This document has been checked for information on Native American burials. No images considered to be culturally insensitive, including images and drawings of burials, Ancestors, funerary objects, and other NAGPRA material were found.



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EPHRAIM G. SQUIER'S COPY OF WILLIAM BARTRAM'S OBSERVATIONS OF THE CREEK AND CHEROKEE INDIANS

MARK WILLIAMS



Ephraim G. Squier's Copy of William Bartram's Observations of the Creek and Cherokee Indians

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Introduction

Included herein is the first presentation of a rare document discovered in the Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library at the University of Georgia in Athens. The detailed and fascinating story of its discovery has already been published by me as a chapter in the volume *Fields of Vision: Essays on the Travels of William Bartram*. This wonderful volume, published in 2010, was edited by Kathryn E. Holland Braund and Charlotte M. Porter (Braund and Porter 2010).

In short, William Bartram responded to a series of queries in 1889 to him from the famous Philadelphia Researcher and Philosopher Benjamin Barton about what Bartram had learned about the southern American Indian from his tips South in the 1770s. This was before Bartram published his own famous volume *Travels* (Bartram 1955). Bartram wrote a long treatise faithfully answering Barton's questions. Barton used a bit of tis in his work, but did not publish it, and the manuscript disappeared after Barton's death in 1815.

Through a series of fateful events, the Bartram manuscript reemerged in 1847. The details of its rediscovery have been presented me and the curious reader is referred to that paper (Williams 2010). After its discovery we now know that at least three copies were made of the Bartram document. Ephraim Squier (1821-1888) may have made the first copy soon after the document resurfaced and published an edited version of Bartram's work in 1852 (Squier 1853). A second copy was made by Squier's archaeology colleague Edwin Davis (1811-1888) about the same period in 1847. Finally, a third copy was made by the famous traveler, composer, and diplomat John Howard Payne (1791-1852) a year or 2 later. The original Bartram document disappeared after about 1849 and has presumably now been lost to history.

The Davis copy ended up in the Smithsonian, given by the family of Davis late in the 19th century. The Payne copy is curated at the Pennsylvania Historic Society in Philadelphia. In 1995 Gregory Waselkov and Kathryn Braund published a classic volume entitled *William Bartram and the Southeastern Indians* (Waselkov and Braund 1995). In this volume they conducted a thorough and detailed analysis of the Bartram document copies of Davis, and the 1853 edited version of Squier. They found the Payne version likely more faithful to the lost Bartram original, but admitted it was something of a judgement call. In any event, scholars now had a published version of the Payne copy after their hard work.

What I have discovered is what may be the first copy of the Bartram document made by Ephraim Squier as mentioned above. The following pages of this paper are my translation of Squier's copy published here for the first time. In truth I should have presented this years ago, but have not found time until now—I am enjoying retirement (72 as of this writing) as a time to catch up on many fun projects!

One reason for my delay has been that there are actually very few differences between the Squier copy I present here and the Payne and Davis copies, thus not much new is learned here. In the following section, however, I make a number of observations about the Squier document transcribed herein.

Observations

- 1. Squier's handwriting is much more difficult to read than Payne's. Most words that were unreadable in Squier's copy were clear in Payne's copy.
- I have presented the pages to exactly represent each handwritten page in the Hargrett
 Manuscript. This accounts for the many short pages and the words broken between
 pages (widows and orphans).
- 3. The page numbers at the bottom of the manuscript pages are added by me for this document and certainly were not part of the original manuscript.
- 4. Squier's capitalization of words is very inconsistent and difficult to differentiate for many of the initial letters of words—particularly K, S, and C.
- 5. Squier's handwriting became sloppier near the end of his copy—he must have been becoming quite tired.
- 6. Squier uses several weird or outdated symbols for footnotes and abbreviations. I have used an asterisk (*) for footnotes rather than his cross with a dot in each quadrant since no such symbol is available in Microsoft Word.
- 7. It was very difficult to tell the difference between Squier's hand written colons (:) and semicolons (;). I have interpreted them as best I could.
- 8. Squier's treatment of the Question Numbers from Barton is very different from that of Payne. Specifically, Payne seems to have lumped Question 1-5 together, while the Squier copy keeps them separate. This seems more logical to me and believe this was how Bartram answered these questions.

- 9. Squier puts the footnotes at the bottom of the page rather than at the end of each Section as does Payne. Which was correct? I tend to believe that Squier's version was more like Bartram's since it would have been much easier for Payne to collect them at the end compared to how difficult it would have been for Squier to place them at the foot of the pages in terms of breaking the text.
- 10. Squier's editing is inconsistent and there seems no rational reasons for the parts he omitted.
- 11. I have presented Squier's editing marks, which were usually in pencil, in light blue.
- 12. I have presented the pages just as in Squier's Daybook, rather than combining the text, even though this admittedly makes the text more difficult to read.
- 13. I have cleaned the backgrounds of the Squier drawings with Photoshop.
- 14. Sadly, there was no original sketch of the Creek Town Plan in the Hargrett Manuscript
- 15. There is a good bit of variation in underlining between the two versions.
- 16. I do not have a copy of Edwin Davis' copy of the Manuscript and would like to know if it is closer to the Squier or Payne copy in many respects, particularly in the numbering and placement of footnotes. The Payne copy is on line, but neither the Davis nor Squier versions have been scanned and put online as of May 2021.
- 17. Bartram's and or Squier's spelling was somewhat inconsistent.
- 18. Squier had written out fragments of Benjamin Barton's writings (pages 13 and 16 herein), but logically omitted them from his published version of Bartram.
- 19. There are many differences in what is underlined between the Payne and Squier versions.
- 20. I have added a very few of my own notes on the Squier Manuscript in purple color.

- 21. The Squier manuscript clearly uses the = sign in many places where we would use the dash.
- 22. Squier's Page 51 (62-63 here) is repeated upside down and crossed out. It is not at all clear why he did such and odd thing.
- 23. The image on page 12 herein has a note to the printer implying that the printer already had the woodcut for that image.
- 24. Squier only numbered the even pages in his daybook. The odd pages on the backs of each sheet were not numbered. I have kept his convention herein.
- 25. The name E. Johnson is written in pencil in the top left corner of page 61 below (Squier's page 50). I have not determined who this might be. Was it perhaps the name of the printer Squier worked with?
- 26. The material on pages 81-82 (Squier's 68-69); 84 (70); 88-89 (72-73) that was struck out by Squier was included in the Payne version published by Waselkov and Braund. Why Squier omitted this material is unknown.
- 27. I have found not material is Squire's copy that was not in Payne's version.

Acknowledgements

The first and most significant thanks go to the Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library at the University of Georgia for granting permission to publish this document. It is part of their Manuscript Accession Number 215. I also wish to that Kathryn Braund of Auburn University for her gracious support and collegial love of all things William Bartram.

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Account of the Indians

of

The South:

with

A Description of the Aboriginal

Monuments of the Southern

States.

By William Bartram.

- 1789 -

Letter.

Thus you have

Sir,

My observations and conjectures on these matters, with all the truth and accuracy that my slender abilities will admit of & without reserve. If they should not answer your wishes & expectations, I desire you would ascribe it to my misapprehension of the queries or lack of knowledge &c. &c. etc.

and

I doubt not but you will readily excuse bad writing, composition, * spelling, &c. My weakness of sight, etc., I hope, will plead for me, when I assure you I have been obliged to write the greater part of this with my eyes shut & that with pain.

I do not mention this to claim any sort of obligation from you sir, for all that I know concerning these matters are due to you and to science.

I remain Sir,

With every Sentiment of Respect

And Esteem, Your

Obliged Friend,

Philadelphia
Dec. 15, 1789

=

Wm Bartram ---

Mss. is probably referred to by Dr. Barton in his memoir on the origin of the American Natives, p. xlvi. He speaks of one in his possession.

§ I. <u>History and Traditions of the Creek Muscogulges.</u>

Buspius(?)

Ouestion 1st. I.

Have those tribes of Indians whom you have visited any traditions concerning their <u>origin</u>, their <u>Progress</u> or <u>Migrations</u>, which you consider worthy of notice? If they have, what are those <u>Traditions</u>? Which of the nations of which you have any knowledge, seem to have the most accurate, and least suspicious, traditions concerning their origin, &c. etc.? Have you any reason for believing that the Cherokees, Creeks, or any other of the Southern tribes, with which you are acquainted, crossed the river Mississippi, in their progress to the country which they now inhabit? If any of these tribes did crossed that <u>great river</u>, do you think it is possible to determine, with any degree of certainty, the period or periods when they did cross it? Can you form any conjecture which part or parts of the country bordering on the Mississippi, these tribes passed through in their migrations towards the <u>East</u>?

over

Answer. I 8. Pica

The <u>Cricks</u>* or, as they call themselves, <u>Muscoges</u> or or <u>Muscogulges</u>*, is a very powerful confederacy, consisting of many Tribes or remnants of conquered nations united: perhaps about sixty towns, thirty of which speak the <u>Muscogulge tongue</u>, and are the progeny or descendants of a powerful band of a nation beaings(?)

(?)

* <u>Cricks</u> is a name given them by the English traders formerly, when they first began to trade amongst them, for the following reason, i,e, they observed that in their conversations, when they have occasion to mention the name of the Indian nation, if any of the Indians were present, they traders discovered evident signs of disgust, as supposing the were plotting some mischief against their nation &c., so that they gave them this by=name, <u>Cricks</u>.

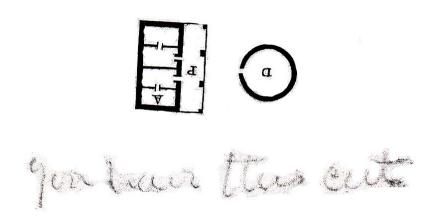
^{* &}lt;u>Ulge</u> signifies a nation or people in their language, as Spanish <u>Ulge</u>, English <u>Ulge</u> etc. <u>Este</u> likewise signifies nation or people, but whether in another tongue or more extended sense, I know not. The <u>white people</u> they call <u>Este=Hutke</u>, the <u>red</u> men or Indians they call <u>Este=Chate</u>, and so of the Spaniards, whom they call <u>Yellow Men</u>, <u>Este=Cane</u>, and black men or negroes <u>Este=Uste</u>. <u>Este</u> seems a specific term for all mankind, comprehending the whole human race, in four divisions, White, Red, Yellow, and Black. <u>Ulge</u> seems an individual designation of nations & and tribes.

that name, who many years since (on their nation becoming very numerous and filling their native country with inhabitants, by which the game and the necessary produce of their country became scarce and difficult to procure) were induced to separate themselves from, and go in search of, new and plentiful regions. They directed their migrations Eastward, leaving with containing their great regret and difficulty, their native land, relations and friends, which was on the banks of a large and beautiful river, called the Red river, from great quantities of a red stone, of which they formed their tobacco pipes. Their migrations continued a long time, and under great hardships and embarrassments, being continually attacked by hostile Indian nations, but, at length they arrived at the banks of the Great River, i.e., which they crossed, when they began to think of establishing a permanent residence, but being yet assaulted and disturbed by surrounding nations, they pushed eastward as far as the Oakamulge*

a *This river is the south great branch of the <u>Altamaha</u>: where are to be seen, to this day, admirable remains of a vast town, extensive plantations, and monuments of the labor and skill and industry of the ancients, - as <u>mounts</u>, <u>terraces</u>, <u>areas</u>, &e, which the present generation of the Muscogulges say are the ruins of their camps and first settlements, but this I can venture to deny and suppose is a boast of the Creeks, to aggrandise their name and nation; for these monuments discover evident signs of being of much more ancient date. However, it is likely enough that the Muscogulges might have expelled the <u>then</u> inhabitants, took possession of the town and fortified and established themselves then.

"The Muskohge appear to have come thru Mississippi about the time the Spaniards under the command of De Soto first landed in Florida. Their tradition informs us that when they were moving downwards, they received intelligence concerning certain men of a different color from themselves, who had hair all over their bodies, and carried thunder and lightning in their hands.

This fact was communicated to me by Mr. McGilavray." - Dr. B. S. Barton on the Origins of the American Natives, p. xlvii



when, hearing of the settlements of the white people, i.e. Spaniards at St. Augustine, to whom they sent embassadors to treat with them on terms of mutual favor, but not being kindly received, and hearing of other nations of white people further to the N.E. i.e., in S Carolina (the English at this time were founding the Colony of S. Carolina at Charleston) they sent deputies or Embassadors to Charleston, offering their friendship and alliance, to continue forever (as long as the Rivers flow and the Sun continues his course). A treaty immediately took place, and they joined their arms with the Carolinians, who assisted them against the surrounding Indian Nations, which were then in the Spanish interest, whom they at length subjugated, and in the end provide the destruction of the Spanish Colony of East Florida. The Muscogulges, by uniting the remnant tribes of their conquered foes, grew stronger and daily extended their Empire. There are now besides the Muscogulges towns or those towns whose inhabitants speak that tongue, almost as many languages or dialects as there are towns. It seems apparent, by this account,* that the Muscogulges crossed the Mis=

^{*} This account I had from the most ancient and respectable men of the Muscogulges, by the best old Traders and good interpreters, at different times and in various Towns, and I believe it to be true as mere Tradition can possibly be.

"The Chickasau are very particularly mentioned by the historians of the Expedition of De Sotointo Florida. The Portuguese author of Elvas calls their town Chicasa, La Viga calls it Chicaqa.

From the accounts of these two authors, it seems pretty certain that a part of the Chickasau nation
was settled to the east of the Mississippi as early as 1541" - Barton p xlix

sissippi somewhere about the Chickasaw country, below the confluence of the Ohio, as they mention crossing but one large river, i.e. the Mississippi or <u>Great River</u>.

They the Natchez, Chickasaus & Choctaus seem to possess a common origin, as they all speak a dialect of the same country, and it is certain they all crossed the Mississippi as they say of themselves, and long since the Spanish invasion and conquest of Mexico: for these Indians, viz., the Choctaus, say they brought with them across the river those fine horses called the Chickasau and Choctau breeds. The Seminole horses or those beautiful creatures bred amongst the Lower Creeks, which are of the Andelusian breed, were introduced by the Spaniards at St. Augustine.

As to the Cherokees, they are altogether a Separate nation from the Muscogulges, of much more ancient establishment in these regions they inhabit. I made no inquiry concerning their original descent or migrations to these parts._ But I understood that they came from the west or sun-setting. Their empire or confederacy was once very strong and extensive. Before the league of the Creeks* and Carolinians

^{*} When I speak of the Creeks and Muscogulges, I mean the same people.

forty

their empire extended from within 40 miles of the sea coast N.W. to the Ohio, comprehending all the region lying in the waters of the Cherokee river, quite to its confluence with the Ohio, and also of the great East branches of the Ohio, upwards beyond the Cunhawa [Kenhewa], Sante, and north-eastward

Pede, N.E.ward And it is remarkable that those great pyramidal or conical mounts of Earth, and tetragon terraces & cubican yards are to be seen in all this vast territory.* Yet it is certain they were not the people who constructed them as they own themselves, nor were they built by the people whom they

eight

* The largest of these I ever saw stands upon the banks of the Savannah river § miles above Dartmouth, and about 90 miles above Augusta, which was nearly the center of the Cherokee Empire at the most flourishing period of its history.

There are many artificial mounts of Earth along the Sea Coast through Carolina and Georgia, about this distance from it and, in the settlements N.W. which bear the name of ten or twelve Cherokee mounts, particularly one about 10 or 12 miles from Savannah, called now Cherokee etc.

Ponds &c. Here, on the road to Augusta, are many ponds and Savannas. Indeed there are people yet living, who remember to have seen Cherokee towns inhabited, but a few miles above the City of Savannah, and afterwards possessed & and inhabited by the Muscogulges.

took possession of the country.

Their language is radically different from that of the Creeks, sounding the letter R frequently: in short, there is not one word in their respective languages alike.

II - Probable Origin and Relations.

Question 2d.

Have you any reasons for believing that any of the tribes of Indians which you have visited, were Burr(?) derived from either the Mexicans or the Peruvians? If you have what are those reasons?

Answer 2d.

I have no reason, from what I have observed myself, or from information derived from others, to suppose that any of the nations or tribes came from the old Mexicans or Peruvians, unless we believe the accounts which the Natchez give of themselves, as related by M. DuPratz. And that account should, I imagine, be understood as referring to New=Mexico. Because their account of their original country and migrations were to the was from the W. or sun=setting, which would be west from their country on the Mississippi

near about the latitude of Santa Fe, N. latitude 34 or 35.

The Spanish invasion of these regions and subsequent colonization, after the discovery of the mines and establishment of forts, in order to possess the country, work the mines and extend their researches, would very probably cause many tribes of the natives to decamp, in search of more peaceful abodes at a distance from such troublesome neighbors, and there nations by a N.

E. course would likely, in their opinion, take them the greatest distance from those dreaded bearded men, their common enemy (but yet having heard of other colonies or invasions of the bearded men) and thus propelling one another as waves driven before the winds. The

Chickasaus, Choctaws, & Muscogulges, appear to have arrived some time since the Natchez, particularly the two former tribes, and the Creeks last. The Natchez might have come from a region nearest the border of the Empire of Old Mexico, because it seems they were most polished and civilized and were most tinctured with Mexican Idolatry * and Superstitions. They had

over

^{*} For although they believed in a great spirit (The

a complex system of legislation, and their princes were hereditary, and their sovereignty absolute, and their power unlimited. The Natchez might have arrived soon after the Spaniards had conquered the Mexican empire and began to extend their conquests towards the north (for there is no mention of their bringing horses with them, these creatures not being yet so increased as to become wild in the country, and so plentiful as to become an article of commerce between the wild Indians & Spaniards.*) For, according to DuPratz, their empire had arrived at a prodigious latitude and strength since years before

[Continued form foot note on previous page] Great Spirit) yet they adored the Sun and Moon. They had a temple dedicated to the Sun where they kept the Eternal Fire, guarded by a high priest and sacred Virgins consecrated for that purpose. And though they did not offer human victims to the Sun, nor eat human flesh, yet they burnt and otherwise put to death captives taken in war. And tho' it does not appear that they put to death slaves or other persons at the demise of their Princes, Sovereigns or <u>Suns</u>, their slaves, concubines or relatives offered themselves to death in order to attend the Souls of their Sovereigns.

^{*} Wild Indians, such nations as were not conquered by the Old Mexicans & made tributary, which they called <u>Chichimacs</u>, Aborigines or Barbarians.

the French attempted to settle in their country, when it appeared to be greatly on the decline. It must have taken many years to have thus increased from a wretched fugitive band - supposing that they had been frightened away from their original country by the Spanish invasions and conquests.

It seems that the arrival of the Chickasaws and Creek as well as Choctaus might have been about the time that the Spaniards, French, and English began their establishment in N. England Virginia, Carolina & Florida, [17 which I believe will appear to be about the period of the Spanish invasion, conquests and establishment of power in New=Mexico. The Choctaus I believe came the last and in considerable force. According to the account of DuPratz, derived from the Natchez, they appeared suddenly as if they rose out of the Earth. The Creeks have much the same idea of their arrival, - like the arrival and settling of a swarm of bees, as they express themselves on the subject. Yet it is certain that all these nations or Bands, i.e., the Natchez, Chickasaws, Muscogulges, or Choctaus, were derived from the same region, for they all speak dialects of the same language, generally so near alike that they are able to converse with each other with -

out the aid of interpreters. Thus we may conclude that their arrival in the country which they now possess, was after one another, at so considerable a length of time intervening (perhaps a generation or two) & each contending for Empire and the honor and glory of their tribes, they in part forgot or disregarded their ancient lineage and affinity.

Picture Records III. Hieroglyphical Signs - Paintings

Question 3d.

Have you observed among any of these tribes of <u>Indians</u> which you have visited, any <u>Paintings</u> superior in the execution to those of the Northern Indians, as we observe them on trees, &c.? If you have, what did those paintings commonly represent? And among what Tribes of Indians did you observe these Paintings? Are any of the Indian Tribes very curious in preserving the memory of events by paintings? If such Paintings are made use of by the Indians, do you know, or do you suppose that they are acquainted with any signs or symbols to denote attributes or qualities of various Kinds? Thus, how would these Indians convey an idea

of <u>Courage</u> or of <u>Cowardice</u>, of <u>good</u> or evil &c etc.?

Answer 3d

The Paintings which I observed among the Creeks are commonly on the clay plastered walls of on a subsequent page their houses, particularly on the walls of the houses comprising the Public Square (See Plan for) or Areopagus: they were I think hieroglyphics, or mystical writings for the same use and purpose as these mentioned by historians, to be found on the obelisks, pyramids and other monuments of the ancient Egyptians, & and much often the same style and text, much caricatured and picturesque: and though I never saw an instance of the Chiaro oscuro yet the outlines are bold, natural and tumed(?) or designed to convey some meaning, passion or admonition, and thus may be said to speak to those who can read them. The walls are plastered very smooth with red clay: there the figures or symbols are drawn with white clay paste or chalk, and if the walls are plastered with clay of a whitish or lime color, then the figures are drawn with red, brown or bluish chalk or paste.

Almost all kinds of animals, sometimes plants flowers trees &e are the subjects, figures of mankind in

various attitudes, some very ludicrous and even obscene. Even the <u>privates</u> of men are sometimes represented, but never an instance of indelicacy in a female figure.

Men are often depicted having the head and other members of different kinds of animals, etc.etc. as a wolf, buck, hare, horse, buffalo, snake, duck, turkey, tiger, cat, crocodile &c &c. All these animals are on the other hand depicted having the human head members can animals having the head and other members of different animals, so as to appear monstrous.*But the most beautiful painting now to be found among the Muscogulges is on the skin and bodies of their ancient chiefs & Mico, - which is of a bluish, lead, or indigo color.

^{*} I am sensible that these specimens of their paintings will, to us, who have made such incomparable progress and refinements in the arts and sciences, appear trifling and ludicrous; but as you desired me to be particular and omit nothing, I hope to be excused. Yet I think they are and the wretched remains of something of greater use & consequence amongst their ancestors.

It is the breast, trunk, muscular of fleshy part of the arms and thighs and sometimes almost every part of the surface of the body that is thus beautifully depicted or write over with https://doi.org/10.10/ the surface of the body that is thus beautifully depicted or write over with hieroglyphics, commonly the sun, moon & planets, occupies the breast, zones on belts as beautiful, fanciful scenes wind around the trunk of the body, thighs, arms and legs, dividing the body into many fields or tablets, which are ornamental or filled up with innumerable figures, as representations of animals of the chase, a sketch of a landscape representing an engagement or battle with their enemy or some creature of the chase, and a thousand other fancies. Their paintings are admirably well executed and seem to be inimitable. It is performed by executing fine punctures and seems like mezotints or a very infamous impression from the best executed engravings. These are no doubt hieroglyphics or mystical writings or records of their tribe, family or memorable events &c. &c.

When I was at Manchack on the Mississippi, at the McGillvary's & Swanson's trading houses, I saw several buffalo hides with the wool on them. The flesh side of the skins were depicted and painted very beautifully: the performance was admirable: I may

say inimitable, by the most ingenious artist among Europeans or people of the Old Worlds, unless taught by the Indians. The painted hides were the work of the Illinois Indians near Fort Who Chartres, where the company had Trading houses and traders, purchased these of the Indians and sent them down here for to send to Europe. I was asked six dollars for one of these, which I thought cheap considering their curiosity, but had no opportunity of carrying one home. The subjects - or figures in the composition were much like these inscriptions on paintings on the bodies of the chiefs and warriors. Their borders were exceedingly pleasing Red, black and blue were the colors, on a buff ground.

IV. - Religion, Language, and Government.

Question 4th Comparative Religious Advancement

Which of the tribes of Indians visited by you are the most polished in their <u>Religion</u>, in their <u>Manners</u>, in their <u>Language</u>, in their <u>Government</u>, &c. &c.?

over

Answer 4th

If adopting or imitating the manners and customs of the white people is to be termed Civilization, perhaps the Cherokees have made the greatest advance.

But I presume, if we are to form and establish our judgements from the opinions and and rules laid down by the greatest doctors of Morality, Philosophers • Divines either of the Ancients or Moderns, the Muscogulges must have our approbation, and engage our esteem.

Their religion is perhaps, as pure as that which was in the beginning revealed to the first families of mankind: they have no notion of conception of any other God but the <u>Great Spirit</u> on high, the giver and taker away of the Breath of Life. Which is as much as to say that Eternal, Supreme being who created and governs the universe. They worship none else.

They pay a kind of homage to the <u>Sun</u>, <u>Moon</u> and <u>planets</u>, -- as the mediators or ministers of the Great Spirit, in dispensing his attributes for their comfort and well being in this life. They have some religious rites and forms, which are managed by their Priests or Doctor, who

make the people believe by their cunning and craft that they have a supernatural, spiritual communication with invisible persons which enables these Spirits of good and evil, and that they have the power of invoking the elements and dispensing their attributes good and bad. They make the people believe by conjecture they can bring rain, fine weather, heat, cooling breezes, etc. etc.

Thunder & lightning, bring on or expel and cure sickness &e &e

V - Government - Chiefs and Priests.

Ouestion 5th.

What appears to be the great outlines of the <u>Government</u> of the Cherokees, Creeks and other tribes of Indians with which you are acquainted? Are their governments in general <u>Elective</u>, or are they <u>Hereditary</u>? If elective, is the person elected chosen for life, or only for a certain time, or so long as he should conduct himself to the satisfaction of the people? If hereditary, is the power of the King or Sachem very considerable? Or is it chiefly a nominal power? These are questions of considerable magnitude

Answer 5th.

The Government or system of Legislation amongst all the nations of Indians I have visited seem to be exactly similar.

That is the most Simple, Natural and rational that can be imagined or desired. The same spirit that dictated to Montesque the idea of a rational government, seems to superintend and guide the Indians. And if should say no more upon the subject perhaps you would be better able to form to yourself a notion of their government.

All that I can say, from my own observations, will amount to little more than mere conjecture and leaves the subject in a doubtful situation, for at best it will be but the apprehensions or conjectures of a Traveller from cursory, and superficial views, perhaps aided and perhaps led astray by the accounts given me by the Traders or other white people, who have resided among them, who from motives of avarice or contempt of the Indians in general through prejudice, seldom carry their observations or inquiries beyond common report (which we may be assured is against the Indians), or improving their commerce with them for

stories

their immediate, private interests - little can be depended upon from their story ^ alone.

The whole region of the Muscogulges Empire or Confederacy comprehends a territory of at least 500 miles square,* which consists of the upper and lower Creeks or Seminoles, comprehending the <u>Uches</u>, <u>Alabamas</u>, <u>Occones</u> & many more tribes who altogether make between 60 & 70 towns or villages. Every town and village is to be considered as an independent nation or tribe having its <u>Mico</u> or Chief. Every individual inhabitant has an equal right to the soil to hunt and range over this region. Except within the jurisdiction of each town or village which I believe seldom extends beyond the habitations and planting grounds, (perhaps the <u>Uches</u> are to be excepted, who claim an exclusive property, by right of contract or Treaty, when they entered into alliance with the Muscogulges

^{*500} miles square: E. & W. from Savannah River to the Mobile, comprehending all its branches to their sources, and S. & N. from the extremity of the peninsula of E. Florida to the Cherokee or Apalachia Mountains.

but though they sometimes put the Creeks in mind of this privilege, when their hunters make too far with their hunting grounds, yet the dispute seldom goes further, as the Confederacy are and cautious of offending the Uches, so generally yield for their common interest and safety.

The system of government in each town or tribe may be described thus:

- 1st. The Mico or King.
- 2d. The great War Chief, ancient warriors or heads of tribes or families, that constitute the town or nations. &
- 3d. The younger warriors or hunters, or the communality.

The <u>Mico</u> is considered the first man in dignity and power in the Nation or Town and is the supreme civil magistrate, yet is in fact no more than president of the national council of his own tribe or town and has no executive power independent of the Council, which is convened every day in the forenoon and held in the public Square.

The great War Chief heads the army of the tribe, and herein consists his dignity and power. The elder warriors, ancient heads of families and younger warriors compose the Divan or daily National Council, where the <u>Mico pre=</u>

sides. The great war chief being seated next to him on the left hand at the head of the ancient and celebrated warriors; and next to the Mico, on his right hand, is the second head man of the tribe, at the head of chiefs of tribes and families, younger warriors, &c.

They show the King due respect and the most profound homage, especially when assembled in the great Rotunda or Winter Council house. To him only they bow very low, almost to his feet, when the waiters hand him the shell of Black Drink*, but when out of the Council any where, they use the common civility, converse freely with him, as with a common man. He dresses no better than a common citizen, and his house is in no way distinguished from the others, otherwise than being larger, according as his ability on private riches may enable him, for

^{* &}lt;u>Black drink</u>, a strong decoction or infusion of the leaves and tender tips(?) of the <u>Cassine</u> or <u>Ilex Yapon</u> which is drunk constantly every evening by the Chief and warriors in the great Rotunda with great ceremony (perhaps religious.) They call this <u>cassine</u> the <u>beloved tree</u>. This infusion is perhaps one of the most active and powerful diuretics of any vegitable yet known.

He exacts no sort of tribute. He goes out to hunt with his family and even goes to the field with his axe and hoe, to work every day during the season of labor. But he has the disposal of the corn and fruits in the public or national granery. He is complimented with the first fruits and gives audience to Ambassadors, Deputies and Strangers who comes to town or tribe, receives presents &c.* He alone has the privilege of giving a public feast to the whole town, which is barbecued bear (or fat bulls or steers, which he must kill himself, & this is called the King's feast, or Royal feast.) And when he intends this frolic, after a successful

^{*} The power and dignity of the King is for life or during good behavior: they are election, but in what manner they are chosen I could get no satisfactory account. It appears to me the most mysterious part of the system. It is not in a public manner like our elections, or the traders would have been able to tell me. Perhaps it is done in secret in the great Rotunda, where the Whites are not admitted, or in the sanctorum, or high priests' apartment, in the public square.

hunt he sends messengers to prepare the town, where they display the King's Standard at the front and one corner of his house, and hoist a flag in the public square, beat drums about the town, and the inhabitants dress and paint themselves for there is dancing and frolicking all that night.

They have an ancient high priest, and with juniors in every town or tribe,. and Tthe high priest is a person of great power and consequence in the state. He always sits in Council, and his advice in affairs of war is of the greatest weight and importance, and he or one of his disciples always attends a war party.

It sometimes happens that the King is war=chief and high priest, and there his power is very formidable and sometimes dangerous to the liberty of citizens, and he must be a very cunning man if the Tomahawk or rifle do not cut him short.

And if I may be allowed in this place to venture a conjecture, the first Montezuma and the Inca founders of the Mighty Empires of Mexico and Peru, were cunning examples of this stamp.

As were the absolute Kings of

of the ancient Floridians, History tells us the King of <u>Calos</u> in the Peninsula of Florida. He assumed a communion and familiarity with powerful invisible Spirits, by which he kept his subjects in awe, and to where he sacrificed captives.

I myself was the other day present, when the big Warrior Chief, King of the Seminoles assumed the power and dignity of a demi god; when, at the head of his party of warriors, who he with an air of surprising arrogance and pomp • threatened Mr. McLatche, that if he did not comply with his requisitions, he would command the thunder and lightning to descend upon his head and reduce his stores to ashes.

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VI. - Religious ideas and doctrines.

Ouestion 6th.

What appear to be the great outlines of the <u>Religion</u> or <u>Religions</u> of these tribes of Indians which you have visited? Does the existence of a <u>God</u> appear to be generally received? Do you remember the <u>name</u> or <u>names</u> by which any of the tribes call or designate their God? Does the doctrine of the <u>Immortality of the Soul</u>, or a doctrine in any respect similar to it, appear to be general? Have they any idea of the doc=

trine of rewards and Punishment in a Future State?

Answer 6th

As I have hinted in my answer to your questions in the a preceding section upon the very subject,
- there is little more can be said concerning their Religion.

All that I observed was that every nation I was amongst seemed individually to believe in a Supreme God or Creator, which in their different languages they call by a name which signifies the great or Universal Spirit, the giver and taker away of the Breath of Life: thus the Traders all interpret the word or words which mean the one Eternal Supreme Creator, the Soul and Governor of the Universe. They have no appointed time to assemble and worship the great Spirit, but they frequently in word and actions address themselves to God, in thanksgiving and adoration as when escaping from some imminent danger &

calamity: as likewise ejaculations of praise and homage at beholding extraordinary instances of the Works and Power of God in the visible creation, or the harmony & influence of his attributes in the intellectual system. - - -

But they worship no <u>idols</u> either of their own formation, or the sublimary productions of nature.

They assemble and feast at the appearance of the new moon, where they seem to be in great mirth and gladness, but I believe make no offerings to that <u>planet</u>.

They seem to do homage to the Sun as the <u>Symbol</u> of the power and beneficence of the great Spirit, or as his <u>minister</u>. Thus at treaties they first puff or blow the smoke from the great pipe or Calumet up towards that luminary; look up towards it with great reverence and earnestness when they confirm their talks or speeches in council, as a witness of their contracts. And when they make their martial harangues and Speeches at the head of their armies, when setting out or making the onset. &c.

They venerate Fire and have some mysterious sites and ceremonies which I could

never perfectly comprehend.

They seem to keep the <u>Eternal Fire</u> in the Great Rotunda, where it is guarded by the priests.

In their great annual festival called the <u>Busque</u> or feast of <u>First Fruits</u>, they put out all the fires of the Nation or town and there the High Priest, by friction of dry woods and the addition of <u>rosin</u> produces new fire, in the great Temple or Rotunda from whence the whole town is supplied. But so far are the Muscogulges from having a corps of consecrated Virgins to guard and keep this fire, that the women are not allowed to step within the pale of the Rotunda, and it is death for any to enter it. None but a priest can carry a fire forth.

The <u>Spiral Fire</u> on the hearth or floor of the Rotunda is very curious; it seems to light up in a flame of itself at the appointed time, but how this is done I know not.

All the Indians which I have been amongst are so confirmed in the doctrine of the Immortality of the Soul, that they would certainly judge any man to be out of his reason that should doubt it: they also believe that every creature has a spirit or soul that exists in a

future state: some historians have gone so far as to assert that a pattern or spiritual likeness of every thing living as well as inanimate exists in another world.

They believe in <u>rewards and punishment in a future state</u>, just in the same manner in which we do. - That virtue and merit will be rewarded with felicity, and that wickedness on the contrary will be attended with infamy and misery.

They believe in <u>Visions</u>, <u>Dreams</u>, & <u>Trances</u>. They relate abundance of stories of men that had been dead or thought dead for many hours and days, who have revived again giving an account of their transit to and from the world of souls, and describe the condition and situation of the place and spirits. And these people have always returned to life with doctrines and admonitions tending to encourage and enforce virtue and morality.

VII - Physical Characteristics.

Question 7th.

Which is the fairest and most comely tribe of the Southern Indians? Are the Indian

<u>Women</u> generally fairer than the Indian men? Are the <u>Indian Children</u> born with the copper tinge or color? Or does this color first make its appearance some days after birth? We hear much in writers of white and spotted Indians, as at the Isthmus of Darien: have you ever seen or heard of such white or spotted Indians, among any of the tribes with which you are acquainted? If you have, some account of these phenomena would be very interesting to me. Do you remember the names of any of the <u>plants</u> which the Indians which you have visited make use of in painting or staining their skins? Is the <u>Succoon</u> (the <u>Sanguinaria Canadeneis</u> of Linnaeus) one of the plants employed by the southern Indians as a pigment, found as far south as the countries of the Cherokees Creeks &c.?

Answer 7th

The Cherokees are the largest race of men I ever saw, and equally comely, with their reason complexions brightest, being of the olive cast of the Asiatics; this is obvious which I suppose

led the Traders to give them the by=name of the Breeds, supposing them to be mixed with the White people. But though some of them are evidently adulterated by the Traders,-&e. Yet the natural complection is tawney.

The women are tall, slim, and of a graceful figure, and have captivating features and manners; & I think their complection is rather fairer than the men's.

The <u>Muscogulges</u> are in stature nearly equal to the Cherokees: have fine features and are every way handsome men. Their nose is very often aquiline: they are well limbered, countenance upright, and their eyes brisk and fiery. But their complections are of a dark copper color.

Their women are very little, in appearance not more than half the size of the men; but they have regular and beautiful features; the eyes large with high arched eyebrows, and their complections little if any brighter than those of the men.

There are some tribes in the confederacy which much resemble the Cherokees, in stature and color &c. The <u>Uches</u>, <u>Savannas</u>, & some of the Seminoles.

I have seen Indian infants of a few

weeks old: their color was like that of a healthy male. European countryman or laborer of middle age, though inclining a little more to the red or copper tinge: but they soon become of the Indian copper. I believe naturally, as I never from constant inquiry could learn that the Indians had any artificial means of changing their color.

The Indians who have commerce with the whites, make very little use of color or paints of the native production of their country, since they have neglected their own manufacture, for those supplied them cheap and in abundance from Europe. I believe they are in general ignorant themselves of their own country's productions. The poccoon or Sanguenaria Galliam, bark of the Acer rubrum, Toxicodenron radicans, Rhus triphyllen & some other vegitable pigments are yet in use for the women, who yet amuse themselves in manufacturing some few things, as belts and coronets, for their husbands feather Cloaks, Moccasins &c.

I have never heard of any white, Spek=

led or pied people among them.

It is reasonable to suppose that anciently the Indians were more ingenus and industrious in manufacture when necessity obliged them. Therefore we must seek for their arts and sciences among nations far distant from the settlements of the white people, or recover them by industry and experiments of our own.

There is one remarkable circumstance respecting the hair of the head of the Indian which I do not to have been observed by Travellers or historians. Besides the lankness, extraordinary natural length, and perhaps coarseness of the hair of the head, it is of a shining black or brown color, showing the same splendor and changeableness as different exposures to the light. The traders informed me that they preserved its perfect blackness and splendor by the use of the red farinaceous or furry covering of the berries of the common sumack (Rhus glabrum) over night they rub this red powder in their hair as much as it will contain, tying it up with a handkerchief, til morning when they carefully comb it out and dress their hair with clean bear's oil

But notwithstanding this care and assiduity it must at last submit to old age, and I have seen the hair of the extreme aged as white as cotton wool. I have observed quantities of this red powder in their houses.

VIII - Social Relations.

Question 8th.

What is the condition of the women among these tribes of Indians which you visited? We are told by many writers that the condition or State of the Indian women is the picture of misery and oppression; is this actually the case? Do the Indian women even, so far as you know preside in the Council of the Sachems: especially when war and other matters of consequence are considered in these councils? Have you even heard or known of any instance or instances of a woman or women who have presided over any nation or nations of Indians?

Answer 8th.

I have every measurable argument from my own observation, as well as the accounts of the whites

residing among the Indians, to be convinced that the condition of the women is as happy compared with that of the men as [3] the condition of women in any part of the world. Their business of employment is chiefly in the house, as other women, except in the season when their crops of corn &c. is growing, when they generally turn out with their husbands or parents, but they are by no means compelled to such labor, and there is not one third as many females as males seen at work in their plantations: for at this season of the year, by a law of the people they do not hunt, the game not being in season, till after their crops or harvest is gathered in; so the males have little else to employ themselves, and the Indians are by no means that lazy, slothful, sleepy people they are commonly reported to be. Besides, you may depend upon my assertion that, there is no people any where who love their women more than these Indians do, or men of better understanding in distinguishing the merits of the opposite sex, or more faithful in rendering suitable compensation. They are courteous, and polite to the women, gentle, tender and fondling even to an appearance of effeminacy to their offspring. An Indian never attempts, nay he cannot use(?) to

any indelicacy or indecency, either in action or language.

I never saw or heard of an instance of an Indian beating his wife or other female or abusing them in anger or in harsh language. And the women make a suitable and grateful return for they are discreet, modest, loving, faithful and affectionate to their husbands.

In the hunting season, that is in Autumn and Winter, the men are generally out in the forests, when the whole care of the house falls on the women, who are there obliged to undergo a good deal of labor, such as cutting and bringing home the winter's wood, which they toat* on their back or head a great distance, especially those of the ancient large towns where the commons and old fields extend some miles to the woodland. But this labor is in part alleviated by the assistance of the old men, who are past their hunting days & no longer participate in the wars, who remain in the towns. They have likewise the aid of horses in the work. The women also gather an incredible amount of nuts(?)-nuts and acorns, which they manufacture into oil for annual consumption. They make all the pottery or earthenware, which is very considerable: as some of their pots hold near

*Toat or tote, to carry; a word of unknown origin, much used in the southern states. It has been - absurdly enough - derived from the Latin tollit.. – Barlett's Dictionary of Americanisms.

a barrel & are of a tender and fragile composition, you may see mounts of fragments of earthen ware around their towns, for every fragment however small is cast into these heaps.

I neither know nor heard of any instances of the females bearing rule or presiding either in Council or the field, but according to report the Cherokees & Creeks can boast of their Semeriamis, Zenobea, and Cleopatra. When I was passing through the Cherokee country we crossed a very fine stream, a branch of <u>Tugilo</u> Creek, which is called War-Woman's Creek. I inquired of my companion, an ancient trader, the cause of so singular a name. He answered that it arose from a decisive battle which the Cherokees formerly gained over their nemesis on banks of this creek, through the valor and stratagem of an Indian woman who was present, who was afterwards raised to the dignity and honor of a Queen or Chief of the Nation, as a reward for her superior virtues and abilities, and presided as the State during her life.

The Creeks speak to this day with the highest Encomiums and glory of the name of a widow of their grand Chief or Mico by whose

superior wisdom interposed in a serious dispute between these nations and the English, about the time of the Establishment of the colony of Georgia (under the conduct of General Oglethorpe) who restored peace between them, which grew finer and stronger every day til the dissolution of the British government in that Region. This woman [33 married Dr. Bosewoth D.D. of the new founded colony, a very worthy man, who had as a dowry with his queen a large and fertile island on the coast of Georgia together with a territory on the main. * If I mistake not Mr. Boseworth * As to this latter part of this History, I am not certain whether she remained to the end of her life in Europe, or returned again to Georgia; and also I may perhaps be incorrect as to the entire particulars of the story. But the main of the History is true as every Georgian and Indian knows, and rejoices at hearing the names of these persons mentioned. Any gentleman of Georgia will avow to its authenticity, and perhaps upon inquiry will give you a more accurate account than I can.

afterwards returned to England with his wife who even there was esteemed a celebrated woman also for her virtues and talents. The Seminoles or lower Creeks —too boast of a great queen or Empress in former days, whose Empire according to their account must have been in E. Florida between the St. Mary's and St. Juan rivers and the imperial city of Alachua. She was powerful and beneficent, and so celebrated a beauty that all the Kings to a vast distance round about, at certain season annually visited to her court with large trains of their chiefs &c. bearing heavy (?) presents for the queen, not as tributaries, but out of compliment and respect to her merit. Great numbers of the Kings, Chiefs, &c. continued for the Stated period, representing Sports, feats of arms and other divirtisments, to divert and compliment this celebrated queen; She was carried about under a rich canopy of feathers, on the shoulders of princes and nobles. &c.

Her reign was about the time the Europeans first visited this coast, the Spanish inhabitants of E. Florida have yet a tradition of these matters, and relate accounts much like the above.

IX - Chu Chunk Yards, or Earthworks.

In the letter which you wrote to me concerning the Mounts &c. you make mention of the Chunky Yard of the Cherokee Indians: What is the nature, use &c. of this Yard? Is this Chunky Yard confined to the Cherokee Indians? Or have you observed it among the other tribes of Indians? A Sketch of the Chunky Yard will be very acceptable.

Answer 9th.

The <u>Chunky Yards</u> of the Creeks, so called by the traders is a cubiform area, generally in the center of the town because the public Square and Rotunda or great winter Council house stand on the two opposite corners of it. It is generally very extensive especially in the larger old towns*, is exactly level and sunk two, sometimes three feet below the banks or terrace surrounding it, which are sometimes two, one above and behind the others, and is formed of earth cast out of the area at

^{*}The Chunky Yards are of different sizes according to the largeness and fame of the town they belong to; some are 200 or 300 yds. in length, and of proportionable breadth.

the time of its formation; then banks or terraces serve the purposes of seats for the spectators. In the center of the yard there is a low circular mount or eminence, in the center of which stands erect the Chunky pole, which is a high obelisk on four square pillars declining upwards to an obtuse point, (in shape and proportion much resembling the ancient Egyptian Obelisk.) This is of wood, the heart or inward resinous part of the sound pine tree, and is very durable; it is generally from 30 to 40 feet high, & to the top of this is fastened some object to shoot at with bows and arrows, the rifle &c. at certain times appointed. Near each corner of the lower and further end of the yard stands erect a less pillar or pole, about 12 feet high; these are called the slave posts, because to them are bound the captives condemned to be burnt and these posts are usually decorated with the scalps of their slain enemies; the scalp with the hair on them and six seven strained on a little hoop, usually 5 or 6 inches in width, which are suspended by a string 6 or 7 inches in length round about the top of the poles, where they remain as long as they last. I have seen some that have been there so long as to lose all the hair, and the skin remaining white as parchment or paper. The pole is usually covered with the white, dry skull of an enemy. In some of these towns I have counted 6 or 8 scalps fluttering on one pole in these yards.

Thus it appears evidently enough that this area is designed for a public place of exhibition of shows and games, and formerly some of the scenes were of the most tragical and barbarous nature, as torturing the miserable captives with fire in various ways, as causing or forcing them to run the gauntlet naked, chunked and beat almost to death with burning chunks and fire brands, and at last burnt to ashes.

I inquired of the Indians for what reason this area was called the <u>Chunky Yard</u>: they were in general ignorant, yet they all seemed to agree in a lame story of its originating from its being the place where the Indians formerly put to death and tortured their captives - or their interpretation of the Indian name for it, that bears such a signification.*

The Indians do not now torture their captives after that cruel manner as formerly, but there are some old Traders who have been present at the burning of captives.

I observed no chunky Yards, Chunky pole or slave posts in use in any of the Cherokee towns, and when I have mentioned in my journal Chunky Yards in the Cherokee country it must be understood that I had seen the remains or vestiges of these in the ancient ruins of

towns, for in the present Cherokee towns that I visited though there were the ancient mounts and signs of the yard adjoining, yet the yard was either built upon or turned into a garden spot or the like.

Indeed I am convinced that the Chunky Yards now, or lately, in use amongst the Creeks are of very ancient date - not the formation of the present Indians, but are in most towns cleaned out and kept in repair, being swept very clean every day, and the poles kept up and decorated in the manner I have mentioned.

X - Tenure of Lands and Property.

Question 10th.

Does there appear to be a <u>Community of goods</u> among the tribes you have visited? Or have the members of each tribe their own Exclusive property in Lands, produce of these Lands &c.?

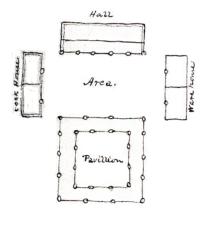
Answer 10th.

As I have already observed in answer to your 5th. question, that the soil with all the its appurtenances of the whole Muscogulge Confeder=

acy or Empire is equally the right and property of every individual inhabitant, except within the pole or precinct of Each town where meum and teum or distinctions or property take place. And though I believe that the whole territory comprehended within the claims of the confederacy is divided by lines and boundaries amongst the different tribes (as for instance the Uches as mentioned 2d 5th, and Savannahs, Alabamas & other Tribes who speak the Stinkard tongue, who one third make perhaps 1/3d, of the confederacy. The Muscogulges, who are the head or imperial tribe and founders of the confederacy, and speak the Muscogee or national tongue, perhaps their two thirds towns and villages claim the other 2/3ds. of the territory) yet every individual citizen of the has confederacy have he has and equal right to hunt and scavenge, when he pleases in the forests and unoccupied lands, & to range stocks of cattle, horses &c.

All that a man earns by his labor or industry—&e. belongs to himself, who has the use and disposal of it according to the custom and usages of the People. He may clear, settle and plant as much land as he pleases, & wherever he will within the boundaries of his tribe. There are however very few instan=

ces amongst the Creeks of farms or private plantations out of sight of the Town (I was at one belonging to a chief of the town of the Apalachians, about six miles from the town, on or near the banks of the river; I went to pay him a visit with an old trader, my fellow pilgrim in consequence of an invitation to breakfast with him). He is called the <u>Boazen</u> or Boatswain by the traders. As a Prince he received us with politeness and most perfect good breeding. His villa was beautifully situated and constructed. It was conformed of three, oblong, uniform frame buildings, and a fourth four=square fronting the principal house or common hall after this



manner, encompassing an area: the hall was his lodging house large and commodious, the two wings were, one a cook house, the other a skin or ware house, and the large square one was a vast open <u>Pavillion</u>, supporting a canopy or cedar roof by two rows of columns on pillars one after the other; between each range of pillars was a platform or what the Traders call cabins,

[Fig.1.]

a sort of sofa raised about two feet above the common ground and ascended by two steps; this was covered

by checkered mats of the same curious manufacture, woven of splints of canes dyed of different nine colors: the middle was a four square stage or platform raised 9 inches or a foot higher than the cabins or sofas, and also covered with mats. In this delightful airy place we were received and entertained by this prince. We had excellent coffee served up in China ware by young negro slaves; we had plenty of excellent sugar, honey, choice warm corn cakes, Venison, steaks and barbecued meat. We spent the first part of the day with him, and returned to town at evening, well-pleased with the honor and distinction shown us by that man of excellent character. He had near one hundred acres of fertile land in good fence, most of which is usually planted and thirty fifteen attended to by his own family, which counts of about 30 people; among which were about 15 negroes, several of which are married to Indians and enjoy equal privileges with them but they are slaves til they marry, when they become Indians or free citizens.

This truly great and worthy man had acquired his riches by trading with the white people.

He carries his merchandise on horses to the Altamaha river where having large and convenient boats he descends the river to Fredrica and

sometimes continues his voyage to Sunbury and Savannah, where he disposes of his goods (i.e. Deerskins, Furs, Hides, Tallow, Oils, Honey, Wax, &c. &c. and with the receipts therefor purchases Sugar, Coffee, and every other kind of goods suitable to the Indian Markets. I have dwelt so long on this subject which may be called a digression, because it may, (amongst many more instances I could produce were it required of me) serve to convince the prejudiced, ignorant, obstinate people that assert that it is impossible for the Creeks to be brought over to our mode of civil society (though so contrary to their notions of civilization and perhaps in some degree irreconcilable to right reason). However I am not for levelling things down to the simplicity of Indians, yet I may be allowed to conjecture that it may possibly better our condition in Civil Society by paying some more respect to and impartially examining the system of Legislation, religion, Morality and Economy of these refined, persecuted, Wild People, or as they are learnedly called Bipeds - I suppose meaning a creature differing from quadrupeds.

But to return to the subject in question. Every time a community assigns a piece or parcel of land as near as may be to the town for the sake of convenience. This is called the <u>town plantation</u>

where every family or citizen has his parcel or share, according to desire or convenience, or largeness of his family. The shares are bounded by a strip of grass ground, poles set into any other natural or artificial boundary, so that the whole plantation is a collection of lots joining each other, comprised in one exclusive, or general boundary.

In the spring, when the season arrives, all the citizens as one family prepare the ground and begin to plant, commencing at one end or the other as convenience may direct for the general good & so continue on until finished; and when the young plants arise and require culture they dress and husband these until the crops are ripe. The work is directed by an overseer elected or appointed annually, I suppose in rotation throughout all the families of the town. He rises at day break, makes his progress through the town, and with a singular loud cry awakens the people to their daily labor, who by sun rise assemble at the public square, each one with his hoe and axe, when they form themselves into one body or band, headed by their superintendent, who leads them to the field in the same order as if they were going to battle, where they begin their work and continue till evening. The females do not march out with the men but continue follow in detached parties

bearing the provisions of the day.

When the fruits of their labors are ripe and are fit order to gather in, they all on the same day repair to the plantation, each gathering the produce of his own proper lot, and brings it to town and deposits it in his own <u>crib</u>, alotting a certain portion for the Public Granary, which is called the Kings crib, because its contents are at his disposal, though not his private property, but is to be considered as the tribute or free contribution of the citizens of the State, at the disposal of the King.

The design of the common Granary is far the wisest and best of purposes, with respect to their people, i.e., a store or resource to repair to in cases of necessity. As when a family's private stores fall short, in cases of accident or otherwise, he has an equal right of assistance and supply from the public granary, by applying to the King. It also serves to aid other towns which may be in need; and affords provisions for their armies, for travellers, sojourners &c. &c.

Thus the Mico become the provider of <u>Father of his People</u>, or of <u>Man Kind</u> - the greatest and most godlike character upon Earth.

Besides the general plantation, each habitation in the town includes a garden spot adjoining his house, where he plants corn, rice, squashes &c.

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which by early planting and close attention offered an earlier supply than their distant plantations.

And although it appears these people enjoy all the advantages of freedom and private property, and they have laws, usages and customs which secure each one his rights according to reason, justice and equality, the whole Tribe seems as one family or community, & in fact all their possessions are in common. For they have neither locks nor bars to their doors, and there is a common and continual intercourse between the families of a tribe, and indeed throughout the Confederacy they seem as one great family perfectly known and acquainted with each other wherever they meet.

If one goes to another's house and is in want of any necessary that he or she sees, and says I have need of such a thing, it is regarded only as a polite way of asking for it, and the request is forthwith granted, without ceremony or emotion. For he knows he is welcome to the like generous and friendly return, at any time. Indeed they seem to consider all the Indians of the Earth as one great family or community who have separated themselves as convenience or necessity have directed and formed innumerable

nations: Climates, situations, revolutions renovations or other unknown causes having marked the different nations and tribes by different stature, color, complection, manners, customs language &c.

Their philanthropy and hospitality is perhaps the most universal and liberal of any people we have account of: they hail all men, either of their own towns or the most distant nations by the name of brother. The Israelites called all of their own nation and religion brothers or brethern. But the Aborigines or red men of America offer this salutation to every individual of every nation, color or language, whatever, and this is universal throughout the nations of the Continent, unless we are to except the <u>Usquemas</u>, who appear to be another race, and with good-reason are supposed to be derived from a European Colony, much later after the Colonization of the red man, supposing these to be not absolutely aborigines. Such is their hospitality to-strangers that I know a Creek Indian would not only receive into his house a traveller or sojourner of whatever nature color or lan—

Transposed - 51 -

nations, climates, situations, revolutions, renovations or other unknown causes, having marked these different nations and tribes by different stature, color, complection, manners, customs, language &c. &c.

Their philanthropy and hospitality is perhaps the most universal and liberal of any people we have account of: They hail all men, either of their own land or of the most distant nations by the name of brother. The Israelites called all of their own nation and religion brothers or brethren. But the aborigines or red men of America, offer this salutation to every individual of every nation, color or language whatever, and this is universal throughout the nations of the Continent, unless we are to except the Usquemaus, who appear to be another race, and with good reason are supposed to be an European colony, much later than the colonization of the red men, supposing them to be not absolutely aborigines. Such is their hospitality to strangers, that I know a Creek Indian would not only receive into his house a traveller or sojourner of whatever nation, color, or lan=

guage (without distinction of rank or any other exception of person) and then treat them as a brother or his own child so long as he pleases to stay, and this without the least hope or thought of interest or reward, but serves you with the best of everything his abilities can afford. He would divide with you the last grain of corn or piece of flesh, offer you the most valuable things in his possession that he imagines would be acceptable, nay would part with every thing rather than contend for them, or let a stranger remain or go away necessitous. And this to an enemy whom they know or suspect has come through accident or misfortune among them or fell into their hands; in this case they would conduct him safe beyond their frontier and thus tell him to go and take care of himself.

Even a white man whom they have reason to know is their most formidable, cruel, barbarous and unrelenting foe, they would cherish him as long as he might chose to stay, or guard him to his country. If he comes peaceably to [their town?], or even if he met him alone in the dreary forest, naked, hungry, bewildered, lost, the Indian would give him his only blanket, half his provisions and take him to his wigwam, where he would repose securely and quietly, and in the

morning conduct him safe back to his own frontier and all this, even though he had been the day before, beaten, bruised and shot at by a white man. Thus they are hospitable, forgiving, gentle, humans and grateful, without precept or a scholastic education, and this by nature or some other unknown cause, without the least desire or expectation of applause or reward.

XI - Diseases and Remedies.

Question 11th.

What appear to be the most common <u>diseases</u> among the tribes of Indians with which you are acquainted? What are their <u>remedies</u> for those diseases? Have you any reasons for believing that the <u>Venerial</u> Disease was known among the N.A. Indians <u>before</u> the discovery of the Continent by the Europeans? Is it a frequent or common disease <u>at present</u>, among the Indians? If so, do they appear to be acquainted with any remedy or remedies for it? If any remedies, what are they?

Answer 11th.

The Indians seem in general healthier than the

the whites, have fewer diseases and those they have not so acute or contagious as those amongst us.

The small pox sometimes visits there, and is the most dreaded of all diseases.

Dysentery, Pleursy & Intermittent fevers, Epilepsy & Asthma they have at times.

The Hooping cough is fatal among their children, and worms are very frequent. But (besides their well=known remedy, <u>Spigelea anthelmia</u>, to prevent the troublesome and fatal effects of this disease, they use a strong <u>lixivium</u> prepared from ashes of bean=stalks and other vegitables, in all their food prepared from Corn (zea) which otherwise, they say, breeds worms in their stomachs.

They have the venerial disease amongst them in some of its stages, but by their continence, temperance, powerful remedies, skill in applying them & care, it is a disease which may be said to be uncommon. In some towns it is scarcely known, and in some rises to that state of virulency which we call a <u>pox</u>, unless sometimes amongst the White Traders, who themselves say as well as the Indians, that it might be eradicated, if the traders did not carry it with them to the nations when they return with their merchandise, who contract the disorder before they set off, and it generally becomes viru=

lent by the time they arrive, where they apply to the Indian doctors to get cured.

However, I am inclined to believe that this infernal disease originated in America from the variety of remedies found among the Indians - all of which are vegitable. I imagine that the disease is more prevalent as well as more malignant among the Northern tribes.

The vegitables which I discovered to be used as remedies are generally very powerful cathartics. Of this class are several species of the Iris, viz: Ir virsicolor, Ir. verna. And for the same purpose they have a high estimation of a species of either Croton or Stillingia. I am in doubt which: I think it is unknown to Europeans: (Cr. decumbens:) it is in great account in the medicines of Dr. Howard of S. Carolina, in curing the yaws, and is called the yaw weed. A great number of leaving, simple stems arise from a large perennial root: these stalks are furnished with lanciolate, entire leaves, both surfaces smooth. The stems terminate with spikes and male and female flower, the latter are succeeded by tricoccos seed vessels, each cell containing a single seed; the capsule after excluding the seed contracts and becomes of a trian=

gular figure much resembling a cocked hat, which has given that name to the plant, i.e. "cock=up= hat." In autumn before the stems decay, the leaves change to yellow, red and crimson colors, before they fall off.

I have been particular in the history of this plant, because it is known to possess very singular and powerful qualities. It is common on the light, dry, high lands of Carolina, Georgia and Florida.

Several species of <u>Smilax</u>, the woody vines of <u>Bignonia crucigera</u>, some of the <u>bays</u> (laurus) are of great account with the Indians as remedies.

But the Indians in the case of all complaints depend most upon regimen, and a rigid abstinence in the respect to exciting drinks, as well as the gratification of other passions and appetites.

The Cherokees use the <u>Lobelia siphilitica</u> and another plant of still greater power and efficacy which the traders told me of, but would not undertake to show it to me under the 20 guineas reward, for fear the Indians who endeavor to conceal the knowledge of it from the whites, lest its great virtues should excite their researches for it to its extermination—&c. &c. &c. etc.

⁺ The white nettle roots are good and wholesome food when roasted and boiled: they are about the size of a long carrot when well grown, but few of them are allowed to become larger, the swine are so fond of them.

The vines or climbing stems of the climber (<u>Bignonia Crucigera</u>) are equally divided longitudinally into four parts by the same number of their membranes, somewhat resembling a piece of white tape, by which means when the vine is cut through, and divided transversely it

presents to view the likeness of a cross { drawing was crossed out}. This membrane is of a sweet pleasant taste. The country people of S. Carolina chop these vines to pieces together with China brier & Sassafras roots & boil in their beer, in the spring for diet drink, in order to attenuate and purify the bloods & juices. It is a principal ingredient in Howards famous infusion for curing the yaws &c., the use and virtues of which he obtained from Indian Doctors.

The caustic and detergent properties of the white nettle (roots) of Carolina and Florida (<u>Tatropha urens</u>) used for cleansing old ulcers & consuming proud=flesh, and likewise the disolvant and diuretact powers of the root of the <u>Convolvulus panduratus</u> so much esteemed as a remedy in Nephritic Complaints were discovered by the Indians to the inhabitants of Carolina.

I was informed by the people that in order

to prepare and administer both these remedies they dig up the roots and divide and cut them into thin pieces in order for their more speedy drying in the shade, and then are reduced to powder, the former being plentifully spread over the ulcer, and the powder of the latter swallowed with any proper liquid vehicle: they are the most efficacious if used as fast as possible: I supposed losing their virtues by dessication or being exposed to the air.

The emollient and discutient power of the Swamp Lilly (Saururus cernuus) and the virtues of the Hypo or May apple (podophyllum peltatum) the root of which is the most efficient and safe emetic & also cathartic & equally efficacious in expelling worms from the stomach: the lives of many thousand of the people of the Southern States are preserved by means of this invaluable root, both of children and adults. In these countries it is infinitely of more value than the Spanish Ipecacuanha. I speak not only from my own experience, having been relieved by it, but likewise from numberless instances where I have seen its almost infallible good effects. The roots are dug up in the Autumn and Winter, spread to dry in an airy loft, where they are occasionally reduced to powder by the

the usual trituration (for the roots will retain their efficacy when dried.) 30 grains of the fine sieved powder is sufficient to operate on common constitutions, and half that quantity on children; but a weak dose is sufficient for a cathartic: either way it never fails to clear the stomach of worms.

In fine I look upon this & the <u>Saururus</u> to be two as valuable medicines as any we know of, at least in the S. States. The virtues of both were communicated to the white inhabitants by the Indians.

Panax genseng and Nondo or white root * (or "Belly ache root") perhaps Angelica lucida

* The Creeks & Cherokee call it by a name signifying white root. In Virginia it is called Nondo,

I suppose an Indian name. It is a plant highly worthy of cultivation, grows naturally in a good loose soil (moist) near to & all over the Cherokee and Apalachian Mountains. My father Jno.

Bartram planted it in his garden where it flourished equally as well as in its native soil. But the ground mice which are immoderately fond of its root, as well as that of the Ginseng, after several years destroyed it.

these roots are of the highest esteem among the Cherokees and Creeks. The virtues of the former are well known. Of the latter, its friendly carminative qualities are well known for relieving all the disorders of the stomach. A dry belly-ache and disorders of the Intestines, Cholic, Hysterics, &c. The patient chews the root & swallows its juice, or smokes it when dry with Tobacco. Even the smell of the <u>root</u> is of good effect. The lower Creeks, or when country it does not grow, will gladly give 2 or 3 buckskins for a single root of it.

XII. - Food, and Means of Subsistence.

Question 12th.

Does the food of the Indians appear to be principally animal or vegitable? What are the principal vegitables employed for food by them? What vegitables do they cultivate for food besides Maize? Different species of gourds &c.? What are the principal vegitables of which they make their bread? Do you think the tribes you visited were acquainted with the use of such before they became acquainted with the Europeans? If you think they were not, what substances did they employ as substitutes?

There ani smudged out

Answer 12th.

Their animal food consists chiefly of venison, bear's flesh, turkeys, hams, wild fowl and domestic poultry, also of domestic kine as, beeves, goats & swine - never horses flesh, though they have horses in great plenty; neither do they eat the flesh of dogs, cats or any such creature as are usually rejected by white people.

Their vegitable food consists chiefly of <u>Corn</u> (<u>Zea</u>) Rice, <u>convolvulus</u> oratata, or these nourishing roots usually called sweet or Spanish potatoes (but in the Creek Confederacy they never plant or eat the Irish potatoes). All the species of the <u>phaseolus</u> & <u>dolichos</u> in use among the whites and cultivated by the Creeks, Cherokees, &c. and make up a great part of their foods. All the species of <u>Cucurbita</u>, as squashes, pumpkins, water melons &c. but of the <u>Cacumi</u> they cultivate none of the species as yet, neither do they cultivate our farinaceous grains, as wheat, barley, Spelts, Rye, buckwheat &c. (not having yet the use of the plow amongst them though it has been introduced some years ago. The chiefs rejected it, alleging that

it would starve their old people who employed themselves in planting and selling these [?] produce to the Traders, for their support and maintenance; seeing that by permitting these traders to use the plow, one or two persons could easily raise more grain than all the old people of the town could do by using the hoe. Turnips, parsnips, sallads &c. they have no knowledge of. Rice (oryza) they plant in hills or high dry ground, in their gardens; by this manage most a few grains in a hill (the hills about 4 feet high apart) spread every way incredibly, and seem more prolific than cultivated in water as in the white settlements of Carolina; the heads or panicles are larger & heavier, and the grain is larger, firmer or more farinaceous, much sweeter and more nourishing* Each family raises

^{*}The rice planters of S. Carolina raise very little of their rice in flooded fields (the natural situations of their country not admitting of it) but plant in the rich low lands on the borders of streams, or swamps, & though this kind of agriculture is more troublesome and expensive, yet they find their advantages in a more farinaceous grain, more substantial & sweeter, inasmuch as their Rice brings a much higher price at the foreign markets.

of this excellent grain enough for its own use.

But besides the cultivated fruits above recited, with peaches, oranges*, plums, (Chickasau plums,) Figs, & [some apples, they have in use a vast variety of wild or native 49 Ephomme(?) vegitables, both fruits & roots, viz.: diospyros, moris rubra, gladitsea melliloba, s. triacanltus. All the species of Juglans & acorns (from which they extract a very sweet oil) which enters into all their cookery. Several species of palms furnish them with a great variety of agreeable & nourishing food. Grapes too they have in a great variety & abundance - which they feed on occasionally when ripe, & prepare them for keeping, which they lay up for winter & spring time. A species of Smilax (S. China) affords them a delicious & nourishing food, which is prepared from

^{*} Oranges and figs are not much cultivated in the <u>nation</u> or Upper Creeks; but in the lower Creek country near the Sea coast they are in greater abundance, particularly the orange. Many sorts are now become wild, all over E. Florida.

⁺Vitis Vinifera. I call them so because the approach in respect to the largeness of their fruit & their shape & flavor much nearer to the grapes of Europe & Asia of which wine is made, & are specifically different from our wild grape & are different from the fox or bull grape of Pennsylvania & Carolina.

its vast tuberous roots.

They dig up these roots & while yet fresh & full of juice chip them in pieces, then macerate them well in wooden mortars: this substance they put in vessels nearly full with clean water, when being well mixed with paddles, whilst the finer parts are yet floating in the liquid, they decant it off into other vessels, leaving the farinaceous substance at the bottom, which being taken out & dried is an impalpable powdered of farinacea, of a reddish incarnate color. This when mixed in boiling water becomes a beautiful jelly, which, sweetened with honey or sugar affords a most nourishing food for children or aged people, or when mixed with fine corn flowers or fried in fresh bear's grease to make excellent <u>fritters</u>.

I conclude these articles with mentioning a vegitable which I had but a slight opportunity of observing, just as I left the Creek country, on the waters of the Mobile river. It is a species of Palma. It has no stalk or stem above ground, the leaves spread regularly all around, are flabelliform, when fully expanded, often cucullated, their stipes very short, scarcely appearing at a slight view: in the center is produced a kind of dense panicle or general receptacle of the fruit

of the form and size of a sugar loaf. A vast(?) close(?) collection of plums or drupes of the size and figure of ordinary plums, which are covered with a fibrous, farinaceous pulpy coating of considerable thickness; this substance which to the best of my remembrance resembles manna in texture color & taste, is of the consistence of coarse brown sugar, mixt with particles or lumps of loaf sugar. It is a delicious & nourishing food, & diligently sought after. There were several of these clusters brought in to the Ottasse town just before I left it, of which I ate freely with the Indians & think in substance and taste it is most of anything like manna: a little bitterish & stringy on the palate at first using it, but soon becomes familiar & desirable.

I own I am not able to give an accurate botanical account of this very curious & valuable vegitable because it was discovered to my observation, just on my departure & though I saw several of the plants on the road, but being obliged to follow the mad career of a man of Travelling with pack horses, I had left the country of its native growth before I had an opportunity or leisure to examine it, which I have severely regretted. I am convinced it is an object of itself worth a journey to these regions to examine & procure it.

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XIII - Fossil Remains.

13 - Did you observe, in any part or parts of the countries through which you passed, any large

teeth or Bones, similar to these which are found near the river Ohio &c? Have the Indians so far

as you know any tradition concerning these bones? If they have what is the tradition?

Answer 13th.

I observed not the least sign or mention of any large teeth or bones of the kind you refer to,

except some tradition of the same story recited concerning the big bones on the Ohio, which

stories you are well acquainted with.

I indeed, frequently in the fossils of W. Florida and N. of Georgia observed very large

bones within the thigh & tibia and some remarkable large grinders (dent. mol.) but as I was

informed, suppose them to belong to the buffalo, (urus(?)) & they were all unchanged bone, not

petrified or fossil, which all the specimens of the great bones I have seen appear to be.

End of Qest. & Ans.

End of Inquires and Answers.

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Postscript.

Relating to the Aboriginal Monuments of the South.

I have added the following rough drawings of the Ancient Indian Monuments, consisting of public buildings, Areas, Vestiges of Towns &c., which I hope may serve in some degree to explain or illustrate my answers and conjectures. They are to the best of my remembrance as near the truth as I could express. However if I have erred in any, I hope they may be corrected and rectified by the observations of future and more accurate and industrious travellers. But as time changes the face of things, I wish they could be searched out & faithfully recorded, before the devastations of artificial refinements, ambition and avarice totally deface these simple and most ancient remains of the American Aborigines. &—

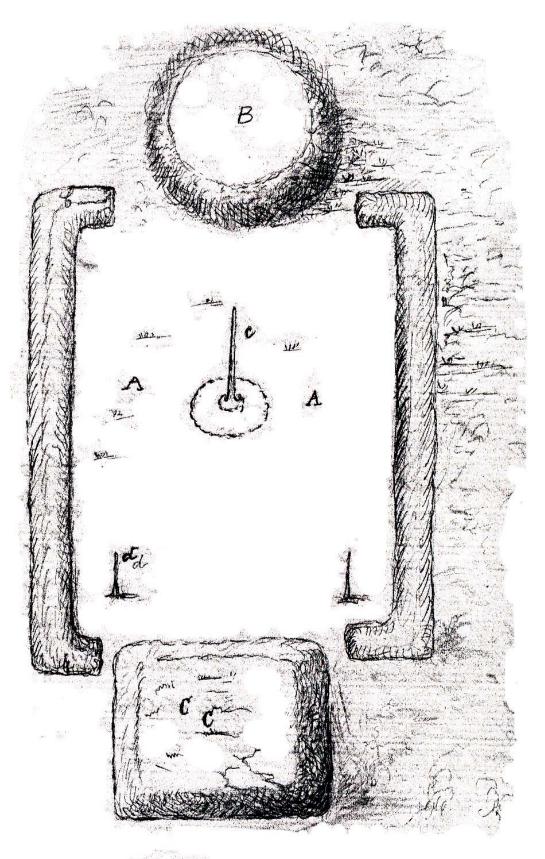


Fig. 2.

A View Plan of the Ancient Chunky Yard.

- A. A Great area or Yard, surrounded by the Terrace or banks. -
- B. A circular eminence at one end commonly 9 or 10 ft. higher than the ground round about, whereon the great <u>Rotunda</u> or <u>Hothouse</u> or <u>Winter Council House</u> of the present generation of Creeks, stand, and which was probably designed and used by the ancients who constructed it for the same purpose.
- C. A four square terrace or eminence about the same height with the former or circular one.

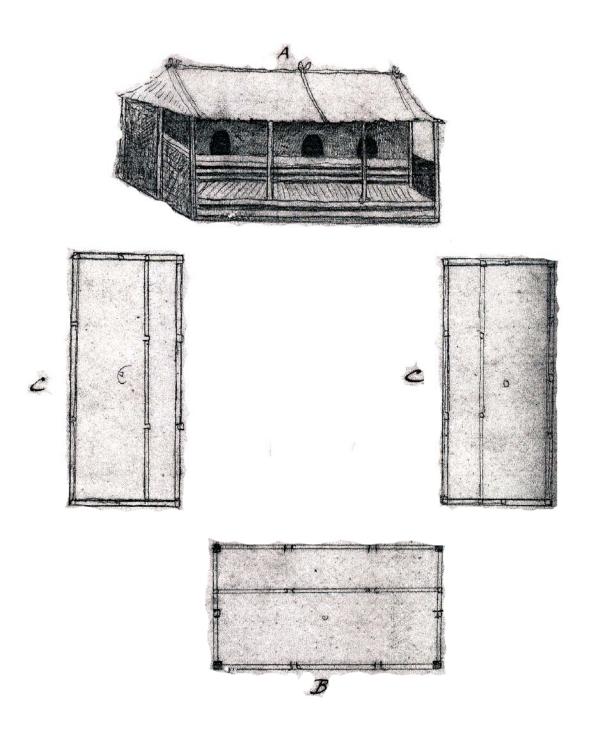
 This stands at the other end of the yard, whereon stands the <u>Public Square</u> of the Creeks. It was doubtless designed for the same purpose by the ancients who used it.
- <u>b.b.b.</u> The banks or terrace around the yard.
- c. The chunky pole or obelisk.
- d.d. The Slave posts.

Observations - In the lately built or new Creek towns they do not raise the ground or foundation where their Rotunda or Public Square stands. But the yard in appearance is nearly the same, and these public buildings stand in nearly the same order and position, and they contain the central obelisk and slave posts.

Notes - Both the circular and tetragon terraces advance too far into the yard: it was an oversight; their limbs should not intersect the line of the surrounding banks. Sometimes the bank is continued unopen quite around [the (smudged)] yard.

Leave out

In the Cherokee country all over Carolina and the N. &. E. part of Georgia, where the ruins of ancient Indian towns appear, we see always beside these sort of eminences one, vast, conical, pointed mound which are the Pyramidal Mounts, I have heretofore mentioned. But S. & W. of the Altamaha I observed none of these in any part of the Muscogulge country, but always these circular and square ones of lower height, except in the Lower Creek country. As those vast ones observed on the River St. Johns, Alachua, Mosquito river &c. which however differ from those of the Cherokees, with respect to their adjuncts or appendages, particularly the great highway or avenue sunk below the common level of the ground and terminating either in a vast savannah or natural plain or artificial pond or lake, and sometimes both together, as in that remarkable one at Mt. Royal from whence opens a glorious view of Lake George, and its environs.



Plan of the Public Square

A

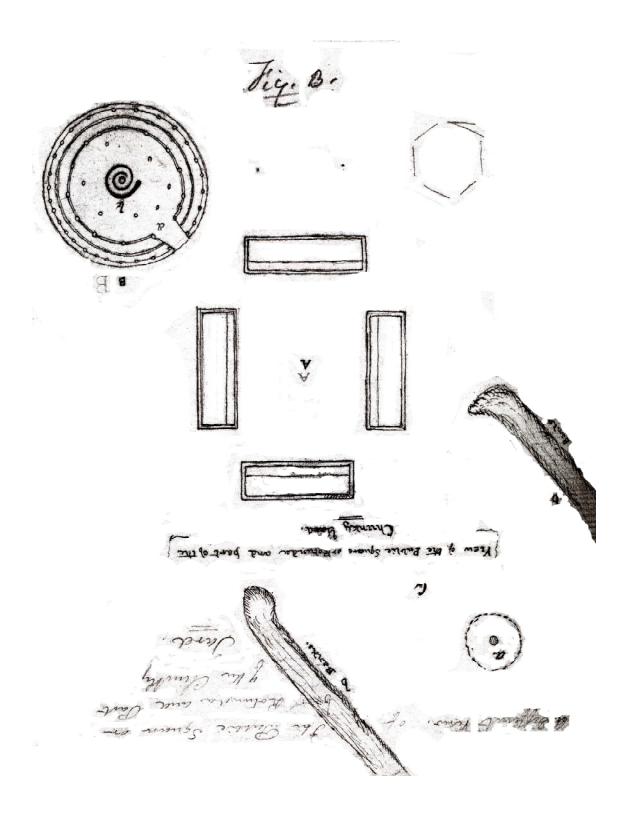
The principal or council house (A) fronting the public area, divided transversely into these equal apartments by a low clay wall. This building is also divided lengthwise into two nearly equal parts: the foremost in front is an open piazza, where are seats for the council. The middle apartment of this is for the King (Mico) great war chief, second head man & the venerable and worthy chiefs and warriors: the two others on each side for warriors, head men, citizens &c.

The back apartments of this house is quite close and dark except thru very low arched holes or doors for admittance of the priests. In this place are deposited all the most valuable public things as the Eagle tail or national standard (calumet or war pipe) Drums, and all the sacred appurtenances of the priests. No person but the priests who have the care of these has admittance and is said to be certain death for any other person to enter.

B. The banquetting house.

C.C. Halls to accommodate the people at public times of feasts, festivals &c.

These three houses are nearly alike and differ from the Council house only in not having the close back apartments.



Public Square, Rotunda and part of the Chunky Land.

Arrangement of the Public Buildings

This is the most common plan or arrangement of the Chunky Yard, Public square and Rotunda of the Modern Creek Towns.

<u>A</u>. The Public Square or Area.

three

B. The Rotunda: a the door opening towards the square: the 3 circular lines show the two rows of seats, sofas or cabins. The punctures show the pillars or columns which support the building:

surrounded by the which

b.C the great central pillar or column, & spiral fire to gives light to the house.

C. Part of the Chunky Yard. & the bank or terrace that encompasses it.

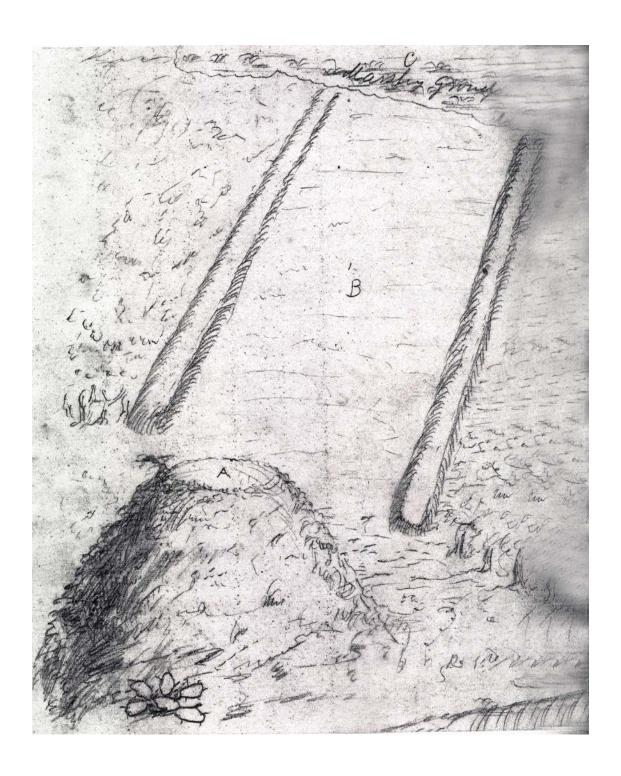


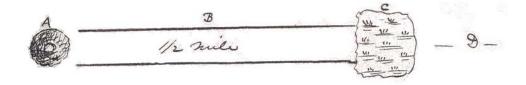
Fig. 4

- 72 - Omit

View of Mt. Royal near Lake George

With the avenue or highway to an artificial lake or pond on the verge of an expansive savanna, or natural meadow.

- A. The Mount about 40 ft. in in perpendicular height.
- B. The highway leading from the mount in a straight line to the pond, about ½ mile distant.
- C is Omitted or skipped in the Squire Version.
- D. Part of the savannah several miles in extent.



What may have been the notion for making this pond I cannot conjecture, since the Mount and the vestiges of the ancient town are situated close on the banks of the Riv. St. Juan. It could not therefore be for the conveniency of water. Perhaps they raised the mount with the earth taken out of the pond.

The sketch of this mound shows equally all the character of the Cherokee Mound, but these last have not the highway, but are always accompanied by the vast tetragon terraces placed upon one side or the other.

And on the other hand we never see the tetragon terraces or eminences accompanying the high mound of E. Florida.

Plan of a Creek Village with its Public Edifices &c.

A. Rotunda; B. Public Square; C. Chunky Yard; d habitations of the citizens.

The habitations of the Muscogulges or upper Creeks consist on little squares in fouroblong square houses encompassing a square area, exactly the plan on the plan of the publicsquare. Every family however has not four of these houses: some have but 3, others but 2, andsome but one, according to their circumstances, the largeness of their family &c., but they are sosituated as to admit of four buildings when convenience or necessity require it. Wealthy
having
cit[izens smudged] requiring larger families you genera[ly have smudged] four houses, and a
particular use for each building. One serves as a cook room & visitor lodging house, another as
a summer lodging house & hall for receiving visitors, and a third for a granary or provision
house &c. The last is commonly two stories high and divided into two apartments, transversely,
the lower story of one such being a potatos house, for keeping such other roots and fruits as
require to be kept clear and defended from cold in winter. The chamber over it is the corn crib.
The other end of the building, both upper and lower stories are open on three sides: the lower
story serves for a shed for their saddles, pack saddles and gear. & other

Limber: the loft over it is a very spacious, airy, pleasant pavillion, where the chief of the family reposes in the hot seasons & receives his guest &c. The fourth house (which completes the square) is a skin or ware house, if the proprietor is a wealthy man and engaged in trade or traffick, where he keeps his deer skins, furs, merchandise &c., and treats his customers. Smaller or less wealthy families make one, two, or three houses serve all their purposes as well as they can.

The Lower Creeks or Seminoles are not so regular or ingenious in their buildings either public or private. The have neither the Chunky Yard or Rotunda, and the Public Square is an improvised one, having but two or three houses at furthest. Indeed they do not require it, for their towns are small and consequently their counsels just sufficient for the government or regulation of the town or little tribe, for in all great or public matters they are influenced by the Nation or Upper Creeks.

Their private habitations consist generally of two buildings: one a large oblong house, three which serves for a cook room, eating house and lodging rooms, in 3 apartments under one roof: the other not quite so large, which is situated 8 or 10 yards distant, one end opposite the principal house



thus. Fig. 5 This is two stories high and just like and serves the same purpose of the grainery or provision house and loft of the Upper Creeks.

The Cherokees too differ greatly from the Muscogulges in respect to their buildings.

They have neither the square or the Chunky Yard. Their summer Council house is a spacious open loft or pavilion on the top of a very large oblong building, and the Rotunda or great hut or Town house, is the Council house in cold seasons.

Their private houses or habitations consist of one large oblong=square log building divided transversely into several apartments, and a mud hut house, stands a little distance off, for a visitor lodging house -

Ancient Works

Copy what is marked on pp 122-123 of "Anct Monuments."

- The End -

The End -