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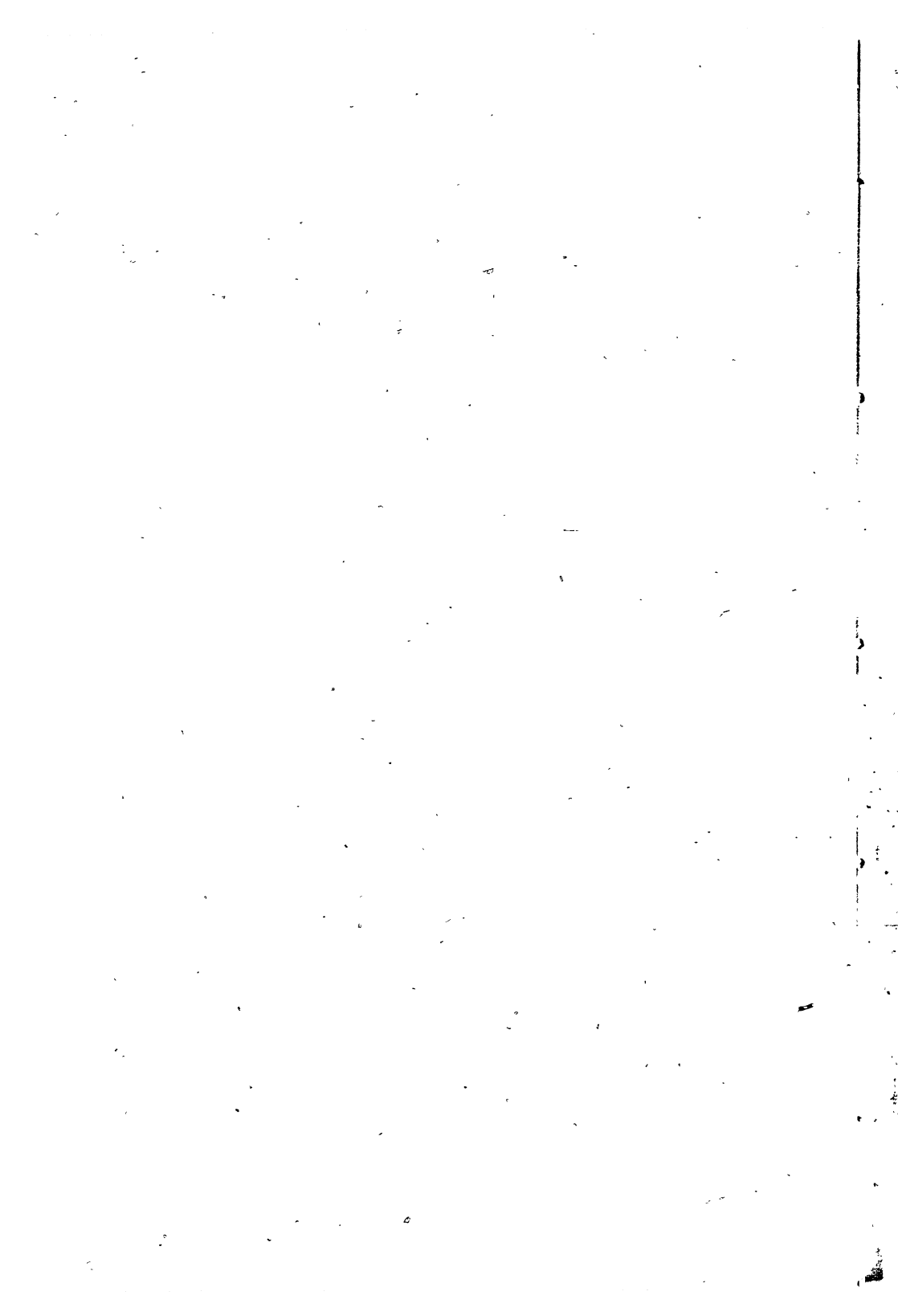
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**Four Huron Wampum Records:**  
**A Study of Aboriginal American History and Mnemonic**  
**Symbols.**

BY

HORATIO HALE, M.A. (HARVARD), F.R.S., CANADA.

*Author of "Ethnography and Philology of the U.S. Exploring Expedition,"  
the "Iroquois Book of Rites," etc.*

WITH

**Notes and Addenda**

BY

PROF. E. B. TYLOR, D.C.L., F.R.S.

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[WITH PLATES XI, XII, XIII, XIV.]

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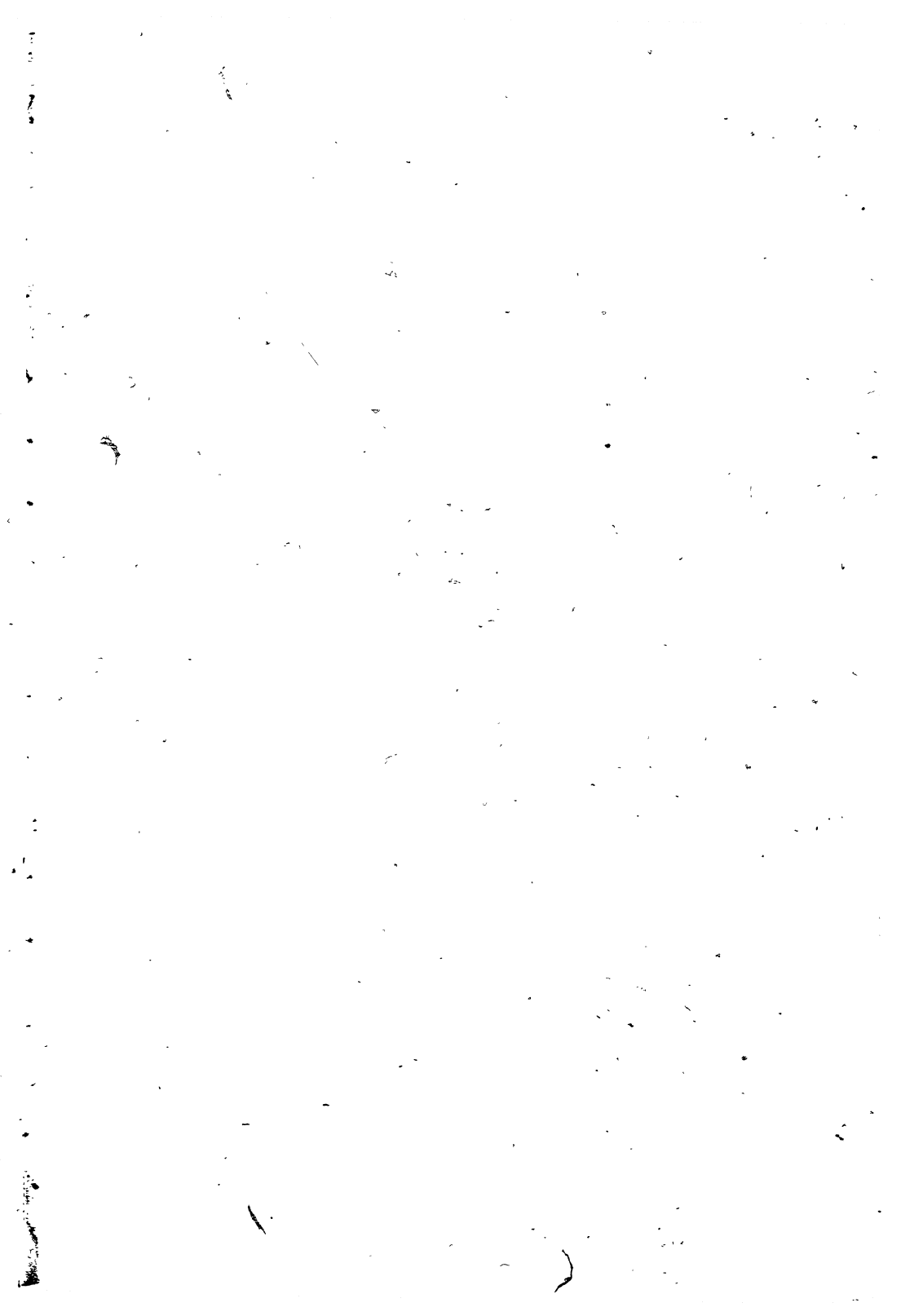
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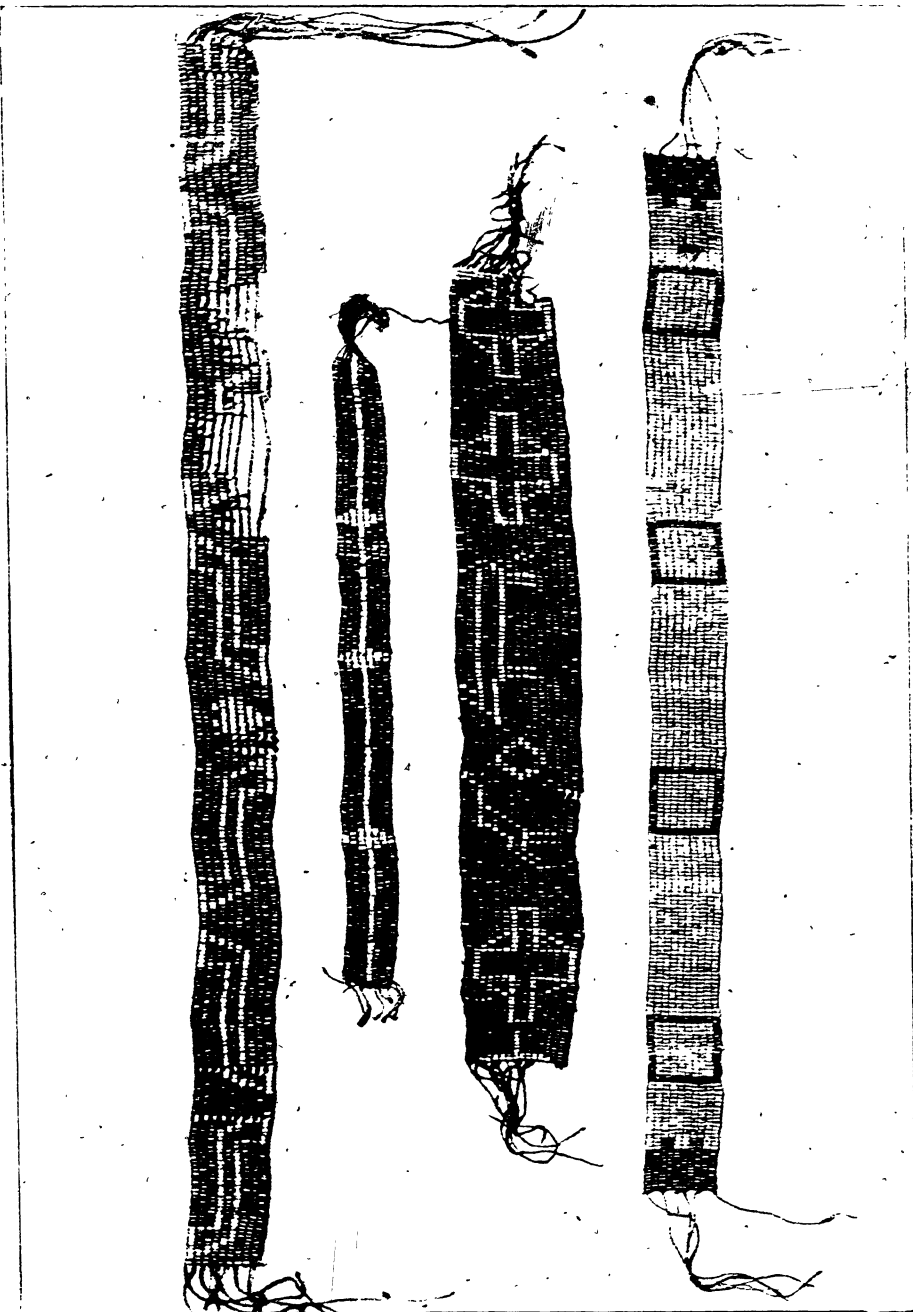
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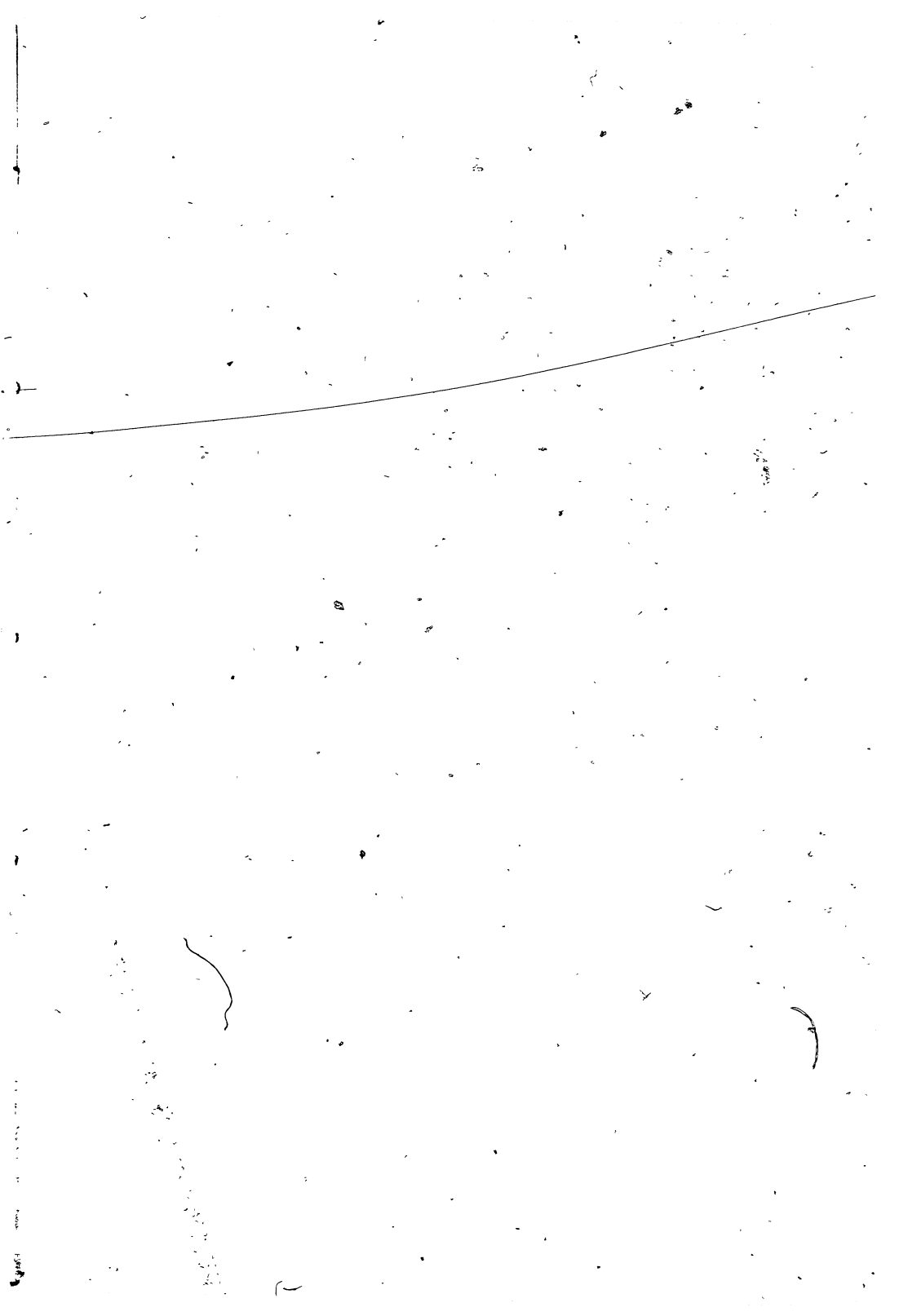
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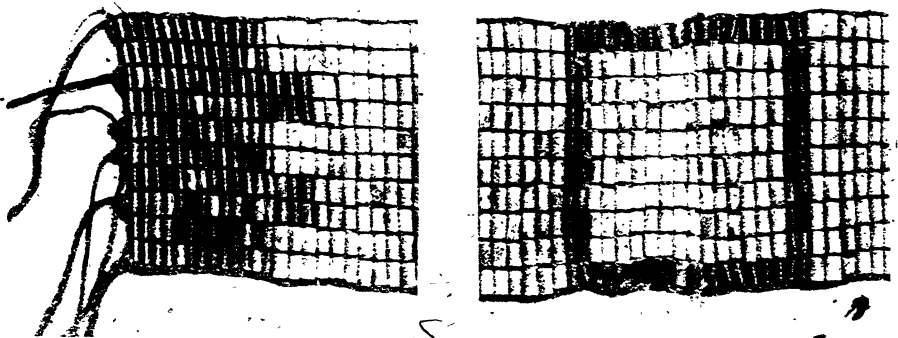
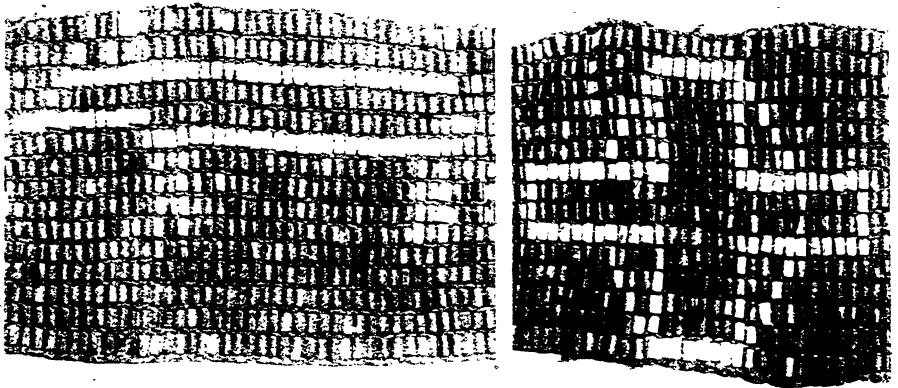
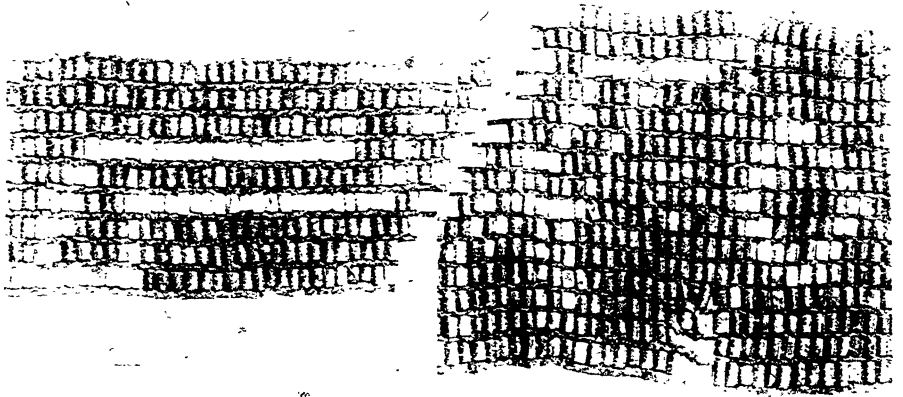
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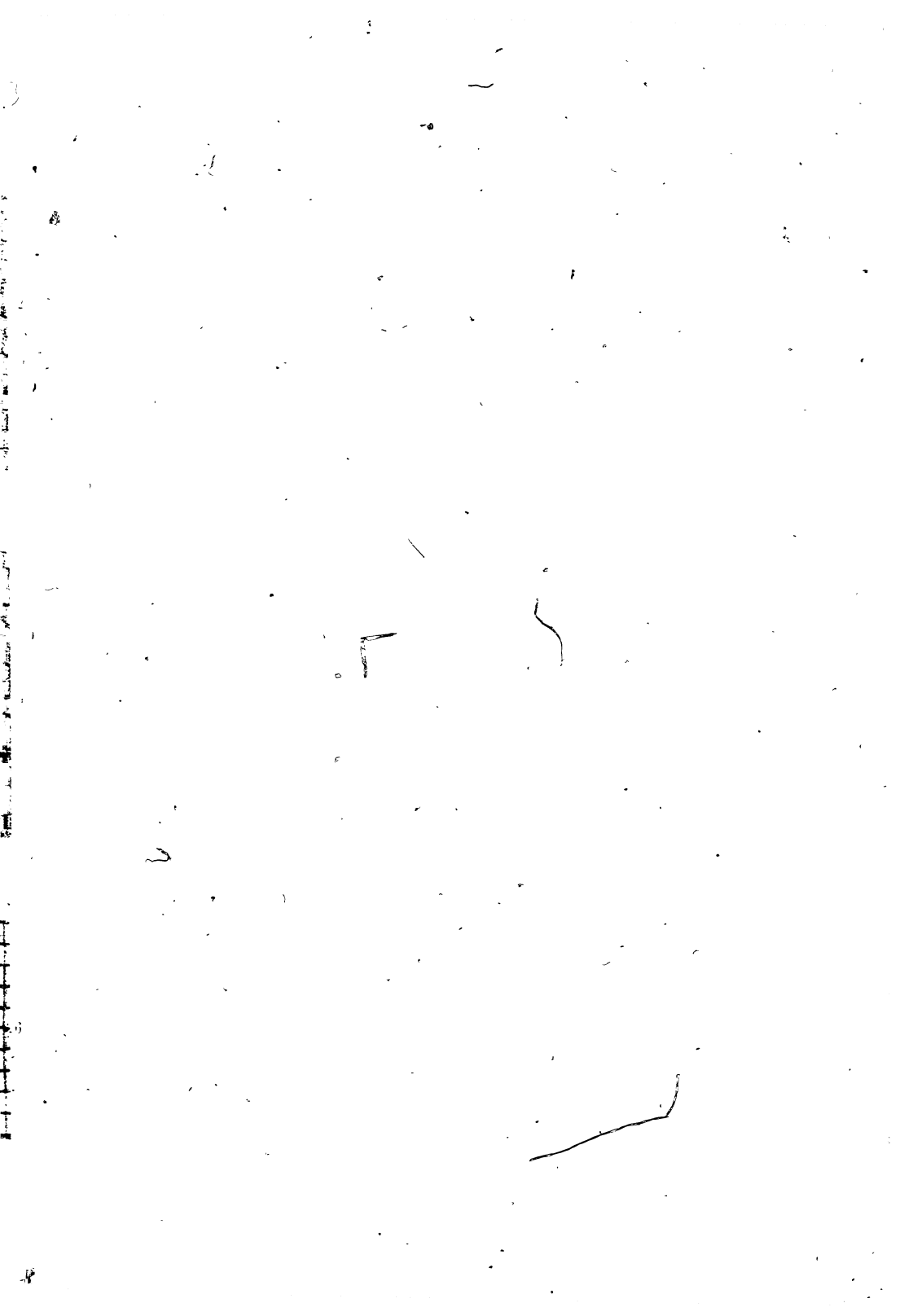


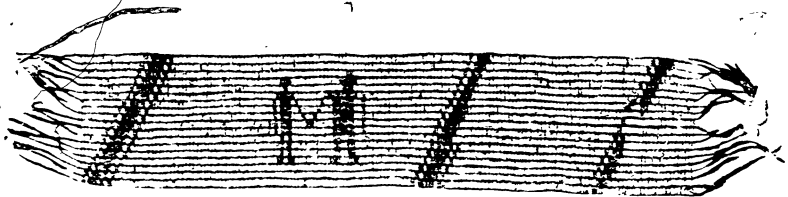
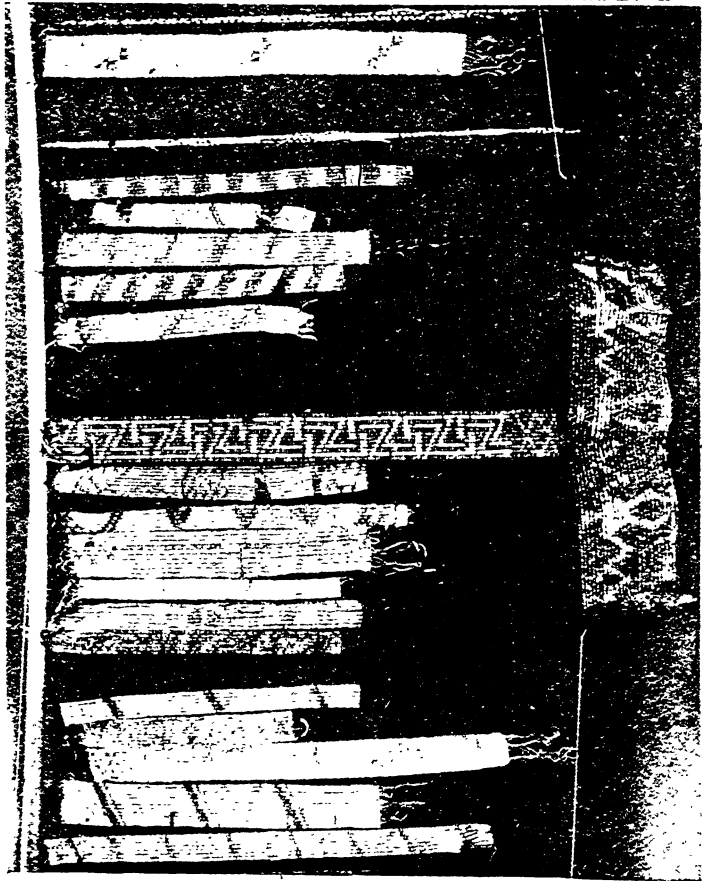
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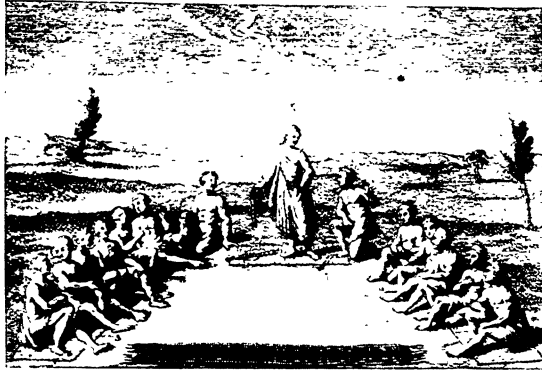




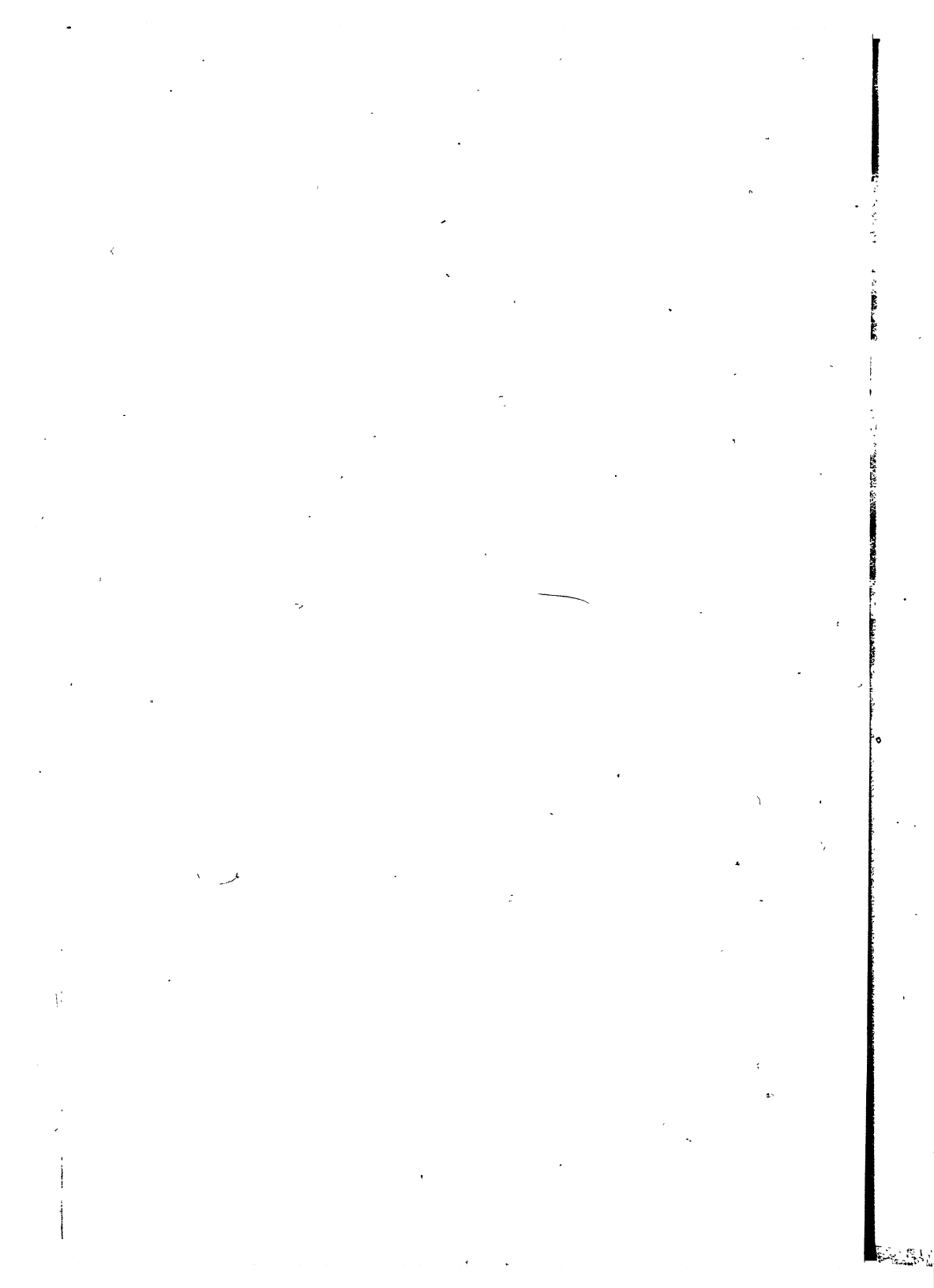












FOUR HURON WAMPUM RECORDS: *A Study of Aboriginal American History and Mnemonic Symbols.* By HORATIO HALE, M.A. (Harvard), F.R.S., Canada. Author of *Ethnography and Philology of the U.S. Exploring Expedition*, the *Iroquois Book of Rites*, etc.

[WITH PLATES XI, XII, XIII, XIV.]

I.

THE HURON NATION.

Its Position among American Tribes—Claim to Pre-eminence—Early History—Hochelaga—Cartier's Visit—Use of Tobacco and Wampum—War with the Iroquois—Defeat of the Hurons and Retreat to the West—The Wendat—The Tobacco Nation—Visit of Champlain—His Disastrous Expedition—The Iroquois Confederacy—Hiawatha.

THE surviving members of the Huron nation, even in its present broken, dispersed, and half-extinct condition, still retain the memory of their ancient claim to the headship of all the aboriginal tribes of America north of Mexico. That there

was originally some good ground, in tradition and in character, for a claim of this sort, though not quite so extensive, must be admitted. The Hurons, or Wendat, as they should properly be styled, belonged to the important group, or linguistic stock, which is commonly known, from its principal branch, as the Iroquoian family, and which includes, besides the proper Huron and Iroquois nations, the Attiwendaronks (or neutral nation), the Eries, Andastes, Tuscaroras, and Cherokees, all once independent and powerful tribes, though some of them are now extinct. In the whole of Cis-Mexican North America, only two stocks surpassed the Iroquoian in population and extent of territory. These were the Algonkin-Lenâpé family (or as it is now scientifically named, the Algonquian stock), whose widely scattered tribes encompassed the more condensed Iroquoian nations in a vast circuit, which, beginning with the Abenakis, or Eastlanders, of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, extended northwestward in the Crees of Labrador and Hudson Bay, and the Ojibwas (or Chippewas) of Lake Superior, to the Blackfoot tribes of the Rocky Mountains, and thence circled south and east to the Arapahoes and Cheyennes of Kansas and Arkansas, and the Illinois, Shawnees, and Miamis of the Ohio plains, reaching the Atlantic again in the Powhatans of the Potomac, the Lenâpés of the Delaware, the Mohegans of the Hudson, and the Narraghansets, Massachusetts, and Penobscots of New England. The other equally widespread stock was the Athapascan or Tinneh family, whose northern tribes wander over the continent in the wide space between the Northern Algonquian and the Arctic Eskimos, while the southern branches—Umpquas, Hupas, Navahos, and Apaches—occupy large portions of Oregon, California, New Mexico, and Arizona. A third linguistic family of some note, which has been supposed, though incorrectly, to be allied to the Iroquoian—the Siouan (or Dakotan) of the Western Mississippi prairies, deserves notice from the fact that recent researches have found evidence of the former residence of some of its tribes near the Atlantic seaboard, in close contact with those of the Iroquoian and Algonquian stocks.

Among all these and other tribes of Northern America, the Iroquoians held an acknowledged pre-eminence in intellectual vigour and advanced traits of polity, which have won the admiration and the sometimes unwilling respect of almost all who have had occasion to treat of them—from the early Franciscan and Jesuit Missionaries to the most enlightened ethnologists of our day—from Sagard, Brebeuf and Charlevoix, to Gallatin, Parkman, and Brinton. Gallatin, in his "Synopsis of the Indian Tribes," notices the remarkable fact that while



the "Five Nations," or Iroquois proper, were found by Champlain, on his arrival in Canada, to be engaged in a deadly warfare with all the Algonquian tribes within their reach, the Hurons, another Iroquoian nation, "were the head and principal support of the Algonquian confederacy." "The extent of their influence and of the consideration in which they are held," he continues, "may be found in the fact that even the Delawares, who claimed to be the elder branch of the Lenâpé nation, recognised the superiority of the Hurons, whom to this day they call their uncles." The origin of this notable difference of political sentiment between the two main branches of the Huron-Iroquois people had not, when Gallatin wrote, been discovered. It will be found fully set forth in my paper on the "Fall of Hochelaga."

It will then be seen that in ancient times, before Cartier discovered and explored the St. Lawrence River, these two tribes, the Hurons and the Iroquois, dwelt together in friendly unison on the shores of that river, near the present site of Quebec. A quarrel arose, leading to the retreat of one of the contending parties to the southern side of the river. Their posterity, augmented perhaps by adherents from other refugees of Iroquoian stock, became at last the Five Confederate Tribes, or nations, who carried on, for many generations, a desperate warfare with their northern congeners and former friends, the Hurons—a warfare ending at last in the complete conquest and dispersion of the latter people. During the whole of this protracted struggle the Hurons remained, as they had been from the beginning, the friendly allies of the Algonquians, to whom, on the other hand, the Iroquois Confederates had become deadly enemies. A knowledge of these facts, which has been recently gained from the traditions of both branches of the Huron-Iroquois people, clears up many obscurities that have heretofore perplexed the writers who have dealt with their history. It is essential to the correct understanding of their wampum records.

We owe to the narrative of Cartier's voyages our earliest acquaintance with the Hurons, who were thus the first of North American Indians to become known to European visitors. In the autumn of 1635, Cartier with his little squadron of three small vessels, the largest not exceeding 120 tons, ascended the great stream which the natives knew as the river of Hochelaga, but which he christened the St. Lawrence. He found its shores above its great tributary, the Saguenay, occupied by sedentary tribes, whose language and customs, as recorded in his narrative, show them to have belonged to the Huron-Iroquois family. Two of their customs are particularly

deserving of note in connection with our present subject. These natives were much addicted to the use of tobacco. The natives were accustomed to lay up in summer a great store of its leaves, which were dried for the winter. Only the men used it. Every man carried at his neck a skin pouch containing a quantity of it, which he smoked in a pipe of stone or wood. This, they said, kept them healthy and warm, and they were never found without it. But the most highly valued of all their possessions was that which they called *esurgny*, an ornament made of beads, which they fashioned from shells found in the river. "These beads," says the writer, "they use as we do gold and silver, and deem them the most precious thing in the world." They used them, it seems, chiefly in the form of "chains" and "collars," or as English writers at a later day have been wont to style them, strings and belts. When Cartier, in the following year, treacherously seized at Stadaconé the chief of that town to convey him to France, his people, in the hope of redeeming him, presented to the captain "twenty-four collars of *esurgny*," which the writer repeats, "is the greatest treasure which they have in the world, for they prize it above gold and silver." The name *esurgny* is apparently an attempt to express in French orthography the Iroquois *ioumi* (defined by Bruyas in his dictionary as "*collier de porcelaine*"), with the pronominal *es*, meaning "thy" prefixed. "Your wampum belts," cried the beseeching people, extending their precious ransom to the unrelenting kidnapper, secure behind the terrors of his artillery.<sup>1</sup>

The "kingdom of Hochelaga," as Cartier styles it, comprised, besides the fortified "city" of that name, the important town of Stadaconé (commonly known to its people as *Canada*, or "the town"), and eight or nine other towns along the great river. All these were at this time waging a desperate warfare against a people dwelling south of them, whom they knew as the Tondamani, a name in which some have thought to trace a corruption of Tsonontowané, the native appellation of the Senecas, who were the most powerful of the Iroquois nations, and were deemed by the Hurons their most determined and formidable enemies. This interpretation seems plausible enough. All the circumstances render it probable that Hochelaga, at the time of Cartier's visit, was tottering to its fall before the attacks

<sup>1</sup> As some question has arisen as to the nature, or rather the material, of this *esurgny*, I may mention that a recent communication with which I have been favoured by Sir J. William Dawson, who has made a careful study of the subject, gives the decisive information that "the only shell-beads found in the excavations on the site of Hochelaga, in riddling the kitchen-midden stuff through fine sieves, are small beads of the ordinary form, made apparently of the shells of a unio."

of the Confederate Iroquois tribes. After its overthrow, the vanquished Hurons, in retreating westward, seem to have taken two widely separate routes. One party of them, as related by the native historian, Peter Dooyentate Clarke, fled to the southwest under their great chief, who bore the title of Sastaretsi. Keeping at first near the St. Lawrence, they afterwards diverged northwardly, until they found what seemed a secure refuge among the Blue Mountains, in a nook of the Georgian Bay of Lake Huron.<sup>1</sup> In their new abode they were known, if not among themselves at least to other nations, as the Tionontaté, or "People beyond the Mountains," and also to the whites as the *Nation du Potun*, or the Tobacco Nation. They cultivated a choice description of tobacco, which they sold—"thus offering," as Parkman remarks, "an example extremely rare among Indians, of a tribe raising a crop for the market."<sup>2</sup> It seems highly probable that this nation comprised the direct descendants of the former inhabitants of the city of Hochelaga itself. Though not very numerous, they are held to be at the head of all the Huron-Iroquois people. According to their tradition, preserved by La Hontan, "the name of their leader, Sastaretsi, had been kept up by descent for seven or eight hundred years." Even after their expulsion by the Iroquois from the Blue Mountains they continued to hold, as Parkman writes, "a paramount influence among the western nations, and were, among these allies, according to Charlevoix, the soul of all councils.

The larger body of Hurons who had been the subjects or allies of Hochelaga seem, after the overthrow of this capital, to have migrated in a more northerly direction, following the Ottawa River, and thus gaining the aid of their Algonquian friends in beating off their Iroquois pursuers. Their final refuge was found in the fertile and inviting region between

<sup>1</sup> These mountains lie so far out of the ordinary routes of travel as to be little known even in western Ontario. For the following clear description of them I am indebted to Dr. George M. Dawson, C.M.G., Director of the Geological Survey of Canada:—"The Blue Mountains are a more than usually elevated part of the Niagara limestone escarpment, or ridge, which runs across Ontario and out in the promontory between Lake Huron and the Georgian Bay. The tract so termed is central in Collingwood township, extending north from about Osprey nearly to the lake shore. The highest part is about 1,800 feet above the sea. Several important streams rise from them and flow south."

<sup>2</sup> A probable etymology of the name "Iroquois" refers it to this source, see the "Iroquois Book of Rites," Appendix, Note A (p. 171):—"According to Bruyas, the word *garokwa* meant a pipe and also a piece of tobacco, and in its verbal form, "to smoke." In the indeterminate form the verb becomes *ierokwa*, which is certainly very near to Iroquois. It might be rendered "they who smoke," or "they who use tobacco," or briefly, "the tobacco people." The Iroquois were well known for their cultivation of this plant, of which they had a choice variety."

Lake Simcoe and the Georgian Bay, which is at this day one of the most attractive portions of the Province of Ontario. Their country was reckoned by them to be about two days' journey east of that of the Tobacco Nation, with whom they were destined to be again united in a common ruin. But, for a considerable time, they remained a separate community, a confederacy of five distinct tribes, similar in some respects to the famous "Iroquois League," though much looser in its organisation and less effective. Here, in 1615, they were found by Champlain, when he came to summon them for his disastrous expedition against the Iroquois. His first view of their country is thus described by Parkman in his "Pioneers of France in the New World":—"To the eye of Champlain, accustomed to the desolation he had left behind, it seemed a land of beauty and abundance. He reached at last a broad opening in the forest, with fields of maize, pumpkins ripening in the sun, patches of sunflowers, from the seeds of which the Indians made hair-oil, and, in the midst, the Huron town of Otonacha. In all essential points it resembled that which Cartier, eighty years before, had seen at Montreal; the same triple palisade of crossed and intersecting trunks, and the same long lodges of bark, each containing several families. Here, within an area of 30 or 40 miles, was the seat of one of the most remarkable savage communities on the continent. By the Indian standard it was a mighty nation; yet the entire Huron population did not exceed that of a third or fourth class American city."

The ill-advised attack of Champlain and his Huron allies upon the Iroquois Confederates, ending in defeat and flight, had most serious consequences, not only for the combatants directly concerned, but for the whole continent. It aroused the animosity of the Five United Nations against both Canada and the Hurons to the highest pitch, and brought on a long and deadly warfare which soon ruined the Huron nation, and in time so weakened their white allies as to lead finally to the conquest of Canada by the British. While the persistent energy and far-seeing sagacity of the united Iroquois tribes have been much admired and highly lauded, they have been at the same time severely condemned for cruelty, ferocity, and bloodthirstiness. Both the praise and the blame have in a large measure been awarded in error, merely because the grounds and results of their action have not been correctly understood. If they had remained as they were when they quarrelled with their Huron cousins and fled to the region south of the St. Lawrence, much that has been said of them would have been just, and much more would have been inappropriate. But in the meantime a remarkable

change had taken place in their character, a change which recalls that which is believed by historians to have been developed in the character of the Spartans under the institutions of Lycurgus, and the similar change which is known to have appeared in the character of the Arabians under the influence of the Mohammedan precepts. A great reformer had arisen, in the person of the Onondaga chief, Hiawatha, who, imbued with an overmastering idea, had inspired his people with a spirit of self-sacrifice, which stopped at no obstacle in the determination of carrying into effect their teacher's sublime purpose. This purpose was, the establishment of universal peace. All who acceded to this object were to be heartily welcomed; all who refused and opposed were to be overborne by any means and compelled into acquiescence. When Gallatin wrote, in 1836, these facts and motives were unknown. It thus happened that while lauding highly the remarkable ability and "cultivated intelligence" of the Iroquois, he was led to rank them "among the worst of conquerors." "They conquered," he declared, "only to destroy, and it would seem, solely to gratify their instinct for blood." Nothing could be more unjust, or more contrary to the historical facts, when these are rightly understood. Impartial inquiry will show that in every instance when, after the League of Peace was established by Hiawatha, the Iroquois entered upon a war, it was begun in self-defence, and that as soon as their enemy's resistance ceased, slaughter ceased with it. At the close of the long warfare in which Champlain and his Hurons and Algonquian friends took part, great numbers of Ojibwas entered into friendly alliance with the Iroquois, great numbers of other Algonquians—Delawares, Mohigans, and Conoys—remained as protected tribute-rendering dependents; and thousands of surviving Hurons, Attiwendaronks, Eries, and other conquered peoples, had been incorporated with the nations of the League, while no less than four friendly nations, the Tuscaroras, Tutelos, Nanticokes, and a branch of the Delawares, had been, at their own request, admitted as members of the League. In view of their magnanimous policy, exhibited in thus sparing all who submitted, and welcoming all who wished to join them, the Iroquois Confederates have been styled by a well-informed and most intelligent writer, Governor De Witt Clinton, "the Romans of the West." For other facts relating to this subject, I must refer to my papers, of which the titles are here given.

## II.

## LATER HISTORY OF THE HURONS.

Final Defeat and Dispersal—Some Return to Quebec—New Lorette—Two Towns join the Iroquois and receive Liberal Treatment—The Tobacco Nation Flee to Lake Superior—Return to Michigan—Settle near Detroit—Alliance with Algonquian Tribes—Emigration to the South-west—Wyandot Reservation—Anderdon Reserve—Present Condition.

The story of the fortunes which befel the Hurons after their final defeat, is instructive. While some of them took refuge among the Eries, Andastes, and other yet unconquered tribes of the Huron-Iroquois stock, several hundreds of Christian converts fled eastward to the ancient abode, near Quebec, from which their forefathers had been driven, a century before, by their Iroquois enemies. There, at what is known as New Lorette, their descendants remain to this day, a half-caste people, French in complexion, language and religion, but Indian in habits and character, a favourite study of travellers. At the same time, two entire towns of the Hurons adopted what would have seemed a desperate expedient, if they had not known that the loudly proclaimed clemency of their conquerors was not a snare, but a settled part of their constitutional policy. They determined to solicit an unconditional admission into the Seneca nation, the most powerful and most persistent of their enemies. Their offer was at once accepted, and on the most liberal terms. They were not scattered as captives among their conquerors, but were allowed to form a town by themselves, though in conjunction with some other refugees, who had been previously admitted on similar terms of grace. "Here," writes the Missionary Ragueneau, in the Relation of 1651, "they are now living as quietly as if they had never known war." Nineteen years later, the Missionary Fremin found them still dwelling peaceably in their town, Gandougaracé, on friendly terms alike with their fellow refugees and their Iroquois conquerors, and preserving with fervent devotion the Christian faith which they had accepted before their change of abode, and the profession of which, instead of occasioning displeasure, had gained them respect among the surrounding heathen. Thus, according to the testimony of the missionaries themselves, the Iroquois, whom their earlier reports depict as the most implacable and ferocious of enemies, had become, under the institutions of Hiawatha, the most merciful and generous of conquerors.

The people of Sastaretsi disclaimed to adopt either expe-

dient. They would neither seek shelter under the cannon of Quebec, nor accept the mercy of their hereditary enemies. They had, for a full century, since their flight from Hochelaga, dwelt in proud isolation in their mountain retreat. It was only about ten years before the final dispersion of the Wendat tribes that they had consented to join them, and make the sixth member of their confederacy, in the struggle against the common enemy. The name of Wendat (pronounced as if spelt in English *Waindat*), which they thus assumed, was for them hardly an exact designation, though, under the form of Wyandot, it became the appellation by which they were henceforth to be generally known. It signifies literally "people of one speech," being compounded, Indian fashion, from the words *Wenda*, language, and the radical portion (*at*) of *skat*, one. But careful inquiries, made during two-visits to the survivors of this highly conservative people, showed that their language differed in some respects very decidedly from that of the proper Wendat tribes, and had preserved, in especial, one remarkable relic of the original Hochelagan speech which the others had lost. This was the labial articulation *m*, which has disappeared from every other Huron-Iroquois dialect, except that of the equally conservative Cherokees.<sup>1</sup> While accepting the name of Wendat, the descendants of the Tionontaté people retain to the present day this and other relics of their ancient tongue. Their spirit of haughty independence remained unbroken. Welcoming all the members of the other Huron bands who chose to claim refuge among them, they betook themselves to their canoes, and sought at first in Michigan, and afterwards in the westernmost recesses of Lake Superior, an asylum from their persistent enemies. Their farthest flight brought them to the country of the suspicious and quarrelsome Sioux, the hereditary enemies of the Hurons' Ojibwa allies. From this uncomfortable neighbourhood they turned back, and gradually made their way eastward towards the vicinity of their former home. They settled for a time in or near the island of Michilimackinac, and finally fixed upon a pleasant abode, on both sides of the Detroit River, in the midst of their Algonquian friends, the Ojibwas, Ottawas, and others, and under the protection of the newly established French fort, Pontchartrain. Here, in the wars which prevailed among their successive guardians, the French, English, and revolted colonists, and through the abortive conspiracy of Pontiac, they underwent many vicissitudes, but managed to retain their lands and their highly prized autonomy. Mean-

<sup>1</sup> See on this point fuller particulars in Hale's "Indian Migrations as evidenced by Language," in "American Antiquaries," 1883.

while their numbers had dwindled, and by the year 1840 had become reduced to about a thousand, of whom less than two hundred remained in Canada West, the rest being scattered in several bands through the States of Michigan and Ohio. Shortly afterwards, on the invitation of the American Government, the majority of the nation, some eight hundred persons, decided to remove to the south-west, at first in Kansas, and ultimately to the Indian Territory. Here the remnant, reduced by the sufferings and illness which invariably accompany an Indian migration, to less than half their original number, now reside. The population of their "Wyandot Reservation," of 21,400 acres, was in 1889, according to the official returns, only 279 persons; but these were, it is evident, a civilized people, all "wearing citizens' dress," nearly all "able to read," possessing three church buildings, and reporting 120 church members. They had 9,000 acres of land fenced, on which they gathered during the year 25,000 bushels of Indian corn, 2,000 bushels of wheat, and 750 tons of hay, with other crops, and pastured 250 horses, 800 cattle, and 500 sheep. Those who remained in their small Canadian tract of 7,700 acres, known as the "Anderdon Reserve," near Amherstburg, on the Detroit River, gave even better evidence of progress. I visited them twice, in 1872 and 1874, and found them living in a comfortable style, very like that of their white neighbours, with whom they mingled freely, evincing no inferiority in intelligence or character. They numbered then only about sixty. The best evidence of their progress and prosperity is found in the fact that in 1884 their number had increased to eighty-eight, and nearly the whole of them had ceased to be "Indians under tutelage." According to the Government Report of that year, the large majority had been enfranchised during the previous year. "Having served the term of probation required by law, they had received letters patent, conveying to them in fee simple the lands individually assigned to themselves and their families." Thus the once proud and powerful Huron people, whose ancestors welcomed Cartier, and faithfully sustained Champlain and the French colonists in their wars with the Iroquois and the English, more than three hundred years ago, have in our day shrunk to three insignificant and widely scattered communities, numbering altogether less than seven hundred members, but still retaining everywhere the indomitable spirit of independence and self-reliance which makes them, next to their near Iroquoian kindred (unless we should also perhaps except their more distant Cherokee congeners), the most creditable representatives of the American aboriginal race.



During my visits to the Anderdon Reserve, I received from the two leading members of the band, Joseph White, the Chief, and Alexander Clarke, the Government Interpreter, and also on one occasion from Alexander's brother, Peter Clarke, the author of the "Origin and Traditional History of the Wyandotts," who happened to be there on a visit to the Reserve from his home in the U.S. Indian Territory, much information concerning the language, traditions, and customs of their people. All these were, like most of their tribesmen, persons of half-blood, "Mr. White," as he was commonly called, being in part of French origin, and the two Clarkes being the sons of an English military officer who had settled in Canada and taken a Wyandot wife. All had had some schooling, but had been brought up among their Indian kindred, and were fully imbued with Indian beliefs and sentiments. Each had his Indian name, given by his native kindred, with no more special reference to the bearer than the ordinary names of white children. The chief was named *Mandorong*, having the whimsically inappropriate meaning, for a man of his frank and kindly disposition, of "we are unwilling." The tall and stalwart interpreter might, no doubt, have wielded with effect the "war-club" (*chehté*), which he claimed as his name. The meaning of his brother's native name, Dooyentate (which appears on the title-page of his book), I omitted to obtain. The accounts which I received from them of the primitive religious beliefs of their people agreed precisely with those related in the earliest missionary narratives, especially those of the Franciscan Sagard, and the Jesuits Brebeuf and Ragueneau. Some folk-stories, apparently of later origin, harmonized with them: while still others bore marks of foreign and in some cases of missionary origin. A few of these stories have been published in the "American Journal of Folk-Lore." The most important historical tradition, derived in the first instance from Chief Mandorong, and afterwards confirmed in its main particulars by Peter Clarke's History, was an unexpected revelation, which is embodied in my paper, "The Fall of Hochelaga."

### III.

#### THE HURON WAMPUM RECORDS.

Their Number and History—Partition at Division of Tribe—Manufacture and Use of Wampum—Attempts to Counterfeit—Difference between Early and Recent Beads.

Of native records, in the form of wampum belts, the Wyandots had a large store. The chief, in speaking of this, as he remembered it before the division of the tribe, affirmed

that there were belts enough, if spread out, to cover the floor of the room in which we sat,—a farm-house parlour about 15 feet square. Clarke makes special mention of them in his history, as contained in a large trunk, and as the object of peculiar solicitude. During the last decade of the eighteenth century they were placed in charge of a Huron chief, named Peter Brown, who was of purely English origin. He had been carried off by a Huron marauding party from a frontier settlement of Virginia, "on his way to school," at the age of eight years. He was brought to Michigan, adopted by a Wyandot family, and when he grew up, married a Wyandot woman, whom Clarke affirms to have been his own maternal grandmother. Thus we learn that Clarke's mother had the attractions of an English half-caste, with doubtless some knowledge of English speech and of civilised habits, to captivate her military lover and husband. The story introduces into our history an element of romance which novel writers have been fond of dealing with, and of which the real life of the last century in America presented many examples.

"About this time," Clarke tells us, "the king, or head-chief, of the Wyandotts, Sut-staw-ra-tse [Sastaretsi] called a meeting at the house of Chief Adam Brown, who had charge of the archives, which consisted of wampum belts, parchments, &c., contained in a large trunk. One by one they were brought out and shown to the assembled chiefs and warriors. Chief Brown wrote on a piece of paper, and tacked it to each wampum belt, designating the compact or treaty it represented, after it had been explained from memory by the chiefs appointed for that purpose. There sat before them their venerable king, in whose head were stored the hidden contents of each wampum-belt, listening to the rehearsal, and occasionally correcting the speaker and putting him on the right track whenever he deviated." "The head-chief who presided on this occasion for the last time," continues the historian, "was the last lineal descendant of his race of pure Wyandot blood. His lamp of life went out at the close of this decade—between the years 1790 and 1801. None can now be found among the remnant of his nation but what are either mixed with the whites or with Indian blood of other tribes."

What became of these records was explained to me by Chief White, whose explanation was fully confirmed by Clarke's History, and is thus recorded in my journal:—"When the majority of the people removed to the south-west, they demanded to have the belts, as these might be a safeguard to them. Some of these belts recorded treaties of alliance or of peace with other tribes which were now residing in that region,

and it might be of great importance for the Wyandots to be able to produce and refer to them. The justice of this claim was admitted, and they were allowed to have the greater part of the belts. They left those which related to the title of the Indian lands in Canada, to the adoption of the Christian religion, and a few others." The chief did not clearly remember, with regard to all the belts he had, what precise event each was intended to commemorate. He said that the belts which he knew best were those which had been taken away. He had often heard them "read," in former times, by the old chiefs; but of course, of late years, since the majority of the people went away, the remaining belts have been little but useless lumber. The written explanations attached to them by Chief Brown have disappeared. It may be added that, in the Indian estimate, the only documentary value of the wampum record is its actual present utility as evidence of a subsisting treaty or land-right. To any merely archæological purpose which it may serve they are entirely indifferent. The chief said that he had some belts which were his private property, and which he could sell to me. I inferred that they were belts which had ceased to be of practical use, and which the former wampum-keepers, in accordance with tribal usage, had left at his disposal.

The four belts which I obtained from him in my different visits, and which are now to be described, were such as had thus ceased to be of use as political documents, while they yet remain records of the highest historical and archæological interest (see Plate XI). They belong, as appears by various evidences, to two distinct eras and categories: Three of them date back to the era of Champlain and the Jesuit Missions, and refer to events of signal importance, which occurred near the close of that epoch. The fourth belongs to the later period of the return of the Hurons to the east, and their settlement near Detroit under the protection of the French, about the beginning of the eighteenth century. The external difference between the two classes of belts is striking at the first glance. The older belts are entirely of native make; the later one is formed of similar materials, which have been put together by Indian hands, but the shell-beads and perhaps in part the strings which unite them have been procured from white men. In the older belts there is no uniformity in the size of the beads, some of them being twice as large as others. It is evident that they were made by hand, a work to which only Indian patience could be equal; while the later beads of nearly uniform size, were as evidently wrought by a lathe. It is a curious fact that in the space of less than two centuries which has elapsed since the

Indians ceased to manufacture wampum, the knowledge not merely of their forefathers' mode of making it, but of the fact that it was an article of native workmanship, has in some tribes been lost. Important national events in their past history, such as wars and migrations, are vividly recalled, but minor matters have faded from memory. To my great surprise, the Wyandot historian, Peter Clarke, in our first conversation, assured me positively that the Indians had never made wampum beads, and seemed insulted when I ventured to correct him. I afterwards found the reason of his sensitiveness in the fact that he had recorded his opinion in a footnote of his history, which reads as follows:—"Wampum is manufactured from a species of sea-shell, expressly for Indians, by Europeans, perforated (lengthwise) tubes, about  $\frac{1}{8}$ -inch in diameter and  $\frac{1}{2}$ -inch in length, and of a mixed light and dark-purple colour. The tubes are fastened together with strong thread or ligament into belts, from 5 to 7 inches in width, and from 24 to 40 inches in length." Unfortunately, I had not at hand a volume of Sagard's "Journey to the Huron Country," with which I might have instructed and perhaps soothed and gratified my too sensitive disputant. I could have shown him the passage in which the good Franciscan Missionary, in his edition of 1632 (just two hundred years earlier than Clarke's publication), describes the process of making these *pourcelaines*, as he styles the wampum beads. "They are made," he says, "of the substance (*des os*) of those great sea-shells which are called conchs (*vignols*), resembling snails. These they cut into small pieces, then polish them on a stone, perforate them, and make of them collars and armlets. It is a work of great pains and labour, owing to the hardness of their substance, which is quite a different thing from our ivory. This they value little beside their porcelain, which is handsomer and whiter." It is a somewhat amusing reflection that one of the ingenious Hurons whom Sagard saw engaged in the wampum-making process, which he so pithily describes, may have been an ancestor of the sceptical Clarke himself.

It is proper to notice that though many attempts were made to counterfeit the wampum, by Dutch and English colonists, soon after their settlement on the Atlantic sea-board, these attempts were for a long period only partially successful. Much information on this subject is collected by Mr. W. H. Holmes in his excellent monograph on "Art in shell of the Ancient Americans," published in the "Second Annual Report of the American Bureau of Ethnology." Thus, Thomas Morton, of Massachusetts, writing in 1630 of the New England Indians and their wampum beads, which then "passed current as money

in all parts of New England, from one end of the coast to the other," tells us that though some of the colonists "had endeavoured to make the same beads, of the same kind of shells, yet none had ever yet attained any good success, as the salvages have found a great difference to be in the one and the other, and have known the counterfeit beads from those of their own making and doe slight them." Nearly a century later, the surveyor Lawson, of Carolina, describing the same money, tells us that "the shells of which it is made are very large and hard, so that they are very difficult to cut. Some English smiths," he adds, "have tried to drill this sort of shell-money, and thereby thought to get an advantage; but it proved so hard that nothing could be gained." The introduction of the machine drill could not have made much difference in this respect, as each bead must still be fashioned separately by a white workman whose time was much more valuable than that of an Indian. That which finally gave the English beads the advantage was not the superiority or the cheapness of the workmanship, but the destruction of the Indian workmen. The quarter of a century which followed the publication of Lawson's book, from 1714 to 1740, saw the extermination of most of the Carolina tribes and a great decline in the number of all the Northern Indians. It was during this period that the wampum making industry seems to have ceased among them, and the use of machine-made beads to have become so universal that some respectable writers of a later period, such as Loskiel and Hutchinson, who on points within their own knowledge are of good authority, were led to doubt whether the Indians ever made many of these beads. A reference to the older writers and the testimony of the mounds puts this point beyond question.

The practice of making and using wampum belts and strings of the purchased beads still survived for a century longer. The work, as a general rule, was left to be done by the women, and the method remained the same as it was in the oldest historical times, though there was some change in the textile materials. The strings of native hemp, bark filaments, deerskin, and sinew, on which the beads had been strung and interwoven, gave place to foreign twine, including silken thread. In fact, these materials, which had been obtained by the Indians in their traffic, are found to have been used in some of their earlier belts. The method of weaving these belts was, though simple when once understood, a highly ingenious process, requiring much care and skill. The process cannot be better described than in the words of Mr. L. H. Morgan, one of the most careful and trustworthy of observers. Supposing a belt of seven rows, which is the most common width, to be designed, "eight strands"

or cords of bark thread," he tells us, "are first twisted from filaments of slippery-elm, of the requisite length and size; after which they are passed through a strip of deerskin to separate them at equal distances from each other in parallel lines. A piece of splint is then sprung in the form of a bow, to which each end of the several strings is secured, like warp threads in a weaving machine." The distance apart at which these parallel strings are held, it should be understood, is the average length of a wampum bead. "Seven beads, these making the intended width of the belt, are then run upon a thread by means of a needle, and are passed under the cords at right angles, so as to bring one bead lengthwise between each cord and the one next in position. The thread is then passed back again along the upper side of the cords and again through each of the beads; so that each bead is held firmly in its place by means of two threads, one passing under and one above the cords. This process is continued until the belt reaches its intended length, when the ends of the cords are tied, the ends of the belt covered and afterwards trimmed with ribbons. In ancient times both the cords and the thread were of sinew."

Most belts have devices interwoven, forming intelligible mnemonic pictures. These pictures are made by coloured beads, inserted as the belt proceeds, sometimes dark on a white ground, and sometimes white on a dark ground. To produce these pictures, with such intractable substances, requires in the weavers a degree of constant care and skill comparable only to that displayed in the making of gobelin tapestry.

#### IV.

##### THE FOUR HISTORICAL HURON BELTS.

"The Double-Calumet Treaty Belt"—"The Peace-Path Belt"—"The Jesuit Missionary Belt"—"The Four-Nations Alliance Belt"—The Several Symbols and the Treaties supposed to be Recorded.

1. The four Huron belts, which form the main subject of this memoir, may now be described, in the order partly of their presumed age, and partly of their importance. (See Plate XI, where they are numbered as in text, details being enlarged in Plate XII.) One of the oldest of them, and certainly the most important among them, is that which may be styled "*The Double Calumet Treaty Belt.*" This, which must have been, when new, a truly imposing construction, is probably more than two and a half centuries old. It is nine beads in width, and is still over 3 feet and 9 inches long, though it has probably lost about a foot of its original length. It displays on a

dark ground of the costly purple wampum, the rather singular composite device of a council-hearth in the centre—or what was probably the centre—of the original belt, flanked on one side by four and on the other by three double-calumets (Plate XII, 1), or, in other words, double-headed peace-pipes, each possessing a bowl at each end. This, it need not be said, is, as a pipe for actual use, an impossible article. It is a creation of what may be called the heraldic imagination, like the Austrian two-headed eagle, or the English unicorn. Of its significance there is no question. Concerning the history of the belt, Chief Mandorog could only tell me that it was a peace-belt, representing an important treaty or alliance of ancient times. This is certainly as much as he could be reasonably expected to know of so antique a record, which, from its lack of practical interest, had long ceased to be produced and explained in the tribal council. Fortunately, the Jesuit "Relations" give us ample information concerning what we may reasonably presume to have been the time and the occasion of the treaty indicated by this belt. The letter of Father Lalemant to his superior at Quebec, narrating the events of 1639 and the following year (chapter X, page 95 of the Quebec edition of 1858), contains the following paragraphs:—"The Khionontateronon (Tionontaté people), who are called the Tobacco Nation, on account of the abundance of that herb which is grown in their country, are distant from the country of the Hurons, whose language they speak, some twelve or fifteen leagues to the westward. They have formerly had cruel wars against each other, but are now on very good terms, and have lately renewed their alliance, and made a new confederation, against some other nations, their common enemies."

The only people from whom the Tionontaté nation, in their isolated position, can have received such an important pledge of alliance, were their numerous and powerful Huron neighbours. The device may be deemed significant. The double calumets seem to have been originally eight, one having been lost from one end, as another has partly disappeared from the other extremity. It was the habit of the modern Indians, when wampum beads were needed for messages, presents, or sacrifices, to have recourse to the ancient and, so to speak, obsolete belts, which were thus gradually pillaged. It seems likely that the eight calumets had reference to the eight clans or *gentes*, who composed the Huron people, and were found in different proportions in all the tribes. These clans, called by the Algonquians *totems*, all bore the names of certain animals, with which the Indians held themselves to be mythologically connected—the bear, wolf, deer, porcupine, snake, hawk, large tortoise, and

small tortoise. Each clan was more numerous in some towns than in others, as it was natural that near kindreds should cluster together. Thus the missionary Brébeuf speaks of "the nation of the bears," among whom he resided. But all the *gentes* were closely connected by intermarriages, and a belt including them all, accompanied by a council heath, would be understood to express the unanimous will of the Huron people. It is true that the five Iroquois nations had also eight clans, though in part differently named from the Huron clan. But it is impossible to suppose that their inveterate enemies of the Tionontaté nation can have combined in bestowing upon the latter such a pledge of amity. The belt, in its first estate, must have contained not less than three thousand beads, and must have been deemed not only an impressive record, but also a magnificent gift. It seems highly probable that the special device of the double calumet had a complimentary reference to the title and repute, on which the recipients doubtless prided themselves, of "The Tobacco Nation."

The expressions used by Lalemant in the passage quoted, "renewed their alliance," and "made a new confederation," are deserving of notice, as showing that the Hochelagan form of government, to which these expressions evidently referred, was not, as Cartier supposed, a "kingdom," but simply a confederacy, doubtless of the usual Iroquoian stamp.

2. *The "Peace-Path Belt."*—This name distinguishes a smaller belt, of which only the memory remains that it was received at the conclusion of a treaty of peace, made in ancient times between the Tionontaté nation and a people possessing three council-fires. This people can hardly have been any other than the Huron confederacy. That League did indeed include five nations, but two of them were comparatively insignificant, having each but one town, while the remaining twenty-two towns and villages of the Wendat were divided among the three larger nations. It is known from the Jesuit relations that these three nations were accustomed to act in council on behalf of the whole people. This was done in the famous nocturnal council of August, 1637, when a great assembly of the chiefs of the whole country was held to determine upon a war, and at the same time to decide the fate of the missionaries, who were accused of causing by their sorceries the pestilence which was then ravaging the Huron nations. This council, we are told by the missionary Le Mercier, in his vivid description of it (Relation of 1638, chapter 2), "was composed of three nations, namely, that of the Bears, our first hosts, who number fourteen towns and villages, and whose chiefs held one side of the cabin, having us among them, while



the opposite side was held by the two other nations, numbering each four well-peopled towns." According to the custom of the country, the missionaries presented to the council a gift of three or four hundred wampum beads, as an evidence of their concern for the general welfare. When their own case came up, they defended themselves against their accusers with a force of argument and appeal which secured them from immediate condemnation; and soon greater public dangers from the hostile Iroquois had alarmed the Hurons, and induced them to seek the advice and assistance of the missionaries in their own mortal peril. It was at this time, apparently, that the desire of resuming their ancient amity and alliance with their neighbours of the Tobacco Nation had arisen, of which the first evidences were the two belts that have now been described. The smaller belt would be first presented as an overture of lasting peace from the three leading Wendat nations, while the larger belt would follow when the alliance was completed.

3. "*The Jesuit Missionary Belt.*"—The belt which bears this name is probably, if judged from its size, its purport, and its history, the most remarkable and memorable wampum-belt in existence. It can only be compared in all these respects with the famous "Penn Wampum belt," which in some points it decidedly surpasses. What my informant, Chief Mandorong, knew or believed of it was that it commemorated the acceptance by the Hurons of the Christian religion, in the form in which it was presented to them by the Jesuit missionaries. The belt must have been made by Indians under missionary instructions, and in all probability in the Huron country; but of the precise occasion and circumstances of its presentation to his forefathers, and their acceptance, the chief knew nothing. The missionary reports seem to supply us with sufficient evidence on these points. In the letter of Father Lalemant, from which the paragraph relating to the treaty with the Tionontaté people has been quoted, we have a lively narrative of the trials and sufferings which befel the two missionaries, Fathers Garnier and Jogues, to whom the duty of commencing this mission to the Tobacco Nation was assigned. The season was winter and the ground was covered with snow, on which they had sometimes to make their rude couches of pine-branches for the night's sleep. The pestilence was raging, and the hostile rumours against the missionaries, as sorcerers who had brought it into the country, excited against them a frenzy of terror. Almost every door was closed against them; and sometimes when they had been reluctantly admitted, they were ordered out in the middle of the night by their terror-stricken host. The women cried out against them in horror, and the

terrified children fled from them screaming. They were able to baptize a few persons whom they found at the point of death, and finally returned safely from their venturous tour, half famished, but triumphant and hopeful.

This was in 1639. Ten years later, in 1649, we find the Tobacco Nation occupied by two missions, each under the charge of two missionaries. It was probably during this decade, and at the commencement of what were deemed the permanent missions, that the belt in question was presented by the missionaries. It was accepted by the people, not precisely as an evidence of the adoption of the new religion offered to them, but as an indication of their willingness to listen to the missionary teachings. This we may infer from the similar experience of the missionary Brebeuf, who in his report of 1636, near the beginning of the Huron mission, relates that having to address an assembly of chiefs and elders of the "Nation of the Bears," and invite them to attend to the precepts of his religion, he closed his address by presenting to them a belt of twelve hundred wampum-beads, telling them that it was to smooth for them the way to Paradise. "Such," he adds, "are the expressions which they are wont to use in making presents to assist in achieving any difficult enterprise."

Respecting the device on this belt of Brebeuf, we are told nothing; but its character may be conjectured from that of the belt which was afterwards given to the chiefs of the Tobacco Nation for a similar purpose, and which their successors have preserved for us. The figures are in white beads on a dark ground. This costly substance, as well as the size of the belt, indicates the importance attached to the gift. Near the centre of the belt is the usual oval or lozenge-shaped figure (Plate XII, 2) representing a council. In this case it must have been understood that the belt was a formal offering and overture from the whole mission council to the Tionontaté nation. By this time, at least thirteen years after Brebeuf's present, the Huron Mission, with its numerous members and lay followers and its imposing buildings, had become an important body. The members held regular councils, which led to results of serious consequences. On each side of this symbolic council-hearth are religious emblems. Nearest the hearth, on either hand, are two extraordinary figures, intended to represent the Dove and the Lamb; and beyond them are three crosses in the Græek form, understood to indicate the Trinity. Some other figures—whether of mere ornament or of some significant purport cannot now be judged—seem anciently to have closed each end, but have now in part disappeared through the loss of the beads composing them. The whole remaining device, grotesque as it seems to

our notions, formed a striking text of useful mnemonics for missionary exhortations. The belt contains fifteen rows of beads, the figures white on a dark ground, and must have comprised originally not less than three thousand beads.

4. "*The Four-Nations Alliance Belt.*"—The notable difference between this and the three preceding belts marks a wide chasm of time and a great change of locality and condition. The latest date which can be ascribed to the Jesuit missionary belt is the year 1648, the eve of the expulsion of the Hurons by the Iroquois. The date fixed for the "Four-Nations Belts," by Peter Clarke, in the second decade of the eighteenth century. This belt is consequently younger than the Jesuit belt by over sixty years. During that period the Tionontaté people, now known as Wyandots, had fled from the Blue Hills of their Lake Huron Switzerland to the far west of Lake Superior, and had thence returned to the vicinity of Detroit, as already related. Here they were welcomed not only by the French garrison and settlers of that post, but also by the three Algonquian tribes who held the lands in the vicinity, the Ojibwas, Ottawas, and Potawatomies. An alliance was formed between these four nations, the terms which are carefully set forth by its Wyandot chronicler. It was mainly a treaty respecting lands, which will account for the shape of the figures. In lieu of the oval council-hearth, we have four squares, Plate XII, 6, which indicate, in the Indian hieroglyphic system, either towns or tribes with their territories, and remind us of the similar Chinese character, which represents the word "field." The "White-peoples' houses," at the ends of the belt, Plate XII, 5, signified the French forts or settlements, which protected the native tribes alike against their persistent Iroquois enemies, and against the marauding Indians of the south and west, especially the Cherokees and the Sauks and Foxes. For purposes of cultivation and of hunting, the lands about Detroit were divided into four districts, one for each nation, two districts being east of the Detroit River in Canada, and two in Michigan, west of that river; but each nation was to have the privilege of hunting in the territory of all the others. It shows the strength of a treaty established by the solemnity of a wampum belt that this compact remained in force among the four nations, in spite of wars and changes of government among their white protectors, and through all the turmoil and confusion of Pontiac's conspiracy, in which all the Indians were more or less engaged, for over a hundred years, from the first decade of the eighteenth to the fourth decade of the present century. At the latter period, the Algonquian nations had each sold a portion of its separate territory to their white neighbours. They still, however, claimed their ancient privilege in the Wyandot lands,

or a money payment in lieu of it. Against this unreasonable claim the Wyandots protested, and their protecting government, then represented by Sir Francis Head, promptly settled the matter in a whimsically arbitrary fashion, characteristic of this military-minded ruler, by not only rejecting entirely the claim of the Algonquians (except in a certain fashion those of them residing in Canada), but by deciding to sell a portion of the Wyandot lands, and to invest the proceeds partly for the exclusive benefit of the Wyandots, and partly for the behoof of the Canadian Indians in general. Thus the "Four Nations Belt" ceased to have any efficacy as a political document. It became simply an historical record, and one of no little importance, as continuing our knowledge of the Huron Annals for the full term of three centuries, from Cartier in 1535 to Sir Francis Head in 1836. This, with the subsequent time to the present date, is a longer period of authentic history than can be claimed for any other aboriginal people north of Mexico.

## V.

## THE PENN WAMPUM BELT.

Belt Deposited with the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in 1857 by a great-grandson of William Penn—Supposed to Record a Treaty made with the Delaware Indians in 1682—Evidence of its Iroquois Origin—Symbolic Inscription—Probable Date and Occasion of its Presentation to Penn.

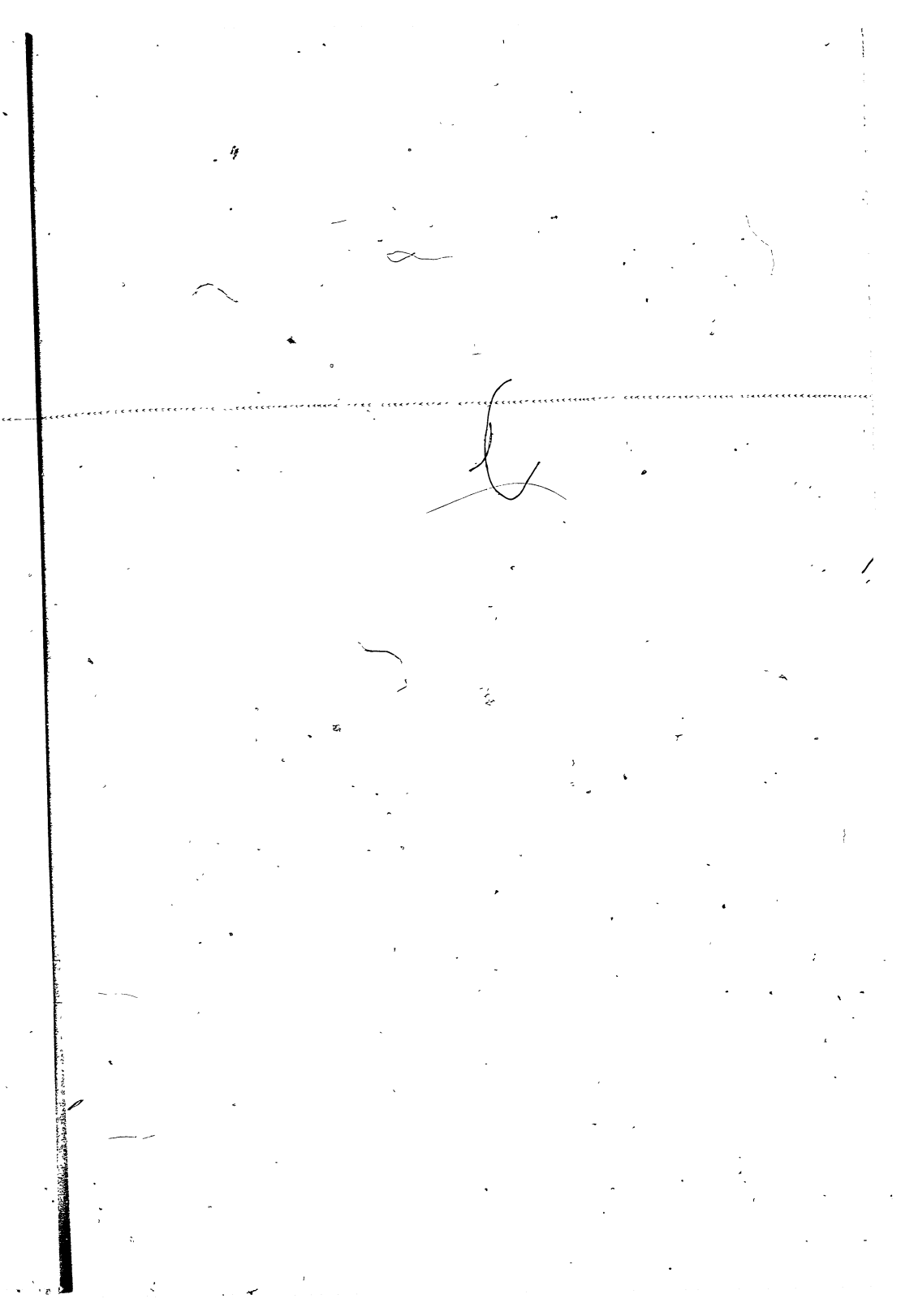
Our study may be further illustrated and its usefulness shown by some account of a very celebrated wampum record, to which reference has already been made. This is the "Penn Wampum Belt," Plate XIII, 3, which is preserved in the archives of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. A *fac-simile* of this belt is given in the sixth volume of the memoirs of that Society (for 1858), together with a record of the very interesting proceedings that took place at the presentation of the belt to the Society in April, 1857, by Mr. Granville John Penn, the great-grandson and one of the heirs of the illustrious founder of Pennsylvania. In the address which was made on the occasion by Mr. Granville Penn are set forth with much persuasive force his reasons for believing that this is the identical belt which was given to his ancestor by the Indian chiefs "at the great treaty held in 1682, after his arrival in this country, confirmatory of the friendly relations which were then permanently established between them." "That such is the case," continued Mr. Penn, "there can exist no doubt, as (though it has come down to us without any documentary evidence) it plainly tells its own story; and

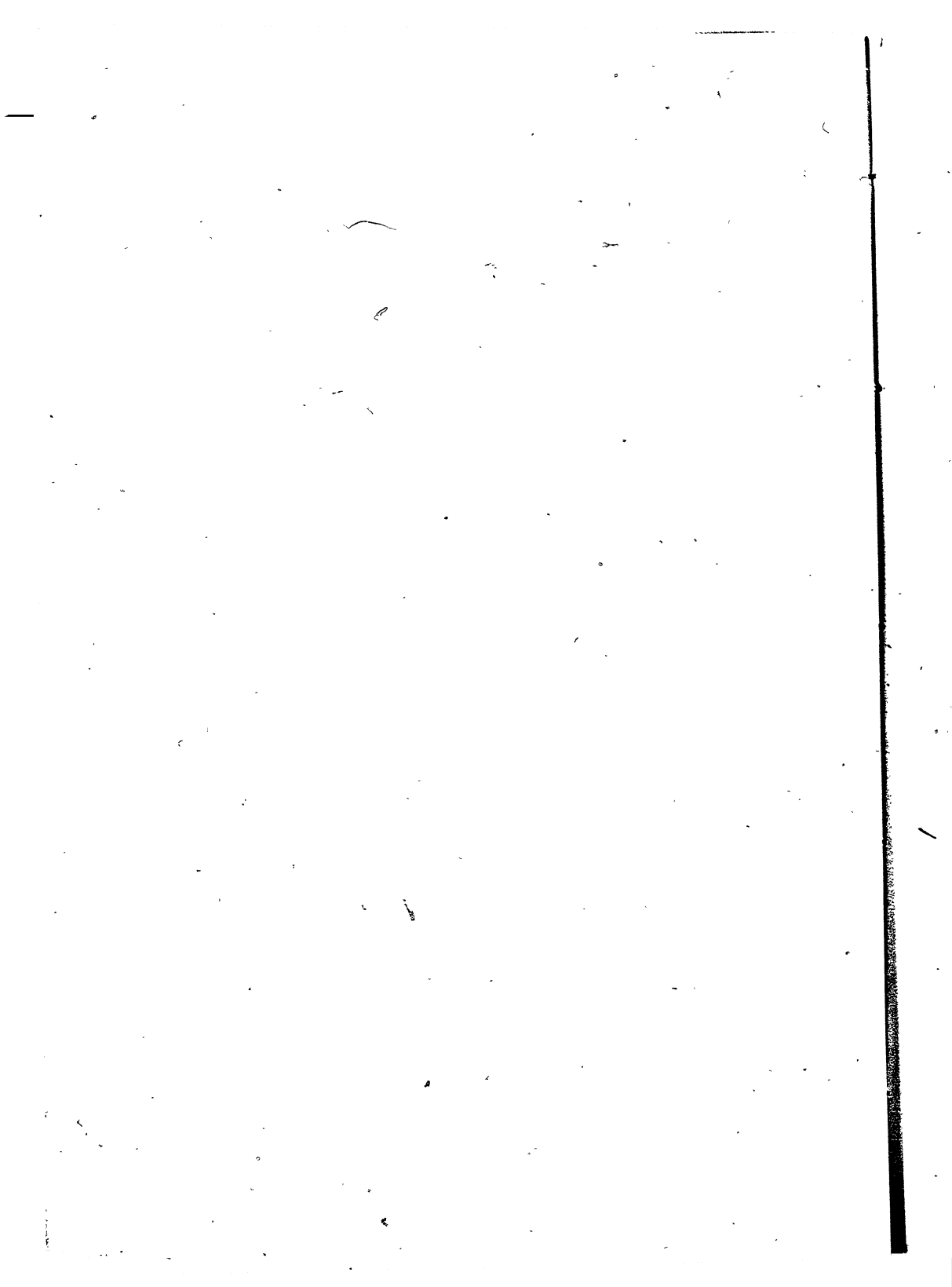
in accordance with the resolution passed by the Society at its last meeting, I beg to offer the following observations in evidence of the fact. In the first place, its dimensions are greater than of those used on more ordinary occasions, of which we have one still in our possession—this belt being composed of eighteen strings of wampum—which is a proof that it was the record of some very important negotiation. In the next place, in the centre of the belt, which is of white wampum, are delineated in dark-coloured beads, in a rude but graphic style, two figures, that of an Indian grasping with the hand of friendship the hand of a man evidently intended to be represented in the European costume, wearing a hat; which can only be interpreted as having reference to the treaty of peace and friendship which was then concluded between William Penn and the Indians, and recorded by them in their simple but descriptive mode of expressing their meaning by the employment of hieroglyphics. Then the fact of its having been preserved in the family of the founder from that period to the present time, having descended through three generations, gives an authenticity to the document which leaves no doubt of its genuineness; and as the chain and medal which were presented by the Parliament to his father, the Admiral, for his naval services, have descended among the family archives unaccompanied by any written document, but are recorded in the journals of the House of Commons, equal authenticity may be claimed for the wampum belt confirmatory of the treaty made by his son with the Indians; which event is recorded on the page of history, though, like the older relic, it has been unaccompanied in its descent by any document in writing.”

But it may be observed that the “older relic,” the Admiral’s medal, doubtless had an inscription, which alone would have sufficed to identify it. The wampum belt had also its inscription, which, if its purport had been known in 1857, either to the generous presenter or to the grateful recipients, would have satisfied them that the belt could not have been that which they, with such apparently good reasons, naturally supposed it to be. This inscription did not, in fact, escape notice at the time. The Society’s official reporter, in describing the belt, remarks that “there are three bands, also worked in violet beads, one at either end, the other about one-third the distance from one end, which may have reference to the parties to the treaty, or to the Rivers Delaware, Schuylkill, and Susquehanna.” The conjecture that these bands “had reference to the parties to the treaty” was a sagacious one, and was undoubtedly correct. At the first sight of the belt, when it was shown to me at a later day by the obliging officials of the Society, I was able to assure

them that the belt could not possibly have been presented to William Penn, at the treaty of 1682, inasmuch as that treaty was made with the Delaware (or Lenâpé) Indians, while the belt is unquestionably of Iroquois origin, and must have been presented by some representative of the Five Nations. The oblique bands are the well-known symbol of the federation. The origin and meaning of the symbol are well understood among the Indian tribes. The confederacy was known as the "Long-House," a metaphor which in their speech was carried out in minute particulars. The ordinary Iroquois communal dwelling, called a "long-house," was constructed by planting on each side of the site of the intended edifice a row of strong "frame-poles," which, after rising to a certain height, were bent inward to meet and form between the rows a long covered hall, like a garden arbour, to which it has been frequently compared. This hall was divided by transverse compartments into separate dwellings for the different households. These frame-poles were bound together by smaller interlacing poles and withes, and the whole framework, on sides and roof, was carefully covered with closely fitted strips of bark (answering to our siding-boards and shingles) leaving only an opening along the centre of the roof for the smoke to escape from the fire-hearths below, of which there was one for every two households. The large bent frame-poles were known to the natives by the name of *kanasta*, a word which they render in English by "rafter." This is the object which is represented on wampum belts by the inclined band; and which is deemed, by a natural synecdoche, the symbol of their confederacy. Thus the Iroquois league is spoken of in their Book of Rites as *kanasta-tsikowa*, "the great framework." It was this mighty structure, which, when the belt in question was given, overshadowed the greater part of North America, that was indicated by the oblique bands. That there might be no question on this subject, I showed the *fac-simile* in the book to my intelligent friend, Chief John Buck (*Skanawati*), the leading chief, and one of the best informed men of the Six Nations, and asked his opinion of it. He affirmed, without hesitation, that it was an Iroquois treaty belt, though on what precise occasion it was given there was nothing to show.

The occasion when it is probable that this belt was given seems, however, to be sufficiently shown in the "Colonial Archives of Pennsylvania," vol. i, p. 144, which record a treaty made between William Penn and the chiefs of several nations of Indians, who united in confirming all former cessions of lands, and in establishing a "firm and lasting peace," so that, as the written treaty declares, in words evidently suggested by Penn himself, they "shall forever hercafter be as one head and one







heart, and live in true friendship and amity as one people." Among the names of the contracting chiefs who represented their several nations, special prominence is given to "Ahoakassough, brother to the Emperor or Great King of Onondagoes of the Five Nations, who had arrived in town (Philadelphia) two days ago, with several others of their great men, and Indian Harry for their interpreter." A delegation of this character would not have attended a treaty conference without bringing unquestionable credentials, such as a belt like this would have furnished. Mr. Frederick B. Stone, of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, in his elaborate paper on "Penn's Treaty with the Indians," published by the Society, says of the treaty of 1701:—"This treaty seems to have been a very formal affair, and certainly it was a most important one. We do not doubt that tradition has in some manner confounded what was done at it with the earlier treaty which Penn's letters of August 16, 1683, tell us had been held."

At this date, as Lawson has informed us, the machine-made wampum had not been accepted by the natives, and we are not surprised to find in the carefully lithographed *fac-simile* abundant evidence of the "pains and labour" expended by the natives in the manufacture of the hand-made beads, and in wearing them with bark filaments in a belt of the extraordinary width of eighteen rows, making it undoubtedly one of the most important and characteristic of aboriginal treaty records.

## VI.

### GENERAL CONCLUSIONS:

Evidences of a Real Civilisation in Aboriginal America—Intellectual and Moral Qualities Indicated—Probable Error of some Ethnologists and Possible Disastrous Results.

It will be noticed that each of the five wampum belts here described has its distinct device or inscription, and that these devices have for the most part passed beyond the stage of picture-writing and become conventional characters, analogous to those of the Chinese script and to a large portion of the Egyptian hieroglyphics. The only instances of mere picture-writing in the five belts are the two men with joined hands on the Penn belt and the "white people's houses" on the Huron "Four Nations" belt. If the three conventional devices on the Jesuits' belt are of missionary suggestion, the five different symbols on the other four belts—the oval figure indicating a tribal council, the square representing a nation, the double-calumet for a treaty of alliance, the white line for an assurance of peace, and the inclined bands signifying the Iroquois con-

federation—are all of purely native origin, and are employed in a manner which shows a clear appreciation of the value of written language, highly creditable to the inventors. It may be noticed that we have nothing positive in the Homeric poems or in the results of modern excavations to show a similar advance in the Greeks of the Homeric Age,—and this despite their near proximity to the Egyptian and Assyrian literary civilisations. It should further be considered that the formal exchange among the Indian nations of documents so constructed and inscribed as to be permanent records of treaty compacts, is a custom which could only have arisen in communities among whom the keeping of good faith was a general habit and in public matters a confirmed tradition.

The extent and frequency of the use of this method of conveying messages and recording compacts are deserving of notice. The Iroquois ambassador Kiotsaton, who in 1645 came to Quebec to conclude a treaty of peace with the Governor, Montmagny, as recorded in the Jesuit Relation of that year, delivered seventeen wampum belts, each having its own distinct significance and consequently its own special device. Later in the same year another embassy followed to confirm the treaty and extend its terms so far as to include all the Indian allies of the French. On this occasion twenty-two belts were presented, each bearing its separate message. The Colonial Records of Pennsylvania describe many treaties between the Iroquois and various southern nations, accompanied by the delivery of belts. In vol. ii of these Records, p. 246, there is an account of “a very large wampum belt of twenty-one rows, with three bands [evidently the symbolical *kanasta*] wrought in it in black (the rest white), which belt was a pledge formerly delivered by the Onondaga Indians, one of the Five Nations, to the Nanticokes, when they made the said Nanticokes tributaries.” On a later page (387) we read of the same Nanticokes, who had then (in 1707) been twenty-seven years at peace with the Five Nations.” They had nineteen belts of wampum then prepared to send to the Five Nations as a tribute. At page 471 the Ganawese Indians, in an interview with the Colonial Council, “lay on the table of the Council a belt of wampum to enforce their words,” and at the same time state that they had twenty-four belts provided as a tribute to the Five Nations. In vol. ix of the Records, page 774, there is an account of the then “Six Nations” with the Catawbas and other southern nations, at which the latter gave twenty belts and many strings of wampum. Mr. Holmes gives particulars of many similar Councils, and pictures of several notable belts, each having its own special inscription. The American Colonial

Archives and Missionary Reports of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries abound with similar notices. If only a tithe of all the belts then presented, with the significance of their mnemonic devices, had been preserved, it would constitute a literature of aboriginal diplomatic records of which the great historical and ethnological value would not be disputed.

The facts adduced in the foregoing pages seem to lead to some further inferences which are deserving of careful and candid consideration. It is apparent that when the Spanish, English, and French colonists arrived in America, with the intention of taking possession of the land—which necessarily meant the extermination of the native inhabitants—they found these inhabitants enjoying frames of government and forms of civilisation which evinced intellectual and moral faculties of no mean order. These statements are not only true of the populous communities of Peru, Mexico, and other central and South American countries, but in some respects will apply with even greater force to the tribes of North America, who then occupied what are now the United States and Canada. Here we find a real money, which, if it had not all the characters of a true currency, approached it very nearly, and offered many of its advantages. We find the elements of a written language, widely diffused, and employed especially in preserving, with happy effect, the memory of treaties of peace and alliance. And we find established systems of government, so devised as to preserve for centuries the personal liberties and tribal independence of the communities maintaining them. We find also, according to the testimony of all the early explorers, a degree of generally diffused comfort throughout the greater portion of the native population, not inferior to any that has existed in other parts of the globe.

If scholars who have made what they deem a careful and impartial study of the languages, customs, and traditions of the American race and of other so-called inferior races, have found in them, as they believe, evidences of natural endowments not inferior to those of any other races, but merely kept down and made torpid by centuries and perhaps millenniums of unfavourable environment, they may be entitled to suggest, by way of friendly warning, that other students who take a contrary view, and devote themselves to the agreeable and popular taste of exalting the race to which they themselves happen to belong as naturally superior to all others, may be as sadly mistaken as the Chinese sages have been in the like circumstances, and may be helping to prepare for the future millions of the self-sufficient and intolerant Aryan race the same deplorable destiny that is now overtaking the self-sufficient and intolerant millions of China.

## THE HALE SERIES OF HURON WAMPUM BELTS.

*Notes and Addenda.* By Prof. E. B. TYLOR, D.C.L., F.R.S.

WHILE writing these remarks, I received with regret but hardly surprise the intelligence of Mr. Hale's death. The tone of his letters for months past had been that of a man looking toward the end of his work in life, and anxious to settle finally all matters he had much at heart. Among these were his investigations into the history of his friends the Iroquois and Hurons, to carry out which he had given so much labour, and of which his last studies, undertaken to elucidate their native records, form a fit completion.

The "Hale Series of Huron Wampum Belts," which lately passed into my hands, have been presented by me to the Oxford University Museum, where they are now placed in the Pitt-Rivers Collection. In bringing before the Anthropological Institute the long and careful paper written by Mr. Hale to accompany this group of American Indian records, illustrations were needed, the principal of which are here reproduced in Plates XI, XIV, and Figs. 1 and 2. I also found it desirable for clearing up points in the paper, and in support or criticism of the writer's views, to add a number of remarks. These, with others arising from questions raised in further correspondence with Mr. Hale, are now appended, reference being made to the passages of the paper with which they are connected.

*Wampum Beads and Belts* (page 233).—The different modes of fashioning wampum, serving as they do to determine its date and origin, require further consideration here. After

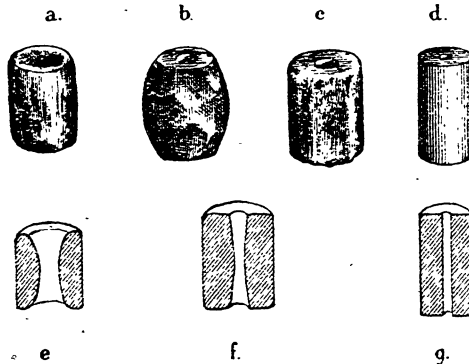
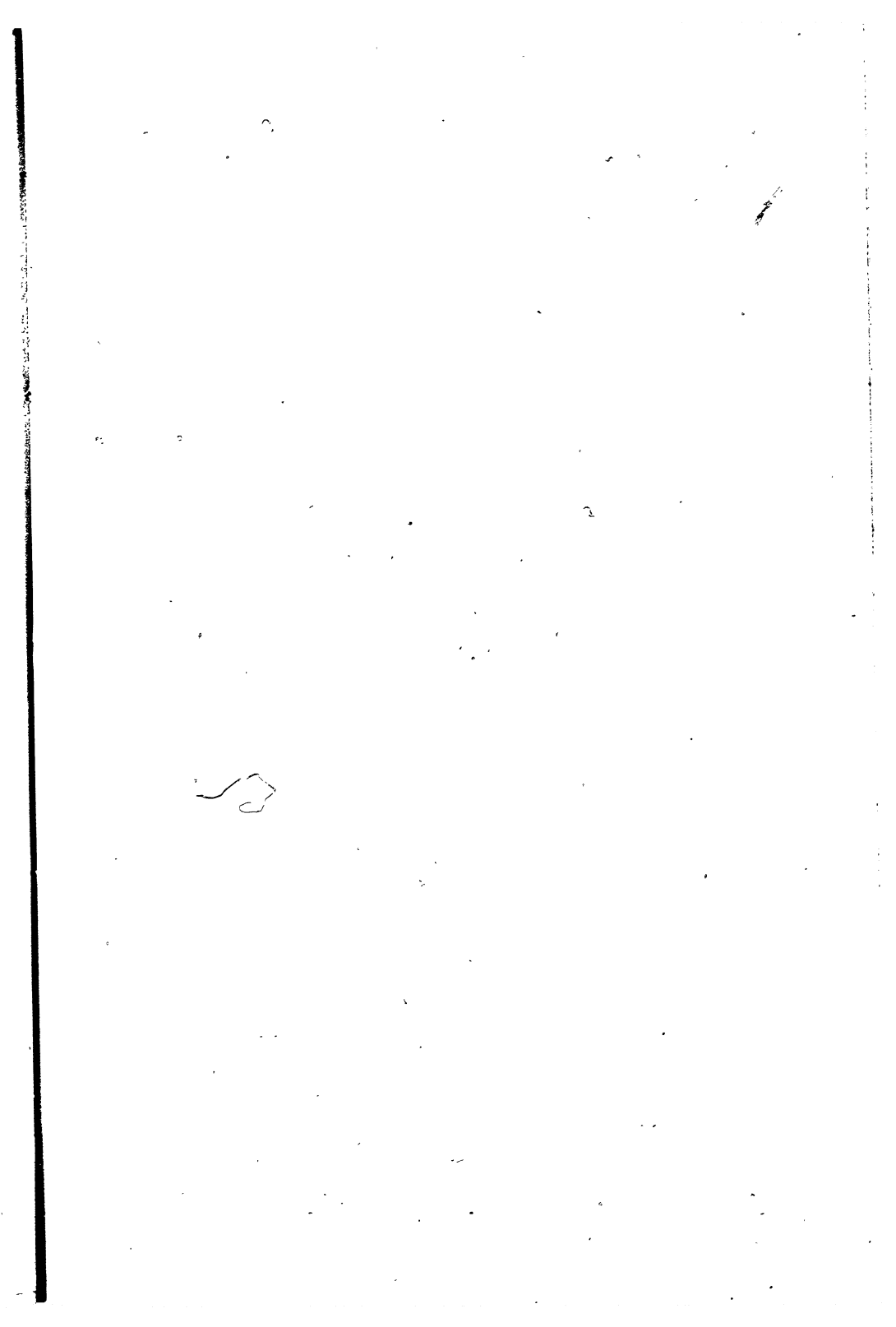
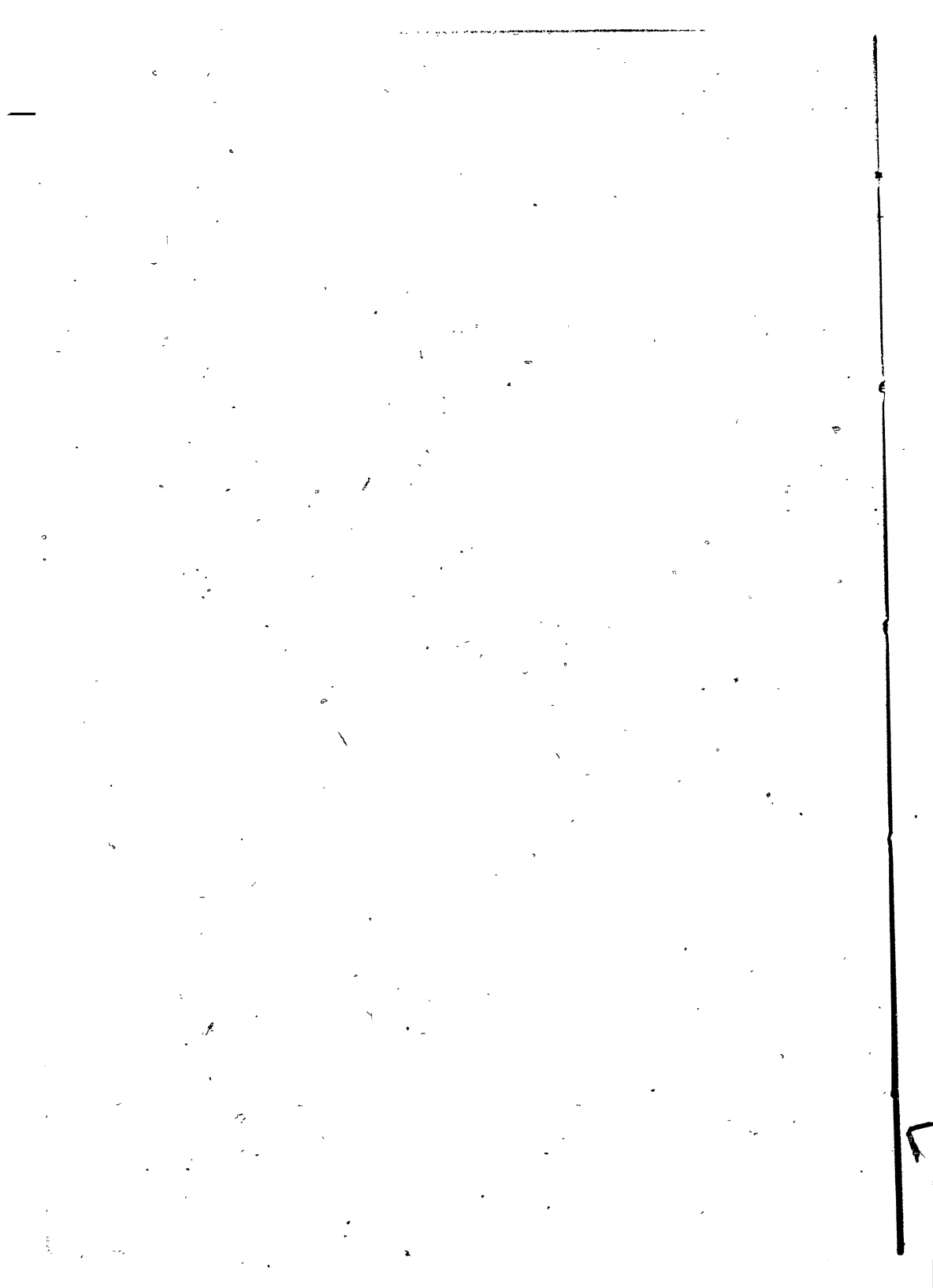


FIG. 1.—*a, e*, ground bead, native make, probably stone drilled, Canada; (Dr. Dawson). *b, c, f*, rudely ground beads, probably awl-drilled; from Missionary Belt, Plate XI, 3. *d, g*, machine-turned and drilled bead; European make.





going somewhat carefully into the matter with Mr. H. Balfour, I have drawn up the following particulars in which we agree. As to the outside shaping of the beads there are two kinds. The more ancient beads were made by rubbing down a fragment of shell on a stone till the facets united in a fairly regular outline, Fig. 1, *a, b, c*; the modern beads, *d*, received their cylindrical shape by turning in a lathe. This classification by the outside distinguishes native-made beads from those made in the colonial workshops, but it does not show whether those of native make date before or after the coming of the white men. This, however, may be to some extent learnt from the mode of boring. Before European times, the Indians no doubt bored their shell-beads by means of a chipped point of flint or other hard stone, fixed to a stick which they twirled between the palms of the hands. It is obvious that their mode of drilling hard stone by means of a stick or reed with sharp sand, though suitable for boring holes half an inch or more in diameter, was quite impracticable for perforating wampum. Only boring with the flint point would serve, and that only for short beads. It is seen by specimens of beads of the Stone Age found in the older Indian graves, and even by such ancient beads as are still worn in Indian necklaces, that cylinders and even thin discs of shell were perforated from both ends, the two conical borings meeting in the middle. This is indicated by the diagram *e* in the figure, showing the perforation of the shell-bead *a*, one of some genuine stone age beads from Indian graves, of which selections have been kindly sent to me from Canada by Dr. G. W. Dawson and by Mr. David Boyle. When the goods of the white traders came within reach of the Indians, European tools must have begun to supersede the flint point. A tempered steel tool was needed to bore the shell of the quahaug or hardshell clam, *Venus mercenaria*, from which all the purple wampum beads and a great part of the white were made, other white beads being from the columella of univalves such as the whelk-like *Fulgur carica*. The hardness of this material is seen from the fact that though a steel blade would scrape the clam-shell, an ordinary soft iron nail writes on it like a pencil. Indeed the hardshell clam seems to have become typical of stubbornness, perhaps having even suggested the popular names of the Hardshell Democrat and the Hardshell Baptist. There is a remark by Roger Williams who, writing in his Vocabulary of 1643, incidentally records both the original use of the stone drill for boring the shell beads, and its supersession by the European awl. He writes, "before ever they had awle blades from Europe, they made shift to bore their shell money with stones."<sup>1</sup> The awl may have been fastened to a stick and twirled between

<sup>1</sup> Roger Williams, "A Key into the Language of America," p. 144.

the hands, or it may have been worked with the pump-drill, such as in Europe china-menders still use for their very similar purpose. The use of this instrument, easily made from pieces of wood and string, seems to have been learnt from the Europeans by the natives far and wide in America; for instance, it may still be seen among the Zuñis of New Mexico. The diagram *f*, representing the boring of the ground beads *b* and *c*, fairly represents the result which the Indian reached in the 17th century by the use of European tools. The slightly conical borings due to an ill-centred metal drill, and still made from both ends to meet in the middle, distinguish the beads of this period from both the first and last kinds. Finally, we come to the ordinary product of the Dutch and English wampum factories. These are the machine turned and drilled shell-beads, shown by *d* and *g* in the figure, in their dimensions like  $\frac{1}{4}$ -inch lengths of a common clay tobacco-pipe.

Applying this criterion to the wampum belts which form the subject of Mr. Hale's paper, Mr. Balfour and I fail to find in them any stone-bored beads, which is equivalent to saying that they belong to the European period and cannot be much earlier than 1600. The Huron belts, Plate XI, 1, 2, 3, consist of ground and apparently awl-bored beads, even the most symmetrical not seeming to be turned. They may thus be assigned to a time when the Indians had already begun to obtain European steel tools which they could convert into suitable drills, but when factory-made wampum had not come in. Now about 1611 Father Biard describes the Indian tribes as coming in summer by the River St. Lawrence to barter their furs against French wares, among which are specially mentioned awls and bodkins.<sup>1</sup> Thus there is no chronological objection to these belts being referred to events about 1640, a date at which the Indians were well supplied with such tools. The belt 4 is as certainly of factory-made beads, probably of the 18th century.

As to the other belts only known to me by pictures such as those figured by Prof. W. H. Holmes in his valuable account,<sup>2</sup> and even the Penn Belt (Plate XIII, 3) of which so large and careful a representation has been published by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania,<sup>3</sup> I do not think it desirable to express any opinion from this point of view. Even large photographs are insufficient to give the requisite details. But no doubt the anthropological interest attaching to the questions raised by

<sup>1</sup> "Relations des Jesuites dans la Nouvelle France." Quebec, 1658, vol. i, p. 7. 1611. See also Jacques Cartier's "First Voyage."

<sup>2</sup> W. H. Holmes, "Art in Shell of the Ancient Americans," in "Second Report of the Bureau of Ethnology," Washington, 1883, p. 185.

<sup>3</sup> "Contributions to American History," Philadelphia, 1858.



Mr. Hale will lead to all such important wampum belts being examined with a view to settling their dates approximately from their make. Especially if there exists anywhere a wampum belt made of stone-bored beads, or even of stone-bored and awl-bored beads mixed, it will be heard of. There is at present no known wampum belt which appears to have been made before the European period in America.

*The Iroquois Oblique Band* (p. 244).—The statement that the oblique band on a wampum belt is the symbol of the Iroquois Confederacy, was brought forward so far as I know for the first time by Mr. Hale in his paper read at the British Association at Montreal in 1884. In his present paper it is reinforced by the substantial authority of two chiefs well versed in Iroquois tradition—G. H. M. Johnson (Onwanonsyshon), the Government interpreter, and John Buck (Skanawati), the official keeper of the wampum, whose father, grandfather, and great grandfather had held the same office. As, however, the point seemed one on which all available evidence should be collected, I made a further communication to Mr. Hale, who then sent a photograph which he had had taken of the belts belonging to the Six Nations, here reproduced in Plate XIII (*a*). Some of the belts are those held in the hands of the chiefs photographed for Mr. Hale in the act of telling the wampum, Plate XIV, 3. The fact that about half these most genuine Iroquois belts have the oblique band, confirms the statement that it belongs to the Iroquois League.

The oblique band thus being considered a conventional representation of the *kanasta* or rafter of the *kanasta-tsikowa*, or great rafter framework, a name applied to the Iroquois League as symbolized by the native long-house extended by successive additions at the end, it becomes desirable to notice how far the band is like the actual rafter of such a structure. For this purpose two sketches of the Iroquois bark-house are given, Fig. 2, *a*, *b*. Here *b* shows the modern Europeanized form from

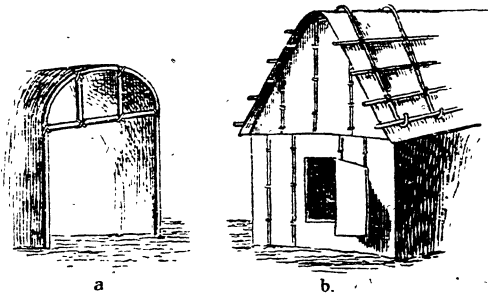


Fig. 2.—Iroquois bark-house : *a*. Old form. *b*. Europeanized.

Morgan.<sup>1</sup> The older and characteristic Iroquois house of the two preceding centuries is represented in *a*, from one of the illustrations in Lafitau, which shows an Iroquois bark-cabin with the screen forming the end removed. The roof is formed by bending over flexible poles made fast to the tops of the upright stakes at either side, and covering them in with sheets of bark. Traces of this older structure are to be still seen in the flexible pole, holding down the bark sheets in *b*. Lafitau considered the form of the cabin *a* to belong especially to the Iroquois-Huron family and their neighbours who copied it from them. If so, the adoption must have begun long before his time, for these are the houses in which, as early as 1585, the Algonquian tribes of Virginia are represented as living. Mr. Hale's description of the stakes set in the ground and bent over to meet in the middle so as to be wall-posts and rafters in one, though this structure is not unknown, can hardly have been the typical form of the Iroquois long-house at least in times after the League. It is thus not quite clear what part of the structure the Iroquois depicted by the oblique band.

*The Penn Treaty* (page 242).—Though the well-known picture by Benjamin West was painted many years after Penn's arrival in the colony, it seems to have been studied with care, and may fairly be taken to represent what the scene was like in colonial memory. It corresponds with Penn's own account, in which there is mention of gifts and friendly speeches, but none of the wampum ceremony. A small copy of the picture is here given (Plate XIV, 1), in order to contrast it with Lafitau's picture of a treaty council where a wampum belt is delivered (Plate XIV, 2). This, conventional as the figures are, no doubt fairly represents how one of these highly ceremonial acts was really performed.

*Origin of the Wampum Belt*.—In the last letter I received from Mr. Hale, November 12th, 1896, he mentioned that whereas he had hitherto declined to accept the positive assurance of the Iroquois councillors that Hiawatha (Hayuñwatha, "Wampum belt maker") was the inventor of the wampum belt, this was because he understood them to mean that he first made wampum, which seemed to him an incredible statement. But since he wrote the foregoing memoir he had come to understand that they ascribed to him simply the invention of the woven belt, as a credential for his ambassadors of peace. Accepting the Iroquois tradition in this form, he wrote a paper which was read at the American Association in August,

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Morgan, "League of the Iroquois," p. 3. See also Morgan, in "Contributions to N. A. Ethnology," vol. iv, p. 64. Lafitau, "Mœurs des Sauvages Américains," vol. ii, p. 9, 80-314.

1896: This paper will be found in the "Popular Science Monthly," February, 1897, under the title "Indian Wampum Records." The acceptance of Hayuñwatha as the inventor of the wampum belt involves the argument that the name, derived from Ayuñwa = "wampum belt," and Katha = "to make," was a honorific name given to him in commemoration of his heroic deeds. Otherwise the evidence is substantially unchanged.

Such a tradition involves no impossibility, but it may be objected that considering how many obvious fables have centred in Iroquois legend round the name of their national hero, it is too much to accept as real history the details of his foundation of the Iroquois League. The added belief that he invented the art of using the native shell work as a means of pictorial record, now comes apparently for the first time to European ears. Granting that it is now Indian tradition, a period estimated at over four centuries is a long time for such tradition to run clear unless supported by material records. Even if there were undoubted wampum belts dating from the beginning of the League, the traditions talked into them might have given more solid ground of history. The Onondaga wampum belt figured in Plate XIII, 2, showing four tribes united by one heart, has been claimed as recording the formation of the League. But Mr. Beauchamp, a good judge, considered the beads too regular to be hand-made. If so, it is some 250 years later than the date assigned to the League, yet Mr. Beauchamp declares that it is considered the most ancient, and to record the foundation of the League, so that it may be called a kind of constitution, and is venerated accordingly.<sup>1</sup> If now it be determined finally by close inspection whether this belt is of beads stone-drilled or steel-drilled, hand-ground or machine-ground, we shall have a good opportunity of estimating the historical value of Indian tradition. Mr. Hale himself shows (p. 234) how fallible it may be. Until this and other examinations are made, it would, I think, be premature to discuss what individual Indian was the inventor of wampum belts.

Apart from this historical question, however, I would suggest in conclusion that there is an anthropological problem in which evidence is available, and seemingly tending toward a conclusion up to a certain point in the same direction with Mr. Hale's argument. Any student who examines the information which has been printed as to wampum belts will, I think, be curiously struck with the fact that almost all of it is Iroquois. What little relates to other peoples, especially in early times, is found among neighbours of the Iroquois under their influence

<sup>1</sup> W. H. Holmes, *l.c.*, p. 252; W. M. Beauchamp in "American Antiquarian," vol. ii, p. 228; H. Hale in "Popular Science Monthly," Jan. 1886.

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and likely to borrow their customs. A map of the region of the wampum belt will be found to centre in the Iroquois country, leading to the inference that it was there that it had its origin.

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