

these people. Humanity requires it; conscience demands it; posterity will admire it, and Heaven will award its blessing to those who shall be instrumental in consummating this beneficent plan to redeem from ruin an interesting—but helpless, without our aid—portion of our fellow men.

After some further remarks from Messrs. Calhoun, Lumpkin and White, of Indiana, the bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading. Yeas, 38; nays, 6.

IN THE SENATE, TUESDAY, MAY 15th, 1838.

THE CHEROKEE TREATY.

Mr. Davis, of Massachusetts, presented several memorials in relation to the Cherokee Treaty, praying for its revision and repeal. Laid on the table.

Mr. McKean, of Pennsylvania, presented several memorials on the same subject, which were disposed of in the same manner,

When Mr. Lumpkin, of Georgia, arose and addressed the Senate as follows:

Mr. President: I hold in my hand a letter addressed to me by Mr. John Ridge, a Cherokee man, of the country, West. This letter contains much interesting and detailed information in regard to the present state and condition of the Cherokee people, and affords a fair view of the prospects which await these people, if they could be permitted to enter into the advantages secured to them by the Treaty of 1835. It is my wish, sir, to read this letter for the information of the Senate and of the country. I will add that I have numerous letters from other intelligent Cherokees who have emigrated to the West, which go fully to sustain all the views and statements of Mr. Ridge. The propriety of introducing and reading this letter I trust will not be controverted, when we take into consideration the actual state of our Cherokee affairs at present.

It is known that the Government of the United States, in December, 1835, entered into an arrangement, or treaty, with a numerous and intelligent delegation of the Cherokee people, under which arrangement it was stipulated and agreed that the whole people should emigrate from the East to the West, under the care and supervision of the Govern-

ment of the United States, on or before the 23rd of the present month, May, 1838, and several thousand of them, including the most intelligent, have already emigrated and taken up their abodes in their new country, where they are quiet, happy and contented, and are anxious to see the balance of their tribe join them in the West, and participate in their rich inheritance. Among these emigrants are Mr. Ridge, the writer of the letter to which I have referred, who is a man of strong native mind, improved by education and cultivation. He is a man of great integrity of character, whose lofty spirit became restless under the conflicts and controversies of his people with the Government of the State of Georgia and other States, which terminated in the annihilation of the Cherokee Government.

Under these circumstances, Mr. Ridge and his friends yielded to the force of circumstances, choosing to abandon their country rather than be deprived of their native rights, which they had long been accustomed to exercise—self-government. Therefore, Mr. Ridge became the open advocate of emigration as the best hope of securing to his people the boon of liberty and independent self-government. And now, with an intelligent and prudent forecast, he looks to a more honored and endeared relation to the Government of the United States as the only rational hope of perpetuating the existence of his native American race. But, sir, by the indulgence of the Senate I will read the letter of Mr. Ridge referred to, and to sustain the truths of which I have the most ample corroborating testimony in my possession.

Leave being granted, Mr. Lumpkin read as follows:

South Lee, Berkshire County, Mass.,

May 7th, 1838

My Dear Friend:—

While I was in New York, I received your kind letter of the 25th ult., in answer to mine, for which I am greatly indebted to you. It was my desire to have visited Washington, in order to have had the pleasure of a personal interview with you, and also to have seen the result of the great Indian bill, now in a course of discussion in the Senate. But the period I have set apart to return to my country is the first of June, and I have but a short time to spend amongst my wife's relations. I did not write as fully as the interesting subject of Cherokee removal and the nature of

the country demanded, as I then believed that I should see you.

Now, you will allow me to relate my opinion of our country in the West, and the situation of our people. The Treaty is so liberal in its provisions for the comfortable removal of the Cherokees that I have heard no complaint on that head, but the highest satisfaction. Those who went by water, in steamboats, in the spring of the year, passed with so much dispatch that most of them planted corn and raised considerable crops. You know that good and exemplary Christian, Mr. Charles Moore. He said that he planted in the month of June and raised a greater crop of beans, pumpkins and corn than he ever did in Georgia, under the most favorable circumstances. He said that the land in the West was so rich that he could compare it to nothing else but a fattened hog, which was so fat that he could not get up. I have traveled extensively in that country—once, from my residence, near the corner of Missouri and Arkansas, to Fort Smith, through Flint District, where I had the pleasure of beholding fine springs of water, excellent farms and comfortable houses, and mills, and mission schools, belonging to the Cherokees; and every evidence of prosperity and happiness was to be seen among the Cherokees as a people. I saw a number who had previously arrived, and had arrived since I had, and I heard but one sentiment—that they were happy and contented in their new country. Indeed, the soil is exceedingly rich and well timbered, and the navigation of the Arkansas River affords them superior commercial advantages to what they enjoyed in the East. I joked with the people, and asked them if they wished to return to Georgia, even if they could be re-established in their ancient rights and locations in that country. They invariably said, "No; by no means. Nothing would induce them to return." But they sincerely wished that the eyes of their countrymen might be opened, and break from the delusions of John Ross and his political tools and escape to this good land. I think in this direction I traveled over eighty-eight miles, in a straight direction. After this, I visited the newly acquired land, called Neutral Ground, which was added to our country, west, by the Treaty of New Echota. I rode over it, about two days, and I there found Mr. Joseph Rogers, our Cherokee friend, from the Chattahoochee, pleasantly situated in the finest region of country, I ever beheld in any part of the United States.

The streams here of all sizes, from the rivers to the

brooks, run swiftly over clean stones and pebbles, and the water is clear as crystal, in which excellent fish abound in vast numbers. The soil is diversified from the best prairie lands to the best bottom lands, in vast tracts. Never did I see a better location for settlements and better springs in the world. God has thrown His favors here with a broad cast. In this region are numerous mills, and it is of itself capable of supporting a larger population than the whole Cherokee Nation, East. On my return, I traveled toward Fort Gibson, seventy-five miles in another direction, and I found the richness of the soil and natural advantages far superior to any country which I had seen in all my travel. In this trip I visited Park Hill Mission, where the Rev. Mr. Worcester and Mr. Boudinot are located, and are engaged in the translation and publication of useful religious books in the Cherokee language, and also Choctaw books, prepared by the Choctaw missionaries.

But what pleased me more, and was a new thing here in this country, those gentlemen had published a Christian almanac, in Cherokee and English, calculated for the meridian of Fort Gibson. I found this extensively in circulation amongst the Cherokees, and, in fact, I was pleased to find that religious tracts, in the Indian language, were on the shelves of full-blooded Cherokees, and every one knew and seemed to love the messenger, as they call Mr. Worcester. I very often met with new emigrants from the Eastern Nation, either arriving or settling the country, or on their way to Fort Gibson, to draw the balance of their dues for their lands and improvements. These newcomers were formerly of opposite portion in the old nation. There was no disposition to quarrel, but every disposition manifested to cultivate friendship and rejoice together in the possession of this fine country.

I had the pleasure of being introduced to Gen. Arbuckle, commanding at Fort Gibson, and I found him to be an excellent man, of fine personal appearance, and intelligent. He informed me that the country next to the Ossages, on the Verdigris, was the best in the country, and was yet unsettled; so you perceive that I am greatly pleased with our new country. Most all the intelligent men of our nation, our Supreme Judges, and Sheriffs, and Marshals, our Legislators, and our National Treasurer, are, you are aware, already removed, and are engaged in building of houses, and the opening of farms. Many of the Cherokees have turned their attention to merchandising, and some have supplied

themselves with goods from New Orleans and New York, besides other places more convenient to the nation.

Many of the Christian Cherokees are engaged in the organization of schools and temperance societies, and there is no danger, as some supposed, that the Cherokees would retrograde and turn to the chase, instead of the pursuits of civilization. And I have the pleasure also of informing you that the utmost friendship and tranquillity prevails between the Indians and the citizens of the United States, not only those who live at the military stations, but those of your citizens who reside in Missouri and Arkansas, near the Cherokee Nation.

In the best state of friendship they visit and trade together, on both sides of the line, to their mutual advantage. In addition to this, we have excellent saline springs, where salt is made by the Cherokees. I was told that Judge Martin was about to commence work at one of these salines. In regard to the health of the country I find it good, on the small waters, and it is only on the larger water courses that the fever and ague prevails among new settlers. But it is somewhat singular that whenever a Cherokee arrives in the country, wherever that may be, he cannot be induced to change his location for a better. He will either say there is no better, or that it is as good as he wants it to be.

If the people of the United States could only see our condition in the West, they would no longer assist John Ross to delude the poor, ignorant portion of our people to remain in the East, where he can speculate on their miseries.

The Cherokee Government in the West is very much like it was in the old nation, before it was suppressed by the States.

They have an Executive, Legislature and Judiciary, and trial by jury.

I feel happy to ascertain that a majority of the Senate of the United States entertain such magnanimous views towards the well being of the Indians in future, removed as they are from the State jurisdiction and conflict. With the rich advantages of the Christian religion and cultivation, the Choctaws, Cherokees, Chickasaws, Creeks and other nations are destined to become a great and mighty people in the great West. I am truly pleased to find that our neighbor, Senator Sevier, stands by your side in the great undertaking. That was a happy thought of his in calling the Indian Territory "*Neosho*." It means, in the Ossage language, the "*Clear Waters*."

I should be glad to receive the documents connected with that bill, and all the important speeches on the subject.

While I was in New York, I found that the religious community were entirely bewildered by John Ross, and in the party slang of their papers. Instead of receiving the late Treaty as a blessing to the Cherokees, and as a measure of relief to them, they considered it the source of all their afflictions. I attempted to explain John Ross's position in the papers; and many of them are now convinced that the Treaty and its friends are in the right; but a great many are still bewildered. They believe that John Ross is the nation, and, could be succeed in breaking the Treaty, that the whole of the Southern States would retire from their jurisdictional charters.

I sometimes feel afraid that all is not right in these editors of newspapers. It would seem that they would be willing to have the Indians resist and shed blood, and produce a Florida scene, in order to render their Government odious.

They seem pleased to have money expended to suppress Indian hostilities, and then blame the Government for the expenses. They well know that the Indians cannot exist in the States; and all they can possibly accomplish by their memorials is to assist John Ross to effect a Treaty, the character of which is buried in his breast.

They all know that in the East the Cherokees have no government, and have had no elections for nine years past; and yet John Ross is, in their estimation, a constitutional chief over all the Cherokees, and if the President refuses to recognize this preposterous claim, and determines to see that all the Cherokees shall share alike from the avails of their land, then they proclaim him a monster, and John Ross the Cherokee Christian.

I shall remain here to the first of June, and I shall be obliged to you for another letter before I leave for the West.

I am your friend,

JOHN RIDGE.

Gov. Wilson Lumpkin.

Mr. Lumpkin then continued: Thus, Mr. President, you have the views of a man than whom none is better qualified to judge, or more entitled to full credit. Now, sir, what a contrast does this letter of facts present, when compared with the idle, silly, and false sympathy set forth in the

memorials and petitions with which we are daily inundated—coming from a distant people who are obviously ignorant of the merits of the subject with which they are so impertinently intermeddling. Yes, sir, these memorialists are made to complain upon a subject upon which, from the nature of things, they care but very little.

Sir, these good, religious memorialists are brought in as auxiliaries to a political cause, the obvious object of which is to bring odium and censure on the administration of your Government. I aspire not to the honor of those who are the organs of such petitioners. Sir, I am the friend of liberty and individual rights. To petition, speak, write, and publish is guaranteed to the American citizen by the Constitution of our country. I would not abridge one of those rights. But I am the avowed opponent of the impertinent intermeddling of the people of one section of our country with the local concerns of another and far distant section.

And, sir, when, in the secret recesses of my closet I sometimes tremble for the ultimate destiny of my beloved country, when I trace the progress and movements of these "busy-bodies."

We are justly and properly considered a Christian nation of people. Our Federal and State Constitutions all recognize the Bible as a book of Divine origin and revelation, and none, I trust, has a higher regard for that standard of religion than myself. But in the formation of our Constitutions great care was taken not to blend Church and State; a religious party in politics, such as these petitioners on Cherokee affairs, was never contemplated by the framers of our Constitution. But, with all our guarantees to secure liberty of conscience, what is the present state of facts in the present case?

Look at the journals and proceedings of both houses of Congress during the present session of Congress! All other business dwindles into mere *items* when compared with the mass of matter forced on the attention of Congress by a concert of professed Christian spirits who are continuously encouraged and sustained by highly talented gentlemen who stand opposed to the present administration of the Federal Government. And these pious people take the liberty, "in season and out of season," in dealing out denunciations and condemnation to the government of this country. And yet, when conclusive evidence is introduced to expose their errors, the Senator from Massa-

chusetts (Mr. Davis) complains of the want of respect to these petitioners. The letter from Mr. Ridge, which I have just read, has nothing in it unkind or uncourteous to these people, unless the exposure of their errors and ignorance on the Indian subject may be so considered. Compare the severity and sentiments contained in these memorials levelled against the Government to help out a political party with the letter of Mr. Ridge, and I may confidently appeal to any enlightened tribunal for an award in favor of Mr. Ridge, when compared with this Northern Christian party in politics.

Mr. Ridge's letter not only gives him much the strongest claims to a Christian spirit of moderation, but demonstrates his thorough knowledge of the subject on which he writes.

But the gentleman from Massachusetts undertakes to justify his complaining constituents and memorialists upon the ground that their complaints are confined to the question of the validity of the Treaty. Moreover, the Senator informs us that he has never considered the Treaty a valid one, and that it was made by a small number of unauthorized Indians, and that fifteen or sixteen thousand of the Cherokees have remonstrated against the Treaty during the present session of Congress. Upon this subject, allow me to give the Senator and the Senate correct information. I wish the whole truth on this subject to be known to the country. The numerical majority of the whole Cherokee people has, for many years past, been under the influence of Mr. John Ross and his stipendiaries, and I, therefore, have no doubt that a majority of the Cherokees would have joined Ross in his dissent to the Treaty.

But it is equally true that a large majority of the Cherokees, who possessed sufficient intelligence to comprehend the subject, were decidedly in favor of the Treaty, and are now happy and contented in the enjoyment of the benefits and advantages secured to them and their people under the provisions of the Treaty.

My opinions in regard to Indian treaties are known to this Senate.

But I would ask, when was the validity of an Indian treaty, before this, tested as to its validity, by being submitted to the whole mass of our Indian people—men, women and children? A new test is introduced to decide on the validity of this Indian Treaty. The gentleman's extraordinary love of Democracy and Democratic principles I suppose causes

him to decide that this Treaty shall be tested upon the broadest basis of pure Democracy.

It ought to be sufficient to satisfy the wise and the good anywhere that this Treaty was negotiated on behalf of the Cherokees by the most enlightened and patriotic Indian men who ever negotiated a treaty, and that it secures to the whole people more signal advantages than were ever before secured to an Indian people by treaty entered into with this Government.

This Treaty dispenses equal justice to the rich and the poor, without the slightest partiality to a single individual. One word, sir, upon the subject of the remonstrance of the fifteen thousand Cherokees against the execution of the Treaty. Including every Indian soul now in the Cherokee Country, East, their number cannot amount to fifteen thousand. Including the whole (men, women, and children, with the infants at the breast), and they do not amount to so large a number. Here, then, Mr. President, we have a forcible illustration of the impositions practiced on honorable Senators who become the popular organs of the fashionable petitioners and memorialists of the present day.

Sir, the facts which I state are susceptible to proof before any tribunal whatever. I, therefore, hope we shall hear no more about the fifteen thousand Cherokee complainants.

But, sir, I could bear with patience and composure all this delusion and ignorance, and impertinent intermeddling, but for the apprehended mischiefs and evils which the opponents of the Government are likely to bring upon the poor Cherokees themselves, and for whom they profess to feel such strong sympathy.

The opponents of the Government and their pious, petitioning, praying friends, will not let the Indians go. Every expedient has been resorted to for the purpose of keeping these people back from entering into their promised and goodly inheritance. I fear nothing will satisfy the tender mercies of those who are intermeddling with this subject but another *Indian War*. It requires an extraordinary share of philosophy to exercise composure under such repeated provocations as are directly addressed to the Southern people, from day to day, in this chamber, under the humble garb of petition.

But, sir, I will not indulge in further remarks on this subject at present, for I cannot do so without feelings which I do not wish to cherish.

IN SENATE, TUESDAY, MAY 22nd, 1838.

A message from the President of the United States, accompanied by various documents on the subject of the removal of the Cherokee Indians under the Treaty of 1835, and recommending a liberal course in affecting the same, was read, and which produced considerable discussion. The following are the few remarks submitted by Mr. Lumpkin on the above day. His general remarks on the subject were on a subsequent day, and will be given hereafter:

Mr. Lumpkin said he occupied rather peculiar ground on this subject to that of other Senators whose general views coincided with his own. From time to time, he had been consulted and conferred with on this subject by the President of the United States and Secretary of War.

He had communicated with the present and late President of the United States on this subject at every stage of its progress. He had never entertained but one opinion on the point of the present discussion, and that was to execute the Treaty, with fidelity and promptness, and yet in a spirit of liberality and kindness to the Indians. Mr. Lumpkin said he was aware that many of the Indians (the Ross party) were opposed to the Treaty. The President was disposed to treat them with all possible kindness and humanity. The Executive wished something done to sooth their present excited feelings. Mr. Lumpkin had always said to the Indians, in a spirit of the greatest candor, "*This Treaty must be executed.*" He had always thought the imperative tone preferable to the persuasive in this matter. He understood the power with which we had to contend.

It might be due to the Secretary of War, however, for Mr. Lumpkin to state that he (Mr. Lumpkin) had been consulted in the matter now before the Senate. This document contained the views of the Secretary, and, as construed and explained by him, was not absolutely objected to by Mr. Lumpkin. While the Treaty remained firm and unmutilated, he would go as far as any other Senator in additional liberal acts to the Cherokee people. He made various written communications to the Executive Department on this subject, which he presumed could be found there, and by which it will be seen that my ground has ever been, "Be absolute in executing the Treaty, and then be as liberal and accommodating to the Cherokees as you please."

Mr. Lumpkin said it was with reluctance, but duty compelled him to say that the countenance which Ross and

his party had received from the heads of the Government here had been the sole cause of delay and excitement in the remnant of the Indians. As to any delay in the removal of the Cherokees, none can be tolerated. The decree has gone forth, and go they must.

IN SENATE, JUNE 7th, 1838.

INDIAN HOSTILITIES.

On motion of Mr. Wright, the Senate proceeded to consider the House Bill, making appropriations for the prosecutions and suppression of Indian hostilities for 1838, and for the payment of arrearages in 1837.

On ordering this bill to its third reading, Mr. Webster addressed the Senate, and was answered by Mr. Wright, when Mr. Preston spoke at length, reflecting generally on Indian wars and their causes, and attributed the fault of such wars to the administration. After which, Mr. Lumpkin, of Georgia, addressed the Senate as follows:

Mr. President: I had indulged the hope that the Senate would be permitted to act promptly on this appropriation bill, without bringing into its discussion the exciting topics of the Florida and Cherokee Treaties, as well as the Florida War.

The service of the country and the character of the Government are at this time suffering for the want of the passage of this bill. Debts amounting to hundreds of thousands of dollars are at this moment pressed upon the Treasury of the country, and cannot be discharged till we pass this bill. Citizens of the country who have given full and fair consideration for official and legal drafts on your Treasury, ought not to be delayed in receiving their just dues.

It is, therefore, with extreme reluctance that I feel myself called upon to take some notice of the remarks of the honorable Senator from South Carolina (Mr. Preston). I shall not, however, follow the gentleman in the wide range which he has taken of the Florida campaign, or the merit, or demerit, of the distinguished officers who have had command in Florida. For the present, I leave all these gentlemen's affairs, with my kind regards, to the justice of that public opinion to whom we, as public men, all stand

amenable. There is but one point touching the Florida War to which the gentleman has directed which I feel myself called upon to notice.

The gentleman, with his usual flowing eloquence, has eulogized, in high strains of praise, that fiendish savage, Osceola. When I hear such eulogies pronounced in the Senate, upon such a subject, I can but recollect the treachery of this much indulged Indian Chief. He is apparently forgetful of the many deeds which led to the final catastrophe of this extraordinary man. When I hear Osceola eulogized on the floor of this Senate, I can but recollect the treachery of this much indulged man to his friend and benefactor, Gen. Wiley Thompson, of Georgia, with whom I was long associated in public life, and who was long a highly respected member of the other branch of Congress. Yes, this blood-thirsty man, Osceola, not only murdered Gen. Thompson, but was and has been the principal organ of all the horrors of the Florida War, indiscriminately hurled against every age, sex and condition. Sir, if I fail to express my sympathy in strains of equal eloquence with the Senator from South Carolina for the suffering of the deserving portion of the native race, I will not yield to the gentleman's claims of feelings as refined, enlarged and sympathetic for suffering humanity, even when a savage is the victim of distress. I avow myself, upon all proper occasions, the advocate and defender of the just rights of the native race. But I am far, very far, from being the eulogist, or apologist, of Osceola. I can but hear his name with horror and disgust.

But, sir, my anxiety for the speedy passage of this bill would have induced me to note in silence, after all the remarks of the gentlemen on the Florida part of his speech, if the gentleman had stopped at that point. But, sir, he has approached nearer to my home. He has invaded my own territory; and I feel myself bound to defend my own premises. The gentleman has given a history of his support and defence of the Cherokee Treaty of 1835, and has manifested marked zeal in the defence and welfare of my own beloved State, Georgia, and a portion of its public functionaries. I thank the gentleman for all this voluntary service. It is a free-will offering which I feel assured will be duly appreciated by the friends of the Treaty, and especially by the public functionaries for whom his compliments are intended.

But, sir, we find mingled with all this zeal and support a spirit and bearing in the remarks of the gentleman which,