

THE JOURNAL OF CHEROKEE STUDIES

RECEIVED NOV 21 1900



Camp Hiwassee St. Co.

June 24, 1898

VOLUME XXI



(60) (71) (72) (73) (74) (75) (76) (77) (78) (79) (80)
 Camp Hiwassee Dr. Co.
 June 24th 1838 } 71



Cherokee form

(6)



The Diary of Lt. John Phelps

Edited and Annotated
by Sarah H. Hill

9

John Wolcott Phelps (1813-1885) of Vermont graduated from the military academy at West Point in 1836 as 2nd lieutenant with the 4th Artillery. He served in Florida for two years of the 2nd Seminole war, then marched with his regiment to North Carolina to assist with Cherokee removal. From his unit's encampment near Fort Butler, Phelps witnessed the deportation of Cherokees to Tennessee. Following Cherokee expulsion, he went back to Florida with his regiment.

Phelps resigned from service after serving in the Mexican War (1846-48) and attaining the rank of captain (1850). During the Civil War he returned to duty leading a group of Vermont troops in the U.S. Army. Following the unit's disbanding, he resigned again and retired to Brattleboro, Vermont, where he died in 1885. During his lifetime, Phelps completed five book-length manuscripts, several articles on politics and anti-masonry, and diaries covering the years from 1838-1871.

There is much of interest in Phelps's diary written in 1838 at the time of Cherokee removal. A professional soldier, he respected military training and discipline. Yet, his writing also reveals increasing sympathy with the Cherokees and consternation over their treatment. He records their arrival at Ft. Butler, their expectations regarding John Ross and the New Echota treaty, and finally, their sorrowing departure for Tennessee embarkation. Through Phelps's observations we also learn about camp life, weather conditions, local vegetation and customs of Cherokees and rural whites. His pen and ink sketches from the Hiwassee River encampment provide unique views of a removal soldier's experiences.

We cannot know whether Phelps's perspective and diverse interests represent those of most trained officers, but his conversance with geology, foreign languages, me-

teorology, literature, and botany, as well as his penmanship, vocabulary, and sketches, present a far different picture from that of the coarse soldier popularly associated with Indian removal.

Phelps's 1838 diary, published here for the first time and in its entirety, can be seen at the Atlanta History Center's exhibition Native Lands: Indians and Georgia until January, 2001. For this publication, no changes have been made in Phelps's grammar or spelling. Struck-through words are indicated as he made them, and his abundant dashes have been replaced by commas or periods where appropriate.

I am grateful to Lewis N. Wynne of the Tebeau-Field Library of Florida History and the Florida Historical Society for permission to exhibit, annotate, and publish the diary, and to M. Montgomery Wolf for transcribing and assisting in research, and to William F. Hull of Atlanta History Center for photographing the Phelps sketches.

Charleston, S.C.
May 14th 1838

The four regiments of Artillery are on their way to the Cherokee Nation.¹ The 1st regt goes by the way of Charleston; the 2nd and 4th go up the Savannah, and the 3rd moves from Tampa Bay. Seven thousand troops are to rendezvous at Calhoun in Tennessee where they are to be commanded by Genl Scott.² But Brig. Genl Taylor is left in command in Florida.³ If the Seminoles continue the offensive warfare which they have lately commenced, he will find enough to occupy him for the ensuing summer.⁴ Genl Jesup⁵ followed them last winter with three columns, two on the sea board and one in the interior, destroying their cattle, their means of transportation, burning over extensive tracts of their coonti root,⁶ and routing them from fastnesses in the Everglades which they were apparently as little acquainted with as our selves.⁷ They were thus pursued to Capes Florida and Sable.⁸ But while the atmosphere was filled with the smoke of their burning coonti grounds; while the crack of the rifle now and then

9
announced a skirmish and scouting parties occasionally returned with prisoners, the main body of the enemy passed us, and our cordon of posts along the confines of the Everglades, and soon made their appearance on the northern frontier, where they murdered and plundered with greater success and daring than ever. Genl Jesup, from the information that he had received from some of the Indians, expected this, and in consequence ordered Genl Eustis to the Suwane frontier.⁹ He made such disposition of the forces at his disposal as the exigency required, but without avail; for even now altho' troops are, and have been for a month continually on the move on that frontier, up wards of twenty persons have been killed by the Indians. Several express men have been killed, and many wounded. Should they continue this warfare, they will be as formidable as when they rushed forth under the maddening influence of their first war-dance. They have not yet been so much weakened by our captures but what they can still maintain the war. Tigertail,¹⁰ a chief who with a small band inhabits the northern part of the territory, has given employment to a brigade of mounted Georgia militia for the whole past winter.¹¹ He was neither frightened by their number or their atrocity. They at one time killed a large number of prisoners in cool blood. Before giving them a general battle, he met them and asked them why, when their own people were averse to it, they should come to disturb him. He undoubtedly referred to the difficulties that had been made in the Georgian Legislature concerning the organization of the brigade under Genl Nelson.¹²

The late conflagration made a chasm in the town which will probably not soon be filled up. Upwards of a thousand buildings were destroyed. Several have supplied the places of their former tenements with miserable little wooden huts. The wants of the sufferers are being contributed to by every city in the union. In the mean time the city ordinance that the buildings to be put up shall be of brick, meets with considerable resistance.

May 15th 1838

There are two persons now in town - two inhabitants

of Florida one from Tampa Bay and the other from St. Augustine - on their way to the north. The former, Judge Steel, goes in order, it is believed, to shake off the trammels of an unrequited love, the fair object of his affections choosing out of four to concentrate hers upon little Lieut. James Morgan.¹³ However, he has other reasons for his journey, one of which is to demand justice at Washington for his friend Bunce. This man owns a rancho near Tampa Bay, which was inhabited during the two past years, by upwards of a hundred persons, consisting of Spaniards, their Indian wives and their children, together with not a few of his own progeny. It is not to be doubted, and I speak from my own observation, that these people supplied the Seminoles largely with the necessities and conveniences of life. I have seen them purchase entire rolls of cloth, large quantities of beads, plumes, powder etc so often as to indicate that they were not obtained for their own consumption. It was thought strange that Gen. Jesup should allow this. He did however untill a short time before delivering up the command, when he sent them all off to the west.¹⁴ This Judge Steel thinks to be great injustice, and he is going to protest against it. If this be the way that they proceed, said he, I will go and seek a Turkish government. I suspect that Bunce has promised him a certain sum if he will effect their return. Lord help him, for the eloquence with which he has armed himself won't.

The other is Dr. Weedon.¹⁵ He goes with a different object. He is going in order to publish the life of Oseola from that chiefs own dictation. He has ahead sold the chieftains head to a museum, and he now intends to sell his life to the public, with the same motive, that is, to get money.¹⁶

May 16th 1838

Maj. Kirby¹⁷ arrived in town with several companies of the 1st reg. Of Artillery. I leave tomorrow morning for Augusta.

Washington Geo¹⁸

May 19th 1838

Arrived at this place yesterday. Maj Gardner,¹⁹ with

five companies of the 4th Artillery, left Augusta for this place day before yesterday. Col. Crane²⁰ left the same place with several companies last tuesday, and passed thro' this town on thursday.

While in Charleston I visited the graveyard of St. Peter's.²¹ Many of the tombs are quite ancient. One contained the remains of a person who was born in 1666. The inscriptions upon several stones showed that the ones who lay beneath were important persons in his Majesty's Service, and these were frequently headed with some chivalric device, such as a casque. "This Province" is in some cases mentioned in a manner that reminded me at once of the sectional feeling that exists in Charleston; and when I saw those casques and under records of high deeds, it occurred to me whether the cemetery was not what inspired the youth with such notions of chivalry. When once inspired, they might be cherished by their isolation. Altho' a city of the United States and apparently enjoying intercommunication as freely as any other, there is still the appearance of that isolation which obtained in feudal times. In order to protect their institutions they exclude many books from the city, an ignorance of which adds to the moral isolation; the people are proud to be governed by leaders, and the editors even are obliged to study the humor of the peculiar community for which they are permitted to cater. All this conduces to those notions of chivalry which forced me to smile when on walking the streets I saw it under broad brimmed hats and behind counters.

There was one monument erected to the memory of some Champion of Free Trade and State rights. The record of his worth would have been as impressive upon me had he been a great maintainer of any other combination of words, such for instance as cotton factories and county conventions; words whose political or any other significance is fully as great as the other. The Charlestonians are perhaps not yet fully sensible of what dupes they were to the ambition of a single individual. Their proneness to sequacity is as great as that of a flock of sheep - whater wall or barrier their great men leap they are sure to follow. In accordance they will tell you what Gen. Hamilton²² or Mr. Calhoun²³ or Mr. Hayne²⁴ said,

altho' what he said was the stalest thing imaginable.

About 2 o'clock Maj. Gardner with the five companies marched thro' town to music - the inhabitants were quite delighted. I followed and am now with my company five miles from Washington.²⁵ Several of the companies have lost from 6 to 8 by desertions.

Sunday, May 20th 1838

We marched about twenty miles and encamped on the left bank of Long Creek.²⁶ The country thro' which we have passed is hilly with a slight soil upon a substratum of red sand and clay.²⁷ From some of the old plantations the soil appears to have been washed away into the vallies, leaving nothing but the unproductive red earth.²⁸ It seems probable that in course of time, the land will become too sterile to produce cotton. As it is at present however, the gold and silver that has been poured into the old world from the East and West Indies and from South America, is now, [illegible] this article being directed into this southern country.

We saw many persons to day in their best, of both sexes and all colors riding and strolling - apparently relaxing - from a week's labor. We saw no indications of a church. Morality seems to be at a very low ebb; the people know no other perfection than success in getting money by any means whatever.

On our way from Charleston to Augusta we dined at a house where the woman had the ascendancy. She presided at the head of the table, and gave her orders distinctly and authoratively altho' every one she gave shewed an ignorance of the customs of society. Her poor husband, conscious of her superior intelligence, and of his own inferiority appeared to be very uneasy; but thinking that he must act some how properly for the occasion, he endeavored to render it agreeable by forced smiles, which were so hysterical as to make the guests uncomfortable; for there was not one so stupid as not to know that the dinner, unless he were egregiously mistaken, could not be a sufficient cause for them.

Tuesday May 22nd 1838

We marched thro' Athens²⁹ to day and are now encamped

four or five miles this side. Our marches thro' these country towns create great sensations - all the people throng to see what is new to them, and what would be no less so perhaps to those of the service who have not campaigned in Florida. On the whole however we have performed our services thus far with considerable military spirit. This evening a keg containing liquor was taken from three citizens who had posted themselves near by in the woods. Lieut. Tufts³⁰ passed us to day in the stage coach. It rains as it did last night, of which both asses and peacocks gave pronstications.

Thursday May 24th 1838

We received an order yesterday to move into N. Caroliana. Gen. Eustis with his lady passed us in a private carriage during a heavy shower. We marched thro' Jefferson.³¹

To day we have made about twelve miles. The country has changed in its appearance; it is not so thickly settled and there is not so much red earth.³² Several ores of iron have been picked up. We passed thro' an encampment appropriated to Methodist meetings.³³ It consisted of a considerable number of huts put up without much regularity either in location or architecture. I endeavored to discover if they had been objects of vanity either in their bad or good structure, but nothing would indicate any thing more than a mere shelter altho' they differed in materials. We have during the march seen large boulders of granite. We leave the Gold region to the left.³⁴

Sunday 27 May 1838

Yesterday we marched thro' Clarksville,³⁵ and to day we have followed the valley of the Chattahoochie, crossing the river twenty or thirty times.³⁶ At one time, in order to avoid fording the stream, the troops wound along the side of the hill that rose almost perpendicularly. The music played "such getting up stairs I never did see," and Bonaparte crossing the Alps. We are now encamped on the descent of the ridge that divides the sources of the Chattahoochie and Savannah Tennessee Rivers, on one of the tributaries of the latter, the

Highwasse."

There is a large quantity of mica in the soil over which we have passed for the three last days. To the summit of the mountains which we ascended to day, the red earth remains the same, tho' it does not appear because the land has not been cleared. We encamped yesterday evening near the court house of Habersham County.³⁸ It is a log building - chimney of the same material - the interstices filled with earth, and the interior presenting a broken floor, one very uneven table and one long bench.

I saw to day the flowers of the flowering maple and sweet scented shrub, which grows wild in abundance.

Gopher, a dog, a little dog who always reminds me of Cudjoe³⁹ & who has been with some company of regulars ever since the commencement of hostilities with the Seminoles, is now along with us. He is as much a favorite with the soldiers, and they are as much esteemed by him as ever. On crossing a stream, one takes him by the nape of the neck and carries him across while he is as passive as the pup just littered when in the jaws of its mother. He places implicit confidence in a soldier, and he can readily distinguish one from an officer or any other person. He knows too the relation existing between the officers and men. Last year when I were at Black Creek⁴⁰ he followed down the wagon train from the interior and seeing my tent on his arrival and knowing what it was, and knowing from circumstances, such as that we had not seen each other for a long time that a certain familiarity would be tolerated he came to see me. At first he wagged his tail and gave other symptoms of recognition and pleasure, and then relapsed into a serious mood as tho' he would recall the scenes thro' which we had passed - of the battles which we had been in (he not myself) and of the poor fellows who had fallen therein. After a short time he wagged his tail as tho' to say, good day sir, and in a short time he was among the soldiers where his symptoms of satisfaction were without restraint. One caught the little fellow in his arms, swore that he was beside him in the battle of the Wahoo,⁴¹ and that there was not a soldier in the army who would not share his ration with him any time.

(A)

Gopher is a little old dog, Cudjoe is a little old negro. Gopher left the Seminoles, and fell in with the soldiers with whom he has remained ever since; Cudjoe did the same. Gopher has a serious aspect, to see him one would say that he was upon some important business; the same with Cudjoe. In fine Gopher knows an officer from a common soldier, and so Cudjoe knows how to distinguish between officers of different grades, all below the Gen. and his staff being of very little consideration with him.



Seminole

The minerals which I have seen this far are Granite, Quartz, micaceous schist, hornblende - mica and several iron ores such as haematite, sulphurets and carbonates of iron. They do not occur in such abundance as they do where they appear at the north. I saw to day a specimen of the gold which they find in this region. It consisted of two nodules weighing about one and a half grain penny-weights each.⁴² It was said to be native tho' it did not appear to have weight sufficient for its volume, and its lusture [sic] was rather micaceous than metallic. At Daloneger they have established a mint.⁴³ Nature however has been more sparing of this metal here than in some other regions, and in consequence there are not so many inhabitants ruined by dreams of sudden enrichment. Many persons were inspired when it was first discovered, but since then, no one having realized a great fortune they have grown more sensible.

Judge Long of Augusta, on the announcement of its discovery, left his plantation with his force during planting season, and spent a good part of the year in search of riches which he was ultimately obliged to give up, not finding sufficient to pay his expenses.

Monday 28th of May 1838

We passed to day several indifferent log huts with no other opening than a single doorway to each. At one of them there appeared nine women and two men, all having pale faces and grey eyes. They appeared to me to be very lazy, laboring only to procure a sufficiency which these vallies will very readily yield. Such brutality as every thing on the route to day indicated, I never saw before among white people unless they were Irishmen.

The difference between these meek twilights and the gaudy ones of Florida is very noticeable. We have also remarked quite a difference in the climate, it being now, and has been for several days, uncomfortably cool. Every thing in fact is different here from what it is in Florida, these mountains especially, and they differ from other chains that I have seen, in consisting of numerous peaks of no great elevation, instead of possessing a gradual entaris [?].⁴⁴

9
Tuesday May 29th 1838

Passed several Cherokees. They were neatly dressed in our costume and looked very respectable. The white inhabitants whom I have asked concerning them, give them good characters as neighbors. It is said that they affect to believe that the troops are sent here by Ross in order to protect them against speculators.⁴⁵

We passed Fort Hembree and encamped about five o'clock on Hiawasse Valley River near fort Butler.⁴⁶ The mountain on the right bank of the stream just opposite us consists chiefly of a rock, apparently schist, which dips to the east with an inclination of about sixty degrees. The mountain runs parallel to the river, east and west, and declines gradually towards the west. Valley River and the Hiawasse join not far from here, and form the Tennessee.⁴⁷

The nights are uncomfortably cold. In Florida Blackberries were ripe; in southern Georgia they were red; in northern Georgia green, and here the bushes are just in bloom.⁴⁸

Wednesday May 30th 1838

Counter-marched about half of a mile and encamped on a better ground where we shall probably remain a week. Capt. Washington⁴⁹ joined us from the Fort with his own company and Capt. Galt's,⁵⁰ which is under the command of Lieut. O'Brien⁵¹.

Col Crane preceded us on the march with nine companies of the 1st, 2nd and 4th Regts of Artillery.⁵² He rode in his carriage, and having no late experience in active service, he marched his column long distances without making halts, altho' the men were so fatigued and thirsty as to become openly exasperated. Many of them in consequence deserted. Yet this gentleman considers himself a superior officer. His troops straggled thro' towns in small parties, and we heard on the way, that many of them were drunk. One man made a boast to us one evening just as we were encamping, that he had sold a hundred canteens of liquor to the command that preceded us, and that, since whatever avocations others might follow, he chose

to sell ardent spirits for a livelihood, and as this is a free country, he was resolved to supply our men with any quantities they might prefer, and we might help ourselves. Which we did, so effectually that he did not dispose of a drop.

There are now seven companies of us here and altho' the majority of them are not full and have but an officer each, altho' we are far from what such a body ought to be, yet on the whole we perhaps possess more military efficacy than could be expected. There are many causes at present tending to injure the service. The short period of enlistment, the characters of persons enlisted (wild Irishmen whose term of enlistment were not sufficient to teach them the use of the musket, Dutchmen and the emancipated of Penitentiaries) the nature of the service in which we are engaged, the insufficiency of severity in the articles of war, the want of energy in enforcing even them, and above all a corruption in the administration of army affairs, by which ten officers at least belonging to this command, and twenty five at the farthest are now absent from their companies. We have but one Captain with us; whereas there should be seven.⁵⁵ All these considerations are, it could be easily shewn, detrimental to the service. And knowing this, it seems strange that a government should neglect the dictates of common sense, in allowing such a state of things to exist when it could be so easily obviated. The most important consideration is to have the Captain with his company together with a requisite number of subalterns. There are a sufficient number of officers for this, but there is not enough energy to bring them into the field. There can be no doubt of the importance of their being in the field as of the great impropriety of their being out of it. We want not only a military man at the head of the war department but one who has seen service.⁵⁶

The stars are not so bright here as they are in Florida.

Thursday May 31st 1838

Gen. Eustis had an interview with several Indians, the object or result of which I do not know. An order

was published at parade this evening for the commencement of operations next Monday. Genl Jesup's important moves were generally made on Sunday; whether from chance or design I cannot say, tho' from their frequent occurrence, one would suppose the latter.

I read to day a book entitled Practical Infidelity, by George Walker.⁵⁵ It was intended to expose the fallacy of the New Philosophy so rife throughout Christendom during the latter part of the last century. It is the result of an earnest wish on the part of a loyal Englishman, to check the fanaticism which threatened that devastation to Britain, which it had already effected in France.

Several of the inhabitants entertain implicit belief that Ross will obtain a suspension of the treaty of New Echota for two years.⁵⁶ He is now in Washington.

Friday June 1st 1838

Genl Scott has published an Address to Cherokees, printed in a manner proper for circulation among them.⁵⁷ It is something that has not occurred, I suppose in our country since the descent upon it by Burgoyne.⁵⁸ It is much like the military proceedings of former times, for instance, when a Roman general made his overtures upon the Gauls or wild Germans - not that he would have sent them a written oration, but that he would have harangued their chiefs, assuring them that he had come to give them the protection of the Roman Senate which both he and they must obey.

Saturday June 2nd 1838

For the three last days we have been visited by a series of spring like showers.

Maj. Payne⁵⁹ is now at the Fort. He also entertains the belief that Ross will effect a suspension of the Treaty.

Sunday June 3rd 1838

A deceased soldier of F company was buried to day. There was no music or discharge of farewell shot, and I presume that very few of the troops present are aware of

the occurrence. Such a neglect of proper respect cannot fail to have an injurious effect. This company has been sickly; at one time during the march hither there were sixteen from it on the sick report.⁶⁰ They probably over exerted themselves on their march from Tampa Bay to Black Creek, which they performed at the rate of twenty five miles a day.

Gen. Eustis had issued orders for the commencement of operations tomorrow, but to day they have been suspended till the 12th inst. From this the impression is becoming general that Ross has been intrusted with the emigration, and that he has been allowed two years to effect its consummation.⁶¹ In this case it is hoped that the troops will be ordered to their old stations in the north.

A drizzling rain all day.

Monday June 4th 1838

It still continued to drizzle till about 4 o'clock P.M. when it cleared up, and now the moon is peering down into the valley that we are in, as brightly as she can in such a climate as this. She is smiling more benignly upon Florida, upon the old fort and dilapidated mansions of St. Augustine. The young folk are out enjoying her genial influence. It was on such a night as this, that I accompanied three ladies there to their home. It was an old coquina⁶² mansion with its front upon the water. Its windows and doors seemed waiting to welcome again the inhabitants who have left them, alas, forever. Who may not have sat at those windows, day after day, intently regarding the blue expanse before her, for the ship that might bring joy and gladness from her father land? A hundred years ago, what a joyful sight must have been the ship that hove in upon those dark and unfrequented waters? Every heart must have throbbed in response even as the Cathedral bells now chime to the first beams of the rising sun. What hopes and expectations, what felicitious and long cherished dreams were centered in that slowly approaching bark! How thrilled the news from house to house, from Street to street. "A Ship, a Ship." I ran my eye up its walls, and was struck with its venerable appearance which was increased still by that enchanting moonlight. I did not know that the house was

9
theirs, said I. I am very much interested in these old Spanish houses. Yes, replied one of the young ladies, it is an old Spanish house, there are iron gratings in its windows. By the powers of intrigue! The old Spaniard who built it, must have had pretty daughters, a pretty wife, pretty sisters, or something of the kind, or expected to have them; he had not only filled the casements with close prison like gratings, but he had adjusted to them thick shutters so that almost the strains of a serenade would have been excluded. What prospicience had he! Or perhaps he was obliged to this method of filling his casements for want of glass.

Many of the troops experience a weakness and lassitude which are considered by some as an effect of the change of climate. The atmosphere for the two or three days has been very much like a warm bath, which were enough to weaken any body.

Tuesday June 5th 1838

Capt. Monroe⁶³ arrived to day with two companies of the 4th so that all the companies of the regiment are now together, the first time since its organization. An order published on parade this evening suspending operations till the 12th inst, and assigning as a cause, that the Cherokees might be allowed more time in order to make up their minds to voluntary emigration, but Genl Scott, I think, would not delay his moves on so slight a pretext as this.

Wednesday June 6th 1838

It is almost cold enough for the same date in January. It is however a beautiful evening; a solitary cloud of vapor hangs over the Hiwassee; the mountains that hem us in seem holding converse with the moon, and the encampment with its baggage train give a romantic appearance to the scene.

A regimental court martial ordered to convene to morrow for the trial of some of the eighteen prisoners which we have under guard. Courts martial appear to me to be as essential as any municipal courts, and the state of the service should be very active to afford a suffi-

cient excuse for their omission. However, the service is in such a state at present, that to be strict in one only of its branches would appear capricious. Many offences have been committed without the retribution of necessary punishment merely from the difficulty of obtaining court. The culpable soldier may think himself happy in escaping amidst the change and bustle of service; but in a general view, he has nothing to congratulate himself upon. So great was the neglect of courts in the Army of the South, and even of carrying into execution the sentences of those that were convened, that the cases in which soldiers openly threatened to shoot their [33] officers became of frequent occurrence. Towards the close of Genl Jesup's operations two one men were executed for this offence; but had it been done at the commencement, or had the soldier been shewn by the ready punishment of lesser offences that such would be done were it rendered necessary, not only crime would have been prevented, but the wiser levity would have been shewn to the troops, which, at the same time would have been rendered more energetic, and of course, so far better qualified for the difficult duties in which they were engaged. When Genl Jesup first took the command in Florida, the regular soldiers were so well disciplined, coming as they did not long before from schools of discipline - their garrisons - that but few crimes were committed which would have necessarily come under the cognisance of a General Court Martial; but in course of time the ranks became filled almost entirely with recruits, who required the utmost severity of the articles of war. These, owing to the nature of the service, were allowed to escape when their offences were too flagitious to be winked at. In consequence, absence without leave & desertions, wherein soldiers are guilty of the most heinous crime - perjury - are at this time numerous.

It would be improper to assign all this to the want of courts; for there are evidently many other causes tending to the same effect; but among them the want of courts is the most prominent. We can see what importance Napoleon attached to them by his assumption in some instances of their authority, even while on the march or-

dering an offender from the ranks to be shot. The idea of adopting such a course might shock the Republic; but was that Republic fully aware of the energy and efficiency that would accrue from it to her army, she would hardly be averse to its adoption.

The only battles I conceive that have done us any honor, were those fought on the Canada frontier during the last war, and the discipline there was so severe that battle in comparison was considered as mere pastime.⁶⁴ Beyond this in the manner of discipline was at one time the Prussian Garrison of Potsdam, when three hundred in one year were driven to commit suicide. Such men as these would have been almost invincible. Our men at present would with them about as well as the nettle would with a thunderbolt.

Thursday June 7th 1838

I was mistaken in saying that a soldier had been buried without the usual ceremonies. He was buried at the Fort, so far from here that the music and firing were not heard. To day another soldier from the same company was interred.

Maj. Kirby arrive to day with five or six companies of the 1st Artillery. They passed us in order to encamp somewhere near the Fort. The Regiment was turned out, and it presented arms with music playing a common time march - a ceremony which has not probably been performed in the United States for a great many years.

Friday June 8th 1838

The whole Regiment paraded this evening for the first time since its organization. Among the officers there were but two with the proper rank of Captain. The officers now present are,

Bvt Maj. Gardner	2 nd Lieut Brent ⁶⁵
Capt Monroe	" " Gregory ⁶⁶
" Washington	" " Bradford ⁶⁷
1 st Lieut Ross ⁶⁸	" " Soley ⁶⁹
" " Pickell ⁷⁰	1 st Lieut J H Miller ⁷¹
" " Bainbridge ⁷²	
" " Tufts	

" Hunt"

2nd Lieut O'Brien

just one third of the number belonging to the Regiment. Lieut Ross received to day a leave of absence for 60 days.

I read to day an article in the National Intelligencer by some one⁷⁴ who brings forward documentary evidence, principally letters between himself, Governmental agents and the Secretary of War (Mr. Cass),⁷⁵ to shew the dishonesty of the Rev. Mr. Schermerhorn⁷⁶ in concluding a treaty with a very small minority of the Cherokees, under the pretence that it was the general wish of the Nation. And this treaty which we are now here to see fulfilled, has been ever most strenuously dissented from by more than four fifths of the people whose wishes it is supposed to represent, by a people who, for fear that they might compromit themselves, have refused to receive rations from the government, while they lived for weeks upon roots and bark and sap of trees.⁷⁷ Would one believe that the Senate, that concentration of the wisdom, justice etc of his country, could lend themselves to the villainous schemes of a misbehaved priest?

Saturday June 9th 1838

Col. Fanning⁷⁸ arrived to day and assumed command of the Regiment.

Three Cherokees came into camp, one of them exhibiting a paper, apparently written by some one of their tribe, stating that the bearer had served in the Creek Campaign under Jackson, and that he and his party would receive very gratefully their fellow soldiers, old blankets, shews and in fine, clothing of any description.⁷⁹ All Indians that I have seen were unconscionable beggars; they attach no idea of shame to begging, more than the Turk does to his inordinate demands for bacsah tash. The Indian however, is seldom so importunate as doubt you when you tell him that you have not what he demands.

The costume of the Cherokees who have made their appearance about camp is the same as ours excepting a plain calico frock or hunting shirt and a kerchief which covers the head like the bandanas worn by Negroes. Their

frocks are not so highly wrought as those worn by the Creeks and Seminoles, and their head dresses are different from the latter tribes, who leave the top of the head exposed, the kerchiefs surrounding it like a turban.

Sunday June 10th 1838

Thunder clouds appeared in the morning - looking as red and angry as they usually do on a summer's afternoon. They soon commenced operations, which they have continued all day, sometimes attracting our attention by explosions, which would crack as tho' the thunderbolts had been snapt in twain. They have surceased gradually with the decline of sun, by which, at his departure, they were tinged with crimson. A very quiet storm; for a mountain one, certainly conducted with great moderation. Its thunder generally seemed to be rolling in heaven; but in Florida it would burst about you sometimes with a proximity that was hardly agreeable. I recollect, on one occasion there, it was dark as night, and the shafts with a purple glare followed each other in rapid succession. I tied up up my tent and sat facing the storm. I instinctively dodged at every flash, for it was so suddenly followed by the fulmination, that the nearness of the leven could not be mistaken. After the storm had blown over, two or three trees within as many hundred yards of me, one still burning, shewed where some of the bolts had alighted.

Monday June 11th 1838

Another day similar to yesterday - a heteroclysm of sunshine, rain and thunder. Small clouds come up alone, bragging as tho' they were terrible. Lord, if they could only see a thunder storm in the highlands of New York.

In obedience to the suspended orders, we commence playing bailiffs to morrow.

In the article of June 6th, I this evening erased two and wrote one instead, in consequence of having ascertained, that one of the criminals who had been sentenced to be shot, and whom, it is generally believed was shot at the appointed time, received a reprieve from Gen. Jesup. All the necessary arrangements for the execution

had been made, and the firing detail had cocked their fire locks, ready to send the culprit out of the world, when a pardon was read. A very successful burlesque on courts martial; especially as the individual mostly concerned was of that class who are used to hair breadth escapes, and whose maxim is that an inch miss is as good as a mile, and who indeed, it is notorious, will run at one chance when there are a hundred against it. I should expect of the pardoned if not a repetition of his offence, some crime equally as heinous.

Genl Scott is now at the Fort. His address to the Cherokees has apparently produced a good effect, since a great many almost all that lived in Georgia, have delivered themselves for emigration.¹⁰

There are many cases of diarrhea among our men.

Thursday 21st June 1838

On the 12th inst the Regiment with the exception of one company left camp under the command of Col. Fanning, and marched out among the mountains five or six miles to the east. Some of the Indians were already coming in, and being informed that many of them were collecting at a place of worship of theirs, seven companies of us marched thither and bivouacked.¹¹ By night fall about a hundred had assembled, and when the camp was hushed they held a prayer meeting. They are of the Baptist persuasion. One of them opened his prayer by saying that it was probably the last time that they should ever meet at their wonted place of worship; but he exhorted them and prayed that they might not be led astray in the western wilderness. The twilight was gleaming faintly upon the old hills about them, where they had strayed when young, and formed their earliest and dearest associations; they had left their homes, their neat gardens and fields, their stock and poultry, as tho' they were going to church, and even thus were they to set out upon their journey for the land from which they expected nothing but sickness and death. Some of their people as well as whites had returned from that country, and told them that it was very unhealthy. But they must leave their solubrious hills and go to it, tho' they had never given their consent; they had been

belied by one who professed to teach the religious whose rites they were celebrating. The Occasion was deeply affecting, and Indians tho' they were, the congregation were all in tears. They sung some appropriate hymns and then retired. As the ceremonies were conducted in Cherokee I was obliged to rely upon an interpreter for what little information I could get concerning their import. It was with much difficulty that he could express the substance of the prayers, tho' he said that they made one feel quite smart, by which I was pleased to understand that they were thrilling even to him. The next day several whites came about in order to get claims on their property. The manner in which they had been cheated was various and the cases were numerous. For instance, a white would purchase their improvements, get a deed signed by creditable witnesses, pay a dollar or two down, and promise to pay the remainder when they started for the west. This would be the last of it. But in general their property was wrested from them with less ceremony than this. It was in vain that we told them not to trust to the whites, that the government would fairly compensate them for every thing that they abandoned; they preferred to make sure of one tenth even of the value of their property than to rely upon the promises of the government which had cheated them more cruelly than the individuals who were prowling among them. They did not know what to expect, a night of moral darkness enshrouded them, and beneath it unwholesome shades, barely hoping for the dawn of day - the benignant day of rectitude. They wore that calmness of expression which sometimes so terribly indicates deep and stifled emotion.

On the 13th some of the troops returned and by the morning of the 14th we were all in with nearly a thousand Indians, when I received an order to repair to the Agency at Calhoun Tenn. And report for duty in the Indian Department.¹² I bought a pony and on the 15th set out for my destination which was 80 miles distant. When about fifteen miles on my way, I passed the hamlet of old Wachissa, an Indian about a hundred years old, and of a very singular character.¹³ Nature had not only endowed him with an iron like constitution, but she had implanted

in him an instinct that he should be the head of a powerful clan, which should at some future day establish the ancient customs of their forefathers. Proud and unyielding to the degenerate habits of his tribe, he withdrew to the mountains, where in course of time his wives presented him with forty five sons and many daughters.⁶⁴ As they grew up, at every lunation he brought forth his eight scalps, white men's scalps upon a pole, and danced around them, and exulted over them in the most frantic fury. Thus schooled they arrived at man's estate, and it was with the feelings of gratified pride that he beheld the warriors which he might already lead to the field of battle. Forty five men of his own mettle, schooled in his own doctrines, promised at least to head so many families which should ultimately bring back his people to their pristine estate. But it is a decree of Nature, repeated in Revelation, and which tho' Wachissa might have known he was too proud to heed. The proud shall be brought low. The small pox came among his stalwart sons, it was a strange disease which he knew not of, and in an evil hour he listened to the insidious whites who told him to bathe them in cold water.⁶⁵ In consequence they all died, leaving his hope blasted and more inveterate to the pale faces than ever. His irreconcilable hatred is marked in his every feature, and still stout and erect at every moon, he dances round his trophies of the detested enemies of his race. He remains a monument of uncomplaining ambition, unyielding even to the afflictions from his Maker more grievous than those brought upon Job. His enemies scoff at his misfortunes, but they move him not, more than thunder clouds do the mountains around him. Had Job foreseen what Wachissa would suffer, he would have held his peace.

Some fifteen or twenty years ago, Tennessee purchased of the Cherokees their lands lying west of the Unaka Mountains,⁶⁶ which run north east for a long distance in an unbroken chain of equal elevation - appearing like the vast fortress, over which however bold N. Eastern storms occasionally settle into the hilly valley beneath. These lands were divided into two or three counties, and they were immediately settled, mostly by emi-

grants from North Carolina. My second days route lay thro' this region. Log huts, from which issued the sounds of the wheel and loom, indicated a state of society which had long since disappeared from my section of the country, but some traces of which I had just remembered to have seen. On going into several of them, I saw those cotton, hangings, nettings, tapestry etc. which used to adorn the table cloths, towels, window curtains, field bedsteads, bed coverlets etc. of our grandmothers, and as they were the first that I had seen for a long time, knowing that what I had seen, had been wrought only in the infancy of society, the advancement of which appeared to discard them, I could not but regret that an ornament so luxurious and rich would probably soon be lost together with the art of its fabrication, thus allowing as it were, to crumble away one of our first steps to the acme of civilization.

The road was intricate, and I lost my way. Night set in darkly, and as I could only see the road by the lighting of an approaching storm which threatened to be violent, my prospects were of going more astray; besides, my pony being thoroughly jaded, I resolved to stop at the first house where they would take me in. After making two unsuccessful attempts at houses which I should have shunned had not their appearances been concealed by the dark, I roused up a third where a light was still shining, and after assisting in putting up my horse, I was ushered into a room containing two beds, one occupied by the woman of the house and the other by her daughter. I sat down and commenced a conversation with the man. After some remarks about the weather such as a "powerful heap of rain" or something of the sort, and discovering that I belonged to the army, he said that one of his sons had not long since returned from Florida sick, and that many of the volunteers from his county who had gone there were in the same situation. Several of them had died. The old lady arose, dressed herself, and came and sat down with us, and when I asked for milk she roused her daughter, of some fifteen to seventeen years of age, to bring me the required drink. She brought with it a hank of journey cake⁶⁷ and after I had discussed [?] them, they

all facing me and listening to what I was saying the time, the old lady prepared a bed on the floor, and then went to hers. The daughter followed her example, the man too, and I likewise. When undressing, I thought that it was a singular state of society, but it was one however to which I very readily adapted myself since the matter of course manner in which they set the example required of me I thought to follow it in as good earnest as that I had never been accustomed to any other kind of life. I laid me down, and the storm that had come up, pattering at the window (from which a pane had been broken, my host assured me, by two men who were fighting) soon lulled me into a slumber rendered more pleasant by my security from its effects, which but a short time before, I had prospects of experiencing.

I was awakened the next morning by the woman and her daughter jumping from their beds. They proceeded to get a breakfast of corn bread, fried pork and stewed onions, which, the woman was much astonished that, I did not devour with eagerness, her son had so much extolled them as a luxury in Florida. I told her that I had considered them so there, but I had eaten so many of them that I was surfeited. The dish however, had been prepared for my especial benefit, and she was not satisfied till I had taken a quantity of the offensive vegetable upon my plate.

The man with whom I had thus passed the night, I discovered to be, a large farmer raising twenty five acres of corn and other produce in proportion. His house was large enough to be decently commodious for his family; it was a frame, clap-boarded building, the lower story of which was divided into two rooms, in one of which slept the son and the hired man, while we, as above stated, occupied the other.

This single picture embraces the general features of society in that part of the country. A person can hardly pass along without being accosted with the impudent-"Stranger," and some saucy remarks upon his person or equipage. Do you accidentally discommode one, as for instance, nearly brushing his hat off in a crowded room, and ask his pardon, he will say, It is granted sir, as

9
tho' it were great condescension in him, not to knock you down. Their highest ideas of refinement are but indistinct gleamings of propriety. The courtesy of young men to each other consists in scuffling, and argument among them lies the more violent use of their feet and fists.

The cause of such a state of things is as usual in such cases, the newness of the country together with the consequent isolation of its inhabitants. It was provoking to inquire of grey headed men the way to Calhoun, and be answered that they knew nothing about it. But very few whom I questioned concerning their country thro' which I had passed knew any thing about it; and in general the sphere of their knowledge appeared to lie within the precincts of their farms. On the Conasauga, where there are many large and fertile farms, I saw several barrows, two of which attracted my attention more particularly from their similarity in size, and from them being situated not far apart, one of them having a stump near its base almost as large as the mound itself. I asked the man who was ploughing near if he had ever been curious enough to dig into them, and he replied that he had not, altho' they were so small that he might have dug to the level of the plain in one day. The farmers, for their large quantities of produce, have no market besides the few little villages that are beginning to rise among them, and when they attempt to float down to New Orleans, almost inevitable sickness and death frequently is the consequence.

I bid my host good morning after giving him fifty cents, and soon arrived at Calhoun, a small collection of dirty huts over the door of the dirtiest of which, with the exception of the Inns, was Grocery, in front of which walked a woman who turned not her head to see the stranger any more than as tho' she were in Broad Way. Such, thought I, is the effect of life in towns. Had this woman been in the country she would have stared at me till I was out of sight; but there, while under her sign, she assumed that city air which would have chilled much warmer sympathies even than mine.

I crossed the river on a flying bridge the first that I ever saw, tho' I had demonstrated to the Board of

vinters at West Point, the principle of the its construction. After endeavoring to get lodgings at Ross' the Merchant, brother of John Ross,⁹ and at Widow Warner's a Cherokee woman,¹⁰ both being full, I was obliged to go to Charter's, a dirty hole, with dirtier beds and dirtiest bed fellows. It was very hot, my dirty bed fellow threw his arm cosily over me, and I made a bed upon the floor with my over-coat, where altho' free from one annoyance, I was troubled with another till midnight; some one fancying that he would delight the whole inn to his own credit, by fluting Scots wha ha etc. and other airs of similar character, with the most thrilling emphasis.

The place was thronged with Indians, contractors, teamsters and those persons who were attracted by prospects of gain. Some came with claims against the Cherokees among these was Gen. Harding of Athens Geo!¹¹ He would have received of them, he said when his last dues were paid, some five thousand dollars for his professional services as a lawyer. He told a story of a young man, who had been taught by his mother when a boy to say the prayer Now I lay me down to sleep etc.¹² Mounting a wild horse one time, he was run away with, and believing that he might be killed he thought it necessary to say his prayer which he managed to utter when the horse was upon the full stretch - Now I lay me down to sleep etc.

I went to the Agents Office, and while there heard a very respectable woman request permission to remain till fall. She was told that it could not be granted. Such requests I suspect were numerous, and they perhaps led Gen. Scott to hold a consultation with the surgeons, Indian commissioners, agent and sub-agents, wherein it was concluded that emigration should be suspended till the 1st of Sept.¹³ The Indians in the mean time were to assemble and remain in the vicinity of Calhoun.

Three parties consisting of three or four thousand souls had already gone, and I had been directed to hold myself in readiness to conduct the fifth, but in consequence of the suspension, I was ordered to rejoin my regiment. On the evening of the 19th I set out for Athens Tenn.¹⁴ on my return, choosing a different route from the one which I had come. I soon skirted a cornfield where

there was a miserable carcass of a horse harnessed to a plough beside which stood two young girls, one with her eyes towards a hut near by, while the other was preventing the horse from nibbling the corn. When arrived at the hut, I saw by a bower near it a young dirty woman holding a man in her lap a man who had his arms about her, while at their feet two children were lousing themselves in the dirt. Every thing about bore the appearance of what seemed to be the necessary consequence of what I saw, a negligence and lassitude that was revolting to witness. Thompson's horrid love of the monsters is something elegant in comparison with this. The man turned his eyes upon me as I passed, but they swam in the exquisiteness of his delight, and he was too much wrapt to give me farther heed. I arrived at Athens just after night-fall, and sat down to supper. I raised my eyes and saw my host's eldest daughter smiling in my face as familiarly as tho' we had been old acquaintances from childhood. I used my tea spoon in eating my eggs, and when, in one occasion returning it to the cup, I discovered that I had two, paused in a momentary cogitation how the extra one came there. My hostess saw it, and concluded that I was wondering how they had so many spoons as to furnish me with two. Supper ended and the dishes removed they commenced rattling their spoons; first they put them in one heap, then in two, put them into a drawer with a heavy rattle and then took them out, and finally disposed them in one heap upon the table where I, who was walking to and fro in the bar room; could see them. They wished evidently to draw me into the matrimonial state by that heap of spoons, when at the same time I had enough silver dollars in my pocket to make a larger heap, and thought myself miserably poor at that. The next morning another daughter presided at the table. She squinted so badly that no one could tell where she was looking. She was however a well favored, upon the whole a good looking young woman; but she reminded me of the stanza which runs according to the version of an old gentleman, who occasionally repeats it, and laughs heartily whenever he does, as follows

Two suns the earth could ne'er endure,
Nor man thy double glance;

Therefore;

Nature put one eye askew,
And set the other askance.

I left Athens on the 20th, and rode till I reached Tellico River⁹⁵ where were some iron works called a bloomery.⁹⁶ They smelt there on a small scale the brown hematite with which this region abounds. After leaving the river I passed over some mountains, on a Federal road winding over their summits,⁹⁷ and soon after meeting Capt. Monroe with several hundred Indians on his way to Calhoun. I put up at the Jones', a man who appeared to do nothing else than watch his three daughters. They had apparently become very impatient of their restraints.

The next morning, tho' the sky was partly clear, a heavy mist hung about the mountain over which we were to pass. We soon ascended into a heavy shower, which continued till the capacious cloud appeared to be exhausted. We met Capt. Webster⁹⁸ with another large party of Cherokees; passed Wachissas hamlet where we saw the old man going from his field to his house, and finally reached Camp Hiwassee about 5 o'clock P.M.

Friday 22nd June 1838

Upwards of a thousand Indians passed by to day from Fort Membre⁹⁹ eighteen miles to the east of this, where they had been collected. Some few had their ponies and small quantities of luggage; but generally they were unencumbered, having left their all behind.¹⁰⁰ When I saw them, men, women and children, moving along thro' the valley towards the far west, leaving the scenes which had been so long in their possession never to witness them again, abandoning their all without casting a look behind, I could not but think that some fearful retribution would yet come upon us from this much impugned race. The scene seemed to me more like a distempered dream, or something worthy of the dark ages than like a present reality; but it was too true.

Saturday June 23rd 1838

Three companies of the regiment are and now absent, on their way to Calhoun with Indians. Lieut. Pickell went out to Valley River and he thinks that he discovered the shafts sunk by De Soto in search of Gold.¹⁰¹ They were excavations about twenty feet deep, and had the appearance of having been made a long time ago. We have thunder showers (sometimes two or three) every day. We are now (11 PM) visited by a peculiarly violent one. When the Indians passed yesterday, one came up suddenly and drenched them thro'. A girl who was proud of her nice bonnet, veil, and other finery, must have been much mortified. She had flirted by with the cheeriness of the lark, she tossed her head, and her fine veil flouted the air; but the rain came, and her gay attire with her gayer spirits drooped. I pitied her. I sat in my tent and pitied her; but I could do nothing, I was almost resolved to go out and take the shower with them.¹⁰²

Sunday 24th June 1838

Like the Bermudas this is a Hellish place for thunder and lightning, and like the Alps, it favors the production of idiots. I have seen several distressing ones. The cause of these widely different effects might perhaps be traced to the same source, the great abundance of metals here. These mountains however, may so modify the currents of air, by turning them into eddies and conflicts, as to cause the former without accessory aid, tho' the metals may yield such. In some localities one knows what time of day and from what point of the compass to expect a thunder showers; but here they come up at any all times of day and from any quarter, and sometimes making their appearance at one point, they move round the horizon and commence their operations at another, a hundred and eighty degrees distant. One came up this evening just at sun set, and apparently fearful that it would not arrive before the shades of night had dampened its ardor, which sometimes seems to be the case, it hurried up in a gust. There is no long and murky brewing of the storm here as otherwheres; clouds move over the country incorporating smaller ones, and accumulating leven;

and the first that you are aware of their presence is announced by the discharge of their contents. The country is thus irrigated with an incredible abundance in some parts - so much so that the crops are beat down by the rain, while in others, the land is desiccated by a drought. It is thus in some seasons, but not, I trow, in this; for it should seem that too many showers had super-vened, altho' in many cases they are extremely limited, to leave a particle of earth unsaturated.

There is still much sickness in camp, the general complaint being of Diarrhoea or Dysentery. Some are suddenly taken with a violent purging and vomiting.¹⁹³ It would require more pathology than I possess to discover the cause of this; tho' our medical topography might enable me to guess. From the great quantity of rain that has fallen, the deep and narrow valley in which we are encamped has become very damp. The rays of the meridian sun being reflected and re-reflected by the mountains which rise abruptly on either side, renders the heat at noon almost intolerable and loads the air with the tepid vapor. The Hiwassee runs close by with a velocity that brings in a short time cool waters from the from the mountains cool waters, which, being in temperature much below the atmosphere of the valley, commences by sun set to rise in a vapor that by midnight enshrouds us in a heavy mist, rendering it very dank, and uncomfortably cold; so that, what from the extremes of temperature of noon and midnight, whereby the system is by turns too suddenly enervated and stimulated, and from the relaxing effects of a warm bath, in which we daily move and have our being, we should experience disease, and I do not know why the Diarrhoea, the Dysentery, the Cholera Morbus, or some other equally unmilitary sickness, might not be the kind. I say we should have sickness, presuming that we are different from frogs and hogs both of which as far as their music goes to show it, are now joyous in the happiness simply of existing; but still, it is said that the intestinal organization of man and of the frog and hog are very much alike; the economy, however, in the three cases may differ as well as a variety of effects may spring from the same cause.

Monday 25th of June 1838

On a general Court Martial of which Capt. Porter¹⁹⁴ is President. The manner in which such courts are conducted, tho' the form prescribed is very good, leaves much to be required. The charge preferred against one appears to be the best evidence of his guilt, the investigation following it, appearing rather as a matter of form, than as a method for determining a verdict. The soldier sees this, and when he suffers from it, the service is thereby injured. From the manner in which we proceeded to day tho' the prisoners tried were undoubtedly culpable, they could not see but what we were persecutors as well as prosecutors; not a question being asked, to the best of my recollection, that would tend to favor of the accused; whereas, such queries should be made, in order to the better ascertainment of how far he is criminal. At the same time such a course would give the defendant a security that justice will be done, which, otherwise, he would not have.

It has not rained to day.

Tuesday June 26th 1838

We sat yesterday evening in front of our tent (watching the wane of twilight) and (listening to the ever busy churn of Nature) when Maj. G. with his mind apparently like his countenance lightened up by its mild effulgence, observed that he had been much struck by something that he had read in the writings of Coolridge or Southey. An uneducated girl, during a delirium occasioned by sickness, repeated sentences of Greek and Latin. It was accounted for by the discovery that she had formerly lived with a person who was in the habit of reading his favorite Roman and Greek authors aloud. Coolridge or Southey remarked upon this, that when the soul was disengaged from the body it would probably retained and had a lively sense of every impression that it had received during life, whether from material or internal objects.

This seems more of a deduction than the Christian, who is obliged to substitute an implicit faith for demonstration, can generally adduce in support of his theory,

and if he sincerely believes that his soul, laden with all the impressions and conceptions of a long life, is finally to pass into a new state of existence, where delight will be found only in rectitude and holiness, he should be ever on the guard against the entertainment of immoral thoughts which would necessarily render his future life miserable even tho' it were in heaven.

The case of the sick girl is not the only one in which the human mind has exhibited a wonderful retention of its impressions. There are cases in fevers, in which the patients converse fluently in languages which they had long since forgotten.

As the Maj. proceeded, he fanned and blew his imagination till it burst out into a broad blaze beneath the (illegible) of his thoughts, sublimating them in a vapor metaphysical vapor which was led far too ethereal for my carnal perceptions. It may yet however become sensible by descending in showers of holiness or in brilliant meteorites of intelligence.

No rain today.

Wednesday June 27th 1838

The Court adjourned to day, sine die.¹⁰⁵ The majority of the cases tried were of desertion, one for mutiny. Indian dogs have for several nights past howled about camp.

Neither has there any rain fallen to day.

Thursday June 28th 1838

On a Regimental Court Martial to day, I was Recorder. We tried four cases and then adjourned, sine die.

But some fell to day.

Friday June 29th 1838

There is now a citizen with the guard, detained as a prisoner for selling liquor to the soldiers. He was drummed thro' camp to day to the tune of Rogues march.¹⁰⁶

The disposing of spirituous liquors in the Indian country is provided against by the liability to fine of 300 dollars.

To day's thunder shower occurred early in the morning.

Saturday June 30th 1838

A dead soldier was found in the Hiwassee. It is supposed that he went out & got drunk, and in endeavoring to cross the River on his return, fell in and was drowned. I thought that our service was peculiar for drunkenness and desertion, but from the accounts which the papers give of affairs in Canada at present, it appears that we are not alone in these troubles. Toronto is represented as presenting nothing to the view but drunken soldiers, a whole company of which it is said, on one instance, deserted.

To day's thunder shower was unusually violent, one of its bolts struck very near. On the summits of the mountains red patches are frequently seen in the woods where the lightnings have struck.

Sunday July 1st 1838

The citizen, one of the Sovereign people, was rode thro' camp to on a rail to the tune of sitting on a rail.¹⁰⁷ As a prelude however, he was first marched thro' as before, with hat in hand to the tune of The Rogues' march. He thus appeared to be saluting the camp who were conferring on him their greatest indignities. How strangely is man the being of circumstances! He didn't dream while dealing out liquor to the men, that in a few days those very men would be riding him on a rail for it.

There is something saddening in the Rogues march when it is played in (illegible) of a culprit. It seems as tho' he were the most forlorn and friendless wretch in the world, and instead of exciting our contempt, it tends rather to awaken our sympathies.

The shower came about two o'clock P. M.

Monday July 2nd 1838

The prisoner whom the guard called Mr. Citizen, escaped last night, choosing not to receive the honors that were yet due him. The child and grand child have yet to learn what perils their progenitor escaped from among the bloodthirsty Regulars - how they followed him around camp with bayanets close at his back; how they hoisted him on high, and drummed and fified him about and then threw him

down; and finally how on a dark night, he forded the Hiwasee and wandered among ghosts and bears in the mountains. This will be undoubtedly, an episode in his life which he will long remember. On that eventful morn when he left his house with the keg of whiskey on his shoulder, the devil behind him, sneering in full glee at what was coming to pass, the fates burst into a guttural laugh.

Rained about noon.



Tuesday July 3rd 1838

Four companies of the Regiment are now absent, having gone with parties of Indians to Calhoun. The five remaining companies have been slowly changing their camp as fast as their means of transportation (one wagon) would admit. We were the last to move, and a shower commenced when we began the march, and ended only when we had done. A beautiful rainbow of treble arch seemed to promise dryer times, and that in consequence, the cause of our removal, the unhealthiness of our old position, would be removed. We are now encamped in two lines on the crest of a hill near the Fort, where the water will run off as soon as it falls. As usual however, a heavy mist now surrounds us. If the mists of England are like these, it is to be wondered at that Englishmen are not frogs. I would not swelter out my existence in such an atmosphere, were an hundred years of purgatory the penalty of escape from it.

Wednesday July 4th 1838

I saw yesterday a specimen of the miseltoe,¹⁰⁹ which was brought from Florida by Capt Morris.¹⁰⁹ It shewed the manner in which it grows from the oak. It is incorporated at its junction with the oak - the two woods being distinguishable only by their different grains. The characteristics of parasites appear to be the highest efforts of vegetable instinct; that of the miseltoe seeming to indicate something of an intelligence.

And to day I saw a statement in a newspaper that some one had made twenty one pounds of sugar from a single maple tree.

No rain today. On reverting, I find that we have had showers six days in succession, and many of these showers were very copious. We have had but a few days without rain since the 10th of June.

Thursday July 5th 1838

The sentences of the Court Martial convened on the 25th of June were published and some of them carried into execution. There was a want of feeling among the flogged that was truly distressing, not one of them gave utter-

ance to a single exclamation. It is not unusual for culprits in such cases, to make when led up to the post some observations dictated by the occasion, such as for instance, When I was in my mothers lap, could I believe that I should ever come to this! This comes of enlisting, and others of like character, and it is not unfrequent that during the flagellation they make a short prayer, Lord have mercy on my soul; but to day they were as indifferent as the post itself.

Friday July 6th 1838

Being officer of the Day I was ordered to release some Cherokees, citizens of North Carolina who had been brought in thro' mistake. A connexion of theirs, a white man came after them. Their names were Nōskiski, Oilioi, Arlé and Susannah.¹¹⁰ There were two children among them. Some of them were relatives of Junuluski¹¹¹ on whose behalf he as well as the white men urged me to make some recommendations to the Genl. Junuluski said that he had acted a conspicuous part in the old Creek war especially in the battle of the Horseshoe, and he did not know what he had done that the whites should wish to get rid of him. He said that Jackson told him if he would fight good he would give him a mile square of land;¹¹² but he would forego the land if they would allow him to remain. The female part of his family were in tears at seperating with their kinsfolk.

Saturday July 7th 1838

Very warm. The rays of the sun are very painful to the head, tending to promote bilious affections, which in some cases appear to be counteracted, by what seems to be purgative properties of such vegetables as new potatoes and beans. Several, after eating these, have been taken with the Cholera morbus.

State of the weather remains, warm and muggy days and cool and foggy nights.

Last night the stillness was suddenly broken by loud roaring of the Hiwassee from the east. After a while it stopped and notlong thereafter Valley River as suddenly

took up the song, the burthen of which is, according to tradition, The coming storm. To day we had a storm. The roar first came from L. to the camp at C, then from M. The

storm came from S. and soon shifted round to N and K. At the same time one less violent appeared at L.



Sunday July 8th 1838

Received a letter from Dr. Fory, from Calhoun. Genl Arbuckle¹¹³ has written the Secretary of Adjutant Genl that the Western Indians have held a War Council.

Rained to day.

Monday July 9 1838

We are troubled with cutaneous eruptions which are said to be caused by the insinuation of minute red insects under the skin.¹¹⁴ They are so minute as to have thus far escaped my observation. What part they play in the economy of Nature, it were difficult to imagine. They appear to be denizens of decaying vegetables grass, leaves etc. and their transmigration to the skin seems to be an adventitious consequence of walking among them. Their poison is not very diffusive, but locally it is virulent, raising more above it in comparison than the irresistible subterranean gases.

It is now about 12 o'clock P.M. I just looked out towards our old encampment, it is shrouded by a heavy mist. Saw a meteor shoot towards the north east. Rained about noon.

(9)

Tuesday July 10th 1838

Genl Eustis left to day for Calhoun, and Lieut. Pickell who has tendered his resignation, left on his way to Regimental Head Quarters.

It has been a beautiful day tho' very warm, it has not even thundered.

Wednesday July 11th 1838

Capt Morris (a bag player) at the head of several more of the same profession rode over to the 1st Artillery Camp last night, and engaged in some operations which continued till Reveille. They brought away considerable spoil amounting to several hundred dollars.

A Beautiful day - fine atmosphere.

Thursday July 12 1838

Fort Butler N. Ca

Thursday July 12 1838
Fort Butler N. Ca



Cut a-fishing, I found a flower

Out a-fishing, I found a flower the name of which I asked of three persons. The first called it a Maple cock, the second May Apple Vine, and the third, the Twelve Apostles.¹¹⁵ Now I will call it Purple Devil, and thence deduce a Botanical name. *Fleuris Polynomiorum*. The *Fleuris Polynomiorum* must be an interesting plant from the fact alone of possessing so many qualities essential for the suggestion of such a variety of appellations. What latent properties however should have superinduced such a name, so abstract as Maple Cock is more than my ingenuity can discover or even guess at; neither

does there appear to be much propriety in calling a vine that blossoms in July a May Apple vine, besides saying nothing of whether there be any analogies between the vine and the Apple tree. The reason for calling the Twelve Apostles is said to be because its perfloral leaves that (when the flower is fully expanded) curve down about the petiole, are twelve in number. A singular fancy dictated this, its wings must have been clipt by religion. But the fourth name is much more distinctive, for the villous or crinigerous petals have a violet or purple tinge, and the stamen and pistils are devilish curious, which will appear sufficiently evident from an inspection of the diagram. A still better cognomen however, would perhaps be: "The Mathematical plant; because the flower is circular while its procreative functions shew two regular superficies and two solids, the triangle and pentagon and the ellipsoid and frustum of a cone, besides the vine puts forth spiral filaments. And moreover, the number of it perfloral leaves is just the limit of tabular multiplication, and is the same as the Zodiacal signs as well as the hours of an equinoctial day or night and the bodies in the solar system.

If now we multiply the three into five and the product into the twelve we have 180, just the number of degrees in a semicircle, or in that part of the heavens above the horizon, and if we add the three to the five and the sum to twelve, we have 20 the minutes of a degree thro' which the sun passes in a minute of time and the number of degrees thro' which it passes, but it is useless for one to enumerate the wonders of this flower, when in all probability some Rabbi, long before this, has discovered all its mathematical virtues, which undoubtedly teach the age of the world, the Anno Mundi of the temple, the time thereafter of the Messiah's Advent, the restoration, the millennium, the number of incisors in Behemoth's jaw, the molars in Leviathans etc. etc. etc. etc. and above all, how many cubits there were in the thigh bone of an Anak.

Perhaps too Thomas Aquinas has written on the miracles of this same flower. I fancy he has, and that he styled his work, the Triumphant ear of the Purple

(9)

Devil propelled to the Empyrean by the Huzzas of wondering men.

Solomon studied it attentively while he was projecting the Temple, and in the mean time he discovered how many women it required to make the better half of a king. Heavy shower.

Friday July 13th 1838

Había un rebáño de ovejas, que pacían segúras de tódo mal en un cercádo; tódos los pérros domain, y sus ámos tocá, ban la gáita rural cou sus compañeros bájo de un álamo frondóso.

There was a flock of ewes, which fed secure from all harm in an enclosure; all the watch dogs slept, and their master thrummed the rural guitar with his companions under the leafy elm.

I did intend to shew that the syntaxes of the Spanish and English languages were very much alike; but on secondary consideration I have concluded to leave it to grammarians.

Drizzle, drizzle, drizzle.

Saturday July 14th 1838

Last night a brag party assembled at this place. It unfortunately met under the bower of Lieut. T's tent. Lieut. T is a singular species both morally and physically of the genus homo. He is inclined to spree it, that is to drink himself to the Blue Devils or mania á potu.¹¹⁶ But in the first place, physically he is about as wide as he is long, considerably less than six feet in height and he weighs two-hundred and twenty seven pounds. Now morally, he is one of those pinquid persons in whom a superabundance of fat seems to superinduce a due proportionate of restlessness. Whether it be because a ventral rotundity obliges a spinal concavity instead of a convexity thereby promoting a more free action of the medulla oblongata and the nerves is at present very immaterial; for the fact is irrefragable. Besides this, he is what is called a good soul; one who is remarkably tender of the feelings of others, is ever ready to oblige to his own great inconvenience, one, in short, who has such a mix-

ture of kindness and independence in feeling as render him not only very unobtrusive, but even fearful on all occasions lest he should intrude, and above all, one who has no greater control over his inclinations than he has over the estrayment of his coppers which, it is impossible for him to detain.

He cannot play cards, either from a want of skill, judgement, good luck or some other requisite. I had observed that he was ever unsuccessful, and when I discovered that he was losing very fast, and saw the effect which it had upon his sensitive nerves, I urged him to stop, assuring him that there were persons every way constituted to lose at cards as well as there were those to win, and that he as well as myself were of that class. He said that he believed that he was, for that since he had been in the service (12 or 15 years) he had expended two thirds of his pay in gambling.

He forewent play for a while, but his restlessness is ever urging him into any thing and every thing, and when once in, as tho' his immense weight were in a slough of thick mud, extrication is not easy either from his own exertions or those of others. Besides this he had two strong inducements last night to play, one of which was, a party from the 4th had won considerable a few nights previous from officers of the 1st Regt in whom he appeared consequently to think that there was an inferiority of at gaming, which would line his pockets without much risk on his part, and the other depended upon a characteristic of



his which it is necessary to mention. He has the peculiarity of cherishing little and one would think unimportant incidents with fondest remembrance. For instance, a pleasing occurrence which might have transpired in a ball room in any State of the union, would be sufficient to lead him thither after the lapse of several years on a pilgrimage merely to the shrine of a departed pleasure, not being able in any reason to hope or even expect to witness the occurrence again or even the associations that enhanced its interest. But another instance more to the point is, some years ago while at cards he became intoxicated, and his winnings he stuffed into his pockets. At last he recollects of having engaged in a sharp dispute, and of being borne off to bed. The next day he was pleased to find ninety dollars clear gain in the various fobs about his person. He was the more pleased from not being aware that he had won a cent. It is not to be doubted that this reminiscence has led him into much difficulty; he cherishes it however, and last night it formed the second inducement which led him to take a seat among the others. This was precluded with considerable alcoholic excitation in order that he might awake the next morning more fully sensible to the pleasure of discovering hidden wealth. The excitation was kept up with his playing till he became rich on two hundred dollars and before he had gone in ten times, he lost his two hundred dollars, three hundred besides, and he was voted away from the table.

This was something that had not entered his calculations, something that, in the fuddled and dreamy state in which he was, he could not comprehend. By tracing down however his disappointed hopes, he came at length to realize the vastness of his misfortune. The two hundred dollars which he had been saving in Florida in order to visit his poor old mother whom he had not seen for seven years was gone, and not that alone but three hundred more which he could never pay, thereby exposing himself to those obloquies to which he is very susceptible, and to crown all he had been openly voted away from the Board, a man so unobtrusive as he to be voted a bore!!! to his face!!!!

Under such circumstances, the most phlegmatic or philosophical perhaps would have been borne away from calm reflection, it were not to be wondered at then that a nervous man of sanguine temperament did not remain passive. He hurried from passion to passion uttering a word in each, or rather a passion was his harp, and wild as a maniac he touched its strings - sorrow anger, indignation, revenge, and then of a sudden he would sound broad upon the ludicrous - (with tears in his eyes) My poor mother, the pittance that I had laid up for her - and you, you rascally blacklegs - you honorable! Honorable!! I'll flog you all, you'll see, I'll have it back, I'll studdy the science, I'll persecute, I'll, Ha ha ha. I believe I'll lecture on ethics.

But all storms have end. He went to bed to awake not to the discovery of hidden money but of deep remorse, which has kept him all day to his couch laboring under its most disagreeable reflections, and thus do his unbridled inclinations chastise him as tho' he were yet a boy under the rod of his mother.

Drizzle, drizzle.

Sunday July 15th 1838

Rode out in order to see the shafts which have been sunk six or seven miles from here on the right side of Valley river. I enquired for them of a man in their vicinity, who told me what the Indians said concerning them. They say that a long time ago a short and swarthy people came there; but that the Indians drove them away.

Along the crest of the hill where they were sunk appeared a ridge of granitic rock (feldspar and quartz) which had been broken up and thrown into heaps. Besides this mineral, there were upon the hill, talc, hematite, a few amorphous garnets, a very small quantity of mica and occasionally a fragment of quartz. The excavations which I saw consisted of properly but one shaft, a pit and a trench. The latter was run thro' the crest of the hill, cutting the ridge of rock which, below the surface appeared more like sandstone. The shaft is about six-feet by six and between twenty and thirty feet in depth. There are pieces of frame work still in it. That it was

not sunk since the late discovery of gold here, is evident from the size of the trees and shrubs growing from its sides and around its mouth. It was undoubtedly dug by De Soto. From appearances it is not probable that he found any gold there, but notwithstanding, we have every reason to believe that in the immediate vicinity there are large quantities of it. One man informed me that he had dug two hundred penny weights in one season, and there was picked up on Valley River not long since one of the largest lumps of gold that was ever found in the U.S., it weighed several pounds.

Fragments of crucibles are still found.

Fair with occasional showers.

Monday July 16 1838

Quin is an admirable fellow.¹¹⁷ I thought so some years ago when introduced to him thro' the medium of his voyage down the Danube etc; and I still think so with the more unreserve when today I read some of his speculations upon the state of society in Egypt, Assyria and China three or four thousand years ago. It would appear from these that there is in reality according to Solomon, nothing new under the sun, that man, like all the rest of nature's works, is subject to chonical revolutions over which he has no control, and which in fact become sensible only after a long series of years. From the discoveries of Champollion,¹¹⁸ the accounts of travellers, and the ornaments in arabesque of Egyptian and Assyrian architecture together with implements, instruments, utensils etc. Quin concludes that so long as four thousand years ago, the Egyptians as well as well as some other people's several of whom I never heard before, and whose existence must be inferred from Egyptian hieroglyphics, drank wine from glasses, wore balloon sleeves, sat in fauteuils¹¹⁹ off ebony inlaid with ivory, had beautiful foot stools, splendid ottomans, danced the La volta, the fandango, quadrille, waltz, gallopade, scottish reel, country dance, held soirees at which both sexes assisted, played upon the flute, lyre, guitar etc., wore even the armor of our feudal knights, and in fine were in every respect what we are and maintained the same division of

labor, the same artisans with the same implements, with the exception of those who have been introduced in consequence of the discovery of steam, gas light and printing.

He says that in examining the collection of Egyptian curiosities in London, the mind, guided by snatches of sacred and profane history, such as that of Job, of Joseph in Egypt and of contemporary nations, is pleased to draw its conclusions without the injury of restraint from cold chronological diction. The tenor of his speculations appear to be pitched up this, and altho' it may seem not to be very philosophical or mathematical, there is nothing in them so far as I can discover that should displease in this respect the most fastidious. This may however arise from a congeniality of tastes which, if I may not affect so much as to be proud to own, I am certainly pleased to discover, since I can know where to find an author who expresses those sentiments to which I am so unfortunate as not to be able to give utterance, and which thereby lose one half of their value, for there is as much pleasure in communicating our thoughts to others, as there is in entertaining them ourselves. In this respect we exhibit the odd compound of the generous man and the miser.

After this egotistical digression which reminds me of one of Dickens' characters, who after having given her evidence began to entertain the court with her domestic affairs, how especially she was about to make her husband happy for the ninth time by the presentation of a little (perhaps) boy, we pass to the conclusion of the speculations. It is stated there that the Egyptians carried their refinement much higher than we have yet done, tho' it would appear not to such an expense in disipation of the faculties which among us seems to be the necessary consequence. They accustomed their children to beautiful sights and sounds, to beautiful figures and exquisite music. These they introduced into their temples and other places of public resort, and the wealthier classes entertained them in their houses. The beautiful figures, many of them, were ceiling and plafonde¹²⁰ ornaments in arabesque, among which Quin thinks he discovered the balloon sleeves, waltzing etc. He finally gives a descrip-

tion of the traces of Moorish life which he saw in Seville. He describes the squares with their cooling fountains and foliage, architecture, the upper stories in which the Moors only lived reserving the basements for catchalls, the courts and yards enclosed by iron fences so constructed as to disclose to the passer the beauties of what they protect, the castellated walls and towers; and asks where the Moors came by such exquisite taste, so far superior to that of the present inhabitants. They were from Africa, and hence he infers that the Moors of the 15th century were indebted for their peculiar, rich, luscious refined, genial taste to the Egyptians of the 15th century before the Christian era. And thus it would appear that the principles of taste which the Egyptians so long ago inculcated, and in their children nurtured and warmed into an almost supernal maturity, have descended thro' another people and made themselves manifest in edifices, constructions, and luxuries of life of the present day.

Tuesday July 17 1838

A conclusion which, concerning as it does the so fickle a quality as taste, might appear illogical; but a national taste is as permanent characteristic of a people as any other quality, and that taste may be inculcated and improved in whole communities at a time, we have sufficient examples of in our own times. In Paris for instance where the eye of the child and its mother can scarcely glance without resting upon some beautiful statue, or finely proportioned structure, it is very frequent that the lowest artisan can sketch with all the ease and correctness of an experienced artist. It is thus in a degree in Philadelphia, the child seems to be conceived an artist and thus the talent becomes hereditary. The effect which surrounding objects may have upon the child before birth is something which perhaps all tacitly assent to whenever they recur to the expedients of the cunning Patriarch to obtain ring streaked cattle, or to the circumstances connected with the birth of Napoleon.

The Egyptians it appears well understood this effect, and possessing a fertile country which was the granary of the surrounding and frequently famishing world, they were in such independent circumstances as to devote their whole time to its improvement, for they were lords whose every wish was administered to by a different people. Under such circumstances, clothed in their fine linnen, in the Tyrian purple, in short wearing and using all that is the most precious and luxurious, soothed by the commingling sounds of music and fountains, cooled by groves of the most delicious fruit trees, we can imagine them rivaling the gods and excelling far the life that has since been lead in the Alhambra, the most common place occurrences of which have furnished the highest romances, for all the present nations of Christendom.

Wednesday July 18th 1838

But 'there is nothing new under the sun'. 'Stars rise and set, and set and rise

Day follows night, and night the dying day.'

Perhaps this very saying of Solomon was dictated by the inspection of antiquities, and speculation upon the people to whom they belonged who were as far before his day, as the Egyptians of whom Quin speaks were before ours. Job, who was some centuries before Solomon, speaks of treasures hid in the Earth, and of cities in heaps, treasures and cities imply an advanced state of society. If then among these ruined cities or hidden treasures, Solomon should have discovered a drawing or model of an exact prototype of his Temple, or pictures of troops armed in the same manner and in the same array as his own, of maidens grinding at the mill in the female costume of Judah's daughters of his day, etc. etc., he would naturally exclaim: There is nothing new under the sun, and if previously he had congratulated himself with the fancy that he was the wisest, best, most ingenious and most original man that ever lived, on discovering that his whole life and powers had been devoted to the production of a minor part in magnificence and utility of what was extant thousands of years before, he might well add, and all is vanity and vexation of Spirit. And still more

perhaps might he be incited to this remark when he should see that the most trivial amusements, or the most rare to his people were not unknown in those remote days; in the same manner that we now see from their paintings that the Egyptians had their Taglionis¹²¹ and Jim Crows,¹²² the former pirouetting with one leg horizontal to the delights of the audience, while the latter is in gesture and countenance not to be mistaken, to think of 'Jim Crow' resounding in the streets of Thebes.

Oh Clio! Clio!! Clio!!!

Rained to day as usual.

Thursday July 19th 1838

Capt'n Galt leaves to-morrow with a party of Indians for Calhoun, the last of the Cherokees it is to be hoped;¹²³ tho' I don't blame them for not being hasty in coming in. They shew thereby a strong disposition to become citizens of this goodly State. The name of Cherokee were reduced should it become, Carolinian. What a State this is, both morally and physically, nay and Geographically. The inhabitants have neither sufficient books nor a respectable order of talents, any more than their State has an ordinary degree of fecundity and commercial facility. They are as little acquainted with the world as their slaves who in fact give a strong and permanent character to their children. No one ever hears of Willmington without thinking that it is some out of the way house, store and tavern in the woods, and if he should perchance ever hear of Raleigh he connects no thought with it whatever, for it is something too much out of the way, too unimportant, too vague even for his conception.

A carolinian, a large farmer, once made me believe that he was very ingenious by guessing where I was from. I asked him what there was peculiar in my appearance that distinguished me, or by what means he could discover that I was not from Carolina. He replied that nothing was easier, he could tell at first sight with any person, and in fact so could any one, but I had not been sufficiently observant to remark it. He could tell in the same manner

as the old woman in Tennessee did, who said to a stranger enquiring for a nights lodging: Ah, you are a Georgian; for you are not so rough as these Tennesseans, a half a dozen brutes of which had congregated in her house.

You go into a house here and if there be a young woman there, she will take up a position directly in your front, and appear as tho' she wished to devour you, and when you cast your eyes at her capacious belly you may not be without apprehensions, that such is, really, not only her intention but that she has both the will and capacity to carry it into effect. Oh such a State, it ought to be expurgated, cleansed, abrogated, expunged, absconded, cut off irrecoverably, annihilated, damned and purified in sulphur of all freckles, monkey wrinkles, insignificant looks, sandy hair, big posteriors, and in fine of all the deformities and malformations with which Nature has afflicted these unfortunate wretches.

Friday July 20th 1838

The atmosphere is in a state of constant electrization, and this state is variable; so much so that at a given time and place scarcely any electricity could be made manifest by the most delicate instruments, when at another time, the air would appear to be highly surcharged. There is no reason why this variableness may not have a place of a sudden as well as in a gradual series of days or hours: in fact from the constant fulguration which is sometimes observed in some point of the horizon, indicating apparently a sudden evolution of the electric fluid, it would appear to the contrary, that there is reason for a very sudden change in the electrical state of the air.

The main cause of the development of the electrical aura, so far as we know, is friction, and this appears to be a concomitant of all motion. Suppose then a cloud to rake thro' the air, or a body of air charged with watery vapor, perhaps in a state of congelation, to move into another body of very different temperature, we readily conceive that from the consequent friction, the electric aura should be evolved, and the conception becomes belie when on flouting the air smartly with a silk kerchief we

find that its villous parts are sensibly excited.

Electricity suddenly evolved is accompanied with caloric and light. This is manifest to all from what they have seen of the thunder bolt, the light of which is generally intense, and the heat, wherever the bolts have struck, especially, on persons, has appeared to have been likewise. There is a late instance on record when a burning candle was instantaneously melted away so that the wick dropped down and expired from the effect of a bolt which produced its main effect a hundred yards distant.

The cause of this evolution of caloric is well known to those who have studied its properties, and it is very well explained by the fire-pump. By driving down the piston: the air is condensed before it; the latent caloric escapes with light, and thus becoming active it will set fire to spunk or tinder in the bottom of the pump. In the same manner, the thunder-bolt, acting like the piston, produces light and heat by condensing the air before it. The great evolution of caloric accompanying the explosion of gun powder can be accounted for in no other way. The monades of gas that are so instantaneously evolved, each condenses an atomical column of air before it, and thus, in the aggregate, are productive of all the heat that obtains. And according to one theory of solar light, the light and warmth of day are owing to the transmission thro' our atmosphere of atoms from the sun with such a velocity, that by the consequent condensation of the air, the dormant caloric which it contains is vivified.

Rain falling at a distance, either from illusion or fact, frequently appears to descend in separate and well defined columns.

Suppose then a body of cold air, containing water in any state, to set in suddenly from the polar regions towards the south, into a portion of the atmosphere more highly charged with water, containing clouds. The electrical aura which is evolved produces light and caloric, and the caloric, thus set free, follows its well known principle; attaches itself to the watery vapor which, consequently, in the state of steam, rapidly ascends into

the heavens, appearing columnar to the eye like falling rain, and thus actuates the corruscations of the Aurora Borealis.

This phenomenon may be either general as it is in higher latitudes; or local, a solitary cloud, or two or three, sometimes being sufficient for its production. We have seen it manifested by a single cloud which was gradually dissipated. Wherever it makes its appearance the electrometer and hygrometer both indicate respectively the presence of the electrical aura, a powerful agent, and watery vapor which powerfully modifies the rays of light; but the needle is likewise affected, and from the manner in which the corona (near its pole) and the corruscations arrange themselves, it is supposed by some, scientific men, that the phenomenon is owing to magnetic agency. There is an article by a professor in Yale College, in which this belief is expressed, and in the next paragraph the author is blind enough to his inconsistency to say that he believes the cause of the phenomenon to be extrinsic to our atmosphere. He however may be consistent in this remark, but it is on supposition too vague to be entitled to any consideration. He must suppose that magnetism exists beyond our atmosphere, either in space or in the sun or moon, something for which he has no proof, nothing but a single experiment which will hardly afford grounds for suspicion.

Wherever the cause may be, the Phenomenon itself appears within the limits of our atmosphere. The Aurora Borealis which made its appearance on the 25th of Jany 1837, the corona of which was 16° South of the Zenith at New Haven, appeared in the horizon at a point between 27 and 28° of North latitude. Supposing the corona to have been in the Zenith at New Haven, we should find that its height above the earth would have been some 120 or 130 miles, and when the necessary corrections are made we shall probably see that the extreme height to which the columns of steam attained on that occasion, cannot be more than fifty or sixty miles.

Saturday July 21st 1838

Yesterday about one o'clock a cloud delivered its

shower without the customary preliminary of obscuring the sun.

To day we have had two heavy showers.

Sunday July 22nd 10 P.M. 1838

It is raining now in earnest. The side of my tent which is over my bed leaks. It has possessed this noisome property ever since we first arrived here. It appears rather singular that it does not leak a drop only in spots that are over the upper half of my bed, and there seems to be no way any more reason for percolation there than in other spots. Were I so much marked by the actions of a man, I should conclude at once that there was some intention; but as it is I cannot' tho the little drops that keep themselves concealed form the ridge pole, down to points directly over my bed, come glistening out there as tho' like children laughing at the surprise and annoyance which they would occasion by unawares, leaping upon me. Tho' they find their way down well enough from thread to thread till they come over me, they pour thro' there in streams into my ear, eyes mouth or wherever it best suits their pleasure. Tho' I rise with the utmost benevolence erected upon the foundation of a suppressed foe, resentment to shew them the way down; tho' I stroke the cloth till my hand burns, I no sooner lay me down, and find my place in the book (NB one I happen to be reading) than they leap exultingly into my very neck. D—tion cry I, and get up again with the intention of using the same kind persuasion, when I perceive at my side a dapper oval puddle that leers upon me with all the affected wit of an Harlequin.

Whatever spirits other inert bodies may have, I am sure that rain drops are without them, for were they not, they never could sport with so much unfeeling levity upon what may be productive of the most serious consequences. For their practical joke of jumping into my bed, they not only impair my present comfort, but trouble me with the prospects of being ultimately tortured upon the rack of rheumatism.

I am not so vain as to be proud of or either pleased with the preference that they shew me, even supposing

that the interest that they take in me, arises purely from the most courteous motives. To be courted by any one is a great bore much more so, if the person be one for whom you have conceived some dislike. And why should I not only conceive but entertain a dislike for these rain drops, nay, against all the Elements excepting mother Earth? The fire destroyed an India rubber suit¹²⁴ for me, and the wind prostrated my tent thereby exposing me to a deluge of rain drops and hail, the former calamity happening just as the last campaign in Florida opened, and the latter just as it closed, when I had escaped safely with my bed and papers thro' all the showers.

Monday July 23rd 1838

We move to-morrow for Augusta Geo' whence we ship for New York. The 1st and 4th regts Artr go by the way of Charleston, and the 2nd moves for the Canada frontier by the way of Cleavland Ohio.

July 31, 1838

We five companies of the 4th under Col. Fanning are now about 8 miles south of Eblberton¹ and some 70 from Augusta. The weather thus far during our march has been very oppressive - dry - hot - and with scarcely a breath of air. We lost one man from the effects of heat together with having gorged himself with green apples. Since his death, two or three days ago, we have commenced our daily marches at about 3 o'clock A.M and have finished from 9 to 11 A.M. Yesterday we made a full 20 miles, a very wearisome march. This morning, a large meteor raked the sky leaving a trail behind. This attracted our attention more particularly to the heavens, and in a short time we witnessed a dozen more. It was very still and slose, as it had been with the exception of one storm for several weeks, but now (5 P.M.) we luxuriate in a fine breeze from the north. We have made 16 miles today almost suffocated by heat and dust.

August 5th 1838

Augusta Arsenal Geo.

Arrived at this place yesterday about 8 o'clock A.M. Lieut. Betts' is acting Ord. Offr. Here Qr. Master and commissary. We move to-morrow for Aiken on our way to Charleston.

During a march of upwards of two hundred miles we have passed thro' but three villages and have seen but few respectable buildings. We saw one large mansion withdrawn from the road behind a large fountain gate in the most dignified manner, the surrounding grounds of which, with the exceptions of one large corn field were worn out and overgrown with weeds. Some houses are entirely deserted and were going to ruins. The older part of the State is worn out.

Paser tranquillement, sans souci, sans affaire
La nuit à bien dormir, et le jour à rien faire
Boileau

De tous les animaux qui s'élèvent dans l'air,
Qui merchant sur la terre, ou nagent dans la mer,
De Paris au Pérou, du Japon jusqu'à Rome
Le plus sot animal, à mon avis, c'est l'homme.
Qui dans tous ses discours par quolibets s'exprime
A toujours dans la bouche un proverbe, un rime
Et d'un roulement d'yeux aussitôt applaudit
Au mot aigrement fou qu'an hasard elle a dit

Au lois de son devoir règle tous ses désirs

Den Göttern gleich ich nicht! Zu tief ist es gefühlt,
Dem Wurme gleich' ich, der den Staub durchwühlt;
Den, wie er sich im Staube nährend lebt,
Des Wanderers Tritt vernichtet and begräbt.

Lässt sich Natgür des Schleiers nicht berauben.

Und was sie deinem Geist nicht offenbaren mag,
Das zwingest du ihr nicht ab mit Höbeln [Höbeln] und mit Schrauben.

Goethe

Vom Eise befreit sind Strom und Bäche,
Durch des Frühlings holden, belebenden Blick;
Im Thale grünet Hoffnungsbglück;
Der alte Winter, in seiner Schwäche,
Zog sich in rauhe Berge zurück.
Von dorthier sendet er, fliehend, nur
Ohnmächtige Schauer königen Eises.
In Streifen über die grünende Flur;
Aber die Sonne duldet kein Weisses,
Überall regt sich Bildung und Streben,
Alles will sie mit Farben beleben;
Doch an Blumen fehlt's im Revier
Sie nimmt geputzte Menschen dafür. (Faust)

Doch ist es jedem eingebroren,
Dass sein Gefül hinauf und vorwärts dringt,
Wenn über uns im blauen Raum verloren,
Ihr schmetternd Lied die Lerche singt;
Wenn über schroffen Fichtenhöhen
Der Adler ausgebreitet schwebt,
Und über Flächen, über Seen
Der Kranich nach der Heimat strebt. (Faust)
Damit du, losgebunden, frei,
Erfahrest, was das Leben sey.

Und doch ist nie der Tod ein ganz willkommener Gast.

Mich werden wilde Träume schrecken.

Gebrauch der Zeit, sie geht so schnell von hinnen,
Doch Ordnung lehrt [lehrt] Euch Zeit gewinnen.

Und wenn Ihr Euch nur selbst vertraut,
Trauern Euch die andern Seelen.

Freud' muss Leid, Laid muss Freude haben
Mephistopheles

So tamml'ich von Begierde zu Gemurz
 Und in Gemurz verschmacht'ich mach Begierde
 Faust

Kämmen	to comb - Eng. Kemb - to comb
Wenn -	if (old Eng) An - if - Lat an if
Kamm	Comb -
Walzer	rolling dance
Schleim	Slime -
rollen	to move about - to move by volutation
	from whence prob - comes roil
Pult -	desk - hence, prob - pulpit
Schmauch	Smoke
Schrein	Shrine
Pfand	Pawn
Ohr - Ohrring	Ear - earring -
Sehr	sore or very -
Krüge -	pitcher or cruit - Fr. cruche
Shere	sheers ¹²⁵



END NOTES

¹ In 1821, four regiments of artillery were organized from the light artillery, the corps of artillery, and the ordnance. Each regiment consisted of nine companies of 55 enlisted men plus commanding officers. Following the United States' 1821 acquisition of Florida, headquarters were established at Pensacola and regiments were stationed on the Florida and Gulf Coasts. All companies participated in the 2nd Seminole War that began in 1835. As active skirmishes dwindled in 1838, the 4th Artillery was ordered to the Cherokee Nation to assist with Cherokee removal, a process that ended in approximately two months. After a brief period at Fort Columbus, New York, the regiment was ordered back to Florida for continued service. Theodore F. Rodenbough and William L. Haskin, eds., The Army of the United States, Historical Sketches (New York: Maynard, Merrill, and Co., 1896), 351.

² Calhoun, Tennessee, near the confluence of the Conasauga and Hiwassee Rivers, was the site of the Cherokee Agency. Winfield Scott of Virginia (1786-1866) was breveted major general at the conclusion of the War of 1812. In 1838, Major General Alexander Macomb ordered him to supervise the removal of Cherokees, with assistance from the 4th Artillery and 4th Infantry. Macomb also ordered Scott to request militia and volunteers from Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama. John S. D. Eisenhower, Agent of Destiny: The Life and Times of General Winfield Scott (New York: Free Press, 1997); John Mahon, History of the Second Seminole War 1835-1842 (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1985), 135-167.

³ Educated and commissioned at the Military Academy at West Point, Zachary Taylor of Virginia (1784-1850) was breveted brigadier general in 1837 for distinguished service at the battle of Kissimmee (Okeechobee), Florida in the 2nd Seminole War (1835-42). He assumed command in 1838 and remained in Florida when Phelps' regiment went to the Cherokee Nation. Heltman, Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army vol 1 (Reprint. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965), 949; Mahon, Second Seminole War, 245.

⁴ The 2nd Seminole War began in the winter of 1835 with Osceola's attack on the agency at Ft. King and the nearly-simultaneous defeat of Major Francis L. Dade's troops near the Great Wahoo swamp in mid-southwest Florida. For the next two years, Osceola and Seminole warriors bested American troops through traditional war strategies of ambush and withdrawal. Following Osceola's death in prison in 1837, Coacoochee (Wildcat) led the Seminole offensive for three more years. Phelps doubtless refers to the Seminoles' renewed resistance following Osceola's death. Among numerous accounts see Mahon, Second Seminole War, 224-39.

⁵ Thomas Sidney Jesup (1788-1860) of Virginia was commissioned as an officer directly from civilian life when the Army was expanded in 1808. He was named brigadier and quartermaster general at the conclu-

sion of the War of 1812, and breveted major general in 1828. Replacing Winfield Scott's command of approximately 10,000 American troops in Florida in the winter of 1836, Jesup quickly abandoned traditional warfare. He threatened captives unless they led him to their villages, burned houses, killed livestock, and destroyed crops. He imprisoned Seminoles under flags of truce; guaranteed war booty to participants in the Seminole roundup, and paid non-Seminole Indians to capture Seminole slaves for resale. Grant Foreman, Indian Removal (Reprint. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989), 315-86; Mahon, Second Seminole War, 190-218.

⁶ Coonti is a fern-like cyad (*Zamia floridana* A.D.C.) whose roots the Seminoles ground into a reddish flour. The word also refers to the flour Seminoles obtained from *Smilax bona-nox* L. As their source of bread flour during times of war, coonti was perhaps the Seminoles' most valuable food. Harold D. Cardwell, Sr., "Coonti Root: The Dangerous Blessing," Florida Anthropologist 40 (1987): 233-49. William Bartram described a "repat" given by the White King of Talahasochte (on the Suwanee River), which included "a very agreeable, cooling sort of jelly, which they call conte." Gregory A. Waskelov and Kathryn E. Holland Braund, eds., William Bartram on the Southeastern Indians (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), 63.

⁷ Phelps is correct that Seminoles were retreating into distant territory, but overconfident that they were unfamiliar with the Florida swamps. In fact, small bands of Seminoles effectively moved through the southern swamps, attacked white settlements, and swiftly withdrew. Their success so greatly frustrated the federal government that two changes of command ensued before Jesup recommended that the United States cease hostilities and grant the Seminoles permission to remain. Anthony F.C. Wallace, The Long, Bitter Trail: Andrew Jackson and the Indians (New York: Hill and Wang, 1993), 97-101.

⁸ Cape Sable lay on the southwestern end of Cape Florida on the southeastern tip of the Florida peninsula. As Phelps indicates, the southern frontier was the scene of intense hostilities.

⁹ In 1836 brevet Brigadier General Abraham Eustis (died 1843) of the 1st Artillery led 1,400 soldiers under the command of Gen. Winfield Scott in a flawed attack that resulted in Scott's reassignment to Alabama. The following year, Eustis served on the northern frontier along the Suwanee River, returning south for the Battle of Okeechobee. In the winter of 1838, he prevailed on Jesup to declare the war concluded and leave the Seminoles in southern Florida. During the subsequent Cherokee removal, Eustis commanded the Eastern District, which consisted of North Carolina, part of Tennessee, and the Georgia counties of Gilmer, Union, and Lumpkin. Eastern District headquarters were at Fort Butler, North Carolina. Mahon, Second Seminole War, 138, 143, 154, 157-58, 220, 222, 226, 233, 238; "Removal of the Cherokees," Orders, No. 25: of Gen. Winfield Scott, May 17, 1838, 25th Cong., 2nd sess., H. Doc. 453 (hereafter referred to as "Removal of the Cherokees"), 9.

¹⁰ Tallahassee Chief Tigertail (Thlockio Tustenuggee) consistently eluded capture and rejected attempts to bribe him into surrender. In the fall of 1842, he and 19 other Seminoles were taken by force and shipped to prison in New Orleans, where he died awaiting shipment to the Indian territory. George Walton, Fearless and Free: the Seminole Indian War 1835-1842 (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1977), 237; Mahon, Second Seminole War, 281, 317-18.

¹¹ Contrary to Jesup's wishes, thousands of mounted volunteers streamed into Florida for the Seminole wars. Numerous Georgians came to capture the many African slaves who had escaped from Georgia to the Seminole nation. These so-called Seminole Negroes often lived in separate towns that were tributary to Seminole settlements, and were considered particularly threatening because they were free and armed. Kenneth W. Porter, The Black Seminoles, History of a Freedom-Seeking People (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1996), 3-107.

¹² Charles Haney Nelson (1796-1848) became commander of the Georgia militia in 1831, occupying barracks left by federal troops who had been ordered to the Cherokee Nation to guard gold mines. In 1836, he led a volunteer regiment called the Mounted Mountaineers in the 2nd Seminole War. By 1838, they had engaged and defeated several roving bands of Mikasuki Seminoles. Wilson Lumpkin, The Removal of the Cherokee Indians from Georgia (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1907), 55-6; Mahon, Second Seminole War, 221, 231, 233; Don L. Shadburn, personal communication, May 15, 2000.

¹³ James McCready Morgan of New York became a West Point cadet in 1831, graduating with the class of 1835. In 1838, he was stationed in Florida as a 1st lieutenant (Ordinance), and by the time of his death in 1853 he had attained the rank of captain. Heitman, Historical Register, 725.

¹⁴ By the time he was recalled from duty, Jesup claimed he had sent nearly 2,000 "Indians and negroes" west. Foreman, Indian Removal, 363.

¹⁵ Physician Frederick Weedon attended Osceola during his final imprisonment at Ft. Moultrie in Charleston, South Carolina. Following Osceola's death, Weedon detached and embalmed the corpse's head. He subsequently gave the head to his son-in-law, Dr. Daniel Whitehurst, who gave it to Dr. Valentine Mott. Osceola's head was presumably destroyed when Mott's Surgical and Pathological Museum in New York burned in 1866. Mahon, Second Seminole War, 218.

¹⁶ Although selling Natives' trophies was commonplace, the market for Osceola material developed especially rapidly. After Osceola's death on Jan. 30, 1838, Captain Fitzcarrin Morrison, who was in charge of Indian prisoners, sent Major H. J. Hook many of Osceola's personal effects including his turban, hair brush, beaded belt, and three silver gorgets. Foreman, Indian Removal, 358, n. 10.

¹⁷ Reynold Marvin Kirby (died 1842) of Connecticut graduated from West Point with the rank of lieutenant and was assigned to the 3rd Artillery. He served during the siege of Ft. Erie in the War of 1812, and was made major in 1824. In the Seminole War, Kirby commanded four companies of the 1st Artillery under the general command of Winfield Scott. Heitman, Historical Register, 603; Mahon, Second Seminole War, 156.

¹⁸ Washington is approximately 70 miles northwest of Augusta, in present day Wilkes County. The town was laid out in 1780 and incorporated in 1804. Kenneth Krakow, Georgia Place Names (Macon, GA: Winship Press, 1975), 251.

¹⁹ John Lane Gardner (died 1869) was born in Massachusetts, attended West Point, and was made lieutenant with the 4th Infantry in May, 1813. He was promoted to major in 1833 and, after service in Mexico and the Civil War, to brigadier general. At the time of Cherokee removal, he was with the 4th Artillery. Heitman, Historical Register, 446.

²⁰ Ichabod Bennet Crane of New Jersey became lieutenant in 1809 and 3rd Artillery captain in 1812. The following year he was promoted to major for meritorious service and general good conduct. He assumed command of northeastern Florida in the summer of 1836. During Cherokee removal, Crane commanded four companies of the 2nd Artillery. Scott to Jones, May 30, 1838, in "Removal of the Cherokees," 14; Heitman, Historical Register, 335; Mahon, Second Seminole War, 179-80.

²¹ Phelps is doubtless referring to St. Michael's rather than the unidentified "St. Peter's." St. Michael's was constructed in 1752 on the site of Charleston's mother church, St. Philip's Episcopal, which had been built in 1681. St. Michael's burial ground contains the graves of many famous South Carolinians. In 1835-38, a new St. Philip's Episcopal Church was erected four blocks from St. Michael's, and so it is possible Phelps visited the new St. Philip's burying ground. South Carolina, The WPA Guide to the Palmetto State (Reprint. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1984, 1988), 192-93, 202-3.

²² Gov. James Hamilton, Jr. was born in 1786 to a wealthy South Carolina low-country planter, educated in Rhode Island, and then studied law. He served as major in the War of 1812. By the time he became governor in 1830 he had established his reputation as a Nullifier. Heitman, Historical Register, 493. Phelps disdained the nullifiers and their states' rights position.

²³ At the time Phelps was composing his diary, John Caldwell Calhoun (1782-1850) was senator from South Carolina, leader of the states' rights movement, and defender of slave-holding states. J. O. Thorne and T. C. Collocott, eds., Chambers' Biographical Dictionary (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984, 1988), 225.

²¹ Born in 1791, Robert Young Hayne was U. S. senator from South Carolina from 1823-32. When he became governor in 1832, Calhoun assumed his senatorial seat. As governor, Hayne supported the Nullifiers Party and states' rights. Prior to his 1839 death he became a railroad director and promoter. John S. D. Eisenhower, Agent of Destiny: The Life and Times of General Winfield Scott (New York: Free Press, 1997), 137, 418.

²² The companies are marching northwest, leaving the Savannah River valley and moving just north of the Little River valley to Washington in present-day Wilkes County, Georgia. They are following the old Middle Cherokee Trading Path, which became the Cherokee Federal Road northeast of Jefferson, Georgia.

²³ Long Creek, a tributary stream of the Broad River, flows southwest through present-day Oglethorpe County, Georgia.

²⁴ Having passed through the Sand Hills and crossed the Fall Line, Phelps accurately describes here the Southern Piedmont physiographic province, which contains red soil with sandy loam surface layers and sandy clay subsoils.

²⁵ Repeated cultivation, in the same soil, of row crops such as corn, cotton, and tobacco depleted nutrients, diminishing the variety of plant succession in abandoned fields. With limited plants to replenish the soil, erosion left the barren appearance Phelps noted.

²⁶ Athens, incorporated in 1806, stands on an elevation in a curve of the Oconee River in present-day Clarke County, approximately one hundred miles northwest of Augusta, Georgia. Krakow, Georgia Place Names, 8.

²⁷ Danforth H. Tufts of New York entered West Point in the summer of 1822, graduated with the class of 1826, and was made 1st lieutenant (Artillery) ten years later. He died in 1840. Heltman, Historical Register, 973.

²⁸ Jefferson, located in present-day Jackson County about twenty miles northwest of Athens, was established in 1805 at the site of a former Creek Indian settlement. Krakow, Georgia Place Names, 121.

²⁹ North Georgia includes the Blue Ridge, Ridge and Valley, and Piedmont physiographic provinces. Moving north from Augusta, the troops left the Piedmont region and marched toward the more mountainous Blue Ridge province. Streams flowing toward the Atlantic dissect the rolling surface of this area, and bands of mica, schist, and quartzite appear in varying degrees. The area near Jefferson is rich in granite, feldspar, quartz, and mica. Thomas W. Hodler and Howard A. Schretter, eds., The Atlas of Georgia (Athens: University of Georgia Institute of Community and Area Development, 1986), 13, 16-17, 150-51.

³⁰ Camp meetings and revivals became popular in northeast Georgia in

the 1830s. Participants initially stayed in brush arbors and later built small wooden cabin suitable for families. The New Georgia Guide (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1996), 208.

³¹ Georgia gold veins run northeast-southwest through much of the country traversed by the removal troops. Marching north from Athens, they left one gold region, but as they turned northeast toward Clarksville, they followed one of the richest gold veins in the state. The discovery of gold in north Georgia in the late 1820s exacerbated tensions between Georgians and the Cherokee Nation, and precipitated the survey and lottery distribution of Cherokee lands. David Williams, The Georgia Gold Rush, Twenty-Niners, Cherokees, and Gold Fever (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1993), 21-36, 47-64.

³² Clarksville, just over 60 miles north of Athens in present-day Habersham County, was incorporated as a village in 1823 from Cherokee lands ceded in the treaty of 1817/19. Phelps's regiment has turned to the northeast, perhaps following Warwoman's Trail to the Unicoi Turnpike. Krakow, Georgia Place Names, 46.

³³ The headwaters of the Chattahoochee River lie just northeast of the Nacoochee Valley in present-day White County, Georgia. It is likely the troops marched along the Unicoi Pike, which followed the Chattahoochee River, diverged just above present-day Helen, Georgia, and turned northward ten miles to the Unicoi Gap of the Blue Ridge Mountains. By 1819, the turnpike was fully operative, but its builders complained of 28 river crossings in that stretch of road. Matt Gedney, Living on the Unicoi Road (Marietta, Ga: Little Star Press, 1996), 16-20.

³⁴ The Chattahoochee, Little Tennessee, and Hiwassee Rivers head in the Blue Ridge mountains. The latter two flow northwest through the Unakas while the Chattahoochee flows southwest toward the Gulf of Mexico. The Hiwassee and Little Tennessee are both major tributaries of the Tennessee River, which lies on the far side of the Smoky Mountains. Although Unicoi Gap's 3,000-foot elevation is the lowest point in the area, the final ascent climbs 1,200 feet in less than three miles. Ibid., 17.

³⁵ Habersham County, with Clarksville as the county seat and site of the courthouse, was created in 1818 from Cherokee land cessions.

³⁶ Seminole agent Major John Phagan, who pressured seven Seminole leaders to sign the Treaty of Fort Gibson, relied on a black translator named Cudjo. Some sources suggest that Cudjo and another interpreter were bribed to obscure passages of the treaty that delineated Seminole land boundaries in Indian Territory and plans for Seminole removal. Mahon, Second Seminole War, 78, 82-3.

³⁷ Black Creek is a tributary of the St. John's River in northeast Florida. In 1836, Gen. Scott established Ft. Heilman as a supply base at the site where Garey's Ferry crossed Black Creek. Ibid., 150-51, 174-75.

9

⁴¹ Wahoo Swamp lay adjacent to Withlacoochee Cove 80- miles northeast of Tampa, Florida. A majority of Seminoles migrated there in 1823. It was site of the 1835 so-called Dade Massacre, when Seminole warriors surprised Major Francis Dade's 4th Infantry and two companies of the 2nd and 3rd Artilleries. The following year, Seminoles won the Battle of Wahoo Swamp, routing Richard Keith Call's troops of Tennessee and Florida militia alongside Creek warriors and army regulars. James W. Covington, The Seminoles of Florida (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993), 80-81; Mahon, Second Seminole War, 182-86.

⁴² A penny-weight is one-twentieth of an ounce.

⁴³ The north Georgia town of Dahlonega (from the Cherokee word talonige, yellow) was established in 1833 as the seat of Lumpkin County. It was the site of gold rushes in the late 1820s and throughout the 1830s. By 1829, numerous Georgia newspapers had published articles about gold on Cherokee land in north Georgia, inspiring as many as 10,000 individuals to enter the area. In the fall of 1830, the president sent 300 federal troops to maintain order and the state legislature authorized the formation of the Georgia militia to prevent all mining. The Dahlonega mint was established in 1835, and minting machinery installed in 1837. When output from Georgia gold mines began to decline precipitously in the early 1840s, miners moved west to Montana and California. David Williams, Georgia Gold Rush, 24-5, 60-62, 107, 143.

⁴⁴ Centuries of erosion have diminished the sharp peaks of the Appalachians. The southern portion Phelps refers to consists of smaller ridges with broad alluvial valleys. In Georgia, the ridges appear to merge with the Piedmont hills. A Report of the Secretary of Agriculture in Relation to the Forests, Rivers, and Mountains of the Southern Appalachian Mountains (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1902), 54.

⁴⁵ Inasmuch as the Cherokee Nation had been overrun by gold seekers and Georgia laws made it impossible for Cherokees to defend themselves against white depredations, it is conceivable the inhabitants believed Chief John Ross had requested federal protection. As Phelps subsequently recognizes, the majority of the Cherokee Nation sincerely thought that Ross could protect them from intruders and from the immediate threat of removal.

⁴⁶ Forts Hembree and Butler were in North Carolina in the Eastern military district under the command of Gen. Eustis. Hembree stood just across the Georgia line, south of present-day Murphy. Butler, the headquarters of the Eastern district, was sixteen miles west of Hembree at the head of Valley River near its juncture with and south of the Hiwassee River.

⁴⁷ The Valley River is a tributary of the Hiwassee River which, in turn, is a tributary of the Tennessee.

⁴⁸ The elevation of the ridges surrounding the Valley and Hiwassee rivers exceeds 4,500 feet, but the low elevation of the waterways (no more than 1,000 feet) creates gorge-like valleys. Temperatures average about ten degrees cooler than in the Florida lowlands, and vegetation matures about three weeks later. Report of the Secretary of Agriculture, 54-5.

⁴⁹ John Macrae Washington of Virginia was born in 1797, entered West Point in the fall of 1814, graduated as lieutenant with the 1st Artillery in 1817, and transferred to the 4th Artillery in 1821. He served as captain from 1832 to 1839, with service in Florida and in the removal of Cherokees. At the time of Phelps' writing, Washington commanded two companies of the 1st and two of the 4th Artillery. When he died at sea with members of his command in 1853, he held the rank of lieutenant colonel. Heitman, Historical Register, 1007; Concise Dictionary of American Biography, 1120.

⁵⁰ Patrick Henry Galt was born in Virginia and became captain in the 4th artillery in 1829. By the time of his death in 1851, he had been breveted lieutenant colonel. Heitman, Historical Register, 444.

⁵¹ A West Point classmate of Phelps', John Paul Jones O'Brien of Pennsylvania graduated as a lieutenant with the 4th Artillery in the summer of 1836 and went to the 2nd Seminole War in Florida. He died in 1850, having served in Mexico as brevet major. Ibid, 75; Register of Graduates, 261.

⁵² On May 30, Gen. Scott wrote from New Echota that Crane had just passed by en route to Ross's Landing with four companies of the 2nd Artillery and prisoners. Scott to Jones, May 30, 1838 in "Removal of the Cherokees," 14.

⁵³ A regiment consisted of officers and soldiers. Officers included colonel, lieutenant colonel, major, adjutant, quartermaster, paymaster, surgeon, surgeon's mate, sergeant major, drum major, and fife major. Each regiment contained two battalions with five companies each. Officers of each company included captain, lieutenant, second lieutenant (or ensign), four sergeants, four corporals, drummer, fifer (or bugler), and fifty privates. Phelps's diary reveals his respect for military discipline and his disappointment in those who do not share his commitment. His comments provide useful information about the character, discipline, and behavior of those involved in Indian removal.

⁵⁴ Phelps is disparaging Secretary of War Joel Poinsett (1779-1851), a South Carolina gentleman and amateur natural historian who founded the National Institute for the Promotion of Science and the Useful Arts. He is better known for his diplomatic career in Latin America, and for the Mexican flower that was named for him, than for his tenure from 1837-1841 as Van Buren's Secretary of War. Samuel Elliot Morrison, The Oxford History of the American People (New York: Oxford University

Press, 1965), 418-19. Phelps's lack of enthusiasm for Polk's may have derived as much from his dislike of South Carolina politics as from Polk's lack of field experience.

¹⁵ Phelps possibly refers to Abner Cunningham's Practical Infidelity (portrayed and the judgments of God made manifest. An address submitted to the consideration of Robert D. Owen, Kneeland, Houston, and others of the Infidel Party, in the City of New York [New York: Daniel Coolidge, 1836]).

¹⁶ Contemporary accounts point to Cherokee confidence that John Ross would overturn the New Echota Treaty or postpone removal. Such confidence infuriated pro-treaty forces, who maintained that Ross deceived the Cherokees and thereby contributed to the losses occasioned by removal. For discussion and documents relating to the Treaty Party, see Theda Perdue and Michael D. Green, eds., The Cherokee Removal: A Brief History With Documents (Boston: Bedford Books, 1995), 151-159.

¹⁷ Scott's address of May 10, 1838 notified Cherokees that armies were assembling for their removal, encouraged immediate enrollment for emigration, and warned that the military would hunt them down if necessary. He ordered the address printed in handbills and distributed throughout the Cherokee Nation, and sent copies to regional newspapers. Full text of the address appears in "Removal of the Cherokees," 11-12. See also Thurman Wilkins, Cherokee Tragedy: The Story of the Ridge Family and the Declination of a People (New York: Macmillan Co., 1970), 306.

¹⁸ During the American Revolution, Gen. John Burgoyne (1722-1792) led British troops and Indian allies in a campaign centered in the Mohawk valley of New York. After his successes at Ft. Ticonderoga and Crown Point, Burgoyne was defeated by Gen. Gates. Chamber's Biographical Dictionary, 207.

¹⁹ Commissioned 1st Lieutenant in 1812, Matthew Hounstoy Payne of Virginia (d. 1862) was made 2nd Artillery major in 1836. He became acting Inspector General on Winfield Scott's staff in 1838. Payne resigned with the rank of brevet major in 1861, having served with distinction in the Mexican war. Heitman, Historical Register, 777.

²⁰ The information about illness and death among removal soldiers, infrequently reported in assessments of removal, compounds the tragedy of Native deaths.

²¹ In fact, on June 4 Winfield Scott reported that he was suspending operations until the 12th to promote voluntary enrollment, prevent too great a buildup of prisoners, and await arrival of the Alabama regiment. He also stated that 4,000 "Georgia Indians" had been rounded up and were marching to Ross's landing for embarkation. Scott to Jones, June 4, 1838, in "Removal of the Cherokees," 16. Phelps's speculation indicates that troops and Cherokees were equally confused about Ross's success in averting the exodus.

²² Cogolia, a limestone formed from broken shells cemented together, was a common building material in Florida where it would have become very familiar to Phelps.

²³ Military records indicate that Jon Monroe (rather than Monroe) of Scotland and New York was with the 1st Artillery in 1814 and transferred to the 4th in 1821. Made captain in 1823, Monroe was breveted major in 1838 for conduct in the 2nd Seminole War, and fought in Mexico where he achieved the rank of colonel. He died in 1861. Heitman, Historical Register, 736.

²⁴ Phelps perhaps refers to the Battle of Lundy's Lane in third year of the war of 1812, since earlier battles on the Canadian border had demonstrated the officers' inability to control the state militias. In contrast, at Lundy's Lane, Gen. Scott's brigade fought valiantly and strongly reinforced by General Jacob Brown's brigade. These events prevented an invasion of the United States. Horrisford History, 382-395.

²⁵ Thomas Lee Brent of Virginia graduated from West Point as a 2nd Lieutenant (6th Infantry) in July, 1835 and joined the 4th Artillery in the fall of 1836. He was promoted to 1st Lieutenant in 1839, and in 1847 was made captain for valiant and meritorious conduct in the Battle of Buena Vista, Mexico. Brent died in January, 1858. Heitman, Historical Register, 242.

²⁶ Asa Park Gregory of Pennsylvania entered West Point as a cadet in July, 1832, and graduated as 2nd Lieutenant (4th Artillery) in July, 1837. He resigned in December, 1838 and died two years later. Ibid, 477.

²⁷ Edmund Bradford of Pennsylvania entered West Point as a cadet in July 1833 and graduated as 2nd Lieutenant (4th Artillery) in July 1837. He was promoted to 1st Lieutenant in 1841 and resigned in 1849. During the Civil War, Bradford served the Confederate Army as Assistant Inspector General. He died April 26, 1869. Ibid, 237.

²⁸ Edward C. Ross entered West Point as a cadet in 1817 and graduated as Lieutenant (4th Artillery) in 1821. Promoted to 1st Lieutenant in 1826, he resigned in July, 1839, and died in 1851. Ibid, 846.

²⁹ James Russell Soley of Massachusetts entered West Point as a cadet in 1833, and graduated as a 2nd Lieutenant (4th Artillery) in 1837. He was made 1st Lieutenant in 1841 and died in the fall of 1845. Ibid, 907.

³⁰ John Pickell of Pennsylvania graduated from West Point as a 2nd Lieutenant (4th Artillery) in 1822, was promoted to 1st Lieutenant in 1831, and served as regimental adjutant from 1836-1838, when he resigned. Ibid, 790.

¹¹ John Henry Miller of Pennsylvania entered West Point as a cadet in July, 1829, and graduated as 2nd lieutenant (4th Artillery) in July, 1833. Promoted to 1st lieutenant in December, 1836, Miller served as regimental adjutant from 1838-1846. Following service in the Mexican war he was promoted to brevet major for gallantry and meritorious conduct. He died Sept. 12, 1850. Ibid, 710.

¹² William Phillips Bainbridge of Kentucky entered the military academy in 1820 and was breveted 2nd lieutenant with the 3rd Artillery. In 1830 he was promoted to 1st lieutenant. Having served in the Mexican War, Bainbridge was breveted major. He died in 1850. Ibid, 182.

¹³ Born in 1809 in New Jersey, Franklin Eyre Hunt entered the Military Academy in 1824 and graduated in 1829, breveted and promoted to 2nd lieutenant, 4th Artillery. He was promoted to 1st lieutenant in 1836 and captain in 1846. By the time he retired in 1879, Hunt had been breveted lieutenant colonel and served as paymaster general. He died in New Jersey in 1881. Ibid, 556.

¹⁴ Numerous papers carried articles condemning the New Echota proceedings. In addition to the well known Niles' National Register, articles and copies of official correspondence appear in the Nashville Cumberland Presbyterian, the Franklin, Tennessee Western Weekly, Albany New York's Jeffersonian, and the New Yorker. John M. Coward, The Newspaper Indian: Native American Identity in the Press, 1820-90 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 65-97. Maj. W. M. Davis, removal enrolling officer, strongly protested the treaty in a letter to Sec. Poinsett. Foreman, Indian Removal, 270.

¹⁵ Lewis Cass (1782-1866), a general in the war of 1812, was governor of Michigan territory for 18 years. As secretary of war from 1831-36 he presided over the removal of southeastern Indians. Chambers Biographical Dictionary, 249.

¹⁶ Andrew Jackson appointed Dutch Reform clergyman John F. Schermerhorn of New York to negotiate the removal treaty with the Cherokees. Taking advantage of factionalism among Cherokees, Schermerhorn set a treaty conference at New Echota for Dec. 21, 1835, and asserted that all who failed to attend would be counted as favoring a treaty. When only a few hundred Cherokees appeared, he signed the treaty with the Treaty Party, setting the stage for removal. For discussion and documents, see Ferdue and Green, Cherokee Removal, 138.

¹⁷ From New Echota, which became headquarters for enrollment, ration distribution, and claims submission, Gen. Wool wrote that "these same people as well as those in the mountains of North Carolina, during the summer past, preferred living upon the roots and sap of trees rather than receive provisions from the United States." In Foreman, Indian Removal, 270-271.

¹⁸ Brevet colonel in the 2nd Seminole War, Alexander C. W. Fanning of

Massachusetts survived some of the fiercest battles with the Seminoles even though he was missing an arm. His prior service commendations included one for gallant conduct in defense of Ft. Erie in the War of 1812, when he was breveted major. A graduate of the Military Academy, Fanning died Aug. 18, 1846. Mahon: Second Seminole War, 108-9, 122, 199, 221; Heitman, Historical Register, 412.

¹⁹ As many as 500 Cherokee warriors fought against the Creek Red Sticks under the command of Gen. Andrew Jackson, Gen. James White, or Gen. James Cocke in the War of 1812. Wilkins, Cherokee Tragedy, 65.

²⁰ Military records indicate that the Cherokees in Georgia were rounded up beginning May 26. Although perhaps a few hundred came in voluntarily, most were brought in by the military. Scott to Poinsett, June 7, 1838 in "Removal of the Cherokees," 19.

²¹ The place of worship was likely the Valley Towns Baptist Mission and School, established in 1819 by Humphrey Posey along the Hiwassee River east of present-day Peachtree. Evan Jones replaced Posey in 1821, and by the time of removal, perhaps 500 Cherokees had been converted and 18 had become preachers, assistants, or exhorters. Ogenaya and Kaneeda were prominent leaders of the Valley Towns church in 1838. William G. McLoughlin, Champions of the Cherokees, Evan and John B. Jones (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 22, 28, 146-47.

²² The Cherokee Agency was established at the Tellico blockhouse in 1794. In 1807, it was moved to the Hiwassee River garrison, and moved again in 1816 eight miles above the garrison. At the time of removal, it stood at the site of Calhoun, Tennessee. Maybelle W. Chase, comp., Records of the Cherokee Agency in Tennessee, 1801-1835 (Tulsa, 1990), np.

²³ Wachesa's home stood on the northwest side of Beaver Dam Creek at its junction with the Hiwassee River. Phelps likely rode northwest along the Hiwassee and its junction with the Unaka or Unicoi Turnpike. In North Carolina the Unicoi Road was commonly known as the Wachesa (alternatively Wachese, Wachesee, Watsisa, Watsitsi) trail as it followed the route that had long borne the Cherokee's name. John Preston Arthur, Western North Carolina: A History from 1730 to 1913 (Reprint. Johnson City, Tenn: Overmountain Press, 1996), 572.

²⁴ Polygamy among prosperous Cherokees prior to removal has been well documented. In 1826 John Ridge wrote to Alert Gallatin that "polygamy is still allowed to Native Cherokees." Ridge to Gallatin, Feb. 27, 1826 in Ferdue and Green, Cherokee Removal, 40.

²⁵ The Cherokee custom of going to water for purification and healing was blamed periodically for the deaths of smallpox victims. See, for example, Samuel Cole Williams, ed., Adair's History of the American Indians (Reprint. New York: Promontory Press, 1930), 244-45.

" These lands were ceded by the treaty of 1819. Charles C. Royce, The Cherokee Nation of Indians (Reprint. Chicago: Aldine Publishing, 1975), 91-3.

" Since "hank" indicates a flexible loop, Phelps is apparently mocking the offerings of his hosts.

" The Conasauga River rises in present-day Fannin County, Georgia and flows northwest into Tennessee where it joins the Hiwassee River, then returns south and empties into the Coosawatee River to form the Oostanaula River.

" Following the death of his partner Timothy Meigs in 1815, John Ross brought his younger brother Lewis into a mercantile partnership. Their firm at Ross's Landing, Tennessee procured government supply contracts. Owner of a home, outbuildings, and a ferry, Lewis was one of the wealthiest men in the Cherokee Nation. His private reserve acquired by the Treaty of 1817 stood on the south bank of the Hiwassee River opposite the Cherokee Agency. Phelps' reference indicates that Lewis also ran some kind of hostelry. In 1838, Lewis was awarded the contract for removal supplies and appointed to supervise removal finances, which led to charges that he personally profited from the forced relocation. David Keith Hampton, comp., Cherokee Reserves (Oklahoma City: Baker Publishing, 1979), 13; Gary E. Moulton, John Ross, Cherokee Chief (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1978), 98, 100, 103, 105-6; Wilkins, Cherokee Tragedy, 311.

" No "Warner" appears on the Cherokee emigration rolls.

" Gen. Edward Harden was one of seven lawyers John Ross and the National Council retained in 1830 for Cherokee cases coming before various dockets, including the U.S. Supreme Court. According to provisions of the New Echota treaty, the federal government agreed to extinguish all claims against the Cherokee Nation. Harden's bill for services to the Cherokee Nation amounted to \$8,000. In 1837, the Council approved a payment of \$3,000 and submitted the claim to the U.S. Commissioners. Commissioners Wilson Lumpkin and John Kennedy agreed to the payment, but disputes about it persisted for several years. It is not certain that Harden was paid in full. Lumpkin, Removal of the Cherokee Indians, 152-79; Moulton, John Ross, 44.

" Phelps is citing a line from the well-known children's prayer: "Now I lay me down to sleep, I pray the Lord my soul to keep. If I should die before I wake I pray the Lord my soul to take."

" The first party of approximately 800 Cherokees departed on June 6; the second, with 875, left on the 13th. So many Cherokees died among the first emigrating detachments that Scott acquiesced to the Cherokee National Council's request for a delay. The summer was unusually hot and dry, waterways were low, and supplies inadequate. Foreman, Indian Removal, 291.

" Athens lay approximately ten miles north of Calhoun.

" The Tellico River flows west from the Smoky Mountains, then north to empty into the Little Tennessee River.

" A bloomery is a kind of forge. Numerous furnaces and forges operated in Tennessee and North Carolina throughout the 1800s, and mines were opened to extract iron, copper, corundum, chromite, mica, and other minerals. Arthur, Western North Carolina, 552-556.

" The Unicoi Turnpike ran nearly due south from the Tellico River across the Smoky Mountains.

" Lucien Bonaparte Webster of Vermont graduated from the military academy at West Point in 1819 and was breveted 2nd lieutenant with the 3rd Artillery in 1823. Made captain in September, 1836, he later served in the Mexican War and was breveted lieutenant colonel. He died in Vermont in 1853. Heitman, Historical Register, 1013.

" Fort Hembrie stood on the Hiwassee River at the present-day site of Hayesville.

" The round up of Cherokees was so swift that many arrived in the stockades with little or no baggage. As a result, thousands made the journey west in light summer clothing, and were caught in midwinter with inadequate protection from the elements.

" Reports of De Soto's mines had been in circulation for two centuries, but no proof exists that the excavations and mines were of Spanish origin.

" From Phelps' sketches we know that soldiers stationed at Camp Hiwassee stayed in tents. No provisions were made for the arrested Cherokees, who encamped on the ground.

" These same illnesses afflicted the Cherokees in their encampments. Missionary Daniel S. Butrick's journal refers to daily deaths, sickness, dysentery, consumption, bloody flux, and fevers. Cherokee Removal: The Journal of Rev. Daniel S. Butrick, May 19, 1838 - April 1, 1839 (Park Hill, OK.: The Trail of Tears Association, 1990), 6, 7, 11.

" Giles Porter of New York entered West Point in 1814 at the age of 15 and graduated four years later as a 2nd lieutenant with the Artillery Corps. In 1821 he transferred to the 1st Artillery, and was breveted captain in 1833. He retired in 1861 and died in New York in 1878. Heitman, Historical Register, 799.

" *Sine die*, a Latin phrase meaning "without day," indicates the court martial adjourned without any day being appointed for resumption.

¹²⁸ The Rogue's March, a nineteenth-century military fife and drum tune, was often played as part of the humiliation of a prisoner. I am grateful to Kelly James, Atlanta Civil War re-enactor, for assisting me with this identification.

¹²⁹ A customary treatment of prisoners was to seat them on a wooden rail and parade through camp with them, often to music. Ibid.

¹³⁰ American mistletoe (*Phoradendron flavescens*), a parasitic evergreen that grows on oak and other deciduous trees, is usually restricted to elevations below 2500 feet. Arthur Stupka, Trees, Shrubs, and Woody Vines of Great Smoky Mountains National Park (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1964), 55.

¹³¹ William Walton Morris was born in New York in 1802, entered the military academy at West Point in 1815, and graduated in 1820. He fought in the 2nd Seminole war where he was breveted major, and in the Civil War where he was breveted brigadier general. He died in 1865, the day following his promotion to major general. Heitman, Historical Register, 728.

¹³² Phelps' idiosyncratic spelling makes it impossible to verify the names of the so-called "citizen Cherokees" who had taken private reserves and therefore avoided removal. Military records refer to Cherokee families permitted by Preston Starrit and William H. Thomas to remain in North Carolina. In Thomas' records, one family of "Cherokees left After Removal" includes the similar names of Co-la yoy-ah, his wife Tlaneh, and daughter Su-tan-nih. "Cherokees of North Carolina" Committee on Indian Affairs Letter from the Secretary of the Interior, 1852, 32 Cong., 1st sess., House Doc. 64 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1852), 12.

¹³³ The warrior known as Junaluska (a corruption of the Cherokee name Tsunu'la hunski) led a successful war party against the Creeks in the War of 1822, and was reported to have saved Andrew Jackson's life at the Battle of Horseshoe Bend. After he was forcibly removed in 1838, he returned from the Indian Territory, and in 1847 was made a citizen of North Carolina with a reservation in present-day Robbinsville. Among many accounts, see James Mooney, Myths of the Cherokee and Sacred Formulas of the Cherokees (Reprint. Nashville: Charles and Randy Elder, 1982), 164.

¹³⁴ The Treaty of 1817 negotiated by then-General Jackson included a provision for any Cherokee residing on ceded land to receive a private reserve of one square mile and elect to become a citizen of the state in which that reserve lay. The reserve was considered a life estate that would revert to the widow and children; on removal, however, the land would revert to the United States. Royce, Cherokee Nation, 85.

¹³⁵ Virginian Matthew Arbuckle was breveted brigadier general in 1830, having served since 1799. As commander at Ft. Gibson in Indian Terri-

tory, he was an architect of the Seminole Treaty of Fort Gibson, allegedly signed in 1833 by seven Seminole leaders who had come west to inspect living conditions. Three of the seven subsequently denied having signed. Following the arrival of Cherokees in the west and the execution of the Treaty Party leaders, Arbuckle offered protection to members of the anti-Ross faction. He died in 1851. Heitman, Historical Register, 168; Mahon, Second Seminole War, 83.

¹³⁶ The female *Tunga penetrans*, a minute tropical flea indigenous to the Americas, burrows under the skin and causes painful itching sores. It is commonly called chigger, jigger, redbug, sand flea, and harvest mite: The New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary (Reprint. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 1448.

¹³⁷ Passion flower (*Passiflora incarnata*) is an indigenous perennial trailing vine found throughout North Carolina. Also called maypop, it produces a small, melon-shaped edible fruit in summer months. William S. Justice and C. Ritchie Bell, Mildflowers of North Carolina (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960), 122.

¹³⁸ The "Blue Devils" or delirium tremens is an expression signifying that the imbiber has drunk himself senseless, "potus" is Latin for "drink." New Oxford Dictionary, 248, 2310.

¹³⁹ Michael Joseph Quin (1790-1843) wrote A steam voyage down the Danube. With sketches of Hungary, Wallachia, Servia, Turkey, &c. (New York: T. Foster, 1836).

¹⁴⁰ French archaeologist Jean Francois Champollion (1790-1832), best known for his 1820s translation of hieroglyphics, has been called "the founder of modern Egyptology." He served as conservator of Egyptian collections and accompanied scientific expeditions to Egypt. The College of France established a chair of Egyptology in his honor in the 1830s. Chambers Biographical Dictionary, 267.

¹⁴¹ The French word "fauteuil" refers to an armchair or a theater stall.

¹⁴² The French term "plafond" in architecture refers to a highly ornate ceiling.

¹⁴³ The name of the Italian Taglioni family, famous in the 18th and 19th centuries for dancing and choreography, became synonymous in the early 19th century for a short braided overcoat. New Oxford Dictionary, 3203.

¹⁴⁴ An early 19th century plantation song included reference to an African American named Jim Crow, which later gave rise to use of the expression "Jim Crow" to refer to laws restricting the free movement of African Americans. In the present context, Phelps is comparing the appearance of ancient Egyptians to African Americans.

¹²³ By this date, the majority of Cherokees had been collected and taken to Tennessee to await departure in September. Approximately 300 Indians remained in North Carolina with permission to become citizens. An additional number remained in hiding. "Cherokees in North Carolina and Tennessee," in Undated Letters and Papers, William Holland Thomas Collection, Duke University Special Collections.

¹²⁴ Inasmuch as the Indian rubber plant produces a product sometimes referred to as India rubber, Phelps may be referring to some kind of waterproof raingear.

¹²⁵ Elberton, the county seat of Elbert County, lies on the Georgia side of its boundary with South Carolina. It was incorporated as a town in 1803. Krakow, Georgia Place Names, 69-70.

¹²⁶ William H. Betts of Virginia became a West Point cadet in 1831. Brevetted 2nd lieutenant in the Infantry in July, 1835, he transferred to the 1st Artillery, and later was promoted to 1st lieutenant. He resigned in 1839, and died in Georgia in 1841 at the age of thirty. Heitman, Historical Register, 1, 216.

¹²⁷ The following translations were provided by Dr. Miles McGinty and Dr. Pat Umfress of the Department of Modern Foreign Language at Western Carolina University, Cullowhee, NC.

Peacefully spending, without worry, without cares,
The night sleeping well and the day doing nothing
Boileau

Of all the animals who fly in the air,
who walk on the earth, or swim in the sea,
from Paris to Peru, from Japan to Rome,
the most stupid animal, in my opinion, is man.

Who in all his discourses with mocking and jeering remarks expresses himself with a proverb, a mimicry and a rolling of the eyes as approving of the bitterly stupid word as of the manner in which he said it.

His sense of duty rules all his desires

I am not like the gods! Feeling runs too deep.
I am like the worm, drilling through the dust,
Who, gaining sustenance from that dust,
Is obliterated by the wanderer's foot and is buried.

Do not allow Natur's veil to be ripped away,
And what she does not want to reveal to your spirit,
That you will not force from her with plane nor screw.

Faust. From the ice they are freed, the stream and brook,
By the Spring's enlivening, lovely look;

The valley's green with joys of hope;
The Winter old and weak ascends
Back to the rugged mountain slope.
From there, as he flees, he downward sends
An impotent shower of icy hail
Streaking over the verdant vale.
Ah! but the Sun will suffer no white,
Growth and formation stir everywhere,
'Twould fain with colours make all things bright,
Though in the landscape are no blossoms fair.
Instead it takes gay-decked humanity.

Yet, 'tis inborn in everyone, each fancies
His feeling presses upward and along,
When over us lost amid the blue expanses
The lark sings down his showering song,
When over rough heights of firs and larches
The outspread eagles soaring roam,
And over lakes and over marshes
The crane strives onward toward his home.

So that you, unbound, free
Learn what life might be.

And yet is Death never a really welcome guest.

Wild dreams do frighten me.

Make use of the time, it goes by so quickly,
But gain more by putting things in order.

And if you trust none but yourself,
Other souls can but mourn for you.

Joy must have sorrow, and sorrow joy.

Thus I reel from craving to pleasure
And in my pleasure I pine for craving.