon the subject, and the result of their deliberations, was communicated to the orators.

Among the Winnebagoes, they generally put forward as orators, half breeds, such as Snakeskin and the Little Elk, but on great occasions the principal chiefs appear as orators. Among them, orators do not, as such, stand as high as they do among civilized nations. Under an aristocracy, birth is esteemed of great consequence, and in a savage state, bodily powers and prowess are considered of greater value than among us, who are more intellectual than man in his natural condition. The Indian word for an orator, is "bab- bler." Thus, we see, that our red men are not sufficiently advanced in the arts, either of life or of government, to give an orator all the consequence which our condition as a people affords. Could the man of America throw off his aristocracy, his love of war, his indolence which has its origin partly in these sources, and adopt all the new wants of civilized life, which are the true fountain heads, of all our industry, he might excel as an orator at the bar, on the stage, in the desk, in the mixed assembly, and in the Senate hall. Until then, he will rise no higher than he now is: his speeches will be vehement, his gesticulation violent, and repetitions, and darkness, and obscurity, mixed with some beautiful allusions to nature, and vague traditions, handed down, from ages gone by, will be found in all his harangues. Logan's speech was simplicity itself, and was and is admired all over the world, but Logan had spent the most of his days among the whites, whom he more resembled in all his ideas, than his own people. Such a speech as Logan's never was delivered by an Indian, who never saw a white man. There are in it a clearness, a direct- ness, a point, a simplicity, which belong to the speech of a civilized man, who at the same time, is a full blooded sav- age in his heart.

### INDIAN POETRY.

Having examined their eloquence, it is natural to inquire whether they have any poetry? Among the people of the eastern continent, poetry existed before prose composition was invented. Among all savage nations, so long as the human mind remains unenlightened by literature and science, the darkness which rests upon it, is favorable to the workings of the imagination. The lofty mountain, the cataract, rushing with its mighty volume of waters, the flood, the lake, convulsed by the tremendous storm, the tornado's fury, the whirlwind's force, the thunder's awful voice, and the zigzag vivid lightning's flash, agitate the savage mind with the most awful and sublime emotions. These are contrasted in his mind, with the peaceful, wide spread prairie, the gentle river, moving noiselessly along, within its banks, the placid lake, unruffled by a breath of air, and the clear sky, without a cloud in view. Ignorant of all secondary causes, the savage looks only to the GRAT FIRST CAUSE, as the only and immediate Author of all things, and all events, and his soul is filled with dread, awe and wonder. The very names of individuals, nay of whole tribes, fortify this position. The "Rolling Thunder," "the Yellow Thunder," "the Distant Thunder," &c. are individuals among the Winnebagoes, who possess great weight of character; and that tribe to which belong men, who stand high on their roll of fame, for their distinguished valor in War, for their consummate prudence, experience and wisdom in the national councils, is emphatically called, "the Thunder tribe."

In all former ages, and in all other countries, placed as our natives are, man has been a poet, and why should he not be one, who roams over the vast regions of the West? The friendly Creeks, are as far advanced in many of the arts, as the Greeks were, in the age, in which the Homeric poems were produced. It is immaterial, in my view of the subject, whether such a person as Homer ever had an existence, in reality, because I doubt on that subject; but certain poems were produced in a certain age, by certain Greeks, though collected, polished, connected and corrected by other persons in a succeeding age, and we ascribe

them to Homer. The ancient Greeks and Romans have long since, gone down to the tomb—their languages are no longer living ones—their poets, orators, warriors, statesmen, artists and historians, together with their laws, their institutions, civil, moral and religious—even their very gods have perished from off the face of the earth. But let any one at this day make himself acquainted with these ancient nations through their writings which have escaped the ravages of time, and which go to show us what they were; ambitious of glory and renown, in all the pursuits of life, which lead to the temple of fame;—avaricious of wealth, luxurious, indolent, bold, daring, industrious, enterprising, cunning, artful or artless and possessing indeed not only every power of body, but every faculty of mind, now belonging to man;—and I might add, that the satires of Horace, and the beautiful passage of Virgil, beginning with “Oh, fortunatos nimium, &c. and the Greek comedies, should we go no further, prove that even the pursuits of men were formerly, and always, the same as now; so that looking on all the people around us, at this moment, we find Greeks and Romans every where. It follows conclusively, does it not? that, in all ages, and in all countries, when surrounded by circumstances precisely similar, man was and is exactly the same being.

That he is a poet in America, his songs of war and of love attest. But if the American in his wildest state, in the Northwest, is not as good a poet as the Greeks were of the heroic age, neither is he as far advanced in the arts of life; he has no buildings, either of wood, brick, or of stone—his wigwam is a shelter made of barks, and his moveable lodge consists of mats, which are moved about as he moves, from spring to spring, and from grove to grove, or transported in his canoes, with his wives, his children, his aged parents and servants, accompanied by his dogs; or they are carried on his horses along with his traps and other moveables. The country is too large, the population too sparse, and the mere wants of nature too few, too easily supplied also, and his habits of too fixed a character, to render any change in his modes of living, acting and thinking absolutely necessary, and therefore desirable to him, in his views of human life, and of his own condition. The Greeks were more pent up for want of room to move about and act in; so were

the Romans. We must not forget either, that we hear first of the ancients, through the aid of letters; and before the period of their introduction, we have too much reason to doubt the truth of their histories. For myself, I confess that I place little, almost no faith, in them. Certainly all Roman history, before the destruction of Rome, and all the public records by the Gauls, under Brënnus, is fabulous, made up in after times, so as to flatter the vanity of certain families, then possessing power and influence in the State; just as the artful office seekers of the present day, flatter the vanity, deny the vices, hide the follies, and varnish over the miscalculations, negligencies and blunders of the men now in power, all over the world. So that in fact, history shows us no people in ancient times, placed in circumstances, quite so unfavorable to mental developement, as those in which the Indians of the Wisconsin are now placed. The Indians further south, the Creeks, the Cherokees, &c. compare better with the heroic ages of the ancients, and GUESS, is among them, what CADMUS, was among the Greeks—he has invented an alphabet of syllables, superior, in every point of view, to any ever used by Cadmus.

An alphabet which with a few corrections of some errors, and the addition of a few more, well defined characters, would suit and fully convey all the sounds of every Indian language in America. It possesses some advantages over the English and French alphabets, inasmuch as it is more comprehensive, occupies less space, in a book, and conveys with more certainty, the sounds of the language. It is learned with ease, and one acquires the arts of spelling and reading through the use of it, sooner than he could, if he used our's. It approaches our short hand writing.

The Indian languages, though abounding rather too much in guttural sounds for rhyme, yet all their public harangues abound with tropes and figures of speech, and the ideas conveyed are glowing, and originate in a fervid imagination. Nothing can be more poetical, than many of their speeches, whenever the speaker alludes to the wonders, either of nature or of art. The very ignorance of the phenomena of nature, the causes of which, to him lie buried in darkness, keeps his imagination in a continual glow of wonder and admiration. Some ignorant writer, long since, first propagated the idea, that the red man, expressed

no surprise at any thing he saw, and all the servile herd followed after him, in the same track. More error was never conveyed in so few words. The Indian wonders at every thing he sees, almost. I saw crowds of them examining every part of the machinery about our steam boat; and no thing could more attract their admiration, than the sight of a clock or of a watch.

In saying what I have of the savage, in order to prove that he possesses within himself the sources of poetry, nothing is further from my intention than to undertake to prove that the civilized man may not be a poet also. As a people, savages are more poetical than civilized men. Enthusiasm will throw any mind into a poetical state of existence. It throws the man of genius into those reveries, where amidst nature, he sees nothing but nature, even among the greatest perils, and he remains unterrified by them.

FRANKLIN, without a particle of fear could go out into the most terrible thunder storm, in order to try an experiment with his electric kite. Enthusiasm in the pursuit of the wonderful discovery he made, took away all fear from his mind.

PLINY, that he might be able, correctly to describe a volcano, fearlessly approached one so near, that he lost his life in it.

VERNET, the painter, went to sea, with the hope of being in a tempest, so that he could paint one! When the much desired tempest came, while others were distracted with fear, and gave up all hopes of being saved from immediate death; the captain of the vessel found Vernet, calmly sketching the terrible world of waters, and studying the waves that were threatening him with destruction. But, though the civilized man is many times highly enthusiastic, yet his mind is not always so excited, nor as often, as the mind of the savage is.

I was unable to discover any love songs among the Winnebagoes, the wildest savages of the Northwest; yet I obtained, through Mr. Kinzey, the sub agent, at fort Winnebago, a war song, the words of which are subjoined.

**Hoatchunk' Narwoanar,**

OR

**WINNEBAGO WAR SONG**

Winnebago,

Hyecheenartsheezhee, Hyecheenartsheezhee, Hyecheenartsheezhee.  
 I am not to be trifled with—I am not to be, &c  
 Hyecheenartsheezhee, Hyecheenartsheezhee;  
 Koa'rar woankeezhun mau'nee tshee'reerar,  
 Friends man a walks village  
 Hyecheenartsheezhee, Hyecheenartsheezhee, Hyecheenartsheezhee  
 I am not to be, &c.

## TRANSLATION.

I am not to be trifled with, &c.  
 Friends! a man walks thro' this village.

1

Who shall dare to sport with me?  
 Friends! 'tis a warrior chief you see.

2

Who shall dare contend with me?  
 Friends! 'tis the chief of chiefs you see!

The notes for the drum are struck short and abruptly, and the first and every alternate note in a bar, is sounded loud and strong; the intermediate ones lightly.

When this tragedy was acted, the actors were so painted as to show with great effect every wound which they had ever received in battle. **BROKEN ARM** who had been severely wounded in the attack on Fort Meigs, in the late war, was particularly conspicuous. The wound was so painted, and the blood which ran from it, was so well represented by the painter, as to look like the reality itself. At a short distance from him on a first view, I thought he had recently been badly wounded.

Like all the tragedians whom I ever saw play, the actors went beyond nature, or as was once well said of Garrick, that he overacted Garrick. They worked themselves into every attitude of gesture, and looked more like devils than like men. Though considering their advantages of education, they no more overacted their parts than the very best players on our theatrical boards do. On the whole, I give the Indians the preference, as overstepping simple nature less, than the most celebrated players, in our Atlantic ci-



ties. Fashion, sole arbitress, saves them from deserved ridicule and scorn as actors, musicians, and singers.

The Sauks and Foxes, who have resided near Rock island, where the French located themselves seventy years since, have tunes evidently of French origin, and love songs of considerable length. These Indians have among them, what answers to the Italian Improvisatori who make songs for particular occasions, and one of them makes it his business to take off with great effect, the warriors when they boast of their exploits in the intervals, in the music and dancing at the war dances. He is a great wag, and dresses himself in a manner, as grotesque as possible. On his head, on such occasions, he fixes two horns of the antelope, and nearly covers his face, with bison hair, dyed red

The tune he usually sings his song in, contains only three, or at most five notes, but is as good a song probably, and the music quite equal to the poetry and music, used by Thespis in the infancy of tragedy, among the Greeks. Whether these Improvisatori are of Indian or European origin, I cannot certainly say, though from the circumstance of their existence, among most of the Indian tribes, nearly or quite all the way to the Rocky mountains, and high on the Missouri river; I am induced to believe those Improvisatori, derived their profession, as they have their origin from the natives of the country.

That the Sauks and Foxes have a considerable number of songs, suited to a great many occasions in their own language I know, and have heard them sung frequently and regret that my avocations prevented my taking them down in writing at the time they were sung. When no farther advanced in the arts of civilized life, than these tribes are, I doubt much whether the Greeks or Romans had more poetry, or better, than the aboriginals have at this moment. And, as to music, the Romans were inferior, in the days of Augustus, to the Sauks and Foxes of the Upper Mississippi.

Our Indians have no such things as rhyme among them, though that can be matter of no surprise to us, when we consider that no nation of antiquity had it. Neither the Greeks nor Romans had any such thing as rhyme among them, nor was the art of punctuation known to these na-

tions who made such great progress in the arts of painting, statuary and architecture. That the modern art of rhyming, should be unknown, to the most polished nations of antiquity, is no more surprising than it is that they knew nothing of the mariner's compass, the art of printing, the telescope, the power, and the uses of steam, as now applied to navigation and in the manufactories of Europe and America. Rhyme then, is a modern invention, which has not yet reached the natives of America, but their poetry is sung and accompanied by musical instruments and the dance. So it was in the best days of Greece and Rome among them. They set all their comedies and tragedies to music and accompanied the acting of them, with the human voice, and with musical instruments! One actor frequently spoke the words, while another acted them! and we are told, that it often happened, that the one who gesticulated, gained more applause than the speaker.

As among our Indians, the Roman actors sung their plays and both actors and chorus danced as they sung. Though our Indians, when they act their comedies and tragedies (because I consider their dances as such,) have not gone as far, in some respects as their prototypes, the Greeks and Romans, yet they so change their common appearance when they appear as players, by painting and dressing that on several occasions I hardly knew them, as individuals. But our native actors never appear in buskins. The Romans wore masks, lined with brass, to give an echoing sound to their voices, and these masks were marked with one passion on one side, and with a contrary passion on the other; and the actor turned that side towards the spectators, which corresponded with the passion he was acting. This account of the acting on the stages of Greece and Rome, is drawn from the united voice of all antiquity, which no one will dispute, who is at all conversant with classical literature.

Among the Indians of the Upper Mississippi, the Sauks and Foxes are decidedly the best actors, and have the greatest variety of plays among them. Their war dances may be viewed as tragedies in the rudest state, and those dances wherein both sexes appear, are truly comedies of no mean cast, considering their origin and their authors. Each person who acts, is painted and dressed in a manner em-

irely proper, for the part to be personated by the actor or actress. To see a play acted, of a ludicrous cast of character, I have seen a thousand Indians present, who were highly delighted with the acting. Thunders of applause followed some antic prank, while a visible displeasure would sometimes punish a failure to act well. To raise up a company of good players among them, they only need a settled state of society, fixed habitations, and an acquaintance with the use of letters. To accomplish this for them individuals or societies must do it, not the United States' government, whose vast advances of money, goods, &c. never reach their object, in a way to be of much service them.

As to the tunes of most of the Indians, it is scarcely necessary to add that they are dull and monotonous, because, with only from three to five musical notes they must necessarily be so, yet, even such tunes sung by some clear, soft and melodious voices, both of males, and especially of females, the music in them is quite agreeable, and even enchanting. Though the human voice is nearly the same in all ages and in all countries, in its unimproved condition and nature herself has given voices almost angelic to a favored few, yet it is not to be dissembled that art has done a vast deal to improve it among Europeans and their descendants of the present time. What nature had done for man in giving him musical powers, the Winnebagoes showed us at Prairie Du Chien, in July and August of 1829, and what art could add to nature in that line, was exhibited to us, while listening to the singing of the accomplished Miss Rolette of that place.

In 1782 there were published at the English University of Oxford, three ancient Greek hymns, composed by one Dionysius, accompanied by the notes of music, in which they were once sung in the best days of Greece. The music, read it as you will, either backwards or forward is not one whit better than the Winnebagoes possess now. It may be said, that the Greek and Roman languages, were so musical in themselves that they needed not the aid of music. Be that as it may, I think it quite clear, that in those times, when Greece and Rome flourished most, their music was extremely poor. We, in the United States, are running into the opposite extreme; so singing every thing

in public and private, that not a sentence can be heard, while our Indians like the ancients, rely almost wholly on the sense of the words for effect. Doubtless it would be a vast improvement, if the auditor could distinctly hear and understand both the words and the music. If but one of these advantages can be attained, I am decidedly in favor of the Indian mode of singing. Even if the tune be monotonous, let the human voice be a fine tone and this tone impassioned, it will, as the Great Milton expresses it,

“————— take the prisoned soul,  
And lap it in Elysium—————.”

As to musical instruments, the Winnebagoes use a great number of gourd shells, with pebbles enough in them, to make them very good rattles. These are shaken so as to keep time, with the everlasting daw, daw, daw, of their singing. They have a flute of their own invention which produces the most melancholy music in the world.

When the musician is playing his mournful tune, of three notes, only four rods from you, you would conclude, unless you actually saw him, that he was forty rods from you.

It is played at war dances and at those executions of human beings who are burned at the stake. It is, I believe, always used by disconsolate lovers, to soften the hard hearts of their cruel fair ones.

Among the Sauks and Foxes, they have the tambourin, as a musical instrument. This instrument is derived from the early French settlers on the Mississippi, I doubt not.

As the musical instruments are few in number, so they are very imperfect and rude in their construction.

#### THE LIFE OF A CIVILIZED MAN AND A SAVAGE COMPARED TOGETHER

Who enjoys the greatest sum of happiness, the savage or the civilized man?

By happiness I mean mental and corporeal enjoyment. And in order to arrive at a conclusion in any wise satisfactory to the inquirer, it is not only necessary to examine the situation of whole tribes, but individual cases, must be placed in our scales and carefully and correctly weighed.

It would be too tedious though to compare the situation in each nation, of every officer, civil and military. In both

states of society, the military is subordinate to the civil power. Fame—the love of glory, in all states, and in all ages, has made heroes; and the Indian warrior Keeokuk, who commands the Sauks adorned with his hundred feathers of the bald eagle, to denote the number of his victims, is as happy as any officer in our army or navy.

Let us descend into private life, the common lot of nearly all persons in the world; and begin with the lover.

“Sighing like a furnace, and making ballads to his mistress’ eye brow” among us, and in no less pitiable condition among the Winnebagoes!!! The pitiful city dandy, meager, gaunt and pale faced, with a waist like a wasp; with a watch in the pocket of his scanty vest, accompanied by chain enough to hang him up by the neck, cuts not as good a figure as the young Winnebago, painted in his best manner, his hair filled with white clay and a flute in his hand. Our city fop has as few ideas in his head as the savage. He is pale, emaciated, fanciful and foolish, while the Winnebago looks brave and manly, on all around him. The dandy crawls along to the church, the theatre, or the ball room to see his adorable, fanciful, fickle, silly fair one; whereas the young Indian, if his fair idol, move from one place to another, lightly wends his way along, not far from her, until she stops, when he seats himself, on a stump, a log or a rock, and begins his mournful and heart rending tune of three notes! He plays for hours together, without cessation, while the cruel fair one seems not to know that her afflicted lover is near her! The Winnebago flute, produces as mournful a sound as can be imagined, and when but two rods off, you would suppose it, twenty times that distance. Thus from morn till night, the lover continues his suit and from day to day, until the young lady’s parents I ought to say mother, consents to the marriage, or rejects him and his music. Once rejected by the mother, he seats himself near some other beautiful belle, and begins anew his mournful ditty. Thus he labors on in his vocation, until he succeeds in making some blooming beauty his bride.

As the Indian girls, in matters of love, implicitly obey their mothers, they generally marry well, though they are sometimes sold to the highest bidder. A goodly person, to be a good hunter, to be possessed of good dogs, a good gun, good traps and above all, to be allied to one of the princi-

pal families in the nation, are the best passports to an honorable matrimonial connexion. The mother who is poor, expects a present for her daughter, while the chiefs present very handsome gifts to their sons-in-law. I leave the question to the reader to decide between the savage and the civilized man as a lover.

The common people, such as are neither chiefs nor warriors, have no political influence, and more resemble, in their condition, the poorer people of England, than our citizens. They are generally poor, even for savages, and are more unhappy than any other portion of people in the United States, slaves not excepted. A prophet had collected into one body on Rock river, about two hundred persons who appeared to be a wretched people. They consisted of men and women, who were either deformed in their persons or were mere dwarfs in size. These were governed by this priest, through their hopes and fears, and this little band of Winnebagoes were kept together by a common interest. Cut off from all opportunity of ever rising into any important station in their nation, by circumstances beyond their control, they naturally associated together under such a teacher. According to their ideas of happiness this world offered very little to them, and they naturally followed the man, who promised them all they could desire in a future state of existence. This prophet carried with him a wand about three feet in length, divided into parts somewhat like a common yard stick, and from this he professed to deliver to his people the most awful denunciations provided they disobeyed him. His dreams he professed were sent directly from heaven, and he denounced the most awful judgments against every sinner who doubted his divine mission, or disobeyed his injunctions. Whether he went so far as represent the Great Spirit malignant enough to inflict eternal punishment for every little fault; or whether he was weak enough to inculcate the doctrine of everlasting happiness, as a reward for the little, the very little good, which even the best man can effect in his life time, I cannot say.

I draw no conclusion from a comparison between these religious people and cur's, which is the most happy. That the savage mingles fewer worldly motives with his religion than many who join our churches, I sincerely believe, and

as yet the savage has made no open attempts to join church and state, in order to rise into worldly power and influence. Will Dr. Ely say he has not?

The condition of females among the savages is certainly less favorable to happiness, than our state of society affords. The want of comfortable habitations among the aborigines is felt more by women and children, aged and infirm persons, than with us. Their hardy habits however enable them to bear this evil better than one would suppose; and between their condition and our's, there is very little more disparity, than between our earliest white men in our frontier settlements, and the wealthier inhabitants of our Atlantic cities. The first settlers of Kentucky and Ohio, probably suffered more from the want of roads, mills, bridges, schools and all the institutions and comforts of civilized life, to which they had been accustomed from their infancy, than the Winnebagoes do now. Habit is almost every thing that a person needs in such a case.

When I crossed Rock river at Ogee's ferry, September 1st 1829, there was a lodge of Indians there, consisting of an old man, his son-in-law, daughter and several children. They waited on me, as soon as I stopped for the night, at the house of Ogee, who had married a half breed, and owned the ferry. They addressed to me a speech which I answered in the same friendly spirit with their's, gave them presents of pipes and tobacco, and visited their lodge. After receiving some sugar as a present from the lady of the family at the lodge, and after obtaining a promise from her to make a small bag, out of some nettles which had been prepared by rotting and dressing, so that they resembled dressed hemp;—I retired to rest at an early hour, and saw my friends no more, until day light, at which time, on walking out at the door, I saw the two Indian men at the lodge, painting and dressing themselves in their best manner. In this way they were preparing to wait on me, before my departure, to deliver a speech and some presents to me. Not seeing the woman at the lodge my attention was directed towards an adjoining grove, from whence the sound of an axe proceeded. The woman was cutting wood there and soon she raised a log from the ground, a load for almost any man, and carried it to the lodge. A regard to delicacy forbade my visiting them, until the family were in a situation

to receive me. As soon as the men were completely dressed, I took an opportunity, to upbraid them for not cutting and carrying the wood, instead of laying that labor on the woman.

The men showed in their countenances, strong marks of grief at what they evidently considered a most unjust imputation on their character. It was true, they said, "that the squaw had set up nearly all night to make the bag for me, but the money she was to receive for it would be her own of which they would receive no part." The old man said "that while he and his son-in-law many times would rise early in the morning fasting and hunt all day and return home at night faint, weary and almost famished for food, and so continue on from day to day, perhaps suffering all that they could endure until success crowned their efforts at last: all this time the squaw and her children, remained at the lodge, where they could be comparatively comfortable, by a good fire, when the weather was bad, and suffered much less than the men who bore all the fatigues without a murmur of complaint. In war the men fight all the battles, suffer from wounds, from hunger and privations of every kind." "Father," said the old man, "we do not like some of your customs; at your forts we see young men almost boys acting as officers, and beating and abusing, older men than they, compelling them to carry on their shoulders large poles all day, marching backwards and forwards, to answer no purpose, but to gratify their young officers. All this is imposed upon them merely because these old men, have drank too much whisky which their officers first give them to drink, and then punish them for drinking it! We endeavor to keep the whisky from our soldiers, and if they get it by any means, we do not punish them for drinking it. We have only old men like you, for our officers, and we teach our young men to obey them. Our women own all the children—the lodge and the wigwam are theirs and all the household furniture. The men own the guns, the traps, the powder and-lead, the horses and the canoes. The women and children own the fishing lines and hooks, the axes and the hoes. We kill the deer, the bear, the otter, the mink and the muskrat, the women and children sometimes catch the fish, kill the birds and raise the corn."



According to their ideas of things, they are, doubtless, kind and indulgent husbands, and the mother has the whole education of the children on her hands. The son she teaches to reverence and obey his father—to be brave and intrepid in danger—to be a man patient of fatigue; and when old enough, he learns the arts of a hunter, from his father, who takes him out into the forest for that purpose. From his earliest years he uses the bow, in killing birds and other small game. The daughter is taught by her mother, the culinary art, in all its branches—to be modest and submissive—to make mats of rushes and various kinds of bark—to dress skins and make them into mocasins. One squaw will, in one day, dress a deer skin, and work it up into mocasins, unless they are ornamented with porcupine quills, when I have known a squaw occupy herself during four or five days, on one pair of mocasins, or a shot pouch.

The savage who inhabits a country blessed with a fertile soil and temperate climate, whose rivers, ponds and lakes abound with an abundance of fishes—whose forests and natural meadows contain a plenty of wild game of many kinds, is placed in circumstances the most favorable which savage life presents to man. His labors are such, and such only as we call “sport.” Free from anxiety of mind, as the fowls of the air, or the beasts of the forest and the field, when he has brought home his game, he feasts on it, and sleeps and enjoys every pleasure he knows or needs, until it is all gone. Then he starts again in quest of game. Sometimes, it is true, he toils all day without success, returns home at night, faint, weary and hungry, but he trusts in his success on the coming day, and sleeps soundly until morning. Free from imaginary wants, and a thousand artificial ills which are the great bane of civilized life, he passes through time without much care; but, it must be confessed, that his improvidence for the future frequently (especially in winter) exposes him to sufferings for food and raiment, and from the inclemency of the seasons and unforeseen accidents, for which the civilized man provides, and by that means escapes. The poorest white man in Ohio, who enjoys his health, unless it be his own fault, enjoys more happiness than almost any Indian of the North West. For the aged, sick, and infirm, there is provided no minister of religion to console them in their dis-

tresses, and there is no regular physician to heal them. Though they have physicians who use some few remedies, yet they are scarcely better than our "quack doctors" and the "water doctors" of our German population.

The enlarged views of the universe, and the works of nature, derived from books, never reach the savage mind, and of course, his pleasures and pains are corporeal, rather than mental. More exposed than we are to bodily suffering, he is taught from his infancy, to bear it with stoical indifference. Compared with ours, his wants are few and easily supplied, unless, as in many places, the population is too great for the country around them to supply enough game. In that case, war is made on the tribes where the greatest abundance of game is found. Hence, the origin of the wars almost always carried on between savage nations. War produces the same evils among them which it does among civilized nations—it does more, because the prisoners of war, among savages, as in the earlier ages of the world, every where, are liable to be put to death in the most cruel manner, or sold into perpetual bondage. Civilized man, in war, enjoys a vast advantage over the savage, on many accounts. In modern warfare, among Europeans, non-combatants, women and children, are not warred upon, nor is private property liable, in most cases, to be taken by an enemy. In modern times, since the use of gun-powder and the invention of guns, the combatants, generally, do not, as formerly, fight hand to hand, so that less passion is infused into the contest, and less carnage and death ensue. Modern wars, among Europeans, produce not the same hostile feelings towards each other, that ancient ones did, and civilization has achieved, in this way, a great deal of real good for mankind, or what is the same thing, a vast amount of human misery is prevented. Prisoners are exchanged, not sold into slavery—protected from injury, and not burned at the stake, surrounded by demons of cruelty. So that, if we may safely conclude, that savage man, in most cases, is less happy than the civilized one, in times of peace, the contrast is still greater in times of war. And what adds to this view of the subject, is the fact, that among barbarous nations, there is more war than peace.

As an argument in favor of the savage state, we hear it urged that men have left all the blessings of civilized life, and have taken up their abode among the savages. They have so, moved by various considerations. Some such men were outcasts from civilized society; others again, wished to live in a state of society where polygamy exists.

Thomas Jefferson and a distinguished French writer, formerly had a dispute about the man of America, in which it seemed to be admitted that the Indian was less amorous than the European! Now, from what I have seen myself, I should say, not doubting the fact, that, excepting the nobility and gentry, perhaps, of Europe, our Indians are more amorous than any other people in the world. I shall give no instances, of course, but I suspect that not a few white men, who adopt savage life, do it, because, in that state of society, they can indulge all their passions with impunity, to any extent they can even desire. Fondness for the chase, may attract others; while the honors and distinctions other men think they can acquire among the savages, draw THEM into savage life. Other men are naturally mere savages in disposition, and unfit for civilized life, in any of its forms or modifications. Such persons ought, by all means, to join the savages.

I am fearful that another class of men unite themselves to Indian tribes, from mercenary motives, without intending always to remain with them;—they wish to get the management of the property of the Indians, to handle the money and goods annually delivered to them by the United States. They may wish, perhaps, (as many of them do,) to get possession of valuable tracts of land, and keep them in their families. Some traders, who settle among the Indians, marry among them, and by that means, get rich among them.

These are the principal inducements, doubtless, with those who take up their abode among our Indians; and in my humble opinion, they prove nothing more than that SOME FEW PERSONS, for a time, prefer to be savages, just as the owl prefers the darkness of the night, to the bright light of the sun, by day.

Those European writers, who seem to have preferred savage to civilized life, show clearly that they have not one correct idea of savage life, and the reality would soon

make them recant their opinion. If any one ever represented only the fair side of the picture of savage life, I have done it in this volume, carefully avoiding all that was unsightly in my picture.

### MISCELLANEOUS REMARKS.

Some few persons in the United States are actuated by a hatred of the Indians, bordering on madness, who would destroy them at once, if they possessed the power. Such men have lost relatives slain in combat, or otherwise, by the Indians; or they have warred with them, and have seen their cruelty to their prisoners. If such persons should ever be permitted by Congress to do so, they might, by their honest prejudices, be led to treat our red men in such a manner as to bring down upon us, as a nation, the execrations of the whole civilized world. As a nation, we have intended to treat these people with the greatest kindness. Congress have yearly appropriated large sums of money to defray the expenses of the Indian Department;—they have established, as they suppose, blacksmith's shops among the Indians, in order to mend their traps and their guns, to make axes and hoes for them. Farms have been improved, in order to teach them the arts of agriculture. These shops, with a blacksmith and his assistant blacksmith—a farm, a farmer and assistant farmer to each agency—an agent, assistants, or sub-agents, and several interpreters, each with a handsome salary, paid by the national government, besides annual appropriations for iron and steel, for farming utensils, and no small sums for beef, pork, flour, powder, lead, medicines, goods, wares and merchandize, suitable for the Indians. All these things bespeak a nation's benevolence. The nation annually pays large sums of money for all these things, which congress presume the Indians receive, or are benefitted by them. If, however, the farm should be situated where no Indian ever sees it—if the blacksmith's shop is on the farm—if no Indian ever obtains even one article of the goods intended to be given to him for nothing, without paying four times its value—if the iron and steel are worked up and sold out to the white people of the neighborhood—if the productions of the farm, and the shop, and the store, all go

to enrich ONE MAN, then the benevolent intentions of congress are frustrated.

That about one hundred men disburse about one million of dollars every year, which are charged to the Indian Department, we know; but how much of that large sum is so disbursed as to answer all the benevolent intentions of congress, I do not know. From all I saw, and from all I heard from men of truth and good character, who reside in the Indian country, I am thoroughly convinced that great abuses exist in the Indian Department, which need legislative interference. Annuities, due the Indians by treaties, ought to be regularly paid; but the agencies, sub-agencies, the farmers, assistant farmers, blacksmiths and their assistants, might be forthwith dispensed with, without doing any injury to the Indians. By such a REFORM, a large amount of money might be saved to the nation.

The causes which produced the abuses above referred to will continue them, I fear, under the pretext of benevolence to the Indians!

A feeling exists among the nation at large, towards our red brethren, which is highly honorable to our people, and my only regret is, that such a feeling is so greatly abused by the very persons whose duty it is to act very differently from what some of them do.

If the time should ever arrive, that our Indian agents and all their sub officers should so manage matters entrusted to them, as to contrive every year to add largely to the expenses of the Indian Department—to use all their influence to keep the Indians where they are, in ignorance, poverty and dependence, they will become a curse and a scourge to their own country, and to the people committed to their charge. Let us hope for better things.

That the Indians will recede farther and farther west until they reach the Pacific Ocean, and finally become extinct, as a people, no one acquainted with their present condition and prospects, can doubt. That many efforts will be made through congress, to procrastinate their final doom, I clearly foresee.

Such large sums of money, to be disbursed among the Indians on the frontiers, where all is left to the honesty of those who handle the money, present a temptation to commit frauds. The poor Indian's voice is too feeble to be

heard by the government, and all the white people who could complain loud enough to be heard, are interested in keeping their own secrets.

The old Factory system, as it was called, was too good an one to last long, and it was swept off by Congress some years since. Under that system, goods were sold to the Indians by the United States, through agents duly appointed by the executive department. Something was received by the United States for the goods delivered to the Indians.—Taking advantage of frauds committed on the Indians, by persons connected with the Indian bureau, the Factory system gave place to the present system of giving away the goods without any pay being exacted for them—as the law supposes! All appears fair on the face of the law, but how many goods are thus delivered, not knowing, I cannot say. The American fur company so far as I am informed and believe, deal fairly and honorably with the Indians, and are of great service to the Indians and the United States. They sell on a credit in the autumn to the hunters, before they start out on their annual hunting excursions, and receive their pay when the hunters return home. The families of the hunters procure many necessaries from the company's stores, during the autumn and winter, and so far as I could learn from the Indians themselves, the American fur company deserve well the fair reputation, they now enjoy.

This company do more to keep peace among the Indians than all our army in that region—it is their interest to do so. The agents of this company have no interest in keeping the Indians where they are, and throw no obstacles in the way of the government, to prevent a sale of the Indian lands where the game is all destroyed. Wherever I found an agent of this company I found a friend ready, willing and even anxious to aid me in carrying into effect the views of the United States' government. Without such aid at almost every step as we proceeded on our mission, it must have wholly failed.

#### CIVILIZATION OF THE INDIANS.

How can we prevent the final extinction of the red man of America? by making him in all respects a civilized man. In the first place, the Indian must be taught to build him a

house, and to dwell in it, with his family—to give up the chase, as a means of subsistence and to cultivate the earth. To bring about this great revolution in his habits, we must begin with the children and youth; the habits of the full grown man are of too fixed a character to be changed. A school in which the arts of farming lands and the mechanic arts should be taught might be extremely useful to the males. The younger females ought to be placed in families where they would learn all their appropriate business for life. A small village settled by persons thus educated would form a nucleus around which others would collect. Other similar towns would grow up if placed in the heart of the Indian country, and civilization would extend if properly fostered by the government, until the whole mass of aborigines became civilized, prosperous and happy. Such schools and such villages, must not be located on the verge of the Indian country but far in the interior, otherwise they would prove a curse. The reason is found in the fact that outcasts from us who have lost their character by their vices and by the commission of high crimes against our laws, locate themselves in the edge of the country, among the Indians where they continue their vices and their crimes, and so render themselves a curse to the human race. They are the most embittered enemies we have, and stir up all the strife they can between us and the Indians. They contrive too, many times, by intermarriages with females belonging to distinguished Indian families, to acquire great influence over the natives, which is always turned against the country which gave them birth, but which has repudiated them, on account of their bad conduct. Such men are frequently persons of the finest natural abilities, who have been educated in the best manner. They must not be permitted to settle among the educated Indians. It is with all the virtues, as it is with grain and our garden vegetables, (to use a homely figure,) it requires great labour, care and diligence, to rear them into maturity, whereas, all the vices, like noxious weeds, grow spontaneously, without care or cultivation, and almost in despite of all our exertions to prevent their growth. Following the course I have hinted at, I see no great difficulty, in the way of civilizing our Indians. They are now savages, but so were all men originally. They are as white as we

should have been, reared as they have been, and as their ancestors have been during unknown ages past. Many of them have light hair, blue eyes, and a skin, as white as ours. Nature has done as much for them, as she has for us. Civilization with its arts, its wants, and its views—Christianity with her benevolence and the hopes she holds out to man if he follows her precepts and obeys them, with her threats of punishment if he disobeys the laws of God—the lights of science too, and the force of habits, long since acquired by our ancestors, and handed down to us through a hundred generations, make us to differ from the red men of America. I confess that I anticipate little good being ever effected towards civilizing the Indians by officers of the general government, because unworthy motives will draw unworthy men into the offices. Benevolent societies would be more likely to effect the grand objects of benevolence, towards this ill fated race of men. One such man, as the Rev. JAMES B. FINLEY of Ohio, would do more good among the Indians than all the millions of dollars have done, of which the national treasury has been drained, for the avowed purpose of civilizing the Indians.

A republican form of government might be gradually introduced among them, and so might also the lights of religion and of the arts and sciences. I see nothing in the nature of the savage, which belonged not once to the whole human race. His indolence, and his fondness for war and the chase, are seeds sown, broad cast, in human nature itself. So is his love of fame and of glory. His love of enterprise is great also, and in a state of civilization, it would run in new channels, and produce results that would add to the usefulness, the honor, and the dignity of man.

Placed, as we are, by Providence, in the immediate vicinity of these people, and occupying the very country on which, during unknown ages, they dwelt, until we dispossessed them of it, justice and the precepts of our holy religion, seem to call on us to use our best endeavors to reclaim them from their savage state. Every moment is valuable, quite too much so to be lost, if we mean to save, from final extinction, our red brethren.

Thus far, all plans have failed of success, and unless others are substituted for them, the Indians will soon dis-



appear from the earth, or exist only like the Gypsies in Europe, as strolling beggars. Such is now their condition in New York, where they are seen upon the roads, as mendicants, from Buffalo to Utica. Such was their condition three years since, when I travelled in that region of country.

The object of some persons now appears to be, to collect all the Indians, on this side of the Rocky Mountains, into one territory, as soon as possible. But, without more knowledge of the arts of civilized life than they now possess, I suspect that no good, either to them or to us, will result from such a scheme. It will be productive of vast expense to us, and will make court favorites wealthy, but the effects on the condition of the Indians, I fear, will be bad, if not ruinous. The game in the Indian country will be destroyed in a very few years, should the whole Indian population be thrown together, when the Indians must either perish with hunger, or be fed and clothed by us at a vast expense.

But, what I more dread, is such an Indian war, on our frontiers, as never was waged since this continent was discovered, and which would cost millions of dollars, and rivers of blood. Our whole western frontier would probably present one vast field of conflagration and human butchery. Thousands of our western people would perish under the tomahawk and the scalping knife of the savage. The war whoop would wake the sleep of the cradle—the mother and her babe would be slain together, while the father would burn at the stake. A large standing army would be raised—millions of dollars would be poured out of the national treasury—renown and glory would be won by our military officers—the Indians would be conquered, and swept from off the face of the earth. But would all these events add any thing to our true glory as a nation, to our reputation as christians, or to our character as men? Something like such a scheme was first devised by Tecumseh, and if he wished, as he did, to carry on a war upon us, with effect, his plan was the best that could have been devised by man.

Congress will, no doubt, seriously consider this subject, and deeply, too; and remember the character which Spain acquired by her conduct towards the people of the countries she conquered in America—a character that will at-

tach to her name forever. Character is as dear to a nation as it is to an individual, without which, who wishes to live a day, or even one hour?

In order to civilize our Indians, some of their customs must be changed—their love of war must be eradicated, and to effect that object, polygamy must cease to exist among them. Introduce this custom among us, or among any European nation, and we or they would soon become as savage in our manners as any Indians in the North West. Take away from us, or from a large majority of us, the relations of husband and wife, brother and sister, lover and friend, and we should become at once the veriest savages on the Globe. We are indebted for our humanity, kindness, friendship and benevolence, (now such prominent traits in our national character,) to the influence of our females upon us. The female sex are the true tamers of our natural ferocity, otherwise the Europeans and their descendants would be as fierce, as savage, as wild and ferocious, as the inhabitants of the other quarters of the world. Christianity has raised up woman to the level where God intended she should stand in society, and she has civilized the world, as far around her as she has had her due share of influence. Until Polygamy is abolished among our Indians, they will remain savages.

So long as no man is considered any thing among our Indians until he has murdered at least one human being, so long civilization will achieve little indeed among them: And, until Polygamy is abolished, savage ferocity will inevitably prevail among them. Indeed, I confess that I despair of them so long as the National Government has any thing to do with the Indians. Should Congress give up our Indian affairs to the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia—to such men as ROBERTS VAUX, JOHN VAUGHAN, the venerable DUPONCEAU, ROBERT WALSH, NICHOLAS BIDDLE, and, indeed, the host of philanthropists in that loved city; and appropriate one half what they now do, annually, for ten years, the Indians would be saved from destruction, and the national honor preserved. The descendants of Penn would civilize the red man of the west, were they permitted to do so; had they one half, nay one fourth part of the money now annually thrown away upon court favorites. The present Chief Magistrate, and Gov. Cass, both

of them well acquainted with the Indians, would doubtless cheerfully lend all the aid in their power to effect an object so laudable and so benevolent.

Men, such as I have named, acting from the purest motives of benevolence—men who stand upon a lofty eminence as to character, would succeed in saving our red brethren from extinction.

My own opinion is not in favor of crowding all the Indians within our limits, into one territory. The people who were born in latitude 48, north, ought by no means, to be located in latitude 35, north—nor vice versa. The Southern Indians ought to be moved along westward, in nearly the same latitude in which they were born—so of the northern ones. A change of latitude of more than four degrees, would, for a number of years, seriously affect their health.

To point out the precise spots where the Indians should be located, is impossible, without a thorough examination of the country, made by disinterested and competent men. So long as the nation manages this matter, so long we shall fail to accomplish any lasting good for the Indians.

I repeat my melancholy foreboding, and say: as the tide of emigration rolls westward, our red brethren will be driven from river to river, from mountain to mountain, until they finally perish on the shore of the Pacific Ocean.

But my heart is sick of this idea. My poor veto against the wasteful and villainous expenditure of millions of dollars under the hypocritical pretensions of benevolence and piety, and even of charity towards the Indians, when we all know that not one cent of this money benefits the Indians; is of no avail against the united efforts of a corrupt set of men who contrive to plunder the treasury every winter, under the solemn sanctions of law.

Reflecting on this subject in all its bearings, my head aches, and my heart is pained; I feel ashamed of my country, and I conclude by reminding our rulers and our People, that the RED MAN is on our borders—that he is wholly in our power, either to save or destroy him—that the whole civilized world of this day—that all posterity will judge us impartially. Be it our study, then, so to conduct ourselves towards our ELDER BROTHER as to deserve and

receive a favorable verdict, when on our trial at the bar of reason, of humanity, and of God.

### **DACOTA INDIANS.**

The Dacota, or as we call them, the Sioux Indians, inhabit a large territory on the west side of the Mississippi, from the upper Ioway river, to the Frozen ocean in the north, and to the Rocky mountains in the west. The Upper Ioway empties into the Mississippi on its western shore, thirty miles above Prairie Du Chien. The extent of this region of country, must be equal to all our States bordering on the Atlantic ocean. This country is filled with wild animals, the bison, the bear of different species, the deer of several species, such as are common in Ohio, and also the antelope, the elk, &c. The wolf of several species too, and the mountain ram are there. From the great extent of country occupied by these Indians, their numbers and warlike character, the abundance of wild game of all sorts, and their remote situation from our settlements, as well as the coldness of the climate in which they live render it probable that these will be the last Indians, to leave the country where they now are. These considerations among others, induced me to collect all the information in my power relative to the Sioux. Brief as my information is, it may be useful to our government and to our citizens, in their future intercourse with this people. Those men, belonging to the Sioux, who were with us, were proud samples of men in a savage state. In the form and size of their bodies, they were perfect, and as to mental faculties, they were not less so. One of them acted as a confidential runner, during our last war with England carrying intelligence for us between the Upper Mississippi country and St. Louis. He was greatly attached to our contractor, who formerly belonged to the United States' army, and commanded at Prairie Du Chien. His attachment to Major Kennerly, induced the whites to call him George H. Kennerly by which name he was always called by us.

He was a true friend to us, and as shrewd and politic an one as need be. From this worthy man I drew a great deal of useful information, relating to his country, his peo-

ple and every thing else, about which he had informed himself.

I introduce here what I wish to say concerning the Sioux language, derived from Mr. John Marsh, late sub agent residing at Prairie du Chien. He is a man of learning, having been graduated at an eastern University.

## **Rudiments of the Grammar**

OF THE

### **SIoux LANGUAGE.**

ETYMOLOGY.

The Sioux or Dacota language has two sounds not found in English, viz: the Spanish guttural and the French nasal. The guttural is pronounced very strongly by the men and less so by the women. I have expressed it by the combined sound of kh, as in Takhinga, a deer. It is worthy of remark that this sound is more used when the language is intended to be dignified or impressive, as speeches in council. The nasal sound as in Wakon, Mazakon, Rhokun and Suntan, is like the French in Cordon, Predican, &c.

In the Dacota Language there is no word in which the sound of l, r, v, or f, is found, and the adults cannot pronounce English words in which these letters occur. The children whose organs of speech are more flexible, pronounce them with ease.

This language has also an unexpressible, uncomprehensible, inarticulate sound, which however, occurs but seldom. I shall use the double t thus, "tt" to represent it, but it can give no idea of the sound itself—it seems requisite that a new character should be invented if the Dacota language is ever written. The word tta signifying dead, is an example—the sound is very difficult to imitate. It is produced by an aspiration, the end of the tongue, at the same time pressed against the roof of the mouth.

The Dacota language has no articles. The parts of speech are as follows: Noun, pronoun, verb, adverb, preposition, interjection, adjective.

## PRONOUNS, PERSONAL.

Mea or mish, I  
 Nea or tada, yourself  
 Nea or nish, thou  
 Ea or ish, he or she  
 Okea or okish, we  
 Ne-ape, you  
 E-a-pe, they

## RELATIVE PRONOUNS.

Takoo, what  
 Took-tah, which  
 Too-a, who  
 Kah, that  
 Dah, this  
 Oo-maw, the other

The possessive case of pronouns is thus formed:

Mea metaw-wah, it is mine  
 Nea-netaw-waw, it is thine  
 Ea-taw-wah, it is his  
 Metaw-waw, mine  
 Netaw-waw, thine  
 Ea-taw-waw, his  
 Nam-pin, both

Nouns, are not varied at all in the different cases except by an adjunct of some other word, in which case the final consonant is omitted for the sake of euphony—they are also syncopated and contracted in a variety of ways for the same purpose.

## VERBS.

The verb Mendooza, to have or to hold, is thus conjugated:

## INDICATIVE MOOD, PRESENT TENSE.

Singular.

1. Men-doo-za, I have
2. Doo-za, thou hast
3. U-za, he has

Plural.

1. O-u-za-pe, we have
2. Doo-zah-pe, ye have
3. U-za-pe, we have

## IMPERFECT TENSE.

## Singular.

1. Mendooza-kon
2. Doo-za-kon
3. Ish-u-za-kon

## Plural.

1. O-u-za-pe-kon
2. Doo-za-pe-kon
3. U-za-pe-kon

## FUTURE TENSE.

1. Men-doo-ha-ka-ta
2. Doo-ha-ka-ta
3. U-ha-ka-ta

## Plural.

1. O-u-ha-pe-ka-ta
2. U-ha-pe-ka-ta
3. Ish-u-ha-pe-ka-ta

## INFINITIVE MOOD.

U-ha-pe

## SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD.

If I have

1. Men-doo-ha-oon-konsh
2. Doo-ha-oon-konsh
3. U-ha-oon-konsh

## Plural.

1. Oon-ha-pe-oon-konsh
2. Doo-ha-pe-oon-konsh
3. U-ha-pe-oon-konsh

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O-ka-ka, down stream  
 Ta-to-a-pa, up stream  
 Wa-kond, up  
 Koo-ye, down.

**A Vocabulary**

OF THE

**SIOUX LANGUAGE.****A**

Arrow, wahintapa  
 Alone, anana  
 Afraid, Chanewonka  
 Ashes, (literally grey wood) Chakhota  
 Armpit, Dokse  
 Arm, Esto  
 All, Oos (in yankton) Eokhpa  
 Arriving, Eche mane  
 Ankle, Ishkahoo  
 Also, Nokonokonnokoon  
 Anus, Oza  
 Autumn, Patiatoo  
 Last autumn, Patenga  
 Awl, Tonishpa  
 Although, Tokomany  
 Axe, Onspa  
 Adroit, Wioope  
 Already, Wanaka  
 Adze, Charechan  
 Among, Oppaa  
 Air, Okkandooza  
 Almost, Okhunkoia  
 Always, Oene  
 Aunt, Toe  
 His or her (wife?) Toechee

**B**

Bread, Ahoyape  
 Bring, Akooya  
 Break, Kaptooz ha  
 Beaver, Chapa  
 Bark, Chanhamoia  
 Birch bark, Tompa



Bird, Zedada  
 Blackbird, Zedcatunka  
 Black, Sapa  
 Bladder, Dazha  
 Bow, Etazoopa  
 Belt, Epeaka  
 Blind, Ishtapepah  
 Badger, Khoka  
 Base, vile, Rhia  
 Big, Tunka-tanka  
 Buck, Tamendoka  
 Buck, elk, Hukhaka  
 Brother, Sonka  
   " his, Sonkakoo  
 Bottom land, Taskhoozhooa  
 Boat or canoe, Wata  
 Black bass, Tooponka  
 Blue, To  
 Book, Woape  
 Beans, Wamanecha  
 Bowl, Wakshecha  
 Brave, Wandetaka  
 Blacksmith, Mazakaha  
 Bell, Epeaka  
 Ball, Soo  
 Bullet, Mazasoo  
 Bite, Yaktaka  
 Bear, Wahunksecha  
   " grizzly, Mato  
 Bad, Shecha  
 Brant, goose, Muka shonshu  
 Bull, Tatunka  
 Boy, Oksheda  
 Blood, Owa  
 Bag, Ozooha  
 Beast, Wodazha  
 Blanket, Shenakota  
 By and bye, Heanaka  
 Bed, Oinchaoizh  
 Broth, Wahampe  
 Barrier, Reoota  
 Brooch, Etohonakape

Better, Eoton  
 Brother in law, Yaha  
 Believe, Nacha  
 Before, Yokatee  
 Buffalo robe, Tahecha  
 Backbone, Chunkahoo  
 Between, Okketoada  
 Behind, Akhhaada  
 Beg, Wanda  
 Beggar, Wakpanja  
 Buffalo fish, Kunde  
 Breech cloth, Chaenaka  
 Be, (to be v, infinitive m.) Haa  
 Blue beads, Totona  
 Billet of wood, Patoosta  
 Belt, for carrying burthens, Weche-

## C

Cat (the genus) Onemo  
   " domestic, Onemo shonka  
 Carp, Pakhtacha  
 Cormorant, Hontuka  
 Cock (of a gun,) Chacha  
 Cray fish, Matooska  
 Cry (v. inf.) Pompon  
 Cards, Konsoo  
 Comrade, Hoda  
 Club (war) Chakhopi  
 Carry (v. inf.) Ahunda  
 Cousin, Toshashe  
   " his or her, Tashashetako  
 Coals (live) Patakha  
   " (dead) Chakhunde  
 Comb, Hepakacha  
 Come here, Cooah  
 Cut (v. inf.) Buksa ukxa  
 Covering, Hanoka  
 Canoe, Wata  
 Collar bone, Chaskinchata  
 Coward, Chanewonka  
 Cowardly, idem.  
 Credit (in trade) Echazooopa or Ectsharzoapt-

Chin, Ekoo  
 Cloud, Makhpea  
 Cold, Sne  
 Cane (walking) Sagea  
 Crooked, Shopa  
 Certainly, Nakashi  
 Child, Oksheokopa  
 Candle, Patezhazhah  
 Cow, Pata  
 Calf, Patazhesha  
 Calf of the leg, Sechokhen  
 Claw, Shaka  
 Copulate, Tawetah or Taweton  
 Cabri, Tatoka  
 Chief, Wecheschatope  
 Corn, Wamanizo  
 Clean, (v. inf.) Thusha  
 Cotton wood, Wakha  
 Cover, (v.) Akakhapa  
 Cover (to a kettle) Chakkeha  
 Catamite, Ozasha Winkta

## D

Dog, Shonka  
 Duck (the genus) Pahonta  
   " mallard, Shaska  
   " wood, Noata ska  
   " mergansor, Hotata  
 Sheldrake, Hotatunka  
 Distance, long, Tahantaha  
   " short, Ashkeana  
 Dead, Tta  
 Daughter, Conshke  
   " his or her, Chonkshetakochowetako  
   " in law, Takeosh  
   " his or her, Takoshkoo  
 Draw out, Eooshendoka  
 Die, Emahka  
 Daughter, eldest, Wenoona  
   " 2d, Hapan  
   " 3d, Hapiste

" 4th, Wehake  
 " 5th, Woska  
 Drift, v. Kokhumboka  
 Descend, v. Koonkookoon  
 Drown, v. Minneentta  
 Dirty, Shapa  
 Day, Ompata-ompa  
 Done, cooked, Teopa  
 Door, Teopa  
 Drink, Eatakan  
 Dive, Kenuka  
 Dance, Wacheepe  
 Day, Ampatoo  
 Dwelling, house or lodge, Teebe  
 Drunk, Weteko  
 Down the river, Okhaha  
 Dishonourable, Wotoohcanka  
 Deceived, Hania  
 To day, Echenakaka

### E

Eel, Howamandoosga  
 Elk buck, Hakhaku  
 " doe, Popon  
 Enough, Hana  
 End, Oeanka  
 Every day, Ompa ompatoana  
 Eagle, bald, Rhoyapaska  
 " grey,  
 " war, Wamande  
 Egg, Wintaka  
 Ear, Noha  
 " rings or pendants, Oin  
 Eye, Ishta  
 Elbow, Ishpase  
 One eyed, Ishtatopa  
 Earth, Maka  
 East, Weoheapata  
 Ermine, Hetunkasa  
 Not enough, Hanakishna

## F

- Flour, Ahoyape  
 Fish, Rhokhun  
     " line, Ahanta  
     " hook, Ishkishoope  
 Father, Atta  
     " his or her, Attakoko  
     " in law, Tookonshe  
 Flash, powder, Chakhund'ozhooa  
 Face, Eta  
 Forehead, Etha  
 Flea, Tta  
 Fight, Kezap  
 Fear, v.  
 Fall, v. Ekhpaa  
 Flat, Menduska  
 Fill, Ozhooa  
 Finger,  
 Frog, Nashka  
     " bull, Natapa  
 Fire, Pata, enda  
 Foot, Seha  
 Freese, v. Tusaka  
 Frozen, Skpon  
 Far, Taha  
 Flag, Weoket  
 Flint, Wake  
 French, Wasechon  
 Feather, Weaka  
 Fool, foolish, Wetekotaka  
 Fulling, Ekhpiata  
 Female, Weada  
 Fly, v. Wakea  
 Fly, s. Honakheta  
 Find, v. Eaa  
 Flame, Enda  
 Fort, Chon, kuskka  
 Frying pan, Chahahoop'oska  
 File, Mazceoomba  
 My good friend, Kichewa  
 His or her father in law, Tookonkoo

## G

God, Wakon, tunka  
 Grapes, Astahenka  
 Gunpowder, Chakhunde  
 Garter, Hoskicheha  
 Grey, Krhota  
 Goose, Makhah  
 Gun, Mazakon, Mazawakon  
   " screw, Mazaachoo  
   " lock, Mazakonnoka  
 Grass, Pazhe  
 Garment, an upper, Okhendokhendou  
   " a woman's under, Soksonecha  
 Green, To  
 Great, Tunkatonka  
 Gopher, Toshanicha, Manicha  
 Grandmother, Onche  
   " his or her, Konkasetakoo  
 Grandchild, Takozha  
   " his or her, Takozapatkoo  
 Garrfish, Hokah  
 Goat, Tatoka  
 Girl, Wean  
 Good, Washta  
 Giant, Waze  
 Grease, Wasna, Asndow  
 Gooseberries, Wechandushka  
 Garlic, Psin  
 Guts, Shapa  
 Grasshopper, Psipsecha

## H

He or him Ea Ish  
 His, Eae, tawatawa  
 Hit or strike, v. Rashtaka  
 Horn, Ha  
   " for powder, Chakhund'ozhooa  
 Heart, Chunta  
 Here, Hopa  
 Handle, Hosa

Half, Hanka  
 Hang, v. Rapemene  
     " by the neck, Poskineakashka  
 Hot, Kata  
 Heat, Mushta  
 Have, v. Ansta  
 Hole, Okhendoka  
 Head, Pa  
 Hair, of the head, Nassoo  
     " of the breast or of the body, T'ta  
 Horse, Shooktanka  
 Heel, Seata  
 High, Tahawakon  
 Honorable, Wootom  
 Hold, v. Uza  
 Hatchet, Onspa  
 Hat, Wapa  
 I have none, Wanicha  
 Hunt, v.  
 Hard, Shaka  
 Very hard, Shakshaka  
 Husband, Hehena  
     " her, Hehenakoo  
 Hill, Pazozho, Khiaka  
 Hawk, Chatan

## I

Island, Weeta  
 Impediment, Washushna  
 I, mea mish  
 In the house, Temahen  
 Iron, Maza  
     " trap, Makahkatakeape  
 Intrepreter, public, Eakeape  
 Interpreter, Eiska  
 Ice, Chakha  
 Jest, v. Ahkatape

## K

Kill,  
 Kittle, Chaha

Kettle, small, Chahostin  
 Kingfisher, Kooshendache  
 Keg, Kokon  
 Knife, Eson, mena  
 Knee, Opahoo  
 Killed, Ou  
 Kerchief, Wanape  
 Kinsman, Takooya  
 To know how, Onispa

**L**

Lynx, Enemokhota  
 Light, Ezhazha  
 Left, Chakakataha  
 Lion, Manazha  
 Let go, Aushta  
 Lose, v. Wakhpa  
 Little, Cheestin, chekun  
     " a Wanistin  
 Leaf, Wakhpa  
 Lip, the upper,  
     " the under, Ishte  
 Lead, Mazasoo  
 Ladle of iron, Mazasoo eocushta  
 Loon, Mendoza  
 Lake, Munda  
 Low, Memkatahee  
 Louse, Haa  
 Long, Hasha, hoska  
 Leggings, Floska  
 Like this, Dache  
 Lightning, Wakonde  
 Lazy, Koozha

**M**

Mink, Dokshinsha  
 Martin, Natapakacha  
 Mouth, E  
 Mole, Munecha  
 Moment, for a, Enokhena  
 Melt, v. Ishondo



- Mirror, Indomanese  
 Mouse, Hetonkata  
 Mocasins, Hampa  
 Make, v. Kaha  
 Man, Wechasta  
     " old, Wechakinja  
     " young, Kosa  
 Male, Mendoka  
 Mother, Ena  
     " his er her, Honkoo  
     " his or her, in law, Onteshe  
     "                 in law, Konkoo  
 Mug, Minneatoha  
 Myself, Meatada  
 Me, Mea, or Mish  
 My own, Mea metawa  
 Merchandize, Maza  
 Metal, Maza  
 Medal, Maza ska tunka  
 In the morning, Nakhana, or kehana  
 Magpie, Onkachakeka  
 Mallard, Pahonta  
 Magic or Medicine, Pezhoota, wakon  
 Mend a. Pea  
 Muddy  
 Muskrat, Sintapa  
 Moose, Ta  
 How many, Tona, tonakacha  
 Musketoe, Chaponka  
 Mittens, Napintopa  
 Mongrel, Shonsko  
 So much, Neskokacha, Koskokasha  
 Meat, fresh, Shonsho  
     " dried, Papa, Chonecha  
 Much, or many, Ota  
 Many people, Wech'ota  
 More, Noko, Nokon  
 Middle, Chokia  
 Moon, Hiato we  
 Millers thum, fish, Papapape  
 Master, Honka

## N

No, Hea  
 None, Wanacho  
 Not yet, Nakhakishna, or Tishua  
 New, Tacha  
 Naked, Tachoda  
 Noon, Weotun  
 North, Wazeata  
 Never  
 Neck, Tahoo  
 Needle, Tonishpachekun  
 The nails, Shaka  
 The nose, Poha  
 Nipple, Aza  
 Near, Ashkana  
 Now, Nakaha, wana  
 Night, Hi-a-a-too

## O

On, upon, Akon  
 Opposite, Oo, takozha  
 One eyed, Tshta topa  
 Old, aged, Kon  
     " not new, Toneka  
 Otter, Paton  
 Open, (v.) Uckhendoka  
 Oil, Wasna  
 Owl, the small grey, Popotakana  
 Out of doors, Tunkan  
 The other, Ooma

## P

Poultry, Ampa otona  
 Pour (v.) Akieshta  
 Penis, Chundozhooa  
 Perhaps, Okine  
 Pouch for tobacco, &c.  
 Pipe, Chundopa  
     " stem, Sinta  
 Path, Chunkooa

Pork, Kookooshi  
 Plums, Kunta  
 Plum tree, Kuntoohoo  
 Pure, Khinja, tinja  
 Pond, Munda  
 Penis, Chu  
 Pelican, Mindakha  
 Pike, Tamaia  
 Plenty, Ota  
 Pantaloons, Ozokha  
 Prairie, Tinta  
 Paper, Minnehoka  
 Paddle, Wimannyhicha  
 Piece, Wishpa  
 Pidgeon, Wakeata  
 Pine tree, Waze  
 Partridge, Zecha  
 Plant, (v.) Wazhooa  
 Porcupine, Pahe  
 Plover, Pahankata  
 Presently, Henaka  
 Play, (v.) Eokea

### Q

Quill, Weucha, Weuck  
 Quick, Okhanka

### R

Rushes, Pza  
 Ride, on horseback, Shonkawakon, akoneaku  
     akoneak, omanépe  
 Roll, (v.) Hemehema, Nemenema, Kemikema  
 Ramrod, Opaza  
 Rasp, Maza, cooba  
 Round, Memon  
 Rattlesnake, Hukenda  
 Rifle, Asndon ozhoope  
 River, Watopa  
     “ down the, Okhaka  
     “ Tatoapa  
 Rattle, (v.) Ukhenda

Ribbon, Shenopaketa zibzepata  
 Red, Doota, Shah  
 Renew, Pea  
 Rise, v. rising, Nazhe  
 Rabbit, Mustincha  
 Rain, v. Makkazhoo  
 Raven, Kankha  
 Run, v. Doozakon  
 Rocks, Emenezha  
 Root like a turnip, Tipissina

B

Soup, Wahampe  
 Soap, Wepa zhazha  
 Son, Shinkshe  
 “ his or her, Cheehinteko, Chenkseteko  
 “ in law, Takoosh  
 “ his or her, Takooshkoo  
 The eldest son, Cheska  
 “ 2d, Hapon  
 “ 3d, Hepe  
 “ 4th, Chatana  
 “ 5th, Hakata  
 Sun, We  
 Spring, Watco  
 Last spring, Waha  
 Next “ Wachena  
 Seek, v. Aketa  
 See, v. Weaka  
 Speak, v. Eap  
 Soldier, Akicheta  
 Sick, Azun  
 Standing, Bosndata  
 Strong, Suntan  
 Sweet, Shooya  
 Sour  
 Sugar, Chanhampe  
 Shoes  
 Small, or little, Cheestin, chikun  
 “ very, Chekchestin  
 Fine Steel, Chunka  
 Spunk, Chandukaka

- Scratch, v. Pakaka  
 Sing, v. Dowompe  
 Shut, v. imperative, Chadcon  
 Scrape, v. Eoomba  
 Sit down. Eo tunka  
 Scissors, He ooshenda  
 Sight of a gun, Ewiaka  
 Sleep, Estema, akaumba  
 Shoot, Koota  
 Skin, Ha  
 Shoulder, Heata  
 Sew, v. Kukhaka  
 Skunk, Maka  
 Sister, Tunkshe  
     " his or her, Hanka  
     " in law, Hanka  
     " his or her, Hankakoo  
 Silver, Mazaska  
 Spoon, Tookey, Kiska  
 Sword, Maza sagea  
 Stone, Ean, Eahn  
 Summer, Mendokatoo  
     " last, Mendokaa  
     " next, Mendokachena  
 Swim, v. Newompe  
 Surely, Nakash  
 Straw, Pazhe  
 Snow shoes, Psa  
 Short, Patajin  
 Shallow, Pooza  
 Show, v. imp. Pazo  
 Salt, Minne, skuya  
 Shot, Sookchechakana,  
 Spear for fish, Okkoka  
     " " muskrats, Sintapa chapa  
 Stink, Secka, mana  
 Snow, Wa  
 Star, We chakhope  
 South, Etokaha  
 Steal, Wa Mano  
 Squirrel, red, Zecha  
 On this side, Etato

On the other side, Sompā, Akasompā  
 Smell, v. Mana  
 Sell, v. Weopaa  
 Somebody, Wazhikskin, or Ozhikshiu  
 Skillful, Wioope  
 Sparks, Pa, snezha  
 Skin, Chesende  
 Spare, Okapta  
 Scalp, Wechappa ha  
 Spade, Wepa, tacha  
 A Spring of Water, Minni khndoka  
 Screw, Okatkoha  
 Snipe, Passoo, skopa  
 Strike (v.) Amompa  
 " thou, Hasktoka, Hupa

### T

Bark of the Arrow wood, (used by the Indians  
 for Tobacco) Chanshasha  
 Teal, Shokshanka  
 Turtle, snapping, Kaha  
 " testudo geographica, Patakasha  
 Temple, Woata  
 Take care, Ohan  
 Taste (v.) Ota  
 Terrible, Woheteka  
 Thief, Wamanosa  
 Thumb, Napa honka  
 Turkey, Zezaha, Zezecha tunka  
 T . . d, fæces, Chesende  
 Thunder, Wakean  
 Tomahawk, Tachakope  
 Thick, Shoka  
 Very thick, Shokshoka  
 Tail of a beast, Sinta  
 " of a bird, Oope  
 Trade, Opaton  
 Trader, Wohaton  
 Trap of iron, Maza yaktaka  
 Tall, Haska, Hoska  
 Tooth, He

That, Ha, hache  
 There, Han  
 Tie, v. Eakashka  
 Testicles, Eteka  
 Throat, Dota  
 Trigger, Eoota  
 To throw, Ekpaá  
 They, Eape  
 Thou, Nea, Nish  
 Tobacco, Chunde  
 Tongue, Chezhe  
 Tree, Chan  
 Teeth, Hee

## U

Up the river, Tatoapa  
 Upon, Atkon  
 Uncle, Dekshe  
 " his or her, Dekshetako  
 Up to, Patumpatona  
 Under, Okhendataa

## V

Vile, Khia  
 Virgin, Okshewena  
 Valley, Kokséza  
 Vulva, Shon, Weshon  
 Venison, (deer) Takhinja  
 Very, Achacha  
 Village, Otoo  
 Vagabond, Wokhtashna  
 Very well, Hachetoo

## W

Want, v. Chin  
 Walk, Mane  
 Wood, Chan  
 Wind instrument, Chotanka  
 Water, Minne  
 Wind, Tata

- Windpipe, Data  
 White, Ska  
 Woodchuck, Hunkushad  
 Waterfall, Khakha  
 Winter, Waneatoo  
     "    last, Wanea  
     "    next, Waneatookeha  
 Wounded, Opta  
 Weak, Sutashna  
 Wood Duck, Shuska  
 Wolf Shooktokacha  
     "    prairie, Toka  
 Wing, Hopon, Hoton  
 Wet, Spia  
 Where, Toketa, Tokea  
 What, Takoo  
 When, Tohon, Tohonke  
 Within, O  
 West, Weokhpaata  
 Woman, Wenokhencha  
 Wampum, Weoka  
     "    hair pipes, Waebosndata  
 Will, v. Chanda  
 Whetstone, Ezoozazha  
 Whore, Wehomany  
 War-club, Chakhope  
 Old woman, Wukungon  
 With, Kiche  
 Walnut, black, Makhoo  
     "    white, Chansoo  
 Weep, Chaa  
 Where is he, she, or it? Tookta  
 Who is he? Ha too a? a phrase of frequent  
     occurrence.  
 What is it? Hataka?

### Y

- Yonder, Dachea. A word of frequent occur-  
     rence.  
 Yes, Tosh  
 No, Eeah



You, Nea nish  
 Your or Yours, Neta, or Nea netawwaw, or  
 Netawa  
 Yourself, Neatada

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Wechashtah, A Man  
 Wenokenchah, a woman  
 Toweechah, a young man  
 Wekoshkah, a young woman  
 Okshedah, a boy  
 Wecheahnah, a girl  
 Okshcahpah, an infant, m. or f.  
 Wechahkhinjah, an old man  
 Wahkonhah, an old woman  
 Wechahkhinjahkhinche, a very old man  
 Wahkonkahkhinche, a very old woman  
 Khinche, very  
 Kokshewenah, a virgin  
 Wehemane, a courtesan

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MODE OF COUNTING USED BY

**THE SIOUX.**

One, Wazeta, Wancha, or Wazhe  
 Two, Nopa  
 Three, Yamane  
 Four, Topa  
 Five, Zapata  
 Six, Shakope  
 Seven, Shako  
 Eight, Shahundoa  
 Nine, Nopchawonka  
 Ten, Wikechamana  
 Eleven, Akawazhe  
 Twelve, Akanopa  
 Thirteen, Akayamane

Fourteen,	Aka	topa
Fifteen,	"	zapata
Sixteen,	"	shakope
Seventeen,	"	shako
Eighteen,	"	shakundoa
Nineteen,	"	nopchewonka
Twenty,	Wickechamananopa	
Twenty-one,	Sampa, or Sumwazheta	
Twenty two, &c.	Nopa, &c.	
Thirty,	Wickechama	yamane
Forty,	"	topa
Fifty, &c.	"	zapata
One hundred,	Oponkha	
One thousand,	Kokut	oponkha

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### NAMES OF THE MONTHS.

The Dakota's reckon time by Lunations.

1. Wewakikshoo, The Moon when the wild rice is ripe
2. Takeokhe, The Moon when the deer copulate
3. Tahachopsoo, The Moon when the deer shed their horns.
4. Wetakkee, The cold Moon.
5. Jistawechaze, The Moon of sore eyes. It is also called  
Kishkatawe, The Turtle's Moon
6. Wechatawe, The Raccoon's Moon, or the Moon when Raccoon's copulate.
7. Mukhgawwakondope, The Moon when Geese lay their eggs

The only divisions of time among the Dakota are the year, called

Maca, The Seasons

Wattoo, Spring

Mundokatoo, Summer

Ataneatoo, Autumn

Waneatoo, Winter—and the changes of the Moon before mentioned.

Shtache, Ashamed, or bashful  
 Epootaka, Kiss, v. & s.  
 Echinketa, Ashamed  
 Tosh, Yes indeed  
 Eah, No  
 Hanh, Yes, the common word  
 Tokejah, What for?  
 How, Yes, is used only by the men; the wo-  
 men say Tosh  
 Heeah, No.  
 Zodekawonkontuta, Magpie  
 Khotah, Grey  
 Shah, Red, a colour  
 Toh, Green  
 Khre, Yellow  
 Sapa, Black  
 Skah, White  
 Chanchakha, Drum  
 Chotunka, Flute  
 Wamanoha, Rattle  
 Pah, Head  
 Nazoo, Brain  
 He, Hair  
 Etahoo, Forehead  
 Ishta, Eye  
 Pokha, Nose  
 Ee, Mouth  
 Hee, Teeth  
 Chazhe, Tongue  
 Ekoo, Chin  
 'Dota, Throat  
 Tahoo, Neck  
 Ishto, Arm  
 Napa, Hand  
 Napehoopa, Fingers  
 Napahoonka, Thumb  
 Shaka, Finger Nails  
 Chooee, The Side  
 Neahkha, The Front Side  
 Taze, Belly  
 Makoo, Breast  
 Chachoonta, Thigh

- Oopahoo, Knee    A  
 Oos'ndee, Leg  
 Seeha, Foot  
 Seeookaya, Toes  
 Dnoha, Ear  
 Dnookh'ndoka, The hole of the Ear  
 Chaah, Penis  
 Etakaah, Testicles  
 Wachankha, Sweet scented Grass  
 Taspautunka, Apple  
 Washasha, Vermillion  
 Potapunka, Cranberries  
 Chansoo, Walnut or hickory wood.    Literal  
           ly, hard wood  
 Tanta, Wind  
 Onzah, or Oinzah, a Bed  
 Waendekeeta, I am going  
 Wona, Now  
 Ahan, Then  
 Owos, All  
 Akasampa, The other side  
 Etato, On this side  
 Hanunkecha, Enough  
 Hanka }  
 Okese }    Half  
 Nakoo, Also  
 Hapeet, Lispy's, Husband  
 Washa, Red Snow  
 Khoyapa, Is the war-chief and principal man  
           of Shakopee's band.

## OLD MAID OF THE WISCONSIN.

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On the day we delivered the goods, to the Winnebagoes, after the Indians were all seated on the ground in rows; the chiefs, on the highest spot in the centre, on benches, clothed in the most sumptuous manner; where they could see and be seen to the best advantage; every tribe by itself; the half breeds, in one place; the full whites, in another; as I passed through the open spaces, between the ranks, my attention was forcibly drawn to a particular spot, by a constant snarling, hissing noise of some miserable human being, whom, on approaching her, I ascertained to be an Indian woman, shrivelled, haggard, and old, though remarkably neat in her person and dress.

She appeared to be about sixty years of age, and scolded incessantly. Some of the goods placed before her, as her share of them, she complained of as being too fine; others as being too coarse; some cost too much; while others were quite too cheap, and none of them seemed to please her.

Wishing, if possible, to please all of them, and especially the ladies; actuated by the best of motives, I endeavored by every argument in my power, to satisfy her, that so far as I could do any thing towards it, great care had been taken in the distribution, to do justice to every individual. I told her, that her Great Father, the President, had specially ordered me, so far as in me lay, to please all, and to see that no one went home dissatisfied. At that moment, she returned upon me a volley of epithets, too degrading to be repeated, even though applied to myself, as I felt conscious of not deserving them. Turning around to some females who were politely sitting on the ground behind me, I learned the fault finder, *was an old maid*, (unmarried men at sixty years of age, I will call bachelors, but ladies never) and that the only distinguishing mark of attention she had ever received from any man, was a smart blow, with a flat hand, on her right ear!

As there is no law regulating taste, and sometimes, no rational way of accounting for some of its freaks; and as

some sights, are the aversion of some persons, while the appearance of other objects, is equally disagreeable to others; and as I never could endure the ideas conveyed to my mind, by a rattlesnake, a heartless politician, an iceberg and a cold hearted woman; I turned away from her in disgust, and never saw her more, nor inquired her name, for fear I should remember it. She was the only person, who left the treaty ground, dissatisfied with the commissioners. To please her, it was utterly impossible.

Seated, as I said, upon rising ground, on benches; clad in blankets, either green or red; covered with handsome fur hats; with three beautiful ostrich plumes, in each hat; dressed in ruffled calico shirts, leggins and mocasins;—all new, and faces painted to suit the fancy of each individual, who held in his hand a new rifle—adorned too, with silver broaches, silver clasps on every arm, and a large medal suspended on each breast, the chiefs, principal warriors and head men, to the number of forty two, sat during two hours, after all the goods had been delivered to the nation.

Every individual, of both sexes in the nation, had lying directly before the person on the ground, the share of the goods belonging to the individual. Great pains had been taken to give each, such, and just so many cloths as would be suitable for the owner to wear, during the year to come. The cloths, were cut so as to correspond exactly with the size of the owner. The pile of cloths, for each person, was nearly two feet in thickness, the sight of which, entirely overcame with joy, our red friends, and they sat, during two hours, in the most profound silence; not taking off their eyes one moment, from the goods, now their own. For the first time, during my constant intercourse of several weeks, with these interesting sons and daughters of the forest, as I passed repeatedly through their ranks, not an eye, appeared to see me;—not an ear, to hear my heavy tread;—not a tongue, as always heretofore, repeated the endearing name of—"Oconee kairake" [the good chief,] which their kind partiality had given me, on my first landing at Prairie Du Chien. Their minds were entirely overcome with joy.

The day being far spent, and as the loading of the canoes, in which they were about to depart, would necessa-

vily occupy some little time, I informed the chiefs and principal men, that the time had arrived, when we should part to meet no more—that the great gun at the fort would soon be fired, to do them honor. With one accord, they all arose, and shaking me heartily by the hand, many of them shedding tears, on the occasion, they one and all invited me to visit them, at their respective places of abode. In a shrill tone of voice, NAWKAW, issued his orders for every individual to arise, take up his or her goods, and repair to the beach of the river near at hand, and there await the signal from the fort, for their embarkation.

In fifteen minutes they were all seated on the sands, by the river's edge, where they all sat in breathless silence, awaiting the signal, which was soon given. As soon as that was given, each chief came forward, shook me again cordially by the hand, accompanied by the warmest protestations of friendship. In a few moments more, they were off, covering a considerable surface, with their canoes, each one of which, carried its flag of some sort, floating in the gentle breeze, which ruffled the surface of the Mississippi.

The Chippeways, Ottowas and Pottawatimies, had received their goods in the same manner as the Winnebagoes; had been treated precisely in the same way, and three guns, one for each nation, had given them, a signal to depart, and they had parted with me in the same kind and affectionate manner.

After the departure of the above named Indians, we had the Sauks and Foxes, still with us, with whom we had orders to hold a council, to ascertain from them “if they would sell their mineral lands, situate West of the Mississippi?”—and if they would sell them, upon what terms?”

Gen. M'Niel, who was in command as a military officer, in this section of country, addressed these tribes, and was answered by KEEOKUK, on the part of the Sauks, and by MORGAN, for the Foxes. I regret that the injunction of secrecy rests on these speeches, in the United States' Senate, otherwise I should take great pleasure in laying them before the reader. *Keeokuk*, in particular, made one of the best speeches I ever heard, and it was admired as such, by several members of the Senate

KEEOKUK on the part of these Indians, complained to us of certain white men, who had settled on the Indian lands, along the Mississippi, in order to supply persons navigating the river, with necessaries, such as poultry, milk, butter, eggs, and above all, cord wood, for the steam boats.—He complained, that the United States had cultivated lands as a garden, for the garrison, at Prairie Du Chien—had erected a mill without leave, on Indian land—and had not fulfilled former treaties with them.

Making them liberal presents, we naturally deferred the whole subject in discussion, for the consideration of the Government of the United States to act on it; and I take pleasure in saying, the Government has since that time done its duty to these sons of the forest.

After arranging all matters with them, as well as we could, which occupied several days, they were dismissed in a very friendly manner, as all the other Indians had been already, and they immediately descended the river for their homes.

Before leaving this place, I wish to make a few remarks of a general nature.

Though I neither am, nor ever pretended to be a military man, yet I venture a few remarks on some of the military establishments in the Northwest.

The fort on Rock island, is commanded by hills on both sides of it, and could not stand an hour against an enemy, with cannon, posted on the heights.

Why this fort was placed here, where it is, no man of sense can tell, if the British were to be the attacking enemy. If this work was intended to protect this frontier against Indians, it is in so dilapidated a state, that by crossing on the island above the fort, or gliding along in their canoes under the western side of the island, which forms the outside of the fort, the Indians could in any dark night, make themselves masters of the garrison in fifteen minutes. Whenever they please, they can collect at this point, in ten days, four thousand warriors, to contend with four hundred soldiers. There is no regular mail, connecting this post with the United States, and war might be declared for three months, in some seasons of the year, without the garrison's knowing it.



There is a post office established here, and in summer, the officers, sometimes, go to Galena for their papers and letters, one hundred miles above them—and sometimes they go to Springfield, in the Sangamo country, a distance of seventy miles perhaps, for their letters. The officers must go themselves, as the soldiers if permitted to go would desert the service. Cut off from all the world, that is, the civilized world, during six months of the year, the officers and soldiers lead a life, as dull as need be. The officers who have families, have established a school for their children, which is doing very well.

Ascending the Mississippi, two hundred miles or more above Rock island, we arrive at Fort Crawford, at Prairie Du Chein. This post, like that at Rock island, stands near the Mississippi, on its eastern shore, and is entirely and completely commanded by the hills on each side of the river. It enjoys too, a situation so low, that nearly every summer, during the dog days, its site is under water, from six to ten feet in depth, from the overflowing of the river.

This work is in so dilapidated a state, that I presume it is now abandoned for another site, somewhat more elevated, but nearer the high hill that will forever command it, just east of it. Major Garland pointed out to me, the spot where, he supposed, a new fort would be erected.

There is a propriety in placing a military post somewhere, at or near the mouth of the Wisconsin, in order to form a line of posts, situated on Green Bay, where there is a fort—and in the interior, at the spot, where fort Winnebago is; but what consideration could have induced the Government, to place a garrison at St. Peters, three hundred miles and more, beyond a single white settlement—unconnected too with any other post!! in the very heart of the Indian country, I am unable to determine. If this post was intended to strengthen this frontier, it certainly weakens it, to the amount of the force stationed there, added to an amount of force enough to succor and defend it. If the object was to station a garrison, where an intercourse with the Indians, for purposes of trade, was sought, lake Pepin, far below it, is the place where it should have been located. As it is, it so happens often, that the officers and others, who pass and repass between Prairie Du Chein and St. Peters, are taken prisoners on the route, by the Indians.

Unless some one wished to get a good Governmental job, by getting this post established, then I cannot account for this strange location, and I am equally at a loss to account for the continuance of this worse than useless establishment, where it is.

All the officers in the Indian country, who have been there ten years, ought instantly to be relieved by others. Lieut. Col. Z. Taylor, has been in the Indian country constantly with his family, about twenty years! Here he and his lady, who were bred up in the most polished and refined society, have been compelled to rear up as well as they could, a worthy and most interesting family of children. Col. Taylor commands fort Crawford, at Prairie Du Chien. Dr. Beaumont and his amiable and accomplished lady; Major Garland and his, belonging to this garrison, are doing the same. It is an interesting sight, to see such persons located as they are, in a fort, on the very verge of civilized life, educating a family of young children. The situation of delicate females, belonging to some of the best families in the nation, reared in tenderness, amidst all the luxuries and refinements of polished society, now living in a fort, calls for our sympathy, and admiration of their fortitude, which enables them to bear with all the ills, and overcome all the difficulties attendant on their mode of living. When I was very unwell from exposure, miserable water, and the worst of cookery, and worn down too by fatigue of body and mental suffering, I always found sympathy, food that I could eat, and smiles and kindness which touched my heart, in the families I have named. Nor can I ever forget the females belonging to the families of Mr. Rolette and of Judge Lockwood at Prairie Du Chien.

Without their kindness towards me, I must have perished. I do not deny my fondness for woman, because I know that in cases of distress and suffering, her sympathy and cheering voice, infuse into man new life, new vigor, and new fortitude, and he marches onward with redoubled energy, to climb over every Alps that is placed in his way. Living as these ladies do, amidst dangers, in an Indian country, they are familiarized with them, and their animating voice is worth an army of men. I never can forget them, nor their families while I live. Would the Government hear my feeble voice, such officers would not

be compelled, with their families, to spend all their days, in an Indian country, while others, who have known no suffering in the service, are attending levees, and gallanting about the ladies at Washington City.

There is something wrong in all this, that I hope will be rectified yet.

At each of the military posts, the officers have established a Library and a Reading Room, at their own expense. Their books consist of useful works, connected with their pursuits. History, Geography, Mathematics, Chemistry, and Scientific Books, are in the Library, and the officers and their families are well read in them all. Though they may be uninformed as to the passing events, at the very moment they occur, yet, at unequal periods, their regular files of all the best newspapers published in the United States, are received and read with care. The National Intelligencer, National Gazette—all the literary periodicals, worth reading, are carefully perused.

The younger officers were all educated at West Point Academy, and wherever I met one of them, I always found a gentleman and man of science, brave, active, vigorous, energetic, high minded, honorable, strictly honest and correct in all his deportment. He claimed all that belonged to him, and not one tittle more, of any one. These officers, belonging to the first families in the nation, educated in the very best manner, are induced by their self respect, to conduct themselves in the very best manner on all occasions. They fear nothing but disgrace, originating in their own bad conduct, and they scrupulously avoid it every where, and at all times. As officers, as gentlemen, and as men, I feel proud of them as my countrymen

I pray them to accept this testimony in their favor, as a small payment towards a large sum, justly due to them, for their good conduct, in every part of the Union, where I have had the pleasure of meeting with them. My only regret is, that this honest heartfelt approbation of them, is all I have it in my power to bestow, upon persons so worthy. Those who are in actual service on the Indian frontier, deserve more pay than they receive, in a country where every thing is so extravagantly dear. Congress ought to remember these worthy men, and make further provision for them, and to the Congress, I submit their

case. While those, who shine in every fashionable circle at Washington, under the eye of Congress, are well paid *for their services*, it is to be hoped that others, who undergo nothing but hardships, will not be forgotten—as I know they will not be by the Senate.

Having completed all our business, of a public nature, so far, as we could, at this place, about the middle of August, as near as I now remember, we concluded to give our friends here, a ball on the evening preceding our leaving them. It was attended by all the respectable part of the people, in the garrison and in the village.

It was a most interesting scene. Within the council house, where the civilized people were assembled, might be seen, persons of both sexes, as polished and as refined in their manners, as well bred, and educated as well too, as any persons in the United States; and at the same moment, might be seen on the outside of the house, at the doors and windows, looking on, and occasionally dancing by themselves, by way of experiment, or to show what they could do as dancers, in the open air, as motley a group of creatures, (I can scarcely call them human beings) as the world ever beheld. They are a race peculiar to those parts of the Upper Mississippi, where settlements were originally made by the French, soon after the conquest of Canada by the English under Gen. Wolf. They are a mixed breed, and probably more mixed than any other human beings in the world; each one consisting of Negro, Indian, French, English, American, Scotch, Irish, and Spanish blood! And I should rather suspect some of them, to be a little touched with the Prairie wolf. They may fairly claim the vices and faults of each, and all the above named nations and animals, without even one redeeming virtue.

The reader will see that we were on the very confines of civilized and savage life.

The officers and their families from fort Crawford, and the best families in the Prairie, were all very happy and we parted with them all in friendship, and retired to rest, at about midnight.

## Tour to Washington City.

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Next morning I busied myself in making preparations for my departure by land, to Dodgeville, Gratiot's Grove and Galena. Many little obstacles were thrown in my way, as always is the case, when endeavoring to do any business with this motley group of creatures; but towards night, in company with Mr. Henry Gratiot, in a dandy wagon, in which were placed our mats, blankets, cooking vessels, provisions and arms, I bid adieu to Prairie Du Chien. Making our way over the Prairie, in a southeast direction, over a surface, in some parts very rough and uneven, we struck the Wisconsin, about three miles I should suppose, above its mouth; and having crossed the river in a ferry boat, we encamped just before sunset, on the south bank of the stream, near the water's edge.

### WISCONSIN RIVER.

The Wisconsin, where we crossed it, was very shallow, full of sand bars and small islands, and at that low stage of the water, not more than forty rods in width. Its average depth was not more than three feet, perhaps even less. The numerous little islands and sand bars, in height only a foot or two above the surface of the water, far as I could see the stream, above and below where we crossed it, presented to view wild rice in bloom. That plant, grows on the islands and sand bars, and in the water near them, to the height of three or four feet; and when in full bloom reminds one of our cultivated fields at home. The grain itself looks more like oats, than rice, and has a sweet taste like our oats. In this region it affords food for large flocks of wild fowls, as well as for man. Lake Puckaway and the Ponds and small lakes about Fox river, produce a great deal of this grain.

The Wisconsin has worn itself, a deep basin, from one to three miles in width, though in some places, it is twelve miles wide, probably; but the river itself, from appearances, rarely occupies more than half a mile in width, even in high water. It rises in an unknown region, not

far to the south of lake Superior, about half way between the extreme ends of that inland sea. I saw one man, who supposed he had ascended this river about three hundred miles above fort Winnebago, and from his statement, my account of that part of the river is derived. It rises among mountains of considerable elevation, and runs in deep basins, in several branches, until finally it becomes a considerable river, with considerable descent in its current. Thence onward, it runs almost south, until it reaches fort Winnebago, where a portage of only a mile or two over, intervenes between it and the Fox river of Green Bay.— These rivers rise near each other, run side by side, and not far apart, until they reach fort Winnebago, where each breaks off from the other: the Fox descending nearly North East, into Green Bay and the Wisconsin almost due West, until it falls through several mouths, into the Mississippi, five miles below fort Crawford, at Prairie Du Chien.

Like all the rivers of this region, there had been no freshet in it during the year I saw it, and it was unusually low, but keel boats, carrying fifteen tons freight ascended it from its mouth to fort Winnebago, and the whole fleet of Indian canoes, after the treaties were made, went up it, without impediment.

As to size, it compares with Connecticut river, nearer than any one I am acquainted with in the East, and with the Tennessee in the west, though not so long as the latter; the Wisconsin being only about six hundred miles in length. It rises in perhaps about latitude 46 degrees 30 minutes, and enters the Mississippi, in latitude 43 degrees 15 minutes.

Along its banks, many impressive views, present themselves; sometimes, and indeed often, lofty and huge piles of rocks, standing erect, in a perpendicular position, are seen from the river, on one side, and a thick forest of timber trees, growing on the bottom lands, on the other side. The trees I saw, were sugar maple, beech, white ash, linn or bass wood, and oaks of different species. On the tall cliffs, I saw the red cedar and the arbor vitæ. Some of the bottom lands were natural meadows, in which the grass grew to the height of seven feet. Vast forests of pine trees grow on all the head waters of this river.

After kindling our fire, cooking our breakfast and eating it, we started in the morning just after sunrise, and making our way as well as we could, sometimes through thick set and tall grass—sometimes through as impervious a growth of bushes, as I ever saw.

By the aid of our knives, having no axe with us, we travelled up the river, diverging gradually from it, towards the southern point of the compass, until about mid day, and with the greatest difficulty, we succeeded, in ascending the high hills, and lofty precipices which bounded the Wisconsin basin, on its south side. We supposed, that we had travelled 12 miles that forenoon, and that we were four or five miles south from the river, when we entered the high plain where we stood. I should think we had ascended 1200 feet from the place where we tarried during the night.

In traveling this distance, where it was prairie, one of us went before, and led the horse, while the other followed the wagon, to lend a hand, when we met with any obstacle in our way, as we often did.

Where we had to pass a thicket, and we had many of them in our way, we were compelled to cut a road with our knives, and bend down, and one of us keep down, the largest bushes, while the other led the horse and wagon over them.

At last however, as I said, with difficulty, we ascended the high hills, and escaped from the prairies and the thickets, and clambered up among the piles of rocks, skirting the southern side of the Wisconsin, and stood six feet within the open wide spread prairie, whose surface was more than one thousand feet above the bed of the river, and nearly two thousand feet above the ocean. Not an animated being beside ourselves was to be seen, nor a sound heard. An awful silence reigned, as to us, throughout creation. Before us lay, spread out in all directions, except towards the deep and gloomy basin of the Wisconsin behind us, a boundless prairie, or bounded only by the horizon. Above us was a flaming sun at noon day, and the pale blue heavens; the sky looked as pure as the Spirit who made it, and not even one breath of air was in motion, not a spear of grass, nor a dry leaf rustled in the plain or among the trees. nor did even one grasshopper, by his heart cheering song.

brake the awful silence which reigned over this vast plain. Before us we saw sun flowers, standing here and there, of the same species and appearance, and of as large a size, as those in our gardens. We saw too the *Mineral Plant* with its blue leaves and most beautiful flowers, growing in clusters, in bunches and rows, indicating where beds or veins of lead ore existed, beneath the surface. Here too for the first time, I saw that species of helianthus, (sun flower) called the rozin plant, whose leaves, springing from the root, are so disposed as to indicate with mathematical certainty the northern and southern points of the compass.

We stood in breathless silence several minutes, looking on this diluvial plain, absorbed in deep contemplation, until instinctively turning right about and facing the Wisconsin basin, North of us, we could distinctly see that wizzard stream glistening like the brightest silver, here and there, where the absence of the trees permitted us to behold it, in width to the eye, only a few inches. Ruggedness, was a striking feature of this aspect from the vast piles of rocks which had fallen down from their original position into the basin, in every age, since the sun shone, or had stood unmoved, during unknown ages, defying all the fury of the elements, and all the ravages of time. Some of them threatened to tumble down on the very first man, who dared to approach their bases, while others, in appearance, seemed resolved to remain unmoved, where they were forever.—The contrast between the views, which the plain and the basin presented to us, was perfect; the former was as peaceful as the latter was warlike, and both of them appealed in a powerful manner to the feelings of the inward man. A flood of absorbing sensations rushed into the soul. Adoration of the great Author of Nature, deeply impressed on the heart, spontaneously ascended to heaven.

Having recovered ourselves from the reverie of deep and impressive contemplation, which such contrasted views naturally produced, we once more, and for the *first* time to day, ascended our little wagon, out of which had been thrown out and lost, several articles of prime necessity, in our toilsome march. Directing our course, over the prairie in an eastern direction, along a dividing ridge between the waters falling into the Mississippi, and those descend-



ing into the Wisconsin, we moved forward at a brisk rate, until we came into the trace which Dr. *Wolcott* and his Pottawatimies had made, on their journey home, after the treaties were concluded. The horse travelled along in the trace or trail, as it is called in this country, and the wheels of our wagon easily moved forward in the grass, which grew only a few inches in height, on this high and dry ground. After travelling an hour or two, we turned off to the right, to look for water, and soon found a beautiful rivulet and several pure springs. They were in a ravine, where we easily found them, by that never failing sign of water, trees and bushes. Here we tarried an hour or more, fed and rested our horse and ourselves, until we moved forward again, at the rate of four or five miles an hour; and so continued to press forward until thick darkness covered the heavens. We had not until then been able to find a place to encamp upon, under trees and near water. Kindling a fire, we fastened our horse to a tree, with a rope long enough to allow him to eat what grass he wanted, in addition to the corn we gave him, from the store in our wagon. Spreading our blankets upon the earth, under an oak tree, having lost our mats, which *Nawkaw* and his ladies gave me: we had but gotten into a good slumber, when a cold rain descended, in considerable quantities, and wet me through and through. I awoke in the utmost agony of pain, and so severely affected by a paralysis in my right side and limbs, as to render me unable to move myself and but just able to speak. From sunrise until noon, I had been wetted to the skin, by the plentiful dews on the grass and the shrubbery, through which I had forced my way: from noon until sunset, we had travelled over an open prairie, upon which the sun shined intensely, in the hottest day of August; and now a rain from the Northwest, cold as a November shower in Ohio, drenched me to the very skin. These sudden and great changes of temperature, were too much for my system to bear with impunity, and a palsy was the result.

As soon as the dawn of day appeared, Mr. *GRATIOT* placed me in the wagon and drove with all the speed he could, to *Dodgeville*, where we arrived nearly about the middle of the day. The distance between *Prairie Du Chien* and this

place is variously estimated, from sixty five to ninety miles. There is no settlement between them.

Had we started early in the morning, on the first day, and had we been successful, in crossing the Wisconsin, and in getting out of its basin, we might have reached Dodgeville, without lying out, more than one night. As it was, we had lain out two nights, on the route. The country we had passed over, after we reached the prairie, south of the Wisconsin, is easily described, its physical features being few. Being at that time new, to me, their impression on my memory was the deeper at the time, and they remain vivid on it now.

Travelling up the Wisconsin, and near enough to it, so as, just to avoid, the deep ravines, made by every little stream, that runs into it, from the south towards the north; and we avoided also the ravines along the streams descending into the Mississippi, in a southern direction. When we wanted water, we had only to turn either to the right or left hand, until we came to a ravine, or a point of woods, which at unequal distances from each other, stand out into the Prairie.

These points of woods, and these ravines were our guide boards; and told more truth than some of their namesakes do on our roads. Keeping clear of these, or turning up to them, as we wished either to move forward or to stop, we found our way along, as well almost, as if on a good road. Besides, we generally followed a trail where the Indians had recently passed along this route.

The surface of the Prairie, consisted of hill and dale, short grass covering the hills, and tall grasses and flowers the vales. The Wisconsin all the way, hid itself from our view, in its gloomy and secluded basin, on our left, and the Prairie always showed us its vastness on our right hand. At a great distance, in the Prairie, we saw several mounds, some nearer, others further off, rearing their tall summits, in appearance, to the sky, near the horizon. Occasionally, we saw the dense smoke of some lead furnace, near these mounds, slowly ascending upwards, of a leaden colour, or moving as slowly, horizontally, at a low elevation, along in the air.

The Wisconsin snow-birds, in great numbers, rose up before us, as we moved along over the Prairie; and not un-

frequently, the Prairie hen slowly ascended from the ground just high enough to be above the grass, and sailed along, a short distance in the air, and alighted on the earth.

In order to relieve the reader from these small matters, though so interesting to my eye at the time I saw them, yet, possibly from my imperfect painting, not so to the minds of my readers, I briefly notice Dodgeville, where I now am in my narrative.

### DODGEVILLE

Is located, as nearly every other town is, in the mineral country, near a grove, a dense forest, of no great extent. Its latitude is 42 degrees 55 minutes North; twelve miles south of Helena, on the Wisconsin, and six or more miles, north-eastwardly of Mineral Point, where the copper mine is. It is about forty-five miles north-eastwardly from Galena, and thirty miles, perhaps, northwardly from Gratiot's Grove. The number of families in Dodgeville, I did not inquire—there may be twenty, or more, but the village is small. The principal citizens of this place, Gen. Henry Dodge, and George Madeira, Esq. late of Chilicothe, O are best known to me, and in their amiable and kind families, I was nursed while sick. For all their kindness and attention to me, they neither did, nor would, receive any remuneration. It is true, money could not have paid for it, so it stands credited on a leaf of a book, called the HEART, and there it will remain forever.

As soon as I was able to walk, I went out to examine the lead mines here, situated in the very town. There are two veins of lead ore, a sulphuret, one running north and south, the other east and west.

The surface of the earth is prairie, and fertile, but after passing through it a few feet, a rock is found, lying in horizontal strata, and in this rock the mineral exists in veins. This rock is composed of lime, in which are embedded pebbles of cornelian, topaz, the common flint, and sand of quartz. Wherever this rock is exposed to the action of the atmosphere for a long time, as along the Wisconsin, and in ravines, and on hills, there is so little lime in it, acting as a cement, that the pebbles and sand in it, such as I have described, fall out of the rock, and the remaining ruin

is as full of holes as a honey comb, and as rough as a chestnut bur. This rock, unequally varied in the proportions which the components bear to each other, is the prevailing rock of a region of country; equal to one hundred miles square. From Rock River to the Wisconsin, and from the Four lakes, to a considerable distance west of the Mississippi, this is the prevailing rock; sometimes it approaches to a good limestone; sometimes, nearer to a sandstone, and I saw, at Galena, water limestone, beautifully variegated with reddish streaks. The abundance of pebbles and sand in it, with little cement of lime, causes holes in the rock, and these cavities are filled, where the rock remains under the earth, with a sulphuret of lead. What occasioned rents in the rock, running either north or south, or east and west. I pretend not to say, but cracks do exist, and these cavities are filled with ore. These rents, under ground, might have been produced by earthquakes; or, if we suppose this rock formation to have been deposited from a superincumbent ocean, when the lime, pebbles, and sand were moist, and, in process of time, when the ocean subsided, the rents and cracks in them would be produced by heat and drying. How deep these rents descend into the rock, I do not know, as the miners leave a mine, when they have descended ten feet or more. One vein of lead is said to be fifty feet in width, twenty rods long, and has been dug out forty or fifty feet in depth. It is not at Dodgeville, though. All the veins I saw, any where in the country, were left by the miner as soon as the water was found in them. The water mineral, as they term it here, is much the richest, and looks as if it was still growing rapidly.

The two veins at Dodgeville, are twenty rods long, each; and although millions of pounds of ore have been taken from them, yet, they are unexhausted.

Two ideas force themselves upon the mind in an instant, on viewing the habitations outside and within, at this place. Gen. Dodge has surrounded his houses by a picket twenty feet high, perhaps, and this has been done by planting, firmly, in the earth, close together, long logs, with port-holes, for muskets, a large number of which are in the dwelling house, loaded with balls, and ready for use, at any moment, when necessary. This picket serves also to protect the family from the piercing cold of winter.

Mr. Madeira, in addition to chinking and daubing with mortar, his log dwelling house, has raised a wall of turfs, and sods from the prairie, a foot or two in thickness around his dwelling house and wall, with room enough between the house and wall to lay his firewood there.—The very roofs of houses and stables are covered with turfs and sods.

The vicinity of large numbers of the wildest and most barbarous savages renders the arms and pickets necessary; and the severity of the winter, renders it necessary to protect men, and even domestic animals, by every precaution in the power of the people here to use.

The same ideas force themselves, upon us every where in this country.

Leaving Dodgeville, in company with Mr. Gratiot, we travelled over the undulating surface of the prairie country between this place and Gratiot's Grove. After travelling about three miles, we ascended the highest ground between the two places. From this eminence we could distinctly see the village of Gratiot's Grove, and the smoke of a lead furnace there. The distance must be more than thirty miles, as the road runs. As we moved along rapidly in our little wagon, we could see over a country thirty miles in extent. Here and there we saw lofty mounds, surrounded by thick woods, from their bases to their very summits. In these woods, the lead furnaces are located, which sent forth, each, slowly rising of a leaden hue, a stream of dense smoke. The country consisted of hill and dale, covered with grasses and flowers. Passing through this region, at unequal distances, we beheld different branches of the Pickatolia, a large tributary of Rock river, glittering like the brightest silver, running in deep basins, and stored with the finest fishes. We passed the main river, not many miles from

### GRATIOT'S GROVE.

We arrived at the Grove towards night, and I was set down at Mr. Gratiot's door. Here I was received into this interesting family as a welcome guest.

Affected still, to a great degree, by a paralysis, the attentions, kindness and nursing I received here, changed my disease into an intermittent fever.

About twenty families reside in this secluded Grove.— Among the interesting, innocent and virtuous people here, the lady of Mr. Henry Gratiot, was born and educated in New London, Connecticut; Mr. Gratiot's brother's lady, was born and educated in Paris; and a daughter of John Bradbury, the botanist, was born and educated in London: and they all lived within a few rods of each other. They are fair and proud samples of the best educated portion of the virtuous females in the cities where they were born.— Unable to move my right arm, and scarcely able to walk; a stranger, far, far from home, and the objects most dear to my heart, I felt as if nature must sink, and soul and body dissolve like water, when I was assisted to enter Mr. Gratiot's house. I was instantly surrounded, welcomed and received by the persons I have named, and their innocent, beautiful and interesting children. No words can do justice to them for their kindness to me, on this occasion.

Whatever may be my lot, and wherever it may be cast, during the residue of my life, may it be where I can always see around me virtuous females and their children; and at last, when I am prostrated on a bed of sickness, may they be my attendants, and when my soul ascends to its Author, may they stand near my dying bed, close my eyes in death, and raise a prayer to Heaven in my behalf. In return for their kindness to me, all my days, from my earliest infancy to this moment, I can say that I have never caused one of them, no, not even one of them, to shed even one tear. and, I feel assured, I never shall do so while I live.

Should the Almighty in his wrath, destroy in a moment, all the women and children in the world, I pray to be taken away in the same moment of time.

Wherever I see woman, I see more or less happiness diffused by her, whether she lives in a city or a town, in a palace or a cottage: whether she is educated in Philadelphia, or belongs to some roving band of savages near the Rocky Mountains. She is every where kind to her offspring, attentive to her husband, kind to the sick of both sexes, and soothes these in distress. There is music in her voice; sympathy in her looks; and goodness in her heart. Properly educated, and kindly treated, her friendship is everlasting. Man may desert man, but woman never will. The mother of Jesus could not save him from

death, but she stood near his cross, casting steadily on him a sympathising eye, until he expired. Did she and other virtuous female friends desert him even after death? No. They watched his dead body until it arose in triumph after death. Woman is every where, all over the world, the same kind angel; and he is a villain who treats her ill. Is she wicked and corrupt?—some faithless man—some villain decoyed her originally from the narrow path of virtue. Man was the tempter—she the victim of his depravity.

During several years past, a set of depraved monsters in human shape, in this nation, have slandered virtuous women, but, thanks to the Being who created the human heart, and stamped it with impressions, never to be effaced, even by the wickedness of man, such an outrage on humanity met with universal condemnation, and covered with shame, disgrace and ignominy, the slanderers. While the human heart retains the impressions, which, in love to mankind, the Almighty has written upon it in CAPITALS, all slanderers of the female sex, will be held in abhorrence by all virtuous men. Whenever, (it never can be so) this ceases to be the case, we may all mourn over our miserable lot, and hang our heads, in shame, because we are men. But I gladly quit this unpleasant topic—forever.

Very soon after my arrival at Mr. Gratiot's, I was visited by Col. Menard, Major Kennerly, his son-in-law, Charles Hempstead, Esq. our Secretary whose sister, Mrs. Gratiot was, and several other friends. When I left Prairie du Chien, every thing was accomplished there, except settling our tavern bill, and I had signed every paper and document except that one. The commissioners had, (Gen. McNiel and Colonel Menard) descended the Mississippi in a boat to Galena, fourteen miles from Gratiot's Grove, and the friends I have named, hearing of my illness, had come out of their way so far to see me, and to tender to me, all the aid in their power. I signed the only paper not signed by me, already, embracing every thing relating to our treaties. How these papers were destroyed, or by whom, who were their aiders and abettors, why they were thrown away and others substituted for them, without my name to them, I never knew—never shall know.

After tarrying with us a few hours, these kind friends returned to Galena. As this was the last time I saw Col.

Menard, Major Kennerly and others, who accompanied them, to my sick bed, I beg leave to say, that, during all the time I was with them, for months surrounded as we were, constantly, by dangers, difficulties, perils and sufferings of all sorts, I received from them, at all times, kind treatment, which never will be forgotten by me. May God bless them. My good friends, adieu.

My health improving every day, I examined the country and every thing about this Grove, as I was able to do, a part of each day.

There is a post office here, and a weekly mail passes through the place, to and from Galena.

Mr Gratiot has a large lead furnace here; and there is a store of dry goods, but no doggery\* in the village.

As soon as my strength enabled me to ride, I went to Galena, where I tarried a few days, visiting my friends there. Gaining health and strength, I fell into the company of a Mr. Gill, a merchant of St. Louis, and with him arranged every thing, to travel with him in a two horse wagon, across the country to his place of residence. This gentleman, was the brother of Mrs. Campbell, the lady of Major Wm. Campbell, whom I have already mentioned. Mr. Gill and his sister, were born and educated in Philadelphia, where their respected relatives reside.

Considering the newness of the country, at Galena, and about it, I found the state of society excellent. I attended the Presbyterian church here on Sunday, and was highly gratified with the preacher, Mr. Kent, and his people of all ages and both sexes.

The professional men, the merchants, and indeed, the people generally, appeared to be moral in their habits, kind to each other and to strangers particularly so.

Major Campbell and his accomplished lady, accompanied Mr. Gill and myself, about fifteen miles on our way, when we left them, on our journey.

Travelling about fifty miles a day, after crossing Rock river, we reached Edwardsville, twenty miles north of St. Louis, where we parted.

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\* I do not call them groceries, wherein nothing but new whisky is sold in small quantities, corrupting the morals of the community. A new term for them seems necessary—they are doggeries.



Before I proceed further in my personal narrative, I take the liberty, to remark briefly upon every thing I can, worthy of the readers notice, especially in the mineral country.

The climate of this region, is equal to that of any part of Italy, such is the purity of the air. When traveling along from Dodgeville to Gratiot's Grove, I saw with the naked eye, a wagon and team five miles from me. This purity of the atmosphere may be attributed to the total absence of marshy ground, and to the elevation of the country, which is in many parts of it, two thousand feet above the sea. We may fairly take into consideration, also, the absence of dense forests, all the way, from the western shore of Lake Michigan, to the Rocky Mountains in the west, and to the Frozen Ocean in the north. The prevalence too, of westwardly winds, or northern ones, passing over no large bodies of water, during all the year, except, a short time in the summer, and even then, the distance between this region, and the Gulph of Mexico, from whence the winds ascend the Mississippi, is so great, that even southerly winds, are not loaded with moisture, may fairly come into our estimate, of the causes of this singular purity of the air, in the mineral country.

It's latitude too, is favorable to purity of air, as well as of healthful climate. In all the country, every person I saw, was a picture of health, except one person, who had emigrated from Missouri, and had brought the ague along with her—she was an amiable daughter of Gen. Dodge. And I saw one or two persons, whose health, had been injured by working at a lead furnace, the smoke of which, is highly injurious to the lungs.

THE STREAMS of this region, run over pebbles of quartz, topaz, carnelian, agate and opal; they are copious, glide along briskly, and are cool enough for drinking in August. They all originate, either in pure springs, or cool, pellucid lakes. The fishes in them, are the finest fresh water ones, in the world.

ROCK RIVER, and its numerous tributaries, irrigate and fertilize, I should suppose, about six millions of acres of territory. It's main branch, rises in four lakes, with only short out lets between them. The Pickatolica branch, rises entirely in springs, the head one, being only a few miles

south of the Wisconsin river. The four lakes, are nearly east of Dodgeville, and parallel with the heads of the Pickatolica branch. These streams descend, in a southern direction until they are sixty miles or more in length, when they turn around, towards Rock Island, just below which, they enter the Mississippi. There are other branches of this river, (Rock river) which originate in lakes, a degree and a half of latitude perhaps, south of the four lakes. The heads of several of these branches, being in lakes, that are surrounded by high hills, they never rise very high nor sink very low, during the year. Like reservoirs on our Canal summits, these lakes keep the water, in them, until it is needed in a dry time.

Rock river, when I crossed it, on the first day of September, 1829, at Ogee's ferry, 90 miles, by water, from its mouth, was twenty rods wide, four feet deep, and run at the rate of five or six miles an hour. The Mississippi and Wisconsin, I have noticed already, and the other streams are all short ones, originating in springs, and running in deep ravines, with falls in them, in places, and they all run with great velocity, until they descend to the level of the Mississippi, which receives them, into its bosom.

Within the United States, I suspect, that for pure wholesome water; for the number and durability of the springs, no part of the Union is superior to the mineral country.

The fall in all the smaller streams, is so great, that sites for mills, and manufactories, exist every where, almost, throughout the whole region of the mines. Nearly every stream originates in a large spring of pure water, copious enough, and with fall enough within a few feet of the spot where it first appears, to carry a mill of any sort. The water, so near its source, does not freeze so as to prevent its being used for mills and manufactories, all the winter months.

The soil, except on the highest hills, at their very summits, and on the sharp edges of them, near some deep ravine, where some stream dashes rapidly along among the rocks in its bed, is a deep black loam, like the intervalles along our large rivers. No lands can be more fertile, than those in the mineral country, producing potatoes, oats, indian corn, and all the vegetables common in gardens, in the same latitude, in vast abundance.

That wheat will succeed here, equal in quality and quantity, to that of any other part of the United States, I cannot doubt.

There is grass enough now growing in the country, to supply all the domestic animals, the people may wish to raise. Finer meadows, of good grass, I never saw any where, than I saw along all the larger water courses.

Of fishes, of the finest flavor, the rivers, ponds, lakes and rivulets are literally full. The Pickatolica river, takes its name, from a fish, about the size of, and equal in its flavor, to the rock fish, caught in the Delaware, at Philadelphia.

The only difference between the Philadelphia rock fish, and the pickatolica of the Upper Mississippi, that I could perceive, was in the former having scales, while the latter has none.

The different species of cat fish, of pike, and of perch, are excellent. They are abundant in quantity too, and easily taken, in all the different modes of taking them.

The salmon trout of lake Michigan, has acquired a wide spread celebrity.

The surface of the country, is undulating sometimes gently, sometimes greatly, and in most places, is covered with a succession of flowers, from early spring, to late Autumn. One week, nay even one day, you see, far as your delighted eye can reach, flowers of a reddish hue—the blue—the white—the yellow, and of every intervening shade, indeed, follow in succession, day after day, and week after week, ever varying, ever new, and always delightful. Ascending any little eminence, my eye was always riveted for many minutes, on the vast, the charming, and the beautiful prospect before me—spread out immense, intersected by glittering streams, with here and there a grove of woods, and at all times, several mounds, some nearer, others further off—some of them, from their nearness, showed their dark green forests, while others, from their distance, showed their pale blue summits, in the very edge of the horison, resting on the earth, and touching the heavens above them. Generally too, I saw a cloudless sky, a flaming sun by day, and brilliant heavens at night.

Sometimes I traveled, during four or five hours, either by day or by night, across some prairie, without seeing

even a bush, or a tree—above me, were the wide spread, and lofty heavens, while the prairie, with its grasses and flowers, extended in all directions around me, far beyond the reach of my vision.

In such a situation, man feels his own littleness, in the immensity of space, he feels alone too, in this loneliness—universal silence and repose.

I was delighted at the sight, even of a prairie wolf, and the chirping of a grass hopper, was music to my ear.

The trees of this region, are confined, mostly, to the streams, and to rough places; and oaks, black, white and red are the forest trees, in high grounds, at least, they are the principal ones, while, in wet places and low grounds, the botany is richer. Along Sugar creek, a large branch of the Pickatolica river, extensive groves of the sugar maple, exist near its mouth, and for many miles upwards.

On naked cliffs, I sometimes saw the red cedar tree.

Of flowering plants, among the millions of them, the helianthus offers the greatest variety, in all seasons of the year.

As I traveled south, after crossing Rock river, I fell in with new plants daily—some disappearing, and others appearing, as we moved rapidly onward.

The Rozin plant, has a tall, slender stalk, and grows in vast abundance, in the prairie, south of, and adjoining Springfield, in the Sangamon country. Its juice resembles, in appearance and smell, tar water, from which circumstance, it derives its name. I have already described it.

The mocasin flower, is a most beautiful plant, and I recommend it to the Philadelphia Horticulturists, as worthy of their attention. Judge Sawyer of Edwardville, Illinois, or Col. O'Fallon, of St. Louis, would, I doubt not, with pleasure transmit some of its seeds to them.

I recommend to my friend, Mr Prince, of Long Island, a beautiful red flower, growing on a creeping vine, six feet in length, on the eastern bank of the Mississippi, just above Rock island. Mr Davenport, the Post Master, would cheerfully forward some of its seeds.

From a careful examination, of all the works on botany, for this flower, I found it correctly described, in a volume, formerly belonging to Mr Jefferson, now in Congress library.

The one described, in that volume, was found growing, just on the brink of the Nile, at its falls.

The artichoke, a helianthus, grows in almost every prairie in the West, but in Illinois, I have seen, ten thousand acres, thickly set with this plant, at one view. Four acres of them, will feed and fatten one hundred hogs, every year.

Of wild plums, there is a vast variety, though, the large striped ones, are the best. This tree grows in moist places, in bunches and groves.

There is a wild apple, of the size of a hen's egg, not very sour, which on being buried in the earth, turns a pale yellow, and is, by no means a bad substitute for the common apple. The tree, has no thorns on it, and it never grows more than six or seven feet in height.

Patches of hazle bushes, grow near the plum bushes.

The Pacawn-bearing walnut, though growing as high north, as latitude,  $41^{\circ} 30'$ , I did not recognize above that latitude. I saw groves of it, on the waters of the Illinois river, and in the vicinity of Rock Island. In appearance, at a distance, of forty rods from you, it would be taken for the common black walnut, but on approaching it, its willow-shaped leaves, undeceive you. The tree grows to a great height, and its size is large. Its *habitat*, as a botanist would say, is near a stream of water, and in the very richest soil. It might be raised, in the vicinity of Philadelphia, and I beg leave to introduce it, to the attention of the Horticulturists, of that city.

The mounds, in the mineral country, are lofty piles of rocks, lying in horizontal strata, except such of them as have fallen down, from their original position, and lie in ruins, from the surface of earth, extending upwards to near the summits. Some of these mounds are three miles in circumference, at their bases, and three hundred feet in height. They serve as land marks, and may be seen thirty miles off.

These lofty elevations, serve as land marks, which being perfectly well known, to the people of this region, not only by name, but in appearance, on a first view; and one or more of them, always being in sight, no one ever loses his way, while traveling in the country of the lead mines.

These mounds are surrounded, except such parts of them as stand in perpendicular masses of rocks, by thick groves of timber trees; here in these groves, the lead is smelted, and the prairie country near them, supplies the ore for the furnaces.

The beasts of this region, are few in number, having been destroyed by the Indians, except the black wolf, the prairie wolf, and the muskrat. The black wolf, is confined to the groves, and the ravines along the streams—the musk rat lives about the rivers, but more still about the Four lakes and the ponds, south east of Rock river.

The prairie wolf, in size, color and disposition, is half way between the black wolf, and the grey fox. His food consists of almost every thing within his reach—grasses and birds, their eggs—pigs and poultry. He is the greatest thief on a small scale, in the world. He can live on grasshoppers, crickets and bugs—he can steal from a hen coop, or a barn yard, and when pinched with hunger, he will even venture into a kitchen, and steal a crust of bread. He is the Indian dog of the North west, and the Jackal of Asia. He often approached, within a few feet of me, at night, when I lay out in the prairie, and barked at me, with great earnestness. He is, for his size, the most mischievous animal in the world.

He is easily domesticated, and mixes with the common dog family; and the mixed breed propagates this new species of dog, which is easily recognized by its white eyes, and pointed, and erect ears. Besides this mixed breed, the Winebagoes, have a species of lap dog, which they fatten and feed upon, at their dog feasts. These dogs must have been derived from Canada, I should suppose, with which, all the Indians of the Upper Mississippi, keep up an intercourse still; and from whence, they receive large presents annually.

Having briefly described, what appears on the surface of the earth, in the mineral country; it remains, for me, as briefly to describe what is found beneath the surface.

This region, contains the richest lead mines, in the known world. When I was there, these mines had been worked but about three years, by comparatively, but a few persons, who were ignorant of the business they followed; and they labored under every disadvantage al-

most; yet, they had manufactured, in that time, more than thirty millions of pounds of lead. This had been carried to the Atlantic Cities, and had reduced the price of lead, in all its forms, one half! In the mineral country, it was selling at the mines, for one cent, a pound—at Philadelphia, for three and a half cents, a pound.

Though I brought away from the mines, specimens of every sort of lead ore, accompanied by statements, showing where, and how procured—the quantity made at each smelting establishment, and other information relating to it, and all thrown too, into a tabular form; yet, in a popular little book, like this, it might not be interesting, to the general reader, such as read what I am now writing, and I pass it by.

The lead region, in the United States, lies nearly parallel with the Atlantic Ocean, from north east, towards the south west. Or in other words, this region occupies the same space, that the Alleghanies do. It begins in the same latitude, these mountains do in the north, and ends in the same latitude. From the Wisconsin in the north, to Red river, of Arkansas in the south, and in breadth, from east to west, the lead region, occupies, about one hundred and fifty miles, of longitude. In some places, it lies very deep in the earth, and it lies the deepest, about half way between its extreme ends. At its northern and southern terminations, it ascends, to the very surface of the earth, and is there found, even on the surface, either, on the highest grounds, (except the mounds) or in ravines. On the little eminences, I could have filled our little wagon, often, as we passed over them, with beautiful specimens of the phosphate of lead.

The Mississippi passes through this region, from latitude 43 degrees 30 minutes north, to latitude 38 degrees, north.

On the western shore, of the Mississippi, opposite Rock Island, and extending north, one hundred miles, from indubitable appearances, every where, as I passed along, all that country must contain exhaustless lead mines.

From the vast region, where this mineral exists, extending through ten degrees of latitude; in width too, in places, three degrees of longitude—from its richness, (it being in many places, nearly pure lead) considering also, the ease

with which it is obtained, and its vast abundance, we may safely conclude, that we have lead ore enough, for all mankind, forever, within our own territory.

### COPPER ORE,

Is found in the mineral region, and one hundred and seventy tons of it, (a sulphuret) had been dug, at Mineral Point, before I left the country. Its richness, had not been sufficiently tested, at that time.

Fossil coal, exists, near the head of Rock Island, on the western side of the hill, where I saw it, in place, and my information enables me to say, without doubt, that great bodies of this coal, exist on a branch of Rock river, rising south west of the main river, more than one hundred miles from its mouth. This coal may be reached by boats, and easily floated down the river, to Rock Island.

The water lime stone, near Galena, indicates salt water, in the earth, where it comes in contact with this rock.

This lime stone, if thrown into water, becomes incrustated with common salt, and I know of no salt water, in the interior of our country, which does not lie below this rock. It depends entirely on the quantity of this rock, near Galena, whether salt water, in considerable quantities exists there. By perforating the earth, a few hundred feet, with an augur, the citizens can ascertain, whether common salt, can be made in this neighborhood.

A few general remarks, on the country, west of Lake Michigan, and north of Missouri and Illinois, seem necessary, here.

Were all the country, south of Fox and Wisconsin rivers, having for its eastern boundary, Lake Michigan, and the Illinois river, to its mouth, and the Mississippi, for its western boundary, thrown into a Territorial Government, it would, in a few years, become a respectable State. Nature seems to have intended this country, should form a State by itself; but man has determined otherwise.

North of the Wisconsin and Fox rivers, another State might be formed, on the east side of the Mississippi, which would be about as large as Virginia.

On the west side of the Mississippi, above the State of Missouri, there is territory, sufficient for two States,



each larger than Virginia. If the upper country should be formed into four States, they would eventually, be the most populous, and powerful States, in the whole confederacy. Nature has intended that vast region, for thirty millions of human beings, at some, not very remote period of time. For purity of air, and of water—for mineral wealth, fertility of soil, healthiness of climate, and almost every other thing valuable to man; the whole country, is equal to any portion of the earth's surface.

The future population of this vast region, dwelling as they will, on the highest table land in the United States, can easily descend the water courses, either northwardly down Red river, to Hudson's Bay; or southwardly down the Mississippi to New Orleans—eastwardly down our northern lakes, to New York, or down the St. Lawrence, to Quebec. Nature has opened these roads, to and from this region, and man is now using them. During the next hundred years, Ohio, as a State, will take the lead, in wealth and business, and in the number of her people, compared with any State, west of the Alleghanies; but eventually, Missouri and any one of the States, yet to be formed, on the Upper Mississippi, may surpass, us in numbers, wealth and political power. Should not one of the States, I have referred to, eventually become the most powerful, then Ohio must be, at the very head of our confederacy, forever.

Should our people, never settle the country, west of the Rocky Mountains, (though I feel assured, of a row of States, on the Pacific, equalling our Atlantic ones, within a century to come) yet there will be at no distant day, a tier of States, north—north west and west, of Illinois, Missouri, and Arkansas, which will eventually become populous, wealthy and powerful States.

To all human appearance the census of 1840 will place the national government in the hands of the people, in the valley of the Mississippi. To resist this event, would involve the necessity of preventing the revolution of the earth around the sun and upon its axis, and the whole course of nature. To mourn over it, involves the extreme folly of repining at the happy lot, of a majority of the nation—and of our posterity forever. From the growth of this nation, the lover of liberty has nothing to fear, be-

cause our people from their cradles are taught to be republicans. They are such, as if by instinct and all those principles which tend to make them MEN, are taught them from the first moment they see the light, breathe American air and taste their mothers' milk.

The efforts now making through schools, in order to train up the next generation, so as to be fit subjects of a government, solely in the hands of priests, who are to govern us through the church, will utterly fail of its objects. My own opinion is, that those objects when they come to be fairly spread before the people, will overthrow their infatuated authors. Our people are not—they never can be any thing but republicans. Sweep away at one swoop, could it be done, every constitution of government and every republican institution among us, and we should instantly rear upon their ruins, other constitutions exactly like our present ones—every republican institution would immediately follow, because they are founded on republican hearts. Originating in such fountains, these republican streams will flow until the end of time.

The only dangerous weapon to our liberties, is religious phrenzy, and the only sect now engaged in its operations, with a view to the final prostration of our liberties, will shortly unmask its battery and by that means save us from shedding rivers of blood at some future period. The sooner that gloomy sect display their true colors, so much the better for our beloved country.

In resuming my personal narrative, I have little to say about Edwardsville, where the reader left me. Its location is nine miles east of Alton, on the Mississippi, and twenty miles north of St. Louis.

The people of the town were healthful when I was there and they appeared to be an agreeable, well informed and moral community. It is a seat of justice, has a number of stores and taverns, and a suitable number of mechanics. Lands are cheap in the vicinity, and fortunes might be made by farmers here.

Leaving this town after tarrying here two or three days, I passed rapidly across the state to Vincennes, in Indiana, where I arrived the third day from Edwardsville. The country between Edwardsville and Vincennes is mostly prairie, and thinly settled. I passed through several seats

of justice, and the capital of the state, but saw nothing worthy of remark on my rout. The whole state, except in places where the water courses are, or the surface is very rough, abrupt, broken or greatly undulating, is one vast prairie. Its soil, on the surface, is nearly the same as the richest alluvial lands along the larger rivers, any where in the Union east of the Wabash river.

The same remarks might be made of all the country west of the Wabash, extending from the Mexican Gulph to the Frozen ocean. Parts of Louisiana, where the pine woods are, and also where some persons wish to locate all the Indians excepted. With the exceptions already made from the Wabash directly westward—and from the Mississippi below latitude 37 degrees north, that whole region is one vast natural meadow. Its soil is as fertile as any lands can be, and when planted with trees, and cultivated by good husbandmen, it will furnish food enough for three hundred millions of people. Grass enough now grows there for all the tame animals, whose food is grass, now in the world.

This vast region, in its present state, is of little value, but the time will certainly arrive, when it will be covered by farms and animated by countless millions of domestic animals. There golden harvests will wave before every breath of air that moves over its surface—there great and splendid cities will rear their tall and glittering spires, and there countless millions of happy human beings will live, and move, and display talents that will enoble man, and virtues that will adorn and render him happy.

The longest, the most durable and best rivers in the world, intersect and pass through this country, standing on whose banks, there will yet be some of the largest cities in the world. Comparatively speaking, but few persons in the world have ever beheld this country. No tongue, and no author have described it; but it is there—it will be seen—it will be described, and it will be settled, improved and occupied by countless millions of the human race. Its rivers will be cleared of the impediments to navigation, all the way to the Rocky mountains, the roaring of the guns of the steamers, the stage driver's horn, and the loud huzzas of happy throngs will soon be heard along all these rivers, and at the very foot of these mountains.

Infinite wisdom and infinite goodness never created on this earth, so fine a country as this, and to suppose for a moment that it will not be thickly settled, used and improved by unnumbered millions of men, involves so poor—so contemptible an opinion of man, that I instantly and indignantly discard it from my mind.

Such an opinion sinks man even below the horse, the deer, the bison, the bear and the wolf, now roaming in unnumbered droves over this vast meadow. Here every farmer in the world may become a freeholder, and live in rural bliss. No poor man in the eastern states, who has feet and legs, and can use them, has any excuse for remaining poor where he is a day, or even an hour. He who made him and gave him locomotive powers, created this country for his use and his benefit—it has been given to him by God, who has commanded him to cultivate and enjoy it; and if he will continue to disobey this reasonable command, he deserves to suffer all he does through his own obstinate indolence, laziness and stupidity. Such a creature would starve in Paradise. He deserves no more pity than he would who complained for the want of light in the brilliancy of noon day, while he closed his eyes. The country is there, and he who has legs to walk with, can reach it, and when there, with his hands, he can cultivate enough of it with ease, to enrich himself and all his children after him. And there are thousands of spots, where the groves are—where there are valuable mill sites—where there are mines of lead—of fossil coal—of iron ore, and where there will be ferries, the possession and ownership of which, for a mere trifle too, would be an independent fortune for several generations. Will the poor man in the Atlantic states tarry where he is, until some wealthy eastern nabob discovers and purchases these now unoccupied mill sites, groves, mines and ferries? If so, let him suffer—and linger—and groan, whine and complain in vain where he is. If he will not come to this country, he can hardly expect the country will come to him. If he deserve the name of MAN and be poor, here is the country, intended by his Creator, for his HOME.

## Vincennes

Stands on the east bank of the Wash, surrounded by fertile lands. It is an old town, from the western country, having been settled about the same time with St. Louis, Rock island, Prairie Du Chien, & Kaskaskia, as I have already stated in a former page. Vincennes contains more than fifteen hundred people, and certainly appear very well to a stranger. The houses were mostly new ones, and every thing I saw here made a very favorable impression. I tarried at CLARK'S HOTEL, and take a pleasure in recommending the house to other travellers.

Leaving this beautiful town in the stage for Louisville, I reached that town in two days. The first twenty miles from Vincennes, was over a good road and through a delightful country—the remainder of the route was over as undulating a surface as I ever saw.

Indians rapidly settling with an excellent population. The face of the country is undergoing a change in its external appearance—the forest is disappearing before the industrious husbandman—the state of society, considering the richness of the country, is good, and in numbers, wealth and improvements of all kinds, Indiana is only ten, or at most only about twelve years behind Ohio. Next to the latter, Indiana is most rapidly improving of any western state, at this moment. To any one emigrating from the Atlantic states westwardly though Ohio would best suit him in all respects, yet Indiana is decidedly next in advantages of all sorts. The soil and climate are about the same in both states—the people nearly the same, and their interests, feelings and views, precisely the same. These states may be considered as Pennsylvania and Maryland, extended from the Atlantic ocean to the Wabash river. They are one and the same people, and so may they ever act and feel towards each other, in Congress—at home and abroad.

Unless I am grossly deceived in my views of the people of these four states, I can safely predict, that they will never cross the Delaware, nor the Potomac for a chief magistracy—certainly not the former, at all events.

friendly, hospitable Kentucky, will  
 Kentucky—kill the road with us.

always travel the same, a dangerous sect of nullifiers has  
 South of the Potomac is an union with England, and a  
 arisen, whose real object is the separation of the states. This strange infat-  
 separation from the union is not as dangerous as it is to them-  
 uation is not as dangerous as this sect have a perfect un-  
 selves. That the leaders of this sect have a perfect un-  
 derstanding with the monarchists of Europe, I have rea-  
 son to believe, but like all former attempts, from the same  
 quarter, it will fail to accomplish its nefarious purposes.  
 The evils of which they complain are ideal in part, and  
 all that is not so, originates either in the pooriness of  
 agement of their own private affairs, or in the fruitful  
 the soil they cultivate compared with ours, which their  
 and widespread valley of the Mississippi, enterprising  
 ambitious young men should emigrate, as they numbers.  
 young men of the north are doing daily in great numbers.

Leaving Louisville, the next day after my arrival and glad-  
 steam boat I arrived at Cincinnati the same day, was on-  
 ly set my feet on the soil of Ohio once more. The  
 the 24th day of September, 1829.

Between Louisville and Cincinnati, 50 miles above the  
 the former and 100 below the latter stands the beautiful  
 town of Madison, on the north side of the river. It con-  
 tains more than 100 beautiful brick houses—a small  
 number of stores and taverns, and is a very thriving civ-

ilized town. Vevay, with its beautiful vineyards, is higher up the  
 river, on the same side with Madison. The Indiana side  
 the river is fast improving.

Forty miles below Cincinnati on the Kentucky shore  
 resides Col. ROBERT PIATT. His farm is one of the best  
 on the whole river—his orchard is stored with the finest  
 fruit, and he and his family are the best people in the coun-  
 try. His house is within a few rods of the river, and about  
 six miles from "big bone lick," in Kentucky. It is  
 that lick large quantities of bones have been dug up  
 different times, belonging to the great mastodon of Cuvier  
 —the Asiatic elephant—the megalonix, and latterly of the  
 common horse. No naturalist should ever pass by without  
 calling to see this celebrated place. Col. Piatt's is the  
 proper place of debarkation, for such as wish to visit it.

As I passed down the Ohio, from Maysville, on my tour, I omitted to notice AUGUSTA, a beautiful town of Kentucky. By inserting here an answer to my inquiries, addressed to Gen. PAYNE, of that place, I feel sure of pleasing all my readers. Gen. Payne, is a lawyer of high standing in his profession, and as a man.

“Augusta, is the seat of Justice, of Bracken county, stands on an elevated bottom of the Ohio river, forty five miles above Cincinnati, eighteen below Maysville, fifty six feet above low water mark—the town covers six hundred acres, containing about eight hundred inhabitants, nine retail stores, one tavern, one Methodist, and one Presbyterian Meeting house—one steam manufactory of flour, three hat manufactories, two cabinet shops, one tan yard, one black smith, one silver smith, three physicians, four lawyers.

Augusta College is here, averaging each session, from 130 to 160 students, authorized to confer degrees usual in Colleges. Rev. Martin Ruter, D. D., President, and Professor of Oriental languages, Belles letters, &c. Rev. Joseph S. Tomlinson, M. A. Professor of Mathematics, Rev. John P. Derbin, M. A., Professor of Languages and Geology. Rev. Henry B. Bascom, M. A., Professor of Moral Science, Frederick A. W. M. Davis, M. D., Professor of Chymistry, besides Preceptors, Tutors, &c., The library contains about 1500 volumes, and a good Philosophical and Chymical, Apparatus.

The bottom when first settled, was covered with the largest trees of the forest. Human bones were found in all parts of it, apparently, regularly buried. In one cellar, sixty by seventy feet, in extent, upwards of 100 skeletons were taken out, not promiscuously thrown in, but evidently regularly buried, lying north and south. Frequently stones were set up on each side, the full length of the skeleton—the bones in a tolerable state of preservation, many would crumble considerably, when exposed to the air, but many remained entire, of the ordinary size; the skeletons had high cheek bones, the teeth were generally well preserved. This cellar was my own, and dug under my own inspection. The situation of the town, is proverbially healthy. It is 100 miles from Columbus, as

the road runs 75 from Frankfort, and there are six steam grist mills, within eight miles of it.

For the above facts, I will vouch,

Yours truly,

JOHN PAYNE.

July 14th, 1831.

CALEB ATWATER, Esq."

On my arrival from the steamer, at Cincinnati, I met numerous friends, on the landing, and in Main street, who informed me, of passing events, of which I had remained as ignorant, as if I had been in China, ever since I left the State. Anxious to see my family, I took a passage in a private carriage next morning, and went as far as Lebanon, the seat of Justice for Warren county, Ohio, thirty miles from Cincinnati.

LEBANON, is situated four miles west of the little Miami, and a few miles east of the Miami canal. It contains, perhaps 1000 inhabitants, who are a moral, industrious, well informed people. Its latitude is 39 degrees, 25 minutes, and is about 7 degrees, west from Washington.

The country about it, is as fertile as need be, and well cultivated, and well settled by a good people, who are as happy as any farmers can be any where. The country is well watered too, consisting of land, rather undulating. The people are wealthy, and at their ease upon their own lands.

Like all the Miami country, fruit trees flourish here, and great attention is bestowed on their culture.

The people bestow great attention on the education of their children.

What is generally termed the Miami country, having the great Miami river, for its centre, is one hundred miles in length, from north to south, and about eighty miles in breadth, from east to west. It comprehends within it, a strip of Indiana, and the whole of it, for so large a tract of land, lying in one body, is the most fertile region for its size, to be found any where in the Union. Within it, are located the towns of Bellefontaine, Urbana, Springfield, Xenia, Dayton, Hamilton and Cincinnati, east of the great Miami river. On the west side of this river, lie Troy, Greenville and Eaton, in the State of Ohio, and se-



veral towns, in Indiana, and all of them are flourishing and beautiful towns. Dayton contains more than 3000 inhabitants, located at the head of the Miami canal. It is rapidly rising up into importance, and will soon contain 10,000 inhabitants.

Springfield is situated on a side hill, and is one of the most romantic and beautiful towns in the State. The National road passes through it, from east to west.

Hamilton and Rossville, lying on opposite sides of the great Miami, are connected by an excellent bridge.

These are beautiful and thriving places. They are about 25 miles north west of Cincinnati. Hamilton is the seat of Justice, for Butler county. The town is connected with the Canal, by the largest and the best Canal basin, in the Union.

The Yellow Springs, situated nine miles north of Xenia, and the same distance south of Springfield, on the great mail route, from Columbus to Cincinnati, are quite celebrated as a watering place in summer. Mr MILLS, the proprietor of these springs, has been at a great expense to furnish accommodations for his guests. It is a delightful place, at all seasons of the year.

The character of the people, is exactly the same, every where, in the whole Miami country—they are an intelligent, industrious, enterprising, moral and friendly people, none more so, any where. Go where you will among them, and you will find no vicious people, or if any chance to go there, they will soon leave it, because they will not be encouraged to tarry there.

Strangers are always pleased with this people, and there is more hospitality in this section of the State, than in any part of it, where I travel.

Oxford University, is situated in this section of country, a few miles from Hamilton. It is rising in reputation and usefulness, though, like all other similar Institutions, in the State, it needs funds.

There is an unreasonable prejudice against our Colleges. They are considered by ignorant people, as nurseries of aristocracy, whereas they are exactly the reverse. Our laws, regulating descents, will forever keep down aristocracy—and our higher institutions of learning, are open to the poor, as well as the rich man's son.

These Colleges furnish competent teachers to our common schools, located near every poor man's door, in which his children can be well educated. From these fountains, streams are running constantly, irrigating and fertilizing the whole field of life. The College is the poor man's best friend, and I regret, that they are not looked upon as such, by every man in Ohio.

I say this from no selfish motive, because no citizen of this State, has had fewer favors of any kind from them, than he who writes these lines. I never asked, nor received any favor from them in my life—and I feel assured I never shall. Degrees conferred by them, confer no honor, because bestowed generally on men, entirely undeserving of them. I regret it, because it operates powerfully against these institutions, among the people. I am speaking of Colleges in Ohio, and of no others. Colleges in the States, east of the mountains, are older than ours, better endowed, better regulated, controlled by able directors, and furnished with able teachers, in every branch of literature and science. Let us hope ours will be like them, at some future day.

Leaving Lebanon, early in the morning, we passed through Clinton and Fayette counties, and the western part of Pickaway county, and arrived at Circleville, the third day from Cincinnati, about mid-day—the distance is one hundred miles, over a beautiful country.

Wilmington is the seat of justice for Clinton county, and contains more than 600 inhabitants. It was laid out in 1810. It is a thriving town, and settled by excellent people.

Washington is the seat of Justice for Fayette county, and is nearly of the size of Wilmington.

Circleville, is the seat of Justice, for Pickaway county, and contains, at this time, about 1400 inhabitants. The Ohio grand Canal, passes through the western edge of the town, to its lower end, when turning west, it crosses the Scioto river, on an aqueduct, about thirty rods in length. This Canal is navigated by boats, constantly, from Lake Erie, to Chillicothe, a distance of about 260 miles.

The town is rapidly growing up, and will soon contain 5000 inhabitants.

Circleville, will soon be, to our Canal, what Rochester is to the New York, Canal.

The Scioto country, from Chillicothe to Delaware inclusive, a distance of seventy miles from south to north, is equal in fertility, to any portion of the earth's surface. In summer, when covered with grass and grain, of all sorts, which this delightful climate produces, the Scioto country, is, in appearance, a perfect paradise. Thirty years ago, natural meadows existed, in this region, of considerable extent. Having long been acquainted with these prairies, and having too, carefully examined them, both above and below their surface, I will, without other introduction, lay a few remarks upon them before the reader.

### PRAIRIES IN OHIO.

There are two species of natural meadow in Ohio, in popular language, called *Prairies*. The name is derived from the early French travelers; who, in their own language, called them *Prairies*, or meadows. They are clothed with tall grass and flowering plants in the spring, summer and autumnal months, and on the whole, produce an aspect, in those months, on a first view, very agreeable. It must be confessed though, from their uniformity and sameness, having few or no hills in them, that their beauties soon become tiresome to the weary traveler, who traverses these plains; for such is their uniformity in appearance, that after riding all day across them, on looking around us at night, we fancy ourselves exactly where we started in the morning.

WET PRAIRIES, generally, have a rivulet winding its devious way through them. Its waters are of a reddish hue, of a disagreeable flavor to the taste, and unfit for the use of man. They are sometimes very wet and miry, and it is not uncommon for many of them, during the winter and spring, to be covered with water to a considerable depth. Lying, as they do, either on almost a dead level, or surrounded by higher grounds, the water which accumulates on their surface, runs off slowly, while the main body of it is left, either to stagnate, or to evaporate, under the influence of a summer's sun.

On the north side of Circleville, commences a wet prairie, extending northwardly, several miles. In width from east to west, it averages from half a mile, to one mile. Its descent, towards the south, is about one foot in a mile, as ascertained by a competent engineer, employed for that purpose, by our Canal Commissioners. The Ohio and Lake Erie Grand Canal, passes through it from north to south. A small rivulet winds its way, from near its centre, towards its south western corner, where it finds itself in the bottom lands near Hargur' creek; and a similar rivulet discharges its turbid waters into the Scioto river, near the north western corner of this natural meadow. Near its centre, is its highest elevation, owing to the mouth of "dry run," being discharged there, from the east. A ridge of land of considerable elevation, in some places, separates this prairie from the Scioto on the West, the river being from one fourth to a half mile distant from its western edge. These particulars must supply the absence of an accompanying map.

Several years since, for the double purposes of making a fence, and of draining a portion of these wet lands, a ditch was dug in them of considerable length, and from appearance, I should say, it was four feet wide, and as many in depth. By examining this ditch, while the digging was going on, as well as the materials excavated from it, I ascertained that this prairie contained a great abundance of peat. I have specimens of it in my possession, which burn briskly, and produce a good degree of heat. Its quality is of the very best species; it exists in quantities entirely sufficient, amply to supply with fuel the surrounding country, for ages yet to come. It is composed of fibres, and is of that species called "compact." Similar peat exists in a prairie through which the main road from this town to Columbus passes, six miles south of the State Capitol. It exists in all the wet prairies, which I examined for it in this county, and in those of Madison, Champaign, Clark and Montgomery. In December, 1814, I found it in the wet prairie, adjoining to, and east of the town of Urbana. While on the same tour, I saw similar peat in the prairie skirting the Mad river, from near to Springfield, Clark county, almost all the way to Dayton, situate at the confluence of Mad river, with the Great

Miami. The prairie north of Circleville, appears to have once been the bed of some considerable stream, the Scioto river, perhaps. In some places, it is four feet from the *present* surface, to the *ancient* one. On the latter, once stood a thick forest of white cedar trees; these trees now lie on the ancient surface, in different stages of decay. Some of them appear to have been broken down by violence, others were turned up with their roots entire, while others seem to have mouldered away, and died of old age. I have a fragment of one of these trees\*, which has on it evident marks of an axe, or of some other sharp edged tool. From its appearance, since the axe was applied to it, this fragment must have lain many, very many, centuries in the earth, where it was disinterred four feet below the present surface. There can be but little doubt, but that the axe used, was owned by one of the people, who erected the ancient works here. The whole prairie was once a cedar swamp; and from undoubted sources of information, I am satisfied that many of our wet prairies were once cedar swamps also. Near Royalton, in Fairfield county, and in several places in the western part of this county; and, also, in Warren county, similar proofs of the former existence of cedar groves in wet prairies, have been discovered. Time, and the accumulation of a deep soil, on the former surface, have made these prairies what they are.

I have seen the bones of deer and other animals reposing on the ancient surface of these natural meadows; and I confidently expect to be able to find here, in great numbers the bones of the great mastodon of CUVIER. The bones of that animal, found near Jackson Court house, in this State, were discovered on the ancient surface of a wet prairie. A tooth in my possession, disinterred in the bank of "Plumb run," three miles west of me, was discovered in a situation exactly similar. Many persons seem to have adopted the idea, that the mammoths found in such places, were mired there and thus lost their lives.—That individuals of that family, might have thus died, no one will pretend to doubt; but all the remains of that animal, discovered in Ohio, so far as I know, seem to have belonged to

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\*This specimen is deposited in Lettons' Museum, Cincinnati.

such as died a natural death; their bones having been scattered about in confusion, in a manner entirely similar to those of our domestic animals which die of old age or disease. I know of no one whole skeleton of that animal's being found in this state, though parts of them, especially the teeth, are very often discovered. They are washed out of the banks of small streams, passing through wet prairies.—The teeth of the animal being less destructible than other parts of the skeleton, may be the reason why these are so often found; yet, I suspect that by examining the earth around where the teeth are procured, whole skeletons might be discovered—or nearly whole ones. It is true that teeth of the mastodon are frequently found in and about Pickaway Plains, lying on the present surface of the earth; but these were doubtless brought and left where they are by the Indians.\* These teeth thus found, were near the dwelling houses of the aborigines, and no search has been made for the remaining parts of the skeletons.

Where teeth are found *in situ*, further search ought always to be made, which would doubtless lead to the discovery of other relics, highly valuable. At the time when our wet prairies were cedar swamps, and presented almost impenetrable thickets, it is evident enough that they were frequented by the great mastodon and other wild animals; and that man was here also, then, or very soon afterwards, appears equally evident from the marks he has left, of his labor and his art, on the fragment of a tree, above mentioned.

The fear of rendering myself tedious to the reader, admonishes me to quit the ancient abode of the mammoth, and describe

**THE DRY PRAIRIES.**—They are not, as in Kentucky, underlaid with lime stone; nor have we, in this part of Ohio, any barrens thus underlaid. Ours are, so far as I know and believe, in appearance like the bottom lands along our streams. The surface is a rich, black, deep loam, underlaid with pebbles, which are water worn, round

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\* This town was about seven miles south of where I sit writing. It was there Logan, the famous Indian chief, delivered his celebrated speech, to Lord Dunmore; and the oak, under which it was delivered, is still standing on the farm of a Mr. Wolf.

ded and smoothed. Many of these natural meadows, lie high above any stream of water now, or probably ever in existence.—If we have any tracts in Ohio, very properly denominated DILUVIUM, Pickaway Plains, three miles below Circleville, belong to that class of formations. This is a dry prairie, or rather was one not many years since. This prairie is about seven miles long, and nearly three miles broad. It was in this plain that a human skeleton was dug up, which circumstance was mentioned by me in a former volume of Silliman's Journal, to which I refer the reader. The works of man too are often found in such prairies, at a great depth in the earth. Such natural meadows, being for the most part, destitute of trees, has induced superficial persons, (who never reflect, and who are too indolent to examine into the real facts in the case,) to conclude that fires had been employed by the aboriginals to produce that effect! The formation of these diluvian plains is entirely different from that of the country around them; as much so beneath the surface as above it. In tracts of country, denuded of trees by fire, briars and bushes, forthwith, appear in their stead. In fact, the growth of grass and flowering plants, which cover these delightful plains, is abundantly able to prevent the taking root, of almost any forest tree. The falling of a walnut, an acorn, or the seed of any other tree, is hardly sufficient to disturb the possession of the present occupants of these ancient domains. The plumb sometimes gets a foot hold in them: and the delicious sweet prairie grape is sure to take advantage of the circumstance, and climb up to, and cover the tops of the plumb bushes with its vines, its leaves and its clusters of purple fruit in due season.

Besides, had fires destroyed the trees on Pickaway Plains charcoal would have been discovered there, which is not the case, although the land, has been cultivated with the plow, during from fifteen to twenty years past.

Charcoal is as indestructible, almost, as the diamond itself, where it is not exposed to the action of the atmosphere. On a surface so large, as that occupied by these Plains, it is hardly possible, if they had been denuded of their woods by fire, that no charcoal should have been found. With me, this argument is entirely a conclusive one.

The botany of these natural meadows is rich, and would afford matter enough for a volume. A Torrey, a Nuttall a Mitchill, a Muhlenburgh, a Barton, an Elliott, or even a Linnæus, might here usefully employ himself for years, without exhausting his subject, or gathering all the harvest which these vast fields present. It appears to me, that our botanists have neglected our prairies; but let us hope, that the day is not far distant, when some future Linnæus will appear in them. If the field is vast, and the laborers are few, the harvest of fame will be the richer.

Among the flowering plants, growing in them, the helianthus offers, perhaps, the greatest number of varieties.

From a careful examination of our prairies, wet and dry, I am satisfied that the dry ones are the most ancient, of the two—that fires produced neither of them—that in their natural state, a luxuriant vegetation is raising their present surface, every year; that the dry ones are extremely valuable for cultivation, and that the wet ones will, at no very distant day, furnish us with an abundance of fuel, in a country but thinly timbered, indeed almost destitute of wood, and without fossil coal, so common in our hilly region. If, as it is known to be the fact, our hilly region be well supplied with iron, stone, and other useful minerals, together with salt water, nature has supplied the same region with inexhaustible stores of coal, for their manufacture. If the level parts of this State, where the dry prairies abound, contain large tracts of rich land, the time is at hand, when they will be covered with well cultivated farms, where the rich harvests will wave, and where naturalized grasses will afford food for large flocks of domestic animals. This state consists either of Plains, extremely fertile, or of hills, rich in minerals; the husbandman will dwell in the former, whilst the manufacturer will take up his abode in the latter.

After tarrying at home, a few days, I left it, in the stage and arrived at Zanesville, the same evening, the distance is fifty eight miles. To arrive here, I passed through Lancaster and Somerset, seats of Justice for Fairfield and Perry counties, which I will describe on my return from Washington, to which I must hasten my journey. But before I leave this town, which I will hereafter describe, it seems entirely proper to make a few remarks on the climate, atmospheric



phenomena, and geology of Ohio. Such readers as feel no interest in such subjects, will pass on to the Alleghany Mountains, where they may be better entertained, by a description, drawn up in popular language, for the express purpose of pleasing the common reader, who hates scientific terms, but loves a verbose style of writing.

### CLIMATE.

It is known that Ohio is wholly a secondary, diluvial or alluvial country. From the very nature of all secondary countries, there must be large tracts of alluvion. The streams have few rapids in them, are not very straight in their courses, are apt to overflow their banks, run slowly, and are apt to fail in the summer and autumnal months. The Botany of such countries is rich, like the soil which produces it—the water not very pure, and the air at particular seasons bad. To a Geologist, the reasons why these things are so, are plain.

Liver complaints are so common here, that almost every individual is more or less affected in that way during some part of the year.

As I have traveled over a considerable territory, I have noticed a fact, which I do not recollect to have seen mentioned by any author. Every summer and autumn, particular tracts of country, sometimes large and sometimes small, begin, just before sunset, to emit, from the surface of the earth, a mist, which continues to rise until it becomes quite dense, and is not dispelled until the heat of the sun chases it away on the ensuing morning. Its smell is extremely nauseous, and it produces, after a few days, agues and fevers. This mist rises from alluvial soil, along our streams, and in our prairies, and the warmer the day, and the shorter the grass, and the less the vegetation, so much the worse. So sure an index of ill health, is this mist, that I am able, from its presence or absence, during the months of August, September and October, in any region which I visit in the southern part of the State, to ascertain the health of the inhabitants, whether good or bad. The fog arising from running waters, compared with this deleterious mist, is harmless, because, when a person is exposed to it, and puts

on woolen garments as a protection against the dampness of the atmosphere, no injury is sustained.

This mist usually ascends from alluvion, but in some years it is formed almost wholly in the hilly region. Thus it happens, that in some seasons, the sickness is confined to towns situated on the banks of rivers, and in our prairies; whereas, in other years, these places are very healthy, and the sickness is confined to hilly regions. There has been a remarkable uniformity in these instances, and natural causes frequently operate on a large scale, much larger, many times, than we seem willing to admit.

### **Atmospheric Phenomenon.**

Before a storm here, I have often noticed, in an evening of the latter part of autumn, and sometimes in the winter, a phenomenon not recollected by me to have been seen on the east side of the Alleghanies: Some one spot or spots near the horizon, in a cloudy night, appeared so lighted up, that the common people believed there was some great fire in the direction from which the light came. I have seen at once, two or three luminous spots, not far from each other; generally there is but one, and a storm invariably proceeding from the same point near the horizon, succeeds in a few hours.

### **Reliquiæ Diluvianæ.**

These are so numerous in this state, that it will not be expected that I should do more, than mention a few of them, and the places where they are found. If one tree furnished Mr. Schoolcraft matter for an interesting and valuable memoir, how shall I condense my remarks, so as even to refer to the great number of similar facts existing in Ohio? In the vicinity of the Ohio river, in the counties of Washington, Meigs, Gallia and Lawrence, and on the waters of the Muskingum and Perry counties, I have carefully examined not a few of the fossil trees, there existing. Among them I noticed the following, (viz:) Black oak, black walnut, sycamore or button wood, white birch, sugar maple (*acer saccharinum*), the date tree or bread fruit tree, coconut-bearing palm, the bamboo, the dogwood, and I have in my possession, the perfect impression of the cassia and the

tea leaf! Of ferns I have beautiful impressions of the leaves, and of the bread fruit tree, flowers fully expanded, fresh and entire! I have specimens so perfect, and so faithful to nature, as to dispel all doubts as to what they once were. The larger trees are found mostly in sandstone, although the bark of the date tree, much flattened, I ought to say perfectly so, is found in shale, covering coal. I am aware that a mere catalogue of fossil trees, shrubs and plants, is not very interesting—that the Geologist wishes to know among many particulars—“in what formation they exist, and the exact spot where they are found.” I am in possession of all these particulars. Every stratum from the surface downwards, has been carefully measured, in some places, to the depth of four hundred feet, and I have correct diagrams. The date is a large tree, not very tall, and having numerous and wide spreading branches. Nine miles west of Zanesville, lying on the brink of Jonathan’s creek, and near the road leading to Somerset, Lancaster and Circleville, the body of a bread fruit tree, now turned to sandstone, may be seen. It is exactly such sandstone as M. Brogniart found the tropical plants imbedded in, in France. It contains a considerable quantity of mica in its composition. The cassia was found in such sandstone, in the Zanesville canal. The bamboo is mostly impressed upon iron-stone, at Zanesville; the roots, the trunk and the leaves, are found in micaceous sandstone. The iron stone is sometimes, apparently made of bamboo leaves, the leaves of fern and bamboo roots. It happens frequently, that the trunks of small trees and plants are flattened by pressure, and the bark of them partially turned into fossil coal. Thus the shale often contains a *bark*, now become fossil *coal*, and a stratum of shale in succession, alternately, for several inches in thickness.

Before I leave Zanesville, I wish to make a passing remark or two, on the subject of finding the fossil remains of tropical plants here. The date, the bamboo, the cocoanut-bearing palm, the cassia, the tea plant, &c. are found at this day only in tropical regions, or in a climate where there is very little frost. At Zanesville, so severe is the winter at present, that the mercury sinks several degrees below zero.

Two questions naturally present themselves to the mind—has our climate become colder than formerly? or have

the tropical plants changed their nature? It is known that several tropical plants have by degrees been removed, farther to the north, and at length became naturalized to a northern climate. I refer particularly to the palma christi. But where is the plant which has been driven from our latitude to Cuba? I know of none. Has the climate of the world generally become colder, then? I say generally, for some countries probably have. Some writers suppose that the climate of England has changed in this manner. We have good evidence that during eighteen hundred years past, the climate of Rome and Palestine has undergone a great change, as the writings of Horace, Virgil and others of the Augustan age, clearly evince.

“Vides, ut alta stet nive candidum

“Soracte; nec jam sustineant onus

“Silvae laborantes; geluque,

“Flumina, constiterint acuto?

“Dissolve frigus, ligna super foco

“Large repenens.—

What a picture of the winter which prevailed at Rome in the Augustan age? Such a picture would now best suit the meridian of Quebec. In another passage of the same author, we learn that the snow was so deep near Rome, that the deer pushed it aside with their breasts, as they were pursued by the dogs. Who now sees the roofs of houses at Rome, or even in Paris, ready to break down with snow? In David's time there was snow in Palestine, and allusions to frost, snow and hail are frequently found in the Psalms and in the writings of the prophets. The inhabitants of Palestine are no longer in the habit of attacking lions in their dens “on a snowy day,” for no such days now exist in that country. But Italy and Gaul and Germany, and indeed all Europe are no more what they were in the days of David, of Horace and Virgil. Those vast forests which formerly generated so much moisture, cold weather, snow, hail and rain, are swept away by the hand of man, and the climate is meliorated. But no such cause has operated here, and the fact being ascertained, that tropical plants and animals once existed all over the world, clearly proves that a tropical climate was equally extensive.

The supposition that these tropical plants were transported northward by the ocean, unfortunately for such an opin-

tion, is disproved by the fact that some of these trees, or rather roots and a part of their trunks, stand upright evidently on the spot where they grew, and others, with every root entire, lie to appearance exactly where they fell when turned up by the roots. Again, if floated from tropical regions, how happens it that their flowers were uninjured? These show all their original beauty of form; they are fully expanded, and could not have been transported from any considerable distance. Scarcely a day could have intervened between the period in which they were in full bloom, and that in which, by that catastrophe which long since overwhelmed our globe, they were "*embalmed*" in the places where they are now found.

If we suppose quite the largest portion of our globe to be water, and we have no reasons to come to any other conclusion (if we except to opinions, without proof, and even contrary to all evidence) and that the eastern and western continents and their islandic appendages, lie in the waters of the ocean, like two icebergs in the sea, it is easy enough to understand, that whenever, and by whatever means, the centre of gravity is lost, which now keeps these continents exactly where they are, a revolution of these continents will take place almost instantly. By this catastrophe, the earth would be swept of all its land animals, who would all perish, except such as happened to be on the earth where the two new poles would be formed, at the moment when the event happened.

If all the rivers run in the same direction, and all the currents in the ocean also, not only every sea, and every ocean, but every river, every brook and every rill, and even every shower of either rain, snow or hail—nay, every dew would hasten on another grand catastrophe of this globe. But the rivers do not all run in the same, but opposite directions. The Red River of Hudson's Bay runs northwardly, the Mississippi and its branches southwardly. The waters of the northern lakes northeastwardly—the current in the ocean along our Atlantic coast in the same direction. The streams issuing from the bases of the Alleghanies and the Rocky Mountains, run in opposite directions. Wherever mountain streams are shorter in their courses on one side of a mountain, than on the other side, their descent is greater than the rivers on the oppo-

site side of their common sources; and the shorter rivers bear along in their currents an equal weight of matter with the longer and larger rivers. This is true, probably, of all the rivers in the world, and where not so, a current in an adjacent ocean makes up the deficiency. I have been long since surprised that no author had noticed this exhibition of wisdom, in the formation of mountains and rivers.

I will not say, that formerly, catastrophes of the globe have been effected, by the running of rivers, which carried along in their currents such a weight of matter, as, by that means to change the centre of gravity in the earth, and to produce any one of the awful catastrophes, which have several times overwhelmed our world, with temporary ruin and desolation. All I say, is, that by exactly such means, it might have been effected, almost in a moment, and all the effects of such a revolution, are visible, all over the world. Every portion of the earth, by such means, might have been, at some day, a tropical region, and productive of tropical plants. These ideas are not new ones with me, who have long since suggested them in print, and in private conversation. I throw out these remarks for the reflection of wiser heads than mine—and who hold abler pens too, in their hands.

But if such persons, will not take them into their consideration, then these remarks may amuse some leisure moments, of some reader, worn down by the severe labors of the day, when he is seated by a good fire, in a warm room, of a winter's long night, surrounded by his innocent children, and his cheerful wife. To such men, on such occasions, and so surrounded, I commend the foregoing remarks, and indeed, my whole volume.

#### 4. Primitive Rocks in Ohio.

Bordering on the Ohio river, in the State of Ohio, is a hilly region, which covers, perhaps, one third part of the surface of the state. Above these hills, towards Lake Erie, primitive rocks are found, such as granite, gneiss, mica slate, with imbedded garnets, &c. It is often asked, how these rocks came here? and from whence were they conveyed?

That they are out of place, in a region decidedly secondary and diluvial, no one can doubt. They are water-worn, rounded and smoothed—exactly like the pebbles in our alluvial soils, and like them they have been abraded by the stones with which they have come in contact, aided by the waters in which they have been immersed. That they have been brought hither from the north, north-west and north-east, appears from the following considerations: 1. They exactly resemble the primitive rocks found, in several instances, on the shores of Lake Superior, and on the north side of Lake Ontario. 2. As we proceed northwardly from the hilly region above mentioned, they increase both in number and size. I have seen several of them on the northern side of the hilly region about Hillsborough, in Highland county, but I never saw any on the southern side of this region, except in the form of pebbles, in beds of rivers passing through the country where the larger masses exist. These rocks abound most in vallies, which now are, or appear to have been beds of streams.— Thus in the bed of the Whetstone, below the town of Delaware, large rocks of this class are seen reposing on limestone. The latter rock is *in situ*, and abounds in shells. The stream (the Whetstone) has worn itself a channel, in some places very deep, through clay slate, until it has been checked in its progress downwards by a very hard, compact limestone. In the barrens (improperly so called) in Madison county, none but primitive rocks are found, and they are used for chimneys, and for the underpinnings of buildings. They are sometimes used for mill stones, and one fragment was so large as to make three mill stones.— But by what means were they conveyed to the places where they now are? Water was undoubtedly the agent. Some persons have supposed that volcanoes have thrown them upon large bodies of floating ice! and the theorist has, in order to support this view, only to cover the valley of the Mississippi, and, indeed, the American continent with water, and then to form a current in the ocean from north to south, or from the north-east to south-west. But it is unphilosophical to look for more causes than are necessary. Readers acquainted with the voyages of polar navigators, need not be told that the icebergs sometimes adhere to the rocks at the bottom of the sea, and that great winds and

powerful waves break up the icebergs, to the lower surfaces of which, rocks adhere and that they are thus transported, until, by the dissolution of the icebergs, they are precipitated to the bottom of the sea wherever they may happen at the moment to be. Indeed, we see the same thing annually happen on a small scale, on the breaking up of the ice where it adheres to the beds of the streams. That the valley of the Mississippi was deposited by water, and that it is one vast cemetery of the beings of ages past, is proved by almost every rock found in this region. Primitive rocks are found in Indiana and Illinois, north of their hilly region, as in Ohio. They are also found in the state of New-York, south of Lake Ontario in a country geologically similar in all important respects to Ohio, Indiana and Illinois.

Leaving Zanesville, in the stage, at two o'clock in the morning, I was rapidly carried forward to Wheeling, on the Virginia side of the Ohio river—distance seventy odd miles.

The road had been recently completed by the United States, and was, and still is, one of the finest roads in the Union.

Landing at Wheeling, and stopping at the Stage House. I fell into the company of several excellent persons, Dr. Caldwell and others, whom I was happy to meet here. Wheeling contains eight thousand inhabitants, who are exactly like the people of Ohio.

There is a narrow strip of land, belonging to Virginia, between Pennsylvania and the Ohio river, and Wheeling is the principal town on this narrow strip of territory. This country was settled before the revolutionary war, and occupied by a sparse population, during that war. It was then a frontier, exposed to all the ravages of Indian warfare, and defended only, by the hardy backwoodsmen, whose offspring, are among the first men in the State of Ohio. The Wells', the Doddridges, the Holmes', the Hammonds, the Barrs, the Beatties, the Williamsons, the Boggs' and a long list of names, are deeply impressed on my memory—and on my heart. Scattered all over Ohio, they are every where, men of business, industrious, active, vigorous in body and mind; in easy circumstances to live, and always have occupied a high standing in society. All they inherited from their parents, were strong



powers of body and of mind, virtuous principles, and industrious habits. To polished manners, acquired by an intercourse with good society, (reader, such manners can be acquired in no place else,) goodness of heart is added. I know them all, and they are all of them, my friends. I perfectly agree with them, in every republican principle, they all honestly adhere to, but they love Henry Clay, while I love Andrew Jackson, who, when a *private citizen*, loved me. "Pardon thy servant for this thing."

Leaving this town in the night in the stage, I arrived at Washington, Pa. in the morning, where we took breakfast.

Here the Eastern prices, at taverns, begin to be charged. Those who travel Eastward, from the State of Ohio go away from the stage house—here, in a pet, not so, with those who come on from Washington city.

From an acquaintance of twenty years, with this house, and the benevolent, family, who occupy it, I can safely recommend it, to all well disposed persons of both sexes. Their uniform kindness, not only to myself, but to a deceased and amiable brother, has produced in my bosom, a warm and lasting friendship, for every member of the family of BRICELAND.

Leaving Washington, we rapidly passed onward, to Cumberland, in Maryland. Here I tarried a few hours, at the stage house owned by MR. SHRIVER, who was THE SUPERINTENDANT OF THE CUMBERLAND ROAD. He does not keep the house, but he lives in a part of it, with his aged lady and interesting son, a fine, agreeable and good hearted young man. While at their house, I am always happy. I was introduced to many worthy citizens of this delightful town, and parted with them, as I always do, with regret, because I can tarry no longer, with them.

Moving onward, we stopped a few hours at Hagerstown, at the stage house, where we were treated as kindly as heart could even desire.

Moving forward again, we stopped at Talbot's, in Fredericktown, forty odd miles, West of Baltimore.

This place is equi-distant from Washington city and Baltimore. The stage to Washington, will not leave this place, for many hours, yet to come, I take a room, in this well conducted inn, which is furnished, in the best

manner. With an excellent pen, made ready for me, by the bar-keeper, and on fine paper, without, even a tinge, of any colour but a pure white, I will endeavour to lay before my readers, my views of the Alleghany mountains;—aye, and while I think of it, the Rocky mountains too.

During twenty years of my life, I have been acquainted with the Alleghanies, and have crossed them—have travelled among them and upon them, from their Northern end, in Western New York, to North Carolina, inclusive. I have seen them, mostly in summer, but have crossed them in all seasons of the year, in all the modes of travelling, used by any one who has ever crossed them.

The view that I present of them, will be from choice, one that is merely popular, not scientific—so I proceed to my task.

THE ALLEGHANY MOUNTAINS, lie from the Northeast, to the Southwest, parallel with the shore of the Atlantic ocean, like almost, every other geological boundary, on this part of North America. They rise in the Southern part of Western New York,\* and extend quite across, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee and into South Carolina, Georgia and Alabama. They present some of the grandest and most sublime features, of this globe. This chain of mountains, has been raised to its present elevated position, by a force of vast, and almost inconceivable power, operating upon, and beneath them; which force, has ceased to exert itself, in this part of our earth. These mountains consist of thousands of hills, (if the reader will pardon, that *poor term*, thus applied to lofty eminences, some of them, four thousand feet high, and whose diameter, at their base, is *frequently*, twenty miles or more.) They are composed of rocks, which when created, lay in horizontal strata, but, by the operation of a force, beneath them, have been elevated and thrown about in the same, utter confusion, where they now lie. Some of these elevations, present us with rocks, lying in one position, and some in another;

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\* Eastward of the Susquehanna basin, I do not consider those mountains, as Alleghanies. The valleys of the Susquehanna and Delaware rivers, separate the western and eastern mountains so widely, that I call them different and distinct chains, though formed in the same period of time, and produced by similar causes.

and I never saw but one hill, now lying in the exact position, where it was originally formed. That unmoved hill, lies near the turnpike, on the way from Baltimore to Cumberland about one hundred miles West of the former place.

Had Milton resided near these mountains, or even seen them, some shrewd, wise and learned critic, would, long since, have accused that great poet, of borrowing his description in part, of the battle between the angels, from the aspect, which, the whole chain of the Alleghanies, offers to the spectator. The world would have agreed in opinion with the critic, and would have torn a sprig of laurel from the poets' brow.

These mountains, consisting of the fragments, of a former world, answer a thousand useful purposes to man. This lofty ridge, or rather, succession of ridges, about one hundred and fifty miles in width, from east to west—in some places wider, and in others narrower, is elevated so high, and their base is so broad, that they arrest the further progress, westward, of those chilling, blighting, furious, and sometimes tremendous eastwardly storms; which, after having crossed the wide Atlantic, spread destruction among our shipping, on the sea coast, and produce disasters on the land. These mountains receive upon their brow, without injury to themselves, "the pitiless fury, of these pelting storms." It often happens, that while the Atlantic border, is assailed by all the horrors, which an Eastwardly storm can produce, the whole valley of the Mississippi, smiles in peace, without feeling even one gentle puff of air, from the East. There then, let the Alleghanies stand, to defend us from the rude Eastern blast.

In the same manner, the Alleghanies, put their veto, upon the further progress, in that direction of our South western storms, coming from the Mexican Gulf.

The great cavities in the earth, necessarily existing, among such vast fragments, thrown out of their original position; are so many reservoirs, into which, the waters, in every form of rain, snow, sleet and hail, descend. There they are preserved for future use, and poured out, Eastwardly and Westwardly, as they should be, to water the Atlantic States, and to irrigate and fer-

tilize the Western ones. The mean height of these mountains as a whole, I should suppose to be about 3000 feet above the surface of the ocean. I am satisfied, that I have been, on one elevation, in a beautiful moon light night, which was 4000 feet in height. Every object in the whole heavens, assumed an aspect of brilliancy and splendor, that I shall not attempt to describe. The purity of the air, its rarity and the clearness, with which, every object in view, is painted on the retina, of the eye, cannot be so described to any one, who never was placed so high above the common surface of the earth, that he would perfectly comprehend or believe me. The moon and every star, appeared to throw out flames of yellow fire, in waves, that exceeded any thing of the kind, I ever saw before or since. To behold such a sight, it is well worth, all the labor, of attaining to such an elevated height.

These mountains collect the water, that descends from the clouds, furnish reservoirs, in which it is kept, and from which, it is poured out, East and West as it is needed, to irrigate, fertilize and adorn the earth, with trees and plants, and to give drink and to afford food for man, bird, beast, fish and every animated being, whose home is, either in the water, on the land, or in the air, near the streams as they descend towards the sea.

These mountains are sufficiently elevated, to contain fountains and heads of rivers, with descent enough, in them, not only to carry off the waters to the sea, but to afford, thousands of sites for mills and every sort of machinery, used in manufactures. And these streams are as durable as the world itself.

These eminences, called the Alleghanies, thrown about in such utter confusion, with every possible inclination, towards the horizon, some descending towards the East, others towards the West, are so disposed of, as a whole, that the streams flowing from them, interlock each other. The head waters of the Alleghany river, for instance, rise in Pennsylvania, not a very great distance from the centre, of that State, and running into New York, quite around the North end of the Alleghany mountains, turn in a South Western direction, disliking New York, they pass through Pennsyl-

vania, and visiting Pittsburgh, descend into the Mexican Gulf, at the mouth of the Mississippi.

The great Western branch of the Susquehanna rises, fifty miles, perhaps, West of the head waters of the Alleghany, and running nearly parallel with the latter, finally enters the Chesapeake, near Baltimore. Another branch of the Alleghany interlocks, and runs parallel with the Juniata branch of the Susquehanna. The head waters of the Monongahela, interlock in the same manner, with the waters of the Potomac, and so of all other rivers, arising in these mountains, and descending from them, either East or West, into the sea. Their heads are near each other, they run side by side, for a considerable distance, offering to man, scites, where their constant force, can be used by him, and applied to a thousand useful purposes, until the end of time.

These mountains are shaded by groves of timber trees, equal in size, grandeur and usefulness, to any in the world. The pine, the oak, and indeed, almost every species of ship timber, except the live oak, here grow for the use of posterity, long after all our forest trees, in our whole country are swept away and destroyed.

These forests now shade, nourish, sustain but not always conceal from our view, great numbers of deer, bears, wolves, and other wild animals. As I walked over the very summit of Laurel hill, in October 1829, in a bright moon light night, to enjoy the resplendant scene, which the heavens, then showed me, a large deer, with lofty and wide branching horns, stood in the road before me, until I came close upon him; when, stamping with his foot, he showed me as little ceremony and no more respect, than an independent, Western farmer, would the courtiers and courtezans, who assemble in Washington every winter! Snorting and stamping at me, he took his latitude and departure, and in a few moments more, was off, out of my sight and hearing!

The Alleghanies contain inexhaustible stores of iron ore, of the best quality, and wood and coal enough, to manufacture this ore. On the eastern side of these mountains, we sometimes find the anthracite interspersed indeed, with the bituminous coal, while on the western side, the latter predominates. Of both species, there is enough, and more

than enough, to supply this nation, with fuel, as long as the sun shines upon the globe. Here then, in these mountains, are sources of natural wealth, of national prosperity, private and individual happiness, that will endure forever. The Alleghanies contain, not only reservoirs of water, for the use of a great number of people, but they are a vast store house, containing within it, all the elements, for the same people, of industry, in every modification of it, of wealth in all its shapes, of health, happiness and prosperity in all their forms and modes of existence, either corporeal, mental or mixed. Who then, can sufficiently admire and adore the Great Author of them, who has thus created them, stored them with wealth, and cast our happy lots near them?

Should the despots of Europe combined in arms transport all their armies across the Atlantic, to put down free government in this country, these mountains are the CITADEL, where liberty would take refuge, and rushing thence, drive the invaders into the sea.

The Alleghanies stand as proud and lofty MONUMENTS of creative wisdom, goodness and power; they are stamped too, with characters so legible, that no human being, can fail to read and understand them—and there they will stand forever. They offer the grandest, the most simple and sublime objects in the world, for the investigation of the geologist, mineralogist, botanist, and natural historian.—Inhaling the purest mountain air, drinking the coolest, purest water, viewing too, the greatest variety of scenery, from the mildest, the most peaceful and still, to the wildest, most rugged, abrupt, lofty or depressed, awful and sublime, among these mountains, the lover of nature, would here, during the summer months, acquire health, knowledge and happiness. To the scholar, the man of business of any sort, whether an industrious one, or an idler, these mountains hold out inducements to visit them, in summer, and ramble about among them, and use the gun, the fish-hook, the telescope, the thermometer, the compass and the barometer. Here, the corporeal powers and mental faculties, worn down by severe toil, might be improved and renovated. If the Tourist be an invalid, or feels anxious to enjoy the pleasures of good living, of polished society, consisting of both sexes, of all ages, the old and the young, the grave

and the gay, intelligent, polite, civil, friendly, kind, learned, manly, pious, active, vigorous, liberal, free from prejudices except such, as a republican cherishes in his heart and exhibits in all his intercourse with the world, CUMBERLAND, on the National Turnpike, or rather where it begins, HAGERSTOWN, and FREDERICKTOWN, in Maryland, all of them, or any one of them, may be his home, during the Summer months. He will here find all he wants, and from these places, he may see nature, either in her wildest, or most cultivated forms. Beauty and sublimity, in nature—all that art can do, in agriculture, to improve the soil, the breed of domestic animals, and the growth of plants; all she can do, to prepare the mind of men and women, for the business of human life, as correct, appropriate, and necessary, for moral agents to pursue, the Tourist will find in, near and about these towns. The morals and habits of the people, are as pure as their own mountain air and streams of cool water, and while the former will refresh his soul, the latter will renovate his body. To these places, and the country around them, to these people, and their habits, morals, customs, modes of thinking and acting, I commend all my readers.

On the western side of this continent, and from three, to six hundred miles from the eastern shore of the Pacific, and parallel with the Alleghanies, rise into view, THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS. Though, as yet, but imperfectly known to us, but we do know, that they extend from latitude  $50^{\circ}$  degrees north, to latitude  $30^{\circ}$  north—that in width, from East to West, they occupy about one hundred and fifty miles of longitude—contain many valleys, one of which, passes quite through them—send out many streams of pure water, which on the west side of the mountains, and at unequal distances from their sources, like our Atlantic rivers, have many falls and rapids in them—that the streams running westwardly, are shorter, more durable, and better adapted to manufacturing purposes, than those are, that issue from the eastern base of these mountains. And we know also, that these mountains are shaded with forests, in many parts of their lofty summits and low valleys; and we doubt not, though we do not positively know the fact to be such, that these mountains contain ores and minerals which are valuable, and the necessary fuel, to aid in the manufacture of them,

These mountains too, present a barrier, which protects and defends our Mississippi Valley, from the storms and winds, which sometimes, sweep, with destructive fury across the wide, the vast, but not always Pacific Ocean.—They collect the water that descends from the heavens, in all its forms and modifications, keep it in reservoirs and pour it out, as it is needed, on both sides of them, to water the earth, fertilize and adorn its surface, and to afford drink and food, for man and all the inferior animals, that swim in the water, walk upon the earth, or fly in the air.

We also know, that somewhere on the head waters of the Missouri, there has been, and now is a volcano, in active and actual operation, because, every considerable rise of that river, brings down, floating on its surface, pumice stone, newly produced, in one of Nature's laboratories.

Such mountains, located as the Alleghanies and the Rocky Mountains are, in the interior of a continent, produce a coolness in the atmosphere, and send off currents of cool air, into the adjacent regions.

As the Rocky mountains are longer, so they are higher, by a great deal, than the Alleghanies, presenting their snowy white summits, to the spectator's view, at a great distance from their bases, near to which, on each side, the wide spread prairies, are covered with grasses, and flowering plants. Here the bisons and wild horses, in herds, and flocks, and droves, roam, and feed, grow, and fatten, all the year round.

But few men are seen here, because, who can dwell in a prairie, without a single shade tree, to protect him from the intense heat of the burning sun, in summer, or, from the intense cold, and piercing winds, in the winter? Why are there no trees here, in a soil, so rich, so fertile, consisting of black vegetable earth, to a great depth? If we suppose, that the prairie country is diluvial—that grasses took possession of it, and completely covered it, before the seeds which produce trees, fell on its surface, it is easy to conceive, that if any seeds of large forest trees should afterwards be scattered about upon the earth, the grasses and plants already in full and complete possession of the surface, would effectually prevent the taking root of any tree, except, in rough places, where the earth was accessible to the seeds—or along water courses, large enough to over-



flow their banks and cover with earth, any seeds there scattered, either by the fowls of the air, beasts of the forest and the field, or floated along, either by the winds, or on the surface, or in the current of the river, the brook or the rivulet.

From the Wabash river, to the Pacific ocean, in the West, and to the Frozen ocean in the North West, that vast region, presents an argument in favor of such an opinion, as to the original formation of these natural meadows, and their continuance, to be prairies, an argument so conclusive with me, that I cannot get over it. East of the Wabash, the country, between that river and the Alleghanies, is generally rolling, intersected every where almost, with runs, rivulets and rivers, and in any and every considerable spot of earth, as to size, where these waters do not often occur, and the surface is a dead level, there is a prairie, in nearly every instance. West of the Wabash, where the surface, under this idea, of the origin of a prairie country, would indicate a timbered country, fires, annually, in some dry season, during cold weather, burn the dry grasses, plants and shrubs.

The Rocky mountains, not only defend us from the storms which cross the Pacific, but they occupy a military position and are a CITADEL in which, liberty may one day, take up her residence, for a season, should all Asia assail our favored country, dressed in the habiliments of warfare.

These mountains are precisely, so far as we can judge, from our present limited knowledge of them, to the future Pacific states, what the Alleghanies now are, and forever will be, to our Atlantic states. We doubt not, that the greater comparative length, and height of the Rocky mountains, over the Alleghanies, answer the wisest and most benevolent purposes towards his creatures, which the great Author of them, had in his mind, when He created them. Many of these lofty piles rise above the ocean, ten thousand feet, and present to view, imposing, grand and sublime objects for the contemplation of man, and exhibit a proof of the tremendous and awful power, employed by their Author to raise them, to the elevated position, where they stand. The more we become acquainted with them, and the better; the more, we shall doubtless, find in and

about them, to make the wisdom and benevolence of the Creator more and more apparent to us.

Placed as the Alleghanies and the Rocky mountains are, on each side of this continent, leaving such a wide valley, the widest one, in the world, between them, they govern the winds, and affect in a great degree, the climate of the whole vast space between these mountains. North of this valley, lie the Frozen Ocean, Baffin's Bay, Hudson's Bay, and those large bodies of fresh water, called the Northern lakes. South of this valley, lie the Mexican Gulf and the West Indian seas. Descending from the north, currents of cold air, sweep over this valley, in Autumn, Winter and Spring, while the trade winds, of the West Indies ascend the Mississippi and all its branches in Summer.—Hence, the extreme cold of Winter, and the warm weather of Summer in the valley of the Mississippi. The same spot experiences the cold of Nova Zembla in Winter, and the heat of Algiers in Summer.

The stage, which is to carry me to Washington, is at the door, so I throw down my pen, call for my bill, pay it, and am off, to the place where I am bound.

After crossing the Monocasy, we travelled over, a poor, miserable country, until we came to Rockville, twelve miles from Washington, where we took supper. Taking my seat again in the stage, I reached the city, two o'clock in the morning. Stopping at Brown's, the headquarters of the General Post Office, in Washington, I left the tavern, as soon as the day dawned, for the White House. Gen. Jackson, was in his room, at that early hour, doing business, and he received me, as he always would have done, at the Hermitage, with smiles and with kindness. Tarrying with him and his amiable family to breakfast, I spent my time very laboriously, during two weeks in explaining every thing connected with the treaties, we had negotiated. These explanations, made to the President and Secretary of War, being ended, I felt myself at liberty, to devote a few weeks, to the improvement of my health, now still, greatly impaired, by the fatigues, exposure and sufferings of all sorts, which had fallen to my lot, during the four preceding months. Not knowing whether I should ever have such an opportunity again, to see our Eastern

cities, I concluded, to travel Eastward as far as Boston, making a stop in Philadelphia of a few days as I passed onward.

### Visit to Philadelphia.

Leaving Washington, in the stage for Baltimore, I passed over the delightful road between these cities and tarried a few hours at Barnum's, when I took a steam boat, for Philadelphia, by way of the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal. Passing through the canal, and then going on board of another steamer, I was landed at Philadelphia, at sunset, about the middle of October, in 1829.

Getting into a carriage, I was soon at the door of a friend, in Chesnut street, nearly opposite the United States hotel. Here I tarried two weeks or more, after which period, I boarded at Mrs. Swain's, in Eighth, just below Walnut street.

During my whole life, I had always, every where fallen into the society of persons, who had been born and educated in Philadelphia: and it is but justice to every one of them, to say, that if a man, whether he was a professional one—a merchant—a mechanic—a farmer—or even a hostler, he was a gentleman, in his manners, kind, friendly, polite, amiable and agreeable, in all his intercourse with the world. He was useful to himself, his friends and the public. He thought, for himself, and had not a particle of the sycophant, in his composition. He might dispute with me, all day, or on every day in the year, about some matter, about which we could not think alike, without being angry himself, or making me so.

If a female, whether she lived in a palace or a cottage—in splendor or affluence, or sunk low, in the vale of poverty, through some great and undeserved misfortune—if the mistress of a family, she maintained her station in society, with ease, dignity and propriety, and so far as she could, diffused happiness all around her. She might be a cook, or even a chamber maid, but she was a lady, acting with propriety in her station. Knowing and duly appreciating, the value of these pure streams, which had been constantly flowing across my path, during half a century, I came here to examine with great

care, the fountain heads of them, located on this lofty eminence, rising so high, in the common vale of human society. I was determined that while I stood on this dizzy height, I would not err in my judgement--indeed I came here, with a determination, to be pleased, as little as possible.

Amidst this wilderness of sweets, five weeks passed away, before I was aware of their flight. I had originally intended to have tarried here but ten days, and then, to have proceeded on to New York, and ended my tour at Boston; but ten days, amidst the institutions, of Philadelphia, surrounded as I was, every hour, by persons of taste, science, learning and genius, whose bewitching conversation, innocence and virtue captivated my whole soul; I entirely forgot all the rest of the world, not only during ten days, but all the remainder of my visit, to this fair city.

Where to begin, what to say, and where conclude my remarks, upon this city, so truly named Philadelphia, I hardly know. A full account of all I saw every day and every hour almost, would swell into a large volume, which I could write, fast as the periods could flow from my pen. Even now, at the distance of two years, when many things have faded from my memory, enough still remains fresh and vivid upon it, indelibly fixed there, to form such a picture of this people, that, a stranger to them, would accuse me of writing a novel, whose object was, to delineate a people, living in the world, before the fall of man.

This city was founded by a Philanthropist, in the broadest and best sense of that term, and the traveller naturally looks around him, for the posterity of the first settlers, the descendants of Penn, Logan, Rittenhouse, Godfrey, of Franklin, and Rush, and he will find them, in spirit, in doctrine, and in practise, every where, all over the city. At every step, he takes, he feels himself surrounded by the happy spirits, of departed philosophers, scholars, statesmen, jurists, artists, philanthropists and pure christians. He sees every where, neatness and order. Here stands the Hall, in which our National Independence was declared;—in which, our constitution was formed and adopted. Here are the fountains from which,

we in the West, have drawn no small portion, of our science, and from the plan of this city, we have planned all our towns, and we would gladly copy from this people, all that is good, fair, wise, just, liberal and pure, among them. It is unnecessary to visit the tombs of the virtuous dead, here standing, and to ponder near their ashes, on their goodness and greatness; at least, I prefer to mingle with their living monuments, their posterity, and see around me, in full operation, and daily increasing in usefulness, all the institutions, moral, literary, scientific, religious, philanthropic and patriotic, which the original founders, and the posterity of such men, have very naturally erected in this fair city. Filled with such emotions, I entered Philadelphia, early in the evening, and was carried to the house of a friend, who and his amiable and good lady had invited me to tarry awhile at their house and make it my home, while I remained in the city. The family was a pious one, in the true sense of that term, and without one particle of gloominess, uncharitableness, or malignity towards those who did not belong to their sect of christians! They were Episcopalians, had prayers in the family, morning and evening, said grace at their meals, but were as cheerful, as pious and as happy; and were as attentive to their business through the day, as any true christian could desire. Such was the happy family, in which, I was first located, in this truly named city, of "BROTHERLY LOVE." They and their pious, amiable and virtuous relatives, JONATHAN SMITH and others, have left an image of their goodness on my heart, never to be effaced from it. A feeling of delicacy, towards them, suppresses their names from paper, not from my heart.

Dr. Littell, early the next morning after my arrival, went with me, to the Hall of Independence, which we ascended, to the highest part of it, where I had a good view of the whole city and its environs. From this place, I visited the Atheneum, the Philosophical society's rooms and library, and then I visited the Franklin Library. To the Atheneum, and Libraries I was made welcome, and invited to call daily, free of any expense so long as I tarried in the city.

Calling on Mr. Walsh in the evening, in company with

the same young gentlemen, who had been my guide through the day, I had an opportunity, to shake hands, cordially, with a man, whose literary acquirements, whose talents and moral views. I had so long, and so much admired. I found him, amidst his books and his studies, and did not tarry long then though I was there often afterwards.

The next day, I called on my old friend and true one, Manuel Eyre, Esq. in Chesnut street, who took me with him, in his carriage, to see the Philadelphia Water Works, where we spent the day; there, and in their vicinity. He showed me, every thing, in that part of the city.

Saturday night arrived, and Mr. John Vaughan, and Mr. Walsh, waited on me to Robert's Vaux's, to attend a Wistar party there, that evening.

Dr. WISTAR in his life time, had a party of his literary and scientific friends, at his house, one evening in every week—and to this party, strangers visiting the city, were also invited. When he died, the same party, was continued, and the members of the Wistar party, in their tour, each, have a meeting of the club, at his house, on some Saturday night, in the year. This club consists of the men, most distinguished for learning, science, art, literature and wealth, in the city. It opens at early candle light, in the evening, where, not only the members themselves appear, but they bring with them, all the strangers of distinction, then in the city. Here may be seen, gentlemen, not only from every state in the Union, and every territory of it, but from London, Liverpool, Paris and almost every city and country in Europe.

On entering the splendid suit of rooms, thrown open to the company, at Mr. Vaux's, I was introduced by Messrs. Walsh and Vaughan, to every gentlemen present, whom I did not previously know. Here I met with EDWARD LIVINGSTON, now Secretary of State, and all the men, of science, and learning, in this city, of whom, I had heard so long, and whose labors in the exact sciences, in the arts, and all the walks of life, which tend to strengthen the mind polish the manners and meliorate the heart. I was introduced at the same time, to the persons who have the charge of every public institution in the city, who tendered to me tickets of admission into those institutions, free of all charge of visiting them, while I remained in the city. A

mere catalogue of these institutions would occupy a page of my book, and I saw them all, several of them daily almost, while I continued here.

## **The Philadelphia Water Works,**

Are one of the proud specimens of art, employing a water power, to effect a grand object of usefulness. A dam is thrown across the Schuylkill, and by means of machinery and pumps operated upon by water power, water enough to water the whole city, is thrown upon the summit of Fairmount, whence it is conducted, in pipes, to every house in the city, or if not yet accomplished, to the fullest extent needed; there is at least, water enough under human control, to do it, and there is room enough on this "Fairmount" to contain all that will forever be wanted by the city, for that purpose.

A small village is growing up around these works, and refreshments, at a low price, are always in readiness, on the spot, and tendered to visitors, who are always numerous here, all day, by persons of politeness and good breeding. Mr. Eyre and myself availed ourselves of these refreshments, for a mere trifle, which I would have cheerfully paid, even for the pleasure of seeing and of conversing with such agreeable people, as those who afforded them to us.

## **Academy of Fine Arts.**

I went to the Academy of fine arts, with Dr. Griffith, son-in-law to my good friend Mr. Eyre. Here I studied several hours, surrounded by several persons who were copying the paintings, &c. in this collection. This Academy is kept by an old gentleman and lady from England. The lady showed us every thing but the casts, when the old gentleman accompanied us into the room where the latter are kept. These casts are representations of human beings quite naked, and I regret to state, that some young men, (I really suppose they were young men) have mutilated the males, by subtracting parts of the bodies. I say young men, because, to a mind perfectly pure from all improper, and immodest thoughts, nothing could have been more remote, than a wish to disfigure any part of the hu-

man body. The whole body as it is by nature, created in infinite wisdom, guided by infinite goodness, as well as power, has nothing amiss belonging to it, and nothing, whereof to be ashamed, by a pure intelligence. I say this, to prevent further mutilation by the young gentlemen, who visit this room. Some of those casts had been injured, perhaps, in transporting them from Paris, and the parts did not exactly fit.

Franklin's head, in the finest Italian marble, was here over the door, as we went into the room, where the statues at full length were.

This collection of statues and busts, paintings, &c. &c. is of vast utility to the student, and numbers were availing themselves of the privilege of studying here. It was very apparent, that here was the place, where nearly all the knowledge of the fine arts, now in the possession of our American artists, had been attained.

The casts of the ancients, were better delineations of the limbs, which in the early ages were naked and exposed to view; and the moderns excelled in expressing the passions and emotions of the mind, in the human countenance. The ideas of a savage, or of any people but just removed from that state of society, are few, compared with the civilized man, and not seeing their operations on the human face, the artist could not delineate what he never saw. The sternness of the Roman, seen in Cato, differs not one whit, from the same quality, exemplified in the faces of the finest forms, among the warriors and principal chiefs that I had then, so recently seen daily, for weeks together, at Prairie du Chien.

The Greeks, had evidently more ideas, softer ones too, than the hard faced Romans. But whoever carefully examines, these casts of the ancients, will naturally conclude, on looking around him, upon the people of this day, that he sees Greeks and Romans every where.

An ancient statue, of Ceres, perhaps, without a head though, stands in the yard, in front of the Academy. It is of beautiful white limestone, was brought here from Greece, by one of our public ships, if my memory be correct, and must weigh several tons. I was surprised, that a head had not been added to it, by our artists, since it was placed there. A cavity, where the head should stand, is filled with



water, in very cold weather, might be the means of bursting the upper part of the bust. However, this is a matter, in the hands of persons, qualified to judge of it, and to act better, than I pretend to be able to do. So let it rest, with them, to attend or not to their own proper business.

I went alone to see West's painting of "Christ healing the sick." It belongs to the Hospital, and a small building is erected, for it, though the building, especially the upper rooms of it, contain other pictures.

I paid a small sum for seeing it, very cheerfully, to a plain, but decent looking and sensible female, of middle age, who had the charge of the building. After seeing every thing below stairs, and studying in profound silence, and deep thought, this great work of a great master, I wished to see the paintings in the upper story, to which the lady, by no means objected, but appeared to feel, a delicacy about accompanying me there alone. Though I assured her, most seriously and in the utmost sincerity and truth, that no female on earth, need feel any delicacy, in accompanying an old man like me, any where, yet, with her leave, I would ascend the stairs, and see the pictures, by myself alone; to which she finally assented. Passing up the stairs, my attention was so forcibly arrested by a likeness of William Penn, I think it was, that I stopped, where I was, and for some minutes gazed intensely on this picture, until at length, I extended my hand towards some picture near me; my fair keeper, who unknown to myself, had accompanied me, or followed after me, for I do not know which, instantly informed me, that I must "touch nothing I saw." A flood of emotions morally sublime had rushed into my soul and absorbed it. How she came there, without my knowing it, I could hardly conceive; but there she was, within one foot of me! Apologising as became me, who had intended no harm, and indeed had done none yet, as I had not yet reached the object, towards which, I was extending my hand, I moved up the remaining stairs, and entered the room above. My attendant had vanished from my sight, instantly after speaking to me, and I here studied, in profound thoughtfulness, every thing in this room, for a considerable time, when extending my hand again, to touch

some object of curiosity, the same gentle spirit was at my very ear, and admonished me, in an instant, to desist, and I desisted, accordingly. How she had placed herself, within one inch, and three eighths of an inch, precisely, (reader, I did not measure the distance very exactly,) of my person, without my knowing any thing about it, I neither know, nor ever expect to know, but so it was; and suspecting her to be some spirit of health, kept there, by the managers of the Hospital, for the best of purposes, I went down stairs, with all the celerity I could muster, I assure you, and never ascended those stairs again, while I remained in the city.

Going out into the garden, belonging to the Hospital, I was interested much, in seeing several tropical plants growing, blooming with flowers, and loaded with fruit. In addition to the orange and the lemon, so common every where I have traveled of late years, I saw the pine apple, and the bread fruit tree, looking as if they were actually within the tropics, cultivated in the best manner, and nourished by the most fertile soil.

I also visited Peale's Museum and saw every thing there, and though it appeared to me, not kept as well as I expected, it would be, in a city, where every thing almost, is so neat, so nice and looking so fair, yet I was interested in many things, I saw there.

The gallery of paintings, contains a very valuable collection of the portraits, of distinguished men, mostly Americans, who have done honor to themselves, to their country and to mankind. I set the higher value on the whole collection, in consequence of the likenesses being such correct ones, in every instance, where I happened to have known the individual, personally well.

The skeleton of the great Mastodon of Cuvier, interested me greatly. It reminded me, of my home, which was once the abode of this extinct family of animals. The dust on some of the articles here, enabled me to remember the western country, for a moment.

This skeleton had belonged to an individual, of the common size of that animal, and was by no means as large as many which once lived on the banks of the Ohio, and fed in our wet prairies, and there finally expired, where

their skeletons now repose, on what was once, the surface of the earth, though now far below the *present* one.

An elephant preserved in a new way, was in the museum. No arsenic had been used to preserve it.

I attended one very full meeting of the American Philosophical Society, and spent, perhaps five days, in all, in their library, either in reading there, or examining their great and interesting collection of objects. I examined more especially, the antiquities of Mexico and Peru. I regret it, but, I must carefully examine all these objects again, in order to compare them, with our western antiquities, and those of Egypt, and of ancient Europe generally. It is quite possible, that these fragments of Mexican and Peruvian history, may throw great light, on the history of the man of the eastern continent, and I must see them all again, and scrutinize them more severely than I did, while surrounded by them, in Nov. 1829. So the reader will see, my excuse, for visiting this city once more, and for spending several days, in this library.

The American Philosophical Society, is, I believe, the oldest learned society, on this continent, but if not, it has achieved more real good, and stands higher, in the world, than any other, in America. Godfrey, Logan, Franklin, Rush, Jefferson and others, who were members of this society, have done honour to science, and to human nature; and the present members are not a hair's breadth, behind their illustrious predecessors, now numbered with the virtuous and learned dead, in learning, science, art and usefulness. I saw enough to fully satisfy me, of this fact.

Of the members of this society, who are numbered with the dead, I may say, that, some of them, FRANKLIN and others, during a period of fifty years, shone as suns, in the intellectual heavens, and by means of their steady and enduring light, warmed, nourished and invigorated every intellectual plant, shrub and tree, then growing in the world. They will shine forever.

Some of these men, like comets, shot across the heavens, and by their momentary glare, as they moved, either slowly or swiftly in their eccentric orbits, attracted all eyes towards them, for a season. Their appearances, glare and momentary glory are now barely remembered,

because they have ceased to shine in any part of our intellectual firmament.

Others, like fixed stars, of different magnitudes, continue to give light, and will shine forever on mankind.

A few, like meteors, flashed vividly, for a moment, upon the eye, and then, in an instant, in a faint streak expired.

The present members of this society, like their predecessors, love learning for its own sake; they do nothing for show; but, Pennsylvania-like, go forward doing good, without appearing even to know it, themselves. Comparisons are said to be odious, and I will draw none, on paper, between these men, and others, in other cities of our Union, but, in my mind, I cannot avoid making this very comparison, to the unspeakable praise of this society. I suspect that it deserves more credit, than all other societies in America. It has been a pioneer in every thing, it has done, and others have reapt harvests, which this society sowed. Satisfied with doing good, it does not complain, of the success of others, nor does one particle of envy rankle in its bosom.

But enough of the disinterested, intense and generous devotion of this society, to the best interests of mankind—all the world knows it, and all good men duly appreciate it, without my proclaiming it in a little corner, in a voice so feeble, in accents so poor, and coming too, from an individual so obscure, in a work so small, which will be read by so few persons, and then be forgotten so soon; that I desist, make my respectful bow to the members, but, beg leave to see them all again, in their hall.

S. G. Morton M. D. took me in his carriage, to the Academy of Natural Sciences, of which, he is the Secretary, and one of its leading and most useful members.

On entering their Hall, I found there assembled, several members of the society, with whom I had already become acquainted, indeed, some one or more of them, had accompanied me daily, in my visits, to every place, person, or object I wished to see, in the city, ever since my arrival here.

In company with these persons, I called repeatedly afterwards, to examine every thing in this new, well arranged, perfectly neat, and most useful and splendid collection of objects in Natural History.

Of this society, that great Natural Historian and Geologist, William M'Clure, is the President and he has been to it, a most munificent patron. A beautiful portrait of him, occupies very properly, a prominent place in the Hall. In this place, I spent several days, carefully studying all I saw here deposited, upon which, I make a few remarks.

The collection of minerals, plants and animals, for the age of this society, is truly a wonderful one. Every species, of every family is numbered, and is in its place, showing at a glance of the eye, all that is now known in Natural History.

Any object, brought to the institution, can be compared, with the whole family to which it belongs, and if it be a new species, that fact is instantly ascertained, it is numbered and placed in the family to which it belongs.

The arrangement of every thing is perfect, and neatness itself, reigns throughout the hall.

The rocks of Europe, beginning at Gibraltar and ending with the eastern side of Europe, in Russia, are all laid, from west to east, exactly as they exist, in Europe. This splendid and valuable collection, was presented to the society, by Mr M'Clure, their president.

This society, consists, of the young men of science, in the city; and their industry, enterprise and energy are not exceeded by any young men, or old ones either, in the world. Their fathers, of the Philosophical Society, may well be proud of such sons.

I took a supper with them, at Dr. Morton's, and for once, and the only time, while in the city, I was so fascinated, with them, and so delighted, to find myself surrounded, by young men, who had visited every country, almost in the world—who had read every book—studied every science and every art, that I never thought of the hour, until it was midnight.

They want the minerals, the plants and animals of the Mississippi Valley.

The Philadelphians have wisely left open several places of considerable extent, about the centre of the city—Independence square, adjoining the old Hall of Independence, Washington square, (the old Potter's field) the garden, in which the building stands containing the picture

of Christ healing the sick, &c. These squares not only admit a freer current of air about the centre of the city, but they offer delightful promenades, in which are seen parties composed of both sexes, walking in the cool of the morning and evening. These squares are beautifully ornamented with trees, and laid off into proper compartments, by gravelled walks. In these walks, and in Chesnut street, you see, every fair day, the youth, beauty and fashion of the city. As to gaiety of dress, I was disappointed in Philadelphia. From the plain, though neat attire of the earliest inhabitants of this place, I did not anticipate to see here, all the gaiety of dress, found in London and Paris at this day; but, the young people of Philadelphia, are little, I suspect, none behind the fashionable people any where, in dress. The fashions of Paris and London are regularly received, and as regularly followed by not a few.

The streets all running parallel, or at right angles with each other, enables the builder to erect his house, in a manner to be the most useful to him. There is not a misshapen house or even room in the city.

The style of building is perfectly Grecian, and the buildings are as durable as brick and marble can make them.

Neatness and cleanliness are sometimes found in other cities, but their constant and permanent home is in Philadelphia. I suspect there is at any one time of the year, more filth in almost any little village, in any state of this whole Union, than can be found in Philadelphia in a whole year.

The trade and commerce of the city, must be great, but I have no means of ascertaining their amount. The custom house books will not aid us much, as the commerce of Philadelphia passes in no small degree through New York, owing to the nearness of the latter to the main ocean, and the ease with which vessels always enter that port, or depart from it.

The Delaware river is a shallow one, and the distance from the city to the main ocean, is considerable. However, one reason why the shipping of Baltimore is generally supposed to be greater than that of Philadelphia, is because, in the former, the vessels are all crowded into a small space, whereas in the latter, the shipping lies in front of the city, along the Delaware, for the distance of five miles.

The wines, the silks, and every thing else, coming from France, are cheap and excellent here. If our merchants in the West, wish to buy goods, they may as well purchase them here. Broadcloths, which cost eight dollars a yard in Ohio, cost only about four dollars a yard here—and so I found it in almost every thing else.

If any one wishes to purchase books, E. Littell, of Chestnut street, can furnish them—if plate or jewelry is wanted, Thibault, in the same street, has them for sale, cheap and good.

Their periodical publications are unrivalled—such as Walsh's Review—the Journals of Health and of Law—the medical journals, &c. &c.

Domestic goods—such as flannels and carpeting are the best in the world, and they are manufactured in the city and its environs. Unless a western merchant wants to purchase over five thousand dollars worth of dry goods at any one time, he never need go further east for them, than to Philadelphia.

If he trades here, he may be sure of dealing with honest men, and if he wants a credit, he can have it. All who deal here, from Ohio, as I have always understood from themselves, are treated fairly, honestly and honorably by the Philadelphia merchants.

If the western merchant wants money, to any amount, and can secure the payment of it, he can borrow it in Philadelphia. And should any one from the west, wish to begin the business of a merchant, without being very well acquainted, either with the prices or quality of goods, Philadelphia is the place for him to go to, in preference to any other in the world.

I can say further, that all among my acquaintances in Ohio, who have purchased their goods of the Philadelphia merchants—and have been in business ten years, are now wealthy and prosperous. Indeed, I never knew any debtor of the Philadelphia merchants, injured by them, in any wise whatever. They make hundreds rich—none poor.

This unbought, well merited testimony in favor of the mercantile men of this city, I pray them to accept, as a feeble tribute of respect, from one who knows them well, and duly appreciates their worthiness, as merchants and as men.

The artists of this city, in every branch of their pursuits, are known to excel all others on this continent. Several of the painters and engravers, I called to see, in their shops daily, all the time, I was in the city.

TANNER engraves the best maps in America, and Col. CHILDS, engraves every thing. CHILDS' views of different churches, public buildings, public places, and of the scenery along the Schuylkill, are done in a masterly manner, and these "views" will live, as long as Philadelphia exists, or the Schuylkill continues to flow. NEWSAM, who was picked up, in the streets, deaf and dumb, in company with an arch imposter, who was exhibiting him, for money stands at the head of the lithographical artists in the United States. Him the Philadelphians found in the streets, wandering off from Ohio, without father or mother, or a cent of property, and they have educated him in the Deaf and Dumb asylum. He is a monument, A LIVING MONUMENT of the benevolence of Philadelphia. This artist I called in to see at his labors, every day. He always was so polite, as to submit something to my judgment, and ask my opinion of it.

All the mechanics are the best in the world.

Manufactures are making rapid strides towards perfection. The porcelain manufactory and the manufactures of lead by the Wetherells, do honour to American genius, skill, talent and industry, and have already made those who carry them on, among the wealthiest men in the city.

The Wetherells, are as well learned, as well read, and as scientific too, as any men of their age in the world. They have travelled extensively, and have studied in Europe. The names of Wetherell, Morton and Griffith, Jaudon, Littell and forty others, of educated young men, no length of time, will obliterate from my memory and my heart.

The professors of the exact sciences, in this city, do honour to their professions. In the medical branches of science I need not say, the Philadelphians, are far ahead of any thing of the kind, on the American continent.

The Philadelphia lawyers, are proud samples of men in their highly honourable profession. While I was there, the courts were constantly in session, and although I asked no one



as to the comparative amount of each lawyer's business, yet from what I saw, and overheard among the crowd, about the Court house doors, I should say that of common cases, Chauncey and Horace Binney, had quite the most business. It was not difficult for me to learn, that they were beloved by every body, and confided in by all. These men, were dressed very plainly, and their whole exterior denoted men of great industry, profound thoughtfulness, and that they were hard students. They are said to be wealthy. I once thought of drawing their characters as lawyers, compared with the Ingersolls &c. but finally concluded to defer that task to a future day when I can hear them all at their bar, while I am sitting among the spectators and unknown to be there. As lawyers addressing a jury, I prefer Chauncey and Binney, to any I heard at Washington city. The energy, the warmth of heart, the zeal, the candour, the clearness of method and of style, so conspicuous in the oratory of a Philadelphia lawyer, I was not fortunate enough to witness, in the United States Supreme Court, at Washington City.

What shall I say of the Gardens about this city? They are the first in the world.

Of their schools? none can be better conducted, none more fully attended. Knowing the time they would be dismissed, I often occupied some station where I could see the children, when they left their schools, without my being noticed by them. Sometimes I purposely threw myself in their way. They were the neatest, most cleanly, most affectionate towards each other, especially towards the younger ones, the most healthful and happy children, I ever saw any where. To any question asked them, they always answered me, promptly, correctly, and in a respectful manner.

I did not see the infant school, having but a poor opinion of all the good, children can attain, by singing over the A. B. C. and about some monkey or baboon. It may be a very good place, to send nurses with the little children of a family, to get rid of their noise awhile, but all they learn there, I suspect is worse than to learn nothing.

The most frequented inns, in the city, are the Mansion House and the United States' Hotel; but, after calling in to see, nearly every inn, within the limits of the city, I

can recommend them all, and say, that in whatever part of the town, any western man's business happens to be, there he can put up, at a tavern, be kindly treated, and find his bill, a reasonable one, when he leaves it.

For myself, I prefer the quiet, of a private boarding house, and besides the one where I was made so happy, all the time, I resided at it, there are forty others, as good, as heart can even desire. The price of board varies, from eight, to fifteen dollars a week. To a western man, this charge may seem high, but when he considers what he receives for it, and what it costs the persons who furnish it, he will call it cheap, indeed. The difference between a Philadelphia and a Washington boarding house, consists in Philadelphia's always being at home, whereas, Washington is only at home, during a session of Congress. The foreign ministers and their suits, all go to Philadelphia in the summer, after the session is over.

Not a few other persons, who shine in every fashionable circle in Washington every winter, spend their summer in Philadelphia, and Chesnut street is thronged with them daily.

As to the persons who keep the fashionable boarding houses in both cities, I know no difference between them. They are persons of intelligence, possessing every sort of knowledge, enough to render them very agreeable and entertaining company, with whom, the best informed persons of both sexes, from any part of the world, can sit and converse, at any time, and be highly instructed and edified. None but well bred, civil and polite people, ever become inmates of these boarding houses, and those who keep them, and all of their families have caught their manners. I have been often entertained by them, and the accounts they gave me, of distinguished persons, who had lodged at their establishments, at different periods of time. As to myself, I was perfectly satisfied with every person, and thing about these houses, because, I was always made as happy as I could be, from home.

Treated as I always was, at these establishments, I became quite attached to the persons who kept them.

## General Character of the People of Philadelphia.

Were I to say, what I sincerely believe, beyond, even a shadow of a doubt, concerning this people, that they are the most moral—the most learned, the most scientific, the best read, the kindest, the most polite, the most hospitable, the most liberal in their opinions, the most benevolent—and at the same time, the best fed, clothed the best, and the happiest community of sixty five thousand persons living within so small a space, as Philadelphia proper, covers, I should say, the literal truth and nothing more; but, that I may be the means of transferring—of transplanting some of these trees of Paradise, so to speak, to the West, and especially to the soil of Ohio—but if the reader will not permit me, even to endeavor to do so much, then, I will endeavor, in as few words, as possible, to tell my children, so dear to my heart, some particulars, relating to the people of Philadelphia, and I seriously recommend it to them to gravely consider, what I am about to say, for their benefit, in after life, and I pray them to study the character of a people, whose example, I wish them to follow.

In the first place, the Philadelphians, are the most moral people in the world. Moral principle, is the great fountain, from which, so many streams of felicity descend, branching out, as they run, into countless rills, fertilizing and adorning the whole field of human life.

No matter what honest calling, any man may follow for a living, so long as he conducts himself honestly, and honorably in it, is industrious and economical (if he be poor.) is attentive to his business, unless it be overdone, as professional business truly is, upright in all his dealings, moral in his habits, performing all his duties to himself, his family, his friends and the world; he will be sustained in his business, assisted in adversity, (if necessary,) and all his interests will be advanced; But, if on a careful, patient, and righteous scrutiny into his conduct, it is clearly ascertained, beyond a doubt, that he is, either dishonest, lazy, indolent, inatten-

tive to his business, immoral in his life, vicious in his habits, or is wicked of heart—THAT MAN IS RUINED, forever, in Philadelphia, unless he repent and reform himself.

He may have an independent fortune, and live here, in defiance of the public scorn, if vicious, so as he violates no law of the land, but he cannot, and he will not, be encouraged, in his vicious career, by the citizens of Philadelphia. Such a man, may live here, and amass a fortune, as a certain quack doctor has done, but the citizens of this place, will not lend their aid, to the accomplishment of his dishonest purposes.

Strangers who come here, may do it, though, but the people here, will do all they legally can, to counteract an evil, beyond their *entire* control.

No mechanic, were he dishonest enough at heart, to wish to do so, dare cheat his customer, either in his work, or in the materials upon which, that labor is bestowed. He dare not promise to do work, by a particular time, merely to obtain the customer's patronage, and then, not perform his promise—but tell a hundred lies, to excuse and cover his guilt. Once guilty of such a trick, and from the time it is fairly proved against him, he may shut up his shop, and remove from Philadelphia, because, to the longest day he lives, unless he remunerates the injured party, and reforms himself, his business is ruined here, forever.

There is, there certainly must be, I think, (because no one told me there was one,) a secret police, that watches every person, and every action, in the place. When I landed in the city, I rode in a hack, from the wharf, to the United States' Hotel, and on inquiring of the driver, on the steps of the inn, what he charged me, for riding in his carriage, he said "one dollar," which I paid, and made no complaint, either then or afterwards, of the charge, though I thought it a high one. Next forenoon, that man, came to me, out of breath, and at his wit's end, almost, informing me, "that he was the person, who had conveyed me to the inn, and begged of me, to take back, one half of what he had taken, for my riding in his carriage, otherwise, he said, he was ruined, because his license would be taken from him, instantly!" A person may give away, as much money as he pleases, because that is his own matter, but if there be

any fraud or imposition used to defraud any one, the impostor and swindler is instantly ruined with the whole people.

From the operation of moral causes, I have no doubt, that if any stranger should go into Philadelphia; for instance, to purchase a store of goods, who knew no one in the city, and if he were entirely ignorant of the quality and value of the goods; yet by making his case fully known, to any man, almost, in the city, of respectable standing in society, he would soon find around him, men, who would see that he was not wronged in any way, either in the quality, quantity or price of the goods purchased.

And let any man, be his business what it may, provided it be honest, laudable and correct, come to this city, and need aid in it, to get it accomplished, he would have that aid spontaneously, and without fee or reward, tendered to him. I mean not, legal and medical aid, where the applicant was able to pay for it, but if not able, even that, would be given to him gratis.

I have said, this people are moral and religious, and a remark or two, on their morality is all I can find space in my book for—but I can say, as to their temperance, in not drinking to excess, that during five weeks, I traversed this city, through every street and alley in it, during the whole day; and as I passed along, stopping in very often, every where almost, in the city, I never saw during that time, but three intoxicated persons. One was a lunatic, in the street, who was instantly taken up and placed in the asylum for such persons. Of the other two, one was a male, and the other a female, who did not belong to the city. The man, after I saw him in the street, was not permitted to go four rods, before he was arrested and carried off by the police, out of my sight, and I never saw him again. The woman, on account of the delicacy felt for her sex, got nearly twenty rods, along the street, when she was arrested, and carried off, and never appeared in the street again. I took special notice of these instances, because I had heard so much, of the vigilance of the police, in such cases.

There may be vice, in the city, there must be indeed, among sixty-five thousand people, but it is not seen in public, otherwise, I certainly should have seen it, somewhere.

The criminal court was in session while I was there, and there were several criminal cases, on the docket. I was particularly careful to examine into the nature of the offences charged, and the parts of the city, where laid to have been committed. They were committed in the outskirts of the city, and the principal affair, was a riot. It appeared that a captain of militia had been training his company in the street, annoying the people in the vicinity, with his drumming and noise; and they had chased him out of their way, very righteously, I thought, and little or no harm was done on the occasion, to any body. Those found guilty were fined, a trifle, each.

Though the Friends or Quakers, now compose about one twelfth portion of the whole population, yet their spirit, still animates this community to a considerable degree, and they think not very highly of militia officers.

They are not a quarrelsome people, certainly, because, during all my stay there, I never heard even one angry word, from any human being, except from the drunkards before alluded to.

They are not a litigious people, because, in almost any small county, in one of our new states, west of Ohio, there are probably, more law-suits of a litigious character, in any three months, than there are in Philadelphia, in a whole year.

The crimes committed there, are committed by villains, who prowl about, for plunder, visiting, in turn, almost every Atlantic city, whenever they wander off from their real home, the city of New-York. Indeed, I heard it every where asserted, that under the name of private military schools, located in New Hampshire, New York, &c. the arts of robbing, house-breaking, &c. were taught. From several facts, I suspect it is so.

The state of the intercourse between the sexes, is as pure, as holy wedlock can make it, and I never saw an indecent act, or gesture, nor heard an immodest expression, while I was in the city.

I never heard, during the whole time, either, a profane oath uttered, by any person.

All I have to say, of the female character, in this city, is, that to me, it appeared to be perfect, in all the relations

of life. I know of no imperfections in them, as mothers, as sisters, wives, or friends. Their forms are perfect, and their minds are more highly cultivated, than any I ever became acquainted with, any where else. Without one particle of squeamishness about them, there is something about them, so sober, so modest, so unaffected, moral, and good, like an ethereal spirit, hovering around them, that no pen, and no tongue can describe them. I had heard of them all my life time, as being superior to all others, of their sex, but on seeing them, and conversing with them, I discovered, at once, that I had never formed as exalted an opinion of them, as they truly merited.

More pains are taken to educate them, here, than in any other place, ever visited by me. In every conversation I ever had with any of them, whether old or young, I was constantly surprised, at their acquirements, their sagacity, good sense, good breeding, and the entire, and perfect propriety of all they said, and of all their actions; of every look, of every gesture they made, and of every thought, that entered into their minds. That heart must be one of pure adamant, which they could not melt into a liquid mass.

Nearly, I believe, quite every family, which I visited, employed private instructors for their children, and every house, was indeed, a school house, several hours, every day. So much care, labor and attention, bestowed constantly, with the view to prepare the mind and body, for future usefulness, are rarely seen, among any other people, in the world.

The Philadelphians, have studied Natural History, more than any other people. This knowledge exhibits to us, the operations of infinite wisdom, goodness and power—soothes the mind, into tranquility and peace—checks the aspirations of unholy ambition—promotes cheerfulness—drives away the mists of error, ignorance and superstition, and tends strongly to place man, where he was designed to be, at the head of the creation.

This fair city contains the ashes of many, who, from the humblest origin, and with the humblest means, by their own industry, zeal, perseverance, enterprize and energy, encouraged as they were, by this people, raised themselves

to the very summits of science, learning, wealth and power. To a mind determined to succeed, in Philadelphia, there is no Alps, which cannot here be climbed, to its very highest peak.

The younger professional men, all complained to me, that, they found it very difficult to get into business enough, more, than to support them. To them, I would say, cross the Alleghanies, and locate yourselves in the valley of the Mississippi. There is room enough, for you all here. You will be missionaries, among us, of science, of learning, of good breeding, spreading all around you, correct moral and political principles, and diffusing happiness—in fine, you will plant trees of Paradise, that will grow, flourish, bloom and bear fruit, in this vale, forever. Come along—hasten your footsteps into the West. Welcome—thrice welcome into the delightful regions of the West.

The kindness, politeness and hospitality of the Philadelphians, are extended to all, who visit their city, and I was treated by them, precisely as they treated every other decent stranger, then in the city. I went there, exactly as I always do, to Baltimore, or to any other city, without one particle of lofty pretension or parade—was still, unostentatious and in as plain a dress, as I wear at home. I advanced no claims to any great attention, respect or confidence. I carried no recommendation, of any sort, but my own, plain, unostentatious self. I stopped near the centre of the city though, as I always do, when I travel, and sought only to become acquainted with the innocent and virtuous persons of both sexes, who treated me, exactly as they do all others, who visit the city, as I did. The same persons who treated me so kindly, treat all others, similarly situated, in the same way.

Though I became intimately acquainted with a great many families, besides the Biddles, Dr. Chapman's &c. (at whose houses, I attended Wistar parties,) yet I had never seen them, until I went to the city; and in five minutes, after I was introduced to them, I felt as if I had been acquainted with them, all my life time.

I take the liberty of presenting to the reader, a few remarks upon ROBERT WALSH, Esq. Being a professed author, and in that way, a public man, he must not com-



plain, if I say something of one, who is a kind of public property.

Mr. Walsh, is well known, as an author, to all my readers. He is a man of the common size, and he must be somewhat more than forty years of age, and is, I believe, a widower. Though educated and brought up in the Catholic religion, yet he is liberal in his opinions and feelings towards all other christian sects, as any one need be.

Living in affluence, his life is one of regularity, itself. After breakfast, he studies until three in the afternoon, when he dines, with his large and most interesting family, and such friends as happen to be at his house. Soon after I visited him, on my very first day's visit to the city, he kindly invited me, to dine with him every day, while I remained in the city, of which invitation, I often availed myself. His children, are several of them, most accomplished young ladies and gentlemen, and every way prepared to shine, not only, in the social circle, and continue to be a source of happiness to their father and friends; but to become ornaments of human nature, in the several walks of life.

The life of a scholar, generally affords less happiness, than any other. To any one devoted wholly to the cultivation of letters; who labors, many times, until soul and body are worn out, exhausted and ready to sink under their load; relaxation, amusement, gentle exercise, and agreeable society are absolutely necessary. Mr. Walsh finds all these things, under his own roof, in the society too, of his own innocent, well informed, well bred and accomplished sons and daughters.

After amusing himself, in this little, innocent and happy circle, during two or three hours, he and they go to their studies again—or, sometimes he goes to the Wistar party—to the Philosophical society, or to some other place, where the literati of the city are assembled. Thus his days pass off, as regularly, as any one's can do.

I particularly looked into his mode of living, with a view, to follow, so far as I could, a path, which has led to: such acquirements, as his.

The waywardness and eccentricity of genius, are pro

verbial, and the reason is found, I suspect, in the want of proper and agreeable company, in hours devoted to relaxation. Not wanting this company, makes Mr. Walsh, what he is, happy, though a hard student—whose life is regularity itself, though he is a man, of great genius. As I watched him narrowly for my own benefit, so I tell others, how he lives, that they may profit by it.

During his studying hours, no female's cap, is every few minutes, thrust into his room, and no broom or brush raises a dust under his nose, either to drive him away from his labours, or to suffocate him.

Mr. Walsh's happiness, is truly his own—he has so educated his sons and his daughters, as to make them a constant source of happiness to him. Long may he and they live, to enjoy the society, the friendship, and affection, they now do, of each other—be happy themselves and make all happy about them.

“The Indian man” (as the youngest, the darling little son, always called me, when he ran from room to room, to assemble them all, in the parlor, to receive me,) will call to see them all again, in the same parlour. The picture of a horse, which my young friend gave me, on parting, was stolen from me, on board of the Charles Carroll of Carrollton.

I have said, the waywardness of genius is proverbial, but I suspect, the cause may be found, in most of the men, who possess that high gift of Heaven, having been, either unmarried, or they have been married to women, who did not possess the faculty of soothing a mind, worn down, by the severest of all labour, which is mental. Sleepless nights, want of bodily exercise, inattention to diet, taken at the proper times too, a total abstraction from every thing else in the universe, except the subject, on which the mind is deeply, constantly and for a long time employed, prostrate the bodily powers, and melt down the mind into a liquid mass. Then it is, in the power of the grasshopper, almost, by its weight, to crush the sufferer to the earth.

So circumstanced, there is nothing so soothing to the mind, so renovating to the soul, as the sight of innocent children, at their innocent sports. I have sat for hours,

after such toil exhilarated into mental life again; always, when at home, and at Mr. Walsh's, when in that city. The author, who has children, should train them, as Mr. Walsh has his, and thus render happy himself and them. These innocent amusements, prepare the parent and the child, for further labours, both of body and mind.

Next to the sight of innocent children at their innocent plays, is the sight of the landscape, diversified by the works of nature and of art.

Surrounded as he is, every moment in Philadelphia, no author has any excuse for not writing any thing he pleases, so as to immortalize his name.

It was in that city, without putting pen upon paper, this little volume was planned—and without consulting any one about it, or informing even one human being what I was studying.

If there be in it, any vivacity, it was caught from the young men there—and if there be any thing wise, I caught it, in the society of the Wistar party, at the mansions of Vaux, Biddle, Chapman, Walsh, and Mease, and in the company of Vaughan, Duponceau, Rawle, and a long list of names, which their modesty, only, prevents my presenting to my friends. Could I have written my book, in their city, it would have lived, a long time—as it is, unless revised there, it must sink, I fear, into forgetfulness.

Growing among these trees of Paradise, metaphorically speaking, I found two individuals, in this garden, of the genuine *bohon upas* species—a clergyman and a quack doctor; their fame had reached me in Ohio, and I here carefully informed myself, as to their true histories, as I had determined to do, before I left home.

While sitting at my boarding house, in conversation with several truly pious people, a newspaper carrier, threw into our room, a religious paper, edited by the very parson, whose true character, I so earnestly desired to learn. It was left, for a lady then in the room. Instantly I seized this sheet, and on turning to the editorial head, I read a libel on the Catholics, in the United States, expressed in language so beastly—immodest, and so scandalously false, that I instantly tossed it from me, as I would

a rattle-snake, or a scorpion, had it fallen into my hands. My very blood ran cold through my whole system, and I shuddered with horror, at the ideas produced in my mind. The language used, was too scandalous to be placed in my book, and I feel a chilliness in my veins, on remembering it, even now.

As soon as the laugh had passed off, which my treatment of this scandalous paper, created; I carefully questioned the supporter of it, about the miserable wretch, who was its editor. From this lady and others, then and there assembled, I was informed, that this Doctor of Divinity, though, meagre and gaunt, as any wolf ever was, had married an orphan girl, who, and a younger sister, [whose guardian he was,] possessed an immense fortune, of nearly a million dollars;—that, on taking possession of this property, he became, as independent in his feelings, as he was in fortune—and, that he cared not whose feelings he wounded, or whom he pleased. It appeared too, that when the freak came over him, he could be charitable, educating several poor young men, for the ministry, one of whom, he had recently, I well knew, led into such erroneous and improper conduct, towards several of his church members, that he had been dismissed from his church. It appeared too, that he had contrived, by wringing out confidential secrets of some church members, and then instantly revealing these secrets, to create enmities that would endure as long as the injured parties lived.

His common, every-day conversation, was as imprudent, false, libellous and malignant, as his editorial matter. Austere, sour, vain, hollow hearted, deceitful, ambitious and designing, he had openly broached the idea, that the millenium was about to commence, when all earthly government, would be in the hands of the church! As a beginning of this ghastly, ghostly, priestly millenium, he advocated an union of all the churches, of all the sects, and in that way, through the elections, engross all the offices, civil, naval and military in the nation.

Having so far succeeded, and should there be any opposition to this state of things, an army would be raised, and the "GREAT BATTLE OF THE LORD" would be fought, and one third of the whole human race be slain, in mortal

combat! As preparatory steps, the Sunday mails, were to be stopped by Congress, and the people urged, under various pretexts, to elect, no man, who would not blindly, earnestly and devoutly enter into these views. If the present generation would not fully accomplish all these things, the Sunday schools were to train up the next one, for that purpose, by suffering them to learn nothing useful to them in this life, and in the meantime, undervalue this world, and instil into them a religious frenzy. His intended operations were to be carried into the valley of the Mississippi, and there consummated. His plan too, I learned, embraced the idea, that he was to be at the head of the government, within a few years! Such is a brief outline of this learned doctor's views and intentions.

I learned also, that when he travelled about the country, as he often did, he took care, to enter, on tavern registers, in addition to his proper name, and place of abode, "D. D.," and under the head of *destination*," the kingdom of heaven." No, reverend and learned doctor, you are not travelling there. Jesus, himself has told us, that *his kingdom is not of this world.*" By their fruits we are to know his followers—they are meek and lowly of heart—they slander no one—they break up no churches—they spread no mischiefs through their neighborhoods—tell no tales;—tell no lies—call no hard names—stir up no strifes—create no heart burnings—divulge no confidential secrets—burst no bands of friendship, and convulse no community, by intermeddling with what is not their business. They pull down no earthly government. As a man, Jesus loved his nation, then enslaved by the Roman Empire, but neither he, nor his disciples opposed it, but honoured Cæsar, obeyed all the laws of the land, and taught others to do so. The history of those times, when the church assumed the reins of civil government, is written in letters of human blood. While man remains what he is, and what God intended him to be, and so formed him, that he never can be any thing but what he is, priests of any sort, are the last men of the world to be civil rulers, and religion, is the very last thing, to be in any wise connected with civil government. It may be religion, but it is not, it never can be, the Christian Religion, but exactly the reverse.

The great Author of Christianity, went about doing good to mankind.

He never delivered, in his life time, but one sermon, and the only time he spent in any prayer, that was overheard, even by his disciples, was just before his death, and in the near view of his approaching dissolution. He condemned, in severe terms, long prayers, as heathenish. In his own expressive language, "His yoke is easy, and his burden light."

His own bright example too, throws a strong and enduring light, on the christian's path. Wherever he went, he healed the sick, fed the hungry, restored the lame to the full use of their limbs, and the lunatic to the right use of his reason; cleansed the leper, gave the dumb his speech, made the deaf hear, and opened the blind man's eyes.

He did all these things, without ostentation, and without reward. He courted no popular favor, and exacted no tythes

He was always kind to the female sex, and caressed and loved, their innocent children, "for of such," he has told us, "is the kingdom of heaven." Though he neither hated, nor shunned the rich, yet he best loved the poor, the unfortunate and the afflicted, either in body or mind.

In relieving human misery, many times brought on, by vicious habits, no doubt, he never inquired how induced, but promptly and cheerfully relieved it, whenever and wherever he found it.

Such as had, through human frailty, erred from the path of rectitude, he cheerfully forgave, when penitent, telling them, "to go, and sin no more."

I am aware, how imperfect, is this outline, and I aim at neither eloquence, nor fine writing; but so far as it goes, I feel assured of its entire correctness—and it is quite sufficient for my purpose, which is to prove that the reverend divine, in Philadelphia, is as far from pure and undefiled christianity, as hell is from heaven. He may be fiendlike, but not godlike, he may have piety, but not christian piety—he may have malevolence, but not charity;—he may be a mischief maker; but not a peace-maker—he may be a pest, but not a blessing to mankind. I repeat it, reverend doctor, your destination, is not heaven, and even if now there, the same

fiendlike passions, whose dominion you are under, would create a hell all around you.

The blasphemous language you now use, and the scandalous epithets you unsparingly apply, to whole sects of christians, show the blackness of your own heart. While such men as Robert Walsh, Daponceau, and hundreds, nay thousands whom I well know, belong to the Catholic church, your abuse of them, goes for nothing with me.

Their lives are as pure, as moral, as pious and as good, as any man's in the nation. Kind, friendly, generous, liberal and charitable, they are ornaments, not only to christianity, but to human nature itself. Their prayers are as pure, their purposes as good, their hearts as sincere, their lives as blameless, and their devotion as acceptable to God; as any men can offer, in this nation.

The name of this wretched divine, I consign to the same OBLIVION, where those of the Bucktail Bachelor, and the Old Maid of the Wisconsin, are gone before him. For the honour of human nature, there may all their names, remain forever.

There is a quack doctor too, in this city, without one particle of real medical skill, science or learning, but who has made, and is making, an independent fortune by his quackery.

The truth is, Philadelphia being so good, so honest and so moral a city—the regular doctors of medicine, being so excellent, and who have established so good a reputation, for the city doctors, all over the world, that ignorant quacks, because living in this city, by their lofty pretensions, impose on people at a distance, and so make fortunes.

I am tearful, that the same remarks, might be applied to a few, lofty pretenders to religion and piety. At all events, I was told, and I believe it, that one man, has made forty thousand dollars, who was not, when he began his pious career, worth a cent, by the Sunday School Union business!!!

There is another evil, in this city. While the honest, industrious portion of this community, are attending to their own honest callings for a living, there is a set of intriguing politicians, always plotting, and managing, how they may get into office.

The honest portion of the community, are taken by sur-

prise, out-witted and put in the minority, by the constant drilling of worthless partisans. In time, such men, as Dr. Hare, and thousands like him, get discouraged---consider their votes worth nothing---stay at home, from the elections, and persons, not the fittest for office, get into them and govern the community.

There is one consolation, at least, in such a case---the office confers no honor, and, the holder of it, is treated with the contempt, he deserves to be.

Imperfect, as this view, of the people of this city certainly is, yet, so far as it goes, I feel assured of its correctness.

And that I may conclude, my remarks, or as a lawyer would say, sum up the evidence: The people of the city, need not fear the loss of their trade, with the West, so long as their merchants, conduct themselves, as they now do, with honour, fairness and liberality. Their trade with us in the West, will grow up with us.

While the American Philosophical Society, the Academy of Natural Sciences, the Atheneum, the Franklin Library, the Academy of Fine Arts, the University of Pennsylvania, the Medical College, the Asylum of the Deaf and Dumb, and the Hospital, are conducted as they now are: while the youth of both sexes are trained up as they now are, in the ways of industry, knowledge and virtue---while all their schools of every kind, send forth streams of useful knowledge; while this community continues to be, as it certainly is at this moment, more liberal in sentiment, more literary, more moral, more intellectual, than any other people dwelling on so small a spot of earth, in the world; no fears need be entertained for the perpetuity of their prosperity and their happiness. Their own Delaware and Schuylkill may cease to flow and dry up, but so long as this people cultivate every thing calculated to dignify, adorn, enoble and sanctify human nature, the sources of their prosperity, happiness and true glory will never fail.

That the people of this city, may continue their present career, and their city continue to be the head quarters, of science, art, morals, virtue and patriotism to the end of time, is the sincere and fervent prayer of him, whose pen writes these lines.



Having tarried in this city, five weeks, I returned to Washington city, where I arrived, on the twentieth day of November, 1829. I traveled this distance, in twenty-four hours, leaving Philadelphia at noon, one day, and arriving at Washington, at the same hour, next day.

I traveled in company with many members of Congress, and others, who were going to spend their time and money, in the coming, gay and giddy season, in this District.

On the Saturday before the session of Congress commenced, it was ascertained, that a quorum of both houses, was in attendance, and I saw, all the preparatory steps taken, to organize both of them.

The evening before the session commenced, the door-keeper of the Senate, waited on me, and delivered to me, the cards of thirteen Senators, accompanied by the request, that I would attend on that Body, at 9 o'clock A. M., at their chamber, to be introduced to every Senator not already known to me. This, I was assured, was the wish of every Senator, whose card was not sent. It was their wish, to hear any explanations I might feel a wish to make, in relation to the treaties. At the appointed hour, I attended at the Senate chamber, and was introduced by Messrs. Rugles and Burnet, Senators from Ohio, to such members as I was a stranger to. I was present at the opening of the session, and saw the Senate organized, by electing their officers, and by swearing in the newly elected members, Messrs. Froup of Georgia, and Grundy of Tennessee.

I had heard of this Body, all my life time, as being the wisest legislative assembly in the world, and I found it, all that I expected, and even much more. Circumstanced as I was, alone, before the Senate, to explain to them, every thing relating to our treaties, I felt a kind of awe, an uneasiness, and a dread, when I thought of approaching such a venerable and august Body, but their cards of invitation cheered me, and on being presented to them, the manner in which they received me, their kindness, politeness and attention, swept away, instantly, from my mind, every disagreeable emotion, and they seemed more like old friends, than strangers.

They treat all in the same manner, who come before them. No person ever appears before the Senate, without going away from them, a warm friend to them.

The committee being elected, to whom our treaties were to be referred, I was invited by their chairman, and indeed, by every member of the committee, to attend their meetings, twice a week, at their room—at their lodgings, and every day, at 9 o'clock A. M. in the Senate chamber.

All these facilities were afforded me, in order to expedite my business, as much as possible, and dismiss me, as soon as they could.

I availed myself, daily of these opportunities, and on the —— day of December, 1829, both these treaties were ratified by the unanimous vote of the Senate. The President approved of them, instantly.

Considering the vast addition, the possession and ownership of such a large and valuable tract of land would be to the Western States, I had some fears of Eastern opposition to these treaties—but none appeared. I was a little fearful of opposition, from the slave-holding states, but Gov. Troup, one of the committee, said, “The South asks nothing but what belongs to her—let the Union, be filled up, with people, and then we will see what this nation will be.

“We wish not to procrastinate that period, a day, nor even an hour.”

Gov. Troup is one of the most interesting men, I ever saw, and for great and varied learning, of all sorts, he has few equals any where. His manners are as polished, as they can be, and he excels any man, almost, I ever saw, in conversational powers. Every word, as it falls from him, might go to the press, and it would appear extremely well.

Our treaties having passed the ordeal of the Senate, the President sent them to the House of Representatives, for an appropriation, to cover their expense.

I explained, in a few words, to Mr. M'Duffie, every thing, and he brought in a bill for that purpose.

MR. M'DUFFIE, is not generally considered to be, exactly as he is, one of the coolest, clearest headed men, in the nation. His report on the United States' Bank, is in exactly such language, as he uses at the fire side. He

writes as easily as he converses, and no more clearness and coolness are found in any man's style of writing, speaking, and acting. Indeed, his manner is rather cold and reserved. On the very first day of his appearance at Gadsby's, where we both resided, nearly two months, I presented myself to him, and was received by him, as he receives every one. I thought, from his manner, that he was unfriendly to me, which his lady discovering, from my looks, put me right, by telling me, in her most agreeable way, that, "however cold he might appear, he had as warm and as kind a heart, as ever beat in any bosom," and so I always found him. For his age, about forty years old, I presume, I doubt, whether he has many equals, as to real talent, in the nation—a superior, I feel assured he has not. His amiable, and most accomplished lady is no more. She was the pride of her native state, South Carolina, and after her arrival, in the city, every citizen of that state, whom I knew, and they were many, inquired my opinion of her. She was beloved by all, as a good woman, and a pure intelligence. Two purer minds, better hearts, or clearer heads, never were joined in matrimony—but she is gone, to receive her reward, for a well spent life. She joined with no party, to persecute any innocent female.

My official life having closed, on the ratification of the treaties, I naturally enough concluded to spend a few weeks, where I was, surrounded by a great number of persons, citizens and others, from whom, I had received so many marks of attention and kindness. Indeed, during all the time I was in the city, I was treated with uniform kindness and hospitality by the citizens of the District of Columbia. All the men in office, (with the exceptions hereafter to be made) behaved, at all times and in all places, with the utmost propriety. The professional men, the lawyers, the doctors and the clergymen, and every one of their families are as good, as virtuous, and as moral as any people in the world can be. The same remarks may be applied too, to the merchants, principal mechanics and all the men of business in the city. At first, a stranger, many times gets a prejudice against the whole city, without becoming acquainted with the fifteen thousand virtuous and good people always in this city!

The seat of government, has thrown upon the good people here, a worthless class of people, who live by their vices in the winter, and, then have to be supported by the virtuous people here, during the summer, and autumnal months, or they would perish. The latter, beset the stranger, whom they know, in a moment, by his very independent air, if he be a Western man—they beg or they steal from him, and he goes home, execrating the city of Washington. A perfect knowledge of all the facts in the case, corrects the first, often erroneous impression, and the Western man learns whom to pity, to forgive and avoid, but to hate no one here.

For hospitality, all things considered, the good people here, excel all others, among whom, I have so long resided as a stranger.

When I left the city, I had lying on my table, invitations to visit families, enough to have occupied me until the succeeding June. These invitations were not merely ceremonious ones, but real ones, from persons, whom I really esteemed. It was unnecessary for the President, to solemnly caution me, against carrying away a single unkind feeling towards the city, because I felt, as he wished me to, all the kindness and attention, of which I had always been the object, during every hour, I was there. Though in thus cautioning me, he very naturally supposed, that, I had not become, acquainted, as I had, with all the good people here. I felt then, and do still, the full force of all the kindness, I had received from the people of Washington. During all the time I was in the city, I had been pleased with every person, with whom I had to transact any business, either public or private.

There were but three, most memorable men, and their adherents, who formed a most prominent exception to the general rule. They assailed me, in every form, to prejudice my mind against the President, Secretary of War, and some others—not succeeding in their onset, they cast their darts at me, which, as they fell harmless at my feet, I returned with a force, they felt, and still feel. But, I war, no longer, with men, whom Cowper's hare TRIXEV, by stamping with his fore paws, and looking surly at them, would have driven into spasms and fits of desperation.

Spending my time, in attending the parties, which occupy this season, I can spare room, for an account of only one—the first levee, under Gen. Jackson's administration—and a most splendid one it was. It occurred on Thursday, January 10, 1830, and opened at five o'clock P. M. in the round room. The President, the Secretary of State—Secretary of the Navy—of War—of the Treasury—Post Master General—the Chief Clerks—heads of Bureaus—the officers of the Navy and Army of the United States, were in attendance at an early hour.

Commodore Rogers was there, dressed as plainly as any simple citizen, easy in his manners and unassuming. The lieutenants and midshipmen, made all the display they could. In the same way, the officers of the army appeared. The Secretary of War, and all his family were dressed in the neatest but plainest manner. The Secretary's lady, whose person is symmetry itself, neither needed nor wore any thing, but plain American calico for a dress, without a ruffle or a single ornament, on her person. Her appearance, bespoke a reliance on her own native beauty, and her accomplishments, nor, was her reliance misplaced; for no sooner had she taken her place, near the President's family, than all the beauty and fashion in the room, gathered around her, to do her honour. The President received the attentions of his friends and foes, with the same ease and condescension—so did his family. During five long hours, they stood, almost without moving from their places on the floor, shaking hands with those who had just entered the room, or were about to retire from it.

Whether dressed in rags, or covered with diamonds—whether blooming with youth and beauty or decayed with age and withered with wrinkles, all who approached the President and his interesting family, were received with the same kindness and attention. They were warmly welcomed when they arrived, and thanked for their visit when they retired. Mrs. Donelson and Miss Easton, of the President's family, like Mrs. Eaton, were dressed in American calico, and wore no ruffles, and no ornaments of any sort. They did not need any, as nature and a refined education had lavished on them, all the ornaments, beautiful and accomplished women need.

Their whole conduct deserved great praise, and they received it, from all present. They affected no superiority—showed no pride, and from their behaviour, no one would have supposed that they belonged to the family of a chief magistrate of a great nation. Their honours sat so easy on them, that they seemed not to know it. Not a word, not a look, not a gesture revealed to any one, the superiority of station occupied by them in society. This perfect good breeding, had been taught them from their earliest infancy, both by precept and example, by their aunt, the good, the amiable and the ever to be lamented, Mrs. Jackson. Those precepts, and that bright example, were not—and never will be lost, on her nieces, who do honour to their stations and their sex. The ladies of Tennessee have always been praised for their beauty, which is fully sustained by their perfect good breeding, and polite accomplishments. As a Western man, I confess, I could not help feeling proud, that they were born, and wholly educated in the West.

The gentlemen, were all dressed alike, but our Western ladies, unanimously, dressed in plain American calico, without an ornament, upon their persons. The simplicity of their dress, their unaffected manners, their neatness, their ease, grace and dignity, carried all before them, like an electric shock. The diamonds sparkled in vain, at that levee, and Western unadorned neatness, modesty and beauty bore off the palm, with ease.

Our Western ladies had felt some uneasiness before the levee, about the result, but their friends of the other sex, assured them, correctly enough, that republican simplicity would triumph over all the crosses and diamonds that the East would bring into the field.

No time and no circumstances can ever efface that night from my memory. It was a splendid triumph, for the valley of the Mississippi—and it was then and there—at that levee, that Livingston, Woodbury, M'Lane and Cass, were, in reality, appointed to office. One yet lingers, but the same man is President, who then, bowed before the public voice—in part—as yet, but the same voice, louder than thunder calls on him still, to obey, and, he will obey—yes, he will obey the solemn demand of his friends, and

give the nation a new cabinet, entire, and cleanse out the Augean stable, at his very door. Gen. Jackson owes it to himself—to his friends and to the nation. Every step he takes, in this momentous business, will be hailed—will be applauded, and he will be cheered by millions now—millions hereafter, if he proceed on, in the path marked out for him, by his beloved country. We want an entire cabinet of competent men, who will move forward in an elevated course, disregarding all party names, in favour of talents and patriotism.

The splendors of a government, in the hands of the people of the West, begin to dawn on the nation, when such men as WEBSTER will be placed in power—when talent will pass for its real value, any where, and Gen. Jackson, is the very man, who can, and who dare, set an example, which the petty politicians—the mere meteors, without light, except for a moment, cannot disturb, more than the flash of the ignis fatuus can stop, or change the course of the sun, in the heavens. The time is at hand, and now is, when the musty bar-room—noisy—nasty politician, will be unheeded out of his sty, and all the prominent appointments will be given to talent, worth and patriotism. No matter, with what opprobrious epithets, the frequenters of doggeries may have branded him: Even, if the waywardness of genius in his younger days, may have led him into some errors of opinion for a moment. Age cures those errors and Webster is now a wise man—and New England loves her darling son. Beware Mr. Webster!

Gen. Jackson, who rose by the force of his own genius, is not insensible to the rays of light, steadily shed, for half a century, by a fixed star, of the first magnitude, in the constellation, called New England.

But, I am wandering among the stars—in order to give the reader a correct idea of the various topics of conversation in Washington, about the end of December, 1829, the following dialogue, is introduced. The persons not only bring forward ideas peculiar to the people of the section of country to which they belong, but the very words, are used, which several persons did use, in their daily conversations.

## Dialogue in Gadsby's Common Room.

A NEW YORKER, addressing himself to a Tennessean, and a warm friend of the President, said, "Well, Sir, what think you now sir, of your old Hickory, our grape vine, has wound itself, around, and around your tree, until its bark is covered by the stock of the vine, so that it is kept in its place, and prevented from falling off—the vine has ascended, until its leaves overspread the utmost boughs of the hickory, and no leaves but vine leaves, are seen.

TENNESSEAN. It is true, your vine, as you call it, has taken root, and grown up, under our hickory tree, and has crept up, to the top of our tree; but, we do not agree as to the species of your vine—we call it a poison vine, not a grape vine.

NEW YORKER. Well sir, call our vine what you please, it has so entwined itself around your tree, from the ground to the highest bough, that, with every breath of air, that stirs a limb, the hickory nuts are rubbed off, and we stand ready to catch every one of them, as soon as they touch the ground.

TENNESSEAN. Some animals thrive upon mast, but corn fed pork is generally esteemed the best, among us.

NEW YORKER. Why sir, you are rather rough upon us, but let me tell you, Matty'l fix'em, Matty'l fix'em.

TENNESSEAN. I do not know who you mean by "Matty," though I suppose you mean "Matty Clark."

NEW YORKER. No sir, I mean Martin Van Buren, the leader of the republican party.

TENNESSEAN. The republican party! why sir, have you any party in New York, except the republican party?

NEW YORKER. Oh yes sir, we have the republican party, or the Buck-tails, the Antimasonic party—the piety line of stages party—the working men's party—the Clay party—the old federal party—the Clinton party, and at least ten other parties.

TENNESSEAN. Why sir, your state must be a very factious one, and exactly such an one, that you can never expect to have a President from it.



NEW YORKER. Matty 'l fix 'em, Matty 'l fix 'em; our state is the most populous of any in the Union—it is the wealthiest in the Union—it has the most commerce, and we can do as we please, as to President—

PENNSYLVANIAN, TENNESSEAN, KENTUCKIAN, OHIOAN, VIRGINIAN, CAROLINIAN, all at once—Not exactly.

CITIZEN OF OHIO. At the last Presidential election, New York gave a majority of four votes in her electoral college, for Gen. Jackson, and little Rhode Island gave her four votes for Mr. Adams, and exactly balanced New York. Do you suppose, that the people of the United States will look for a President in a state, where factions exist such as you name?

The sober matron of fifty years, called the United States, when she wishes to marry a man, will hardly consent to marry into a family, that is continually quarelling among themselves, and with all the neighbors.

CAROLINIAN. Why sir, you do not mean South Carolina, I hope. We are opposed to paying duties, on goods imported into our state. Many families have gone to decay, of late years, in consequence of your Tariff. Once they were hospitality itself—they entertained every stranger, who came along, they sold their cotton crop to some New Yorker, for enough money, in hand, to take them up to New York, where they went; and there they received another part payment, which carried them to Ballston springs; where they soon needed another payment; and that one carried them to Niagara, where they got out of funds, but borrowed enough to take them to New York again, there they received the last cent due them, and they got home at last, with only one five dollar bill left, for their whole crop of last year. Oh, this abominable Tariff.

VERMONT. I do not wonder, that you, in Carolina, are going to decay, if you spend all you earn abroad. As well might a farm be expected to increase in fertility, on which tobacco is raised, and have no manure spread over the soil, every year. Absentee landlords will ruin any country.

SOUTH CAROLINIAN. Why sir, such is the destructive nature of this miserable Tariff, that, many, who once were overseers, now own the farms and employ the sons of their former landlords as overseers.

VERMONT. Why sir, I can readily believe you, because if any man leaves his affairs to the management of others, without watching them every moment, the subaltern will soon become the principal, in any country, Tariff or no Tariff. The evils under which you lie, are too deep for legislation. Congress has no power to regulate any man's private affairs. Indeed, if your account be correct, and no one doubts it, should Congress collect no duties in your nullifying state, your situation would not be amended, because, your absentees, would in that case, have the more money to go upon, and it is as easy to spend ten thousand dollars in a year, as one thousand.

SOUTH CAROLINA MAN. We do not permit any man to interfere in our own private affairs.

VERMONT. We in the North, do not wish to interfere in your private affairs, and it is certainly for our interest, to have you, do as you now do—sell your produce to us in the North—get some of your pay in advance, of our agents, who are on the spot, to see how your crops are coming forward, minister to your immediate wants, take your crop, when it is ready for delivery, and pay you for it, as you need it, in the traveling season, and the New Yorkers, know how to fleece you of your money.

SOUTH CAROLINIAN. Yes, in the Western part of that State, when we arrive, at his house, the tavern-keeper stands in his bar, places the champaign, the Madeira, the rum, the gin, &c. on each side of him, he begins by turning his head first on one side, then on the other, with as hateful a look, as any black snake ever darted at his intended prey, commences, with his sirs, and silly affected airs, "Gentlemen you must be very much fatigued sirs." "Sirs, your journey has fatigued you sirs." Here is champaign, very good sirs—here is gin sirs, of the best quality sirs. "Sirs,"—by this time, we call for a glass, perhaps a bottle of something, to get rid of such hateful importunity. All the while, we are in his house, the sample I have given you, is a good one, of the treatment we get.

KENTUCKIAN. Why not come out into our country, and spend your time?

SOUTH CAROLINIAN. Why sir, we sell our crop to the Northern merchant, or Northern manufacturer and having

not received our full pay, we are a little fearful that unless well watched, the man who owes us, may fail, and we lose all that is due to us. We go up to New York, and we are told of the fascinations at the springs, and how cheap traveling is, in New York, and how cheap every thing is in that state, and we go forward to the springs, where we are imposed upon in every form, we get rid of our money in short order, and then get more. We are then told how cheap it is traveling Westward. We travel West, and if we travel, either by land or water, it costs us more than double, we expected, because we are cheated by every person, with whom we deal. If we travel in the stage, some excuse is made for charging double the rate of stage fare, their printed offers tell us. At some stage office, a slick creature gets into the stage, in the employ of the tavern-keepers, who calls liberally at every bar, for liquors, he never pays for, in order to get us to drink, and fleece us of our money. From the moment, we leave the city, until we return to it, tricks innumerable are practised upon us, of the same kind, though infinitely varied; and when we leave the state, we curse it, and never cease to curse it, as long as we live.

OHIOAN. Why not come out into Ohio? no landlord ever asks you to drink, unless he means to make no charge for what you drink.

KENTUCKIAN. So it is with us: and besides, our farmers and our planters entertain strangers, as you do in the South, and so far from charging you, any thing for what you receive from them, they would feel themselves quite hurt, should you offer any pay. Before our elections, in the summer, we are in the habit, of having barbecues, as we call them, where you would be invited to attend, and be made as happy as heart could desire. The dance, the song, the sprightly conversation---sometimes the public speeches, would entertain and delight you. Your money would be saved to you, your health preserved, and you would go home, with none but emotions the most agreeable, and you would never curse Kentucky.

TENNESSEAN. It is exactly so, in Tennessee, as it is in Kentucky.

MISSOURIAN. So it is in Missouri, and I wonder you do not visit us, instead of the Yankees of Western New York.

VERMONT. Interrupting him. Don't call them, Yankees, they are only Antimasons, and a motley group of rough Christians.

DIFFENDERFER, (A Buck's county man.) Ingham's wife, says she would not care so much about it, but Mrs. Eaton, was nothing at all, at all, when a young woman, but an Irishman's daughter, who kept a tavern, when her name was Margaret O'Neil. She need not raise her head so high, Mrs. Ingham says, because her husband is Secretary of de War, and such crowds, in coaches, call to see her every day. Why, says Mrs. Ingham, when we all rode, along, toder tay, to Kadsby's, Mrs. Eaton in her carriage, behind us all; out comes four hundred officers, gentleman's and ladies to welcome Mrs. Eaton, Mrs. Parry and Mrs. Tonelson, and not a soul, so much as said Pooh, to any of us! Oh! how mat, Mrs. Ingham was. Ingham's wife says, she will yet see the tay, when Mrs. Eaton will not stand close to de bresident at a levee, without a ruffle on her tress, or any ting on her head, but her peutiful hair, and have tousands bowing to her, and den passing right py Mrs. Ingham, without so much as seeing her black silk night cap, and her coarse home-made blue, woolen stockings, all de way, nearly up to her knees, so she won't.

Two pottles of vine, and de new suit spoiled! At dat rate, my husband taught, de six tousand tawlers, would soon pe-gone, slick enough.

O'HARRA. And is that the way, things are going on here? And how does Ingham think to turn about Pennsylvania, against Gen. Jackson?

DIFFENDERFER. Vy Ingham says, dare are dree local parties in Bennisylvania---one about Pittsburgh in de West ---a second about the centre of the State, in Buck's county and about it,---and a third, about Philadelphia. Dat dare are, de feteral barty, de anti-masons, and the Calhounites, besides the old democratic barty---dat, among all dese bartyes, he can get de vote of old Bennisylvania, for Calhoun.

O'HARRA. He may get the federal party in Buck's county, who are quakers, but no Irishman nor the son of an Irishman, will ever desert a true blooded Irishman, like Jack-

son. Pittsburg is true to the core—so is all the West—the center is true, and so is Philadelphia, and the East end of the State.

TENNESSEAN. Pennsylvania will never desert General Jackson. Ingham may conspire, Calhoun may praise up his “charming party,” the two bottles of wine may be burst, in the lottery office, near the stove-pipe, under Ingham’s cloak, or his new mole-skin suit, the cards may be shuffled and cut and dealt out and played in a corner—Calhoun may declare himself an anti-mason, to Phineas L. Tracy, Matty Clark may keep about him, his coffin-handbill relations, but old Hickory, is safe yet, and of that, I’ll bet a ROCK AS BIG AS MY FIST.

MASSACHUSETTS MAN. But, by gawly, pray tell us, how Gen. Jackson got himself into such difficulties, by surrounding himself by such miserable creatures for Secretaries? Why there appears to be neither talent, learning, good breeding, nor good sense among them. And they are all, except one, it seems; conspiring to overthrow him. *I guess, he had’nt ought, to have selected such men for his cabinet.*

TENNESSEAN. Why I will candidly tell you, sir, all about it. You know Mrs. Jackson died soon after the result of the election was known, and the General himself, was very unwell at the time. And you know too, that the General and his lady had lived about forty years together very happily, none more so, and they had no children. In such cases, the attachment between husband and wife is more ardent than where they have children left, for the bereaved heart to rest on. Gen. Jackson came down to the city, full of grief and out of health, and he felt very naturally, as if all the world was nothing to him. The eleventh hour men flocked around him by thousands, like vultures for their prey, and they forced upon the President, men like themselves, by every artifice, [such as Ingham used,] and having imposed upon the General, such unworthy creatures, all the rest, naturally followed after such a miserable cabinet, so formed.

Scarcely a real friend of the President came near him, out of real respect and kindness to him. When the General, began to do his business, in his office, he soon learned

how he had surrounded himself, and he must clear them out.

NEW YORKER. Matty 'll fix em, Matty 'll fix em.

TENNESSEAN. Nearly all the General's real friends, every where, wanted Livingston, for Secretary of State, because we knew him to be a real statesman, a true friend of the General's from the first, and every way worthy of the office. It is said, by some author, that there are but two ways of reaching the summits of power, either to crawl up like a serpent, or fly up like an eagle. Livingston is an eagle, and my New York friend here, seems to know something of one, who resembles the serpent.

We wanted M'Lane of Delaware, in the Treasury department, who is the most able financier, in the Union, Gallatin not excepted.

We wanted Woodbury for Secretary of the Navy. That office was due to the North and East, and no one could be better fitted for it, than the man who Woodbury 'all the past blunders, in the Naval Department, in the ocean of forgetfulness. This weak BRANCH of North Carolina pine, was unfit for a business, he knew nothing about, and no one scarcely wanted him, at all, but he fished about Nashville, during two years before the election, under the pretense of visiting his sister who lives about thirty miles from Gen. Jackson's farm, he published a speech as his, in the Senate, against confirming Clay's nomination, as Secretary of State, which we all know, was never delivered any where. By his arts and his intrigues, he united himself with a set of eleventh hour men, and finally, got into a place, the duties of which, he knows nothing about, and he must be put out of it, as soon as we can effect it.

We wanted Gov. Cass for Secretary of War, if Eaton did not wish to have it, and as soon as that can be decently done, it will be done. Gov. Cass is a man of handsome talents, extremely well educated, knows all about Indian affairs, and was almost raised in a camp. At some future day, he yet may be President of the United States, when Ohio gets strong enough, to bring him forward, with a prospect of success.

We must have a new Postmaster General, the present one, not being popular with original Jacksonians, who have not, and never will, forget 1824, and the Kentucky-

Clay-committee. The old court party there, dislike him, and the opposition are opposed to him. He and all his relations, will go out of office, and then, we will have peaceful times.

NEW YORKER. Matty'l fix 'em. (He goes out of the room.)

TENNESSEAN. The Bucktail is off, and I am glad of it. We have been excessively pestered with that set of politicians. While Gov. Clinton lived, we thought of no one, but of him, for Secretary of State—when he died, Van Buren, who turned around at the eleventh hour, for office, though he did almost nothing for the General, yet, by combining with Ingham, and the Crawfordites he somehow, I hardly know how, got to be Secretary of State. So far as gentlemanly behaviour, mildness, caution and considerable industry go, he does pretty well in his office, but, he is so unpopular every where, except among the Bucktails, that we must ship him off, either to England, if Talleyrand should be there, too, or, if not, we will send him, a minister to the Grand Turk, where he can intrigue and manage as much as he pleases. He is a mere politician, not a statesman, at all, and when any one asks him about bringing forward any public measure of importance, he always replies, by inquiring how such a man, will like it? How it will affect his popularity in Virginia, Pennsylvania, &c.? Away with him, I say, to Europe, where he may carry on, in his best style of diplomacy. He never can be president, nor get even one electoral vote, South and West of the Delaware river. Clinton was a great statesman, Van Buren a great Bucktail politician.

We in Tennessee, despise all the cant about “regular nominations” “the republican party” and all that stuff and nonsense. We are all republicans. Gen. Jackson knows, the federalists are as true republicans, as ever breathed, and we ought to extend, not contract, the circle, which encloses within it, talents, learning, experience, wisdom, virtue and patriotism. Our country has a right to call into her highest offices, the very highest grade of qualifications for those offices. As well might one, passing through an orchard, select the poorest, sourest apples, in preference to the best, merely because the latter was called, “the Rhode

Island Greening," or "the New Jersey Pippin." Even the crab apple, may be useful to a family, in small quantities, but they need too much sweetening to render them palatable enough, to be used exclusively. And so it is, with your miserable Bucktail, who requires too much of office, to keep him true and faithful to us.

You see our views, about the future, and you see too, that we cannot just at this moment, do all we intend to do, but you ought to remember, that the world was not made in one day. It will all come right yet. Gen. Jackson must have time to effect the reformations, which we know he will effect, in due season. Had he had his health, perfectly, when he came into power, had not deep, aye, the deepest domestic affliction weighed him down, at that time, none of his present difficulties would have been in his way. My word for it, he will surmount them all, and eventually become, the most useful and the most popular president we ever had, since Washington's time.

Having cleared out the present unfortunate cabinet, I would not be surprised to see him selecting honest Adams men, especially in Ohio, where the original Adams men, voted for Mr. Adams, from the purest motives, as their vote was very unpopular, and the Clay men have used them as mere make-weights, without giving them any thing. Gen. Jackson will not treat them so; he is liberal enough to make allowance, for a little Yankee predilection, in favour of their native New England, and they may yet find Gen. Jackson, far more kind to them, than ever Clay would be, were he in power.

PHILADELPHIAN. Well what will you do with the United States' Bank? Will you re-charter it?

TENNESSEAN. I presume so. Van Buren, and the New Yorkers, wish to destroy this bank, so that when a new one is chartered, they can get it located in N. York. They calculate, on one of two things: either to destroy this bank and not have one in its place, so as to give the business to their own banks; or if the confusion in the currency and the losses of many millions by the government, in the revenue, make it impossible to get along at all, without a National Bank like the one now in existence, [and that must be the result] in that case; then New Yorkers will make a desper-



ate effort *again*, to get the United States Bank, located in New York. But my dear sir, Gen. Jackson, will just as soon, put his hand in the fire, as destroy the present bank, or rather refuse to grant it a new charter. Only think of a few of the consequences. Refuse to re-charter the bank, and Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Louisville, St. Louis, Nashville, and New Orleans, will be crushed at one blow.

The men of business in all countries, have not the most money of their own, for if they had, they would cease to labour and toil to make money enough to retire from business. If they can borrow as much money as they need to do a large business, they will be actively engaged, in improving the country, in ten thousand ways, add to its wealth, increase its value, spread its commerce over every river, lake and sea—sweep away the forests and build up towns, villages and cities. Take away the United States' Bank, and all this useful class of men are out of employ, the noisy din of business ceases in the streets, the wave is no longer whitened with the canvas of the vessel, the steamer ceases to snort, or even to snore, the stages pass and re-pass empty of passengers, no new houses appear, and the old ones decay and become tenantless, the roof falls in, and the tall weeds, and the knotted grass grow in the streets. Do you suppose Gen. Jackson wishes to see all this take place under his administration? No, sir, he has, all his days been a stirring, industrious man, and he loves such men too well, to harbor the most secret wish to injure them. Besides, the injury would be done to his very best friends, who more than all others, made him President, and now sustain him in power. Why should Philadelphia be injured by him? That city, contains the soundest monied capitalists, in the Union. The people are the most moral, most industrious, most useful, in all respects, of any in the world, and like Pennsylvania herself, politically as liberal as the winds of heaven.

Ohio wants capital to enable her, when her canals are completed, to carry off her surplus produce to a market. Her own banks are rather nominal, than real ones, with capital scarcely enough for the stockholders.

The present Bank, could furnish all the millions Ohio would need to enable her to carry off her produce, to build

up new towns, open new roads, and improve all the old ones, and in fine enable her to reap all the rich harvest of profit, now ready for the sickle. Re-charter the bank, and branches of it, will be instantly located along the Ohio Grand Canal.

If this bank fall, who would gain by it? New York, the brokers, shavers, bankers, bankrupts and swindlers, would be the only gainers. Who would lose by it? The industrious classes—the farmer and the mechanic, by broken banks, and by all that train of evils, which, fifteen years ago, swept over this country, like a deluge of fire, blasting and destroying all honest men, and defrauding the public treasury of its dues. Sixty millions of dollars, lost to the labouring people of this Union, is a low estimate, for that unfortunate period. Does Gen. Jackson wish to reinstate those times? No, sir, he says, that he throws out hints for reflection, and that is well enough, but all he wants, is public reflection, and such restrictions put upon the new bank, as may be necessary and proper.

No one can object to that course, though the present bank has done no harm, and almost infinite good to our whole country. In order to enrich a few Bucktails in New York, who would wish to see Philadelphia prostrated, in her commerce with Ohio and the Western country, so that New York could shave Ohio to the very bone. Who believes Gen. Jackson would destroy the present bank? I do not, I assure you, gentlemen.

Ohio will carry off her produce, either to New Orleans or Canada, but none to New York. In those portions of the year, when the ice locks up the Northern market, Ohio will trade to New Orleans, and return with her coffee, cotton and sugar. In the summer, and early in the autumn, when the Ohio and Mississippi are too low for navigation, she will go to Canada with her pork, lard and flour, and return with her British broadcloths, and her guineas and sovereigns. This is the natural course of things, North and South, but she will visit Philadelphia at all seasons of the year, with her droves of cattle, horses and hogs, and return with domestic goods, the wines and the silks of France, the fruits of Portugal, Spain and Italy, the wares of Liverpool, Holland and Germany, the cloths of England, and the

manufactures of Philadelphia herself. Hardware, and heavy articles will sometimes be purchased in Baltimore and sent round by New Orleans, or transported over the mountains, when the rail road is completed.

Kentucky and Tennessee, will do nearly as Ohio will. Sometimes going North, and sometimes going South to a market, as best suits the season of the year, or the price of the article carried to a place of sale.

To enable the Western people to carry on all their business, the state banks, there, can no more do it, than one could dip out the ocean and make its bed dry, with a tin dipper. Gen. Jackson knows better, than to suppose any such thing.

MASSACHUSETTS MAN. I think you are from Kentucky, sir, and what think you of our Webster, as an orator compared with your Clay?

KENTUCKIAN. Mr. Clay is the greater orator. When he speaks, his words flow along, in a constant stream, sweeter than honey. He is always self possessed, rising neither too high, nor sinking too low. His oratory costs him no labour, his eye glistens as he proceeds, sometimes, with an arch leer, when he is ironical, sometimes with a frown, when he condemns, and he is as easy, as fluent, and as happy, in his expressions, as heart could desire. His auditors sit at ease, listen to him, with pleasure, and oftentimes, are enraptured with a display of powers, that costs him no effort, to exhibit. There is no appearance, of labour about it, and the auditor is captivated before he knows it, and carried off by the orator, out of himself.

Mr. Webster is a great man, and his very appearance indicates it, and puts the auditor on his guard, from the moment, Mr. Webster rises to address him; but unless the speaker rises to his highest key, and makes his mightiest efforts, the hearer, is determined not to surrender his judgment, to an intellectual giant, who stands in the arena, armed cap-a-pie, to conquer or die. On some great subject, he rises into sublimity, and like some mighty deluge, sweeps away all before him.

MISSOURI MAN. I have heard both your orators often, and let me compare them, to two animals, one now extinct, though once living in our state, and the other there yet. I suppose neither of you, will like the comparison, yet it ap-

pears to me, not a bad one. Mr. Clay resembles our Antelope, gamboling and playing at his ease—sometimes, he runs as swift as the wind, then wheeling about, with his head and tail up, pacing slowly along, upon his back track, until, for his mere sport, he starts again, and away he goes, so swiftly, that you see a mere streak where he runs over the boundless prairie.

Mr. Webster, appears before you, a Mammoth of the largest size, his trunk rising and falling, his monstrous tusks, proudly aloft in the air, until he sees a cane brake, in his way, he rushes into it, breaks it all down and tramples it under his feet, eats every leaf off the stalks, the cane patch is all destroyed, levelled with the earth, and desolation reigns, where, a few moments before, a green field appeared

TENNESSEAN. Mr. Webster is truly a great man, and he is great in every thing, because he scorns to do a mean action, and he is as smooth, in his manners, as liberal in his feelings, and as good a man, as New England can boast, or as any part of the Union, can desire. Gen. Jackson likes him much, as a man, and often invites him to his house. We all like Mr. Webster.

I should like to hear, from some New Hampshire man, if one be present, about Gov. Woodbury, whom we all want for Secretary of the Navy.

NEW HAMPSHIRE MAN. The Hon. Levi Woodbury is forty years of age. He was born in New Hampshire, received his education at Dartmouth College, and studied law under the venerable Judge Reeves at Litchfield.—He entered upon the profession at Portsmouth, in his native state, where he almost immediately rose into high reputation, and before he reached his thirtieth year was raised to the bench of the Supreme Court of New Hampshire. He discharged the duties of this place with great industry, and talent, some of the evidences of which are to be found in elaborate opinions in the printed reports of that state—until about the year 1822, when he was elected Governor of the state.—This office he filled one term; and was a candidate for a second; but the opposite party receiving an accession of strength, he was unsuccessful. As an evidence, however, that the mutations of party did not impair his essential popularity, or lessen the confidence of his fellow-citizens in his capacity and integri-

ty, he was a year or two afterwards, on being chosen a member of the House of Representatives, made Speaker of that body, and during the same session was elected a Senator of the United States. In this station he remained until the fourth of March of the present year, distinguished for his attention to public business, and his accuracy in transacting it, both as a member of the Naval and Judicial Committee, and more especially as one of the Committee on Commerce, of which he was the Chairman for the last two or three years. In all the great questions which have called forth the talent of the Senate, during his seat in that body, he has also taken a part and shown himself equal to their discussion. He is remarkable for the accuracy and fullness of his information, on every subject he undertakes to discuss, as well as for the clearness and force with which he communicates it. This valuable characteristic is not confined merely to his more elaborate efforts on the floor of Congress, but it is shown not less remarkably, and perhaps more usefully, in his various labors on the several committees to which he has belonged, and especially in bringing before the Senate and carrying through it, the various measures recommended by the committee on Commerce. Coming from a commercial quarter of the Union, he has entered warmly into the support of the interests of trade and navigation, and has lost no opportunity of improving all the advantages for obtaining useful knowledge on these subjects, afforded either by his public station, or his extensive acquaintance with men of business.

Amidst the pursuits of law and politics, Judge Woodbury has not neglected the cultivation of letters. As a member of the joint Library Committee of Congress, he has manifested great zeal, as well as good taste, in forming a collection of books, of which the country may well be proud; and as a Senator, he has introduced or aided various measures for the promotion of learning and the arts. From the circumstances of his situation, and the interest he takes in naval matters, his knowledge on this subject is extensive, and the naval service could not find among our public men, a more zealous and more efficient friend.

TENNESSEAN. When I heard him lately, in the Senate, combatting on the republican side of the question, against every other Senator from New England, the words of the

great British bard, naturally occurred to my mind, and I will repeat them.—

“So spake the seraph Abdiel, faithful, fond  
 Among the faithless, faithful only he;  
 Among innumerable false, unmoved,  
 Unshaken, unsequ’d, unterrified,  
 His loyalty he kept, his love, his zeal;  
 Nor number, nor example, with him wrought,  
 To swerve from truth, or change his constant mind,  
 Though single. From amidst them forth he pass’d,  
 Long way through hostile scorn, which he sustain’d  
 Superior, nor of violence fear’d aught;  
 And with retorted scorn, his back he turn’d  
 On those proud Senators, to swift destruction doom’d.”

NEW HAMPSHIRE MAN. The quotation is excellent, and well deserved.

TENNESSEAN. Who will give us a sketch, of Mr. Van Buren’s character

OHIO MAN. I do not like him very well, because he, and his friends, have uniformly, voted in Congress, against every thing dear to us, but still, the Bucktails may see the propriety of desisting from any more opposition to us. We all feel sore enough, already, and wish not to do any thing to widen the breach between Ohio and New York—so I wish to be silent.

CLINTONIAN FROM NEW YORK.\* Well then, gentlemen, if no one else will describe Martin Van Buren to the life, I will do it in short order, and correctly too.

ALL. Proceed sir, in your biography of Mr. Van Buren.

CLINTONIAN. Who his father was, I never knew, and probably never shall know. Neither his early obscurity nor his emerging from it, has any thing peculiar in it, in this country. Gov. C’s. friends educated him, and placed him in a profession, that in all countries is a respectable one, and in this country, often leads to eminence—sometimes to the highest offices. He is doubtless, a man of considerable talent, and no one calls him a bad man.—When he first appeared at the bar, New York was cut up

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\* This character of Mr. Van Buren, is attributed, how truly, I know not, to a former member of Congress, from Maryland. I requested his friends in Ohio, to furnish their views of him, but they did not. If injustice to Mr. Van Buren, is done in this sketch, a second edition will offer a place for a different one.

into factions, that were led on by great talents. Burrists, Lewisites, Martling men, democrats, federalists, and Clintonians filled the state with strife, and these factions resembled Highland clans, differently clad, marching along, with discordant music. To take an active part among these parties, the young lawyer, left the philosophy of his profession, and became shrewd, cunning, artful and laborious. He was resolved to gain distinction by labor, toil, and diligence.

A word dropped to him, he could remember, or forget, magnify or diminish, repeat it or not, as best suited his interest. He formed a connecting link between the different leaders, none were more convenient and few so able to effect any object in view. Did any one want a coalition formed? he could cement, or withdraw it, when necessary. He could understand or misunderstand a hint—he could advance opinions, either real or pretended, and expressed too, in such a manner, that they might be interpreted in a dozen ways—the words might mean almost any thing, or nothing at all. He could create a friendship or a feud, peace or war among friends, or he could neutralize, when he pleased, either friends or foes. If he could be believed, no man would make greater sacrifices for the public good, than Mr. Van Buren. It is easy to see, that amidst scenes like these, the subaltern soon becomes the principal, like an overseer, on a nullifier's plantation. He who is so much confided in, soon becomes at least, the equal of him, who confides in him. A very few years thus spent, brought with them, consideration and rewards, and he took his seat, among the elders of the political church. He was elected to the Senate of New York. Patronage received, was repaid by patronage, in return. As a public speaker, in the Senate, he was fluent, affable in his manners, quick to think, and always ready to meet any emergency. Few surpassed him in debate. If he did not convince, he was always listened to with respect and attention. At that time, any party in the state, would have hailed him as an able auxiliary, and in the end, nearly all parties had an opportunity to do so. Sometimes he supported Gov. Clinton, sometimes Gov. Tompkins. During Gov. Clinton's last years, he held a divided empire with Mr. Van Buren, in New York.

His onward career very naturally carried him into the United States' Senate. There he moved, whenever he moved at all, with ability, prudence, and discretion. He stood committed to no particular system, or if committed, it was in such a slight manner, that he could easily, in one moment, disengage himself. He was familiarly called, "a non-committal man." He mingled often in debate, and earnestly too, but so contending, that he could shift sides in an instant, without subjecting himself to any imputation on his inconsistency. Assuming and laying aside his weapons of warfare, as best suited his interest, no one seemed to find any fault with him.

He watched every sign of the times, and at a propitious moment, and no one knows that moment better than he does, he threw his whole weight into the scales against Mr. Adams. From that time, his gaze was fixed immovably on the office of Secretary of State, until he actually found himself the Premier under Gen. Jackson. At first, it is said, the President did not esteem him very highly, but this evil was soon surmounted by a mild temper, conciliating manners, and affable, polite and respectful address. He who had, for many years past, rolled along the road in a splendid coach, could now, to please a plain Tennessee Farmer, ride out on horseback, every morning, with the President, through Pennsylvania Avenue, or across Rock Creek, and through Georgetown!

He kindly administered to all the wants of the President. If he discussed any subject with the honest old man, he was sure to be convinced that the President's views were entirely correct. He who wishes to be useful, must render himself acceptable, before he can attain his object. Mr. Van Buren succeeded in all respects. The President very honestly, and naturally enough, concluded that the man who always treated him with so much deference respect, and kindness, was a man of good sense, whose advise it would be safe to follow. He made him the depository of his secrets, and a liberal sharer of his power. Patronage was showered down, with no sparing hand, on the personal friends of the Premier. Almost any office, in the departments of State, of War, and the Post office, was given away, just as he wished. Deference was now



no longer necessary, and the Secretary might almost be considered as the real President. His partisans, every where, openly avowed their belief, that the President was entirely under his control.

The opposition to him in the South, his want of friends in the West, with the certainty that his longer continuance in the cabinet, would retard, if not prevent his future advancement to the highest office in the Union, will induce his resignation of the Premiership. By about June, 1831, he will be studying how he can trim his vessel and spread his sails, so as to reach the desired haven at last.

As I have extenuated nothing, (if I know my own heart) so I have set down nothing in malice, or even unkindness, or if I have, unwittingly, done so, his unkindness to my old friend, Clinton, is my ample apology with all good men.—EXEUNT OMNES.

### **John C. Calhoun.**

Though I did not become personally acquainted with Mr. Calhoun, the Vice-President, yet seeing him every day, either presiding in the Senate, or mingling with the people, I will give my impressions of the man as he has appeared to me. Nearly, if not quite, six feet in height, straight limbed, muscular, very well proportioned; he is more wrinkled and care worn, than I had expected from his reputed age, which is not quite fifty years. His voice is shrill, and to my ear, harsh, grating, and very disagreeable. The rapidity, violence, and vehemence, with which he rolls out every sentence he utters in the chair of the Senate, contrasts unfavorably with the mellow tones and silvery voice of Gen. Samuel Smith, who always presides, when the Vice-President leaves the chair. I was told by members of the Senate, that the harshness of Mr. Calhoun's voice, and the violence of his manner, at first always so disagreeable to a stranger, would, in time, wear off, and not be noticed, but thirty days produced, I confess, quite a contrary effect on my unfortunate ears, which could bear the the piercing shrieks of the Winnebagoes, in their war dances, but never could endure, without great pain and suffering, the shrill, grating tones of Mr. Calhoun's voice. He sits in the chair, too, where one

naturally expects to see seated, Wisdom, in her mildest, most dignified and loveliest garb; and hear tones issuing thence, soft and melodious as the music of the spheres, or as the harps which angels use, can convey. His manners too, as he appears at the fireside, have in them an uneasiness, a hurried, incoherent air, which savor strongly of a deep, settled unhappiness, buried in the deepest recesses of the heart.

He is a man of considerable talent, without doubt, but I cannot call him much of a courtier, nor a man very well calculated either to rise into the Presidency, or if there, to be very happy, while at the summit of power. He wants, it seems to me, patience, mildness, caution; though not perhaps, all the restless ambition, energy, and activity that any candidate, for any office, could even desire. His honest Scotch-Irish face, too, shows every moment, each thrilling passion, operating within, and peeping out its head at the window of his heart.

He is no intriguer, nor even a courtier, though called the "Father of the Nullifiers;" and he is accused too, of having changed all his notions about the 'Tariff' and Internal Improvements. This he acknowledges, I believe, and it would not be unjust to pass a severe sentence of condemnation upon him. His whole soul, is, doubtless, engaged in contriving the ways and means, how he may, one day, become the President of the United States. His position in the Union, the daring, restless, unchastened, if not unholy, and dangerous ambition of his prominent friends in South Carolina, have swept away from beneath his feet, nearly all the ground he stood on under Col. Monroe's administration; which, if he could have maintained until now, might have afforded a prospect, not very bright indeed, of his finally realizing the grand object of his lofty ambition.

Mr. Calhoun is now, at the same age of life, when Cæsar began his career of conquests, of glory and renown, and displayed, on the whole, perhaps, more real talent, than any one ever did, before or since his day.

At the age of fifty years, the intellect of man is in all its glory. Rich in the accumulated stores of learning, derived from books, through whose wilderness of sweets, the mind has flown, lighting on each opening blossom, and ex-

fracting honey from every flower; it is prepared to bear away to its home, its delicious load, and deposit it in its cell. This is the man of learning.

If he be a politician, there is not one mazy passage, leading into the political labyrinth, that he has not often trodden, with the clue in his hand, and by that means reached its inmost recesses. His passions, though somewhat cooled, yet his senses are not much blunted, his physical powers not much diminished, and all the objects of sense are deeply and vividly impressed upon his soul; to which, they have so long conveyed all the ideas, which the senses can communicate to the mind.

At one glance of his eye, upon any one he converses with, he can read every thought, every emotion of the mind in his every look. Every gesture he makes, every word he utters, strikes through the heart, at which he looks, coolly, calmly, dispassionately, covered, as to his eye, as every heart is, by thinnest gossamer. In a moment, whenever he pleases, he leads captivity captive. If the snows of fifty winters have whitened the head, they have only cooled the passions just enough, to take from all objects, their false glare, and thus enable the eye to behold them in their true light. Passion no longer leads to bewilder, nor dazzles to blind. This is the politician at fifty years old, his passions somewhat abated, but his ambition, at its highest point of temperature, he then best knows how to lay wise plans, and how best to carry them into execution.

Just at this propitious moment, for Mr. Calhoun's elevation to the lofty summit, at which he aims, his petulance and peevishness; his nullifying views; his revelation of bed chamber conversations, have swept away from beneath his feet, all the ground he once stood upon, before the American people. I suspect, that his political life is near its close—his sands nearly run out, unless he can turn his political hour glass upside down.

When he appeared in Congress, he was hailed as a fixed star of the tenth magnitude, in the political firmament; but on a careful examination of him, through good glasses, the great eccentricity of his orbit, determined him to be, a comet, moving with a momentary glare, sometimes slowly (as he passed through the constellation of internal improve-

ment,) sometimes swiftly, as he passed through the sign of impatience, and now, he begins to fade upon the eye, in the sign of nullification, and in a moment, he will, in a faint streak expire.

Thus we see, that the same, heavenly object at first, supposed to be a telescopic star, the smallest ever heard of; on further examination, was deemed a comet, small indeed, but still a comet, of wonderful eccentricity; until, in defiance of all the calculations of the wisest astronomers, with the very best glasses, now in use, of the latest improvement, was at last, discovered by every naked eye, gazing at its faint glare, to be, nothing but a meteor expiring without noise, in the faintest streak of light! Even now, it is gone, to be seen no more forever.

I introduce to the reader, WILLIAM B. LEWIS, one of the Auditors. As I have known him many years, most intimately, what I am about to say of him, I know to be literally true. I have spent many happy days with him, at his own splendid and hospitable mansion, in sight of Nashville; at the Hermitage, and every where else, in Tennessee, where I wished to visit. During many months, in Washington, I saw him every day, and know him perfectly well.

He is now about fifty years old, though, he does not appear so old, by several years. He is six feet in height, perfectly straight limbed—of a light complexion, has blue eyes, which carry in them, a mild lustre, a true index of his heart. In company, he is rather silent, remarkably modest in his manners, and his mind is as serene as serenity itself. He is one of the most industrious men, in the world, rising very early in the morning, and attending to business, frequently, until midnight.

He is a most perfect gentleman, and possesses talents, which ought to have placed him in the General Post Office, instead of the present incumbent.

He was Quarter Master General, under Gen. Jackson, in the late war—was often employed as Secretary, in making treaties with Southern Indians—and commissioner sometimes.

He has been twice married, the first wife was a Lewis—his second one, Montfort Stokes' daughter, of North Carolina, now the Governor of that State.

By the first marriage, he has a daughter, an accomplished, sensible and amiable young lady—MARY ANN LEWIS.

By the second marriage, he has a son. He is one of the wealthiest men, in Tennessee, and by going to Washington, he loses double the amount of his salary every year.

His enemies accuse him of unduly influencing the President! This would seem strange indeed, when he has not procured the appointment of even one relative, or one friend to office, whereas Mr. Barry, has procured good fat places for all his relatives. The truth is, Maj. Lewis, attends to his own business, and lets the President's business entirely alone.

His situation, one mile and a half East of the Nashville Inn, on an eminence, overlooking the country towards the West, down the Cumberland river, a distance of twenty miles, is one of the most delightful spots in the Western States.

It was not my intention, originally to have said scarcely any thing in this volume, of my best friends in Washington, for fear of being suspected of writing something to affect the next election; but, when I see assaults on the characters of such men as Maj. Lewis, I take a pleasure, in bearing my testimony in their favor. And, I have every where done justice to persons, with whom, I did not agree, in politics, and take the liberty to do the same justice, to a political friend. Self-interest I have none, in the little party squabbles of the moment—my days being devoted, to literary, not to political pursuits.

The attacks made on Maj. Lewis, in the papers, I have strong reasons for believing, come out of the General Post Office Department.

### **Edward Livingston.**

I take the liberty of introducing to the reader, Mr. LIVINGSTON, who, until recently, was a member of the United States' Senate. Though I had few, almost no opportunities of conversing with him, during my tour, except at the Wistar parties in Philadelphia, in November, 1829; yet, as I remember him well, ever since I first saw him at the bar, and heard him in the courts of New York, more than thirty

years since, I will venture to give the impressions of him, as they exist in my own mind. He is now, though his appearance does not, by any means, indicate it, nearly sixty-six years old. His height is fully six feet, he is large and robust, though not very corpulent, and his head is slightly bent forward, the only effect he shows of his age. When thirty years old, he was one of the handsomest forms I ever beheld. He is neither bald nor grey, his hair being as black as the raven's wing. He has been a man of great industry, always exerting to the utmost limits every power of his body, and every faculty of his mind.

Sometimes he has been deeply immersed in professional business, engaged among the crowds attending court; at other times, he has been as deeply engaged in the study of the laws, and in acquiring every species of useful knowledge. With a mind originally clear, as the purest stream issuing from the Alleghanies, in which, every pebble that forms its bed, can be distinctly seen, he has traced every river and almost every rill of human knowledge, to the clear fountains in which they first appear.

Without a particle of intrigue in his composition, he is as artless as simplicity itself. Since Gov. Clinton's death, within the circle of my personal acquaintance, Mr. Livingston is decidedly superior to all others, for his present station. To a man like him; like Franklin, Jefferson, Madison, Jay, Marshall, and thousands besides, I hope, in our happy country; MEN, to whom business and books, science and literature, all the pleasures of taste, friendship and society, have furnished all that refines and strengthens the mind, renovates and expands all the affections of the heart, old age exhibits no diminution, either of talent or of happiness. Such men, should they cease to be statesmen, would not the less love mankind; the less rejoice in human happiness, nor the less participate in it:—too many in our country think and act as if there was a law of the mind that limits its powers and its pleasures to a certain age. With the French people it is different, who cherish their vivacity, their usefulness, their pleasures, and exert all their faculties to the final period of life. No man among them is excluded from the society of the gay, the young, the artless and the virtuous, because he is old. Among us,

there is a gloomy sect of ascetics, who wish to violate a law of our Creator by severing the chain that connects the present with the future state our existence.—This visionary sect admonish us that we may live here too long, for ourselves and our affections, and that to become devout, we must, after a certain age, (the sooner the better) detach ourselves from the world, become gloomy, sad, contemplative, and in that way, dull, inactive, indifferent to all earthly objects, and perfectly useless to mankind. Mr. Livingston does not belong to this gloomy sect of religionists, but is a perfect man of the world, as the Creator intended all should be, enjoying every innocent pleasure, every rational amusement, cultivating all the affections of our nature, and mingling freely and sociably with the well informed, innocent and virtuous of both sexes, whom, in the best sense of that term, I call **THE WORLD**.

At his age of life, his physical powers may be somewhat diminished, his senses somewhat blunted, but the impressions they have so long conveyed to him remain vivid, and the treasures they have conveyed to him are laid up "where no moth can corrupt, and no thief can break through and steal them." The objects of his early attachment, his first wife, a most promising son, a daughter, sister, a brother, &c. have been taken from him by death, sometime since, but they were wise, innocent human beings, who have only preceded him a few years, to his and their ultimate, eternal home, and they must have left with him recollections that will become dearer, and hopes that will shine brighter and brighter every day during his life time.

To use the impressive and beautiful language of Mr. Walsh, in continuation.—Our virtues, our attainments, our virtuous affections, as well as our devotion, are eternal, and if we wish to obey their great Author, we must multiply, cultivate, and exalt them, and thus advance towards perfection, and accomplish our own happiness.

Mr. Livingston lives, as though he believed as I do, that there is no period of human life in which we may not make new acquisitions in knowledge, may not communicate intelligence and pleasure, may not be rational, cheerful, pious and happy.

Mr. Livingston, was long since, married a second time, to a beautiful, sensible and accomplished French lady.

Such a man is the present Secretary of State, whose elevation to this office, was called for, from the very first, by nearly every supporter of Gen. Jackson. The President has finally obeyed the public voice, and given new evidence of regard to the wishes of his country.

Mr. Livingston has been much in Congress, more or less indeed, ever since our constitution was framed and adopted. He was born in New York, and long lived in Louisiana. He personally knows almost every man, of any note, in the nation. He was never ambitious of office, although almost forty years in office. He never was an intriguing politician, but is a statesman, whose views are large, liberal, expanded, enlightened and free from selfish motives. Free from prejudice himself, as any one can be; there is less prejudice against him, than there is against almost any other public man in the nation.

Now, at the very summit of all his wishes, as to office, he will doubtless, do his best, to so manage the affairs of the Department of State, as to add largely to this fame, as a statesman, a jurist, a scholar, a patriot and a man. He reads with ease, all the dead languages, and speaks all the living ones fluently and correctly. Without this qualification, no man should be Secretary of State. His mild temper, manly, but easy and engaging manners, elegant and interesting conversation, and perfect acquaintance with the world, and all its concerns, have been, and now are, duly appreciated by the President. His perfect sincerity, his old, constant, unbought friendship for the President, may be, will be safely relied on, at all times, and in all cases. He represents in his feelings, the interests of the East and the West, the North and the South. His age; his profound learning; his knowledge of mankind; his disinterestedness and sincerity; his broad and liberal views; his experience of every kind; his business, talents, and his other invaluable qualifications for the station he occupies, peculiarly fit him to shine in it, brighter, and to throw his light further into the world, than any one, who has preceded him, as Secretary of State—Such a man, is EDWARD LIVINGSTON.





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