

ARCHÆOLOGICAL REPORT

1899.

BEING PART OF

APPENDIX TO THE REPORT

OF THE

MINISTER OF EDUCATION

ONTARIO.

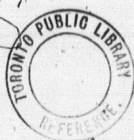
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ARCHÆOLOGICAL REPORT.

Honorable RICHARD HARCOURT, M.A., Q.C.

Minister of Education :

SIR,—Herewith is presented the Archæological Report for the year.

Upwards of two thousand specimens have been added to the museum during the past twelve months. We are indebted to numerous friends for single, and small numbers of specimens from various parts of the province, and outside of it, but our largest additions represent the work of collectors in the counties of Victoria, (North) and Brant, those from the former locality having been brought together by Mr. George E. Laidlaw, of "The Fort," Balsam Lake, and presented by him as an accession to the fine collection he placed in our possession last year.

The only field work prosecuted by your curator was in connection with the examination of some mounds on Pelee Island, to which reference appears in what follows.

Had time and circumstances permitted, much more work of this kind might have been accomplished, and the hope may be indulged that opportunity for original research will more frequently present itself next year, for the reason already so often urged, namely, that the march of improvement is rapidly destroying traces, the existence of which, and particulars respecting which, should be recorded.

Fortunately, a considerable amount of investigation has been performed by Messrs. George E. Laidlaw, and W. J. Wintemberg, reports from whom appear relating respectively to the counties of Victoria and Oxford. Mr. A. F. Hunter presents a report in continuation of his work in examining village sites in North Simcoe, the object being to identify these, if possible, with the places mentioned by the early missionaries.

From the pen of Mrs. Wm. Stuart, San Geronimo, Istmo de Tehuantepec, Mexico, an article on Aztec relics, will enable the Ontario reader to form some comparisons with the work of our own aborigines; and Mrs. Holden's translation of Mr. B. Sulte's paper on the Wars of the Iroquois is as instructive as it is interesting.

Mr. W. E. Connelley's papers on the Wyandots, and General Clark's philological and historical treatment of the derivation and signification of the word Toronto, are extremely valuable.

In accordance with many requests from students in Europe and America, Mr. A. T. Cringan presents a second contribution on the music of the Pagan Iroquois.

I have the honor to be,

Yours respectfully,

Education Department, Toronto,

December 30th, 1899.

DAVID BOYLE.

ADDITIONS TO THE MUSEUM.

19386, birch-bark canoe, (French R) Mississauga Indian, J. H. Fleming, Toronto. 19387, part of small clay vessel from Uganda, Africa, Miss Buik, Toronto. 19388, small gouge and axe, or chisel, combined, lot 9, con. 4, Dummer twp., Peterboro' co., found by Patrick Young, Sen, Young's Pt., Clarence Bell, Toronto. 19389, large and beautifully made grooved axe from gravel bed near Brocton, N.Y., Thomas Connon, Brocton, N.Y. 19390, butterfly banner stone, Markham twp., York county, Joseph Chant, per Geo. E. Laidlaw. 19391, pottery sherd, Saguache co., Colorado, R. W. Carruthers, per Geo. E. Laidlaw. 19392-93, two steel knives from Huron site at La Fontaine, Tiny township, supposed to be Toanché, W. Richardson, per Geo. E. Laidlaw. 19394-95, pipe and ornamental stem from same place. 19396, clay pipe, Fred Widdis, w. half lot 4, North West Bay, Bexley. 19397-98 worked fossil and chipped flint, Joseph Eads, lot 24, con. 2, Somerville twp., per Geo. E. Laidlaw. 19399, unfinished implement, lot 37, South Portage Rd., J. Waterson, Eldon twp., per G. E. Laidlaw. 19400, perforated disc, same place. 19401, pottery disc, same place, unperforated. 19402, stone axe, Fenelon Falls P.O., Dougald Brown, per Geo. E. Laidlaw. 19403-4, two celts, Mitchell's Lake, Eldon twp., Moses Mitchell. 19405-6, two chisels, Mitchell's Lake, Eldon twp., Moses Mitchell. 19407, nugget of native copper, A. Cameron, lot 20, con. 5, Lutterworth twp., per G. E. Laidlaw. 19408, slate gouge, G. Fox, Dalrymple P.O., Mud Lake, Carden twp., per G. E. Laidlaw. 19409-10, two axes, G. Fox, Dalrymple P.O., Mud lake, Carden twp., per G. E. Laidlaw. 19411, broken slate implement, G. Fox, Dalrymple P.O., Mud Lake, Carden twp., per G. E. Laidlaw. 19412, fragment of elk horn, G. Fox, Dalrymple P.O., Mud Lake, Carden twp., per G. E. Laidlaw. 19413-17, five oval, circular and ovate stones from ash beds, Eldon and Bexley twps., Geo. E. Laidlaw. 19418-27, ten hammer stones, degraded celts and others, Bexley twp., Geo. E. Laidlaw. 19428, fragmentary mealing stone from lot 5, con. 5, Bexley twp., Geo. E. Laidlaw. 19429-30, upper and part of lower mealing stone from ash heaps, Bexley twp., Geo. E. Laidlaw. 19431, chert nodule, from lot 22, con. 8, Eldon township, Geo. E. Laidlaw. 19432, porphyry from ledge near Mud Lake, Carden twp., Geo. E. Laidlaw. 19433, box of teeth from various village sites, Eldon and Bexley twps., Geo. E. Laidlaw. 19434, neolithic celt from Swaffham Fen, Cambridge, England, Sir John Evans, Hemel Hempstead, England. 19435, iron knife from lot *24, con 2, Somerville twp., Jos. Eads, per G. E. Laidlaw. 19436, string

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of porcelain beads from Orillia, Geo. E. Laidlaw. 19437, stone tool from Alaska, W. C. Perry, Winnipeg. 19438, red oxide from surface of Indian burial ground, Kamloops, B. C., W. C. Perry, Winnipeg. 19439, rubbing-stone, Lytton, B. C., W. C. Perry. 19440, rubbing-stone, Lytton, B. C., W. C. Perry. 19441, fragment of skull, Lytton, B. C., W. C. Perry. 19442, improvised hammer-stone, Lytton, B. C., W. C. Perry. 19443, deer-horn chisel, Vancouver, B. C., Jas. Johnson. 19444, fragment soapstone disc, Washington, D. C. 10445, sperm whale's tooth, Samoa, Mrs. F. Smith, Toronto. 19446, model of framework of kayak (Eskimo.) 19447, handle and whiplash, (Eskimo). 19448 19449, fish killers, Rama reserve, (Mississauga), G. E. Laidlaw. 19450-19549, fragments of pottery with various patterns, Mississauga, G. E. Laidlaw. 19550-52, three finger-pullers, Mississauga, G. E. Laidlaw. 19553-4, clubs for pounding black ash to separate the layers for basket-making, G. E. Laidlaw. 19555, modern "war club," once owned by Admiral Vansittart, Rama reserve, Mississauga, G. E. Laidlaw. 19556, "trade" weapon, N. W. Indians, G. E. Laidlaw. 19557, moccasins, Northwest Territory, G. E. Laidlaw. 19558-19562, fragments of pottery from Lake Clear, lot 22, range 12, Sebastopol twp., Alex. Parks, Eganville. 19563-19662, flints from various localities. 19663-19671, clay vessels from mounds, Arkansas, R. W. Riggs. 19672, drinking cup of shell found near human remains, two feet deep on mound near Darien, McIntosh co., Georgia, Clarence B. Moore, Philadelphia, Pa. 19673, digging tool, Bluff Field, Ossabaw island, Bryan co., Georgia, Clarence B. Moore, Philadelphia, Pa. 19674, digging tool, Ossabaw island, Clarence B. Moore, Philadelphia, Pa. 19675, digging tool (*fulgur carica*) from surface near lighthouse mound, Fernandina, Florida, Clarence B. Moore, Philadelphia, Pa. 19676, drinking cup of shell, (*fulgur perversum*) found near human remains, two feet down; mound, near Darien, McIntosh co., Georgia, Clarence B. Moore, Philadelphia, Pa. 19677, worked shell from Florida; Clarence B. Moore, Philadelphia, Pa. 19678, fragment of pottery, Walker mound in Cooper's field, near Sutherland Bluff, McIntosh co., Georgia; Clarence B. Moore, Philadelphia, Pa. 19679-80, two fragments of pottery from mound D, Ossabaw island, middle settlement; Clarence B. Moore, Philadelphia, Pa. 19681, Northwest pipe (no data). 19682, Indian stone tomahawk from the Green swamp in Columbus county, North Carolina; Horatio Hale, Clinton. 19683, wampum beads said to be from South Orillia twp., Simcoe co.; Horatio Hale, Clinton. 19684, shell beads, Santa Cruz Island, California; P. Schumacher, Horatio Hale, Clinton. 19685, shell beads from an ancient mound near the Mississippi river; Dr. Willis De Hass, Washington; Horatio Hale, Clinton. 19686, Zulu beads, South Africa, Horatio Hale, Clinton. 19687, whale line (Eskimo); 19688 sword

blade, remounted; 19689-91, snow goggles (Eskimo); 19692, model iron spear; 19693, model ivory spear; 19694-97, pairs of boots; 19698, pair of shoes; 19700-1, baby's shoes; 19702, children's shoes; 19703 pairs of shoes (Eskimo); 19704-5, bracelets (Eskimo); 19706, bracelets (Eskimo).

From 19687 to 19706 the gift of F. F. Payne, Toronto.

19709, walrus's tusk, Magdalen island. 19710, model Eskimo harpoon with toggle head. 19711, pair of mitts (Eskimo). 19712, pair of mitts (Eskimo). 19713, gun flint, Baby farm, Lambton Mills; Miss Kirkwood. West Toronto Junction. 19714-18, gun flints, Baby farm, York twp.; J. Kirkwood. 19719, fragments of copper, Baby farm, Lambton Mills; Miss Kirkwood, West Toronto Junction. 19720, steel spear-head, Thames river bank, Kent county; W. Jull. 19721, busycon perversum, Fishing island, near Cape Hurd, lake Huron; Sir Sandford Fleming, C.M.G. 19722, knife, grave, Edmondston, Alberta; G. E. Laidlaw. 19723, stone axe, Taylor's mill-dam, river Don; R. T. Snyder, Toronto. 19724, gorget, North Cayuga, Haldimand county. 19725, six arrow points, found on lot 28, con. 2, south of Dundas st., Toronto; R. Sloan. 19726, bird amulet, lot 24, con. 3, south of Dundas St., Toronto; John H. Peel. 19727, stone adze, Dundas st., lot 28, con. 3; R. Sloan. 19728, bowl of pipe, Dundas st., lot 25, con. 11, Esquesing, in the river Credit; R. Sloan. 19729, waterworn pebble, found in gravel on Grand Trunk railway near Clarkson, resembles human workmanship. 19730, piece of worked slate, Bobcaygeon; Harold Cave. 19731, boat shaped amulet, North Cayuga; A. F. Stevenson. 19732, gorget, Norfolk county; J. G. Spain. 19733, clay pipe, lot 33, con. 3, Pickering. 19734, clay pipe head. 19735, worked bone. 19736, worked bone with wavy pattern on border. 19737-9, gambling (?) bones. 19740-8, bone beads. 19749, core of chert. 19750, bone awl or needle, bored lengthwise. 19751, stone, grooved at one end. 19752, bone, partly cut. 19753-63, bone awls or needles. 19764-6, bone needles, eyed. 19767, bone awl (peculiar). 19768, bone awl or marker. 19769, horn tip, worked. 19770-8, arrow points.

(From 19733 to 19769 the gift of Jesse Cober, Cherrywood, Ont.) 19779, clay pipe, locality unknown. 19780, clay pipe, Nottawasaga township; David Boyle. 19781, clay pipe head, lot 12, con. 8, Nottawasaga township; David Boyle. 19782, pipe fragments, York township; B. Jackes. 19783, five arrowheads, Clark county, Kentucky, U.S.A.; Kentucky Geol. Survey, Frankfort. 19784, twelve delicately made arrow-tips—obsidian, jasper, agate and flint, Oregon, U.S.; Dr. Rear, Toronto. 19785, four arrow-points, Nottawasaga township; Albert Loughheed. 19786, fifteen arrow-heads, Lawrenceburg, Ind.; J. Wood, Lawrenceburg. 19787, arrow-head, pure quartz, Guilford county, N. Carolina; Prof. Jos. Moore, Earlham College, Richmond,

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Ind. 19788, four war arrows, West Virginia; Nat. Hist. Soc., Brookville, Ind., U.S. 19789, arrow-head, long neck, Lawrenceburg, Ind.; Dr. Craig, Lawrenceburg. 19790, fifteen arrow-heads, Lawrenceburg, Ind.; J. Wood, Lawrenceburg. 19791, chipped quartz, Grassy Point, Baptiste lake; David Boyle. 19792, arrow-heads, war (7), Mississippi; J. L. Kassebaum, Aurora, Ind. 19793, flints, unusual outline, Alabama; E. F. Hummell, Decatur, Ala. 19794-5, flints, Alabama; E. F. Hummell, Decatur, Ala. 19796, flint, grooved on both sides, McGillivray township, Middlesex; Thos. Edward, W. Matheson, Lucan. 19797, arrow-heads (serrated), Lawrenceburg, Ind.; J. Wood. 19798, flint (serrated) cross-section triangular, Alabama; E. F. Hummell, Decatur, Ala. 19799, spear or arrow-head (serrated), Dearborn, county, Ind.; Dr. Collins, Lawrenceburg, Ind. 19800, flints; Jos. W. Stewart, Strathroy. 19801, flints, lot 18, con. A, Hiron township; Wm. Welsh, Amberley, P.O. 19802, flint, Franklin county, Indiana; Nat. Hist. Soc., Brookville, Ind. 19803, flint (necked and notched), West Middlesex, W. Matheson. 19804, flint, Uxbridge; John Thompson. 19805, flint, McGillivray township; John Taylor, W. Matheson. 19806, arrow-heads, Franklin county, Kentucky; Nat. Hist. Soc., Brookville, Ind. 19807, flints (5), Madison county, Kentucky; Dr. Collins, Lawrenceburg. 19808, flints, Fayette county, Kentucky; Dr. Collins, Lawrenceburg. 19809, jasper, Kemspley farm, near Point Edward, Ontario; Dr. Rear, Toronto. 19810, flint Kemspley farm near Point Edward, Ontario; Dr. Rear, Toronto. 19811, arrowheads, Hamilton county, Ohio; Dr. Collins, Lawrenceburg, Ind. 19812, flint, lot 9, con. 7, McGillivray township; Thos. Mead, W. Matheson. 19813, flints, (4), Alabama; E. T. Hummell, Decatur, Ala. 19814, fine leaf-shaped flint, Southern Ohio; Dr. Freeman, Chicago. 19815, knife or scraper, Clarksville, Ohio; Dr. Freeman, Chicago. 19816, flint, Brookfield, Mo.; Mr. Seeley, Dr. Rear, Toronto. 19817, flints, (5), square necked, Blanshard township, Perth co.; John McQueen, W. Matheson. 19818, knife or spearhead, (jasper), Clarksville, Ohio; Dr. Freeman, Chicago. 19819, flints, (13) North Carolina, E. T. Hummell; Decatur, Ala. 19820, flints, (10), Ohio, Mr. Demming; Xenia, Ohio. 19821, flints, (30), Lawrenceburg, Ind.; J. Wood. 19822, arrowheads, Kentucky; J. Muller, St. Mary's Institute, Dayton, O. 19823, spearheads, Port Huron, Michigan; McMillan, Dr. Rear, Toronto. 19824, copper spear or knife near end of Indian trail on lot 15, con. 8, Belmont twp., Peterboro' co.; H. E. Strickland. 19825, chief's large silver medal; Mrs. Cameron, Goderich. 19826, large water-worn stone, chipped as if for a sinker, lot 35, Lake road east, Bosanquet, Lambton; Alfred Willson. 19827, pair of moccasins, made by the Nascopees, Ungava bay; George B. Boucher, Peterboro'. 19828,

headed tobacco pouch, sealskin; George B. Boucher, Peterboro'. 19829, stone pipe and beaded wooden stem; George B. Boucher, Peterboro'. 19830, weathered knife or spear, Smooth Water lake, near Tamagaming, L. Nipissing; per Aubrey White, Dep. Com. of Crown Lands. 19831, large argillite gouge and chisel combined; Aubrey White, Dep. Com. of Crown Lands. 19832, smoking pipe of wrought iron (sheet bowl and stem made separately, bowl an inch and three-eighths high and probably five-eighths wide before being crushed; stem four and three-eighths inches long and quarter inch in diameter, lot 1, con. 6, near Mississippi R., Drummond twp.; Peter Stewart, per Dr. T. W. Beeman. This specimen is probably of somewhat recent French (or other European) make, as it was found not more than a foot below the surface where, had it lain very long, it would have rusted completely away. 19833 large and partly polished stone axe, edges of shaft one and one-quarter inches thick, left in the pecked state, lot 14, con. 5, Lanark twp., Lanark co.; Wm. J. Affleck and John Affleck, per Dr. T. W. Beeman. 19834, small rubbing-stone of fine grained sandstone, lot 1, con. 6, Drummond twp., Lanark co.; Peter Stewart, per Dr. T. W. Beeman. 19835, small and slightly grooved stone axe, Drummond twp., Lanark co.; J. McEwan, per Dr. T. W. Beeman. 19836, counters used in Iroquois pagan game at wakes (da-hon-kwa-ya-ha), Ind. Res., Tuscarora. 19837, wooden mask, formerly owned by Abram Buck, the chief medicine man, on the Tuscarora Reserve, Ontario. 19838, wooden mask, Tuscarora Reserve, Ontario. 19839, moccasins, made and worn by medicine man, Abram Buck, Tuscarora Reserve. 19840, moccasins, worn by an aged Indian woman, Mrs. Davies, on the Tuscarora Reserve. 19841, woman's rattle (Cayuga) Indian Reserve, Brant co.; Wm. Sandy. 19842-3, bone needles, Walker farm, Brant township, Ont. 19844, bone needle, Sealey farm, Brantford tp., Ont. 19845, bone needle, Walker farm, Brantford tp., Ont. 19846-7, bone needle, Sealey farm, Brantford tp., Ont. 19848, brass awl, Walker farm, Brantford tp., Ont. 19849, bone awl, North Toronto, near Carlton, Ont. 19850, half awl, with a second hole, Sealey farm. 19851-56, bone awls, Walker and Sealey farm. 19857-59, bone awls, Walker farm. 19860-61, bone awls, Kitchen farm, St. George Road, 1½ miles from Brantford, Ont. 19862-73, bone awls, Mitchell or Sealey farm, Brantford, Ont. 19874-83, bone awls, Walker farm, Brantford, Ont. 19884-85, bone awls, North Toronto, near Carlton, Ont. 19886-88, bone awls, Walker farm. 19889-99, iron awls, Walker farm. 19891, brass awl, Walker farm. 19892, large bone tool of unusual form. 19893-95, three foot-bones rubbed flat on the lower side and a rude attempt to burn a x on one side, Walker farm. 19896, ninety-one beads made from the bones of birds. Walker and Sealey farms

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19987-20021, thirty-five tally bones made from the bones of birds, Walker and Sealey farms. 20022-23 flat beads from grave on Walker farm. 20024-25, three small bone tools; North Toronto. 20026, pottery marker (?) Sealey farm. 20027-28, pottery marker, fine lines; Walker farm. 20029, horn rod, $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, Sealey farm. 20030, horn rod, $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches, Walker farm. 20031-33, three spears, Sealey farm. 20034-35, two spears, Walker farm. 20036-39, four arrow straighteners (horn). See fourth annual Archaeological report, page 56, Sealey Farm. 20040-41, two arrow-straighteners, Walker farm. 20042-76, 35 cylindrical pieces of horn, varying from 1 to $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, use unknown; see page 47, Ont. Arch. Report, 1891. 20077, prong of horn, cut and bored for a handle. 20078, partly made bowl for a stone pipe, Walker farm. 20079-80, clay pipes, Walker farm. 20081, stone pipe, Walker farm. 20082, clay pipe, Walker farm. 20083-87, clay pipe bowls, Walker farm. 20088-92, clay pipe bowls, Troy, near Brantford. 20093, clay pipe, Sealey farm. 20094, stone pipe, the bowl shaped like a bird's head, Sealey farm. 20095-96, two clay pipes, Sealey farm. 20097, clay pipe, formed like human head, Sealey farm. 20098, dog's head ornament, forming part of a bowl of a stone pipe, Sealey farm. 20099-20101, three clay pipe bowls, Sealey farm. 20102, small clay bowl (as if made by a child), Sealey farm. 20103-105, clay pipe bowls, Hagersville. 20106, clay pipe bowl; highly ornamented, Brantford city. 20107, clay pipe bowls from grave, Baldwin farm, near Brantford city. 20108, stone pipe bowl, bored for a stem. 20109-112, four unio shells, worn down as if used for smoothing purposes, Walker farm; see 4th An. Rept., page 51. 20113-114, shells used for scraping; see 4th An. Rept., page 51. 20115, rattlesnake shell gorget, $4\frac{1}{2} \times 2$ in., having four holes pierced through near the edge; the holes show signs of considerable wear; from a large ash-heap on the Sealey farm; two feet below the surface. 20116, piece of shell for an ornament, Sealey farm. 20117, unio shell ornament, Walker farm. 20118, string of 257 wampum beads from a grave in Beverly twp. 20119, string of 53 wampum beads, Walker and Sealey farms. 20120, string of 36 beads from a grave near Cayuga. 20121-22, two pieces unio shell, use unknown, Walker farm. 20123, piece of turtle shell with two well-worn holes, and having markings on the surface. 20124, piece of turtle shell, with hole. 20125, shell disc, Eagle Place, near Brantford. 20126, three spiral shell beads, Sealey farm. 20197, catlinite bead, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, Walker farm. 20128, catlinite bead, Sealey and Walker farm. 20129, catlinite bead, Walker farm. 20130, catlinite pendant, markings on both sides, Sealey farm. 20131, string of 63 French beads, from grave at Sullivan's Landing, New York State. 20132,

string of 239 French beads, from grave at Beverly. 20133, slate pendant, Walker farm. 20134, stone pendant, Shellard's farm, near Brantford. 20135-136, beads of bear's teeth, Walker farm, near Brantford. 20137, bead made of a section of fish bone, Sealey farm, near Brantford. 20138, piece of bone showing cut made by a flint saw in the process of needle-making, Walker farm, near Brantford. 20139, bone sawed through longitudinally as in needle-making, Walker farm. 20140-41, two bones partly sawed transversely as in making beads, Walker farm. 20142-4, three pieces of bone from which beads have been cut, Walker farm. 20145, fishing spear from grave, Baldwin's farm, Brantford tp. 20146, unusually formed flint, two notches, from Newport, near Brantford city, 20147-50, four flints, three being arrowheads and one leaf-shaped, from Newport, near Brantford city. 20151-54, four flints, chisel shaped, regular outline, Brantford suburbs. 20155-56, arrowhead and leaf-shaped piece of similar material to the coloured flint of Kentucky, eastern limits of Brantford. 20157, arrowhead, western limits of Brantford. 20158, quartzite, leaf-shaped piece, Shellard's farm, Mt. Pleasant, near Brantford. 20159-185, twenty seven arrowheads and leaf shaped pieces, many of them coloured Kentucky flint, also fine workmanship, Brantford limits. 20186-190, flint knives, Brantford limits. 20191, one slate (woman's) knife, West Brantford. 20192-94, three flints for inserting in war clubs, sand hill near Brantford. 20195-213, nineteen arrowheads (blunt), Brantford limits. 20214-217, two diorite spear and two stone arrowheads, (old), Palmer and Shepherd farms, Mt. Vernon, near Brantford. 20218-20344, a hundred and twenty-seven war-points from farms in the neighborhood of Brantford. 20345 small slate knife, bank of Grand river, Brantford. 20346, small flint; bank of Grand river, Brantford. 20347-628, two hundred and eighty-two arrowheads; district round Brantford. 20629-630, two spear-heads, very regular outline; from Dunnville. 20631-745, a hundred and fifteen spear-heads, from Brantford and Mount Pleasant districts. 20746-49, four celts, part of a number dug up in a small space in the lumber yard of Wisner, Son & Co., Brantford. 20750-858, a hundred and nine celts, from Brantford and Cainsville districts. 20859, flint drill, 3½ ft. long; Sand Hill, near Brantford. 20860, flint drills, Shepherd's farm, Mt. Vernon, near Brantford. 20861, flint drills, Shellard's farm, Mt. Pleasant, near Brantford. 20862-64, three flint drills, Mohawk church fields, near Brantford. 20865-71, seven flint drills, eastern limits of Darling street, Brantford. 20872, one flint drill, Sand Hill, near Brantford. 20873-81, nine flint drills, district round Brantford. 20882-3, two leaf-shaped flints, unfinished, Shellard's farm,

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Mt. Pleasant. 20884-20886, three flint scrapers, unfinished, West Brantford. 20887-20897, eleven arrowheads, unfinished, localities near Brantford. 20898-21063, a hundred and sixty-six flint scrapers, single ends, localities near Brantford. 21064-21071, eight flint scrapers, double ended, localities near Brantford. 21072, iron scraper, Walker farm, Brant township. 21073-21099, twenty-seven flint saws, Sealey and Walker farm, Brantford township. 21100-21101, two Huronian slate chisels, Shellard's farm, Mt. Pleasant. 21102-21103, two stone gouges, localities near Brantford. 21104-21148, forty-five celts or chisels, localities near Brantford. 21149, slate tool, 5½ inches long, the edges running the full length, Walker farm. 21150, diorite tool, Sealey farm. 21151, slate tool, small, Walker farm. 21152, slate gorget, Brantford city. 21153, slate gorget, Shellard farm, Mt. Pleasant. 21154, slate gorget, Tutelo Heights, Mt. Pleasant. 21155, half gorget, S. Thomas farm, Tranquility, near Brantford. 21156, slate gorget with four notches on each edge, Otterville. 21157-21158, two pieces Huronian slate, roughed out for gorgets, Williams farm, Tranquility. 21159, disc, Huronian slate, Eagle Place, near Brantford. 21160, half of banner-stone (catlinite), Shepherd's farm, Brantford. 21161, rubbing stone, Eagle Place, near Walker farm. 21162, rubbing stone, grooved for smoothing arrows, farm, Mt. Vernon. 21163-21170, eight rubbing stones, Sealey and Walker farms. 21171, stone sinker, Sand Hill, near Brantford. 21172-21180, nine hematite paint stones, Sealey and Walker farms. 21181, stone mill, with three deep and three shallow hollows, from the farm of Thos. Brooks, Mt. Pleasant. 21182, pestle for pounding corn, field near Newport. 21183-21184, two discoidal stones, having hollows in each flat side, supposed for games, West Brantford. 21185-21197, thirteen hammer stones, flint, from East, and diorite from West Brantford. 21198, upper part of large pot, Kitchen farm, near St. George road, Brantford. 21199, half of upper part of large pot, Walker farm. 21200, portion of a pot formerly having handles, Walker farm, Brantford township. 21201, fragment of rim indicating an unusual shape, Walker farm, Brantford township. 21202-3, fragments of pottery to which handles were attached, Walker farm, Brantford township. 21204-21205, portions of pots from Sand Hill, near Brantford. 21206-21207, two pieces of a pot at least 17 inches in diameter, Seeley farm. 21208, portion of a large pot, showing marks as if having been formed in a casing of woven grass, Sealey farm. 21209, portion of pot having similar markings, Eagle Place, Brantford township. 21210-21233, twenty-four pieces of large pots, rim patterns, Sealey farm, Brantford township. 21234, portion of pot rudely ornamented with wave lines. 21235, part of small pot having a spout. 21233, portion

of rim of pot having deep serrations. The three above specimens are noticeable as being nearly pure clay, having no micaceous rock incorporated with it, as in most of our Indian pottery; Carlton, near Toronto. 21237-21240, four pieces of pottery, showing the kind of work done by pottery makers, Eagle Place, Brantford. 21241, handle of pot, Walker farm. 21242, portion of small pot, Walker farm. 21243, spout-shaped piece of pottery, use unknown, Walker farm. 21244, clay toy (child's pot), Sealey farm. 21245, plaster cast of Indian's head, pipe ornament, the original in stone, found at Jerseyville, near Brantford. Fifty fragments, consisting of pipe stems and parts of bowls, Walker and Sealey farms. Fifteen fragments of extremely rude attempts at pottery making, Walker farm. 21246, piece of stone, one end showing the marks of a large flint drill, the body covered with lines of an ornamental character, Brantford North; nineteen bears' teeth; two boar's teeth; number of teeth of small animals, as beaver, squirrel, etc.; one beaver tooth and three jaws of small animals; one bear's jaw; thirty-five pieces of deer-horn, some partly worked, thirty pieces of bone beads, etc. (Specimens under 21246 are from the kitchen middens on the Sealey and Walker farms.

(With the assistance of W. Wilkinson, M. A., principal of the Brantford city public schools, I have been able to ascertain the exact situations of the several farms mentioned here from No. 19842 to No. 21246, as follows:—

Walker farm, lot 5, con. 5, Brantford township, Brant county; Thomas farm, lot 27, con. 1, Brantford township, Brant county; Shephard farm, lot 10, con. 5, Brantford township, Brant county; Kitchen farm, lot 33, con. 1, Brantford township, Brant county; Mitchell farm, lot 9, South Ancaster Road; Baldwin farm, Baldwin's survey, Eagle's Nest, Brant county; Shellard farm, Church and Phelps' tract, Brantford township, Brant county; Brooks farm, Stewart and Ruggles' tract, Brantford township, Brant county; Sealey farm, Fairchild's Creek (Whitney's), Brantford township, Brant county.

21247, fragments of clay pot rims—various patterns, from sand hill, and Walker and Sealey farms, Brantford township.

The collection (19842 to 21247) was made by Mr. J. S. Heath, from whom it was procured.

21249, flute made by Hy-joong-kwas, (like 17101, fig. 21, in report for 1898). 21250-1, two paddles used in the ashes ceremony at the Iroquois pagan feasts, Tuscarora. 21252, 18 patterns of tapa cloth (from inner bark of the paper mulberry) formerly used extensively by natives of the South Pacific Islands; Mrs. Forsyth Grant, Toronto. 21253, stone pipe, corniferous limestone Pelee Island; John Henning,

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Pelee Island. 21254, head of 3-barbed bone harpoons (Wood Cree), N. E. shore of Lesser Slave Lake, N.W.T.; W. G. Long, Toronto. 21255, birch-bark bait scent-box (Wood Cree), E. shore of Lesser Slave Lake, N.W.T.; W. G. Long, Toronto. 21256, stone pipe (marble) probably of non-Indian make; bone and stem-socket like a large and a small inverted cone applied to each other; Dugald Fergusson, Sarnia township, per F. F. Evans, Toronto. 21158, photograph of adobé houses, Northern Mexico; Mrs. Joseph Workman, Walsenburg, Colo. 21259, small and rudely executed oil painting of a woman (4 x 5 inches) in black on a white ground; apparently of religious import and very old; Joseph Workman, Walsenburg, Colo. 21260-78, bears' teeth, Kitchen midden; Walker and Sealey's farm, Brantford township. 21279-80, boar's tusks; Walker and Sealey's farm, Brantford township. 21281, several teeth of small animals, including the squirrel and woodchuck. 21282-5, jaw of beaver, and three jaws of smaller animals. 21286, bear's jaw. 21287-321, pieces of deer-horn, partly worked. 21321-51, pieces of bone used in making beads, partly worked.

(From 21260 to 21351 were found in a kitchen midden, or refuse heap, on the Walker and Sealey farm, Brantford township, by Mr. J. S. Heath.)

21352, piece of what may have been a glass candlestick, belonging to one of the early French missions; found at considerable depth, near the Narrows, lake Couchiching, on the site of an old church, about 1870; from Miss M. C. Elliott, Toronto.

21353-4, two water-worn stones having a strong resemblance to grinders, or mullers, lot 1, con. 4, Tay township; Samuel Brown. 21355, celt, lot 22, con. 8, Vespra township; Thomas Dawson. 21356, small bone pendant (?) ornamented with incised lines, E. $\frac{1}{2}$ lot 20, con. 9, Vespra tp.; Peter Curtis. 21357, small celt, E. $\frac{1}{2}$ lot 20, con. 9, Vespra; Peter Curtis. 21358, tooth of small bear (?) E. $\frac{1}{2}$ lot 20, con. 9, Vespra; Peter Curtis. 21359, small bone tool, E. $\frac{1}{2}$ lot 20, con. 9, Vespra; Peter Curtis. 21360, clay pipe bowl, E. $\frac{1}{2}$ lot 10, con. 5, Tay; John Hutchinson. 21361, steel razor (old French), lot 76, con. 1, Tiny; J. Bell. 21362, part of a clay pipe, lot 76, con. 1, Tiny; J. Bell. 21363, unfinished stone pipe (vasiform), lot 11, con. 6, Tay township; C. E. Newton, Esq. 21364, clay pipe (trumpet-mouthed), lot 11, con. 6, Tay; W. Bennett. 21365, sheet brass coiled conically, perhaps for an arrow tip, lot 11, con. 6, Tay; C. E. Newton, Esq. 21366, bit of sheet brass, lot 11, con. 6, Tay; C. E. Newton, Esq. 21367, iron knife, lot 11, con. 6, Tay; C. E. Newton, Esq. 21368, beaver tusk, lot 11, con. 6, Tay; C. E. Newton, Esq. 21369, large glass bead (red, white and blue). E. $\frac{1}{2}$ lot 2, con. 6, Tay, farm of Hector McLeod; from his son, Thomas McLeod. 21370-71, bone awls, lot 10, con. 14, Oro township; Thomas Morrison.

21372, part of small, cylindrical, flat-bottomed, clay vessel, with unusual style of marking—probably finger-nail; lot 10, con. 14, Oro; Thomas Morrison. 21373, two bone beads—one within the other, as found; lot 10, con. 14, Oro; Thomas Morrison. 21374, rapier 23½ in. long (probably French), bearing near the hilt end the legend "[V]R BVM DOMINI ANNO" on one side, and on the other "[M]ANET ET AETERNVN 1619" (the final *n* should, of course, be *m*); lot 99, con. 1, Tiny township; found about twenty years ago; now presented by Samuel D. Frazer, Esq. 21375-434, Huron crania from an ossuary on N. ½ of lot 25, con. 12, Innisfil township, Simcoe county. This grave was estimated to contain the remains of 125 persons, and the skulls were exhumed by Harry W. Mayor, assisted by Thomas Redfern.

(From 21353 to 21434, per A. F. Hunter, Barrie.)

21435, fine jasperoid knife or spear-head, 5½ in. long; Dr. F. B. McCormick, south-east corner of Pelee Island. 21436, small and almost perfectly made celt; Dr. F. B. McCormick, Pelee Island. 21437, small and rudely made celt, Dr. McCormick, Pelee Island. 21438, Hammer-stone (degraded celt) of syenite, with whitish amygdaloidal softer masses, from ¼ in. to 1½ in. diameter; Dr. McCormick, Pelee Island. 21439, rudely formed small celt, only partly polished; Dr. McCormick, Pelee Island. 21440, well made small celt; Mark McCormick, Pelee Island. 21441, small and roughly-made gorget (two holes), apparently from a flat pebble; J. C. McCormick, Pelee Island. 21442-3, two roughly made small celts; Wm. Monaghan, Pelee Island. 21444, small and well-made celt; Matthew Lupberger, Pelee Island. 21445, small, well-polished celt; Herbert Bates, Pelee Island. 21446, small and accurately made celt; Samuel Piper, Pelee Island, west side. 21447-8, two celts—one very small (2½ in. long), from south-west quarter of mound on lot 36; Pelee Island, south-east. 21449, two small flints from mound, lot 36, Pelee Island. 21450, unfinished gorget 3½ by 2 in. and fully half an inch thick; mound, lot 36, Pelee Island; 21450, bone awl 3¾ in. long; mound, lot 36, Pelee Island. 21452, large astragalus, bear's tooth, small rodent's tooth, and spine from fin of large fish; mound, lot 36, Pelee Island. 21453, four flints; mound, lot 39, Pelee Island. 21454, The only two pieces of pottery found in the Pelee Island mounds; mound, lot 39, two feet deep. 21455-8, 18 arm and leg bones from mound, lot 36, Pelee Island. 21459, three quarts of carbonized corn and beans; mound on lot 39, Pelee Island. 21460, four small copper beads from mound on lot 39, Pelee Island. 21461, catlinite pipe, inlaid with lead, from Mr. Alfred Willson, to whom it was given by Hon. William Robinson, who procured it on the north shore of Lake Superior forty years ago. 21462-3, photographs of one of the Pharaohs,

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(Rameses II, now in the Gizeh Museum, Cairo; he was the son of Seti I, who ordered the slaughter of the infants *temp.* Moses.) mummified—one showing the wrappings, and one an enlarged view of the face; Miss Jennie B. Moore, Toronto. 21464, conch, used to call people to the long-house on the Grand River reserve, Tuscarora township, Ont. 21465, small drum used at pagan dances on the Grand River reserve. 21466, horn rattle, used in certain dances on the Grand River reserve. 21467, woman's small turtle rattle; Grand River reserve. 21468, corn husk mask used in dances, Grand River reserve. 21469, wooden dish and 6 peach stones, used by pagan Indians in a game, on the Grand River reserve, Tuscarora township. 21470, game or conjuring apparatus found in a cache in the woods, near Yellow Girl Bay, Lake of the Woods, by Prof. A. B. Willmott, who presents it. It consists of 36 pieces of box-alder (?) each nearly seven inches long and from $\frac{3}{8}$ to $\frac{5}{8}$ inches in diameter, (peeled stems or branches) strung together side by side, by means of a cord passing round them near each end. Each stick is marked with eight roughly oval, brown spots—four on one side, and four on the opposite side; 21472, argillite axe. 21473, small, roughly made celt. 21474, partly worked soapstone. 21475, well marked pieces of pottery. 21476, fragment of cylindrically formed stone. 21477-9, small stone discs. 21472 to 21479, from Isaac Bowins, lot 51, front range, Bexley township. 21480, clay pipe head, broken. 21481, ditto. 21482, roughly-made celt, sharpened corner wise. 21483-4, small roughly-made celts. 21485, bone bead.

(21480 to 21485, from D. Hilton, lot 12, con. 7, site 31, Laxton township.)

21486, small water-worn stone, Ghost Isl. Balsam L. 21487, vertebral bone of large fish, ditto. 21488-90, flint chips, ditto. 21491, unfinished Huronian slate knife, block 9, Bexley township. 21492, water-worn stone, ditto. 21493, rough flint. 21494, partly worked Huronian slate. 21495-7, numerous flints and flint chips.

(21486 to 21497, from J. W. Laidlaw, "The Fort," Balsam Lake.) 21498, well made celt. 21499, oval hammerstone. 21500, part of bone awl. 21501, small bone bead. 21502, twenty-one fragments of pottery.

(21498 to 21502, from D. Brown, lot 23, con. 1, Fenelon township.) 21503, fine hornstone celt, and 21504, small celt or chisel, lot 9, con. 8, Sturgeon, Fenelon. 21505, part of broad, thin celt, lot 9, con. 8, Fenelon. 21506, soapstone pipe with deeply cut triangular designs; it is three inches long, roughly quadrangular in cross-section, and tapers from an inch and three-fourths in width at the top to an inch at the base. 21507, very fine, and almost perfect clay pipe. 21508, bird's head from clay

pipe. 21509-28, fragmentary heads and stems of clay pipes. 21529, barbed bone fishhook, lot 12, con. 1, Fenelon. 21530, very fine clay pipe, stem broken. 21531, small human head carved in stone—probably made by a white man. 21532, small piece of sheet brass. 21533, small arrow-head. 21534-5, bone beads. 21536, small bone awl. 21537, small soapstone disc bead.

(21506 to 21537, from E. W. Glaspell, who found them on lot 18, con. 13, Tiny township, Simcoe, unless otherwise noted above.)

21538-41, small bone awls. 21542, clay pipe-bowl, and stem of another. 21543-47, bone beads. 21548-51, phalangeal bones flattened by grinding. 21552, bone bangle—notched for suspension. 21553, pointed tool of deer-horn. 21554, piece of large bone—much broken—ornamented with deeply cut quadrangular design. 21555, small piece of smoothly worked soapstone. 21556, very well made small arrow-head (chert). 21557, finely marked fragment of pottery. 21558-64, small, roughly made celts.

(21538 to 21564, from G. Rumney, lots 56 and 57 front range, Somerville township.)

21565, lower half of large flat celt, well sharpened. 21566, roughly-made celt, sharpened at both ends. 21567, small stone gouge, unpolished. 21568, water-worn stone 4 inches diameter, somewhat used as a mealing or upper grinding stone.

(21565 to 21568, from Alexander McKenzie, lot 22, con. 1, Fenelon.)

21569-72, rough celts. 21573, imperfect gouge. 21574, cup, coral (*cystiphyllum* sp. ?). 21575, iron tomahawk (no stamp).

(21569 to 21575, from A. McArthur, lot 26, con. 4, Fenelon.)

21576, piece of Huronian slate, 6 x 4 inches, and fully an inch thick in the middle—quadrangular in form and thinned along the edges, probably intended for a gorget; Charles Youill, Thorah. 21577, large iron tomahawk. 21578, leaf-shaped scraper, slightly curved. 21579, slate gorget or pendant, 4½ inches long, imperfect, 2 holes. 21580-83, small and imperfect celts. 21584, small mealing stone (gneiss) 8½ by 7 inches. 21585, twenty-two fragments of pottery.

(21577 to 21585, from Neil Sinclair, lot 25, con. 3, Fenelon township.)

21586, part of clay pipe bowl, bearing a grotesque human face. 21587, small stone pipe bowl of unusual form—roughly representing an animal's head, the mouth forming the stem-hole. 21588, three land shells (*melantho*) body whorl of each perforated for stringing.

(21586 to 21588, from Miss Alison Campbell, Kirkfield. Found S.P.R., Eldon township.)

21589, iron tomahawk of unusual shape, and having a semi-circular edge; John Martin, Uphill, Arden township.)

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21590, small and well-made slate pendant, $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches long, nearly an inch wide at one end and tapering to a rounded point at the other,—one hole near the wide end. Wm. Kennedy, Bobcaygeon; found on Ball Island at junction of Chemong, Pigeon and Buckhorn lakes, Peterboro' Co. 21591, bowl of large plain clay pipe, widening from an inch and a fourth at the junction with the stem to two inches at the tip—imperfect. 21592, small, rough plain clay pipe, almost whole. 21593, part of clay pipe bowl, ornamented with lines and dots. 21594-5, fragments of clay pipes. 21596, bone celt. 21597, ten fragments of marked pottery.

(21591 to 21597 from James Moore, lots 19 and 20, G.B.B. Bexley Township.)

21598, plain clay pipe bowl, F. Widdis, lot 12, N. W. B., Bexley township. 21599, pipe-bowl, ornamented with two collars, each having three rings. 21600, slick or smoothing stone(?) Joseph Shields, Victoria road. 21601, large and well made clay pipe bowl, Joseph Chant, Sunderland. 21602, soap-stone pipe, rudely carved to represent an animal's head, probably that of a moose, E. Lytle, S. P. R., Bexley. 21603, small polished celt. 21604-5, hammer-stones. 21606, human mask from bowl of clay pipe. 21607, very small, unfinished soapstone pipe, rudely carved, perhaps representing some animal at rest. 21608-9, slick or smoothing stones. 21610, bone spear or harpoon, four inches long, four semi-barbs on each edge of point. 21611, bone needle. 21612-18, pipe bowls and stems, imperfect. 21619, perforated stone disc. 21620, seventeen clay discs, unperforated, made from broken pottery. 21621, half of a perforated stone disc. 21622, ten stone discs, unperforated, from $\frac{3}{4}$ -inch to 2 inches in diameter.

(21603, to 21722 from A. Ferguson, lot 12, con. 1, Fenelon.)

21623, slightly grooved stone hammer very well made; William Hoyle, Long Point, Fenelon township. 21624, six clay pipe stems. 21625, fossil (Murchisonia) from ashes bed. 21626, small hammer-stone. 21627, small thin celt. 21628, eight bone beads. 21629, part of very small clay vessel. 21630, horn spear point, with hole for handle attachment, hollowed also to receive a handle. 21631, flattened phalangeal bones. 21632, perforated bear's tooth bangle. 21633, bone bangle. 21634, quartz scraper.

(21624, to 21634 from Neil Clark, lot 12, con 1, Fenelon township.)

21635, clay pipe slightly ornamented with three bands and a row of dots round the rim; G Winterbourn, lot 11, con. 8, Laxton township. 21636-38, fragments of pottery. 21639, soap-stone pipe unfinished, but probably intended to represent an owl; G. Staples, Norland. (See Mr. Laidlaw's notes). 21640, numerous

fragments of pottery; G. Lytle, lot 69, Frank R. Somerville. 21641, several well-marked fragments of pottery. 21642, piece of argillite six inches long, three and a-half wide and three-fourth inches thick, sharpened at one end, upper end of perfect tool missing. 21643, part of rubbing-stone. 21644-8, roughly made celts. 21649, large disc shell scraper. 21650-1, animals' teeth and fragments of bones.

(21641 to 26651, from Wm. Halliday, lots 11 and 12, con. 8, Laxton township).

21652, bone bead, colored with pink cross-bars. 21653, small arrow-head, finely made, no barbs, butt, wedge-shaped. 21654, bear-tooth knife. 21655-6, bone beads. 21657, bone awl seven inches long. 21658, small, tool from deer horn tip. 21659-61, bone awls. 21662-73, stone discs, unperforated. 21674-7, stone discs, perforated. 21679-81, clay pipe heads. 21682-4, very small stone discs, not exceeding a half inch in diameter. 21685-90, clay discs from old pottery, unperforated. 21691-2, small soapstone discs, perforated. 21693, small hammer-stone, roughly square in cross section. 21694, slick-stone. 21695-6, rough flints.

(21652 to 21696, lot 5, con. 5, Bexley township.)

21697, bone needle. 21698, clay pipe, imperfect. 21699, curiously formed bone hook. 21700-4, clay pipe stems. 21705, hammer-stone. 21706-19, clay discs, unperforated. 21720 bear's tooth.

(21997 to 21720, from Long Point, Fenelon township.)

21721, rough stone disc. 21722, partly worked stone, perhaps for a disc. 21723, large (one inch diameter) soapstone bead. 21724-6, clay pipe stems. 21727, tip of antler $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches long, bored at base lengthwise. 21728, very well formed and highly ornamented bone awl. (See Mr. Laidlaw's description). 21729, bone awl. 21730, very small bone awl. 21731, knife made from small bear's tooth. 21732, bear's tooth. 21733, five land shells perforated for beads. 21734, clay disc. 21735, small piece of graphite, for paint, perhaps. 21736, soapstone bead. 21737, long bone needle, Charles Grilse.

(21721 to 21737, from lots 44 and 45, Eldon.)

21738-9, contents of two graves, lot 23, con. 2, Fenelon township. 21740, long bone awl. 21741-4, short bone awls. 21745, fox's (?) tooth. 21746, small, curiously formed bone. 21747, hammer-stone. 21748, two fragments of pottery, one bearing a small human head moulded on the outside of the lip—very unusual in Ontario. 21749, stone disc $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter. 21750-6, clay discs from broken pottery. 21757, fragments of pottery from inside of embankment, lot 23, con. 2, Fenelon township. 21758, large number of pottery fragments marked with various designs from different places in North Victoria. 21759, seven fragments, comprising almost the whole of the

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rim of a clay pot, six inches across the mouth, from Neil Sinclair, lot 25, con. 2, Fenelon township. 21760, mealing stone, Neil Clarke, lot 12, con. 1, Fenelon township.

(From 21472 to 21760 includes the collection made by Mr. George E. Laidlaw during the year, and now added to the museum.)

21761, large and somewhat rudely formed pestle, Lytton, Brit. Col., Wm. C. Perry, Winnipeg.

21762, amulet (?) of Huronian slate, finely made, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick, truly bored through its greatest width and hollowed on one side in line with the hole, James A. Mather, New Lowell, Sunnidale township, Simcoe county.

21763, femur of moose worked to two sharp edges along its length, probably for use in carrying skins. Red Pine Point, Grassy Lake, between Montreal river and Lady Evelyn lake, T. Southworth, Toronto.

21764, photograph of Mexican Indians. 21765, photograph of Mexican adobe house. 21766, photograph of Indian miners on the Thompson river. 21767, photograph of Moqui Indians.

21764 to 21767 from Mrs. J. H. Thompson, Toronto.

NOTES ON SOME SPECIMENS.

CLAY PIPES.



(20099).

Fig. 1— $\frac{1}{4}$ dia.

Although clay pipes of the general form, shown by figure (1) are not uncommon, this represents the only one having the bulbous portion of the bowl ornamented, otherwise than with upright, horizontal, or diagonal lines. The undulating lines on this specimen are, therefore, probably a mere continuous way of forming what would otherwise have been opposing sets of zigzags, in the making of which, without lifting the hand, the corners have become rounded. The work is quite as well done as

might be expected from any white workman to-day, guided only by dexterity. This was one of three clay pipes found together, by Mr. J. S. Heath on the Sealey farm, Brantford township.

In figure (2) we have an illustration of what may be called a "trick pipe." Not much skill has been shown in modelling the features, but in some other respects the pipe is peculiar. The perforated ear-like projections are quite unusual, as are also the irregular lines on the jaw, extending from mouth to ears. On the right side of the face the line is somewhat sharply zigzag, but on the left side it is more wavy. Perhaps the oddest feature of this



(20097)

Fig. 2— $\frac{1}{4}$ dia.

pipe is the hole representing the mouth of the face. It connects with the inside of the bowl so that when the smoker blew back into his lighted pipe the smoke would issue from this orifice. Found by Mr. J. S. Heath on the Sealey farm, Brantford township.



(20106)

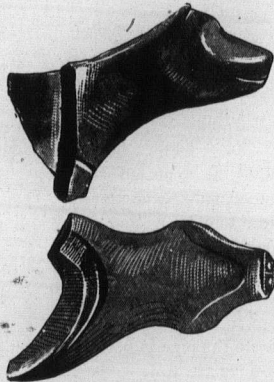
Fig. 3— $\frac{1}{2}$ dia.

The style of ornamentation in the clay pipe here illustrated is quite different from that of any other pipe or any other bit of pottery we have. The three prominent bosses, two of which remain, and the two that rise scarcely above the body of the bowl, form a design greatly in advance of the usual simple arrangement of lines and dots. One of the high bosses has been destroyed so that nothing can be said of it, except that in all probability it resembled its opposite one above, and in line with the stem, but the latter differs from the third at the base of the bowl, one being relieved by means of three inside lines running around it, while the other has lines up and down. Each of the three is bordered by a series of short, radiating lines around the base, while the two plain bosses are encircled by dots. In each of the two remaining high ones a deep pit marks the centre. Between and above the bosses, and immediately below the rings around the upper end are four groups of horizontal dots, varying in number from five to seven. There is nothing at all about the pattern suggestive of European contact, and yet the whole of the work has been done with a delicacy of touch and a degree of exactness quite unusual. This pipe which formed part of Mr. Heath's collection, was found within the limits of the city of Brantford.

STONE PIPES.

Heads of quadrupeds, snakes and birds were often carved on stone pipes or moulded on clay ones, the accompanying figure, full size, is very likely intended to represent the head of a dog, and the workmanship is of a very superior order, the successfulness of attempts to bring out details, being quite marked. Cheeks, ears, eyes, nose, nostrils and mouth are all well shown, as is even the underside of the lower jaw, which shows suspiciously "white" details.

Since the piece became detached from the pipe, it has been found by some native, who has made a good beginning in cutting off the lower



(200981).

Fig. 4—Full size.

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and pointed portion of the fragment to reduce it once more to symmetry, and perhaps for use as an ornament.

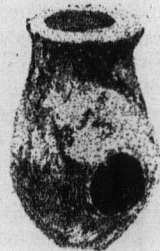
The material is a dark gray lime-stone, strongly resembling our Marmora lithographic stone. It takes a fairly good polish, and as we have a few other well-carved specimens of the same material, it would seem to be well-adapted for fine work. It was found by Mr. J. S. Heath on the Sealey farm, Brantford township, Brant county.



(20078)

Fig. 5— $\frac{1}{2}$ diameter.

Fig. 6 illustrates a type of pipe found more frequently east of Toronto than west of it, the latter district being hitherto represented in the museum by only three specimens—one from Wentworth, one from Welland, and one from Elgin. This one is from Pelee Island, where it was found by Mr. John Henning. It is made of the corniferous limestone that forms the island, and although the pipe is considerably weathered, it is still in good shape.



(21253)

Fig. 6— $\frac{1}{2}$ dia.

(21639)

Fig. 7— $\frac{1}{2}$ dia.

In figure 5 we have an illustration of what was intended to be an unusually large stone pipe-head. The boring of the bowl has not been carried beyond a depth of three-sixteenths of an inch, and a bare beginning of the stem-hole appears a little more than an inch below the collar-notch on one of the edges, for the specimen in cross section is oval, the diameters being two and three-eighths inches by one and three-fourths, while the length is three and five-eighths inches. That it is very old is evidenced from the patina that has partly covered it. This is shown by the lighter portion of the engraving. Walker farm, Brantford township; Collector, J. S. Heath.

From the Rideau Valley, North Hastings and Victoria county, we have twelve excellent specimens of this general outline, and three from Nottawasaga and Whitchurch to our north. The only other pipe I saw on Pelee Island was of the same shape as this one, both being round in cross section, while nearly half of all the others in our cases, are either oval, transversely, or slightly flattened on two opposite sides.

It is noteworthy that this pipe has no string-attachment hole, as have most pipes of this kind.

The pipe represented by figure 7 is of soapstone, and was found by Mr. G. Staples, of Norland, and comes to us through Mr. Geo. E. Laidlaw. It belongs to a class of which we have already had several from the same locality, and appears to have been intended to imitate an owl, but as it is unfinished, one can be safe only in stating that it was meant to represent some kind of bird. The work is not nearly so well done on this pipe as on the bear and eagle specimens from the same locality—this is evident, even in its incomplete state.

From the same district, Mr. Laidlaw has forwarded a number of other stone pipes, all possessed of unusual features. One of these, also of soapstone, resembles the head of some quadruped (probably that of a moose, as suggested by Mr. Laidlaw), but without ears. The stem-hole is bored in the middle of the face, the nose forming the base of the bowl. This pipe was found by Mr. E. Lytle, in Bexley township.

Those who have hitherto regarded Indian pipes of all shapes as examples of purely Indian art, and in many cases, as extremely ancient examples, will be surprised to learn from the most recent work on this subject, by Mr. Jos. D. McGuire, in the (just out) annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1897, that all pipes except those of the straight, tubular form, are probably of comparatively modern origin, dating since the Discovery, and owing their forms directly or indirectly to European influence. Apart from this view, Mr. McGuire's essay is a most exhaustive and instructive presentation of the whole subject, and is amply illustrated from specimens in United States museums.

BONE.

Bone implements as a rule seldom vary from a few well established models, but the form shown by figure 8 is not only an exception but a very beautiful one, from the Sealey farm, Brantford township, where the three ardent amateurs, Messrs. Heath, Waters and Crouse, found so many excellent specimens a few years ago.

The marking of pottery has been suggested as a possible use for this article, but there does not appear to be any reason why such an elaborate piece of workmanship should have been made for so simple a purpose. Besides, as nothing like this has ever been met with before, the probabilities do not lie in the suggested direction.

The hole has not been bored, but worked out by scooping.

In former reports reference has been made to the tedious operations of the Indians in separating one portion of bone, or of stone, from another. Figure 9 shows the result of such an operation on a bone ten and a half inches long, cut lengthwise. Throughout the greater part



(20,026)
Fig. 8— $\frac{1}{2}$ dia.



(195)
Fig. 9—
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of the distance the material has been sawn through to the marrow, but near the smaller end cutting has been only half done and the parts then riven asunder.

The average thickness thus cut is fully one-fourth of an inch and the length about nine inches. Flint and water were probably the agents used, and the marks made in the operation are easily seen. On the opposite and convex side the beginning of another cut has been made, no doubt with the intention of procuring from this piece two pointed tools such as we speak of as awls or needles, although the largest of this shape were probably employed for a different purpose.

Bone implements of such large size are seldom found, but one almost exactly the length of the bone in question was discovered by Mr. G. E. Laidlaw on lot 5, con. 5, township of Bexley, Victoria county. A half-sized figure of this very fine specimen will be found on page 22 in the Report for 1897-8.

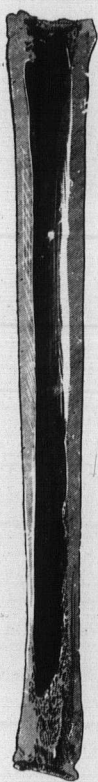
The specimen illustrated here was found in Brantford township by Mr. J. S. Heath.

PHALANGAL BONES.

The very considerable number of phalangeal bones that are found on old village and camp-sites, especially when such bones are rubbed down on one or on both sides until holes are the result, has always been a puzzle. The most commonly accepted theory is that the bones were in some way used as whistles, but nobody has ever been able to produce a sound from them.

Other bones of this kind are simply rubbed down on one side until a perfectly flat surface has been formed, while the opposite, unrubbed side is marked in different ways as if by burning. Burning is surmised because on some specimens the substance of the bone having been injured on account of the operation has scaled off, while in other cases the bone is discolored just as if the result of burning; besides, in some instances, where a little scaling off has taken place it can be seen that the discoloration extends beyond the surface.

In a series of eight here figured, in six cases the marks are simply bars, numbering from four to six, while one bears an S-like mark. On the fifth of the series there is no discoloration whatever, but six short cross depressions are quite distinguishable. The sixth is the



(18992)

Fig. 9-1 dia.

only one (among nearly fifty of such specimens) that has bars on the flattened side. On a few are the remains of marks that suggest an attempt to produce a cross; but the scaling of the bone where the lines may be supposed to have met, renders it difficult to speak with certainty on this point.

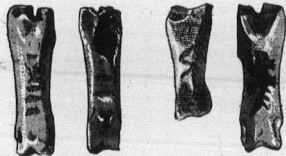
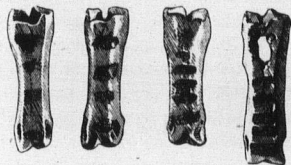


Fig. 10— $\frac{1}{2}$ diameter.

Whatever may have been the purpose of preparing such bones in the way first referred to, it would seem almost certain that in the latter condition they were employed in some game.

The specimens figured were collected with many others not quite so distinctly marked, in York township, York county (within a few miles of Toronto) and in Brantford township, county of Brant.

On the last of the bones figured will be seen what suggests the idea of a turtle. The jaws open sidewise, and similarly the notches that mark the tail are shown. This somewhat remarkable specimen I found on the Braeside farm, Richmond Hill, about thirty years ago. An old camp site marked the place, and from the beds of ashes several phalangeal bones were taken, but all the others were distinguished by bars like those seen in the engraving.

I am indebted to Mr. Stewart Culin, Director of the Museum of Archaeology and Palæontology in the University of Pennsylvania, for the following note as to the use of such bones for gaming purposes. As Mr. Culin has made a special study not only of Indian games, but of games universal, his opinions are most valuable. Having examined some bones I sent him, similar to those here figured, he wrote:—

"The phalangeal bones of deer showing much use and scraped flat on one side might have been used as gaming implements, but this cannot be decided as yet with certainty. Such bones perforated and strung on a cord are used in a kind of cup and ball game among the Plains tribes. Some tribes of the Alaskan Eskimo employ the phalangeal bones of the seal in a game, tossing the bones of one flipper up and winning or losing accordingly as they fall. They also have a similar game of tossing one bone, using the others as counters, as boys play for marbles. This is the nearest parallel I have yet found. The astragalus, I believe, was employed in games before white contact, but even here the evidence is not conclusive.

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"Next to the astragalus, the phalangeal bone is universally the favorite bone used in games. In Russia the children set them up in a row and shoot at them with marbles, under the name of 'little women.'"

Readers interested in this subject will find several references to bone games in Mr. Culin's exhaustive work, "Chess and Playing Cards," in the report of the Smithsonian Institution, for 1896.

RATTLESNAKE SHELL GORGET.

As a religious or ceremonial symbol, the serpent has always held an important place among primitive peoples, as well as among peoples too far advanced to be so characterized. On this continent the most venerated, or most feared creature of the kind, was the rattlesnake (*Crotalus horridus*), in the north, and probably some other species in southern latitudes.

In Ontario we have not much to show us that the serpent was regarded in any very special sense, if we except the Otonabee mound, but just that it played a part in aboriginal mythology; a part apparently of less prominence than that of the turtle, or the bear, or the eagle. That the rattlesnake ranked above other serpents as a bugaboo is probably due to its ability to produce a sound at one end and to inject poison at the other.

In some of the southern states, more particularly in Tennessee, a considerable number of rattlesnake gorgets, made from the widest part of large conchs, have been found, but until quite recently nothing of the sort has appeared in Ontario. Indeed, any kind of engraved shell in this province is a rarity, for besides the one here referred to, the only specimen in the museum is that figured and described on page 57 of our report for 1896-97—from the Miller mound at the

mouth of the Otonabee river. Rattlesnake gorgets are so called because there are engraved on the concave sides of the shell highly conventionalized representations of the animal in question, but as Professor W. H. Holmes says: "To one who examines this design for the first time it seems a most inexplicable puzzle, a meaningless grouping of curved and



Fig. 11—4 dia., Tennessee.

straight lines, dots and perforations. We notice, however," he continues, "a remarkable similarity in the designs, the idea being radically the same in all specimens, and the conclusion is soon reached that

there is nothing haphazard in the arrangement of the parts, and that every line must have its place and purpose. The design is in all cases inclosed by two parallel border lines, leaving a plain belt from one-fourth to three-fourths of an inch in width around the edge of the disk. All simple lines are firmly traced, although somewhat scratchy, and are seldom more than one-twentieth of an inch in width or depth.

"In studying this design the attention is first attracted by an eye-like figure near the left border. This is formed of a series of concentric circles, the number of which varies from three in the most simple to twelve in the more elaborate forms. The diameter of the outer circle of this figure varies from one-half to one inch. In the centre there is generally a small conical depression or pit. The series of circles is partially inclosed by a looped band, one-eighth of an inch in width, which opens downwards on the left; the free ends extending outward to the border line, gradually nearing each other and forming a kind of neck to the circular figure. This band is in most cases occupied by a series of dots or conical depressions, varying in number from one to thirty. The neck is decorated in a variety of ways: by dots, by straight and curved lines, and by a cross-hatching that gives a semblance of scales. A curious group of lines occupying a crescent-shaped space at the right of the circular figure and enclosed by two border lines must receive particular attention. This is really the front part of the head—the jaws and muzzle of the creature represented. The mouth is always clearly defined, and is mostly in profile, the upper jaw being turned abruptly upwards, but, in some examples, an attempt has been made to represent a front view, in which case it presents a wide V-shaped figure. It is, in most cases, furnished with two rows of teeth, no attempt being made to represent a tongue. The spaces above and below the jaws are filled with lines and figures, which vary much in the different specimens: a group of plume-like figures extends backwards from the upper jaw to the crown, or, otherwise this space is occupied by an elongated perforation. The body is represented encircling the head in a single coil, which appears from beneath the neck on the right, passes around the front of the head, and terminates at the back in a pointed tail with well defined rattles. . . . In some cases one or more incised bands cross the body in the upper part of the curve.*

From this description, as well as from figure 11 it will at once be seen that the specimen now in our hands (figure 12) is incomplete, but there cannot be a doubt as to its identity in design with the gorgets described by Prof. Holmes.

*From Art in Shell of the Ancient Americans, by Wm. H. Holmes, in the Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology 1880-81, pp. 290-1.

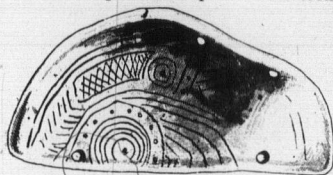


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The straight edge in figure 12 still shows marks of the sawing that was required to separate this from the other portion, but it is, of



(30, 165).

Fig. 12— $\frac{1}{2}$ diameter.

course, impossible to say whether the cutting was performed after an accidental break had spoiled the whole gorget, or whether an entire object had been cut in two for any reason. In addition to the original suspension holes, other two have been bored near the straight edge, no doubt that the gorget might hang more evenly, in keeping with its change of shape, yet without any regard to the position of the figure which would now be upside down. It is observable too, that the more recently formed holes bear even deeper signs of wear than the original ones do. Still further comparing this specimen with perfect gorgets, it will be seen that only the tail and adjoining section remain while most of two other sections on a convex part of the shell are nearly worn out by contact with the human body—presumably. Of the second section from the tail, a little cross-hatching remains, and to the right are the three dots in line belonging to a bar that has disappeared; while further on still, is a single dot which was no doubt within two circular lines like those that remain, and near the dot are portions of the parallel lines separating the design from the border. The chevron, or diagonally opposed lines to indicate the tail are not so well made as those on most of the specimens figured in archaeological books, but they show clearly enough the intention of the design.

The fact that, so far as known, this is the only specimen of its kind found in Ontario is of itself almost sufficient to warrant the belief that it is accidental, intrusive, imported; and we may go so far as to say that the secondary wearing of the gorget upside down would tend to show that the owner of this portion either did not know, or did not care how it should be suspended, in which case it is plain that the symbolic nature of the work possessed no interest for him, and that he wore the gorget simply as a gewgaw, or because the lines may have suggested some "big medicine" on account of their being quite unlike anything he had ever seen before.

Why the body is usually divided into four sections separated by four circular figures has never been explained. We know that the number four had a peculiar significance to the ancient people, but this affords us no clue respecting the reason for its application in the present case any more than it does as to why circles, and sometimes bars, are used at all.

The gorget was found by Mr. J. S. Heath in a large bed of ashes, and fully two feet below the surface, on the Sealey farm, Brantford township.

HURON CRANIA.

Among sixty skulls received recently from Mr. Harry Mayor, who took them from an ossuary on the north half of lot 25, concession 12,

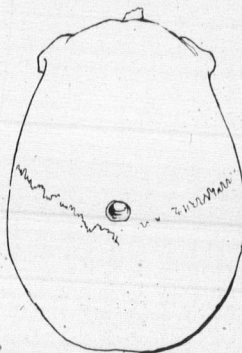


Fig. 13.

Innisfil, Simcoe county, there are many that possess strongly marked features. In one, that of a child getting its second teeth, the metopic suture persists; in several cases the occipital protuberance is very large, and Wormian bones appear in about forty per cent, sometimes in very unusual places. In two skulls they exist on the fronto-parietal suture—in one case on the right side, about five-eighths of an inch below the fontanel, and in the other, half as low on the left. As to general form, the dolicocephalic probably prevails, but no measurements have yet been made.

Two of the skulls are perforated as may be seen from figures 13 and 14, one with three holes almost immediately behind the frontal suture, and the other with one in front of it, and close to the fontanel. In the former case, the holes are about an inch and three-fourths apart, from centre to centre, and half an inch in diameter, while in the latter the hole is only about five-sixteenths of an inch in diameter, not reckoning the counter sunk edge.

Nothing can be clearer than that those openings were made after death, unless, indeed, they were made *immediately* before it, for there is no appearance of growth subsequent to the operation as would be seen had the heads been trephined successfully. In figure 13 the hole has been drilled, but in the other case the holes have been made by cutting—perhaps only enlarged by this means after drilling.

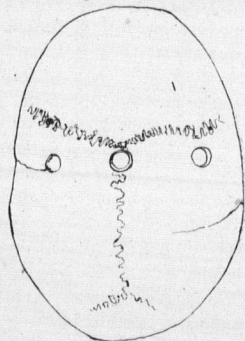


Fig. 14.

Dr. A. Primrose, professor of anatomy and director of the anatomical department in the University of Toronto, has, since the above was written, examined the perforations in the skulls, and confirms the opinion here offered.

IROQUOIS MEDICINE MAN'S MASK.



The mask represented by figure 15 is a rare and valuable one. It is said to be the oldest, with one exception, that was on the Six Nation Reserve this year, when it came into our possession. It was made about seventy years ago, by John Styres (We-hwa-gēh'-ti—Carrying News on his Back) who still figures as the leading "preacher" among the pagans on the reserve. He is a nephew of Hy-joong-kwas (He tears Everything)* who has for many years been Chief Medicine Man, wearing this mask on all ceremonial occasions, in connection with the False Face Society, as well as at feast mask-dances in the longhouse.

Although now too old to act in his official capacity, it was not without some hesitation that he concluded to give up the mask for "a consideration." With the assistance of Dah-kah-he-dond-yeh as interpreter, I received from Hy-joong-kwas the following account of how this mask originated:

* For portrait and reference to Hy-joong-kwas, see plate XV. in last year's report.

Fig. 15.

(24470)

MASK MYTH.

"After the big flood the original Mask or False Face was looking about him, and it was not long before he saw Niyoh, and Niyoh saw him. The two began to converse, when Niyoh, thinking that the Mask assumed too much authority, said to him: 'Did you make the land?' The Mask replied 'I did.' 'No you did not,' said Niyoh, 'I made the land, and if you think you have so much power, I would like to see what you can do.' The False Face enquired: 'What do you want me to do?' Niyoh looking around and seeing a mountain at a distance, told him to move it towards where they both stood. The Mask said: 'Very well—let us both turn round with our faces the other way.' He then ordered the mountain to 'come this way,' which it began to do at once, and would have come to where they were, had not Niyoh stopped it about half way. Niyoh then said: 'You have power, I see; but of what use is it to you? What good can you do with it?' To this the Mask replied: 'I use it to make people well when they are sick—now I would like to know what power you have.' Niyoh said: "Do you want to see my power?" and the Mask said he did. 'Very well, then,' answered Niyoh, 'I will show you my power, for I made the world.' The Mask then said: 'Make the mountain come close up to us.' On Niyoh's suggestion that the two should face about as before, they did so, and Niyoh told the mountain to come close up, and when it came to them he made it stop, and told the Mask to turn round quickly and see what had happened. This the Mask did, and brought his nose up with great force against the face of the mountain which stood there like a big wall, and the pain made him put out his tongue.

'Now,' said Niyoh, 'you see I also have great power, and, to make you remember this, your nose will remain crooked, and your tongue will always hang out.'

The False Face then knew that Niyoh had more power than he had, and ever since, the only sound he can utter is a tremulous and somewhat subdued "Hoh-o-o-o, hoh-o-o, hoh-o-o-o-o."

On going to Hy-joong'-kwas' house for the mask, I soon learned this was no common matter of bargain and delivery. He and the mask had been in communion too long to be separated in any every-day business way. Having stirred up the fire in the stove, he left the interpreter and myself while he went into an adjoining room. In a little while we could hear the peculiar "Hoh-o-o-o, ho-o-o!" and shortly afterwards Hy-joong'-kwas returned wearing the mask and still muttering, or rather, perhaps, uttering, the whole of the extremely limited False Face vocabulary until he reached the stove. Here he hung the mask by its head-fastenings over the back of a chair and proceeded to make up a small parcel of home-grown tobacco in a scrap of blue

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cotton print, and tied it with white thread over the brow of the mask, having first dropped a pinch of tobacco into some coals he had raked out in front of the stove.

After affectionately stroking the long hair which forms the wig, he replaced the mask on the back of the chair, whence he had removed it for the purpose of tying on the little parcel of tobacco. He then leaned forward, looking almost reverently at the mask, and speaking in a low tone to it, said: "My friend, [dropping a little tobacco among the coals] you are now going to leave me for the first time, and I am burning this tobacco to keep you calm and well-pleased. [More tobacco.] You and I have been together for a very long time. We have always been good friends. [Tobacco.] I have been good to you, and you have been good to me. You have cured a great many people, and we will not forget you. [Tobacco.] You may still do good where you are going, and I hope Ah-i-wah-ka-noh'-nis * will use you well. [Tobacco.] I have put a little tobacco on your head that you may always have some when you want it. [Tobacco.]

We shall not be very far apart, and we will often think of you, and will often burn some tobacco for you."

On concluding his touching little address he threw all that was left of his handful of tobacco into the fire, took the mask from the back of the chair, and, after once more stroking its hair, handed it to me with a request that I would rub its face with oil once or twice a year, as it had been used to such attention ever since he owned it, and would be pleased to be remembered in this way!

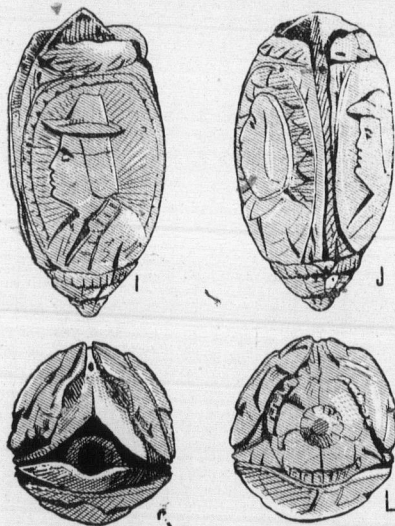
It was observed that he burned tobacco eight times during this ceremony, but whether the number of times was of purpose or otherwise I did not learn.

THE MACASSA.

It is quite unnecessary to say that the specimen here represented is not Indian, whatever else it may be. The only information I could get respecting it from the gentleman through whom it came into our possession, is that it was dug up many years ago on his father's land in the east end of what is now the city of Hamilton, a locality that has yielded an immense quantity of valuable archæological material of undoubtedly Indian origin. The specimen, which is two and three-fourth inches long, is of vegetal character, and suggests its having been anut of some sort resembling the so-called ivory-nut. Its surface is sharply divided into three irregular oval panels, on each of which is carved a human head and shoulders. One of the heads is bare, one has a cap, and the third a hat. Each panel is

* The writer's Indian name in its Onondaga form. In Canienga, Ra'-ri-wah-ka-noh'-nis.

surmounted by a crouching animal, one of which strongly resembles a beaver. Each of two also has its distinctive border, but the third, and



(24471). Fig. 16.

least symmetrical one, is plain. Under each panel stretches a long, roughly oval bar which is crenated crosswise, and below this the whole of the base seems to be a conventionalized flower on which much labor and some art have been expended.

Viewed from the opposite end one sees a grotesque face. The hole forming the mouth is connected with the interior which is hollow, but the eye-holes, although bored three-fourths of an inch deep have no such connection.

Above and between the eyes, and in line with the ends of the panels, a small hole has been bored to meet with the cavity.

The only possible connection this curious specimen can have with any relics said to have been found in association with it, must be looked for through some of the early visits paid to Macassa Bay by missionaries, traders and travellers. The reference to the find is made here mainly in the hope that some reader may be able to throw light on the subject, through any knowledge he possesses of similar objects in Europe, or on account of his ability to recognize the style of art or workmanship.

PELEE ISLAND.

On the strength of information supplied to the Department by Mr. John E. Gow, of the Inland Revenue Office, Windsor, I spent several days under instructions from the Minister of Education, in making an examination of the southern portion of this island, where it was supposed there were some artificial mounds.

The most southerly point of Canada, and lying about midway between Ontario and Ohio, the situation is suggestive of communica-



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tion between the two shores, which are here only about twenty miles apart, if measured from the head of Pigeon Bay, in Essex county, to Marble Head, at the entrance of Sandusky Bay, and considerably less, if

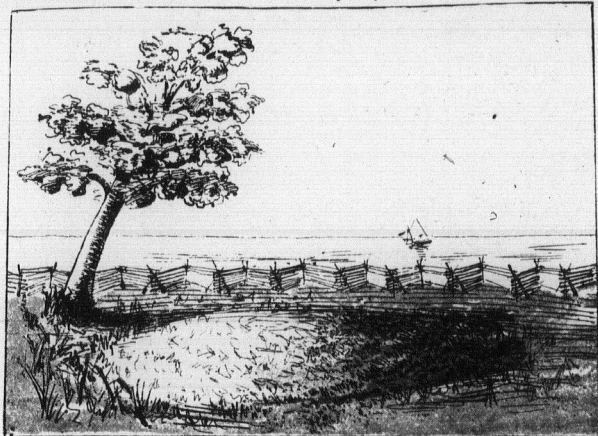


Fig. 17. A Pelee Island Mound.

reckoned from Pelee Point, on our shore. Here, if anywhere, one might expect to find traces of two or more peoples, and such proved to be the case.

As a place of resort and of refuge in early days, the island was admirably situated. Of its 11,000 acres, fully one-third was densely wooded, while the remainder was a marsh, affording a feeding and breeding-ground for immense numbers of water-fowl. A few smaller islands lie between Pelee and the United States shore, making intercourse by canoe very easy, while the nearest point on the mainland of Ontario is not more than eight miles off.*

*Geologically, the island possesses great interest. Previous to the erosion of the Erie basin, or previous to its subsidence (which is a more probable phenomenon) its connection with the north shore is evident from the similarity of its rock foundation. If glaciation is not accountable for the formation of the great lake basins, we know that since then its mighty forces have been exerted in polishing the rocks that form the shore line, wherever such rocks are exposed, and perhaps few finer examples of glacial striation can be found anywhere than on the south-east corner of Pelee Island, where deep grooves may be seen from fifty to seventy feet in length, some of them mathematically straight and others beautifully curved. The general direction of these markings is from west by south to south-west.

On lot 54, near the south end, petroleum is pumped, and on the same farm, as well as some other places, there is natural gas.

The marshlands have been drained at a cost of \$30,000, by means of eleven miles of main canal thirty feet wide and eight feet deep, with numerous ditches as feeders.

Whether the island is to be regarded as having been a part of the Neutral's territory, or of the territory of the Eries, we have no means of knowing, and just as likely as not it may have been a sort of Tom Tiddler's ground, for its advantages as a food-source, more especially in the matter of fish and fruit, must have made it an extremely desirable possession.

No part of the uplands exceeds forty or fifty feet above the lake level, while the greater part of it is less than half of that height, and the marshland, it is needless to say, is but little higher than the lake, where it is not actually lower.

The island being roughly quadrangular in form, the longer sides extending north and south, the situation of the mounds examined may be described as being at the south-east corner, known as Mill Point where the soil forms a thinner covering to the rock than elsewhere.

The first mound examined is on lot 39, within three hundred feet of the shore line. It measures forty feet from north to south and and forty-five feet from east to west, its central point being not more than three feet higher than the margin. For a distance of from fifty feet on the north and north-west to upwards of a hundred feet on the south and south-east the thin surface soil had been scraped from a bed of hard clay to form the mound, on and near the north end of which grows a chesnut oak six feet in circumference two feet above the ground. The stump of another oak, about the same size, still lies on the south-east quarter where it had grown. Aside from the appearance of the earth, the first evidence of workmanship we met with was a piece of coarse red jasper-like material having two conchoidal fractures. This object was at a depth of two feet from the surface, four and a-half feet from the centre of the mound on the west side. Slightly deeper, in the same place, were found two bits of chert, one a thin flake and the other a rough piece showing marks of chipping. About the same distance east of the middle, and at a depth of two feet three inches, we found a leaf-shaped flint and two fragments of pottery, but the most interesting find was a considerable quantity of charred maize and beans in what seemed to be a large pocket, just two feet west of the centre stake, and among these were four small copper beads of the same form as those found on Sugar Island, Rice Lake, three years ago. Near this place also were several small pieces of bone, and proof was not wanting that a body had been buried here. I was afterwards informed that many years ago some one had opened a mound in the neighborhood and taken away a number of copper beads. It is probable that this was the place referred to.

It need not be supposed that the corn and beans were placed here in connection with the burial, but that they were deposited, it may have

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been long afterwards, by some one who chose the spot as a dry one in which to hide his little store. The beads, I think, came from a greater depth originally, but had been dropped near the surface and beside the corn by him who opened the mound in search of treasure (?).

On lot 34, the property of Dr. F. B. McCormick, to the west, is a somewhat extensive elevation forming a broad oval three feet high in the middle, and forty by fifty feet in diameter, the longer axis being north and south.

This elevation was thoroughly tested by means of numerous trenches in various directions, cut down to the hard-pan clay in every case, and sometimes even to a greater depth. Near the north end were found small quantities of charcoal and Indian corn, but with these exceptions there was nothing beyond the nature of the soil to show that human agency had been employed in constructing this mound. The conclusion arrived at was that the greater part of the elevation to the south was of natural formation, and that additions had been made at the north end, but for what purpose beyond that of symmetry it is hard to say.

The third mound opened was on lot 36, and as in the case of each of the others, was within a short distance of the shore line. Like these also, it was oval in outline, the diameters being thirty-seven and forty-three feet (the latter north and south) with an elevation of three feet four inches. Unlike the others, however, this earthwork consisted largely of stones corresponding to those found on the surface in this part of the island, *i.e.*, of corniferous limestone in large and small, flat, roughly angular masses, from a few pounds to forty or fifty in weight. These were not placed in any orderly way, but seemed to have been thrown on the heap carelessly to increase its size, except in the case of a skeleton that lay almost in the centre, but a little to the south-west, and which was covered from head to foot with a number of comparatively thin slabs, from two to three inches in thickness, and resting directly on the bones, except for the support they received from earth that had fallen in, or that perhaps had been so arranged when the burial took place.

As the work of removing the earth proceeded, human remains were found in other parts of the mound, but none of these was covered with stones.

The skull of the skeleton underlying the stones was crushed, but the larger limb bones, although exceedingly fragile, were unbroken, and these were preserved. The body had been buried lying on its left side, in an almost northerly and southerly direction, the head near

The first day's proceedings at the Cayuga longhouse were just coming to an end when I arrived there about one o'clock p.m. The forenoon's part of the celebration included the Big Feather Dance, and other dances connected with Ah-don'-wah, having the accompaniment "Heh-heh-heh," as was fully referred to in last year's report.

On the second day, beginning about half-past eight a.m., the proceedings were opened by a long speech from Wm. Smoke, after which Chief Abram Charles (De-ka-hy'-on) and Robert David (Jin-o-daw'-hon) addressed the people, of whom there were only thirty-five present, two-thirds of them being women and children, but before noon nearly a hundred persons had assembled, the sexes being about equally represented.

NAMING A CHILD.

Part of Jin-o-daw'-hon's remarks had reference to the giving of a name to a Cayuga baby, such names being conferred only at this feast and that of mid-winter.*

At the proper moment a woman (not the child's mother) stepped forward and placed the baby in Jin-o-daw'-hon's arms. He accepted the charge smilingly as he went on with his talk, part of the time walking round the stove, representing as it did the old-time fire. Before he had said more than a few words all the male portion of the audience joined in a somewhat noisy song, which it was quite satisfactory to observe had the effect of frightening the child, who, until that time, had conducted itself as stoically as a full-grown Indian, but now established a claim to average humanity by setting up a right hearty cry. Jin-o-daw'-hon then handed the baby back to the woman who had placed it in his arms, this woman gave it to the mother and the ceremony was complete.

After this the speakers and a few others—five men, including the well-known Captain Bill, and two women—left the longhouse and took up their position in the cook-shanty at the east end, where two large pots containing corn soup were simmering over a slow fire. Here, William Smoke and Jin-o-daw'-hon "spoke pieces" for fully half-an-hour, and, in the course of their remarks, the speakers burnt small quantities of home-grown tobacco, by throwing eight pinches beneath the pots during the course of each speech.

On returning to the longhouse one man after another sang in his seat for a little while, then, rising, and continuing to sing, walked very slowly round the stove, "with the sun." The singer paused in both song and movement at each corner of the stove, where, with bowed

* See Ontario Archaeological Report for 1898, pp. 168-9, for details respecting children's names.

head, and in an almost inaudible tone, he muttered some sentences, the significance of which was evidently understood by the others who gave suppressed responses at the close of each little soliloquy. Altogether nine men sung and spoke in this manner.

Two men from each end of the longhouse were appointed to collect stakes for the peach-stone game on the morrow, and thus the day's proceedings ended about half-past twelve, when the food was handed round.

THE PEACH STONE GAME.

Next morning before nine o'clock the stake collectors had brought together in the longhouse a considerable quantity and variety of wearing apparel—dresses, sashes, belts, silk and cotton handkerchiefs, silk remnants and beads. A few of them were apparently new, and probably purchased for the occasion. Two men were engaged in pairing these articles, with reference to value as nearly as possible, in order that when the game was won by the clans representing either end of the house, each person who laid a stake on that side would receive with his or her own article another one as good.

As the Indian women are no more demonstrative than the men, it is not easy to say just how they regarded the rough-and-ready way the two men handled the goods, but nothing is surer than that had white men and women been concerned in such circumstances the consequences would have proved serious on both sides.

Few persons spoke while the assortment was going on, and those who did, expressed themselves in whispers because Rawen Niyoh was present overlooking all the arrangements, and it was not proper that he should be disturbed. When the sorters stepped about in the course of their work they did so gently, for the same reason.

After the completion of the pairing or coupling of the goods, Chief De-ka-hy-on delivered a long speech, one of the rote or ceremonial kind, respecting the game and the duty of maintaining good feeling on the part of all, but especially on that of the losers, who might next time be favored by Niyoh. In the making of this harangue the chief emphasized very strongly the first syllable of the numerous short sentences of which it was composed, his voice dropping suddenly and keeping along an almost dead level until the last syllable was reached, and this he pronounced with a slight rising inflection. This is a common method of delivery which is only a little more monotonous than may be heard in other places where it is customary to make use of ceremonial addresses.

As I had occasion to mention last year when referring to the Seneca feasts, it does not seem necessary that on occasions of this kind

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the chiefs or other leading men should be decked in all their "braverie." At this time De-ka-hy'-on appeared in plain clothes, not even wearing a coat, but simply a cotton smock-jacket.

A long pause followed his speech, but the silence was broken by a man who spoke briefly from the south-east corner, where were seated the Wolf, Snipe and Beaver clans, while at the west end were those of the Turtle, Deer, Bear, Eel and Ball, or, as some say the last named should be, Swallow.

A young man was appointed to lay down a sheet on the floor where the game was to be played, in the middle of the longhouse. The players and their assistants then arranged themselves as shown in the diagram on page 127, in last year's report, except that the former instead of facing each other east and west, did so north and south, while the assistants were seated at the west side.

Two men were called upon to play first and as one lost his chance, another player, (man or woman, as the game proceeded) took the place. Most of the women simply struck the bottom of the dish on the floor, and calmly awaited the result, but the men in nearly every case made passes with one or with both hands crosswise, circularly, and up and down, over the peach-stones, as if to influence them in some way while they rocked about, to settle right side up. A number of men representing the two ends of the longhouse crowded eagerly round the players to encourage them or otherwise, or to influence the luck so far as the stones themselves were concerned, by means of shouts and exclamations. At no time did the excitement become intense, for as the game came to a conclusion within an hour and a half, there was no time or opportunity for party-feeling to run very high. De-ka-hy'-on and Jin-o-daw'-hon again made long rote speeches, after which the stakes were handed to the winners, men and women, all of whom accepted their dues without the least manifestation of pleasure, or of pride on account of victory, or of any feeling suggestive of boastfulness such as white people show on occasions when they are winners. Similarly, those who were defeated conducted themselves with the utmost decorum, and without any sign of discomfiture or even of disappointment.

"Now," said Captain Bill to me, when the distribution came to an end, "the women is boss," meaning thereby that during the short time that would elapse until the close of the feast, all the arrangements would be in their hands, and as the most important part of what remained consisted of eating, the men did not occupy a very humiliating position.

At this time the women may decide, however, to appoint some other day upon which to hold the final dances, which are only four or five

in number, and not of religious significance. These are: 1st, the Trotting Dance (Gāh-dah'-trohnt); 2nd, the Old Song Women's Dance (Gy-nāh-gyh-ka-uh'-skā-nyī, the word having reference to the peculiar shuffling of the feet alternately in the dance); 3rd, the Joined-hand Dance, (Dā-you-dah-dā-noon'-tsōns), and 4th, the Four Night Dance, (Gā-ne-wah-tsoon-tah'-gā). If the women wish they may add the Women's New Song Dance (Gy-nā-sā-ah-skā'-nyī).

Although this portion of the ceremonies is under the "patronage" so to speak, of the women, it is, as is customary on other occasions, managed by the chiefs and head men.

THE WAKE GAME.

When friends and neighbors are assembled at a wake, it is customary for them to engage in a game to comfort in some measure the bereaved ones, and, to a certain extent, as a mere pastime. It may be premised that in so-doing there is no desire that either side engaged should win, and the whole of the proceedings are conducted with seriousness. If, during the progress of the game a young person should forget himself, the Head Man, or master of ceremonies takes occasion to point out that at such times light behavior is unseemly.

As many players, men and women, may engage as there is room to accommodate, when the two sides sit face to face.

The game consists in the hiding of a pebble (a marble, or a bullet is now often used) in one of four moccasins or mittens held in the lap of the hider for the time being, the other side trying to guess in which of these the object has been placed.

The Head Man makes a long speech to the players.

A singer having been appointed he sets the pace accompanied by his drum, by giving one of the three Wake Songs, the music of which the reader will find elsewhere in this report, and it is to be noted that these are the only wake songs, and are never used for any other purpose, or at any other time. Indeed, so careful are the people in this respect, that Dah kah-he-dond-yeh, who supplied this account of the game gives this as the reason why children are not allowed to attend wakes—hearing the songs they might be tempted to sing them thoughtlessly in the course of play.*

The singer for the time being may be seated anywhere on his own row, but the hiding must begin at one end, and the guessing at the far away end of the opposite row. To enable the guessers to point out the moccasin supposed to contain the object, a stick, or switch, about a

* Ka-nis-han-don supported the statement, but I am convinced that there is some other reason; one, perhaps, forgotten by the Indians themselves.

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yard long is provided and passes from hand to hand. When the hider has done his part the moccasins are placed on the floor and guessing goes on. As soon as a particular moccasin is pointed out some who is nearest picks it up and gives it a rap on the floor. Should the sound indicate that the stone or marble is in the moccasin, one stick is taken from a pile of a hundred splints about the size of lucifer matches, and is placed to the credit of the successful guesser's side. If the guesser desires to make two points in the game he first lays, one above another, the three moccasins he takes to be empty. Should the remaining one be found to contain the object, his side gains two. On the other hand, a failure on his part, entails the loss of two. As soon as a correct guess is made the singer ceases his performance and one on the winning side takes it up, and thus the game goes on, each man or woman hiding and guessing in turn.

At midnight the head man stops the game until a meal has been served in the usual way, and consisting of the usual kinds of food. On ceasing to play, the two men whose duty it is to keep count, arrange everything to avoid confusion or dispute when the game is resumed. Each puts the little sticks used as counters and won by his side into one of the moccasins; the remaining sticks into a third, and the stone or the marble into the fourth.

Before play begins after the meal the head man repeats his introductory ritual. Should one side win all the counters before daylight, he puts them again into one heap as at the beginning, and play goes on, but as soon as daylight gives the first sign of appearance he makes a change in the manner of conducting the game by appointing two men to act for each row of players, and for the purpose of still further shortening it, he may leave only two moccasins in their hands. Hiding and finding now follow each other quickly, but the sticks no longer go to show which side wins, for they are thrown by the head man into the fire, and the hiding and guessing are kept up by the same sides (*i.e.* without interchange) until all the counters are burnt. The same official then breaks the pointing sticks which are also put into the fire, and he even treats the drumstick in the same way, having taken it from the hands of the singer. Last of all, he pulls the leather cover off the drum, puts it inside of the drum, and replaces the hoop. The instrument should remain in this condition until it is to be again used.

Before the people disperse to their homes in the morning, a gun is fired off outside of the door.

THE INVITATION STICK.

On the Sunday following the last Lower Cayugas' Big Corn Feast, a meeting was held in their longhouse to consider the terms of an

invitation extended to them by the Indians of the Onondaga Reservation, N.Y., to send a representative to a meeting about to be held. The only reason for referring to this matter here, is to mention that the messenger who carries the invitation is provided with what is called *gan-onds-hā-dir-ūnd-dāgh'-kwā*, which was interpreted as signifying—catching by the hand and pulling across—perhaps the meaning is better brought out by saying, a hearty or welcome grasp of the hand. However this may be, the thing itself consists of a small piece of pine about three and a half inches long, half an inch wide, and scarcely a quarter of an inch thick, to one end of which is attached a fine string forming a loop five or six inches long, on which are a dozen or so of small cylindrical shell beads, of the kind we now recognize as "white man's make."

The edges of the stick contain as many notches as the number of days to elapse from the day of delivery to the date of meeting. As each day passes a notch is to be removed from the stick.

The purpose of the beads, or wampum, as they are commonly called, is merely to show that the invitation is issued by authority, or as an evidence of good faith on the part of those who present the invitation.

TURTLE CLAN NAMES.

The following names were supplied to me by *Ka-nis-han'-don* and *Dah-ka-he-dond-yeh*. They are in *Canienga* form:

Men:—*Skaniodyreo*, beautiful lake; *Gā-rāh'-kwa*, the sun; *Onon-dahk'-ta*, close by the hill; *Gāh-hū-tohn'*, sticks sticking up; *Ra-ri-hwā-wā-ruts*, to throw over a word, or the news; *Dā-hok'-ha*, twins; *Jo-nōn'-dā-ti*, over the hill; *Yō-jees-kwt-ha*, dry food; *Dā-kā-he-dond-yeh*, rows of trees; *Dā-ka-nah-kwā-sah*, twenty wives; *Sōōh-kāh-dōō'-nah*, big leaf; *Unt-yā-né-gā-ri*, noon; *Dā-wāh-nē-dō-gāh*, between the moons; *Ga-roh'-hyak dat'-yi*, along the clouds; *Ra-ri-wah-ka-nōh'-nis*, one who is sent.

Women:—*Dā-wā-dā-roh'-hu'-goh'-tah*, moon through the sky; *Ka-ri-hwā-hā-wi*, she carries a message; *Dā-duh'-toh*, she came back; *Yō-nāw-ta-wāh'-ti*, adjoining camps; *Yāh-kō-rāh-k'ōnd'-yōh*, she left her husband, or she lost a pail. *Yūh-ti-a-go-sah'-ny-ah*, has no name; *Gōh'-hwā-rā'-to*, she is counted; *Gāhn-hō-don'-kwas*, she opens a door; *Kā-nō-rōh'-kwā*, I like you; *Wah-don-wah'-jees'-o*, tramped grass; *Kā-ha-wan'-yū* she holds things; *Kā-roh'-hū-rōōks*, it becomes cloudy.

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(NORTH) VICTORIA COUNTY.

By G. E. LAIDLAW.

NEW SITES

Oral and substantial evidence on archæological affairs having accumulated during the present season, it was decided that it would be better to make a systematic series of visits to different localities to establish direct proof of aboriginal occupation, acquire material, and locate new sites; (in some cases several visits being paid to same localities) resulting in locating nine of these, and the acquirement of material from previously recorded sites and isolated places.

The first place to be looked into is the extensive site at Neil Clarke's, n. $\frac{1}{2}$ lot 12, in 1st con., Fenelon township, and Mrs. S. Foster's, south half same lot. This is a very marked and prolific site, which, though known to local collectors for years and from which large quantities of relics have been removed, is now put on record for the first time. The area covered by very large and prominent ash beds is about 10 acres, and is situated on the top of a bank about 30 ft. high lying to the northeast of Goose Lake, which is nearly a mile distant. The bank here has a general direction of N.E. and S.W. with a slight curve to the east. On the edge of the bank are about half-a-dozen dump-heaps. The general shape of the habitations seems to have been circular and not of the "long house" form, and from their size, number and proximity to each other indicate a populous town long occupied. On a higher position of the bank, to the S.E., a number of pits (caches) and graves formerly existed. The surface of the ground was strewn with broken pottery, fire-fractured stones, implements, bones, teeth, etc. Soil very light and sandy. Surface slopes from bank to N.E. and formerly supported a heavy growth of pine, of which a few large stumps of about four feet in diameter remain. A spring formerly existed on the north side, and a never failing one runs at the bottom of the bank at the south side. This bank, as far as could be judged, encircled a lake, the basin of which being filled up with silt and vegetable growth, kept back, possibly, by beaver dams, now supports a marshy swamp of soft timber with a shallow, muddy pond in the centre.

Another site, which has just been brought to notice is on D. Brown's, lot 23, con. 1, Fenelon. It is partially cleared, but never ploughed; bush covers the remainder. The ash beds seem to be of large size; several were dug into with the usual results. A small water-course lies to the west. Graves have been opened here.

Forty years of cultivation have obliterated almost all trace of aboriginal occupation on Mr. Alex. McKenzie's farm, lot E, pt. 21.

con. 1, Fenelon, but relics are still ploughed up. Graves are said to be in the sand on the north side.

Across the road from the latter place, and about 1-3 of a mile away there is an artificial embankment. This work is on Mr. Alex. Jamieson's property, w. half of lot 23, con. 2, Fenelon, and comprises a semi-circular embankment, with a ditch on the outside. Dimensions, 220 feet in length, running north and south, facing west, being 330 feet at north end and 165 feet at south end distant from a creek winding N. E. into South Bay, Balsam Lake, on the east side of Birch point. Width of embankment, about 12 feet, and of the ditch the same; the depth from the top of embankment to the bottom of the ditch is $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet in some places. No traces of palisades. Ash-beds situated between the embankment and creek, are shallow, of small size, and do not seem to have been occupied for a long period. There is a small group of single graves immediately to the north of embankment, whilst another group is on the top of a steep knoll fifty or sixty feet high, that stands about one hundred yards to the west and commands the work. One grave in each group being opened, displayed a few human bones as if the remainder had been removed for subsequent interment. There were no skulls or large bones excepting one shin bone, and the bones remaining did not exhibit any signs of decay, such as crumbling on exposure to air, that would lead one to conjecture that the missing bones had decayed. The graves were denoted by slight circular depressions, which were partly filled with surface stones.

A pine stub stood over the hill grave, measuring nine feet present circumference, four feet from the ground, but as the tree was fire-killed and burnt, and stumps standing on the ash beds and embankment measuring $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft. present diameter, which were cut 40 years ago, it can be safely put down that 400 years have elapsed since occupation.

A second growth of pine is covering this place. The surface is extremely broken with high gravel and sand hills, two of them commanding the work at a distance of less than 150 yards, which is a peculiar feature if the latter was meant for defence. There may be more graves inside the embankment as it has never been disturbed. A large mealing stone, too heavy for removal, was noticed near by. The creek to rear of work has a bank of about 10 ft. A sheer fall of 6 ft. is about $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile farther up stream, which would stop fish from going up any farther and thus materially aid the food supply during the fish-running season. Soil is fit for aboriginal cultivation. The village was beyond observation, especially from enemies coming by the lake, one mile distant.

On Birch Point, jutting north into South Bay, Balsam Lake, is what was probably a small fishing camp-site, as a row of ash-beds extends

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along the west side; relics, pottery and mealing stones have been picked up. This point was cleared many years ago and has been under sod for a number of years. It is owned by Dugald Sinclair, number of lot being, broken front 26, con. 3, Fenelon. This locality has been much frequented by Indians down to recent date, as it is a favorite fishing-ground (bass and mascalonge), and in the fall the marshes on both sides of the point shelter vast numbers of wild-fowl.

It seems that the highly elevated, and extremely hilly territory much broken by deep valleys, extending from the site on Brown's to South Bay, 3 miles or so distant, was much frequented by the aborigines, and it will be necessary to investigate it more thoroughly. No doubt the shelter obtained was the chief factor, but its proximity to the lake and thus with the internal water highway extending to the Bay of Quinte, Lake Ontario, was another inducement for occupation.

Just one mile across the bay to the east side of the lake is another small site on lot west pt. 26 in con. 4, Fenelon, Archibald McArthur, owner. This was on a terrace touching the shore. Previous years yielded large quantities of pottery, pipes, celts, gouges and arrowheads, the last an unusual feature and taken in connection with being so close to water, might denote a later Algonkin occupation. With the exception of the flint arrowheads this site corresponds with the other sites that undoubtedly existed before the advent of the whites, a large, heavy, pine growth formerly covered the locality but the stumps having been removed no estimate can now be made.

These sites all exist south of previously described ones, in sandy or clayey loam localities, so we will now turn to several on the northern border of the rocky limestone country, just at the commencement of the granitic territory.

On lots 69-71 front range, Somerville, (Mr. Edward Lee, owner, $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles east of Big Mud Turtle Lake), is a site discovered this spring when clearing land. It is situated on a flat facing west, about 200 yds. wide and backed up by a hilly country to the east, a perennial spring is to the south and another to the north-east. Produced pottery, uni-shells, pipes, mealing stones, broken bones, teeth, etc. Site about 50 ft. higher than lake. No graves known as yet. The probability is that the village was not occupied for any great length of time, as the ash-beds were small and not very distinguishable. Soil suitable for aboriginal cultivation.

On lots 11 and 12, con. 8, Laxton, to the N.E. of Head Lake, on the properties owned by Mrs. Staples and G. Winterbourn, is the most distant site in that direction located up to date. This consists of a series of ash-beds, containing the usual remains and relics, situated on the north edge of a somewhat level piece of tillable ground, where it

drops to a lower level at the north. A never failing spring to the north is one of the features of the locality. One quarter of a mile to the east is the end of the limestone territory, marked by an abrupt ledge 20 or more feet in height running slightly to S. W. About one mile to the west the granite district begins, and extends to the north, the intermediate foundation being a sandstone of reddish yellow color. This plain is bounded on the east by the limestone ridge and on the west by a slight rise. Pine stumps up to 4 ft. in diameter stand on the ash-beds.

About $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile southwest of the latter place is another site on David Hilton's farm, lot 12, con. 7, Laxton. This is 60 rods east of Hilton's Bay, which is south of Hilton's point, n. e. corner of Head Lake. General indications of aboriginal occupation, such as ash beds, pipes, celts and pottery on a piece of land two or three acres in extent. When first settled, in 1860, it was covered with a heavy growth of pine up to five feet in diameter (one stump was measured). East of this site is a ravine which holds water. This locality was also used by more recent Indians, as several iron tomahawks have been found scattered around, and maple trees showed evidences of tapping, several also having large slabs split off them. A pile of sap-troughs, 10 feet wide, 20 feet long, 2 feet high, of old rotten birch-bark was noticed on a hill. Present day Indians have resorted to this locality, as it is an ideal hunting and fishing ground, and they have been known to portage to Gull River, four miles east, which flows into the Trent system of waters. Head Lake waters and the several minor systems belonging to it flow west by the Head River, ultimately emptying into Georgian Bay via Severn River, thus giving canoes access to the Huron country, but necessitating many portages over rapids and falls.

No doubt a prehistoric trail extended from Head Lake through Hilton's site, thence to Winterbourn's, on to Beech Lake, which is 1 by $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles in extent, and from there to Gull River, a total distance of about four miles. The country immediately to the north precludes the idea of trails, as it is one vast territory of high, steep granite ridges, swampy valleys, broken by innumerable lakes, rivers and beaver-meadows, forming the best of hunting and fishing grounds even to this day. To the south of the above route the limestone country is too rough and hilly for a practicable portage. Several trips were made to the granitic regions of the townships of Longford, Dalton, Digby and Ryde, in quest of information or evidence of aboriginal occupation, but none was forthcoming. No visible evidences were noticed, such as graves, trenches, ash heaps, mounds or embankments. See Report for 1897-98 p. 53. At the south-west corner of Ghost Island, Balsam Lake, traces of a flint-worker's "shop" may be seen where, at a break in the bank or "landing," ashes and bones, intermingled with flint chips, may be scraped out.

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The following are the new sites that have been examined:—

- No. 23. Clarke's; lot 12, con. 1, Fenelon township, N. Victoria.
- No. 24. Brown's; lot 23, con. 1, Fenelon township, N. Victoria.
- No. 25. McKenzie's; lot E. pt 22, con. 1, Fenelon township, N. Victoria.
- No. 26. Jamieson's; lot W. $\frac{1}{2}$ 23, con. 2, Fenelon township, embanked.
- No. 27. Birch Point; lot B. F. 26, con. 3, Fenelon township, N. Victoria.
- No. 28. McArthur's; lot W. P. 26, con. 4, Fenelon township, N. Victoria.
- No. 29. Lee's; lots 69-71, con. Front Range, Somerville township, N. Victoria.
- No. 30. Winterbourn's; lots 11 and 12, con. 8, Laxton township, N. Victoria.
- No. 31. Hilton's; lot 12, con. 7, Laxton township, N. Victoria.

From what has been disclosed this year by personal search and investigation, I am convinced that there was a large semi-sedentary population extending along this ancient highway of waters to Lake Ontario. And from the number of places occupied, the condition of soil suitable to their agricultural operations—generally a light sandy or sandy loam—also the numbers of mealing-stones, the absence of weapons of war and of the chase, I am led to believe that the population was a peaceable one, living upon the products of cultivation, eked out with wild fruits and what game they could get, which would be little in a thickly populated country. It must be borne in mind that this is not essentially a nut-producing territory. Fish, no doubt, contributed largely to their subsistence, and as there are so many different lakes of large areas, systems of rivers, etc., they had the choice of many different varieties of fresh-water fish, such as masacalonge, bass, whitefish, pickerel, salmon-trout, all of large size; and the smaller varieties, such as brook trout, perch, catfish, eels, suckers, sunfish and herring, each in its season. The lack of harpoons and other fishing apparatus, noticeable in the vicinity of rivers and streams of the western part of the Province, may be accounted for by the probable use of the net, as remarked by the Jesuits amongst the Hurons. No doubt they also employed traps and weirs of perishable material, but no permanent ones of stone or earth have been noticed as yet, though some years ago several so-called fish stakes were taken from the narrows at Lake Couchiching, where the Hurons had been in the habit of planting them for piscatorial purposes.

Taking also into account that only one embanked site is known amongst thirty-one examined—and that commanded by high hills—in

an area of twenty-five miles north and south, and twenty miles east and west, is another reason for the belief that these people were peaceable. Of course one might raise the objection that the villages may have been palisaded. Now, it was too immense a labor to palisade these villages when the timber had to be cut and dressed with stone tools, aided by fire. With very few exceptions, the general character of the villages here is that they were of a small number of habitations loosely scattered over a large area, and sometimes only a row or so of such along the edge of a plateau or around the margin of a swamp, covering acres of ground. Supposing them to be palisaded, there would certainly not be population in them enough to successfully "man" the amount of palisading necessary to completely surround these straggling villages.

It seems to be a rule not to have had these villages on or near water-courses, but in localities having local features of defence, such as swamps, hills, or approaches through rough country, which were the only natural and perhaps main means of defence they had. Again, the land is generally better suited for purposes of cultivation a little distance back from the lakes than immediately on the shores. Those small sites on the shores being generally considered as fishing-camps, we may say that they wisely chose for occupation localities suitable for cultivation nearest to bodies of water, yet not too close to be observed by enemies travelling by water, and not too far away to be inconvenient to the inhabitants. I have heard about other sites, embankments and mounds which could not be looked into this season, but will be examined next year. The proportion of unfinished relics is rather large, some of them being of material coming from far distant districts.

No corn hills or garden-beds have been noted so far.

The Rock Nation of the Hurons was the most north-easterly of these people, and probably took this route into the country, in which they were found by the Jesuits. The sites here described were, in all probability, those of their abandoned towns in their westerly drift. The other Huron natives separating from the Rock Nation at a point east of here, supposedly at the junction of the Scugog River with Sturgeon Lake, following up the Scugog waters (lake and river) and ascending the valleys to the west drained into the Scugog by Noncon and other creeks, till they came to the region south of Lake Simcoe; rounding the southern end of which they finally stopped in their now known country.

The museum is indebted to those whose names follow for the specimens mentioned in connection therewith. I, also, am under great obligation to the gentlemen for many personal courtesies.

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Archibald McArthur, Balsam Grove P.O., gives iron tomahawk, 2 small "skimmers," degraded celt hammer and degraded gouge hammer, site No. 28, lot W.P. 26, con. 4, Fenelon.

John Martin, Uphill P.O., iron tomahawk.

Isaac Bowins, Coboconk P.O., celts, soapstone discs, and several unfinished implements, lot 51, Front Range, Somerville.

Jas. Moore, Coboconk P.O., several clay pipe heads, bone awls from site 16, lot 19-20; G. R. R. Bexley

D. Ryckman, Victoria Road P.O., clay pipe from site 1, lot 1; N. P. R. Bexley.

F. Widdis, Bexley, clay pipe.

Jos. Shields, Victoria Road P.O., slick-stone.

Chas. Youill, Thorah twp., N. Ontario, a large square unfinished gorget, Huronian slate, $6\frac{1}{2}$ by $4\frac{1}{2}$ by $\frac{1}{2}$ in., shows pecking and flaking, was one of cāché. See previous Reports.

Wm. Kennedy, Bobcaygeon, triangular slate pendant found on Ball Island between lakes Chemong, Buckhorn and Pigeon, Peterborough Co. Dimensions $2\frac{1}{8}$ x $1\frac{1}{8}$ x $\frac{1}{8}$ in., one hole.

Neil Sinclair, Glenarm P. O., French axe, flint curved knife, pottery, celts, very small mealing-stone, and narrow oval gorget, two holed, $4\frac{1}{2}$ x $1\frac{1}{8}$ in., has been broken and re-ground. Lot 25, Con. 3, Fenelon.

Miss A. Campbell, Kirkfield P. O., fragment of clay pipe bowl showing human mask, arms, and fingers defined; perforated *melantho* shells; and small soapstone pipe covered with incised lines, presumably a conventionalized animal head with stem hole entering in the mouth. Site 10, lot 44, S. P. R., Eldon.

D. Brown, Glenarm P. O., a large mealing stone, basined on one side, flat polished surface (metate) on other, polished celt bone and bead. Site 24, lot 23, con. 1, Fenelon.

Jos. Chant, Blackwater P. O., clay pipe-head, found near Sunderland.

Edward Lytle, jr., Victoria Road, yellow soapstone pipe, S. P. R., Bexley. Evidently a conventionalized moose head.

Archibald Ferguson, Glenarm P. O., a polished celt found in Eldon twp., hammerstones, stone and clay discs, perforated and unperforated; bone and fragments of pipes from site 11, Long Point, Fenelon, also hammer stones, pottery, discs, mask, clay pipes, small soapstone pipe carved like a bird, slick stones, perforated soapstone discs, barbed harpoon, and a mealing stone of the metate mortar variety, from site 23, lot 12, con. 1, Fenelon.

Neil Clarke, pottery, bone awls, hammer stones, two large blocked out celts, and new type of harpoon made from a deer horn, spike ~~32~~

in. long, barbed and hollowed up the centre, forming a socket for shaft, then pierced through the two flattest sides about $\frac{1}{4}$ way up, either to insert a pin for holding the shaft or for attaching a cord to be fastened to a float, or the shaft used for float purposes after the fish is struck. Site 23, lot 12, con. 1, Fenelon.

Wm. Hoyle, Long Point, Fenelon twp., a beautiful grooved maul, $4\frac{1}{2}$ by 3 by $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches: a distinct groove encircles it about midway $1 \times \frac{1}{2}$ inches wide and deep. Face of one end is about $2 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ in., the other being $1\frac{1}{2} \times 1$ in., surface polished, material gray granite. This is the first grooved maul from this section.

Jas. Laidlaw, "The Fort," Victoria Road P. O., flint arrowheads, 2 unfinished slate objects, presumably a woman's knife and a gorget, Site 8, head of Portage Road. Also worked flints, fish-bone bead and rounded pebble from "workshop," Ghost Island.

Mr. D. Hilton, Head Lake, two celts, two clay pipe heads of the ordinary decorated style of dots and encircling rings, also degraded celt hammer-stone possessing the peculiar feature of having its edge between two of its opposite corners, thus giving the tool a roughly diamond cross section. Site 30, lot 12, con. 7, Laxton.

E. W. Glaspell, Rosedale P. O., donates the following specimens: large polished celt from Ball (or Bald) Point, Sturgeon Lake; small polished celt, from Ball (or Bald) Point, Sturgeon Lake; small rough celt, lot 9, con. 8, Fenelon; polished bone barbed fishhook from site 23, lot 12, con. 1, Fenelon, of the following dimensions, $2\frac{5}{8}$ in. long by $\frac{1}{8}$ in. across the bend, $\frac{3}{8}$ in. from the extremity of the barb to the exceedingly sharp point; the shank has a knob on top to attach the line. See remarks on barbed fishhooks in Primitive Man, Boyle, p. 73. Dr. Rau's Prehistoric Fishing, p. 128, American Antiquarian No. 6, Vol. 21, p. 345 (Beauchamp's Archaeology in New York). Also the following relics from a site on lot 18, con. 13, Tiny twp., two miles distant from Randolph P. O., owned by Mr. W. H. Bowes: Soapstone bead, human head carved from limestone showing a long narrow face with well executed features, neck showing fracture from some sort of base. Head from a clay pipe showing peculiar arrangement of hair in tufts, one on each side of head and one on top somewhat in shape of a liberty cap; head of bird from clay pipe; a score of fragmentary clay pipes showing different types, but corresponding with pipes from this section; two bone beads and bone awl; small flint arrowhead; fragment of sheet brass, and a beautiful sandstone pipe of a narrow, elongated, truncated pyramidal form, covered with peculiar patterns of inscribed lines, and of the following dimensions: length, $2\frac{7}{8}$ in., thickness, 1 in., width at top, $1\frac{1}{4}$ in., width at bottom, 1 in., oblong cross-section, stem hole circular $\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter and 1 in. from top. Bowl

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with oval transverse section. Marchenaw creek is near this site and the ash-beds are deep and extensive.

G. Rumney, Coboconk P. O., celts, bone awls and bangles, inscribed hollow bone, small flint arrowhead. Site 14, lot 56, F. R. Somerville.

G. Staples, Norland P. O., clay pipe, and owl pipe carved from soapstone; this pipe belongs to the same class of totem pipe sculpture as the eagle, bear, panther and wolf pipes, see Report 1890-91; shows evidence of much use and bears a scratch or so from the blow which turned it up. The diagnostic features are well defined, and the treatment of eyes, talons, tail and wing feathers is remarkably acute, the eyes being bored with tubular drills of two different sizes. The bowl being behind the shoulders, and the stem-hole half way down the back. The occiput is pyramidal in shape, and as nothing marks the tufts of feathers which gives the name to the great horned owl, so this may represent either the barred owl or the great gray owl, both species inhabiting this region at various times. Length, $4\frac{1}{2}$ in.; greatest thickness, $1\frac{1}{4}$ in.; greatest width, from beak to shoulders $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. From site 30, lot 12, con. 8, Laxton.

G. Lytle, editor *Watchman-Warder*, Lindsay, pottery from site 29, lot 69, F. R. Somerville.

G. Winterbourn, Norland P. O., adze with a very good edge, site 30, lot 11, con. 8, Laxton.

Wm. Halliday, Head Lake, pottery, celts, hammer stones, etc., from site 30, lot 11, con. 8, Laxton.

Alex. McKenzie, Glenarm P. O., gives gouge, celts and rounded pebbles, from site 25, lot E. pt. 22, con. 1, Fenelon.

Besides above, other known sites were visited and amongst the usual relics gathered up may be mentioned a small triangular arrowhead of very neat make, a very fine bear-tooth knife, some polished soapstone perforated discs, a bone bead still showing bands of red dye very plainly; an unmistakable toy pipe, a peculiar flint tool, 2 in. long, narrow and thick, with very obtuse side edges, front end showing marks of use; may be a flaker; site 3, lot 5, con. 5, Bexley.

Some large bone awls and a very small bone bead, also a very small stone bead, and a cylindrical shell bead made from the columella of a tropical shell, $\frac{5}{8}$ in. long. A very neatly moulded clay disc bead, with an incised edge (perimeter) made before baking. These last three beads are the first of their types known here. An unfinished mealing stone, the latter presented by Mr. W. C. Perry, late of Kirkfield; all from site 2, lot 22, con. 3, Eldon.

Blocked out discs, small soapstone bead, bear-tooth knife, beaver-tooth knife, and a very beautiful bone awl of unique form as follows: total length, $4\frac{1}{2}$ in.; length of awl proper, $2\frac{1}{2}$ in.; the handle is

broadened out to $\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide, and divided into two parts by a waist, the upper part having two notches on each wing and the lower part three on each wing, all beautifully rounded and polished. One side of handle is flat with two rows of very small dots, the other "keeled," with two rows of similar dots on each side of keel. From site 10, lot 45, S.P.R., Eldon.

Amongst other material from site 7, lot W. $\frac{1}{2}$ 6, con. 2, Bexley, is a small fragment of a pot-lip angle, ornamented on the outside by a rough human mask. This is the second case of a pottery mask from this vicinity. See Bulletin, N.Y. State Museum, on earthenware.

A clay stem, $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. long, had a moulded chamber in the larger end, looked like a cigar-holder. This may have been a sort of a straight pipe, but unfortunately it was mutilated before it was secured; locality lot 45, S.P.R., Eldon.

A rough leaf-shaped implement of brownish material, having the appearance of a paleolith, and a rounded worked pebble. Site 8, head of portage, Bexley.

Rounded, oval, circular, ovoid pebbles, still keep turning up in numbers on the new sites.

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NOTES ON

SITES OF HURON VILLAGES

IN THE

TOWNSHIP OF TAY (SIMCOE COUNTY).

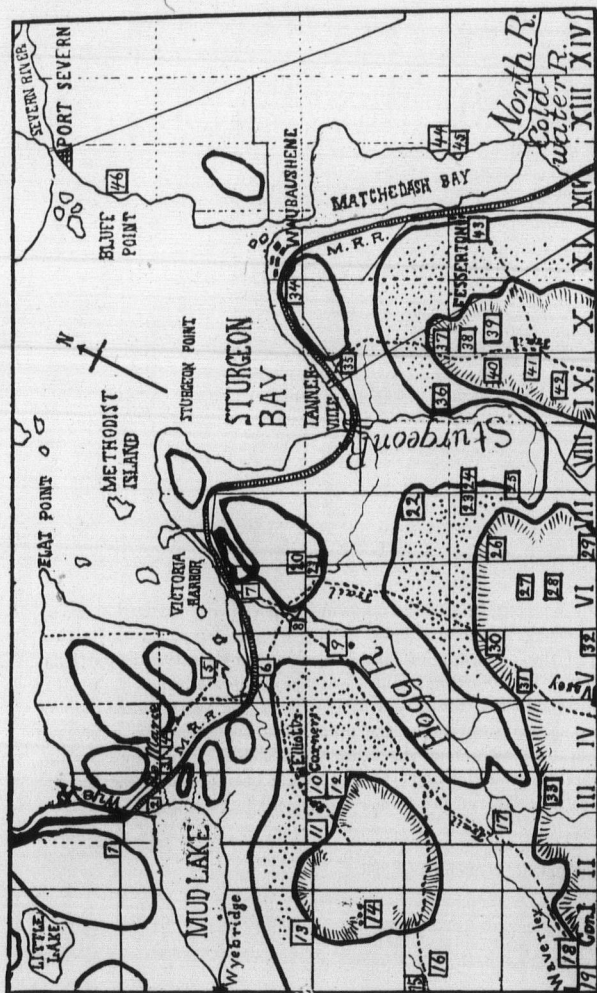
BY ANDREW F. HUNTER, M.A.

PREFACE.

In the preparation of the following Report it did not appear necessary to change the plan adopted in my similar report on the archaeology of the Township of Tiny, issued by the Education Department last May. By following in the main the same method, viz., putting the notes into the form of a catalogue of the village sites, the one becomes a continuation of the other, and they may be preserved together by students of the history and archaeology of our Province. Separate copies of this Report on Tay have been prepared for the use of those who received my former report on the Township of Tiny.

A. F. HUNTER.

Barrie, Ont., November, 1899.



EXPLANATIONS.—The small squares indicate the village sites; each enclosed number refers to the description in the text. The heavy dots at Nos. 9, 10, and 14 indicate the bone pits. Dotted lines show the courses of forest trails (now obliterated). The three dotted patches show the positions of boulder-stone tracts devoid of village sites. The numbers in the squares indicate the altitude of the land: (1) the higher or Algonquin beach is fringed internally to show the higher hills, (2) the lower or Great Nipissing beach encloses many extinct islands.

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INTRODUCTION.

PHYSICAL FEATURES OF TAY.

Like the adjoining township of Tiny, the surface of Tay consists mainly of parallel ridges with rivers between them. There is this difference, however; in Tiny most of the ridges lie entirely within the township, but in Tay only the ends are found. One of them crosses the boundary into Tiny, the other two pass southward into Medonte. For convenience I will call the former, which lies between the Wye and *Hogg rivers, the Victoria Harbor ridge, because it ends near Victoria Harbor. The next one, lying between Hogg and Sturgeon rivers, will be called the Vasey ridge, from the name of a village upon it. And the most easterly ridge, between Sturgeon and Coldwater rivers, will be named the Rosemount ridge, from the name of the schoolhouse on its summit. Those parts of the township which lie east of Matchedash bay are rocky—Trenton limestone and Laurentian granite.

For showing the altitude of the land I know of no plan equal to mapping the abandoned beaches. This method has a very important advantage; a person can note by direct observation the lines of equal altitude in these extinct shorelines without going to the trouble of making a detailed survey by the use of levelling instruments. Accordingly, I have observed their positions throughout the township, noting the farms in which they appear, and I give the results of these observations in the accompanying map.

The highest of these old shorelines is the Algonquin beach, which has an altitude of about 250 feet above the present level of Georgian Bay. It is a stupendous freak of Nature—an indelible mark on the face of the country—representing the expenditure of an immense amount of force by strong waves in the removal and assortment of materials. The Algonquin Sea that formed it, washed away such quantities of movable material (clay, sand and gravel) from the exposed northerly ends of the ridges that large tracts of boulders are left. It picked the bones of the ridges as it were and left them bare. A large tract of this kind lies immediately south and east from Elliott's Corners, and similar tracts occur on the Vasey and Rosemount ridges. No Huron village sites occur in these uninhabitable stony tracts.

About 100 feet lower is the main beach of the Great Nipissing series, or about 150 feet above Georgian Bay. To give all four beaches

*I am informed that this river is so called from an early Methodist preacher among the Ojibways.

ARCHEOLOGICAL MAP OF THE TOWNSHIP OF TAY.

EXPLANATIONS.—The small squares indicate the village sites; each enclosed number refers to the description in the text. The heavy dots at Nos. 9, 10, and 14 indicate the bonapita. Dotted lines show the boundaries of the township. The thick lines show the positions of boulder-stone tracts devoid of village sites. The thin lines show the positions of abandoned lake beaches, and these give the altitude of the land: (1) the higher or Algonquin beach is fringed internally to show the higher hills, (2) the lower or Great Nipissing beach encircles many extinct islands.

of this Nipissing series would make a complicated map and would involve endless and unnecessary work. So I have mapped only the most strongly marked one of the series. The name "Great Nipissing" has been given by geologists because the outlet of this great lake to the sea, before the birth of Niagara river, was by the present and lesser Lake Nipissing and French river.

At the ends of the above mentioned ridges there were islands standing out from the mainland in the Great Nipissing sea or lake. One of the largest of these extinct islands lies in a south-easterly direction from the outlet of Hogg river, and is a tract of isolated high ground covering an area of 500 acres or more. Before the forest was cleared away these extinct islands were separated from each other and from the ridges by thickets.

The advantages to the study of the subject, gained by introducing these references to the old lakes and beaches, consist merely in the ease with which they give the altitude of the land throughout Tay, and thus elucidate its physical features. They have no connection with Huron occupation, except in so far as village sites are often found near the springs that issue along those old lines. The heavy curving line in the map denotes the Great Nipissing beach; that with fringe, internally, showing the hills, is the Algonquin.

The roads, also, and road allowances are marked on the map, so that the reader can adopt a scale for any measurements he may require. In that part of the township called the Old Survey, which consists of Concessions One and Two, the sideroads are placed at every fifth lot, and are a mile and a quarter apart (100 chains). The lots in the First Concession are a mile and a quarter deep, but those in the Second have a depth of only one half of that amount. Concessions Three to Fourteen make up the New Survey. These are five-sixths of a mile wide ($66\frac{2}{3}$ chains) and have sideroads at every fifth lot, or a mile and seven-eighths apart (600 rods). Bearing these measurements in mind, a reader may readily calculate any distance. The lots are numbered from the south in both old and new surveys. The upper corner of Tay is omitted from the map, but will be found in our Report on the Township of Tiny.

Altogether, I will give descriptions of forty-six sites. The plan of proceeding will be to begin at Mud Lake and proceed southerly and easterly through the township.

THE VILLAGE SITES.

The village sites described are only those known to the writer up to this date, without any claim to completeness, which in the present state of the subject would be impossible. Much sameness will be

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found in the descriptions of these, especially the villages upon the higher ground of the Vasey and Rosemount ridges. Some readers may be ready to censure me for this apparent defect, but the fault is not mine. There would be variety enough if farmers and others had noted facts with more minuteness than they have done. But, as a rule, they have observed only the most general features. Hence the sameness in the descriptions is due to the character and present stage of advancement of the subject with which we have to deal.

Some of the so-called villages, especially those on the lakeshore, have been mere camping grounds where successive generations of Hurons and other sedentary tribes of the interior camped from time to time when on fishing and other expeditions; and such places now have the appearance of villages. These lakeshore villages, after being Huron landings, became Algonquin camp-grounds, the result being a mixture of relics on these spots that defies classification. Such places are found beside the sheltered bays and harbors along the shore, while the landings at points (very few of which we have attempted to record) are quite recent and were chiefly used by modern Ojibways.

It will be noticed that only a few bone-pits occur at the Huron villages of Tay, and these are confined exclusively to the Victoria Harbor ridge, which doubtless was the abode of that "Nation" of the Hurons called the "Ataronchronons." On the Vasey and Rosemount ridges there are bone-pits, though these are not in Tay, but are found farther south in Medonte township.

Still another feature is brought out in our survey of the township for village sites; and if our collection of data makes any approach to being exhaustive, the feature may be received authoritatively. This is the numerous distribution of small villages within easy reach of Sturgeon River, along both sides of it. It appears to show that the river was a resort of the Hurons, which may be accounted for by the fact that it was a good fishing ground. It has sedgy banks and accordingly was a favorite haunt of fishes of the ganoid and pike families, as its name indicates.

THE HISTORIC SIDE OF THE SUBJECT.

In so far as these Notes have any historic significance, it will be readily seen that their chief feature is our attempt to throw some light upon the positions of those early missions of which Ste. Marie was the centre; and, more particularly, to find the village of St. Louis, where Brebeuf and Lallemand were captured, and also St. Ignace where they were put to death. Besides the Fort of Ste. Marie on the Wye, partly protected by masonry and partly palisaded, the villages numbered 4, 6, 8 and 12 in our list show evidences of palisading; and from other con-

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siderations, these four may be regarded as belonging to the very latest Huron period. Other villages may have been palisaded likewise, but these are the only ones of which I have certain evidence. It will be most natural, therefore, to seek for the palisaded villages of St. Louis and St. Ignace among these four. On the various points arising out of these questions, however, it is not intended to offer our suggestions as anything more than plausible conjectures.

One of the first persons to investigate the situations of the Jesuit missions appears to have been the Rev. P. Chazelle, who visited the district in 1842. Some years later (in 1855) the Rev. Felix Martin also made a tour of exploration in Huronia. It will be most suitable, in this connection, to quote from the brief account of this tour contained in a biographical sketch of this painstaking investigator :

"The aptness of Father Martin as an antiquary was known by the men in the Government and the Hon. George E. Cartier entrusted him with a commission to explore, on the spot, the site and the remains of the ancient Huron missions in Upper Canada near Georgian Bay. By care Father Martin found the traces of the ancient posts of the Jesuits in that country where they had so many martyrs ; he collected many Indian relics, he afterwards made a work embellished with plans and drawings, the whole having been deposited at the seat of Government."

The next investigator was Dr. J. C. Taché who undertook some further exploration of Huronia at intervals in five years prior to 1865. Parkman, in his works, has quoted these archæological researches of Taché, and thus has given wide currency to Taché's views of the positions of the mission sites.

It appears to have been Father Martin who fixed upon a village site on Fox's farm in Medonte township as that of St. Ignace ; and in this belief Dr. Taché afterwards examined the site somewhat minutely. This early decision as to what place was the scene of the tortures of Brebeuf and his companion received wide acceptance through Parkman's publication of this as the true position without any doubt. But it is certainly incorrect, and the best informed students of the subject have refused to recognize the claims of Fox's farm, as its distance from Ste. Marie is much greater than the written descriptions justify.

In Taché's time there were comparatively few sites known. Since then, however, much new knowledge has been won, and a solution of the problem of finding St. Ignace, as well as the other mission sites, has become possible. It may involve more labor than the first investigator anticipated, but reliable conclusions have become more attainable. This is chiefly due to the fact that the greater part of Tay has been settled since Taché visited the district. The first settlers of the Vasey Ridge went there about thirty years ago ; those on the Rose-

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mount Ridge, about twenty-five years ago. We now learn from these settlers the characters of the village sites there. They had no palisades, and accordingly St. Ignace was not one of the villages on these ridges. Fox's site was chosen through the uncritical use of Ducreux's map, which shows the St. Ignace of about 1640. For the purpose of clearly distinguishing these two places, it has been decided to call the one we are now seeking, St. Ignace II.

Neither can Ducreux's map be taken as a guide for the St. Louis of 1649, as it shows the position of the one of about 1640. Throughout the text of this report, I have called the one of later date, St. Louis II.

As regards the distribution of the other mission sites as laid down by Ducreux, I am inclined to believe that each mission marked a district isolated by physical features; and whether we assume the villages in a group to have been contemporary with each other, or to have been the same village at different periods, each group of villages so divided physically seems to have had its mission. The Rosemount Ridge, for example, would naturally be the care of one of the missions marked St. Jean and St. Joachim.

THE FOREST TRAILS.

The physical features also govern the courses of the forest trails, which, so far as I have located them, are shown by the dotted curving lines on the map. As one may also see from the map, the continuous high ground, along which trails could be made, makes its nearest approach to the Georgian Bay at the head of Victoria Harbor. Here, then, was the commercial centre of the Hurons, as it has also been of later Algonquins. In other words, the physical features of the district were such that Victoria Harbor became naturally the focus or centre of population, the trails radiating from the head of the harbor in several directions inland along the higher ground. It appears to have been this very centre, the heart of the country, that was smitten in 1649; otherwise the Hurons would not have so precipitately deserted their country after the capture of only two of their villages, had these villages been of the ordinary unfortified kinds.

Amongst the results expected from the publication of this report, it is hoped to correct a number of popular errors and wrong impressions that are unduly prevalent in the territory with which we have dealt. There is, of course, the usual tradition of "buried treasures," always to be found in connection with historic reports, and in this locality it is even more rife than elsewhere. Many intelligent persons

are impressed with the idea that treasures have been buried at these historic places, whereas in reality there is nothing more precious to be found than chips of old brass kettles or worn-out tomahawks. But the belief in "treasures" is deeply rooted, and in a few places it even results in reticence when information is sought, and thus obstructs the course of guileless scientific enquiry. As a rule, however, the farmers of Tay, as elsewhere, have been extremely courteous while I was prosecuting my enquiries; and it is hoped that the report will further stimulate them and others to observe closely the Huron remains in their respective neighborhoods.

Of wide prevalence is the erroneous opinion that Fox's farm in Medonte had the site of St. Ignace II, where the two early missionaries were tortured to death by the Iroquois. Father Chazelle's earlier choice of a site on Sturgeon River for St. Ignace has almost been lost sight of by the acceptance of the Fox farm theory. But his theory of Victoria Harbor as the site of St. Louis still lingers, and with a slight change it becomes the truth. The regarding of the human bones found at the site on Sturgeon River as the remains of Brebeuf and Lalle-mant, is an opinion still current with a few of the older persons. But the opinion that "The Chimnies" on the east side of Matchedash Bay were early French structures, is now almost obsolete. Such errors as these, it is hoped, will be finally eradicated by the perusal of these notes.

DESCRIPTIONS OF THE VILLAGE SITES, ETC.

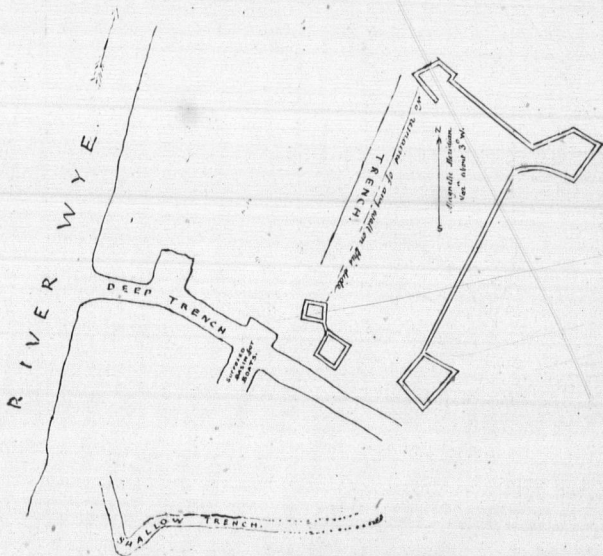
1. SAMUEL D. FRAZER'S.

On the east end of lot 101, concession 2, (Samuel D. Frazer, Esq., owner), Huron camps have been found scattered over an area of five or six acres. Mr. Frazer has lived here since 1839, and has been a close observer in everything that has pertained to the aborigines, as well as in other matters. He states that cornhills were numerous near this site at the time the land was cleared. These cornhills were of the large kind described in our Report on the township of Tiny, page 13. Relics of the usual kinds have been found, and also a few others less common, among which was a discoidal stone measuring an inch and three-fourths in diameter and five-eighths thick, slightly pitted near the middle on each side. This was presented by Mr. Frazer to the Provincial Museum, and is No. 16,702 in the archaeological collection. Mr. Frazer has befriended the science of archæology in other ways, more especially by the presentation to the museum of a sword, dated 1619, also found in this neighborhood. The position of this village

doubtless indicates the direction taken by the trail that led westward from Ste. Marie.

2. STE. MARIE ON THE WYE.

The ruins of Ste. Marie, the fortified mission built by the Jesuits in 1639 and occupied by them for ten years, may be seen on lot 16, concession 3. It was a stone fort and is the most noteworthy object of historic interest in Huronia, though in its present crumbled condition it can be called only a ruin of a ruin.



PLAN OF STE. MARIE ON THE WYE.
By the Rev. Geo. Hallen (in 1852).

While preparing these notes, I was favored by Mr. Edgar Hallen, of Orillia, with the use of a plan of Ste. Marie made in 1852 by his father, the late Rev. Geo. Hallen. With his permission the annexed engraving has been made—a special favor that will be of much value to students of history generally, as the present condition of the fort scarcely admits of the making of a definite sketch. Although the small tracing of the fort in Father Martin's Montreal edition of Bressani's Relation was copied from this plan of Mr. Hallen's, it lacks a number of details given in the original sketch.

end is not continued in the diagram beyond the stonework, but some have observed this to be continued in a southeasterly direction to Mud Lake, thus giving double access for water coming into the trenches. In the event of a siege, if one course should be stopped the other might be kept open.

As every observer will invariably record features that do not "strike" another observer acting independently, it may be interesting to compare Mr. Hallen's plan with one made by Peter Burnet, P. L. Surveyor, who sketched the place in 1876. The latter plan, which also belongs to Mr. Edgar Hallen, includes all the environs on the west half of lot 16, but we reproduce therefrom only the fortification itself.

It is not my intention to give an extended description of the fort here, as it has often been described in accessible books. I will add a few bibliographical notes for the guidance of those readers who may wish to pursue the subject further. The carefully prepared description by the Rev. Felix Martin in his *Life of Jogues* is worthy of the reader's attention, as he visited the place in 1855, when the fort was in a more complete condition than it is in at present.

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Boyle, David Ste. Marie. (Fourth Annual Report of the Canad. Institute—Appendix to Report of the Minister of Education—Toronto, 1891).

The notes on Ste. Marie, at pages 18 and 19, deal chiefly with its present condition.

Bressani F. J. Relation Abrégée. (Montreal, 1852. Edited by the Rev. Felix Martin).

Has various reference to Ste. Marie. It contains also at page 333 some notes by Father Martin on the ruins of Fort Ste. Marie, with a small plan of the fort.

Charlevoix, Francois X. de. History and general description of New France.

In Book VII. there is a description of Ste. Marie.

Harvey, Arthur, and Alan Macdougall. Forty-third Annual Report of the Canad. Institute. Transactions, 4th series, Vol. 3, 1892.

A reference to the excursion made to Ste. Marie on Sept. 28, 1891, mentions the features of the fort recognized on that occasion, including the "water gate."

Hunter, A. F. Note on Ste. Marie on the Wye. [Burrows' Reissue of the Jesuit Relations, (R. G. Thwaites, Editor), page 269, Vol. 19, with sketch map at page 270].

Lalemant, Jerome. Relation de ce qui s'est passé en la mission des Hurons, (June, 1639 to June, 1640).

Chap. IV. De la residence fixe de Sainte Marie.

Martin, Rev. Felix Life of Jogues. Appendix A. contains a carefully written description of Ste. Marie, which Father Martin visited in 1855.

Parkman, Francis. Jesuits in North America.

In Chap. 25 there is a lengthy description of Ste. Marie.

3. JOHN McDERMITT'S.

Remains of a few camps have been found on the northwest corner of John McDermitt's farm, the west half of lot 15, concession 4. The indications are that this was a small village, having no palisades,—the few scattered lodges having been placed there because of some springs. The position shows the probable route taken by the Huron trail that led from Ste. Marie eastward. This lay along the south edge of some elevated ground (islands in the extinct Great Nipissing Lake)—the district immediately south of this trail having been occupied in Huron times by hummocks surrounded with thickets and by small streams flowing into Mud Lake, the ground there being accordingly unsuitable for much travelling.

4. THE PROBABLE SITE OF ST. LOUIS II.

At another part of Mr. McDermitt's farm (lot 15, concession 4) there is a much larger accumulation of blackened soil and ashbeds, mixed with relics. The site is near the line between the west and east halves of the lot, but a little way into the east half. It is situated on a hill, almost, if not quite, surrounded by low ground; and on account of occupying such a position, it is evident *prima facie* that the village had been palisaded. From this place to Ste. Marie the distance is about a mile. Just west of the site rise some springs from which the

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village had been plentifully supplied with fresh water. One man, while ploughing on the site a few years ago, found an earthen pot (which broke on being disturbed), and in it were six iron tomahawks. Northward from the village there was a graveyard containing a few burials, which, so far as observed, were of the isolated or single type. The skeleton of a person of very large proportions was found among these. Angus McDermitt, a brother of the landowner, counted twenty lodges at the site, the ashbeds of camp-fires, etc., being in some places as much as three feet in thickness.

It is probable the site is that of St. Louis II., the second village taken and burned by the Iroquois in March, 1649, and the one at which the Jesuit missionaries, Brebeuf and Lallemant, were captured, being led thence to St. Ignace, where they were put to death. Among the considerations that lead up to this conclusion are the following:—

(a) The size estimated by Mr. McDermitt, viz., twenty lodges (reckoning the usual number of four or five families to every lodge), would be nearly the size of St. Louis as recorded by the Rev. Paul Ragueneau. According to that chronicler, about 500 Hurons had forsaken the place at the first alarm, leaving 80 warriors to fight the Iroquois.

(b) It was on the only route from Ste. Marie eastward to Victoria Harbor, the commercial centre of the Hurons hereabout. As we pointed out in our description of the preceding site, the ground immediately south of this trail was not suitable for travelling; and so far as it has been examined, it yields no traces of villages or trails.

(c) The relics found at this place are of such kinds as to show that it was a village of the very latest period of the Huron occupation of the district. The existence of palisading also tends to prove the same, because, farther back in the country, the Huron villages of earlier date seldom had palisades. Of all the fortified villages belonging to that latest period yet found, this is the nearest to Ste. Marie.

(d) As to the distance of St. Louis II. from Ste. Marie, a little apparent diversity in the evidence furnished by the records confronts us. Ragueneau gives us the distance as not more than a league (two miles and a half); but Regnaut explicitly makes it much less. The latter writer uses the name "St. Ignace" (really applied to the mission among all these villages, as Ragueneau also tells us) for the village to which the two missionaries had set out, and does not mention the name "St. Louis." He gives the distance as "a short quarter of a league" from Ste. Marie. The site under consideration, therefore, is not at variance with the conditions prescribed by either writer.

(e) Wherever situated, it is a fact that St. Louis II. could be seen from Ste. Marie, as all the writers agree in stating that those in the

fort could see the burning of the village. This furnishes a well-authenticated test. From observations made upon the ground, I found that, looking eastward from Ste. Marie, the only place where spectators could see a fire in the distance was at this very site. A small tract of elevated ground, rising out of evergreen thickets, closes the view from Ste. Marie toward the southeast, and disqualifies the sites farther along the trail at the head of Victoria Harbor from being the place we are seeking. It is quite true that, in a southerly direction, had there been a conflagration at site No. 10 on the high ground of the interior, it might have been seen from Ste. Marie across the edge of Mud Lake; but No. 10 as well as the adjacent sites Nos. 11 and 12 connected with it, although regarded by some as St. Louis II, have failed to satisfy other conditions.

This discussion of St. Louis II would be incomplete without some references to the views held by others in regard to its position.

Father Chazelle who visited the locality in 1842 appears to have been the first to form any opinion on the subject. A fishing village at the mouth of Hogg River (No. 7), the landing place for the villages of the interior, was the only site then known in its neighborhood; and he fixed upon it as the site of St. Louis II. Father Martin and other enquirers followed him in holding this opinion. This, however, was determined in accordance with the diagram of Huronia in Ducreux which, as they failed to perceive, shows the earliest position of St. Louis, as we have already pointed out in the introduction.

Others have regarded the site No. 10 as the place. This opinion, however, seems to have been the result of the finding of a very large bonepit there, suggesting to the popular mind that a massacre had taken place, and recalling the fight at St. Louis II. To those who understand how a bonepit was formed among the Hurons, viz., by the accumulation of human bones for a period of several years, the finding of this pit proves exactly the opposite of a massacre; in fact, it furnishes a good proof that the site was occupied, in time of peace and was not St. Louis II. In other respects, also, the site forbids the idea that it was the captured village.

Again, the site on the Evans farm (No. 6) has presented some probable indications, and the reader is referred to our description of it for fuller particulars. But a strong objection to the Evans site lies in the fact that it was hidden from Ste. Marie behind some high ground.

5. NEY'S.

On the west side of Victoria Harbor, some aboriginal remains have been found on lot 14, concession 5. These remains consisted of the

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usual pottery fragments and other relics in ashbeds. Many caches or empty pits are at the site. There is also a patch of second-growth trees—what is called an "Indian clearing;" but this phenomenon may be partly due to the beds of gravel, so much of which is to be found there that the Midland Railway has an extensive "Gravel Pit" near it. But it may also be at least partly due to actual clearing, as the ancestors of some of the present Ojibway Indians at Christian Island are said to have grown their corn at this place, and lived here. It must also have been a landing-place for the earlier Huron Indians.

6. EVANS'.

A Huron village site exists on the Evans farm, the west half of lot 12, concession 5, at a short distance from the shore of Victoria Harbor, and on the elevated ground of an old lake terrace. It is now almost obliterated by the farm buildings, orchard and garden, and its first appearance when the ground was new is difficult to get correctly recorded. But the late Wm. Evans, who first settled this place, and whose family still occupies it, gave Mr. A. C. Osborne an account of what he found, and to Mr. Osborne I am indebted for the following description:—"Mr. Evans built his log house many years ago, and in digging the cellar found about six feet of ashes. Large clumps of cherry trees, remains of corn deposits in birch bark, charred remains of palisades, large numbers of tomahawks, knives, stone implements, and relics of various kinds were also found. The site is admirably adapted for defence on one side only."

From the scanty evidence that has come before me, I have been able to conclude that this village, although occupied during the time of the French traders, did not belong to the very latest period. It is not in full view of Ste. Marie, and accordingly cannot be regarded as St. Louis II, because the burning of that ill-fated village could be seen by the spectators at Ste. Marie.

A short way to the southward of this village site, the ground makes another abrupt rise, the faces of the steep hills being covered with berry patches. On the highest plateau was the cornpatch belonging to the village. This is situated on the northwest quarter of lot 11. Wm. Maughan, the owner, has found many cornhills on his land. There is an excellent view from this high ground, overlooking Victoria Harbor and the more distant islands.

7. VENT'S.

At the mouth of Hogg River there is the site of a village, occupied, doubtless, by Hurons as well as by Algonquins of later times, as the

shore of Victoria Harbor was a favorite resort of Indians until within recent years. Its position at the end of a trail shows that it was a fishing village, and a "port of entry" for the villages of the interior. It is situated on the east bank of the river, on lot 13, concession 6, (Geo. Vent, owner). Pottery fragments were ploughed up here, and other relics, including two double-barred crosses, a large one and a small one. The crosses were found many years ago by one James Maloney while ploughing for the occupant of that time, James Coyle; and were presented to the Rev. Father Charest of Penetanguishene. The site belonged to the earliest Huron period as the pottery fragments go to show, but the double-barred crosses had a more recent origin, probably in the eighteenth century.

This site has acquired some importance from the fact that it was known as early as 1842, when the Rev. Father P. Chazelle, S.J., visited it in the belief that it was St. Louis II. This was an erroneous view as we have elsewhere said, but it was evidently due to the fact that there was no other site then known, and to the acceptance of Ducreux's map as a guide for the positions of the missions in 1649. It was, however, a close approximation to the true position, as the reader may infer from the facts as now understood.

By following the trail up the east bank of the river a little way, the men with Father Chazelle found trees marked with Indian "blazes." One, a large elm, was marked with a cross, probably to show the fork-
ing of the trail at the place. This was at the so-called "Indian clearing" on lot 12, shown in our diagram of the next site.

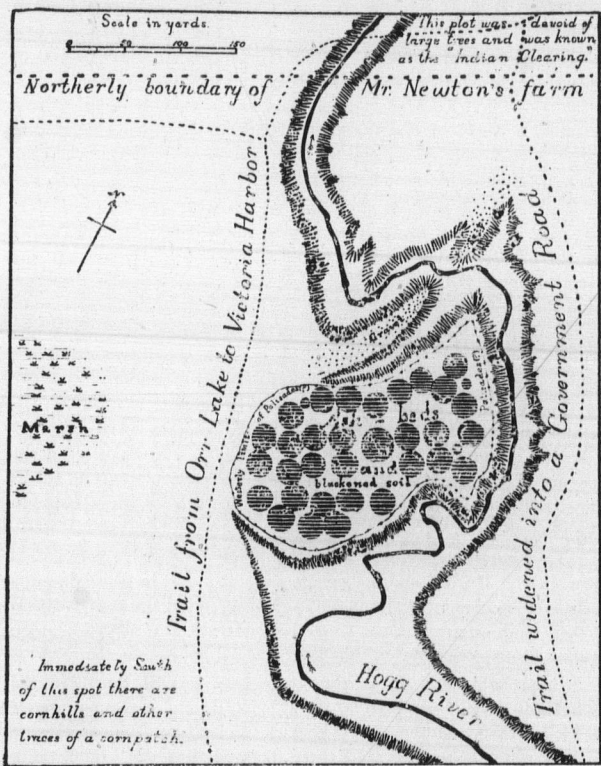
It may be of some interest to add that Father Chazelle, when on this early expedition to Hogg River, held an open air meeting (either at the "Indian clearing" or at the outlet). He preached to a concourse of settlers on the subject of the massacre of the early missionaries.

8. THE PROBABLE SITE OF ST. IGNACE II.

Through the farm of Chas. E. Newton, Esq., the west half of lot 11, concession 6, the Hogg River has cut a couloir or path in the old lake bed deposits to a depth varying from fifteen to twenty feet. In this part of its course the river makes a loop something like the letter U, which encloses an ideal spot for a village requiring means of defence.

Hurons selected for one of their villages this plot of ground, containing four or five acres, in the bend of the river. This ground is covered with ashbeds and blackened soil, mixed with relics. The latter consisted of iron tomahawks, knives, pieces of metal probably cut out of worn-out brass kettles, and pottery fragments in endless quan-

tities. All these relics show that the site was one of those occupied down to the very latest period of the Huron occupation of the district. There are empty caches at the site, and a pottery just south of it, where the clay is of good quality for plastic work. Mr. Newton has experimented successfully in making terra cotta from the same clay



THE PROBABLE SITE OF ST. IGNACE II AND ITS ENVIRONS.
WHERE DREBEUF AND LALLEMANT WERE PUT TO DEATH, MARCH, 1649.

What appears to have been "the village corn patch" occurs near the house of Wm. Bennett on lot 10, and it may have extended as far north as the site itself, though the cultivated ground no longer shows any traces of the corn hills. From this site to Ste. Marie the distance is $3\frac{1}{4}$ miles.

A trail comes from Orr Lake by the way of Waverley, and just before reaching this place is divided into two strands, one passing down each side of the river. These meet again at the "Indian Clearing" on lot 12, which we mentioned in connection with the last site. The trail down the east side as far as the "Indian Clearing," and thence to the mouth of the river, was widened, many years ago, into a Government road, now disused.

It is probable the so-called "Indian Clearing" is due to the gravelly soil, which would not permit of the growth of trees, rather than to actual clearing by the aborigines. But, whatever its origin, it was certainly a resort of the Indians, the fork in the trail having been here. These trails were used by them until recent years when the erection of fences obstructed their course.

The plot of ground in the bend of the river has been called the "Je-u-its' Field" for many years, but by whom it was so-named is not known to Mr. Newton. Nor has my enquiry so far elicited any explanation of the name, unless it became connected with the place from the visit of Rev. P. Chazelle, S.J., to the neighborhood in 1842, as described in the account of the last mentioned site. It is not evident, however, that he visited this plot on the west side of the river.

This spot has also the usual traditions of buried treasure, in even greater numbers than elsewhere, if that were possible. Thus, the Rev. J. H. McCollum, rector of St. Thomas, Toronto, who was here at the opening of the Anglican church in 1896, makes a reference to one of these traditions in his account of the place written for the *Canadian Churchman* :—

"This happy valley was once the scene of terrible encounters between the Hurons and the savage Iroquois; and in this valley the early missionaries to these unhappy red men buried the sacred vessels of their church to save them from destruction. The place is known as the 'Jesuit's Meadow' to this day."

It is probable this site in the river's bend was St. Ignace II., the first Huron village captured by the Iroquois in the early morning of March 16, 1649, and the place to which Brebeuf and Lallemant were brought, a few hours later, and there tortured to death. Its distance from Ste. Marie coincides pretty well with the records, all the writers agreeing that it was less than two leagues (five miles), and about a league from St. Louis, which, in my opinion, was the site at Mr. McDermitt's (No. 4).

But the strongest evidence is in the configuration of the ground. Rev. P. Ragueneau's account of the place (Relation, 1649) suggests a

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plan of the village and its surroundings, and tells us beforehand of what appearances we may expect to find there. He says:—

"It was surrounded by a palisade of posts from fifteen to sixteen feet high, and by a deep trench (fossé), with which Nature had powerfully strengthened the place on three sides, a small space alone remaining weaker than the others. It was through that part the enemy forced his entrance."

While this description of St. Ignace II. will suit, in some measure, almost any palisaded site, because these were, as a rule, placed on a spur of land, the completeness of the fortification, effected by Nature in this case, was such as to attract the attention of the chronicler who wrote the description just quoted. After a diligent search through the sites of the district, I can find none that so exactly agrees with this description of St. Ignace II. as this site on Mr. Newton's farm.

9. HUTCHINSON'S AND TAYLOR'S.

A village site on the farm of John Hutchinson, the east half of lot 10, concession 5, extends into the adjoining farm of Levi Taylor, lot 9. In a field of twelve acres at the south side of Mr. Hutchinson's farm he has found these camps chiefly along the foot of a hill, against the face of which the abandoned beaches of the Great Nipissing Lake are strongly marked. There is nothing in the appearance of these straggling camps to indicate that they had been palisaded. The village was plentifully supplied with water; a spring issues just north of what was the most thickly populated ground; and the Hogg River is divided into two parts at the front of the farm, one part flowing near

the site. The ashbeds have yielded the usual relics. An engraving of a clay pipe, found upon Levi Taylor's farm, is reproduced here from the *Archæological Report* for 1897-8, page 19. Some carbonized corncobs have been found among the remains, and cornhills were visible when the land was first put under cultivation. An aggregate of more than a dozen iron tomahawks have, at various times, been found by Mr. Hutchinson in his field.



A bonepit was discovered in the year 1879 on lot 9 (Levi Taylor's) near the boundary line of Mr. Hutchinson's farm. It measured about twelve feet in diameter, and the deposit of human bones went to a depth of about six feet below the level of the surrounding ground. Deducting two feet for the vacancy at the top of the pit, caused by sinkage, leaves the thickness of the deposit at about four feet. The bonepit has been filled in and is now ploughed over. A short account

of it appeared, at the time it was found, in the *Orillia Packet* of September 5, 1879, and this was reprinted (though the source was not indicated) in the *Toronto (Daily) Globe* of September 16, in the same year. Mr. Hutchinson confirmed, in the presence of the writer, on July 5th, 1899, the various particulars cited in this printed account. The pieces of copper had probably been sections from kettles obtained from French traders. The shape of one seen by myself was trapezoidal, its sides being about a foot long, and its parallel ends two and four inches respectively. Two or three skulls taken from the pit had round holes in them. We reproduce here the original description exactly as it appeared in the newspapers above mentioned:—

“While logging on lot 9, concession 5, Tay, Mr. John Hutchinson and Messrs. G. H. and Hugh Mills discovered a large grave, containing, they suppose, in the neighborhood of five hundred bodies. They opened the grave and obtained two tomahawks, bearing a French stamp; four pieces of copper, each resembling a sole of a boot, of different sizes, and wrapped in buckskin which is still fresh and strong; one clay tobacco pipe, and parts of two sea-shells, one in fair preservation. The bones are those of people much above the present ordinary stature. The searchers saw a few children's remains, but these were not in good preservation. A large tree was growing above, and had sent its roots down through, the grave. Mr. Hutchinson finds many pieces of Indian crockery in clearing up his farm (lot 10).”

Some camps that may be reckoned as part of this village occur on land of Wm. Taylor, the west half of lot 9, concession 5, abutting the farm of his son, Levi. His land extends over the hill already mentioned, and it was on the lower ground where these camps were found. On the higher ground, however, near his dwelling house, the point of a sword (ten inches long) was found in 1899 and from time to time iron tomahawks in considerable numbers. As many as seven were to be seen at one time lying around the house.

On the east half of lot 8, concession 5 (west side of Hogg River), there were formerly found a few pottery fragments, iron tomahawks and clay pipes when the land was cleared.

The scattered village that we have just finished describing may have been the mission marked *Kaotia* on Ducreux's map, though this mission was more probably the group in the 3rd concession at lot 10; but so inexact is the map just mentioned that we can scarcely decide which place is meant. The Rev. A. E. Jones, of St. Mary's College, Montreal, has a wide acquaintance with the literature of the missions, and makes *Kaotia* identical with St. Anne's (*Orillia News-Letter*, June 29, 1899).

10. JOHN HOUGHTON'S.

A site on lot 10, concession 3, at which two bonepits have been found, has attained to more than ordinary fame. So many persons have seen or heard of one or the other of the bonepits here, and mention it to enquirers, that it has become the most celebrated among the many interesting sites of the district—a fact that is perhaps also partly due to the great size of one of the pits. It has been stated to myself that the first pit was examined by the late Dr. Taché during his explorations of the remains in Huronia. Whether this statement be correct or not (which we have no means of knowing, because Taché's work is chiefly unpublished), one of the pits was certainly known at an early date. It was often described as Errington's, because that was the name of the first settler near it, though it was not located on his farm. It appears to have been since the time of Dr. Taché's alleged visit, however, that another large bonepit was discovered near the first, the discovery of the latter having taken place in 1878. It attracted some attention in the newspapers at the time, and one of the paragraphs (from the *Oakville Express*, Nov. 1, 1878), we give herewith:—

"A large pit or 'cave' has lately been discovered on (near) Mr. W. Errington's farm, near Wyebidge, in which to appearance were the remains of about two thousand persons, besides brass kettles, beads, pipes, and other Indian relics. It is supposed to be in the vicinity of an old Jesuit fort, St. Louis, where in 1649 there was a terrific struggle between the now almost extinct Hurons and the Iroquois."

The skulls in this second bonepit are said to have been arranged in rows. Among the articles found in it were a block of copper, some copper kettles and braids of human hair. I visited this famous site on July 7, 1899, and inspected the pit just described. It has a diameter of twenty feet and is situated on the southeast quarter of lot 10, the owner being John Houghton.

What was described to me as the body of a child was found in one of these pits (probably the first one discovered), wrapped in fur, and placed in a copper kettle, the oxide from which had protected the fleshy remains from decay. But this may have been only part of a child's body, as descriptions are sometimes unintentionally distorted even by eye-witnesses. It is not improbable that it was the specimen that ultimately found its way into Dr. Bawtree's collection, and is designated "Forearm and hand of a child from Sepulchral Pit."

There was a cornpatch at this site, a portion of which may still be observed in the woods near at hand. There was a trail from here to Victoria Harbor, and if there was another trail in summer leading in

a direct line to Ste. Marie, the only passable route would lie nearly where the fourth concession line is now located, and would cross at least three evergreen thickets.

It will be observed that the writer of the paragraph, quoted above, gives credence to the view that the site under consideration was that of the mission of St. Louis II. ; and the late Rev. J. W. Annis, a Methodist minister, who devoted some attention to the Huron sites, held the same opinion. I am inclined, however, to regard this place as the one marked Kaotia on Ducreux's map. And as a village had to be moved for sanitary reasons about every ten years, the two adjacent sites (Nos. 11 and 12) would probably indicate the same village at different periods of its existence.

11. Whether the campfires of the site just described are situated near the bonepits, or whether the marks of habitation there are only those incidental to the cornpatch, is not yet clear. It is established beyond doubt, however, that many ashbeds of camps occur on the west half of lot 10, concession 3. Wm. Hanes, the tenant, has found many pottery fragments, pipes, stone axes, and iron tomahawks, the latter being numerous.

12. On the east half of lot 9, concession 3, there is a village site that shows some evidence of fortification. It is situated on the level top of a hill or spur of high ground, and was probably palisaded. Ashbeds are numerous, and there was a refuse heap or mound, in all of which the usual relics have been found. The lot is owned by J. D. Carscadden, Elliott's Corners, and occupied by the family of Sylvester Campbell, Midland.

13. A village site occurs on the east half of lot 91, concession 1. Cornelius McCarthy, an early settler in the district and the first person to settle upon this lot, being still the owner. Stone axes, iron tomahawks, tobacco pipes, pottery fragments and other relics have been found at this site, which was located at natural springs of water.

14. On lot 87 (east half), concession 1, a village site is met with; also a bonepit and ten or more graves or small bonepits. These were opened chiefly during the time of occupation of the late Anthony Latanville, who was the owner of the farm for many years. Prof. Henry Montgomery (now of Trinity University, Toronto) writes as follows of a relic found here: "The piece of large copper kettle, with beaver skin adhering to it, and which I donated to the University (of Toronto), was taken from an ossuary on Latanville's place." This relic is No. 335 of the University collection. The village site covers about three acres, and springs rise at it, uniting and flowing into the Wye

River. Iron tomahawks were numerous. A piece of lead fourteen pounds in weight was found; also bullets; and a neighbor, Thos. McDowell, once found a gun.

15. A village site occurs on the west half of lot 85, concession 1. Charles Elliott, who now occupies the farm on which the next site is located (No. 16), was formerly the owner here, and during his term of ownership pottery fragments, iron tomahawks, etc., were found. Refuse mounds, indicating prolonged habitation, occur at this site, which is near the stream belonging also to the next site, but on the opposite bank.

16. The village site numbered here is located upon the west half of lot 84, concession 1 (Chas. Elliott, owner). Pottery fragments, tobacco pipes, iron tomahawks and other relics have been found. The site extends across the Penetanguishene Road into Wm. McLellan's plot of ground, on which have also been found many iron tomahawks, pipes, etc.^a At this site, which is beside a stream, two empty caches or hiding pits occur on Mr. Elliott's land.

17. On the west half of lot 4, concession 3, occurs a site, but it does not appear to be so extensive as others on higher ground (George Simpson, owner). It is located beside a stream that runs into Hogg River at a short distance from it. They have found here various relics, including iron tomahawks.

18. A village of considerable size existed on the southwest quarter of lot 77, concession 1. George Dawe is the present owner, but many remains were found in the time of Robert Gorman, the former occupant. Two refuse mounds were formerly to be seen, showing that the village had been a permanent one. Ashbeds occur over an area of about four acres, and they contained numbers of iron tomahawks, glass beads, pottery fragments, pipes, etc. A stream rises here and flows into Hogg River just beyond the Simpson site (No. 17).

19. Many relics have been picked up on the Bannister homestead, lot 76, concession 1. These included iron tomahawks, stone axes and pottery fragments, indicating the occurrence of Huron camps. But whether these were outlying habitations of the last mentioned village site (No. 18) or a distinct site altogether, I have not been able to decide. When the land was cleared cornhills were to be seen on the east part of this farm. In connection with the great abundance of



Huron corn patches, mentioned so frequently in these notes, I have observed that Indian corn at the present day matures with great rapidity on the fine sandy loam of this locality.

Various other sites occur in the immediate neighborhood of the Bannister farm, but just beyond the boundaries of Tay township. It is not our intention, therefore, to take notice of them here. But the occurrence of some camps where many interesting relics have been found may be mentioned in passing. These are on lot 76, concession 1, Tiny, the farm formerly occupied by the Bell family. A finely carved pipe, having a representation of what was probably intended for a bear, was among the relics found.



20. South-easterly from the mouth of Hogg River, and standing out by itself, is a tract of high ground on which some village sites are met with, undoubtedly Huron in their origin. One of these is on the west half of lot 11, concession 7, occupied by Joseph Belfry. On this farm, and near the site now under consideration, there is a piece of land where no large trees had grown in the forest that formerly covered the place—in fact, just such a bare patch as we found at No. 8. Some persons supposed that this also was an "Indian clearing," but in reality it was merely a gravelly patch, where the soil was unfavorable to the growth of large trees. The ashbeds here occupy a kind of shelf of land that slopes towards the north, and they extend westward across the seventh concession line, a short way into the farm of Sherman Belfry, east half of lot 11, concession 6. On both farms the occupants have found iron tomahawks, tobacco pipes, and the usual fragments of earthen pots. Where the concession line crosses the site I observed many of these fragments in ashbeds, besides other evidences of Huron occupation. As higher ground lies along the south of the camps, and as their form is not compact but string-like, it is pretty evident that no palisading ever existed here. It may therefore be concluded that, although the village was inhabited during the time of French traders (as the tomahawks show), it was not occupied at the latest part of that period.

21. On the next farms southward, but separated from the last site by the slightly higher ground just mentioned, the remains of an important village have been found. It is situated on the north-east quarter of lot 10, concession 6 (Edward Crooks, owner), but also covers a portion of the south-east quarter of the same lot (Wilson Crooks, owner). Its position is on a high terrace with low ground along the south. The remains have been found chiefly at the fronts of these

two farms, near the dwelling-houses and farm buildings. Here they have found quantities of iron tomahawks, tobacco pipes, pottery fragments, etc.; and cornhills in abundance were to be seen before the ground had been cultivated long enough to obliterate them. These were especially visible when the first settler of this lot (William Hill) lived here. During his time the ashbeds were quite distinct. This site extends across the public road into the front part of the farm of Matthew Campbell (west half of lot 10, concession 7), where they have found the same kinds of relics; but the late George Mills, the original settler on this lot, found much more than has the present occupant. Although this site covered considerable ground, it is doubtful whether any palisading ever existed at it, not having been compact and lying adjacent to higher ground. Its position agrees closely with that of the mission of St. Louis as marked on Ducreux's map, which lays them down as they were about the year 1640, almost all having been shifted before the extermination in 1649.

22. Traces of a village have been found on the east half of lot 7, concession 7. James Hamilton, sr., was the first settler upon this farm, about eighteen years ago, and when clearing the land he found ashbeds, iron tomahawks and other relics.

23. Another exists on the east half of lot 5, concession 7. William Hopkins, the present tenant, and William Hanes, a former occupant, have both found the usual pottery and pipe fragments, iron tomahawks, flint spear-head, etc. The site is near a small ravine that drains northeastward to the Sturgeon River.

24. Across the concession line, on the west half of lot 5, concession 8, Arthur Loney, the owner, finds a few remains; but this site is not large in comparison with some others in the neighborhood.

25. Farther south on the same line, a site of considerable size occurs at the adjacent corners of lots 3 and 4, where four farms meet. When Robert Warden, the owner of the west half of lot 3, concession 8, dug the cellar for his dwelling house here, they found ashbeds of a surprising depth. Numerous relics were also found, including beads (native and European), iron knives and iron tomahawks, the latter in considerable numbers. Across the road in concession 7, near the boundary between the farms of John Morrison (lot 3, east half) and Robert Lochart (lot 4, east half) were some refuse mounds. And in the adjoining corner of Patrick Canavan's land (southwest quarter of lot 4, concession 8) a few relics have been picked up. It is estimated that the camps here covered about fifteen acres altogether, situated, as in so many other instances, upon an old lake terrace.

26. Another village occurs on the land of Andrew Brown, west half of lot 4, concession 7. A spring issues near this site and drains to the Sturgeon River. The occupants have found stone axes or "skinning stones" and other relics. Large numbers of French iron tomahawks have been found, especially during the time of the first settler, John Moad. It is related how the roof of his shanty was the receptacle for these relics, and was sometimes covered with them, fifty or more lying upon it at one time. Some scattered relics, similar to these, have been found on the opposite farm across the concession line.

27. When the east half of lot 3, concession 6, was cleared about thirty years ago, the first settler upon it—Matthew Campbell—found relics (including iron tomahawks) indicating the site of another village. A few were also found on the farm of his brother, the late John Campbell, across the road, but not in sufficient numbers to indicate any site. William Albert Campbell, a son of the first settler, now occupies lot 3 in question. There is lower ground on the rear of the farm where water could be had, the drainage flowing toward Hogg river.

28. Following the same concession line southward, one finds the site of another village on the next farm, east half of lot 2, concession 6. The owner, Hector McLeod, found the camps named in the southwest part of his farm, and they were strewn with various relics, such as pottery fragments, pipes, iron tomahawks, etc. Thomas, his son, found a large European bead which he sent to the museum. It is a large coarse glass bead, with hues of red, white and blue in a scallop pattern. The water drainage at the place runs southward and then around to Hogg river, passing westward about lot 22 in Medonte. The site is not large in comparison with others.

29. On the west half of lot 1, concession 7 (John A. Swan, owner), is another. Traces of it were formerly quite distinct on the high ground behind the farm buildings, and many relics of the usual kinds were found at various times—stone axes, iron tomahawks, tobacco pipes (both clay and stone) and pottery fragments. Mr. Swan settled here in 1870, and in the earliest years of his term of occupation corn-hills were distinctly visible west of the camps, but these hills have been obliterated by frequent ploughing. In connection with this site it should be mentioned that a large bonepit was discovered in the year 1869 on adjoining land across the townline, in the township of Medonte. It is not yet evident whether this bonepit was connected with this site or with another farther south, but it is not too far from this one to have belonged to it, being only about seventy rods distant from the townline in front of Mr. Swan's residence.

30. There is a site on the farm of James Russell, east half of lot 4, concession 5, and some relics of the usual kinds have been found at it, but it appears to have been small in comparison with others. There was a patch of cornhills near by, and probably used by the inhabitants of this site, on the farm of Wm. Russell, west half of lot 3, concession 6, though these cornhills have been chiefly obliterated by cultivation.

31. The remains of a Huron village, the inhabitants of which appear to have used the same position for several years, have been found upon the west half of lot 3, concession 5. The first settler on this farm, Robert Webb, came in 1865, and remained on it until about twelve years ago. As he was a close observer, besides having resided here so long, our information in regard to the site is fuller than in many other cases. A noteworthy feature was the finding of a *cache* or hiding-pit filled with corn. The grains were as black as charcoal, and the inference was that they had been charred or roasted. But their black color doubtless arose merely from their great age, 250 years or more being sufficient to carbonize any kind of seed. The discovery of the corn is confirmed by Hector McLeod, who observed it while ploughing. The amount was estimated at more than two bushels. In the field south of the site many cornhills were visible when they cleared the land. Beside the village a human skeleton was found buried. Among the relics found were tobacco pipes of various kinds, some with human faces, stone axes, iron tomahawks and knives, pieces of brass kettles in great numbers. Since Mr. Webb retired from the farm various persons have lived upon it either as owners or tenants. Among these were Matthew Vasey and Wm. Widdes; the present owner is George Jones. During their respective terms of occupancy some relics were also found. John Ashley Bailie, who taught at Russell's schoolhouse in the neighborhood, frequently searched here for relics. He writes of the workmanship of the specimens as follows: "The pottery fragments were nearly all nicely carved; the carving, of course, being of a somewhat rude type. The pipes showed a great deal of skill upon the part of the makers; their bowls were wrought in a variety of forms. In some instances they took the form of the head of some animal or bird. One pipe stem, judging from its appearance, must have been formed by drilling a hole right through an ordinary stone. A pipe bowl, formed out of a common stone, about two inches and a half in diameter, had on either side of the bowl a head of some animal." Mr. Bailie picked up many little pieces of sheet metal, probably from brass kettles. He says these were to be found in all parts of the field. It would appear that when the kettles obtained from the French traders became useless from having holes in them, the

Hurons cut them up by some means into chips and used the pieces as arrowheads, knives, etc. At some other village sites of the later period of French occupation, the ground is also strewn with these metal chips. In order to examine its position, I visited this site on July 5th, 1899, and made a diagram of it. The usual fragments of pottery and clam shells were to be seen. The ashbeds were most numerous at the head of a small ravine, the abrupt descent to which is about 30 feet; and here the inhabitants found their supply of fresh water in springs. Passing from this ravine, the ground rises gently through the field, which contains about 12 acres but is not all covered with ashbeds. There is nothing in its situation to lead one to believe this village had been palisaded. When the Hurons built a village for defence, it was usual to select a place where Nature assisted. But here, Nature furnishes no aid, rather the opposite. So it is not probable that palisades will be found. A trail has always existed here, leading past site No. 30.

32. On the east half of lot 1, concession 5, there is a site where the usual relics—pottery fragments, pipes, iron tomahawks, stone axes, etc.—have been found. Robert Hall, the owner, has lived here since 1873, and he has informed me that before the land was cultivated he could see the cornhills that were used by the Huron inhabitants of the village.

33. A small site occurs on the east half of lot 2, concession 3. This farm was formerly owned and cleared by John Tinney, who found, previous to 1876, various relics including iron tomahawks. Among subsequent owners was Michael Russell, and the present occupant is Hiram Jennett.

34. Various remains, found beside the shore at a spot just west of Waubaushene, indicate the position of what was a favorite resort of the aborigines in considerable numbers. It appears to be situated upon lot 11, concession 10. An area of about ten acres is the extent of ground over which remains have been found. The patch of second growth trees here was believed to show where there had once been an Indian clearance, but, as in many other cases, it may be more correctly explained by the presence of gravelly soil. It was formerly a favorite resort for relic seekers, some of whom dug into Indian graves, of which some exist here. The graves, thus molested, were not communal but single burials. Some iron tomahawks and gun barrels have been found, the latter tending to show that the site was occupied in the eighteenth century by Algonquins. But whether it was a landing place of the Hurons in earlier times is not yet evident.

35. Farther west, at Tanner's Mill, (also known as Tannerville) more aboriginal remains have been found. It was at the shore here that the trail to the interior had its northerly end. And in the days of early settlement (in 1830, or soon after) this trail was widened into a Government road from Coldwater, and a blockhouse erected here. The place was a depot on the way to the early mines of the upper lakes. It had docks, and the early steamers of Georgian Bay made it a port for calls, the other port being Penetanguishene. Altogether, the port of Sturgeon Bay—the terminus of the Government portage—in the days before railways was a stirring place. But its glory has long since departed. Many legends cling around the old place, and stories of buried treasures. But the only articles ever found here, so far as can be learned with certainty, were a few Indian beads and fragments of human bones, besides some other kinds of Indian relics. These were found on the high ground just back from the shore. This place was always a frequent resort of Algonquins; but its origin was doubtless earlier, in Huron times, when the trail to the interior was in constant use. Ducreux's map places the mission of St. Jean (not St. Jean Baptiste) to the right of the outlet of Sturgeon River, and a short way inland. It will be seen by referring to our map that there is a tract of high ground here, an island during the time of the Great Nipissing Lake, and this tract is separated from the high ground of the interior by low swampy ground through which a stream flows toward Sturgeon River. St. Jean was a mission to the Ataronchronons, while the mission next south of it (according to the Ducreux map), viz., St. Joachim, was among the Arendaronons. A physical demarcation of some kind, between St. Jean and St. Joachim, is thus suggested, because the Huron "nations" were usually divided from each other by physical boundaries. It is possible, therefore, that St. Jean belonged to the isolated tract of high ground now under consideration, and was a site near Tannerville, if not the one itself at the place.

36. Rev. Father Chazelle, whose investigations in the Huron country in 1842 we have already mentioned, made a search on the east side of the Sturgeon River for the site of St. Ignace, where Brebeuf and Lallemant were put to death. It is evident that, in doing this, he was following Ducreux's map, which gives the position of the earlier and first St. Ignace, and that he had not become aware of the fact that a second St. Ignace had existed. He directed the French Canadians with him to run the canoe up Sturgeon River a mile and a half from the outlet. Near where they landed they found, in the woods, a village site, and at it some relics, such as conch-shells. Here were "blazes" or marks upon trees, made by Indians of comparatively

recent times, but which lent an antiquarian setting to the place. They found also, in graves, the bones of two persons, which tradition has erroneously regarded as those of Brebeuf and Lallemant, forgetful of the fact that their bones were found by the searching party from Ste. Marie in 1649, and taken to Quebec.

37. Passing to the high ground east of the Sturgeon River, one finds the most northerly site of the group on the land of Frank Joseph, the west half of lot 6, concession 10. Here, on a patch of ground, cultivated only during the past two seasons, they have found stone axes, an iron tomahawk, a tobacco pipe and some fragments of deer bones.

38. Some ashbeds of Huron camps are met with on the farm of Alex. Begg, the west half of lot 5, concession 10. They have found pottery shreds, pipes, stone axes and numbers of iron tomahawks. Southwest of this site, which is not large, there is a small huckleberry marsh; it is on the opposite side of the road, on lot 4, but near the site.

39. A site of moderate dimensions occurs on the northwest quarter of lot 4, concession 10,—the farm of James Stewart. On a patch of high ground, toward the centre of the farm, they have found pottery fragments, iron knives, iron tomahawks, etc. Similar relics have been found on the adjoining fifty-acre farm, or southwest quarter of the same lot 4, which is cultivated by Mr. Begg; and also a few on the east half, owned and occupied by Robert C. Stewart.

40. Across the road, on the east half of lot 4, concession 9, James Paden, the owner, has found iron tomahawks, pottery fragments, etc., in ashbeds and patches blackened by Huron camp-fires. These occur on the highest ground—a large knoll at the rear of his farm.

41. A similar small site occurs on the east half of lot 3, concession 9. In the extreme southeast corner, the usual relics have been found; and a part of this site extends into the adjoining land of Joseph Greatrix, where he has found the kinds of relics mentioned under the last site, besides stone axes. On its north side this village was near another huckleberry marsh.

42. Another site, distinct from the one last mentioned, is on the farm of Joseph Greatrix, the east half of lot 2, concession 9. Mr. Greatrix has lived on this farm for 25 years, and has frequently found, at the rear of it, the usual remains of camps and the same kinds of relics as occur at the other villages of this group.

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It will be observed that the six preceding sites on the Rosemount Ridge are small, there being probably not more than a dozen camps at any of them; and there are no bonepits associated with them. But on this same high ridge, in Medonte township, about a mile south of the Tay townline, some bonepits have been found at larger villages. It is but natural to suppose that, as regards Feasts of the Dead and the formation of bonepits among the Rock Nation or Arendaronons, the small outlying villages of this group would be tributary or subordinate to the larger villages situated farther south in Medonte. The mission of St. Joachim was perhaps in this group of smaller villages.

43. At a little distance from the shore of Matchedash Bay, near Fesserton, many relics of the aborigines have been found. These were most frequently met with upon rising ground on the farm of George Bush, lot 5, concession 12, and also on lot 4. Villages situated like this, near the shores of the large lakes, mostly yield relics which have undoubtedly belonged to Algonquins of a period subsequent to the Hurons. But in the present instance, if the remains were those of Algonquins, they must have belonged to an early period—before the traders had supplied them with kettles for cooking purposes—as is amply testified by the fragments of primitive pots made from baked clay, so commonly found at Huron sites, and also found here. At the projection of land known as Bush's Point, some refuse mounds were formerly to be seen.

44. On the opposite shore of Matchedash Bay, at Rankin's Point, on lot 6, concession 13, similar remains have been found. Here, by the shore, were also found a few graves (single burials) in which the skeletons had been buried in a crouching position. One of the skeletons was decked with a large medal, glass beads, and other trinkets done up in cedar bark, and evidently belonged to a more recent period than the Hurons. The same skeleton had unusually large proportions, and the back of the skull was found fractured, whether from accident or otherwise.

45. In a list of the antiquities of Tay, one should not omit to mention the remains called "The Chimneys," situated on lot 5, concession 13, opposite Fesserton, or rather Bush's Point, on the east side of Matchedash Bay. Jas. Abbott is the present occupant of the farm. The remains are located upon what is known as "Chimney Point," where an area of about 40 acres had been originally cleared. They constitute all that is now left of the buildings occupied from 1778 till 1793 and later by Cowan, a fur trader. The writer's purpose in re-

ferring to them in this place is because they were formerly often spoken of as the ruins of a structure belonging to the early French period. Even yet, they are sometimes referred to as such, and it is desirable to give a few words of caution against this error. Governor Simcoe was the guest of Cowan at this place in 1793. (See Macdonell's Diary in Transactions of the Canad. Institute, Fourth Series, Vol. I). On a recent occasion when the writer visited this place, the foundation of the main building could be distinctly seen, (built of stone and lime), and there were three chimnies grouped around this trading house—one apparently at either end of the building, and another at some little distance away, representing probably the bakehouse. There were other buildings near at hand, of which the foundations could be traced when Mr. Abbott first went there.

46. On Bluff Point, near Port Severn, some pottery fragments, pipes, etc., have been observed. No other relics have been found that would indicate the exact period to which this site belonged, which was doubtless quite early as the coarse fragments of baked clay vessels go to prove.

INDIAN VILLAGE SITES IN THE COUNTIES OF OXFORD
AND WATERLOO.

BY W. J. WINTENBERG.

During the past four or five years I have had the pleasure of visiting the following Indian village sites: seven in Blenheim township, one in the township of North Dumfries; one in Waterloo Township, two in Wilmot, and one in East Oxford.

Blenheim Township.

Village Site No. 1, is situated on the farm of James Laidlaw, south-east quarter of lot 11, concession 8, and is directly opposite the C.P.R. station at Wolverson. The land has been under cultivation for the last twenty years, and as it was diligently searched by local relic seekers every time it was ploughed, naturally, very few specimens of any value are to be found.

A few mementoes of the primeval forest, in the shape of huge pine stumps, are scattered on the field. Some of these are over four feet in diameter, and if the manner of computing the age of trees by means of the concentric rings of annual growth be reliable, they are of great age. Several of these stumps stand on the top of an ash-bed, and on one being pulled up about two years ago, a few pottery fragments were found beneath it. Evidently the trees grew after the abandonment of the village by its inhabitants. What appears to have influenced the aborigines in the selection of this as a suitable place for settlement, was the presence of a small rivulet, which flowed in a north-easterly direction.

Wild fruits and nut-bearing trees are abundant in the neighborhood of this village site. Among the fruits may be mentioned, choke-cherries, wild red, and black cherries, and wild plums. These all came in for a considerable share in the Indian's bill of fare. Leather-wood or moose-wood shrubs (*Dirca palustris*) are also abundant in some of the maple woods. The bark of this shrub is very tough, and, according to Peter Kalm, an early traveller, the Indians made use of it for ropes and baskets.

Among the many interesting specimens I found on this site are two Huronian slate gorgets; one unfinished, and the other merely a flat, oval pebble with two perforations. I also found a very small clay pipe, the dimensions of which are: stem, 1 inch; bowl, height $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches, diameter at mouth, $\frac{3}{8}$ of an inch. This specimen was undoubtedly a toy and may have been made by a child, as the workmanship is very rude.

Articles of shell are common. Many of them are merely the valves of a species of *unio* and were, no doubt, used for smoothing the inside of clay vessels while they were in a plastic state. They may also have been used in tanning, as they would be found very serviceable in dressing the hide and removing hair and fur. The larger shells, requiring no further preparation to adapt them to such a use, may have been used as spoons. The edges of some specimens are much worn, and many of them, it is evident, have seen long service as scrapers. I have found shell-beads on this camp, which are made out of two kinds of ocean univalves. One of these is a species of *olivella* and is ground at the apex to admit a thread. The other species has a perforation at the mouth. They also perforated for beads the shells of one of our large fresh-water gasteropods, *melanthis* (*paludina*) *decisa*. The bone beads found on this village site are of the usual cylindrical form and were sawed off from small bird and mammal bones. They are from one-half to two and sometimes three inches in length. A large number of beads that appear to have been made of human finger bones, sawed in two and perforated at the ends, were also found. The general assumption among local collectors is, that they were the bones of enemies killed in battle, and were worn as a badge of honor among the Indians. I was always rather doubtful of this, as I believed that they were the bones of some quadruped and later research has proved this to be a fact, but one unacquainted with the anatomical details of the human skeleton would readily suppose that they were the phalanges of the hand.

A bone that seems to have been used as a pipe was found on this site by a friend. It is either a metacarpal or metatarsal bone from some large mammal's foot, and has a large hole bored at the larger end and a smaller, without doubt, the stem-hole, at the other. Mr. Boyle, to whom I showed this specimen and the "finger-bone" beads above mentioned, thinks that they were used as bangles.

The hammer stones that have been found here are of the usual oval or rounded form pitted on the flat side. Albert Smart of Plattsville, found a specimen with a handle, which is pitted on the larger end and on both the upper and lower surfaces. This was no doubt used as a nut-cracker. The late Newell Waugh, of Bright, found a similar specimen on village site No. 3. I found a specimen that is not pitted, but which appears to have come in contact with some hard substance like flint, for the indentures or pits are not rounded as in most of the specimens found, but are long and angular; perhaps it was used in flaking flint and other hard substances.

It is well known that ochre was used as a coloring matter for the face and hands by the aborigines. I discovered a small deposit of red

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ochre on this site, which appears to have been contained in a pot, fragments of which I found with it. It is of a dull, reddish hue when dry, but when wet it assumes a bright red color. It was no doubt applied to the body with grease, for thus it would always retain its bright color.

The finding of articles of native copper on this village site proves that the primitive inhabitants of this district had some intercourse with the Indian tribes of Lake Superior, where the copper was originally procured, for it is well known that no copper of a malleable nature exists within the boundaries of the Neutral or Attiwendaronk territory. The objects were awls. The person who found one of them described it as being over five inches in length, about as thick as an ordinary lead pencil, with a sharp point. However, it is to be regretted, all trace of these specimens has been lost, and none of the same material has since been found.

When the ground in this field was first broken by the plough, a large boulder, possessing a very peculiar property, was found. When it was struck with a stone it emitted a clear, bell-like sound. This stone, I understand, was removed to Toronto by an archaeologist of that city. Another large boulder bearing pictographs was also found. This boulder, the owner of the farm asserts is still, on the place, and is in the centre of a large pile of stones to the west of the camp.

Robert Laidlaw, father of the present owner, once ploughed up the skeleton of an Indian, the bones of which are said to be of gigantic size. Mr. Laidlaw was overcome with superstitious dread and covered the skeleton with soil and while he lived, that part of the field was not touched by the plough again.

When the railway was being built, and while making a deep cut through a hill on the east side of the Wolverton station, the Italian laborers are said to have unearthed two burial pots provided with lids, each containing the skeleton of a child. The Italians, however, not having archaeological tastes, immediately began breaking the pots to pieces crying, "Gold! Gold!" much to the chagrin of the foreman in charge. Last summer I became acquainted with a person who had helped to build this railway. I asked him regarding the matter and he said that there was only one pot found, and it was a large stoneware milk-pot of white manufacture, containing the bones of a white child. He also informed me that the foreman in charge had the pot and its contents reinterred where it would not be disturbed again. In a conversation with John F. Rathburn, of Drumbo, I was informed by him that the above statement was false, and that the bones were really those of Indians, as well as the pots; and he also told me that Mr. Fox, an old pioneer residing at Drumbo, would tell me the same. Further

information bearing on this matter was furnished by George Johnston, sr., who lives on lot 9, about a quarter of a mile from where these pots were found. He says that some years ago he pulled a large stump which stood in one of his fields, and found beneath it a pot containing the remains of an infant. This pot was also provided with a lid.

Next in order of importance comes Burgess' Lake camp, which I will in the future refer to as Village Site No. 2. Burgess' Lake is a pretty sheet of water lying to the south of Drumbo, and the country surrounding it, apparently, was a favorite rendezvous of the red men in primeval times. The first time I visited this place was on the 17th of October, 1897, on the invitation of John F. Rathburn, who lives on the south half of lot 13, 6th concession. We examined the nature of a deposit of black soil which is situated in a field near the lake. Mr. Rathburn had dug some test holes a few days previous to my visit, one in the centre showing that the black soil extended to a depth of three feet. A number of small stones were thrown out while making the excavation, all of which showed unmistakable signs of having been subjected to considerable heat. Especially was this found to be the case with a piece of limestone which had been calcined. Strange to say, no relics of human origin were found, not even a pot-herd.

In the month of August, 1898, I found three other beds or deposits similar to the one above referred to, but not one yielded a single specimen of aboriginal handiwork. Mr. Rathburn finds pottery fragments and other relics in abundance on his farm, but not in ash-beds, as is usually the case. The pottery fragments are mixed with the soil which does not contain the slightest trace of ashes.

Wild fruits are abundant. Among those I noticed were the wild black cherries, red cherries and raspberries. There are also a number of nut-bearing trees, on the east side of the lake. The lake is said to contain fish. The presence of all this would necessarily cause the Indians to settle around the shore of the lake.

The pottery found on this place is entirely different in material and style of ornamentation from any I have yet found. Although the distance between this place and Village Site No. 1 is only about four miles, there is a marked difference in the pottery. That from Burgess' Lake is of coarse material with ornamentation consisting of rows of indentures made by some pointed instrument, while that from Wolverton, although not of elegant pattern, is of better material and finish. The interior surface of some specimens appear as if it had been decorated by having a piece of netting pressed against it while the pot was yet in a plastic state. Mr. Rathburn found fragments of

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pottery which, in addition to the usual pattern, consisting of oblique lines, were ornamented in a very peculiar manner. The aboriginal potter used what appears to have been a piece of wood $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch wide and $\frac{1}{2}$ of an inch thick. With this implement, holes were made around the inside of the pot, about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch apart, and 1 inch below the rim, and the wood being pressed into the clay formed a small, oval protuberance on the outside of the vessel. I have a small fragment of pottery from this place, which is also ornamented in this manner, except that the holes are round and the knobs or bulbs are on the inside surface.

Mr. Rathburn has a very choice collection of celts, adzes, chisels, hammer-stones, grooved axes, pottery fragments, and a large number of arrow heads. Most of these specimens he found on this farm. It affords me much pleasure to say that he is taking an intelligent interest in local archaeology.

About four miles south of Mr. Rathburn's place, there is a field where a battle is supposed to have been fought. The early settlers, Mr. Rathburn says, found numerous flint arrow heads deeply imbedded in the trunks of trees, and even at the present day large numbers of flint heads are annually turned up by the plough. I cannot believe, however, that an arrow impelled by a bow, could have sufficient penetrative force to penetrate a tree whose wood was of any ordinary hardness.*

Village Site No. 3, which was first discovered and made known to me by the late Newell Waugh, is on the farm of John C. Rudell, north half of lot 23, 10th concession. This site is only a short distance from a small creek, which flows in a south-easterly direction.

I found a number of relics on this site; most of them are, however, not of much importance. The last time I visited the place, I found a very interesting specimen, the Thunder Bird pipe described and figured in Mr. Boyle's report for 1897-1898.

On one side it has the representation of the Thunder Bird, a mythical being to which was attributed the phenomenon implied by its name. The drawing represents a bird with a human head, and above the head are two symbols of lightning. The simplest delineation of lightning among savage folk would naturally be by zig-zag strokes. They are used by the Pueblo and Tusayan Indians to represent lightning, and were used by a more enlightened people, the ancient Assyrians. It is a matter of conjecture what the upright line and the three

* Since this was written, Burgess Lake has been drained, until it is almost dry, and in the bottom, rows of stakes have been found. Mr. Rathburn writes that stakes are also found in the bog (the old lake bottom) recently forming the shore.—D. B.

crossbars on the breast signify. They may represent the vital organs; perhaps the heart and lungs, and, symbolically, the life of the individual. The zig-zag mark at the right of the bird's tail, no doubt represents another lightning stroke, or a snake, or, perhaps, both, for among some savage tribes the lightning and the snake were regarded as identical; i. e., the lightning flash, owing to its resemblance to the sharp, sudden, zig-zag movements of the snake, was often called a fiery serpent. Thus, some tribes of our Canadian Indians call the lightning a fiery serpent, and believe that the thunder is its hissing. Curiously enough, the ancient Greeks, with all their philosophy and learning, held the same view—the flashes of lightning having been regarded by them as the fiery serpent of Zeus, the god of the air.

Early in the spring of 1899, I again visited Village Site, No. 3. I found a bone bead resembling fig. 207 in Boyle's "Notes on Primitive Man in Ontario." This specimen has three collars on each end and two in the centre. I again visited this site in the month of May and also in August, but I did not find anything of very much importance.

I discovered another village site on the farm of Mrs. Geo. Hunter, about one-fourth of a mile from Village Site No. 4. This site does not appear to have been occupied for any great length of time, as I have found very few relics. After a hurried survey of the ground covered by this site, and finding a "goose-beak" scraper and bead, I dug into the principal ash-bed with a spade, and found a number of marked pottery fragments, and a very fine bone awl.

Village Site, No. 4, is situated on the farms of Mrs. Geo. Hunter and Jas. Hall, south half of lots 13 and 14, 10th concession. I found a number of specimens on this site. Mr. Hall has found celts, arrow heads, and other specimens.

Village Site, No. 5, is situated on the farm of Albert Kaufman, north part of lot 8, 12th concession. Mr. Kaufman's son found a number of specimens on this site, including pottery fragments, arrow points and part of a ceremonial gorget, with one perforation.

There is a site (No. 6) on the farm of Benjamin Schlichter, north-east part of lot 4, 13th concession. The land has been cultivated for about four years. I have never visited this place, but a friend found a number of specimens. One of the pottery fragments found here is of very coarse material, and the style of ornamentation on it is similar to that on the pottery found at Burgess' Lake.

There is also an isolated camp on the north half of lot 10, 10th, concession. I visited this place last summer and noticed the usual stones, cracked by fire, but found no relics. Henry Baxter the former owner, found a large number of arrow heads, a few very fine flint drills, and two circular ceremonial objects with a hole in the centre. The latter specimens were, unfortunately, lost. About one hundred feet from this camp, Mr. Baxter and his brother, while removing some sand from the side of a hill, nearly ten years ago, unearthed the skeleton of an Indian. They reburied the remains in a fence corner not far from where they were originally found.

North Dumfries Township.

Up to the present, I have found only one village in this township, and this is on the farm of Geo. Elliott, north part of lot 10, about 1½ miles north-east of Roseville. The land was cleared, over fifty years ago. When it was first ploughed, Mr. Thomson, the original owner, uncovered a number of whole clay pots which were kicked to pieces. Mr. Elliott says that it was a common occurrence to see Thomson's sons coming to school with their vest pockets full of bone awls, which were disposed of in boyish barter.

Mr. Elliott has found some very fine relics on his farm. One skull is all that ever was found in so far as regards human remains, and this was put on the top of a stump fence where it remained until decayed. A mortar was also found, but all traces of it have been lost.

On this site there are three large ashbeds—one extending north and south along a ridge about half-way across the field, the other two lie to the east of this

The farm, when first cleared, was covered with a dense growth of pine. The stumps of some of these trees, Mr. Elliott avers, were over four feet in diameter. To the west of the village site, a marsh and small stream formerly existed, and here a number of beavers were wont to erect their domiciles "in the days gone by."

Mr. Elliott recently found a small meteorite on his farm, which had evidently been found and carried there by the aborigines. The fractured edge of this specimen looks like the edge of broken cast iron. It is about the size of a fist and is covered with a brownish oxide.

Waterloo Township.

About two miles from the above site, there is another, the most extensive one I have yet visited for it covers several large fields. It is on the farm of John Welsch, who lives either on lot 8 or 9 in the German Company's tract, which comprises the south-eastern part of the township. Not having very much time at my disposal when I visited this place, I had to content myself with a very hasty examination.

Herbert Trussler, a local collector, has been making the most extensive finds on this site. Messrs. L. J. Niebel and H. Z. Smith, of New Hamburg, have also done some collecting.

Wilmot Township.

The county surrounding the village of Baden, formed an ideal home for the Indian. The range of hills that stretches about one mile across the country, form a conspicuous object for many miles around. According to some of the older settlers, the surveyors who laid out the route of the Grand Trunk through this part of the country in 1853, made the calculation that the height of these hills was 960 feet above the level of the lake at Hamilton, and is the highest point between Sarnia and Niagara. Signal fires built on these hills could be seen for miles across the country. To the north of these hills there is a small lake about half a mile in breadth, to the south-east is another of nearly the same size.

On the north-east bank of the former, there is a small camp site, which appears to have been a temporary camp. The ashbed is on the side of a hill which has a slope of about 40 degrees. This would not be a suitable place to erect a wigwam, and the aborigines undoubtedly built it on the top of the hill where it was level, and being near the edge of the hill they shoved the ashes and other refuse over its side, thus accounting for their presence.

About half a mile south-east of the largest hill, there is another village site, on lot 10, Snyder's road concession. My first visit to this place was in 1897. On a subsequent visit I found a hammer-stone, having an indenture or pit on one side and two on the other, something unusual in this class of primitive implements. The pits on this specimen were not formed by constant abrasion resulting from cracking nuts or a similar operation, but appear to have been formed in some grinding process as they are smooth, and round. Besides it is formed of sandstone, a material totally unfit, owing to its soft and friable nature, for use as a hammer-stone. The edges also do not bear characteristic marks from hammering as do most specimens of this class. It is therefore a matter of conjecture for what purpose this specimen was used.

I again visited this locality in August, 1897, accompanied by a friend, and we discovered a large number of pottery fragments and a bone awl over eight inches in length. The ashes on this site are in a solid bed and the pottery sherds are mixed in with it and the soil. Some places you may dig to a depth of three feet before you come to the ashes.

On another day, accompanied by a young friend, I again visited the place and found a number of specimens. About four yards from the principal ashbed is a small rivulet running in a southerly direction. In hopes of finding evidences of settlement further down the stream we followed its course southward. While I was examining the character of the soil in an opening in the woods on the banks of the stream, a large glacial boulder attracted my young friend's attention and he examined it. He removed the moss and lichens which covered it and presently startled me with the information that he had discovered an Indian mortar. On reaching the boulder I found that it had been used for such a purpose, but not for any great length of time, as the hollow was only about three-fourths of an inch in depth. The boulder is about three by four feet and about three feet in height. Material, a close-grained and compact granite. It is partly buried, only about one foot (on the side where the mortar is) protruding from the ground. We followed the stream further, until it emerged into a clearing. Here we succeeded in finding the traces of another camp site.

It is said that in the early days, when Wilmot township was first settled, an Indian trail leading from the Georgian Bay to the vicinity of Baden was still to be seen. According to some of the old Amish* settlers, a tannery formerly stood on the west hill, and here the Indians coming along the trail would sell their furs.

A number of years ago the remains of an Indian were unearthed near the village of Agatha, about four miles from Baden. The grave had evidently been covered with birch bark or a birch bark canoe, as remnants of this material were found on top of it.

An isolated camp site was discovered by L. J. Niebel near the village of New Hamburg. He found a pipe-bowl, of which No. 16460 in the Ontario Archaeological Museum's catalogue is a cast, on this site. In company with the above-named gentleman I examined this camp site in 1896, but we did not find anything.

East Oxford Township.

There is a village site on the farm of William P. Hart, lot 17, concession 3. After nearly half a century's cultivation, the evidences of aboriginal occupation are still visible in the burnt stones and black spots in the fields. The largest of these spots is on a high, sandy knoll, and is about forty feet in width.

Some years ago a few human remains, comprising a humerus, a frontal bone and a portion of the upper jaw were found while digging a ditch through a swamp on Mr. Hart's place.

*The name of a religious sect resembling the Mennonites in belief. The people are of German origin.—D. B.

Mr. Hart found a large number of arrow heads, celts, pestles, scrapers, a few ceremonial objects, and a small mortar about six by seven inches, with hollows, nearly an inch and one-fourth in depth, on both sides. The stone is about three inches thick. In one of the fields there is a large boulder, with a deep hollow on its upper surface, which was undoubtedly used as a mortar. A large block of freestone, which I examined, showed unmistakeable signs of having been used as a rubbing stone.

A few years ago an unfinished bird amulet was found on this site. It is now in the possession of R. W. Bass, of Oxford Centre. The basal holes are not yet bored in this specimen, neither has it been polished. It was not pecked into shape, but seems to have been reduced to its present form by sawing and scraping.

Mr. Hart has, so far, found only fragments of one clay vessel, and these were found a considerable distance from any of the ashbeds.

This village site is convenient to the old Indian trail (which is now the old stage road) from Lake Ontario to Detroit River.

THE WYANDOTS.

BY WILLIAM E. CONNELLEY.

[Everything relating to the Hurons and their kith—the Tobacco Nation, Petuns, or Tionnontates—who occupied the country of the Blue Hills, most of which is now comprised in the township of Nottawasaga, should prove interesting to Canadian readers, and especially so to those of Ontario. As allies of the Hurons proper they shared a similar fate at the hands of the Iroquois, in the middle of the seventeenth century, and after many wanderings and vicissitudes at last found a resting-place in the territory (now state) of Nebraska.

According to the traditions they still entertain, they twice occupied the ground on which Toronto is built, but on both occasions were driven off by the Iroquois. Ossuary burial within a few miles of this city attests the statement respecting their abode here for a time, and we have the authority of Mr. Connelley, who has, for a great many years, made a special study of the Wyandots (*Ouendats*) as the descendants of the Tionnontates are now called, that they regarded the locality with much favor, and speak of it to this day as "The Place of Plenty"—Toh-rühn'-toh.

No man living is better qualified to express himself authoritatively on matters relating to the Wyandots than is Mr. Connelley, and the ethnological student of Ontario has great reason to thank him for his courtesy in contributing to this report. His exposition of the Wyandot clan system is deserving of special mention, not only because it relates to the people in question, but because the subject is one possessed of more than average interest to students of early man in every part of the world.—D. B.]

MIGRATION LEGENDS.

That the Wyandots are related to the people called Hurons by the French there is no doubt; but they are descended principally from the

Tionnontates,* and it will probably develop that the Tobacco Nation was the oldest branch of the Iroquoian family. While many fragments of the Huron tribes fled from the fury of the Iroquois the Tionnontates retained the tribal organization which we afterwards find in the Wyandot tribe. The Wyandot language is a modernized Tionnontate language, and the myths of the Wyandots are the old myths of the Tobacco Nation but slightly affected by other Huron intercourse after the destruction wrought by the Iroquois in 1649-50."

After having studied the Wyandot language and the Wyandot myths, traditions, and legends for almost twenty years I am of the opinion that the Tionnontates were more Iroquois than Huron-Iroquois, and that while they were in alliance with the Hurons they were more recently and closely related to the Senecas by blood, and that they were older as a tribal organization than either the Senecas or the Hurons. In my opinion their folk-lore and traditions confirm this view. I believe a critical and comparative analysis of the two languages will still further strengthen this position.

Both the myths and the traditions of the Wyandots say they were created in the region between James Bay and the coast of Labrador. All their traditions describe their ancient home as north of the mouth of the River St. Lawrence. Taking their legends as a guide on this subject the most probable location of the place where the ancient Tionnontates assumed a tribal form is in Labrador, on the head waters of the Hamilton River; but possibly a little more to the west, in the district of Ungava. If not at this place, it was certainly between the point here indicated and Lake St. John on the south. It is probable that at this period of their existence they ranged to the coast of Labrador and to Hudson's Bay and were familiar with the country between these points. They claim to have known the Eskimo. Their migrations led them along the shores of Hudson Bay, and from here they turned south and came to the region of the Great Lakes. After a sojourn here of some time—possibly a long time—they finally settled on the north bank of the St. Lawrence. They believe that in all these migrations they were accompanied by the Delawares. On the St. Lawrence they say they had the land on the north bank from the Ottawa River to a large river to the east, probably the Manicouagan River. The Delawares had the remainder of the north bank of the St. Lawrence to its mouth.

This country the ancient Tionnontates called Kōōyh'-nohn'-toh'-tih'-āh-hā, which means "The rivers rushing by," or "The country of rushing waters."

* On reading this to an intelligent Cayuga he readily recognized the name, which he pronounced Tyon-on-tah'-ti-gah, or Dyon-on-dah'-ti-gah.—D. B.

The Wyandots assert that while they resided there they numbered many thousands, and that they were the dominant power in all that country. On the south side of the River St. Lawrence lived at this time the Senecas,* so the Wyandot traditions relate. Which people came into this country first they do not say. The Senecas claimed the island upon which Montreal is now built, and the Wyandots admitted their right to it. The Senecas and Wyandots have always claimed a cousin relation with each other. They say they have been neighbors from time immemorial, but often at war with each other. Their languages are almost the same, each being the dialect of an older mother-tongue; they are nearly alike as are the Seneca and Mohawk dialects. That mixed people of the Mengwestock made up from all the tribes of the Iroquois, but principally from that of the Seneca, and called Mingoes, have long lived beside the Wyandots; their reservations adjoin the Indian Territory. Until within the last five years the Senecas predominated among this people on the Seneca (Cowskin River) Reservation and the Wyandots could speak the Seneca language as well as they could their own, and so could the Senecas that of the Wyandots. Recently the Cayugas from the eastern reservations have overrun the Seneca country, and within the last two years the Cayuga has become the most common language.

That part of the Wyandot tradition relating to the Delawares holding them company I regard as having some foundation in fact. The Wyandots relate a myth describing the origin of the Delawares. While this myth cannot be true, it indicates an association of the peoples at a very ancient date. In the Delaware sociology the Turtle Clan is regarded as the most ancient and most honorable. The Delawares make some claim to being the oldest of Algonkin tribes. It is possible that they obtained their ideas of the importance of the Turtle from the Iroquoian peoples.

The Wyandot traditions recite that when they lived on the St. Lawrence River the Ottawas lived on the Ottawa River, in Canada, and that they were neighbors and friends. Indeed, one account says they were allies in a war against the Senecas.

When the Tionnontates came to the St. Lawrence River, and how long they remained there cannot now be determined, even if it is finally established that their migration legends are founded upon probability. The Wyandot traditions say that they were with the Senecas at the Indian meeting to receive Cartier at Hochelaga in 1535, and that Hochelaga was one of the towns of the Senecas.

* A name formerly often used for the Iroquois. Similarly, Mohawk was sometimes employed to designate all the Iroquois or Five Nations.—D. B.

Writers have held the opinion that the Tionnontates migrated from the St. Lawrence directly to the point where they were found by the French Jesuits. Whatever the facts may prove to be, their traditions tell a different story. They claim to have become involved in a deadly war with the Senecas while both tribes yet lived on the St. Lawrence, because of murders committed by a Wyandot at the instigation of a Seneca woman.

Hale makes Peter D. Clarke say that the Wyandots fled to the northward to escape the consequences of this war with the Senecas. That they fled for this purpose is true, as they admit, but neither Clarke nor Wyandot tradition says that they fled to the northwest. The route of this retreat lay up the St. Lawrence, which they crossed, continuing westward along the south shore of Lake Ontario. They held this course until they arrived at the Falls of Niagara, where they settled and remained for some years. They called this point in their wanderings Kyööh'-dah'-mëh'-ëhn-dëh, which is only their name for water-falls, and means "The stream falls into itself," or "The stream tumbles down to its new level from the rock above." Louisville, Kentucky, or its site, was so-called by them from the Falls of the Ohio.

Tionnontates removed from the Falls of Niagara to the site now occupied by Toronto, in the Province of Ontario, Canada. Their removal from the Falls of Niagara was in consequence of the arrival of the Iroquois on the Hudson and Mohawk Rivers. As the Iroquois continued to arrive in ever-increasing numbers, and to spread over the country now known as Western New York, the Tionnontates remained but a short time at Toronto. Their stay at this point was probably about five years, and certainly did not exceed ten years. They left Toronto with much regret, and if their traditions can be relied on, a band of them returned to their old home here many years afterwards, but did not remain long for fear of the Senecas. They seem to have been attached to no other point occupied by them in their migrations so deeply as they were to Toronto.

The Wyandots, or their progenitors, the Tionnontates, called their settlement at Toronto, Töb-roohn'-töb^{ak}. This is their word for "plenty." It is now pronounced Töb-rühn-töb. The present name of the city is only the modern pronunciation of the Wyandots of their word for "plenty," and the modern pronunciation of their ancient name for their beloved settlement. As applied to the city, or the country included in their settlements, it should be interpreted "the land of plenty," or "the place of plenty," or "the place where food is plenty." Indeed, Governor Walker slightly modified the name when he wrote it, and made it Cau-ron-tool. By the power given the letter c by the Wyandots, this name is Kyööh-röhn'-tööh!. This is a prepo-

sitional form of the word Tōh-rōōhn'-tōh'ak, and means "the land where food is plenty," and has therefore reference to the abundance of game and fish they enjoyed during their residence at this point. And in relating this tradition to me they always dwelt with pleasure on their residence in the "land of plenty," as they oftenest rendered the name for Toronto. * No other place in which they lived after their great migration seems to have so taken hold of their affections. And this is proved, also, by a band of them trying again to take up a residence in the vicinity after their return from their wanderings about the northern lakes.

When the Tionnontates migrated north from Toronto they seized upon a tract of country to the south and west of the Hurons and adjoining the country of that people. A war with the Hurons was the result. This war lasted for some time, and as the Tionnontates were able to maintain themselves in their position so forcibly taken, it resulted in a close alliance between the two nations, and the Tionnontates became a nation of the Huron confederacy. The old Wyandots told me this confederacy was formed to resist the arrogance and the increasing power of the Iroquois.

THE CLAN SYSTEM OF THE WYANDOTS. *

The animals of Wyandot mythology had two very different orders of descendants. The one consisted of degenerate mammals, birds, or reptiles having the appearance or nature of the ancient animal gods but devoid of their supernatural powers. The other descendants are the Wyandots themselves. This is true, of course, only of those ancient monsters or animal-gods selected by the Wyandots as the progenitors of their subdivisions known to us as clans or gentes.

Progress in the development of the Wyandot mind was slow and unsatisfactory, but the belief that the people were actually descended from the animals was gradually giving place to the conception that they were the creation of the Good One of the twins born of the woman who fell down from heaven, † and this belief once firmly seated would, in time, have overthrown entirely the older faith in the ancestry of the totemic animal-gods. But it had not made that degree of progress when the stronger faiths and beliefs of the white man forever arrested development in the mythology of the Tionnon-

* Sagard, referring to the word *Touronton*, which, in the narrative of De la Roche Daillon, seems to mean *oil*, says (p. 893). "The copyist of the Father's letter mistook, according to my opinion, the Huron word Otoronton, which he gives as meaning *oil*. Properly speaking it signifies *plenty*, or *Oh! how much*."—D. B.

† See Ontario Archaeological Report for 1898, p. 58.—D. B.

tates. The animal myth, while losing ground, stood side by side with the higher conception, Tseh'-seh-howh'-hoo^h, and the mind of the Tionnontates had not made sufficient advancement to enable it to distinguish this difference or perceive this incongruity. Thus while the Tionnontate believed he was the work of Tseh'-seh-howh'-hoo^h, he also believed that he was the descendant of the animal gods, who held the Great Council to devise a home and resting place for the woman who fell from heaven.

Matthias Splitlog reasoned as follows upon this matter:¹

"The animals of the present time are the descendants—degenerate descendants—of these same animals that made the Great Island for the home of the woman who fell down from heaven. They are diminutive in size as well as devoid of the divine attributes possessed by their ancestors, though all animals were supposed by us to be endowed with reason, and to be able to exercise it upon all occasions, and our faith also endowed them all with an immortality as lasting as we imagined our own to be.

"These ancient first animals are the heads of their own species to this day, *i.e.*, the Great Turtle who bears up the earth is the ancestor of all the turtles in the world of the same species: this rule applies to every species of animal living at this time. The animals are subject to their ancestors in a certain degree yet, and it is supposed that grievances against either other animals or man may be complained of to these animal-ancestors who will regard the complaint, and perhaps inflict some form of punishment. On this account the bones of certain animals supposed to be peculiarly sensitive to insult were treated with consideration by the Tionnontates and their descendants, the Wyandots."

"The gens is an organized body of consanguineal kindred in the female line," is Powell's excellent definition of the subdivisions of the Wyandot tribe, but as I have selected for my task the making of a record of what the Wyandots say of themselves, and as they always used the word *clan* when speaking of these subdivisions, although they say the Wyandot word denoting this subdivision should be rendered *tribe*, I have followed the Wyandots, and used the word *clan* to denote this subdivision of the tribe.

All my investigations among the Wyandots tend to confirm the view that in the ancient times when the Tionnontates first assumed a distinct tribal organization they called themselves a Turtle People.² Particularly does their mythology indicate that this was true of the ancient Wyandots. The Big Turtle made and yet bears up the Great Island, and his selection as chief officer of the Great Council called to devise the Great Island indicates that he was the most important per-

sonage among the ancient monsters who ruled the world before the coming of the woman. The Little Turtle was a potent factor in this first Great Council, and she varnished the thin coating of earth about the edges of the shell of the Big Turtle when he made from it the Great Island. Then she was made the Keeper of the Heavens and the creator of the sun, moon, and many of the stars. The Mud Turtle had a hand in the creation, for she dug the hole through the great island for the use of the sun in going back to the east to rise each new day. She turned aside from this work long enough to create in the bowels of the earth the most beautiful land the Wyandot imagination could picture. This land is the future home of the Wyandots, and until the arrival of the woman, who fell down from heaven, who is to go and rule there when time is no more in this world, the Mud Turtle is the ruler of this Wyandot elysium, the home of the soul, the land of the little people.

The Turtle clans were always considered the most ancient and most honorable of the tribal subdivisions, and the order of precedence and encampment was according to the "shell of the Big Turtle." The turtle idea was interwoven with the whole social and political fabric of ancient Tionnontate institutions.

That the multiplicity of these tribal subdivisions was the work of a long development is proven, I believe, by the remembrance to this day of the myths accounting for the origin of the Hawk and Snake clans. If there is any merit in my conjectures I write the first subdivisions of the tribe as follows:—1, Big Turtle; 2, Little Turtle; 3, Mud Turtle. Of the other clans I feel positive that they were added later, in the following order, as the tribe increased in numbers:³—4, Wolf; 5, Bear; 6, Beaver; 7, Deer; 8, Porcupine; 9, Hawk.

The next addition to the number of clans was made by a division of the Mud Turtle clan, the seceding party or band taking the name, of Prairie Turtle, or Highland Turtle, or Box Turtle.⁴

And after this the Big Turtle clan was divided, the seceding party taking the name of Striped Turtle.⁵

The last addition to the number of clans was made by a division of the Deer clan, the seceding party taking the name of Snake.⁶

The Wyandot name for the clans is Häh-tih'-täh-räh'-yäh,⁷ or Höh-täh-dih-räh-shröh'-nyöh⁸. In designating a single clan the same term is used, and, whether one or more clans, is determined by the context. The old Wyandots always used the word in the sense of *tribe* or *tribes*.

Major Powell says in his "Wyandot Government" that "up to the time that the tribe left Ohio, eleven gentes were recognized, as follows: 1, Deer; 2, Bear; 3, Highland Turtle (striped); 4, Highland

Turtle (black); 5, Mud Turtle; 6, Smooth Large Turtle; 7, Hawk; 8, Beaver; 9, Wolf; 10, Sea Snake; 11, Porcupine."

As to the names of the Wyandot clans, Major Powell's informant was certainly in error.

Peter D. Clarke, in his "Traditional History of the Wyandots," says only ten clans existed in the tribe; but he enumerates nine only, and two of these he does not distinguish. His list is as follows:

1, Big Turtle; 2 and 3, two different kinds of smaller Turtle; 4, Deer; 5, Bear; 6, Wolf; 7, Porcupine; 8, Hawk; 9, Big Snake; 10, some clan that became extinct at a remote period.

Clarke always meant well. Some things he did fairly well, but his judgment was often at fault as to what was most deserving of preservation in the Wyandot traditions. And this idea of ten tribes was of missionary origin, to conform to the absurd theory long held, that the Indians were descended from the ten lost tribes of Israel. Even the scholarly Governor Walker did not refute this error, although he possessed the information that would have enabled him to do so. His list of the Wyandot clans is as follows:

1, Deer; 2, Bear; 3, Wolf; 4, Beaver; 5, Porcupine; 6, Snake; 7, Hawk; 8, Big Turtle (Mossy Back, or Snapping); 9, Dry Land Turtle; 10, Little Turtle (Water Terrapin).

Finley, as would naturally be expected, enumerates but ten clans. They are as follows:

1, Bear; 2, Wolf; 3, Deer; 4, Porcupine; 5, Beaver; 6, Eagle; 7, Snake; 8, Big Turtle; 9, Little Turtle; 10, Land Terrapin, or Turtle.

It will be observed that Finley calls the Hawk clan the Eagle clan. This was the result of his inaccurate and loose manner of writing.

Why the correct names of the clans of the Wyandots have not been recorded is somewhat remarkable, for up to the time of their departure from Ohio the names could have been obtained without difficulty. When I commenced a search for the Wyandot names of these clans I met with many discouragements. I had no difficulty in getting the desired information concerning the clans in existence, but when it came to the extinct clans it seemed for a long time as though no knowledge of them could be had. I went on many a tour of investigation in this field only to return disappointed. Every old Wyandot was consulted. Finally, at Mr. Splitlog's suggestion, I went with him to some old Senecas that lived on the Cowskin River, and who were married to Wyandot women in Ohio when the tribes lived there side by side. We were unsuccessful here, but these old people directed us to another quarter, and assured us that we could

there obtain the information we sought. It was necessary for me to return to Kansas city, and I had not time to see the persons referred to, at that time, but Mr. Splitlog said he would do so and meet me in Kansas city in a short time, when he would inform me of the result of his mission. It was a month afterwards when he came into my office and informed me that he had been entirely successful. I had carefully instructed him, and he had obtained not only the names of the extinct clans but the description of the animal for which each of the twelve clans was named. It was in this matter as in all others where information is difficult to obtain—after we had solved the problem we found a number of sources from which the desired information could have been procured. The most trustworthy of these was George Wright, who confirmed all that Mr. Splitlog had learned, the only point of difference being the shortening of some of the names and a difference in the accent caused by the dropping of syllables. The following is the list as given by Wright:

1. Big Turtle (Mossy Back). Tēhn-gyowh'-wihsh-hih-yōōh-wah'-nēh'-rōh-nōh. The people of the Big (or Great) Turtle.

2. Little Turtle (Little Water Turtle, sometimes called "Speckled Turtle"). Tēhn-yēh'-rōh-nōh. The people of the Little Turtle.

3. Mud Turtle. Yah'-nēhs-tēh'-rōh-nōh. The people of the Mud Turtle.

4. Wolf. Tēhn-ah'-rēh-squah'-rōh-nōh. The people of the Wolf or the clan that smells a Bone.

5. Bear. Tēhn'-yoh-yēh^{uk}'-rōh-nōh. The people of the Bear, or the clan of the Claws.

6. Beaver. Tsooh'-tih-hah-tēh-zhāh'-tōōh-tēh'-rōh-nōh. The people of the Beaver, or the clan of the House-Builders.

7. Deer. Tēhn-dāh'-āh-rāh'-rōh-nōh. The people of the Deer, or the clan of the Horns.

8. Porcupine. Yēh-rēh'-hēhseh'-rōh-nōh. The people of the Porcupine, or the clan of the Quills.

9. Striped Turtle. Māh-nōh-hōōh'kah-shēh'-rōh-nōh. The people of the Striped Turtle, or the clan that carries the Stripes, (or colors).

10. Highland Turtle, or Prairie Turtle. Yēh' tōh-zhōōh'-rōh-nōh. The people of the Prairie Turtle, or the clan that carries the House.

11. Snake. Tēhn-gōh^{uv}'-rōh-nōh. The people of the Snake, or the clan that carries the Trail. Sometimes called the "Little Clan of the Horns."

12. Hawk. Tēhn'-dēh-sōh'-rōh-nōh. The people of the Hawk, or the clan of the Wings.

The following is the list of names of the clans of the Wyandots as procured for me by Mr. Splitlog:

1. Big Turtle, or Great Turtle. Hah'-tēhn-gyowh'-wihsh-hih'-yooh-wah'-nēh-roh-noh. The people of the Big (or Great) Turtle, or the clan that bears the Earth.

2. Little Turtle (Little Water Turtle, sometimes called "Speckled Turtle"). Gyowh'-wihsh-hooh'-tēhn-yēh'-roh-noh. The people of the Little Turtle, or the clan that keeps the Heavens.

3. Mud Turtle. Gyowh'-wihsh-yāh'-nēh's-tēh'-rōh-nōh. The people of the Mud Turtle, or the clan that digs through the earth.

4. Wolf. Hah'-tēhn-ah'-rēh-squah'-rōh-nōh. The people of the Wolf, or the clan that smells a Bone.

5. Bear. Hah'-tēhn'-yōh yēh^{nsk}'-rōh-nōh. The people of the Bear, or the clan of the Claws.

6. Beaver. Yooh-tsōoh'-tih-hah'-tēh-zhah'-tōoh-tēh'-rōh-nōh. The people of the Beaver, or the clan of the House-builders.

7. Deer. Hah'-tēhn-dah'-ah-rōh-nōh. The people of the Deer, or the clan of the Horns.

8. Porcupine. Yooh-rēhⁿ'-hēh-sah'-roh-noh. The people of the Porcupine, or the clan of the Quills.

9. Striped Turtle. Gyowh'-wihsh-yooh-mah'-noh-hooh'-kah-shēh'-roh-noh. The people of the Striped Turtle, or the clan that carries the Stripes (or colors).

10. Highland Turtle, or Prairie Turtle. Hah'-tah-squah'-yēh'-toh-zhōoh'-roh-noh. The people of the Prairie Turtle, or the clan that carries the House. (Members of this tribe were sometimes called "Shell-shutters" and "House-shutters").

11. Snake. Hah'-tēhn-goh^{nv}'-roh-noh. The people of the Snake, or the clan that carries the trail. Sometimes called the "Little clan of the Horns."

12. Hawk. Hah'-tēhn-dēh'-sohⁿ'-roh-noh. The people of the Hawk, or the clan of the Wings. Sometimes called the "Clan of the Feathers."

The order in which the clans are recorded in the two foregoing lists is the order of precedence of the clans of the Wyandots.⁸¹ In their march or migration as a tribe they marched "on the Trail of the Snake." What this phrase signifies can now be only conjectured. It may have had reference to the windings of their paths or trails through the forests, or it may have been the office of the Snake clan to select the route of the march in advance of their movement and report it for approval. But I was unable to learn anything definite as to its meaning.⁹

The march was under the immediate direction of the Wolf clan, and was commanded by the chief of the Wolf clan.¹⁰

Their camp was formed "on the shell of the Big Turtle." It commenced at the right fore-leg and continued around the shell to the right to the left fore-leg in the order of precedence, except that the Wolf clan could be either in the centre of the encampment or at "the head of the Turtle." The tribe was placed in this order, with the Wolf clan "at the head of the Turtle," in the Great Yōōh'-wah-tah'-yoh, by Tsēh'-sēh-howh'-hōōh^{nek}, and marched out in the order of precedence. In one of the versions of the myth ascribing this retirement to the Yooh-wah-tah'-yoh, this order of precedence and manner of encampment are given.

I subjoin here the order, family, genus and species of the animals used by the Wyandots as totem or clan insignia as they were procured for me by Mr. Splitlog, and they are undoubtedly, in the main, correct.¹²

1. Big turtle. All the turtles were either fresh-water or land animals. One seems to have been either water or land animal, or both water and land animals, living in the water or on the land when he pleased or as his convenience, circumstances, or inclination required. No reference to the sea was ever made by the Wyandots in describing any of the turtles or their habits.

The big turtle is called gyowh'-wihsh-hih'-yooh-wah'-nēh'; order, *Chelonia*; family, *Chelydridæ*; genus, *Chelydra*; species, *Serpentina*.

He is often spoken of as the mossy-backed turtle, or the mossy-backed fellow. It is the common snapping-turtle.¹³

2. Little turtle. The Little Turtle clan is often called the Speckled Turtle clan. The term little turtle was used to distinguish the clan from that of the big turtle after some of the minor clans were extinct, and the remainder of them given the common designation of "Little Turtle," and spoken of usually as a single clan. But the true little turtle clan was as often called speckled turtle as little turtle. This turtle is usually described as "these little spotted fellows that crawl up on logs, stones, sticks in large numbers to sun themselves."¹⁴ Reference to this habit is made in the myth of the creation of the sun; the cloud contained lakes, ponds, etc.

The little turtle is called by the Wyandots gyowh'-wihsh'-yah'-nēh'-stēh, the turtle that carries his spots. It is also called Keeper of the Heavens; and also the Turtle that carries the Fire. Order, *Chelonia*; family, *Emydidae*; genus, *Chelopus*; species, *Guttatus*.¹⁵

3. Mud turtle. This turtle is the soft-shelled turtle that buries itself in the mud of lake or river beds. It is spoken of as "the fellow

that digs in the ground" (or mud). Order, *Chelonia*; family, *Tryonychidae*; genus, *Amyda*; species, *Mutica*.¹⁶

4. Wolf. The wolf is the black timber-wolf found in the forests of eastern North America. Wyandot name, häh'-nääh'-rēh'-squäh—he smells (sniffs) a bone; an allusion to his ravenous nature. Order, *Carnivora*; family, *Canidae*; genus, *Lupus*; species, *Occidentalis*.¹⁷

5. Bear. The common black bear. Its Wyandot name is hähn'-yöhn-yēh^{nk}. This name is supposed when pronounced by a Wyandot, or any one else, properly, to be an imitation of the whine of the young bear. The clan reference is to its strong claws. Order, *Carnivora*; family, *Ursidae*; genus, *Ursus*; species, *Americanus*.¹⁸

6. Beaver. The Wyandot name is tsööh'-tääh'-ih, and the clan reference is to its building houses in places prepared for that purpose—more properly, perhaps, village-builders. Order, *Rodentia*; family, *Castor*; genus, *Castor*; species, *Fiber*.¹⁹

7. Deer. The deer common to eastern North American forests. Wyandot name, skäh-nöäh'-töäh, formerly ough'-skööh-nööh^{nek}.tööh^{nek} and the clan reference is to its horns, indicative of power, ability to fight, pride. Order, *Ungulata*; family, *Cervidae*; genus, *Cervus*; species, *Virginianus*.²⁰

8. Porcupine. The porcupine is the eastern species of semi-arboreal North American porcupine. Its Wyandot name is tsēh'-nēh-kah'-äh. The clan reference is to its sharp quills. Order, *Rodentia*; family, *Sphingurinae*; genus, *Erethizon*; species, *Dorsatus*.²¹

9. Striped Turtle. The Wyandot name of this turtle is gyowh'-wihsh-ööh'-zhööh'-töäh. The name does not signify "striped turtle" but a turtle of a peculiar color, and also one that can travel through the woods. The literal translation of the name is "the wood turtle of the peculiar color," or the "strange color"; and it may have been called "striped turtle" because of its striking color or because of some habit or circumstance unknown to us. Mr. Splitlog called it the leech turtle. The clan allusion is to its peculiar color. Order, *Chelonia*; family, *Emydidæ*; genus, *Chelopus*; species, *Insculptus*.²²

10. Highland turtle, or prairie turtle. This turtle is always spoken of as the box turtle, or highland turtle. This is the only land turtle clan, or highland turtle clan ever in existence among the Wyandots. The Wyandot name of this turtle is häh'-tääh'-squäh', and signifies a "house-carrier," and the clan reference is to this name. Governor Walker calls this the dry land turtle. Order, *Chelonia*; family, *Emydidæ*; genus, *Emys*; species, *Meleagris*.²³

11. Snake. The Wyandot name of this mythical Snake is yähngohnt'. He had four legs! The Snake clan is an offshoot from the Deer clan. The name, horns, and form of the snake were fixed to

keep in memory this relationship, for the snake had the horns of the stag, and the snake clan was sometimes called the "Little Clan of the Horns." The clan allusion is to the location of the trail of the march in migrations. Whether it was the office of the Snake Clan to discover and point out the trail I cannot say. In the absence of any direct descendant of this snake the Wyandots revered the rattlesnake as a wise and discreet relative of the mythical ancestor of one of their largest and most important clans.²⁴

12. Hawk. Like the snake the hawk is largely mythical. It is spoken of as hawk, eagle, and often simply as the big bird, or chief of birds. But the condition is not the same as that of the snake, for a certain kind of bird is designated as the direct descendant of this ancient bird. Even with Mr. Splitlog's assistance I was not able to specify this bird beyond question. Cooper's hawk is nearer the description than any other, and I have little doubt that it is the bird meant, although I have sometimes thought the Wyandots described the sparrow hawk. The eggs of the hawk were usually spoken of and described as being blue and unspotted. The clan allusion is to the wings of the hawk. Wyandot name, yahn-dēh'-sōh; order, *Accipitres*; family, *Falconidae*; genus, *Accipiter*; species, *Cooperi*.²⁵

Some of the minor turtle clans were the first of the Wyandot clans to become extinct. The Prairie Turtle clan became extinct in Ohio, about the year 1820. An old woman was the last member of this clan. She died at Upper Sandusky, and George Wright saw her buried; he was then a good sized boy. She declared she would be the last of her clan; that her clan should be buried with her. If she had desired to do so she could have perpetuated it by adopting some members of other clans if they would have consented; or she might have adopted white persons.

Just before the removal from Ohio the few members of the Little Turtle, Mud Turtle, and Striped Turtle clans began to be called by the general name of Little Turtle, to distinguish them more readily from the Big Turtle clan which yet contained many members. The Mud Turtle and Striped Turtle clans did not have any separate existence in Kansas, although there were a few members of each clan in the tribe; they were called Little Turtles.

The Beaver clan became extinct in Kansas. James Washington, one of the principal men of the tribe, and principal chief more than once under the elective chieftancy, was the last member of the Beaver clan. He died in Wyandotte County, Kansas, December 1, 1852.²⁶

The Hawk clan became extinct either immediately before, or immediately after the migration from Ohio; some say before—others say a few of them still lived when they came west.

The extinct clans of the Wyandots are: 1, Mud Turtle; 2, Beaver; 3, Striped Turtle; 4, Highland Turtle, or Prairie Turtle; 5, Hawk.

The existing clans in the Wyandotte nation are as follows: 1, Big Turtle; 2, Little Turtle, or Speckled Turtle; 3, Wolf; 4, Bear; 5, Deer; 6, Porcupine; 7, Snake.

The separation or division of the tribes into two or more groups was common to the Iroquoian people. Each division contains a certain number of the clans of the tribe, and is called a phratry. Major Powell enumerates four phratries which he says existed in the Wyandot tribe. They are as follows:

First phratry: 1, Bear; 2, Deer; 3, Striped Turtle.

Second phratry: 1, Highland Turtle; 2, Black Turtle, 3, Smooth Large Turtle.

Third phratry: 1, Hawk; 2, Beaver; 3, Wolf.

Fourth phratry: 1, Sea Snake; 2, Porcupine.

Major Powell's informant was as much in error in this respect as in that of the clans.

John W. Gray-Eyes gave the Bureau of Ethnology a list of the Wyandot clans, and the phratries of the tribe. This list is as follows:

First phratry: 1, Big Turtle; 2, Small Striped Turtle; 3, Deer.

Second phratry: 1, Smooth Big Turtle; 2, Bear; 3, Beaver.

Third phratry: 1, Porcupine; 2, Snake; 3, Hawk; 4, Highland Turtle.

This is as far from being correct as is the list of Major Powell. I have the diary or journal kept by Mr. Gray-Eyes for many years. Here is what he says in it of the phratries:—

"Names taken of the different bands or tribes who are voters of tribe conventions, the names of the tribes yet in existence in the Wyandotts are as follows:—1st. The Porcupine; 2nd, the Beare; 3rd, the Deer; 4th, the Big Turtle; 5th, the Speckle Turtle; 6th, the Snake; 7th, the Wolf, and the tribes have become extinct are as follows:—the Hawk, the Beaver and the Highland Turtle, and when in full there were ten tribes. These tribes are again divided in platoones in threes. 1st, the Beare; 2nd, the Deers; the 3 Snakes; and the Big and Speckle or Small Turtles and the Porcupine forms another platoones, the 1st, Hawk; 2nd, the Beaver; 3rd, the Highland Turtle makes the third division. The wolf stands an independent tribe, and holds a Cousin relation with all the different Tribes, and is by all regarded a General mediator in cases of controversies between any [of] the tribes.

"And now the present platoones are as this:—

The 1st, Beare,

" 2nd, Deer,

" 3rd, Snakes,

The Big Turtle,

" Small Turtle,

" Porcupine,

and the Mediator the Wolf makes the 7th in number."

It will be observed that the "potts," or "messes," as he has elsewhere called the phratries in the first classification, do not correspond to the "plattoones" of the second classification. His last classification is correct, and the one now existing in the tribe.

There never at any time existed more than two divisions or phratries in the Wyandot tribe. And the Wolf clan always stood between the divisions, bearing the relation of cousin to each of them, and belonged to neither division, but was always the executive power of the tribe and the mediator or umpire between the divisions and between the clans.

The ancient divisions of the tribe are as follows:—

First division. 1, Bear; 2, Deer; 3, Snake; 4, Hawk.

Second division. 1, Big Turtle; 2, Little Turtle; 3, Mud Turtle; 4, Beaver; 5, Porcupine; 6, Striped Turtle; 7, Highland Turtle, or Prairie Turtle.

Mediator, executive power, umpire, the Wolf.

This classification is correct beyond the possibility of doubt. In ancient times marriage was prohibited between the clans of a division. This law was modified so that the prohibition applied to members of the same clan only. The ancient law of marriage will be understood when we consider that the clans belonging to a division bore the relation of brother to each other. The clans of one division bore the relation of cousin to the clans of the other division. The law prohibiting marriage between all but the clans of the opposite divisions of the tribe was abolished before the Methodist missionaries went amongst them.

WYANDOT GOVERNMENT.

The principles of Wyandot government are well laid down by Major Powell, although there are some errors of minor importance. He follows Finley, and Finley was never to be wholly relied upon.²⁶¹

The present Wyandot government, in the Indian territory, is based on the ancient divisions of the tribe. An extract of the constitution adopted September 23rd, 1874, may be of interest:—

"It shall be the duty of the said Nation to elect their officers on the second Tuesday in July of each year. That said election shall be conducted in the following manner. Each tribe, consisting of the following tribes:—The Big and Little Turtle, Porcupine, Deer, Bear and Snake shall elect a chief, and then the Big and Little Turtle and Porcupine tribes shall select one of their three chiefs as a candidate for Principal Chief. The Deer, Bear and Snake tribes shall also select one of their three chiefs as a candidate for Principal Chief; and then at the general election, to be held on the day above mentioned, the one receiving the highest number of all the votes cast shall be

declared the Principal Chief; the other shall be declared the Second Chief. The above named tribes shall, on the above named election day, elect one or more sheriffs.

"The Wolf Tribe shall have the right to elect a Chief, whose duty shall be that of Mediator?

"In case of misdemeanor on the part of any Chief, for the first offence the Council shall send the Mediator to warn the party; for the second offence, the party offending shall be liable to removal by the Mediator, or Wolf and his Clan, from office."

This has always been the position of the Wolf Clan.

Anciently the office of Principal Chief was in a manner hereditary in a clan, but if the heir was considered unfit to exercise authority he was passed over, and a chief selected from the tribal council. In this event the chief was first nominated by the Chiefs of the Big Turtle, Bear and Deer clans, though not necessarily from any one of their own clans, and never from the Bear clan. Thus the last Sähr-stähr-räh'-tsēh of the tribe was of the Deer clan, and was known to the white men as the Half King; he died at Detroit in 1788, and was succeeded by Tarhe of the Porcupine clan. Tarhe was selected because of his ability. Governor Walker says of the Half King: "

"He inherited his position—good man—a Catholic. After his death the chieftainship which had previously been confined to his tribe and family selected Tarhe of the Porcupine tribe on account of his abilities, good conduct, purity of character and general fidelity, as head Chief; and it continued in that clan till the head Chief became elective."

The inheritance of the sachemship was not changed until after the defeat of the Indians by Wayne, the Wyandots say.

WYANDOT PROPER NAMES.

All the proper names of the Wyandots were clan names. The unit of the Wyandot social and political systems was not the family nor the individual, but the clan. The child belonged to its clan first—to its parents afterwards. Each clan had its list of proper names, and this list was its exclusive property which no other clan could appropriate or use. These were necessarily clan names. They were formed by rigid rules prescribed by immemorial custom, and no law of the Medes and Persians was so unchangeable, so rigidly enforced was custom by the Wyandots. Custom was inflexible—exact—could be modified only by long and persistent effort (and then but by almost imperceptible degrees), or by national disaster. The customs and usages governing the formation of clan proper names demanded that they should be derived from some part, habit, action or some peculiarity

of the animal from which the clan was descended. Or they might be derived from some property, law, or peculiarity of the element in which such animal lived. Thus a proper name was always a distinctive badge of the clan bestowing it.

When death left unused any of the original clan proper names, the next child born into the clan, if of the sex to which the temporarily obsolete name belonged, had this name bestowed upon it. If no child was born, and a stranger was adopted, such name was given to the adopted person. This was the unchangeable law, and there was but one exception to it. When a child was born in connection with some extraordinary circumstance, or bearing some distinguishing mark, or when a stranger so marked was adopted, the Council-women of the clan, who stood at the head of the clan and regulated its internal affairs, informed themselves of all the facts and devised a name in which they were embodied. This name was made to conform to the ancient law governing clan proper names, if possible; but sometimes this could not be done. These special names died with their owners.

The parents were not permitted to name the child. The clan bestowed the name. Names were given but once a year, and always at the ancient anniversary of the Green Corn Feast. Anciently, formal adoptions could be made at no other time, and until within the last forty years, names could be given at no other time. The name was bestowed by the clan chief. The clan chief was a civil officer of both his clan and the tribe, and he was a member of the tribal council. He was selected by the council-women of his clan. At an appointed time in the ceremonies of the Green Corn Feast, each clan chief took an assigned position, and parents of his clan having children to be named filed before him in the order of the ages of the children to be named. The council-women stood by the clan chief, and announced to him the name of each child presented. The chief then bestowed the name upon the child. This he could do by simply announcing the name to the parents, or by taking the child in his arms and addressing it by the name.

The formal adoption of a stranger might be accomplished in the simple ceremonial of being presented at this time to the clan chief by one of the sheriffs, (as we might call them, and as they are now called by the Wyandots.) He must have been previously adopted into some family of the clan. The clan chief bestowed a name upon him (one that had been previously prepared by the council-women), welcomed him in a few well chosen words, and the ceremony was complete. Or the adoption might be performed with as much display, ceremony and pomp as the tribal council might, from any cause, decree. The tribal council generally controlled the matter of adoptions, although

it never opposed the adoption of a person determined upon by any tribe. It could not prevent the adoption by any clan of any one if the clan chose to assert its rights. But there was rarely any disagreement upon this matter between the tribe and the clan.

A man (and perhaps a woman) might have two names, sometimes more. He was not prohibited from assuming an additional name. The tribal council might order a special name to be bestowed upon him for distinguished services to the nation. But these were only incidental names and he might be called by them or not, as his fellows chose. His clan name was his true name, and while he might have others, he could not repudiate it nor cast it aside. Whatever he was to his tribe, or to others, he was to his clan only what his clan name indicated, and was almost always so called. Any additional names he might possess died with him; they were never perpetuated.

This manner of naming was advantageous. A man disclosed his clan in telling his name. The clan was his mother; he was the child of the clan; his name was his clan badge and always a sure means of identification.

When first visited by white men the Wyandots had a well-developed and well-defined system of mythology. This is shown by their clan-proper names. All the clan animals had their mythical traits, attributes and actions imbedded in clan-proper names. The most tenacious and unchanging words in the Wyandot language are the names of persons, peoples and places.

It is now almost impossible to obtain many name-meanings. The Wyandots themselves do not remember them, so far away from their ancient language and customs have they gone. I have been able to preserve a few of the ancient Wyandot clan-proper names and their meanings. I give them below.

1. Deer Clan. Hähng'-gäh-zhooch'-täh. When the deer runs his tail is up.
2. Deer Clan. Shäh'-rähn-täh. The young buck drops his spots, *i. e.*, the fawn changing color.
3. Deer Clan. Dēh'-hēhn-yähn'-tēh. The rainbow. "
4. Deer Clan. Hähr'-zhäh-tööh^{nsk}. He marks, *i. e.*, the big buck comes to the mark to meet all comers of his kind of whatever number or size. "
5. Porcupine Clan. Däh'-räh-hööh^{nsk}. He throws up his quills or the porcupine in the act of throwing up his quills for battle when angry.
6. Deer Clan. Tööh-kwäh'-nah-yööh'-teh. She speaks fair, or her words are beautiful, or her words float like clouds.
7. Snake Clan. Sēhts-ah-mäh. Holding a flower.

8. Deer Clan. Tōsh-nēh's. A pond : a deer-lick.

9. Deer Clan. Kāhn'-dah ow^{usk}. The old doe.

10. Bear Clan. Shāh'-tāh-hooh-rohn'-tēh. Half the sky.

11. Porcupine Clan. 1st. name : Ōhn-dōoh'-tōoh. The meaning of this name is lost. 2nd. name : Stih-yēh'-stah. Carrying bark, *i. e.*, as the porcupine carries it in his pocket-like jaws from the top of the hemlock, where he has been feeding.

12. Clan unknown. Yān-nyāh'-mōh-dēh'. Meaning of the name unknown. He was the last full blood Wyandot, and died in Canada about 1820. So say the old Wyandots.

13. Big Turtle Clan. A negro. Was captured in Greenbrier county, (now) West Virginia. Bought by Adam Brown, Chief of the Wyandots, and was adopted. Named Sōoh'-quēhn-tāh'-rah-rēh. Means the act of the Big Turtle in sticking out his head when it is drawn into his shell. A good translation would be "He sticks out his head." See Finley's "Wyandot Mission" for information about him. For the peculiar manner of his interpreting John Stewart's sermons see "Grandmother's Recollections" in *Western Christian Advocate* about 1897. The Wyandots confirm what is there said.

14. Famous Wyandot preacher at the Wyandot mission, and one of the first converts to Methodism. See Finley. His name should have been written Māh-nōohn'-kyōoh. Big Turtle Clan. Meaning of name lost.

15. Porcupine Clan. Neh-nyeh'-eh-seh. Meaning of name lost. A tall woman. Davis-Mohawk.

16. Porcupine Clan. Skah'-mēhn dāh'-teh. Meaning of the name is lost. She married George Armstrong and is said to have been a terminant.

17. See Finley's "Wyandot Mission" for information about him. He was a famous native preacher, and a man of strong character. Sāh-yōoh-tōoh'-zhah'. Clan and meaning of name lost.

18. Wolf Clan. Hāh-shēh'-trah. The foot-print of the wolf.

19. Little Turtle Clan. Dāh'-tēh-zhōoh'-owh^{usk}. Meaning of name lost.

20. Deer Clan. Mēhn'-dih-deh'-tih. Means the echo ; the wonderful talker ; what she says goes a long way and then comes back again.

21. Porcupine clan. Rēh'-hōoh-zhah'. Means the porcupine pulling down the branches and nipping off the buds and bark.

22. Deer Clan. Nēhn'-gāh-nyohs. It describes the act of a deer throwing up its hair when angry.

23. Bear Clan. Tēh-hōoh'-kah-quāh-shrooh. Means "Bear with four eyes." So called because he wore spectacles when he was adopted.

24. Snake Clan. Nyōohn-dōoh'-tōhs. Meaning of name lost.

25. Snake Clan. Squäh'-skah--röh. She moves quickly; or she moves suddenly; or she turns unexpectedly.

26. Snake Clan. Têh-hööh'-mäh-yêhs'. Means "you cannot see him; or invisible."

27. Clan unknown. Mêh'-rööh-töhn'-quäh. Meaning lost.

28. Snake Clan. Däh'-nyööh-dêh^k'. Meaning lost.

29. Clan unknown. Name, Käh-wêh'-tsêh. Meaning unknown to me.

30. Clan unknown to me. Name, Zhäh'-häh-rêhs. Meaning unknown to me. Formerly Mary Peacock; married Peter Bearskin.

31. Clan unknown to me. Name, Yööh-müh'-rêh-hööh'. Meaning unknown to me.

32. Snake Clan. Name, Yäh'-äh-täh'-sêh. Means, "A new body." Said of the snake when she slips off her old skin, as snakes do once a year. Her second name is Ööh-däh'-töhn'-têh. Means "She has left her village." One of the first (if not the very first) names for women in the list belonging to the Snake Clan. See note 24.

33. Clan unknown to me. Name, Dih'-êh-shêh^{uk}. Meaning unknown to me.

34. Clan unknown to me. Name, Mêh'-nööh-nêh'-tah. Meaning unknown to me.

35. Big Turtle Clan. Têh-shöht'. Strawberry, or the turtle's eye. The Big Turtle has a strawberry-colored eye.

36. Big Turtle Clan. Kyööh-dêh'-meh. Meaning of this name is lost.

37. Snake Clan. Tsööh'-dêhn-dêh^k'. Means "We clothe the stranger," or literally, "The Snake receives and clothes the stranger." She was a Pennsylvanian, and a teacher at the Wyandot mission. Married Francis Driver; after his death she married Francis A. Hicks; came to Kansas with the Wyandots in 1843. Buried in Huron Place cemetery.

38. Big Turtle Clan. Husband of the above mentioned. Têh'-häh-röhn'-yööh-rêh'. Means "Splitting the sky," i. e., the Big Turtle is rushing across the sky, dividing it with his course.

39. Clan unknown. Tööh'-nêh-shäh'-têh. Meaning lost.

40. Big Turtle Clan. Through his mother he was descended from the famous Madame Montour. Born near Detroit, in Wayne county, Michigan, March 5, 1800; came to Kansas in 1843. He was a man of education, refinement, and great force of character. Less than one-fourth Indian. In 1853 (July 26th) was elected provisional governor of Nebraska Territory. Had two names. First, Sêhs'-täh-röh (more properly Tsêhs'-täh-röh). Means "Bright," or "The Turtle's eye as it

shines in the water." Second name, Häh-shah'-rëhs. Means "Over-a full," and refers to a stream at flood, or overflowing its banks.

41. Porcupine Clan. Daughter of Silas Armstrong, sr. Name, Yööh'-fëh-zhëh'-nöhs. Means "The wind blows it over." Refers to the wind blowing up the long hair of the porcupine.

42. Porcupine Clan. Sister of above mentioned. Name, Mëhn'-tsëhn-noh. Meaning lost.

43. Porcupine Clan. Daughter of Mrs. Morris. Name, Kah'-yööh-dih'säh-wäh'.² Meaning lost.

44. Founder of the Wyandot mission at Upper Sandusky, Ohio. Adopted into the Bear Clan. Name, Rëh'-wäh-wih'-ih. Means, "Has hold of the law." In his books, Finley does not write his name properly. He had a nickname: Hah-gyëh'-rëh-wäh'-nëh. Means, "Big neck," because, the Wyandots say, he had the neck of a bull.

45. Adopted into the Little Turtle Clan. Name, Yah'-räh-quëhs'. Meaning lost.

46. Big Turtle Clan. Brother of Governor William Walker. Name, Räh'-hahn-tah'-sëh. Means "Twisting the forest," *i. e.*, as the wind moves, waves, and twists the willows along the banks of the stream in which the turtle lives.

47. Big Turtle Clan. Name, Towh-hëh'-shrëh. Means, "The Turtle sees the light," *i. e.*, when he floats up to the surface of the water.

48. Big Turtle clan. Name, Nyëh'-mëh-äh. Means "Accomplisher." Refers to the work of the Big Turtle in the creation. Their marriage was in violation of clan law of the Wyandots.

49. Big Turtle Clan. Töhr-röh² gyëh'. Meaning lost.

50. Big Turtle Clan. Tsööh'n'-dëh-shräh'-tën. Meaning is lost.

51. Little Turtle Clan. Trëh'-hëhn-toh. Means, "Tree shaking," *i. e.*, by the current, or flow of water against it.

52. Little Turtle Clan. Wäh-trohn'-yoh-noh'-nëh. "She takes care of the sky," or "Keeper of the heavens."

53. Porcupine Clan. Gwëh'-rih'-rooh. "Tree climber."

54. Little Turtle Clan. Hëh'n'-toh. The meaning is lost.

55. Married into the tribe and given a little Turtle name. Quëhn'-dëh-säh'-tëh. Means, vibrating voice, or a voice which goes up and down. The voice intended to be described is the voice of the Little Turtle heard on summer nights. This is very nearly the same as one of the Big Turtle names, which is sometimes written as here spelled, but it has a different meaning in that clan.

56. Bear Clan. Tëh'-owh²ëk'. Swimming (female) Bear.

57. Bear Clan. Mah'-shëhn-dah'-rooh. Meaning is lost.

58. Bear Clan. Teh'-ah-röhn'-tööh'-yéh. This is the famous name in the Bear Clan. It means, between the logs.

59. Big Turtle Clan. Mëhn-säh'-tëh. The meaning is unknown to me.

60. Deer Clan. Yah-röhn'-yäh-ah-wih'. The Deer goes in the sky and everywhere.

61. Deer Clan. Shrin'-ah-wähs. "Cannot find deer when he goes hunting."

62. Deer Clan. Nähn-dööh'-zhoh. An old deer.

63. Deer Clan. Tëh'-sköök-hëh^{nu}'. At (or in) the deer-lick.

64. Wolf Clan. Tööh'-äh. It means "There," *i.e.*, at the Wolf's house, or the Wolf's position in the tribal camp.

65. Big Turtle Clan. Quihn'-dëh-säh'-tëh. "Two lives," or "he lives in the water and in the air," or "in living he goes up and down." This name is written and pronounced a little differently in the Little Turtle Clan, and has a different meaning.

66. Deer Clan. Mäh'-yëh-tëh'-hah't. "Stand in the water." Refers to the habit of the deer, which stands in the water in summer to get rid of the annoyance of flies.

67. Wolf Clan. A famous Wyandot Chief. See treaties made with the Wyandots while they were in Ohio. He is said to have been a poor Cherokee. Name, Häh-röhn'-yööh. The meaning is lost. His wife was adopted into the Wolf Clan. Name, Yähn'-yööh-mëh^{nu}'.täh. The meaning is lost. Their marriage was permitted because they were both "strangers"—of foreign blood.

68. Big Turtle Clan. Brother of Governor Walker. Name, Wäh'-wähs. It means, Lost Place. The name was given from the following circumstance: His mother was a woman of great influence with all the tribes of the north-western confederacy; she spoke the languages of most of them. It was often necessary for her to attend their councils. She was sent for to attend one of these on one dark night. Her period of maternity was fulfilled. She was expecting confinement, and objected; but the business of state could not wait on the business of nature, and she was put into a wagon, and the journey for the council commenced. In the intense darkness the team left the path and soon was lost in the woods. The result was as she had feared. She was seized with travail, and soon a son was born to her. To commemorate the circumstances under which he was born he was given this name of Wäh'-wähs—Lost Place.

NOTE "A."

The whole of the Wyandot sociology rested on the clan system. This system had its advantages and its faults. Its principal advan-

tage was in its binding the tribe together with a bond of blood. In the Five Nations it was the feature of real strength.

The clan system was responsible for much of the fierce warfare made by one tribe upon another. It was a religious duty to keep the clan full, *i. e.*, every name in the clan list of proper names. No name was allowed in ancient times to become wholly obsolete. The animal from which the clan claimed descent was always angry when these names were not in use, for they were not in his honor. To suffer a clan to become extinct was a reproach to the nation or tribe. It was followed by dire calamity. This both the old Wyandots and Senecas have often told me. War was often undertaken to replenish the depleted ranks of a decaying clan. White men were eagerly adopted, and to such an extent had this practice been carried by the Wyandots that after the year 1820 there was not a full-blood Wyandot alive. Few women and girls were slain in battle or tortured as prisoners even in ancient times. They were adopted into the different clans of the tribe.

The Wyandots claim that as late as 1800 at least, the Wyandots and Cherokees made war upon each other for the sole purpose of obtaining women and children for adoption.

NOTES ON THE CLAN SYSTEM OF THE WYANDOTS.

1. George Wright said the same, almost precisely the same, to me upon this matter. There can be no higher authority than was Wright. Many years after the Wyandots had told me this I saw some of these ideas much better expressed in an article by Major Powell, but I do not now remember where it was published.

2. The first place is conceded to the Big Turtle by all the Wyandots. There is no precedence and encampment is the form of the shell of the Big Turtle. And he made the Earth (the Great Island).

The Little Turtle Clan is, undoubtedly, the second in antiquity, of the clans of the Wyandots. She spread the Earth brought up by the Toad upon the shell of the Big Turtle to make the Great Island. She is the Keeper of the Heavens, and created the sun, moon, and many of the stars. She controls the element, fire; and the lightning is also subject to her. She rides in the clouds provided by the Thunder God.

That the Mud Turtle is subordinate only to the Big and Little Turtles in point of importance and antiquity has always been maintained by the Wyandots. She dug the hole through the Great Island for the use of the sun. She also made the land for the use of the Little People and for the future home of the Wyandots, while engaged in this work. She is the ruler of that land to which the Wyandots go after death, and where the Little People now preserve the ancient

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government of the Wyandots for the use of the tribe as it gathers there from death in this world. The Mud Turtle did not go into the sky with the other animals, but to this land of the Little People in the bowels of the Great Island. She may be found there now. No great creative power or important part in the creation was accorded or ascribed to any but the Turtles.

It has been claimed that the Delawares were at one time a Turtle people. The Wyandots say that the Delawares came with them from the far north, and lived below them on the St. Lawrence river before the war with the Senecas broke out. These tribes were always particularly friendly, and the Delawares called the Wyandots their uncles. It is possible that the Delawares copied the customs of their superiors.

3. This conclusion was reached after many years of patient investigation. I cannot say that it is correct beyond doubt, but I could arrive at no other conclusion.

4. This was the opinion of George Wright. He said that Prairie Turtle clan names were often used by the Mud Turtle Clan after the Prairie Turtle clan became extinct, but they were used by no other clan. He also recited tradition in support of this position.

5. I have this from Mr. Splitlog, and also from Mr. Wright. Their authority was the finding of Striped Turtle clan names in use in the Big Turtle clan after the Striped Turtle clan was extinct; also Wyandot tradition. Among the old generation of Wyandots that came from Ohio to Kansas the ancient traditions of the people were well preserved in the form of songs. The children of that generation remember none of the old pagan songs, but their import only. Few are now left that remember even so much.

6. The Wyandot tradition preserving this event is still well remembered by the old Wyandots in the Indian territory. They have often repeated it to me. Smith Nichols recites the best version.

7. John W. Gray-Eyes gave me this word. I do not regard it as the best word for this use.

8. This word was given me by Smith Nichols. I regard it as the better word. But I have often believed I found traces of two languages in the Wyandot tongue. These words mean practically the same thing, but are nothing alike. And when questioned upon this point the old Wyandots say there was an old Wyandot language, or a sacred language in which much of their lore lay wrapped, and that but few of them could ever understand all of this old tongue. Formerly the "Keepers of the True Traditions" were the custodians of it, and taught it to their successors. Mr. Wright told me that the lore of the Senecas was formerly preserved in this same ancient tongue used by the Wyandots, to a certain extent, and he believed the same

was true of the Cayugas. If he was correct in this (and I do not doubt it to a certain extent) it may be that all the tribes of the Iroquoian family preserved their sacred traditions, songs and myths in a dead tongue, which had formerly been the common language of the family before its separation into distinct tribes and the creation of distinct dialects.

I give here two other words, much the same as the second one, either of which may mean clan or clans. 1. Hööh-tēh'-tāh-rih^{us} (the last syllable may be pronounced *rah*^{us}, also). 2. Hööh'-tēh-rih'-nyāh-shroon-nūh.^{sk}

8½. Powell says, in his "Wyandot Government," that "the camp of the tribe is an open circle or horse-shoe, and the gentes camp in the following order; beginning on the left and going around to the right:

"Deer, Bear, Highland Turtle (striped), Highland Turtle (black), Mud Turtle, Smooth Large Turtle, Hawk, Beaver, Wolf, Sea Snake, Porcupine.

"The order in which the households camp in the gentile group is regulated by the gentile councilors and adjusted from time to time in such a manner that the oldest family is placed on the left and the youngest on the right."

This is an error. The order of precedence and encampment is given accurately in my lists. What he says about "beginning on the left and going around to the right" may or may not be correct. If one were standing with face to the encampment it is true; if looking away from the encampment then it is incorrect.

The Deer was the principal clan of the tribe, but this was evidently true only in later times, and perhaps within the time when white men have known something of the Wyandots. In ancient times the Deer Clan must have been inferior to a number of clans, as evidenced by its place in the order of precedence and encampment.

9. George Wright gave me this information. That this is the fact he was positive, but as to the meaning of the term "on the trail of the snake" he could give me nothing.

10. I obtained this from Mr. Wright, and have had it confirmed by other old Wyandots.

11. My authority for this paragraph is Wright.

12. Mr. Wright did not agree entirely with these identifications.

13. There can be no question as to the accuracy of this identification. All the Wyandots with whom I consulted were agreed upon it. The term "Mossy-backed fellow" was given to me by Mr. Wright.

14. That is Mr. Wright's expression.

15. There can be no doubt of the correctness of this identification. I never heard any other so much as suggested in all my investigations of the matter.

16. This is Mr. Splitlog's description and identification. Mr. Wright questioned it and believed it incorrect. He said it was a turtle with a hard shell and not so large as the turtle here described. He said he never saw any of this species except in Canada, and very few of them there. I have not succeeded in identifying and classifying the turtle he described. I am inclined to believe Wright correct, and that this is a Canadian turtle, little known to the later generations of Wyandots.

17. Wright questioned this identification, but I have failed to identify the wolf he described—a yellow wolf, and of double the size of the ordinary wolf, often even larger. They were rare in the Canadian woods even in his day, he said. He described the track of this wolf as being as large as that of a pony, and he declared that he had seen the heads of these wolves that would measure twelve inches from the end of the nose to the top of the skull. He affirmed that his name signified the foot-print of the wolf he described to me. While I cannot confirm his statement, I do not doubt it. He said also that the Wolf Clan of the Delawares was descended from this same wolf which he described.

18. All accounts agree that this is correct.

19. There can be no question as to the accuracy of this identification. The Beaver Clan became extinct in Kansas, although there yet live in the Indian territory some persons descended from males of this clan.

20. If any other species of this family was ever the animal claimed by the Wyandots as the ancestor of this clan, it was so far back in the past that all remembrance of it is obliterated from the Wyandot mind. There can scarcely be a doubt as to the accuracy of this identification.

21. No dispute as to the correctness of this identification.

22. All the accounts I was able to obtain concerning this turtle agree as to its identity. But for all that I have sometimes believed the identification incorrect. Mr. Splitlog was very positive in his belief in the accuracy of this identification, and Wright agreed with him, I had before believed it was an exclusively water turtle.

23. I believe there can be no doubt of the correctness of this identification. Wright produced the shell of one of those box turtles when describing the animal. It was the ordinary land terrapin which I had seen so often in Eastern Kentucky. They are found in great numbers in the present home of the Wyandots.

24. The myth in brief is as follows:

A young lady was selected to become the mother of the new clan. She was sent into the woods to receive the address of all the animals and to choose one for a husband; their offspring was to form the new

clan which was to be named for the animal so chosen. She made no choice, but the snake, by assuming the form of a fair young man, seduced her from her mission. She was his wife; but he could not retain the form of the young man long, and when he assumed his true form of the snake, she fled from him and crossed a great water with the assistance of a man she found on its shore with a canoe. The snake was very wroth when he found she had fled and he pursued her, calling to her to return. She did not heed his cries, and he raised a great storm on the water to engulf her. But Hēh'noh, the thunder-god, came to her rescue, and slew the snake with a bolt of lightning.

The woman was delivered of a number of snakes, and these were the progenitors of the Snake clan.

The act of the woman in leaving her husband's lodge is called Ooh-dāh-tōhn'-tēh. It is perhaps the first name for woman in the list belonging to the Snake clan. It means "she has left her village." The act of the snake in calling to his fleeing wife is called Kāh-yōōh'-mēhn-dah'-tāh. It is the first name in the list for men belonging to the Snake clan. It means "calling to one your voice cannot reach," or "calling to one your voice does not influence."

25. The myth of the origin of the Hawk clan is, in brief, as follows:

A young woman was wandering about in a prairie one day when the sky was suddenly overcast. On looking up she saw the king of birds coming down upon her. She fled into a wood and crept into a log, but the big bird seized the log and carried it up to the top of a crag far above the clouds where he had his home. When he was gone the young woman came out of the log and found a nest, and in it two young birds, each larger than an elk. She learned that the big bird had slain his wife in a fury and thrown her down from the crag-top. The big bird assumed the form of a young man and the girl was his wife, but she wished very much to escape. She finally thought she might escape by the aid of one of the young birds. She fed the larger one well and he grew rapidly; soon he could fly away a little distance and back again. One day when the big bird was gone she led the young bird to the edge of the precipice; here she suddenly sprang on his back, and the force of her action carried him over the precipice. They tumbled along for a while but finally the young bird spread his wings, caught himself in the air, and flew. The girl had prepared a small stick and when he did not go down in his flight she tapped him on the head; then he went down. Soon the girl heard the big bird coming in pursuit, and his trumpetings were of thunder. She tapped the young bird constantly and he soon came to the ground. The girl

jumped from his back and pulled the long feathers from his wings, then fled into a wood and hid in the rocks. The big bird came to the ground and flapped his wings; the result was a hurricane which levelled the forest. He searched for the girl but could not find her. He took his disabled son in his talons and went back to his crag. The girl came from her hiding place and gathered up the long feathers she had plucked from the young bird's wings, and went home. When her time was full she was delivered of a number of hawks. They were each given a feather of those from the wings of the young bird. They became the progenitors of the Hawk clan of the Wyandots.

26. He was the last of the pagan chiefs of the Wyandots. But he became a true and humble christian at an early age and so continued until his death.

27. Sähr'-stähr-räh'-tsēh was an official title, and the highest originated and conferred by the Wyandots. It is believed that they conferred this title only upon the head chief who gave repeated evidences of bravery and high executive ability. Many chiefs could never attain this high rank, as the Wyandots were very jealous of its bestowal.

This title was conferred upon the writer at a feast ordered and held for that purpose in the Indian territory, March 22nd, 1899.

28. Upon this subject my best authority was George Wright. Not that the information which I received from others was inaccurate or unreliable, but that Mr. Wright was so much better informed upon all subjects of this character.

29. This name was given me some years ago when I was first considered by the Wyandots as one of their number. On the 22nd day of March, 1899, I was formally adopted into the Deer Clan of the Wyandot tribe (having been previously adopted into a family of that clan) and "raised up" to fill the rank of Sähr'-stähr-räh'-tsēh, which had been vacant since the death of Däh-ōōh^{ms}-quaht, or the Half King, at Detroit in July, 1788. The clan name of the Half King was Tōōh-däh'-rēh-zhōōh', and that name was given me as my clan name. It means: The great Deer; or the Deer that leads; or the Deer that stands above his fellows.

Däh-ōōh^{ms}-quaht is a special Deer Clan name bestowed upon the Half King by the tribal council. It is said to mean "Long Bark"

30. His mother was a Wyandot-Seneca of the Tsäh-dēh'-shräh-nyōh'-kah or Snipe Clan, and according to a strict construction of Indian kinship he would be a Seneca of that clan. But he is a Wyandot, the son of Matthew Brown, and the great-grandson of chief Adam Brown, who founded Brownstown.

Powell, in his "Wyandot Government," says that the tribal council was composed of one-fifth men and four-fifths women. The Wyandots deny that this was ever true. I doubt its accuracy. All that I have been able to learn on this subject leads me to believe that the tribal council was composed of the hereditary chief of the tribe, the chief of each clan, and such additional warriors of ability and courage as the hereditary chief and council chose to "call to the council-fire." Women were not excluded from the deliberations of the council in certain contingencies, and were often called upon to give an opinion. The oldest Wyandots say that women were never recognized as members of the tribal council. This is the more probable, as the tribal council possessed only delegated and limited authority. The government of the Wyandots, in its functions, was a pure democracy. Questions affecting the interests of the whole tribe were determined by it in general convention, and men and women alike were heard, and voted, the majority ruling.

In the tribal council the vote was anciently by clans, the hereditary chief calling upon them in the order of precedence and encampment, the "calling of the clans" being the word "*Oh-heh*" and the response of the clan chief being *H-ē-ē-eh'-zōōh*, if voting in the affirmative. If assent of the clan was not given the clan chief remained silent, and no "voice" was heard. In ordinary matters if the "voice" of a majority of the clan chiefs was heard the proposition was carried, but in matters of great moment unanimity was necessary. The number of "voices" heard was reported to the head chief by the Wolf, *i.e.*, the clan chief of the Wolf Clan, and by the head chief announced to the council. In arriving at his decision the clan chief consulted the warriors of his clan that were members of the tribal council. He might consult other members of his clan. A question was rarely voted upon until at least one day had elapsed after its proposal. The tribal council did not necessarily consist of any certain number of persons.

In voting in the general convention of tribes the account was kept with grains of corn, white being affirmative and red or blue negative. The vote was "taken" by the Wolf, who gathered them in two bark receptacles. They were counted by the tribal council and the result was announced to the convention by the Wolf. George Wright informed me that he had attended general conventions of the tribe in Ohio where the vote was thus taken.

Concerning the head chief, or hereditary chief, Powell says that he was formerly of the Bear Clan. If this be true, it was so far in the past that none of the Wyandots that left Ohio for the west remembered it; no tradition that this was ever true remained in the tribe, none remains to-day. The Bear Clan was always a turbulent, re-

fractory and troublesome clan. It was often disciplined by the tribe, so I was informed by Wright and other old Wyandots. While it had individual members held in esteem in the tribe and noted for courage and intelligence, as a clan it was to a certain degree degraded and held in contempt. The office of head chief was hereditary in the Deer Clan back to the time of the remotest remembrance, until after the battle with Wayne, where the chiefs of that clan were all killed, with a single exception, they say. Then the tribal council changed it to the Porcupine Clan at the instance of Tarhe of that clan, who had exercised the supreme authority since the death of the Half King in 1788. This change was opposed by the Deer Clan, and many of the tribe considered it an illegal and unwarranted proceeding. Only the great ability of Tarhe, which was recognized by the whole tribe, caused the action appointing him head chief to be acquiesced in. Many of the Wyandots regard the Deer Clan hereditary chief the true sachem of the tribe to this day. In this succession, Smith Nichols, living at the present time in the Seneca Nation, and married to a Seneca woman, is the hereditary chief of the Wyandots.

While the sachem was, in a manner, chosen by the tribal council, the choosing was more in the manner of a "raising" than a real selection of a person to fill the office. The council was restricted to the clan and family in this choosing, and unless some good reason could be shown the chief by heredity was never passed over.

THE DOOH'-SEH-AH'-NĒH, OR THE ORIGIN OF THE ÊL'-LĒN-NA'-PA,
(DELAWARES.)

(According to Wyandot Tradition.)

The Wyandot calls the Delaware his nephew and the Delaware calls the Wyandot his uncle. The Wyandot had as a tribe no other nephew than the Delaware, and the Delaware had no other uncle than the Wyandot. How this relationship came to be recognized can perhaps never be ascertained. The Wyandot name for the Delaware does not explain it, and has no reference to it in its interpretation. This name is dööh'-sēh-ah'-nēh, while the Wyandot word for nephew is hēh-wah'-tah.

The terms were evidently the result or incident of some treaty between the tribes, and probably of considerable antiquity, although the absence of any reference to this relationship in the Wyandot name of the Delawares would seem to indicate that it was of modern origin. The Wyandots have the following myths (possibly legends) upon this subject. As they relate also to the origin of wampum it may finally be determined that the relationship is of long standing. In relating

the story the Wyandots always commenced—"Long before the Wyandots came to the country where Quebec and Montreal now stand." The myths are as follows:

"It came about in this way. The young woman who was to become the mother of the future head chief of the Wyandots belonged to the Big Turtle clan. She was comely and well favored, She was headstrong and rebellious. Her father selected from a proper clan a young man to become her husband. In this selection reference was had to the wishes of the young woman, for it was the custom to select an older man for a girl of her age. More from the perversity of her disposition than from her real feeling she scorned and refused the man she had caused to be selected. She went away with another Wyandot and lived in his lodge.

This action of the young woman enraged her family and her clan as well as the tribe. Her clan sought to slay her. She and her husband were compelled to flee far away from their tribe to escape death. The office of head chief was taken from the Big Turtle clan and made hereditary in the Deer clan.

The young woman and her husband lived in a strange land. They had many sons and daughters. These married the people of the land in which they were born. In the course of time the descendants of this Wyandot girl and her husband formed a great people. In their migrations they encamped near the land of the Wyandots. The Wyandots had no recognition for them but did not make war upon them."

THE WAMPUM BIRD.

The villages of the Wyandots stood about a beautiful lake. One day a maiden went from the village to a marsh to get some cranberries. When she came to the marsh where the cranberries were growing she saw a great bird, half a tree tall, fierce and of frightful mien. This bird was feeding upon the cranberries of the marsh, and seemed incapable of rising to fly away.

The maiden was greatly frightened at what she believed to be a hōoh'-kēh' bird. She ran to the village and told the chief about the strange bird she had seen in the cranberry marsh. The Wolf sounded the great shell and the council was immediately assembled. Fear was in all the village.

The council caused medicine to be made. It was found that this fierce bird in the marsh where the cranberries grew was the wampum bird, the first of its kind ever seen in this lower world. It was determined that the bird must be killed and the wampum obtained.

All the warriors went with the chief to slay the wampum bird. It was devouring the cranberries. So fierce and desperate was it that

the warriors could not approach it with their clubs. The chief said to the warriors: "He that kills the wampum bird with an arrow shall have my daughter to wife."

The maiden, the chief's daughter, was much desired by the warriors. They shot their arrows at the wampum bird. When an arrow struck the wampum bird it stood up its full height and shook off all the wampum with which it was covered. This precious substance fell in showers like rain all about the warriors. In an instant the bird was again covered with wampum which was its only plumage. The purple wampum covered its wings; on the remainder of its body was the white wampum.

No arrow shot by the warriors could kill the wampum bird. While they were shooting, a youth came through the woods to where they stood. He was of a strange people. The warriors wished to kill and scalp him. The chief permitted him to shoot at the wampum bird. He cut a slender willow from the marsh. From this he fashioned an arrow which he shot. None of the warriors saw the arrow leave the bow of the young man, nor did they see it strike, but the wampum bird was dead in an instant. The arrow was found piercing its head through the eyes. The Wyandots secured more wampum than could be placed in the largest lodge in their village.

The warriors carried the youth to their village. They still wished to kill and scalp him, for they had not been able to kill the wampum bird. The chief said to the young man: "My son, tell me from whence you came." He replied that he was a Delaware. He said his people lived in a village which was not far away.

The council sent the young man to bring his people to a great council which it appointed. At this great council the Wyandots recognized the Delawares as their nephews. A treaty was made which has not been broken to this day. The young man was given to the Wyandots and by them adopted. He was given the wife he earned by killing the wampum bird.

This treaty was confirmed between the parties to it by giving back and forth strings of the wampum secured from the wampum bird slain by the young man. Since that day no treaty has been concluded by the Wyandots without the passing of the wampum belt.

The Wyandots and their nephews, the Delawares, lived side by side a long time. Then they came from the north land to live on the banks of the St. Lawrence.

THE WAR OF THE IROQUOIS.*

BY M. BENJAMIN SULTE.

Before entering upon an account of the conflicts which the colony of Canada had to encounter during the 17th century against the Iroquois we must first learn something about the many peoples who, at that epoch, were the hereditary possessors of the greater half of the continent of North America—the Nations, with whom the early discoverers and explorers came in contact—after which we shall the more readily understand something of the bitter antagonism of the Iroquois against French exploration and French colonial expansion.

Following a map of the times, and leaving eastern Pennsylvania, crossing Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, all the Province of Quebec, the River Ottawa, Lake Nipigon, the Sault Ste. Marie, Lake Superior Wisconsin and Michigan, Indiana and Ohio, we find ourselves in a vast circle held by Algonkin tribes—wandering bedouins, fishermen and hunters—without stationary homes or lodges; lacking high ideals and without a regular form of government. In habit improvident and shiftless, living ever in the present hour and forgetful of the future, with annual sufferings from a rigorous climate which no hard experience taught them to prepare for, they feasted and gorged themselves while abundant harvests in natural luxuriance flourished around them, in turn suffering all the pangs of hunger, starvation and cold from their improvidence. Their language was composed of an infinity of dialects and patois, which rendered the speech of these Arabs of North America a strange tongue to all other nations living beyond a radius of one hundred miles. The purest specimens of the Algonkin language were to be found among the dwellers on the banks of the Ottawa River, on Manitoulin Island, in Wisconsin and Illinois. The physical type was more European than Asiatic, the skin white, not red. It almost appeared as if these people had a common origin and one not so very far different from that of our own. These men, however, were primitive savages, not having the instincts to raise themselves above the level of brute creation and ignorant of their gross ignorance, they were dwellers on the lowest rung of the ladder of humanity.

Now, let us glance within the circle embracing Upper Canada, the State of New York and the north of Pennsylvania. This region was

* Translated by Mrs. Mary E. Rose Holden.—“This translation of Mrs. Mary E. Rose Holden is an honor I highly appreciate, and I take pleasure in adding that I have compared it with the original and cannot expect a more accurate expression of my text from any writer.

BENJAMIN SULTE.

Ottawa, Oct. 17th, 1889.”

inhabited by the Huron-Iroquois race, peoples of sedentary habits, having well-built lodges, villages and towns. Cultivators of the soil, ruled by an effective political and military administration which astonished Europeans.

Thrifty and provident in all seasons, these people lived comfortably, favoured with a beautiful climate, they presented a group of primitive, civilized men surrounded by neighbouring barbarians. If they had been left to the natural law of the evolution of peoples and races they might at the present time have been compared to the empire of ancient Greece. This supposition does not imply that their cruel practices would no longer have been in use; for cruelty towards enemies is the last evil instinct to leave a barbarous people, and parallel cases in cruelty were found even in Egypt, Greece, Rome and Spain, and in all probability the year 1900 would have brought with it to the Huron-Iroquois, if left untouched by European civilization of the 14th and 15th centuries, a civilization similar to that of Mexico and Peru without its luxury, but in as an advanced social condition. The red tint of their skin indicated other source than that of the Algonkin from whom they differed materially in so many respects. It must be admitted that they had taken many steps in raising themselves from a savage condition, through which superiority they held themselves apart from the Algonkin tribes.

Like the Germans, they called themselves "*Allemenn*" (Allemands) "superior men," "*hommes, par excellence.*" Their language was beautiful, full of resource and variety of expression, with few dialects.

Towards the year 1600 the Huron-Iroquois were found dispersed through Upper Canada, the centre of the south-west of the Province of Quebec, wherever was to be found the finest climate.

The tribes living about Lake Simcoe and Georgian Bay were called Hurons by the French on account of the fashion which they followed in dressing their hair. Others were called the Neutrals, and the Tobacco people, or pipe-smokers. These latter stretched towards Goderich, on Lake Huron—the Neutrals towards St. Thomas, on Lake Erie.

East of the two great lakes, at Buffalo, Rochester, Syracuse, Oswego, Utica and Albany, were five tribes whom the French called Iroquois, from the habit which their orators followed of ending their orations in the fashion of Homer's Greeks by saying "Iro," or "Hiro"—"*J'ai dit*"—ipse dixit. A sixth family inhabited the north of Pennsylvania and were known as the Andastes. The seventh, the Eries, occupied the south-east country of the lake bearing their name. The eighth, the Tuscaroras, stretched into Virginia.

About the year 1600 the Hurons were a powerful people. They numbered three thousand warriors. The Iroquois at that time in

comparison were but "a little nation," having been almost exterminated by their enemies, but we shall soon see that this "remnant of a people, like a fruitful germ, multiplied exceedingly in number and filled the earth." So writes, in 1650, one of the Jesuit fathers.

In all the countries of North America we find history repeating itself—the old story of wars and as to whom shall be the greatest, which has existed upon the globe since the days of Adam and Eve, was now in full force.

The Iroquois branch called the Mohawks, or Agniers, located near Albany, were the greatest warriors of the five groups of which we have spoken. They descended by route of the Chambly river and ravaged the country of the Algonkins, living on the banks of the St. Lawrence, between Quebec and Montreal. Such was the state of affairs in the country when Champlain arrived in Canada in 1603.

The Algonkin country was the first territory reached by the great explorer. It was, therefore, most expedient for him, in the furtherance of future discovery, to form alliance with these people, and as a pledge of his faith in the promises made him of guarding him from personal seizure or loss, and also of furnishing him with guides and protection in western explorations, he joined them in an expedition against the Iroquois, 1609.

Historians have drawn exaggerated conclusions from this so-called rash alliance, even going the length of saying that Champlain rashly attacked the most redoubtable Indian confederacy on the continent of North America. He did not begin the attack, his allies were defending themselves from invasion. It was not the shot of Champlain's arquebus which gave birth to Iroquois antagonism. As well say that Æneas carrying his father into Italy foreshadowed the conquest of the world by the Romans. Let us make note that the Agniers (Mohawks) were not making war against the French, but were at that particular time at war with the Algonkins, and Champlain found himself amid the conflict. It was an unfortunate introduction, yet one which could not have been avoided.

The more fatal step, into which he was afterwards drawn, was that of invading the country of the Mohawks at the head of his Algonkin-Huron allies. Champlain was crippled by enactments and decrees of government from Paris, and unable to follow any independent policy with the native nations. Herein lies the whole root of the matter.

In 1614 the Dutch or Flemings, established a trading post at Orange, the present Albany. The following year a party of Flemings accompanied the Iroquois in an incursion into the country of an ally of the Hurons. Three of the Dutch were taken prisoners, but were

returned in safety to Albany, for the Hurons had told them of the arrival of the pale-faces and of Champlain's alliance with the Algonkin-Hurons made at Quebec. The Flemings were supposed by their captors to be Frenchmen or allies of the French. Were these Europeans supporting the Iroquois in war?

In 1615 the Hurons invaded the Iroquois country, penetrating as far as Syracuse, in the State of N. Y. Champlain was with them. The expedition was unsuccessful, and was a much more serious affair for Champlain than the encounter on the Chambly river in 1609.

We see clearly, that the Hurons and Iroquois were mighty and hereditary rivals. It is impossible to know from what cause or date this antagonism originated. This fact we do know, that the feud ended only with the wiping out of the Huron villages and towns and the final dispersion of the nation into Lower Canada—forty years later. The Jesuit Relation of 1660, written by Etienne Brulé, furnishes a good account of this anti-fraternal warfare. That priest in 1615 lived with the Andastes (Pennsylvania), and these people of the Huron-Iroquois language were then at war with the Iroquois of Onondaga.

"The five tribes which constituted the Iroquois League, those whom we call "Agnierons," fluctuated between success and defeat of their foes for a period of over 60 years—a continued series of revolutions of the "fortunes of war," than which we can scarcely find a parallel in modern or ancient history. . . . Towards the end of the 16th century the Iroquois were almost exterminated by the Algonkin-Hurons; nevertheless, the handful left, like a fruitful germ, had multiplied within a few years, who in their turn had reduced the Algonkin to a pitiful number, thus most effectively turning the tables upon their enemies. But this triumph was of very short duration, for the Andastogehronnons, during a ten years' war, had been so successful that the Iroquois for the second time as a confederacy were almost annihilated, and so humiliated, that the name of an Algonkin made them tremble, and the memory of their defeat pursued them even to their council fires."

The defeat of the Mohawks by the Andastes, shows us that the Iroquois as a confederation, if already in existence (1620-1630), was not yet in such a position as to afford succour to any one of the several tribes of the league when seriously menaced by a foe. The Relation continues: "At this time the Dutch were allies of the Mohawks, having for 30 years carried on the fur trade with them." The Relation of 1637 p. 158, et 1647, p. 8 gives the following: "The savage d'Andastoe, of neighbouring Virginia had at one time alliance with the Hurons, many of whom settled in their country. The Andastes lived on the shores of the Susquehanna. They stretched to the sea, from

which they brought back shell-fish, which they exchanged for other commodities with the inland tribes—from which they have been called the “porcelain people.”

The five nations of the Iroquois Confederacy have been ranked as nearly as possible as follows: Agniers (Mohawks) to the north of Albany and the Schenectady; Onneyouts (Oneidas), back of Oswego; Onnontagués (Onondagas), towards Syracuse, N. Y. Central; Goyogonins (Cayugas), near Rochester; Tsonnontonans (Senecas), east of Buffalo. The Eries following the length of the greater part of Lake Erie near Cleveland and Sandusky.

Champlain wrote: Iroquois, Irocois, Yrocois; the Jesuits: Hiroquois, Iroquois. The Dutch called the Agnier, Maquois; the English made it Mohawks. When the Algonkins saw the Iroquois coming they cried out: “Nattaoué! The enemies.”

The advent of the French into Upper Canada was not at first of a nature to alarm the Iroquois, for some of these men were missionaries; others, runners or traders for the peltry trade; but by the year 1634 the number of palefaces had increased to such an extent, that the nations south of the St. Lawrence, becoming alarmed, formed themselves into a political league, called Iroquois by the French. They designated themselves as one body, by the name of *Onguehonwe*: “Superior men dwelling in perfect houses.” The strength of this confederacy became more and more firmly consolidated, as the Iroquois realised how they were being surrounded by the pale-faces. To the south of them were the English of Virginia, the Swedes of New Jersey, the Dutch of Manhattan (New York) and Orange (Albany).

The Dutch and New England colonies, bent upon extending their trade, supplied the Iroquois with blankets, firearms and rum, and had built up a profitable connection for themselves.

The finest peltries were to be found in Upper Canada. The Hurons and the Iroquois delivered these to the French. *The Iroquets people of the Algonkin tongue*, who claimed to have once possessed the island of Montreal, occupied the territory between Kingston, Vaudreuil and the Rideau river.

It will be now seen that the Iroquois held a most precarious position. To the north of them their hereditary foes, to the south-east three peoples of European pale-faces from England, Sweden and Holland. Now their extraordinary diplomacy came into play and a political policy was projected by the league in solemn conclave around their council fires, to which they tenaciously held to the last, and which saved them from being overcome by foe or invader. The first step to take in carrying out this policy was to attack the Hurons and their allies, the French. A war not planned on the old bordering raids

and incursions (of 1600-30) into the Algonkin and Huron countries, but a series of aggressive, well thought-out and planned operations against the Europeans, with one view ever in mind, viz: the domination of the Iroquois. Such a national conception was worthy of the genius of a Cæsar.

We must not leave out the Sokokis, of the Connecticut river, and the Wolves, (Mohicans, Mahingans), on both sides of the Hudson, people of the Algonkins, enemies of the Iroquois, who, under the eyes of the Dutch, completely wiped out of existence the Sokokis and Wolves. The captives taken in 1630 becoming adopted into the Iroquois confederacy. Part of the Iroquois policy was to war directly with the native nations, conquer them, incorporating into their league all captives, or lesser tribes or clans fearing extinction, who demanded their protection, or to stir up war between the lesser tribes so that the one might be destroyed by the other. Surrounding the Iroquois were the Abenakes of Maine, the Algonkins of Lower Canada and the Iroquets, the Hurons, Neuters, the Pipe Smokers, Mascoutins and Andastes. A circle of formidable foes to be overcome one after the other, or the one by the other.


The home government of France did not interfere with these plans of the Iroquois, while the English, Swedes and Dutch were largely benefited so far by these successes of the confederacy that the peltry trade of the west was directed to Albany and drifted from Montreal and Quebec without any effort on their part. The French who traded in Upper Canada did not go there to settle, but to trade, and this the Iroquois perfectly understood. The *Courreurs des bois* and six or eight "black robes," who lived in the depths of the country, and who were looked upon in the light of overseers of the peltry trade by the Indians, were tolerated, but the Hurons as a people must be destroyed. We might never have read of the martyrdom of the Jesuit missionaries if the dealers in furs had not been living under the shelter of the Hurons. It was in pursuit of the monopoly of the northwestern fur trade that the Hurons were driven from their homes, and in this destruction the French, as the allies of the Iroquois' hereditary foes, suffered such terrible disaster.

During the month of August, 1635, Champlain appealed to Cardinal Richelieu for military assistance to restrain the disastrous policy of the Iroquois, and stated that if sufficient aid were sent out to Canada, that with the assistance of the Hurons the league might be destroyed and the whole peltry trade of the N. and N. W. be controlled by the French. Richelieu did nothing in reply, and Champlain died the 23th December the same year. Canada was now left to itself and desolation through the passive policy of the French crown.

while the Dutch of Albany sold firearms to the Iroquois, who from this date ravaged both Upper and Lower Canada. The war with the Hurons waged furiously from 1636. There is little doubt that the Dutch, Swedes and the Iroquois were well aware that France was at this time engaged in civil war and unable to send out assistance to her colonists. If at that time France had but spared a few of her regiments to assist and strengthen her Canadian colony, neither her army nor her prestige in Europe would have suffered and French rule would have been made secure in North America. History is now (1898-99) repeating itself in Africa in the rival establishments of European commerce, at the same time in the opening up and exploring of the "dark continent" of modern times. If the new comers do not make war themselves, they induce the natives to attack the rival successful traders.

In 1639 the Iroquois exterminated the Wenrohronons, who lived beyond lake Erie more than eighty miles from the Hurons, and were old friends of the Neuters. The Iroquois attacked them in 1639 and dispersed them; more than six hundred of these poor unfortunates perished. A large number of women and children and the aged found shelter with the Hurons and Neuters in a village situated northeast of Sarnia, afterwards called the Mission of St. Michael. These Wenrohronons were a branch of the Eriérohons, of the Cat people, established near Cleveland and Sandusky, not far from some bourgades of the Neuters, which stretched as far as Toledo after having crossed the river Detroit. Their language was that of the Hurons and the Iroquois. The dispersion of the Eries in 1639 drove the principal group of the Eries into the State of Ohio, where they lived for twelve years in large villages, cultivating the land according to their ancient custom.

The Neuters (Attiwendorons) who had until 1638 kept intact their traditional neutrality between the Hurons and Iroquois, in turn fell before the power of the Iroquois. They had occupied the lands between the Niagara River, Sarnia, Goderich and Hamilton, and numbered (1616) thirty-six villages with a garrison of 4,000 warriors, the same number of warriors in 1641, with a population of 12,000 souls, but this census was much larger a few years previously. On Galinée's map of 1679 was found near the Burlington Heights, City of Hamilton, Ontario, these words, placed at the head of the river: "Ici etait autrefois la nation Neutre." In ploughing the ground in this locality were found in the space of an ordinary farm 800 tomahawks, left there probably at the end of a battle where the people of the locality had evidently been exterminated, leaving no one to gather up the arms. The river in question runs south, empties into Lake Erie at Dunnville, county of Haldimand. At Southwold, county of Elgin,



have been discovered curious ruins of a Neuter village, thought to be the capital city of the Neuter Confederacy. The most important missions established by the Jesuits before 1650 in the Neuter territory are Notre Dame des Anges, near Brantford; St. Alexis, near St. Thomas; St. Joseph, county of Kent; Saint Michael, north-east of Sarnia; and St. Francois, a little east of Sandwich. There were also three or four other towns of the Neuters on the other side of the Detroit river, *i. e.* on the United States side of the river.

The conquest of Upper Canada commenced by a ferocious attack of the Iroquois against the Neuters, carried on in such a manner that the Neuters were unable to contend against it, after which the Hurons were vanquished in their turn, but the extermination of the Neutrals did not take place until 1650, after the total collapse of the Hurons.

From 1639-40 the genius of the Iroquois inspired them with a new plan of warlike operations worthy of comparison with that of Napoleon in 1805. To subjugate, one after the other, the races surrounding them, and arbitrating at the same time the destinies of the French and Dutch settlements on the continent, was their evident policy—a policy which they pursued without faltering during a quarter of a century, that is to say, until the arrival of the Carignan regiment from France. In summing up the tide of affairs at this time, Charlevoix says: "The Iroquois, assured of being supported by the Dutch who furnished them with arms and ammunition, and to whom they sold the peltries which they had seized from the French traders and the Hurons, continued at this time their predatory exploits of capturing all the peltry trade on its transit from the west to Quebec and Montreal and Three Rivers. The rivers and lakes were infested by Iroquois bands, and commerce could be carried on only at great risks. The Hurons, whether through their national indolence, or from fear of their old enemy who scornfully triumphant over them, treated them with a galling superiority and contempt of manner, which paralysed all efforts of resistance, even when their bourgades and frontiers were being razed and burned to the ground." Father Sagard (1625) named the Hurons "Howandates," from which term has been derived Ouendat, Wyandot and Yaudat. They lived between Matchedash and Nottawasaga bays, the river Severn and Lake Simcoe. They cultivated pumpkins, Indian corn, beans, tobacco and hemp. Their principal tribes were the Bear (Antigonantes), the Wolf (Antigonenons), the Falcon (Arendoronons), the Heron (Tahontainnats). (See Dean Harris, *St. Catharines*.)* According to Champlain the Hurons in 1615 numbered from 20,000 to 30,000 souls, including the Tionnontates, "The Smokers of Tobacco," who lived on the western heights of the Blue Mountains, at the head of Nottawasaga bay, in the township of the same name, two days

* History of the Early Missions in Western Canada, by the Rev. W. R. Harris.

march from the Huron villages. They had nine or ten bourgades, with a population of 10,000. Traces of thirty-two villages and forty bone-pits, or cemeteries, were found in this region. After 1640 the Smokers joined themselves more firmly with the Hurons. The missions of St. John, St. Matthew and St. Matthias were established by the Jesuit Fathers, and became centres of ten or twelve missions scattered through the counties of Simcoe and Grey.

Mr. David Boyle, well known as an authority in these matters says, that these people were more intelligent and more industrious than most of the other savages of North America.

During the month of June, 1641, the Hurons on their annual descent to Three Rivers with their peltries, unexpectedly found the post blockaded by the Iroquois whom they thought away from the scene and busy in another direction, but experience was fast teaching the French, that as soon as one expedition proved successful their indefatigable destroyers feigned a false calm and satisfaction with the exploit, only to appear in the most unexpected direction, and by this means kept up an unceasing warfare. Bands of young Iroquois warriors encouraged by the non-resistance of the Hurons, kept up an incessant series of petty invasions and predatory attacks on the French and Huron settlements.

The Neutrals owed their name to the pacific role which they followed between the many different Huron and Iroquois tribes of the northern and southern countries of the lakes—Ontario and Erie. They did not hold these pacific sentiments regarding other nations, principally the Mascoutins or Fire People of the Algonkin language who lived beyond the Detroit river. This powerful nation claimed sovereignty to the extreme western section of lands on lakes Erie and Huron for the Algonkins—Ottawas, inhabited the county of Bruce and Manitoulin Island. These hostilities were still in existence in 1642. As reported in Relation of 1644, p. 97: "The Neuters are always at war with the Fire Nation. In 1642 in number of 2000 they attacked a palisaded town defended by 900 warriors, who sustained the assault; after a siege of 10 days, they raised the siege, took 800 captives, as many men as women and children; they burned over 70 warriors, gouging the eyes and burning the lips off all the old men, who were afterwards abandoned to wander homeless in their misery."

This was the scourge which was depopulating the country, for with these native tribes, war was but extermination. This nation of fire was more populous than the Neutrals and the Huron-Iroquois taken together. They possessed a large number of villages and spoke the Algonkin tongue in great purity. We may consider the Mascoutins during the years 1615-1666, as the most powerful people of the pre-

sent State of Michigan, lying between the city of Detroit and the Straits of Mackinaw.

The spectacle of these barbarous wars, like those of mediæval Europe twenty centuries ago assumes a geographical aspect, that of a rotatory movement. Circling round lake Huron, the Hurons, the Tobacco Nations, the Neutrals with the Iroquois attacking, on the south the Eries, and Mascoutins; these latter in their turn inspiring terror among the Ottawas of the county of Bruce and Manitoulin island, and as far as the Amikowes (the Beaver) in the Algoma district, over the continent north of lake Huron. Encircling this sheet of water raged these internecine wars which exterminated seven or eight valiant nations, the future spoils of the Iroquois.

The year 1643 is marked by a remarkable change in the strategy of the Iroquois. Up to this date they had approached our settlements in large attacking bands, and then only during the summer season when transport by canoe was available, but from this epoch, they modified their plans and divided their members into bands of twenty, thirty, forty, or one hundred men and in this way spread themselves like a network over all the waterways of the St. Lawrence. "When a band starts out—writes the Father Vimont—another follows, little groups of well armed men leave the Iroquois country to occupy the Ottawa river—to station everywhere crafty ambuscades, from which they unexpectedly launch themselves upon unsuspecting Montagnais, Algonkins, Hurons, and French. It was known in France that the Dutch encouraged the Iroquois in thus harassing the French, for they furnished them with firearms that they might all the more effectually force the French out of the country and at the same time abandon the missions of the Church."

The French colony was now practically without military defence. Still less was it in its power to make war in Upper Canada.

1644. The Iroquois desired above all things to isolate the French from their allies, and in pursuance of this policy formed ten predatory bands of warriors, who over-ran all Lower Canada. Two of these bands held the portages of the Chaudiere and the Rideau (the present Ottawa city). A third watched the Longue Sault. A fourth held lakes St. Louis and the Two Mountains. The fifth intercepted the waterways of the Ottawa. The sixth occupied the island of Montreal. The seventh, eighth and ninth, in flotillas of canoes, held the Richelieu, lake St. Peter, and the neighborhood of Three Rivers. The tenth and last was composed of a large flying column of warriors, a formidable reserve with which to attack the country of the Hurons.

In the spring of this year Father Bressani was seized as a prisoner near Three Rivers, his Huron friends were massacred. In the band

which committed this outrage were six Hurons and three Wolves (Mohicans) naturalized Iroquois. For half a century the ranks of the Five Nation warriors had been increased and strengthened by their policy of adopting into the league the captive warriors of the native nations.

In the month of September, 1644, Mr. Wm. Kirke, Governor-General of New Holland, delivered Father Bressani, who had been fearfully tortured during his captivity, from the hands of his executioners.

During the month of July (1644) a number of colonists arrived from France, among whom were a company of soldiers, commanded by M. Labarre. The Iroquois were now masters of Canada, but knowing that the chances of war might turn against them, if the new arrivals were well supplied with ammunition, they offered terms of peace, hoping by armistice to check any further relief being sent out from France, and at the same time give the Nations time to quietly prepare for some still more terrible *coup de guerre* against the colonists, the Hurons or Algonkins, and mayhap the triple alliance at one grand coup.

The French gladly made a treaty of peace with their enemies. During the autumn of 1644, twenty-two soldiers joined the Hurons in their descent of the St. Lawrence to trade at Three Rivers, where they arrived the 7th of September, 1645, in company with sixty Huron canoes, charged with peltries. Here a grand and solemn council of all the Nations was assembled, and a general peace proclaimed, at the request of the Iroquois chief. A year rolled on, when the Iroquois, learning that France could or would not send out succour to the colony, again sounded the war-cry and raised the hatchet. The French gathered themselves together in the forts of Montreal, Three Rivers and Quebec, but a few souls, one hundred in all, including men, women and children. This was in the autumn of 1646, at the very time when Father Jogues had, in answer to a request from the Iroquois, left Three Rivers to spend the winter with the Five Nations. The missionary and his servant, Lalande, were both massacred. Later on a list will be given of the names of those massacred by the Iroquois between 1636-1664. Fort Richelieu (Sorel) had lost two men, tomahawked by the marauders, another dangerously wounded. The fort was abandoned for want of soldiers to place on guard, and burned to the ground by the Iroquois. Soon these bands again secretly stationed themselves from Montreal to Quebec and the course of the Ottawa to surprise and seize the Algonkins and French. Father Vimont in Relation of 1645, p. 19, says, "The warfare of the Iroquois was no more like that of France than the warfare of the Parthians was that of the Romans."

To wage battle against the Iroquois was an impossibility. Although of the same race the Hurons were lacking in military spirit and organization, and had no conception of the imminence of their national peril. The firearms with which the French supplied them they had used like children. Individual courage existed among the Algonkin, without the slightest attempt at military cohesion. Even in the hour of success, through sheer thoughtlessness, or lack of purpose, they were apt to lose whatever advantage they had gained—fleeing in their emergency back upon Three Rivers, Sillery or Quebec, followed in swift and terrible pursuit by their enemies.

The military tactics of the Iroquois were well thought out, and organized plans adopted at the war councils of the Five Nations. They concerted together—their union was strength—with one purpose in view the bands fought. And in the hour of defeat, they fled and sheltered themselves from pursuit in the most marvellous manner. Not so the French, who lacked soldiers—the strife was an unequal one and the result self-evident. The French colony, without means of defence, lived under the sombre shadow of the scalping knife of the Iroquois. It is almost inconceivable how the little colony escaped annihilation.

Let us look at another scene:

"Beyond the Neutral Nations," writes Father Ragueneau, who lived with the Hurons living towards the East.

"Near New Holland, there lived the Andastoëronnons, allies of our Hurons, who have the same language. Separated from us in a direct line of 1,600 miles. (Relation, 1648, p. 46).

The Andastes, (north of Pennsylvania), in the beginning of the year 1647, sent an embassy to the Hurons, inviting them to join with them against the Iroquois.

"These people are of the Huron language, and hereditary allies of our Hurons. They are very warlike, and in one bourgade number 1,300 warriors."

"The two Andasté envoys, said to the Hurons, "If you are losing courage and feel yourselves too weak, as against your enemies, we wish you to know as we have understood that you have enemies, that you have but to let us know and we will raise the hatchet with you and whether it be peace or war, support and help you."

Charles Ondaaiondiont, a good and old Christian convert, was sent as a deputy to the Andastes. He left the land of the Hurons the 13th of April, and arrived at his destination in the beginning of June, to solicit the Andastes to intercede with the Iroquois for a general peace, or to continue the war in which they had been engaged for so many years. The Andastes sent one embassy to the Iroquois from four of

their cantons to arrange a peace between them and the Hurons, which the Agniers (Mohawks) were forced to agree to, for it was always these latter who kept up war with all the other nations.

Charlevoix adds: "This offered a grand opportunity for the Hurons to regain the superiority which they at one time held over the Iroquois, an opportunity which they allowed to slip, only asking for a long peace, and because they did not use the best means to re-establish themselves by preparing themselves for eventual war, they fell the victims of the treachery and artifice of their enemies."

Unfortunately the Hurons betrayed the secret and informed the Iroquois of the proposition made them by the Andastes. In return for this confidence the Iroquois promised them peace on land and sea. This is what the Hurons wanted and also what, for the time being, the Iroquois wanted also.

Nicholas Perrot, in speaking of his forty years' experience with the Hurons, in scathing terms remarks upon the utter baseness of the Hurons. Charlevoix also says, "there is every appearance that the Hurons refused the offer of the Andastes, while they amused themselves in negotiating with the Onnontagues (Onondagas). The Agniers (Mohawks) and the Tsonnontonans (Senecas) suddenly fell upon two hunting parties of the bourgades of St. Ignace and utterly destroyed them. For some time after this hostilities ceased.

Charles, whom we left with the Andastes, had occasion to visit New Sweden, and learned that there were no missionaries among the Europeans of these settlements, which were in regular correspondence with the Dutch on the Hudson river. It was while here that he heard of the assassination of Father Jogues, who had some few months previously returned to his mission among the Iroquois. "We judge," reports Father Ragueneau, upon hearing this report, "that the settlement of European allies of the Andastoeronnons is chiefly composed of Dutch and English, or rather a gathering of many nations, who for special reasons have placed themselves under the protection of the King of Sweden, and they have called this part of the country "New Sweden." Their interpreter told Charles that they were French people. (Relation 1648, pp. 59-60). Charles left the Andastes the 15th August, returning to Ste. Marie of the Hurons the 5th of October, having been pursued by the Tsonnontonans (Senecas).

The first nation to abandon Upper Canada were the Iroquet, the larger number of whom settled near Three Rivers.

The only trade of peltries made at Three Rivers in 1647, was made by the Attikamegues, Tête de Boule of St. Maurice, and some Iroquets, the Hurons did not leave their own country on account of the war.

From 1640 to 1648, the number of colonists arriving in Canada was insignificant, which is explained by the disordered state of affairs at that time in France. The inertia of the One Hundred Associates, and the ravages of the Iroquois, kept up even to the very doors of the various settlements, on the St. Lawrence. M. de Montmagny dismayed by the sad condition of affairs, was recalled in 1648, and M. d'Ailleboust, his successor, possessed neither money nor means to remedy the situation of public affairs. He was replaced in 1657 by M. de Lauzon, who thought little of lightening the miseries and perils of the colonists as long as he could advance his own personal gains.

The affair of the Andastes seems to have decided the Iroquois in making a final attack upon the Hurons. Full of assurance in their own strength they chose the time when news from France spoke but of war with Spain, and revolts at-home and butcheries identical with those committed by savage races from time to time in the colony.

On the 4th of July, 1648, the town of St. Joseph, in the country of the Hurons, during the absence of the warriors was attacked, the mission and bourgade were set on fire—Father Antoine Daniel massacred—and his pierced body thrown into the burning chapel.

In the month of July, 1648, the Iroquois blocked Three Rivers, when most opportunely, 250 Hurons guarded by five renowned warriors, with Father Bressani and three Frenchmen arrived upon the scene, and raised the siege. Trade was carried on as usual. In the beginning of August the fifty or sixty Huron canoes returned, with 26 Frenchmen, five priests, a lay brother, three children, nine traders, and eight soldiers on board, besides four persons who joined the party at Montreal (note *Journal des Jésuites*) the greater part of these perished some months later, and without doubt were massacred during the reign of terror which then raged over the lake region. This convoy of 1648 was the last which for six following years reached the western missions.

The departure of M. de Montmagny from Canada marked the end of a regime which had lasted from 1636; but the new order of things was not better than the old, and the colony continued buried under the sad conditions which had been imposed upon it.

The new Government of 1648, according to M. Léon Gérin,* constituted upon the old rule a saving of 19,000 francs, which sum lay at the disposal of the Council. D'Ailleboust was determined to apply this amount to the formation of a company of soldiers, who should be employed to turn out at any moment and from any part of the colony in pursuit of the Iroquois. He gave the command of this flying column to his nephew, Charles d'Ailleboust des Musseaux. It is evident that this measure was most advantageous for Montreal, which was the most exposed of all the French forts. M de Montmagny had pro-

* Léon Gérin, dans la Science Sociale, Paris, 1891, p. 564.

jected the plan of forming such a flying column, of which the soldiers were to be enrolled as a volunteer militia, who should hold the country and be in readiness to repulse and pursue the enemy as soon as they should be seen approaching the settlements. Lack of means prevented M. de Montmagny from carrying his project into execution. His successor took up the idea and carried it into effect.

Following the regulations of the King, writes Faillon (*Historie de la Colonie*, 11, 96), this flying column had to be composed of forty soldiers, and M. d'Ailleboust, who well understood all the requirements of the situation, added in 1651 another thirty men to the force.

In 1647 a fort had been constructed at Sillery. In 1649 the walls were erected by means of the community's allowance of 19,000 francs, which the King had granted for the benefit of the country. The fugitive western Indians, and those of St. Maurice in large numbers found shelter here in 1651.

In the spring of 1649 M. d'Ailleboust sent to Montreal M. des Musseaux, his nephew, in command of 40 men of the flying column to assist the Montrealers to drive back the Iroquois, which was easier to do than to give them battle, for as soon as they heard the sound of the oars of their chaloups, they would flee with such swiftness that it was not an easy matter to catch up to them. This reinforcement encouraged the colonists of Montreal greatly and their confidence in the force was much augmented by the name and qualities of him who was in command. If they had only then been possessed of the experience which we have at the present time, and the knowledge of to-day (after 1670) of their country, 40 good men well armed and well commanded would have acquired to themselves great glory and rendered signal services to the country, and have held our enemies in fear and check, by the blows which they would have been able to give back; but we had not then the light which we have to-day, and we were not so skilful in canoeing, the only means used in those days of transport over the difficult navigation of the St. Lawrence which could be used against the savages.

M. Dollier had been a cavalry officer before he entered the priesthood. In 1666 he was appointed chaplain to the attacking troops on the Agnier (Mohawk) Cantons. He was placed in charge of the military department of affairs, but what hopes could he have of success with half a company of soldiers, when in 1649-50, the powerful Iroquois were at their apogee, and the prestige of the renown of their military powers was measured an hundredfold from the deplorable affairs pending in France. A situation, too well understood by the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Senecas and Cayugas, in one word, the Iroquois, or Five Nations.

Champlain, fifteen years previously, reduced to moderate his demands for succour to the lowest number of soldiers necessary to keep the enemy in check, and facing a danger which, compared with that of 1649, was but a trifling one, demanded 120 soldiers as indispensable for the protection of the colony, and *certainly*, he possessed a coup d'oeil which no one of his time could surpass. This was a military question. The two companies Champlain had under his command could have crushed the Iroquois' league in its birth; lacking the foresight to appreciate the crisis in 1649, what were we forced to do? Make a parade of forty infantry, when one thousand men would have been scarcely sufficient to overthrow, that which we had tamely allowed to be built up? That was an undertaking ten times greater than ours was. The 40 men of the flying column were not sufficient to defend Montreal alone, for the enemy came on a war of skirmishing ambuscades, which alike killed our bands of soldiers and colonists, without their attacking the main body of defence—what then remained for Three Rivers or Quebec? Nothing. And the Iroquois, who did not direct all their forces on Montreal, in bands descended the river, a distance of 60 leagues or 180 miles, to harass these lower settlements.

The new governor arrived in Ville Marie in the spring time of 1649, and rejoiced by his presence the hearts of the colonists who were charmed to have among them one of the Associates of Montreal as governor of the colony. The incessant hostilities of the Iroquois did not allow of travel on the river without escort, and, M. d'Ailleboust, in making the voyage from Quebec was accompanied with a body-guard of one dozen of armed soldiers. During the whole of 1648-9, the Iroquois were occupied in harassing, burning and killing the Hurons in their own country, in consequence of which but few predatory incursions were made against Ville Marie, and these M. de Maisonneuve by his prudence and courage easily kept at bay. They lost but one man during that time. M. d'Ailleboust informed M. de Maisonneuve that the Grand Company wished to recognize the good services which Ville Marie had rendered the colony under his government, especially in having increased the garrison by six soldiers, and that instead of the 3,000 francs which had hitherto been allowed him and his garrison, that sum in the future should be increased to 4,000 livres or francs. A little farther on the same author (Faillon) writes, that in 1648 he had learned that the lack of interest which the Associates of Montreal had shown towards this work accounted for M. d'Ailleboust's having turned his prayers for succour to the Grand Company of One Hundred Associates on behalf of the colony in its present distress.

The 16th March, 1649, the Iroquois unexpectedly surprised the missions of St. Louis and St. Ignace in Upper Canada, burning and mas-

sacrificing all before them. The fathers Brebœuf and Gabriel Lallement died after suffering most terrible tortures. The 17th, Ste. Marie was attacked without result, but on the 25th of May the Hurons abandoned the district, taking refuge on Manitoulin island. About the same time the town of St. John was surprised by the enemy and the Rev. Father Garnier killed.

All bent before the Iroquois; they annexed Upper Canada to their hunting grounds, which yearly added to their aggrandisement. The French had made no defence of this territory. The Iroquois judged that we no longer feared the redskins and they prepared for new fields of conquest.

A party of Hurons escaping from their butcheries took refuge with the Smoking Nations, living towards Goderich, where three months previously three Jesuit fathers had established missions. Others had taken refuge in St. Joseph, in rear of Ste. Marie, where a mission also had been organized during the previous year. Another group, as has been said before, fled to Manitoulin island, where the fathers thought they would remove the headquarters of their missions. They eventually, however, decided upon St. Joseph.

The Cats (Eries) driven back to the centre of the State of Ohio by the Iroquois (1639) now gave refuge to one of the bands of fugitive Hurons, likewise driven from their homes in 1649-50. The following, taken from the Relation of 1660, p. 14, tells the tale how they all perished together. Others took shelter with the Neutrals, thinking to find with them a refuge, as their neutrality among the Nations of North America had up to that time been recognized by the Iroquois. But these traitors, to save themselves, turned against the Smokers of the Pipe of Peace. These latter in turn had to seek shelter from the Algonkins on Lake Superior (west of Lake Huron). Others fled to the forests, others to Andasloé, Virginia, and others joined themselves to the Fire Nation (Mascontins) and the Cat Nation, while a whole town sought shelter with the Senecas, one of the five nations, where they were well treated, living together in a canton, separate from the Iroquois, where the christianized Hurons lived still following the teachings of the new faith.

A note found on page 344 Relation of Father Bressani, tells that the first band of Hurons retired to Manitoulin Island, the second reached the Iroquois, hoping to make terms with them, the third sought asylum on the Island of Mackinac, but followed by the enemy, they retreated to Green Bay and later towards the southwest of Lake Superior. A fourth sought the shelter of the Cats (Eries) in Ohio; the fifth descended to Quebec, lived some years on the Island of Orleans and finally were established at Lorette. The Smoking Nation does not seem

to have suffered great losses in these massacres, but they emigrated towards the Upper Mississippi, where Chouard and Radisson found them in 1660, and father Allouez in 1667.

In the month of August, 1649, a party of about ten soldiers left Three Rivers for the Huron country, with four Jesuit fathers, servants or lay brothers Pêter Tourmente, Charles Roger, Peter Oliveau and one named Raison. Towards the 22nd Sept, Father Bressani returned from the missions in Upper Canada, travelling with friendly Indians to Three Rivers. The French were heavily laden with five thousand lbs. of beaver, valued at 26,000 francs, 26 livres. Desforges's, a soldier with his brother who had been living for the past year with the Hurons, carried for their share 74 lbs. weight, which brought them 4 francs per lb., and the other at 5 livres, 5 sols. The other Frenchmen forming the party of the same expedition were carrying 25,000 lbs. weight of beaver skins, which narrowly escaped capture by the Iroquois, the latter having surprised them a half mile from the Fort, and only after a sharp encounter they reached Three Rivers. Father Bressani and the Hurons returned to Upper Canada in the beginning of October, but they had suddenly to retire at the River des Prairies, north of Montreal, for fear of the Iroquois, these latter in bands infested the shores of the St. Lawrence, says Charlevoix, pillaging and burning houses, and killing the isolated colonists, pressing defiantly even to the very gates of Quebec. They scoured in like manner the districts of St. Maurice and the Ottawa.

Not content with pursuing in the north and west, the remnants of the vanquished and dispersed Huron and Algonkin tribes, the Iroquois engaged in constant hostilities with all the neighboring tribes. Their audacity, and dexterity, and the spirit governing their councils joined to the sad circumstances under which our own government suffered, gave to them for a long period of years the preponderance of authority and terror on all the shores of the St. Lawrence.

The Sokokis savages of the south-west of Maine and New Hampshire in their turn took up arms against the Agniers (Mohawks). During the winter of 1651-52 they had sent a war party against the Andastes but had been repulsed with great loss.

Father Ragueneau, writing from Ste. Marie, of Manitoulin Island, the 13th of March, 1650, says:—"We have at present thirteen priests in the mission, with four coadjutor-brothers, twenty permanent servants and eleven others, trained laborers, engaged on time, six soldiers and four children—in all sixty persons."

The year 1650 brought with it a long series of anxieties and sorrows for Lower Canada, but the troubles which we most dreaded were for the time being averted from us, the Iroquois during this

time being engaged in the annihilation of the Neutral Confederacy and in extending westward conquest.

The autumn of 1650 they gained a first great victory over these people, and in the following spring accomplished a final triumph over the Neutrals. The half of these unfortunates became fugitives, the rest prisoners or killed in combat. The 3rd of August, 1651, the Mere d'Incarnation at Quebec, writes, that these victories of the Iroquois over these people rendered them still more insolent and overbearing.

At this time news arrived at Quebec, that the French had abandoned Upper Canada, and the savages attached to our cause learned that war had again broken out in the south. The 30th of August, she again writes: "A captive who escaped from the Iroquois, reports that the Andoovesteronons (Andastes) warriors and those of the Neutrals had taken two hundred Iroquois captive. If that is true they will be treated in a terrible manner." The Andastes really had raised the hatchet against the Senecas in aiding the Neutrals, later news that reached Quebec 22nd April, 1651, corroborated by the relations of the Jesuits, states that the Iroquois to the number of 1,500, had in turn attacked the Neutrals, and razed a town. Being pursued, the Neutrals in their retreat captured 200 prisoners.

The Five Nations, resolved on supremacy, sent 1,200 warriors against the Neutrals. In 1649 bands of Iroquois having already attacked the territory of St. Maurice, in crossing lake St. Peter by the river Machiche, massacred the Attikamèques and the Algonkins living in their territory. Groups of Nipissing Hurons, people of the Upper Ottawa, arrived via northern watercourses reached Three Rivers for safety from the pursuer. Desolation reigned 300 miles beyond the war camps of the west. The 11th May two men were massacred while working on their farms near Three Rivers and two others near by at the Champlain river. The Mere d'Incarnation relates many of the seizures and captures which occurred during the spring in the neighboring outskirts of Quebec.

June 7th, 1650, Father Bressani, with twenty-five or thirty Frenchmen and as many Indians, embarked to revisit the Huron Missions of Upper Canada, before proceeding very far up the Ottawa river they were forced to return. The unmarried men of the party fled towards the lower river, in the hope of finding boatmen who would take them out of the country. In the beginning of August nine Frenchmen were killed at Three Rivers. The year 1651 presents on its records similar cases. The Hurons fleeing before the hatchets of the enemy were continually seeking colonial protection. "If this little handful of Europeans in Canada, could not present a bolder front than 30,000 Hurons fleeing in defeat before the Iroquois, the inevitable fate remained of their being tortured and burned at the stake in like manner.

No succour could arrive from France, for home authorities at that time were unable to send a sufficient force to resist the Iroquois." (La Mère d'Incarnation).

The fort of Three Rivers, situated on the high land called the "Platon," which divides the waters was, in 1641, defended by a moat and drawbridge. No palisade, but several cannon. The town stood about 300 ft. to the left on the N. E. plain, which a little lower down is called the "Table" which overlooks the river to the right, rising abruptly to a height of 60 ft. above the town of to-day, which was then laid out in farms. It is said that in 1648 Iroquois prisoners were confined in one of the bastions of the fort, which gives the impression that the fort was a large square building having small turrets or bastions built at the angles which constituted all the fortifications of the place, for the village itself was without a palisade. All the plateau of the upper town proper was under cultivation, or at least as well cleared farms, leaving for pasturage the lower town which M. de Montmagny had granted to the habitants as a common. About this date we find recorded nearly one-twentieth part of the land as being held in rights by the colonists. The father James Buteux writes the 21st Sept., 1649: "In the residence of Three Rivers, our constant care and attention are bestowed alike on French and savages. We have no forts but log forts, and no ramparts but those which in a dry season can easily be set fire to." June, 1651, at Three Rivers, Pierre Boucher received a commission as Captain of the village Militia from the Governor-General, carrying with it instructions to divide the inhabitants into detachments for military drill. This may be considered as the first official recognition of the establishing of a Canadian Militia, from which arose the further development of the system by Count de Frontenac in 1673. The 17th March, 1650, the Rev. Mother of the Incarnation wrote: "We are gathering the youth together to send against the Iroquois." It is possible that the young men of Quebec were organized into a militia, but if so, we read nothing further of them.

The marauding Iroquois knew well how to seize our cattle wherever found. The Three Rivers Common enclosed a goodly number in 1648 and a large number of acres of hay on the south of the river at Ste. Angèle. In the spring of 1649, wheat was sent from here to Quebec during the famine. For the past twenty years the colonists had been able to raise for their own consumption, wheat, cattle, pigs, pease, hay, without reckoning Indian corn. "Three quarters of the habitants, by their labor, sustained themselves and their families," writes Mother Incarnation, 1st Sept., 1652.

It is quite evident that Montreal was not taken into account, for here the proportion was much less. Supplies from France are this

season "absolutely necessary at Three Rivers, for, to tell the truth this post has been so far sustained in the most miraculous manner." The 25th Oct., 1651, the Iroquois killed 25 Attikamègues on the river St. Maurice.

It was now six years since the colony of Montreal had been enclosed by walls, and kept alive by provisions brought from France, when in 1648-49 it was decided to clear the surrounding forest, as had been done at Quebec, Sillery, Port Neuf and at Three Rivers. The Associates of Montreal had just been newly re-organized at Paris. In 1651 the colonists were able to raise crops of wheat in spite of the incessant harassments of the Iroquois. Terrified by their enemies, the Algonkins had withdrawn from the place, thus diminishing the defence of the town by their absence. Still, always filled with hope and faith that God was their protector, the little settlement waited for brighter days. The men who composed the first recruits of Montreal were not hardy men. Much progress in agriculture during the first few years was very slow. In 1646, according to Dollier de Casson, all supplies were still furnished from France. Sister Morin informs us that "all the colonists remained eleven years within the fort," living together as a community. During this time and for several years previously in the neighborhood of Quebec, the settlers from Perche a province of France, had established themselves in the outlying places. These people were all cultivators of the soil, settlers from habit and true habitants of the Fort. We must ever bear in mind that the colonists of Montreal were always exposed on all sides to the attack of the Iroquois and this explains the reason without doubt in a great measure for the long inaction of the colonists. Maisonneuve, D'Ailleboust, Closse, were all military chiefs. Maisonneuve had entered the army at the age of 13, and made it his life profession. D'Ailleboust was an experienced military engineer. Both of these men were eminently fitted to conduct military organizations in the early colonies and for these very reasons we can perceive that they were all the less likely to become practical agriculturalists. The Jesuits, like the society of Montreal, had at the beginning powerful and generous patrons, the Duke de Ventadour, the Marquis de Gamache, the Commander Sillery also the Duchess D'Aiguillon, interested themselves in the work of Jesuit missions and their first relations inform us of the great number of personages who favoured their missions in North America. Time, however, brought with it the death and lukewarmness of many of their patrons and the work demanded constant support.

The work of Montreal had a very good reason for not counting on the support of the Quebec government. Quebec looked unkindly

upon Montreal for the latter had been established as a settlement with a good deal of *eclat*, and from its inception had affirmed its independence of Quebec. This fact generated a considerable amount of jealousy between the two towns. Quebec could not forget the proud attitude of the rulers of Montreal who would not acknowledge any authority from Quebec, and when necessity constrained and Ville Marie was forced to assist Quebec, it was with bitterness of spirit that assistance was received. In 1651 the Sister Bourgeois wrote that Montreal numbered but 17 men capable of carrying arms against the Iroquois. The Superior of the Jesuits calculated that there remained, "in all but a population of fifty in Montreal." Seeing the gravity of the situation M. de Maisonneuve left for France to obtain relief leaving M. de Ailleboust des Musseaux to command during his absence assisted by Major Lambert Closse. It was during the year 1651 that the five or six farm houses outside of the walls were abandoned, the colonists taking refuge again within the fort.

Quebec was still but a village, the thirty residences of which were perched together on the sides of the heights, the upper town and its environs.

It would be impossible to tell how many habitations Three Rivers had but there were 28 families making a population of 100 souls.

All Canada held but 600 French, men women and children. What was sorely needed was a military force sufficient to protect the tillers of the ground and the traders of the rivers and forests. For Upper Canada was lost for commerce and trade, and St. Maurice and the Saguenay had fallen into the hands of the Iroquois.

The gentlemen of the Company of Habitants, strangely blinded to a situation which was of as great importance to the interests of the association as to the interests of the colony, won but little admiration from the line of conduct which they pursued, as may be learned from the following circumstance related by Aubert de la Chênaye in 1676.

"It was not difficult for them to obtain large credits at Rochelle, for loans were raised in the name of the community, although that consisted but of six families (forming the so-called Company of Habitants). And these poor people found themselves enriching the company at their cost, and yet this very management was ruining the credit of the company." After some few years' possession they determined not to pay Rochelle, which had made complaints to Paris, and after much solicitation a syndicate was formed to raise means in the name of the Community for the large sums still due the city of Rochelle. The Governor and the families made counter-complaints of mismanagement to the King, who appointed to the board of managers personages of the highest standing to take into their consideration the affairs of

the colony. These were M. de Moranges, M. de la Marquerie, Verthamont and Chareur, and later on M. Lamoignon, de Boucherat and de Lauzon. The latter, also on the board of managers, offered to visit the country and there arrange as far as possible existing difficulties. He sailed from Rochelle. He was a man of letters.

John de Lauzon does not figure in the first list of the One Hundred Associates of 1627, but he was none the less most active in the establishment of the company in the country; he continued an active member until 1663. In truth, he was the mainspring of the company during thirty-six years, which was recognized in his bringing with him upon his coming out to Canada the appointment to a seat in the Administration, which he held from 1651 to 1657, during which time the Bureau at Paris was very little troubled.

The three years' government of M. d'Ailleboust would expire in the autumn of 1651. The Company of One Hundred Associates held a meeting in Paris at the residence of Sieur Cheffault, his secretary. The 2nd Jan., 1651, the names of Jean de Lauzon, Duplessis-Kerbodeau Bécancour were presented to the King from which the King should appoint the new governor for the coming three years; M. de Lauzon received the appointment.

The 14th Oct. M. de Lauzon arrived at Quebec, with M. Duplessis-Kerbodeau as governor of Three Rivers. The salary of the latter had been raised to 5,250 livres. It seems as if Robineau had made the voyage at the same time. These traders worked harmoniously together. To make up the increase given to M. Duplessis, M. Maisonneuve's annual allowance was rebated 1,000 francs for himself and his garrison, his total annually now being but 3,000 francs. The Governor-General obtained for himself a supplementary sum of 2,000 livres without any additional tax than that of supplying the garrison of Quebec with three soldiers. The 9th November M. de Maisonneuve left for France.

The arrival of de Lauzon in 1651 inaugurated miseries and humiliations for Ville Marie. The first act of the new governor was to withdraw the 1,000 livres from Maisonneuve which D'Ailleboust had accorded him.

"At Quebec," bitterly remarks M. Faillon, "the government granted pensions to the jesuits, to the hospitaliers, the fabrique of the parish, to the surgeon, baker, and to many others, and there remained for Ville Marie but 3,000 livres to the governor for his garrison and 1,000 livres for the caretaker of the Company of Habitants."

Affairs in Paris were in a deplorable condition. The civil war still rent the country. The declaration of the peace of Rueil in 1649, had terminated the old conflict of the Fronde parliament, but disputes were renewed in new forms. Mlle. de Montpensier and the Prince of Condé

declared themselves as against the Court, while Turenne turned his back upon the malcontents and placed his services to the Court which he had formerly defied.

On the 13th Sept., 1648, the Queen, Mazarin and the young King (then nine years of age) had left Paris for St. Germain. Some time after they returned to the Capital, and the following 6th of Jan. they were forced to seek again the shelter of St. Germain.

It was after this that the Princes of Condé, de Conti and de Longueville were arrested and thrown into prison. When Her Highness the Princess Royal of France placed herself at the head of the Gentlemen of the Fronde against the Court faction, Condé was soon liberated and took up arms. It was now that Mazarin, in order to regain the confidence of the people in the governing power, took upon himself the blame for having brought on the national crisis, retired from the Cabinet and took up his residence at Cologne. Such was the unfortunate political condition of affairs at Paris when M. de Maisonneuve arrived in France from Canada. The Court was in exile at St. Germain. The majority of the young King was proclaimed the 7th Sept., 1651. Condé defeated by Turenne within the walls of Paris—the latter re-entered the city in triumph, having his adversary on his heels (2nd July, 1652). The Royal Princess, after many plots and counter plots in vain endeavors to assist Condé, was obliged to retire to her own domains. Mazarin was recalled to power (3rd Feb., 1653), before all was amicably arranged, but the civil war was not really terminated until the end of the year (1653). This news from France to Canada had a paralyzing effect upon the courage of the colonists. The Iroquois, aware of all that was going on in Europe, redoubled their confidence and ardour. The Mother of the Incarnation in Sept. 1652, writes that no assistance from France can be expected. The year 1652 brought with it to Canada sorrowful and sinister shadows. Dangers had increased on every side, for the Iroquois kept well informed of the European news, with increased confidence redoubled their schemes and aggressions, knowing full well how feeble any assistance from the mother country would likely be if sent to the colony. Canada now seemed to the colonist on the verge of an abyss, over which everyone saw himself or herself ready to be plunged at any moment by the Iroquois. News received from various sources all pointed towards Three Rivers as the central point of attack of the enemy. It appeared as if the flying column would have to be garrisoned there during the winter of 1651-52, or that they were sent there in the early spring. During the first days of March, M. de Lauzon, Grand Senechal, accompanied by René Robineau and 15 soldiers, visited Three Rivers. Already the enemy had begun their ravages in the neighborhood. In speaking of M. de Lauzon's traits the following circumstance speaks for itself

He had promised M. de Maisonneuve ten soldiers, for whom he had sent on in advance the accoutrements. In the (autumn of 1652) he sent ten men in an open boat to Montreal, insufficiently clad for the time of the year or provisioned for the trip, who upon their arrival looked, from starvation and cold, more like living skeletons than human beings. How shattered! two of the number were children and were cared for. One was called St. Ange and the other boy called himself La Chapelle. These poor soldiers were not long at Montreal before every care was bestowed upon them, in feeding them well and comfortably clothing them. They were soon in a good condition to aid in our endeavors against the Iroquois. Montreal hoped nothing good from the new Governor-General, and this explains the trip of M. de Maisonneuve to France.

In 1652 M. de Lauzon was made Governor in place of M. d'Alilleboust. He persecuted Lemoine and withdrew 1,000 livres from M. de Maisonneuve which the company had granted him, for which he was thereby sufficiently punished in that the Iroquois, in this year, took the rest of the refugee Hurons on the Island of Orleans and killed his eldest son and servant members of the household of M. de Lauzon within view of the people of Quebec. Montreal was in great peril.

In 1652 Lauzon disbanded the flying column, thus depriving Montreal of the assistance which M. d'Ailleboust had granted to the island. Later on he tried, (but without succeeding), to impose a tax on all merchandise passing Quebec *en route* to Montreal.

The 7th of July, 1652, at Three Rivers, Major Lambert Closse, of the garrison of Montreal and M. des Mazures, officer of the flying column, were present at the ceremony of a contract of marriage.

In an Act of d'Ameau, dated 5th August, 1632, Three Rivers, we read "William Guillemot, Esq., sieur Duplessis Kerbodot, captain of the flying column, governor of the fort and habitation of Three Rivers, appointed by M. de Lauzon, bought lands on this occasion."

At the naval engagement of canoes at Three Rivers, the following 19th of August, were killed or taken into captivity by the Iroquois, M. Duplessis-Kerbodeau, soldiers Manuel Langoulmois, Lapalne, Lagrave, Saint-Germain and Chaillon.

In October, 1652, Major Closse marched against the Iroquois with twenty-four men of Montreal, which seems to have been the number of men capable of carrying arms in that town. M. de Maisonneuve in writing from France said that one hundred armed men were necessary to maintain the French colony at Montreal.

The 4th November, 1652, Nicholas Rivard, Captain of the Militia at Cap la Madeleine, sold land to Gilles Trottier. He held the same position the preceding year.

About the middle of December, 1652, the Iroquois captured two Hurons near Three Rivers. They also constructed a fort nine miles distant, in the depths of the forest, to the west of the village, in order to station themselves so that they could cut off hunting parties in the neighborhood during the winter. Such tactics were a new departure on the part of the Iroquois in Lower Canada. The French fortified the fort of Three Rivers to the utmost of their power, which was well guarded during the winter, but as soon as the river broke up in the spring of 1653, bands of marauders reappeared, seizing hunters and all travellers passing through the country. The fur trader suffered severely from the evil influences of all these wars. In 1653 the trade at Three Rivers was so small that all resources were applied to the fortifying of the place. The beaver, the chief article of commerce, was most scarce—not a single skin had been brought to Montreal that year, although the yield had been very abundant, all of which had been directed by the Iroquois to New Holland (Albany).

On the north shore of the St. Lawrence the French attempted to open up trade with the natives, but found the Iroquois already in advance of them at the sources of the St. Maurice and the Saguenay, and soon found them terrorizing all the ports of the north country, comprising Tadousac. M. de Lauzon, seeing that all the trade of Upper Canada and of St. Maurice brought in so small returns, formed a company of merchants of Quebec to undertake the trade of the Saguenay, of which district the Company of Habitants had possessed the monopoly for the past four or five years. These "Habitants" were accused of having a deficit of more than half a million of francs. M. Aubert de la Chênaye, quoted above, very strongly condemns their conduct.

Fifty Frenchmen (farmers no doubt), whom M. de Lauzon had enrolled to make up a flying column, left Sillery the 2nd July, 1653, under the command of Eustace Lambert, with the intention of sailing up the river to check the Iroquois, who in bands had been over-running the country. The plan of the Iroquois was to blockade Three Rivers, for this reason they marched in numbers of several hundreds, which appeared in conjunction by land and water, cutting off all communication between the different French settlements. One of these bands near Quebec, seized the Jesuit Father Poncet, of whom they served themselves as an envoy of peace. The humiliating defeat which they had sustained on the 22nd August at the assault of Three Rivers, where Pierre Boucher commanded, prompted them to follow their old ruse of asking for peace. The French, unable to do otherwise, consented to the proposal. Prisoners were exchanged, and the autumn saw joy and tranquility reigning over the land. Understanding well the unstable-

ness of this surprising calm and cessation from hostilities, the colonists hoped that if an outbreak did occur, ere that time reinforcements surely would reach them from France. This truce lasted thirty months, and was marked only by isolated attacks upon the French country by the Iroquois, whose principal forces, during this time, were engaged in war with other neighbouring nations to the east and south of their country. We must remember that ere this time the Iroquois had conquered Upper Canada, later on they successfully undertook the conquest of the west. All this success because we (the French) had so few troops on our side to protect our own farmers, and at the same time engage against the Iroquois.

So much for a eulogy on this incapable regime!

September, 1653. The jubilee procession took place at Quebec, where prayers were offered heaven for the safe return of M. de Maisonneuve with the reinforcements which he had been promised in France. The Journal of the Jésuites Notes, "The Iroquois witnessed the procession, in which parade there were more than 400 fusiliers in fine marching order." Another authority writes, "They saw marching in good order 400 mousquetaires well armed, which alarmed the Iroquois looking on at the sight."

The Abbe Faillon also comments:

"We have to suppose that the large number of these armed men were Indians from Sillery or the Isle of Orleans, and that these 400 mousquetaires were not capable of inspiring great terror, for the 100 whom M. de Maisonneuve brought into the country were regarded as, and were in effect, the saviours of the country."

From 1648 to 1652 clearings were made for farms, and in 1653 Ville Marie at last gave the appearance of a regular colony or settlement. It was in this year ('53) that Maisonneuve brought from France 100 colonists, recruits principally from Maine and Anjou. A large number of whom had grants of land conceded to them and with the assistance which they received from the Society of Notre Dame of Montreal, they set to work to establish themselves thereon.

According to the Ven. Mother, there were in 1653 more than 2,000 Frenchmen in the colony, but other calculations show a reading of not more than 675 souls as the population; but if we add the floating or itinerant census we might say there were 900 souls. She ought to have written "near a thousand" and the copyists have read "more than two thousand." M. l'Abbe Ferland, giving the total as two thousand, says, "Even that would not have been a great number for a colony in existence for 45 years, while that of New England (follow-Josselyn) numbered 100,000 souls a few years later. According to the MSS. of the Sister Bourgeois, quoted by M. l'Abbe Faillon, there were

but five or six houses in the upper town of Quebec and some stores or warehouses in the lower town. The Sisters doubtless were speaking only of the vicinity of the Ursulines or the Hôtel Dieu, and continues in enumerating Cap Rouge, Sillery, the Côte Ste. Germain, Notre Dame des Anges, Longue Pointe, Chateau Richer, Beauport, l'Ange Gardien, Cap Tourmente, Côte de Lauzon, all of which places were inhabited and were outside of the town of Quebec. Our calculations give 675 souls for the fixed French population in Canada in the summer of 1635, viz.:

400 for Quebec and environment.

175 for Three Rivers and Cape Madelaine.

100 for Montreal.

Total.. 675

At the end of September, of this year M. de Maisonneuve brought the contingent of 100 men the larger number of which were artisans, but not soldiers or farmers, but this did not prevent M. Dollier and after him others, to prepare and drill them as recruits in the defence of Montreal. It was in this way that they were called a military force. The truth is, that from 1657 they had been obliged to take up arms against the Iroquois, who had again become dangerous, and from forty to fifty of these brave men perished in combat during the following year.

The reader of this paper can see after a perusal of these pages what kind of colony the pompous Company of One Hundred Associates with Richelieu at their head had projected and carried out, to justify authors in finding all things admirable in Canada during the "Heroic Age," when the bad faith of governors and governments exhausted the loyalty, patience, industry and indomitable courage of the colonists of La Nouvelle France.

NOTES ON SOME MEXICAN RELICS.

BY MRS. WM. STUART.*

*Mrs. Stuart, during her residence in San Geronimo, Oaxaca, in the Tehuantepec Isthmus, Mexico, has directed some attention to the archaeology of the country, and has succeeded in bringing together a collection of interesting specimens, which it is her intention to present to the Museum.

The writer supplied with her notes a large number of admirably drawn pencil pictures of her best material, but unfortunately these could not be satisfactorily photographed for engraving purposes, and greatly reduced copies of only a few are here reproduced in one half diameter.

San Geronimo, a village of some 3,000 inhabitants, lies near the south of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, in the republic of Mexico, and is situated on the line of railway which runs across the Isthmus from Coatzacoalcos to Salina Cruz. It is within the state of Oaxaca; the border of the sister state of Chiapas, being about 100 miles distant, to the south-east. A small river supplies water to the village for all purposes. Lofty mountainous ridges some 30 miles away, show very decided traces of volcanic action,—in the distance, yet high above those to the south-west, towers Eucanto, one of the ancient mountain "Cities of Refuge." Certainly its bold outlines convey the idea of a secure stronghold, and thither did the Zapotecs repair in times of invasion by their enemies! On the sloping ridge of the hill of Ixtaltepec, or "the white mountain," about four kilometres south-east of San Geronimo, are perched two huge boulders, which have evidently been dislodged from somewhere near the summit. These stand on end, and are supported by each other.

The ancient people, so quick to take advantage of every quirk of Mother Nature, saw in these boulders a fit and lasting monument on which to portray in their famous, indelible, dull red paint, certain strange drawings of hieroglyphical import—iguanas, and rabbits' heads, with various numbers of discs following, and innumerable other signs and symbols. It is said that certain American explorers have visited these rocks, and photographed the symbols, but no one here seems to know what was the outcome.

Among the low range of hills which lie to the east of San Geronimo, at a place called Puente, and about four kilometres from the village, another series of these rock paintings is to be found, which are quite as interesting as those of Ixtaltepec mountain. These are not generally known, and therefore, it is said, have never been visited by persons of inquiring minds. Further off, notably among the lagunas, near Chuichitan, some twelve miles away to the south-east, are other rock paintings, and, it is said, sculptures well worth seeing.

Besides the "carreta" or cart-road running between San Geronimo and Chuichitan, and some three kilometres to the north-east, is an ancient mound some thirty feet high, with a circumference of about 120 feet, roughly speaking. There seem to be no traces of mortar about the mound, but many good specimens of ancient idols have been picked up there, and much broken pottery lies around.

The natives of this region are not, as a rule, tall, and in fact appear short and slight when standing beside most of the "Gringos," who come down here, (the people of Ixtaltepec alone excepted,) as they are noted for their general large size. Many of the women have beautiful features and a queenly carriage. Some, when well dressed, convey the idea of a Cleopatra or a Queen of Sheba.

The native language here is Zapoteca; (very likely much corrupted), but Mexican-Spanish is also generally well understood and spoken. Some town-lands are more loyal than others to their ancient tongue, and preserve solely a variety of Zapoteca as their common language, which is notably instanced in the case of the town-lands of Barrio and Petapa, lying beside each other to the north-east of San Geronimo, and near the Tehuantepec railway. In Petapa all the natives speak a strange dialect (?) of Zapoteca, which has a very drawing yet pleasing intonation, quite different from that spoken in the Tehuantepec region, and they use many words differing totally from those which signify the same thing in Zapoteca as spoken elsewhere, and very few understand Mexican-Spanish at all; whereas, in Barrio, their neighbors commonly speak Mexican-Spanish, and are often nonplussed when in conversation with a native of Petapa.

San Geronimo has been visited occasionally by the vendor or collector of antiquities, who, establishing himself for a few days at the principal fonda or hostelry of the village, gives notice to the various tiendas (shops) that he is there to collect all sorts of pottery of ancient make found in the earth or river; copper or stone axes, and every kind of "antigua" the people can bring in, including coins of all sorts not current at the present day. In this way, several large cases of antique figures of idols, ollas,* etc., have been removed from this village and its vicinity, so that now it is very hard to find here the best class of such article—at least in the houses—though without doubt a vast quantity of these things lies imbedded where the village stands.

During over two years' residence, I have failed to discover, or even hear of, a single case of a "fake-dealer" or of a spurious specimen of any description whatever.

The natives do not, as a rule, value their specimens at all, until they hear there is "money in them," when their cupidity is aroused, and they will try to make a bargain, though on an absurd principle; a

* Pronounced *awayas* or *owyas*.

roughly made and broken olla, if it is only large, appealing more to their ignorant minds for a high price, than a small and perfect specimen does.

In the neighboring districts, many valuable specimens have been found during the past ten years, notably two small gold images, which I am told have been forwarded to the United States, and one small gold idol head, weighing one ounce, which was found some years ago at the foot of the hill of Ixtaltepec, and presented by the finder, Count Henri de Gyves, a citizen of San Geronimo, to the President of the Republic of Mexico. Count Henri also informs me that he had the good fortune to be the possessor many years ago of a beautiful little olla, which was found in this neighborhood, and which he believes was made of chalcedony, with a cameo-like head carved on one side of it. This he sent to France for presentation to M. Emile Zola.

In my own collection here may be noticed a most rare and beautiful olla, made out of a solid block of white quartz, which is very heavy. It measures $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches across the mouth, and about $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches across the bowl or body. See description following. I have been fortunate enough also to procure a little image of a very hard, pale green, polished marble, perfect and well finished. A little image cut out of white quartz, and several articles made from a beautiful pale green marble-like stone have been found around this place.

As it is thought that some of the specimens enumerated in the following list may be included in the valuable varieties of jade or jadeite, it may not be out of place to insert here a portion of a letter from Mr. Edward (well known in Mexico City) to the *Mexican Herald* of Sep. 24th, 1899, on the subject of a supposed jade pumpkin, which is in the Museo Nacional of Mexico city. He says, "We do not know whether the word 'chalchiuhtli,' which the Spainards translated by 'piedras verdas' referred to emeralds only, or to emeralds and objects in jade or jadeite. The latter (jadeite) is the term which men of science apply to one especial variety of Mexican jade, of a light greyish-green, very translucent, mottled, with patches of a deep, leek hue. This is harder than other varieties of jade, and takes a far more brilliant polish. No one but a jeweller can tell what is jade and what is not, for the jades of commerce are by no means confined to the nephrites of mineralogy. Therefore, no one in Mexico connected with archaeology can say authoritatively whether this enormous mass (the pumpkin) would be recognized by the trade as a genuine jade. French lapidaries have for a long time enjoyed a monopoly of jade cutting, for the Orientals will not sacrifice any portion of a material so valuable and therefore the object carved depends entirely upon the shape of the nodule. The result is, that an oriental collection of carved jade pre-

sents objects so fantastic that their meaning cannot be recognized, and the beauty of the material is all but lost."

A great variety of other finds are mentioned in the following list—some very crude and others daintily worked and finished, but each valued as revealing the necessities and inventive genius of those who used them.

Four odd looking specimens (one of which is here figured) from four to five inches long, were presented to me by Mr. F. Webner, of Tehuantepec, who procured them from near Union Hidalgo, a village

about 20 miles from San Geronimo, in 1897. They are probably made of an alloy of copper and tin, and are occasionally used by the natives who work with hides for the purpose of scraping the skins, though there is much evidence that for such purpose they were not originally intended.

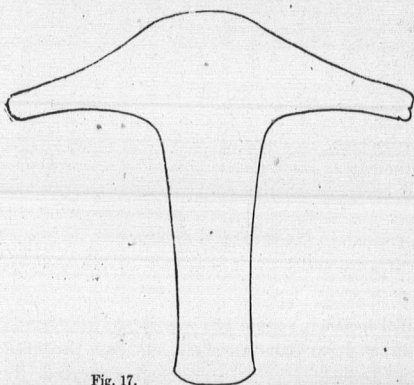


Fig. 17.

In J. Carson Brevoort's book on "Early Spanish and Portuguese Coinage in America," he notices on page 5, Cogulludo's "History of Yucatan," published 1688, page 181, where reference is made to money used anciently by the natives, and along with cacao beans, bells, and hawk bells of copper, colored conch shells from other countries, and precious stones and gold dust, are mentioned "small copper hatchets coming from Mexico," as forming articles of exchange. Plate I. in Brevoort's book gives a good illustration of one of these.

He further adds: "These last were probably like the one figured in Dupaix's 'Antiquites Mexicanes,' Plate XXVI., No. 74, which is formed like a shoemaker's cutter, and served as a skin scraper." See also Herrera I. V. 5."

Brevoort further adds, on page 5, that Humboldt in his "Essai Politique sur le Royaume de la Nouvelle Espagne" states that pieces of copper in the form of the letter T were used as currency in some provinces.

Mr. W. H. Holmes in his "Archæological Studies, Part II., Monuments of Chiapas and Valley of Mexico," page 287, gives an excellent account of these articles. He says:

"Among the most characteristic of the Mitlan art remains are certain hatchet or tau-shaped objects of hammered copper found in very considerable numbers in graves, and possibly also in hoards or caches. Measured with the stem they vary from 4 to 7 inches in length, and the width across the blade is about the same. As the blades do not exceed one-tenth of an inch in thickness in any part, it is apparent that they could not have been employed as hatchets or chisels, although, set in handles, they would perhaps have served a good purpose as trowels, knives or scrapers. The generally accepted theory of their use is that they were the money of the ancients, or at least served as a standard of value. It may be remarked that the shape and tenuity suggest the possibility of their use as ornaments, and it appears that if well polished and set as a crowning feature in a helmet or head dress, they would prove very effective. Possibly, however, they were symbols, and served some religious purpose."

About four miles from San Geronimo a native found several of these objects buried in the earth, in which they had been laid in something of a star-like form, the cross ends meeting in the centre, and the points outwards.

Mrs. N. P. Bell, San Geronimo, has a broken off shank (?) of a very large specimen of these strange articles. It measures $1\frac{5}{8}$ inches across the base.

This rare and beautiful specimen (figure 18) was dug up near Union Hidalgo, some twenty miles from San Geronimo, and was procured



Fig. 18.

and presented by Mr. F. Wehner. It appears to have been cut out of a solid block of white quartz. The portion of the lip (from which the piece was broken when given me) shows the sparkling quartz to perfection, while the earth from which it was turned up has left a lasting remembrance of itself in toning the inside and out-

side of the jar to a light yellowish hue. The outside is slightly rough-

ened, but not sufficiently so to spoil the beauty of the specimen. It is provided with three short feet.

A very good and perfect olla is represented by figure 19, in dark, well-burnt clay, with rather regular pattern marking. Each double set of these is repeated on both bands, which go all round the olla. Locality — San Geronimo. Lent by Mrs. N. P. Bell.



Fig. 19.

A small, neat olla, (figure 20), is remarkably perfect, with two small handles; these do not come opposite each other. It is of a blackish gray color, and came from Chuichitan.

This mask (fig. 21) of a woman's face (called by the natives

"a queen") seems to be made of baked clay. It is now quite black and well preserved, and is really well executed. It was procured at Chuichitan from a native who said it had been found buried in the earth, about 1894. It is the only specimen of the kind I have seen here.

In my collection are six varieties of what may be termed seals or stamps. Three of them are roughly made, and are not remarkable, but the others are very fine. All were found in the neighborhood of San Geronimo. They are made of more or less finely baked clay, and are of a whitish color.

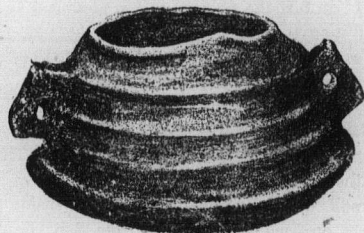


Fig. 20.

A somewhat unusual specimen has come into my possession, namely, a small block of dark, well-polished stone, one side being

highly ornamented with numerous, though inartistically arranged, rings, cut into the hard stone by a tubular drill, possibly a



Fig. 21.

bird's bone; the little raised centres of each ring are plainly seen. The reverse side has very firmly cut lines running rather obliquely from end to end; though doubtless intended at first to be perpendicular. The four narrow sides are deeply grooved at each corner only. This specimen I have seen in only two varieties, the first being the one above described; the other has single lines on one side, while the reverse is devoid of all ornamentation, and the stone unpolished, the sides still showing the deep grooves at the corners. From this it would ap-

pear that they were probably used as amulets, or, as some suggest, as plummets, for all come in the same size, and vary but slightly in weight.

In my collection are a stone hammer and a stone axe, both picked up on the surface here by myself, about a mile out of the village. The stone hammer is notched at both sides of the narrower end, while the periphery is considerably worn. The stone axe is remarkably similar to that shown on p. 50 of Mr. Boyle's Archæological Report for 1896-97; in fact the pointed end is identical, and has not required the hand of man to shape it for its purpose. In this specimen the groove is deeply and firmly cut, and a rounded socket has been cut out of the remaining portion of the stone.

Among my ollitas, one is unique, made of reddish, well-baked clay, and carefully, though not symmetrically, worked. Three tusks hanging out of the mouth may indicate Tlaloc or some other rain-god. This comes from Chuichitan. One is of white baked clay. It is a small, squarish mouth and six suspension holes, one in each ear and two on each side; this is from San Geronimo. A third is made of reddish clay, but now very brown from long contact with mother earth. It is unfortunately much broken, and a portion of it is missing. Still enough remains to show it was well executed, and it shows every trace of antiquity. This was found by my little daughter in a neighboring "milpa," or cattle-field, where only the small, round, raised handle appeared above ground.

I have two very carefully made and rare little images. One is of white quartz, but is pretty well browned by its sojourn in the ground, from which it was taken about 1895, near Tehuantepec. It has one pair of bi-conical perforations in the middle of the back, which, with its many deep and clean cut grooves (notably those around the neck and feet) would indicate that the image was intended for suspension as a pendant ornament. The other is made of a pale green, marble-like stone, possibly onxy, with highly polished surface, and worked with much precision and skill. It has two pairs of bi-conical perforations, connecting the sides with the back. These come about the middle of the image and point to its purpose as an amulet.

Among other amulets, one is of very hard, dark baked clay from Chuichitan. It seems likely that the legs and arms were formerly joined together. A second is a beautiful specimen of some pale green and gray stone, which sparkles considerably when turned about. Though formed like a little adze or chisel, it was likely used only as an ornament. Another was evidently also intended as an ornament, a perforation at the top of the forehead having been commenced, but not completed. It is of baked clay, hard, black and shining. A fourth has only his head to show, with one pair of bi-conical perforations at the back of the neck, showing its use as a pendant. It is made of a marble of sage green shade, and well polished. I cannot trace the history of this specimen, but I am told that others like it are found in and near Oaxaca City and Mitla. One gentleman in Tehuantepec has five in his possession. What appears to be a child's rattle, contains a small stone. It is made of white baked clay. And I have a pendant with two suspension holes—it is of baked clay, quite black and shining.

A variety of small articles includes what appears to be a necklace bead of brown baked clay; an odd-shaped necklace bead made of blue-green marble-like stone, highly polished, and showing distinct indication inside that the perforation was worked with a tubular drill; half of a necklace bead, which I only mention, as we have never found anything else of the same material here—is made of some soft polished stone of pale green color; two that appear at first sight to be beads, but are more likely spindle whorls, one being of a reddish color, very neatly shaped, and quite smooth, while the other is of clay burned a dark brown and apparently mixed with granite or other stone; twin specimens, found together in the ground near Ixtaltepec, about five miles from San Geronimo, both apparently had belonged to the same string of necklace beads. They seem to be formed out of a stalactite or some such material, are hollow throughout, and of a whitish color, with little raised incrustations scattered over the surface, and two slight grooves (evidently for ornamentation) at each end. I have also

numerous small articles, specimens of which are very plentiful; they are made of reddish-brown, poorly baked clay, and as a rule rudely fashioned; among some seventy, only four or five being neatly moulded. They vary much in size, with only two variations from the usually smooth surface. These are described below. Professor Frederick Starr, of the University of Chicago, writing on "Little Pottery Objects of Lake Chapala," calls the similar specimens found in that lake "sinkers." It may be that these were so used by fishermen in some localities. Those in my collection were all found on the surface of dry ground, at distances anywhere between 50 yards and 4 miles from the river. Professor Starr further adds that they are quite like the beads described by Thurston, and figured at page 320, in his "Antiquities of Tennessee," but are not perforated. I am reliably informed that near Tapana on the south coast of Oaxaca, a number of beads in shape like these clay objects, but made of bronze and perforated, were found in a grave along with a portion of the string which bound them together, which however literally crumbled to dust when handled. Some people here are of opinion that they were strung together in graduating sizes, with two strings, thus, with the largest in the centre, forming a necklace. I have successfully strung mine together in this way, but personally incline to the third opinion as to their use, which is, that they may have been used in some game, to slip along strings, or in some other way, for gambling purposes—the two varieties mentioned above having somewhat the appearance of dice, one variety being marked with a little indented ring in the centre of each concave end, while the second variety has five little indented circles round a centre circle on one concave side.

Among the many pieces of obsidian knives found in this neighborhood, I have been unable to procure a perfect knife, the longest specimen measuring only about two and a half inches in length, although many of the shorter pieces show remarkably sharp and unbroken edges and points. Some of the flakes are about an inch and a half square, and about a fourth of an inch thick. Mr. W. Holmes, in his "Ancient Cities of Mexico," part II, p. 287, says: "I did not see a single well-shaped arrow-point while in the valley of the Rio Mitla. Finely made flaked blades and specialized points are occasionally found, however, in the Oaxacan region."

Obsidian arrow-heads found here seem much smaller than the flint arrow-heads from the Six Nation Reserve, Ontario, illustrated on p. 49 of Mr. Boyle's Archæological Report for Ontario of 1896-7, and which he states "are of convenient size for arrows, but their purpose may have been that of adornment about the person."

I have a beautiful specimen of a flint (?) knife. It is of a red-

brown, autumn-leaf shade, carefully cut and wonderfully perfect, only a very small portion from the extreme tip being broken off, and it shows no signs of ever having been used. This, along with another, was found by a native about 1897, while ploughing his field in the neighborhood of San Geronimo.

A very fine and perfect specimen seems to be like a small spear-head, and is made of dull, white flint. In the *Archæological Report for Ontario, 1896-7*, p. 61, Mr. Boyle shows us a very similar one, and says his specimen "was most likely a scraper or knife." He adds: "What are called 'women's knives' of slate, are in most instances of this form." (It seems a pity that such a carefully-cut specimen should in the end turn out to be only a "woman's knife.") *

This little specimen may have been intended as a small arrow-head or ornament. It is made of slate, and it seems scarcely possible that it is only a flake of slate, which has so happily chosen to break into a pretty leaf shape.

A very small and beautiful hatchet has been made out of a sage green, hard stone, which has streaks of darker sage, and some yellowish markings, and a polished surface. This was found in 1898, in a neighboring "milpa" or fenced-in field, lying on the surface, and near some pottery fragments.

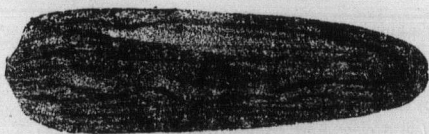


Fig. 22.

A broken end of what seems to have been a hatchet or chisel, is of material which is very unusual; it is a pinky white flint, highly polished, and shows many signs of hard usage.

Two other specimens of different sizes of chisels may be diorite.

Fig. 22 seems to be a chisel. It is made of a light green, hard stone, with some very dark green markings on one side, and on the other are some green and yellow delicately traced lines, reminding one of the outlines of oak knots. (This beautiful specimen is in the private collection of Mrs. N. P. Bell in San Geronimo, and was kindly lent with some other specimens, for insertion in this sketch of the archæological remains of San Geronimo and its neighborhood).

* Why is it a pity? and why "only a woman's knife?"—D. B.

This strangely shaped article (figure 23) was likely used as a ladle, and the fact of the handle being so deeply grooved and sloping downward so peculiarly, suggests that it may have served as a channel for

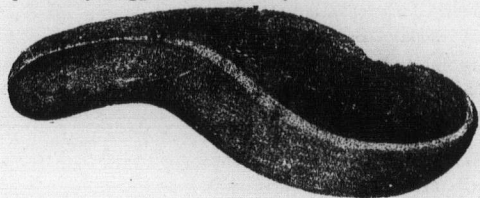
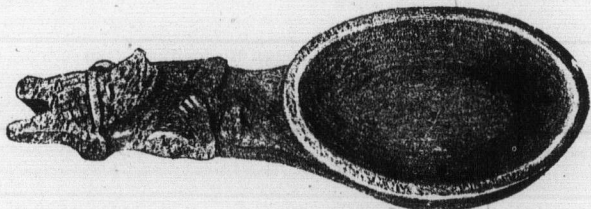


Fig. 23.

carefully running off any fluid contained into the ladle.* It is made of dark, well burnt clay. From San Geronimo. Lent by Mrs. N. P. Bell



Here is a unique sort of ladle, which looks also very much as though it might have been intended as a fancy frying-pan, but it shows no signs of ever having been used in any capacity. Almost in the centre of the bowl a small hole has been bored. This article is in white, well burnt clay, and comes from near Juile on the Tehuantepec railroad. Lent by Mrs. N. P. Bell.



These two idol heads are decided contrasts. Fig. *a* is made very smoothly of clay, well burnt and a grayish color. This specimen has a

* The shape is probably a survival from the time when such articles were made from a large shell. D. B.

peculiarity which distinguishes it from all other heads I have seen, viz., that the ear discs are pierced from side to side, showing a clear well made hole. Fig. *b* is of whitish, well-burnt clay with very distinct outlines and markings.



Here we have a variety of strange heads. Figs. *c* and *d* are perhaps intended to represent the head of the king vulture or "Rey de los Zopilotes." Fig. *e*. A monkey's face of dark well burnt clay. It is hollow at the



back like a mask. Fig. *f* is an odd, impish looking little head, of well-burnt dark colored clay.

Among other small but interesting objects are what is supposed to be a white stem of white burnt clay, with large mouth piece, but unfortunately the bowl has not been found;* a copper finger ring, found about 1894 in the bank of the river of San Geronimo; a very small specimen of an axe or hatchet and a good specimen of the usual stone axe, both of a very dark, greenish-black stone; a large copper axe or chisel. Three others of the last named kind, two of them much smaller than this one, have been found in this neighborhood.

*Old Mexican pipes had no bowl, they were merely tubes. Mrs. Stuart's "stem" is probably a complete pipe.—D.B.

AN OLD LETTER ABOUT THE ORIGIN OF THE INDIANS.

The following brief notice of the Indians is not devoid of interest as showing among other things the beliefs entertained by many intelligent people not so long ago respecting the origin of the Indians.

The "Creation" and "Indian Summer" myths will probably come as novelties to most readers now-a-days.

The notes were in the form of a letter to Mrs. Sydere of Yarmouth, Elgin county, Upper Canada, and were written in 1843 by the Rev. L. C. Kearney, then R.C. clergyman in St. Thomas, Upper Canada.

As was customary until within a comparatively recent time, the reverend gentleman is quite indefinite when he refers to the beliefs of "some Indian tribes," and he speaks of "the Indian traditions," just as one might refer to the European fable or the Asiatic myth, but in all probability the Indians about St. Thomas half a century ago were Ojibwas, or some other branch of Algonkin stock.

"The Indians of North America are for the most part a wandering race, deriving their precarious support by fishing and hunting, a course of life so unfavorable to the propagation of the human species. They are generally tall and well made in their person and their complexion is of a dark copper color. They are taciturn to an extreme and are not easily moved by pleasure or pain, bearing either with the seeming indifference of a stoic philosopher.

"There is little doubt on my mind but that the Indians of this continent are descended from the *two lost tribes* of Israel which the 'Sacred Volume' informs us separated from the other *ten*. The similarity between the Hebrew and Indian languages, the figurative expressions and soft euphony with which each so beautifully abound, as well as many of the ancient rites of the Jews, which characterize the poor red man's devotion when praying to the 'Great Spirit' are all convincing reasons to believe that the untutored savages of North America are descended from the ancient Israelites, the once favored of Heaven!

"Some antiquarians are of the opinion that they are descended from the Scythians, and indeed the cruelty and ferocity they inflict upon whatever prisoners they take in war agree with the most authentic records of that warlike and barbarous people. Others believe that they may have been a colony from ancient Rome, whilst some are to be found who say that they were once a learned, warlike and commercial people, but after a long residence degenerated into their present state of degradation. Fortifications are to be met with in several parts of Canada, and about them are to be found helmets, spears and other military weapons, as well as pottery and several

other articles, which prove to a demonstration that Canada was formerly inhabited by some race of men of far superior intelligence in the art of war and civilization to the present aborigines. And yet the Indians have not the least tradition upon which we might base a conjecture as regards those forts and tumuli which exist in every district in United Canada. Thus, after being tossed from one conjecture to another, we are at last compelled to drop the subject in conscious ignorance and leave it for the accumulated wisdom of future ages to unravel.

"The Indian tradition of the creation, can, in my opinion, be traced to some indistinct recollection of the account as given by Moses in the first chapter of Genesis.

"The 'Great Spirit,' when about to speak this world into existence, assumed the form of an immense bird, and flew over the *chaos*; when he floated majestically, the undivided elements became a perfect plain; when he flapped his wings the earth moved into hills and valleys,—the water into oceans, lakes and rivers.

"The 'Indian Summer,' which generally takes place in October, and continues, sometimes, as long as six weeks, is the most beautiful and agreeable part of the year; and surpasses in balmy influence, all we can imagine of the climate of Southern France. During this delightful season the earth is enveloped by a refreshing vapor, which does not partake of the qualities of fire or water, and through this rectified ether you behold the sun in clouded majesty, giving to vegetable life all the freshness peculiar to the land of 'the happy valley.' Some Indian tribes believe that this smoky weather is caused by the aborigines of the 'far west,' setting on fire their savannas, trackless prairies, and interminable forests. Other tribes, that it is caused by the happy hunters in 'the land of spirits,' offering sacrifice to the Great Spirit, for having bestowed upon them such delightful hunting grounds and rivers teeming with fish. Nevertheless, the greatest admirer of nature can only enjoy the delightful season of 'Indian Summer' and attribute the phenomenon to some peculiar characteristic in the climate of Canada, which has long, but to no purpose, attracted the attention of every resident of this appendage of the British Empire."

MUSIC OF THE PAGAN IROQUOIS.

The same argument that applies to the study of things material connected with primitive life, has equal force when it affects every phase, condition or circumstance of early society, and the pursuit of pre-historic archæology, either in its purely material form, or as it may be otherwise aided, is not conducted merely because of the bald fact that this or the other people happens to be concerned, otherwise than in so far as the study may assist us in arriving at a knowledge of developmental stages, from a generalization respecting which among many peoples we may arrive at the why and whereof of where we stand ourselves.

Theories respecting the origin of music, are almost as numerous and as varied as are those that have been propounded to account for the beginnings of speech, but with speculations of this kind we have nothing further to do than to supply what we can to the general stock of information, an accumulation of which may, in time, aid some student in arriving at well-founded conclusions.

We are fortunate in being able to procure from the lips of the Iroquois people themselves such songs as have, in most instances, been received by them from a long line of ancestors, and in all probability with but slight variation—in some instances, I am almost certain, without any.

The case would have been different had our sources of information lain among the christianized nations—Caniengas, Oniedas, Tuscaroras,—but it is not likely that the pagan nations—Senecas, Onondagas and Cayugas, would, at any rate, consciously, allow innovation even to the extent of a note. Proof of this may be found in the determination they have maintained, to use only the old-time drum and rattles when these songs are sung, notwithstanding the fact that their congeners on the New York reserve have introduced the use of brass instruments during similar ceremonies.

All the following songs are as sung by the Senecas. No attempt has yet been made to procure Onondaga or Cayuga versions, and until this is done, it will be impossible to make any comparison should differences exist. My own opinion is that if there be any difference the older and purer forms will be found among the Cayugas.

With a continuation of the interest that has been manifested in this subject by the Hon. G. W. Ross (now Premier, and formally Minister of Education), it will be possible to bring together a mass of aboriginal musical notation of extreme value to the scientific musician as well as to the ethnologist. As an illustration of the extent to which we may contribute, the following extract will supply some idea

In a recent article on The Primeval Language* the writer takes the novel, but reasonable enough ground that music is but a "development of the early power in speech," which, he claims, consisted at first of vowel sounds only. After giving a few examples of words so compounded from Polynesian speech, such as *aeaea*, *aooo*, *aia*, *auau*, *aeia*, *iaua*, etc., he proceeds:—

"But besides the mere variation and repetition of simple sounds, in itself a very rich resource, the primeval tongue was rich in many other resources. It had a very wide range of tone. The men of old sang up and down the scale, instead of merely dragging their words evenly across it as we do. And one must go to a land where the tone element still survives to realize what a very rich resource this would be. Take the Siamese, for instance, who have a rich diapason of tones, and listen to them singing to each other, rather than speaking, and one realizes how much music can be in speech. Gaelic, to come nearer home, has much the same element, and that musical element has come clear through into the modern dialects, in which English vocables are overlaid on Gaelic sounds. Thus Cork and Kerry at the one end, and Fife and Edinburgh at the other, have a definite melody in every phrase. And so it was in the primeval tongue; to the almost infinite expressiveness of speech itself was added the quite expressiveness of music.

And all our music is a development of this early power in speech, which has been gradually dying out of our speaking, as it has grown into song. Many old tongues kept it, but for holy uses or magical ends only. It appears as *swara* in the Vedic hymns. Read them and you are inclined to scoff at their claims to magic; but hear them chanted by a full choir till the air rings and the very walls seem to vibrate, and you will be ready to profess as thorough a belief in incantations as any magician or astrologer of them all. Within a month I have heard the very same chant in a fire-temple of the Parsees in Bombay and in the Cathedral of the Saviour at Moscow; how much of our Church music has the same origin, would be a matter of uncommon interest to know. Much of it may carry us back to the Chaldeans of the days of Daniel; even then it was but a survival of primeval speech.

Then, again, besides the tone of single vowels there is the sing-song or cantilena of whole sentences corresponding to musical melody; and here, too, the primeval tongue was rich. And another musical quality—stress—ranged from *pianissimo* to *fortissimo*, and added a new richness to expression.

The Primeval Language, by Charles Johnston, *Contemporary Review*, for Nov. 1899, pp. 698-9.

If music be magical, touching the emotions directly, then the oldest speech was full of magic; and we may well describe it by saying that it consisted of streams of vowels set to music, with all the qualities of tone, melody, stress and time which music possesses."

Respecting the use of vocables in the singing of primitive songs, the writer just quoted favors the belief that they never had any meaning—that they are simply words fitted to the music, as a result of whim, or, perhaps, of supposed suitableness. Another view is that, although in most cases, the so-called words are now devoid of significance, it was not always thus, and that what remains represents words, either of what we may call a hieratic vocabulary, or of an old form of common speech.

What follows from the pen of Mr. Cringan will be read with much interest. He has been at infinite pains to arrive at accurate representation of the various songs, and in many cases this was not free from considerable difficulty.

As the graphophone cylinders, bearing the songs, have been preserved, reference may be made to them by musical experts, by arrangement with the Education Department.

PAGAN DANCE SONGS OF THE IROQUOIS.

By Alex. T. Cringan.

The publication of a collection of native Indian melodies in the Archæological Report of last year has evoked many expressions of interest in the subject from eminent archæologists and musicians in Europe and America. The action of the Education Department, in seeking to preserve the songs of our native tribes from the oblivion which would otherwise result, has been received with many manifestations of commendation. It has been felt that the results attendant on the experiment of last year warrant a further investigation of the subject on a more extended scale.

In the previous endeavour to secure a transcription of Iroquois songs the notes were written while being sung, by Kanishandon who had been selected by his brethren as the most skillful exponent of Iroquois song. The process employed was necessarily somewhat crude and laborious, but, it was the best available under then existing conditions. Doubtful passages had to be many times repeated before their notation could be even approximately determined and, in a few instances, compassion for the singer demanded that further repetition be discontinued. The desire to secure the largest possible collection of musical records of unquestionable accuracy, developed methods which were ultimately productive of most satisfactory results.

The most scientific of modern devices for recording sound was employed in the form of the graphophone. It was thought that by the employment of this instrument vocal repetition of the songs would be unnecessary, while the accuracy of the records permanently impressed on the waxen cylinders would enable the investigator to test the truthfulness of the transcriptions at any time.

Two native singers, Kanishandon and Dahkahhedondyeh, were selected as being the most capable and reliable exponents of Indian song. In accordance with Mr. Boyle's instructions they were occupied, for several months previous to visiting Toronto, in preparing a list of the most important tribal songs within their knowledge. In this they were aided by the advice of various natives of the reserve who were acknowledged authorities on the subject.

It must be admitted that some doubts were experienced regarding the results on the Indian mind of the effect produced by hearing their own voices emanating from what their native superstitions might lead them to consider a "devil machine." These were soon proven to be groundless. In order to demonstrate the action of the graphophone their own "Pigmy Song" was sung by the writer, and immediately reproduced. They were so surprised and delighted by the result that no persuasion was necessary to induce them to sing into the receiver while the recorder was making the almost invisible indentations which are now preserved as a permanent record of Indian vocalisation. The singers sang their best and the graphophone worked so successfully that the experiment resulted in the acquisition of no fewer than forty-seven authentic records of typical Indian melodies.

The transcription of these into musical notation presented a task of considerable difficulty. Fortunately, however, the graphophone is not made of muscular tissue, and one can compel it to repeat its vocal phrases as often as desired and as slowly as the intricacies of the subject may require, without experiencing unnecessary qualms of conscience or feelings of sympathy for the singer. In the work of transcription every effort has been made to secure absolute correctness in so far as this can be represented by ordinary musical notation. In some instances several hours were occupied in analysing a single melody before the correct notes could be determined. In analysing the songs as sung by a native, various elements of difficulty are encountered. Unlike his more cultured white brethren the Indian has not acquired the habit of falling from the pitch at which he commences his song. I have never heard a native singer flatten or sharpen from the key, but, he does not strike his notes in a manner calculated to impress the listener with the correctness of his intonation. On the contrary, he invariably approaches, and quits his tones with a glide or

scoop which makes the pitch somewhat awkward to determine. Another peculiarity of his vocalisation is the frequency with which he uses the *vibrato* or *tremolo* in songs which seem to express intensity of emotional feeling. Grace-notes he uses freely in the ornamentation of his musical phrases. The source of greatest difficulty is found in the *tonality* of the majority of his songs. To ears accustomed only to the tonality of modern music the modes employed in Indian songs must be exceedingly difficult to define. Modern music is confined to two modes, major and minor, in both of which there exists what is technically known as a leading-note at the interval of a semitone below the tonic or fundamental note of the scale. In most of the Indian melodies the absence of this leading note, essential to modern harmonies, is conspicuously noticeable. This peculiarity is not confined to Indian songs but may be observed in many of the older melodies of Scotland, "Auld Lang Syne" and "Scots, wha hae" may be quoted as familiar examples of this peculiarity. In modern music, harmonic laws demand that the final note be a constituent of the fundamental chord of the key in which the composition is written, but with the Indians all harmonic laws are freely disregarded, and their songs end on any tone of the scale which may be found convenient. This peculiarity tends to dispel the conclusive effect which is usually expected at the close of a stanza, and it may be assumed that this is precisely the object which the Indian has in view. In the ballads of civilized peoples each stanza treats of some specific aspect of the principal theme, and the music ends in a cadence which gives the effect of a close, partial or complete, before a return is made to the beginning for the opening of a fresh stanza. Were this the case in Indian songs, the main object for which they exist would be completely frustrated. The majority of Indian songs are employed as an essential adjunct to the various ceremonies so intimately interwoven into the life-fabric of these primitive people. The theme of their songs is at all times simple as the habits of the people of whose lives it forms a part. In connection with their ceremonies this simple theme is repeated continuously until the close of the ceremony, of which it forms a part, when it is brought to an abrupt close irrespective of the point in the musical phrase at which this close may be demanded. Were the melody to end in a definite musical cadence, suggestive of a close, as in the modern ballad, the attainment of this desired effect of continuity of sentiment would be rendered impossible. When the Indian wishes to emphasize the close of his melody he employs a method characteristically unique and even more convincing than the most perfect of conventional cadences. This is simply a long drawn out *whoop*, commencing in the upper region of the voice and gliding downwards throughout the compass of a fifth,

and occasionally a complete octave. This whoop is frequently preceded by a short staccato ejaculation, not easily described. In some instances the *whoop* is omitted, in others it is repeated.

One other distinguishing characteristic of Indian song calls for discussion. If the melodies included in the present collection are analysed, it will be observed that nearly all commence on the upper and end on the lower tones of the scale. It would seem as if the singer used this means in order to command the attention of his audience to the opening strains of his song. One cannot listen to the initial phrases of such as the "Scalping Song" or the first "Discovery Dance Song" without being convinced that this intention is distinctly manifested.

The space available within the limits of this Report will not permit of a detailed analysis of individual melodies, consequently much has to be withheld which might otherwise be written.

In "Returning from the Hunt" (No. 1), the *tonality* is distinctly that of A minor, although the leading tone, G sharp, is absent. To avoid unnecessary repetition of reference to this peculiarity, it may here be stated that, of the songs composing this collection, two examples only of the leading-tone, or major seventh, of the minor scale are to be discovered. It is interesting to observe that both of these are found in songs peculiar to women, viz.: Nos. 21 and 36. Whether this would imply that the Indian woman is possessed of a finer musical instinct, or is more advanced in her tendencies than her lord and master, the reader is left at liberty to determine. In this, as in No. 2, we have a melody of a decidedly cheerful and inspiring effect. It is strongly expressive of the feelings likely to be experienced on returning from the hunt well laden with the spoils of the chase.

The second group introduces a gruesome subject. I am informed by Dahkahhedondyeh that No. 3 was sung by the brave of olden times when his foe was vanquished and he was about to secure the coveted scalp, while No. 4 was reserved, as a song of exultation, on the accomplishment of this barbaric practice. From a musical standpoint, each contains at least one outstanding characteristic. It will be observed that No. 3 contains five beats in each measure after the opening phrase in two-four time. It cannot be said that this effect is in the least unpleasant. On the contrary, it is one of the most rhythmical melodies in the collection, which serves to emphasize the fact that the Indian mind is capable of definite rhythmical conceptions, the expression of which is vividly coloured by his unique personality. No. 4 seems to open with a similar rhythm, as a measure of three-four combined with one of two-four gives, approximately, the same effect as one of five-four time. This might have been expressed in another way, by writ-

ing a pause over the second beat in the second measure. This, however, is immaterial, as the most important feature presented is the modulation from A minor to A major, in the third line. This modulation is freely used in modern compositions. A familiar example may be found in Dr. Dyke's beautiful hymn-tune, "*Vox Dilecti*," usually associated with the hymn commencing, "I heard the voice of Jesus say." The modulation, in this, is accomplished by a leap of a *major* sixth from the fifth of the minor key, and, it will be observed that precisely the same means are employed in the song under discussion. This again presents a wide field for speculation. Have the Indians any sub-conscious perception of the recognised close relationship which exists between a minor key and a major on the same tonic? Why does this melody fail to return to the original key? Have they acquired this means of modulation from hearing modern compositions? I am assured by my Indian friends that this is among the most ancient of their traditional melodies, consequently the latter question may be answered in the negative. The others must become the subject of future investigation, while the melody remains to speak for itself. The "Old Chief's Favorite Song," No. 5, is an example of pentatonic melody, as it contains five scale tones only. This is the favorite scale of the Indians, as was fully described in the previous Report. The "Second Chief's Favorite Song," No. 6, presents an example of a rhythmical figure, two measures in length, reproduced continuously without interruption. The absence of the leading-tone D natural is again noticeable.

The precise sense in which the title "Discovery Dance" is applied to the next group is somewhat difficult to determine. Dahkahhedond-yeh explains that "These songs were sung during the progress of a duel with knives, and, that the title refers to the effort of the brave to *discover* his opponent's weaker points of attack." In listening to this group, a strong expression of exultation and defiance is readily observed. In No. 7 we have another example of pentatonic melody. The next might almost be mistaken for a modern bugle call, as, with the exception of the A in the first measure, it contains no tones other than those of the fundamental chord of B flat.

As their name implies, the following group consists of songs employed during the night watch beside the dead. Nos. 10 and 11 are pentatonic melodies, befittingly weird and mournful, while No. 12 is so indicative of excitement and passion as to seem entirely at variance with the sentiment of the mournful ceremony in which it is employed.

In the "Four Nights' Dance Songs" we have several examples of the final *whoop* already mentioned. Musical notation cannot give adequate expression to the effect produced by this characteristic end-


ing. It is simply a yell commencing on a high note and gliding downwards with diminishing force. Of the eight songs included in this group the leading tone is found in No. 18 alone, the others being strictly pentatonic in construction. The last of the group, No. 20, is strikingly suggestive of an ancient Gregorian chant. If we exclude the F introduced for the final whoop it will be observed that the melody is confined to two tones, the first and third of the key of C minor.

The Women's Dance Song introduces a pleasing example of the effect of mixed rhythm. The opening period comprises five measures of animated rhythm in four-four time, equalling in dash and *abandon* the most modern of popular "two-steps." This is quickly succeeded by a graceful movement in waltz time, producing a pleasing contrast in which the essential elements of unity and variety are combined with artistic intuition sufficient to satisfy the most advanced of modern musical critics. As already stated, this song presents an example of the employment of the complete minor scale including the major seventh or leading-tone rarely met with in the music of the pagan Iroquois.

In former investigations the pathetic character of the "War Dance Song" led me to question its fitness for the ceremony with which it is associated. On discussing this with Dahkahhedondyeh he informed me that there are two songs associated with the War Dance, the first being sung at the preliminary pow-wow at which the question of engaging in war is discussed, and the second, when it has finally been decided to march on the war-path. A comparison of No. 22 with 23 elicits some interesting features. Both are composed of the tones of pentatonic scale of G_♭ minor, the plaintive first and fourth being prominent in each. Owing to the slow tempo of No. 22 the effect of these two tones is intensified thus producing an effect at once pathetic and thoughtful. In No. 23 the rapid tempo, combined with the hurried reiteration of minute rhythmic divisions, completely obscures the mental effect of individual tones. The effect is strikingly fierce and vindictive and thoroughly in keeping with the sentiment which it is designed to portray.

The three songs included in the next group are simple in character as they serve only to supply a musical accompaniment to the primitive games suggested by their titles. Their counterpart may be found in such games as "Jing go ring" or "London Bridge" well known to the children of all English speaking races.

The Death Feast Song must not be confused with the Wake Songs, as it forms part of an entirely different ceremony, having as its principal objects the commemoration of the departed. The melody



is very simple in construction, possessing no new features of interest, with the exception of the close on the fifth of the scale.

In the Joining Dance Song, No. 28, the most noticeable feature is the syncopated rhythm employed in every measure. This rhythmic peculiarity is so strongly characteristic of Indian melody as to lead some investigators to the conclusion that the Indian has no definite conception of rhythm as the term is understood among musicians. A careful study of the various melodies here presented should convince the most sceptical that the Indian mind is capable of definite rhythmic conceptions, but that he is not subservient to pedantic musical laws, reserving to himself the right to express his musical sentiment in a manner peculiarly his own.

The term *Ahdonwah*, which distinguishes the group of songs now to be discussed, means literally, "Songs of Joy." The first presents several examples of syncopated rhythm referred to above. The most interesting melody of the group is No. 30, in which we again have an example of mixed rhythm produced by the insertion of measures containing four beats, the normal measure consisting of three. It will be observed that the key signature is that of A Major, while the first and second measures are distinctly in the key of A minor. Both keys are freely employed, and as if to emphasise this fact, the interval of the minor seventh from the tonic is used in each in a manner which cannot fail to be understood. In No. 31, a new example of mixed rhythm is afforded by the insertion of a single measure of five-four time.

The use of the second of the minor scale is very rare in Indian melodies. The interval of a semitone by which it is related to the minor third of the scale does not seem to be favourably regarded by primitive races. Some eminent musical authorities maintain that the employment of the pentatonic scale is mainly attributable to the aversion which primitive folks evince towards this interval. To omit all tones which necessitate the employment of an undesirable interval is certainly a most effective means of getting over any apparent difficulty which its employment might entail. In the song connected with the ceremony of making chiefs, No. 45, this rare interval is freely used, while in No. 36, we have the additional semitone consequent on the introduction of the major seventh, or leading tone of the minor scale. The latter belongs to the group of songs sung by the women who may be left in charge of the camp while the braves are on the war-path or engaged in the hunt. In No. 38 the change from four-four to six-eight time is again noticeable, and it is interesting to note that in this, as in the previous instance it occurs in the women's song.

Of the Green Corn Dance song two forms are given. The old

form, No. 40, seems to have been employed in some way which led to its being considered unfit for use in the sacred feast of which it had previously formed a part. The demand for a new song resulted in the composition (?) of No. 41. The reader is left to draw his own conclusions regarding the originality of the composition. The rests shown in various measures are not such in fact. The music is simply interrupted to permit of the insertion of *spoken* interjections which cannot be represented by any system of musical notation.

The most prominent feature of the "Naked Dance Songs" is the unconventional measure in which they are sung. In No. 42 we have the only discoverable example of the exclusive use of five-four time, while No. 43 is equally unique in the employment of the most exceptional form of measure in seven-four time. The latter may be regarded as composed of three and four beat measures alternately, but this only serves to increase the difficulty of determining which is intended to come first. In listening to this melody as sung by Kanishandon, no doubt could be entertained regarding the accentuation of the first beat of each group of seven, while examination reveals the fact that the rhythm is distinctly repeated at the distance of two measures of seven beats each.

The three remaining numbers of the collection present no characteristics apart from those already discussed.

In order to appreciate the genus of pagan Indian song, one must become thoroughly familiar with it through constant repetition. The habits and customs of the people by whom they have been evolved must also be carefully taken into account. When it is considered that these songs have been produced by a people among whom musical notation is utterly unknown, the unprejudiced investigator must be surprised at the nascent ability which they exhibit. Although these simple melodies have descended by tradition from time immemorial, it must not be presumed that the form in which they originated has been preserved intact. On the contrary, they represent a gradual development unconsciously effected by the many generations through which they have been transmitted.

Of the variations which they have undergone we have no means of ascertaining, but, that they are even now subject to alteration we are assured. In a few years some might be irretrievably lost; their existence remembered only as myth.

That they are worthy of a better fate must be conceded by all interested in the history of these primitive peoples. It is hoped that the attempt now made to represent them in musical notation will result in their preservation, not alone for the satisfaction of ethnological students, but for the descendants of the natives in whose ceremonials they have played so important a part.

No. 1. RETURNING FROM THE HUNT.



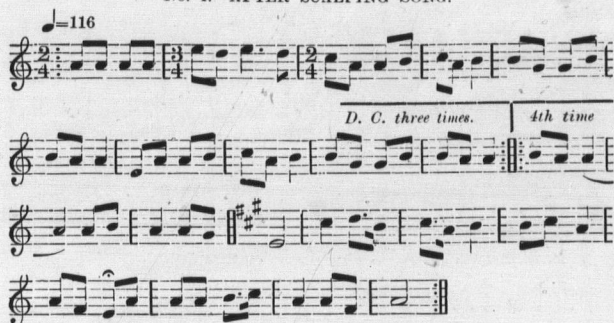
No. 2. RETURNING FROM THE BUFFALO HUNT.



No. 3. SCALPING SONG.



No. 4. AFTER SCALPING SONG.



No. 5. OLD CHIEF'S FAVORITE SONG.



No. 6. SECOND CHIEF'S FAVORITE SONG.



No. 7. DISCOVERY DANCE SONG (FIRST).



No. 8. DISCOVERY DANCE SONG (SECOND).



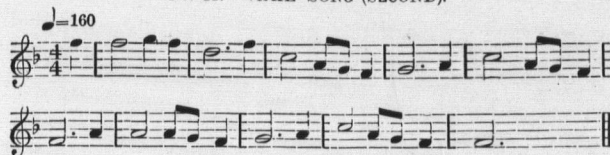
No. 9. DISCOVERY DANCE SONG (THIRD).



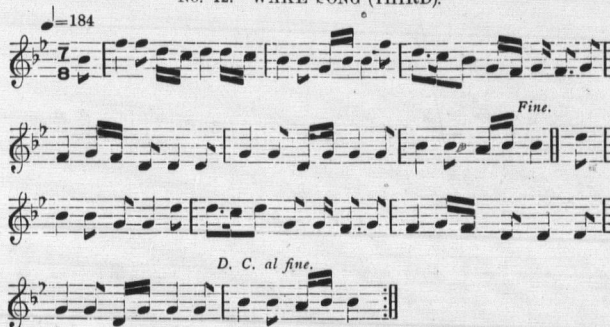
No. 10. WAKE SONG (FIRST).



No. 11. WAKE SONG (SECOND).



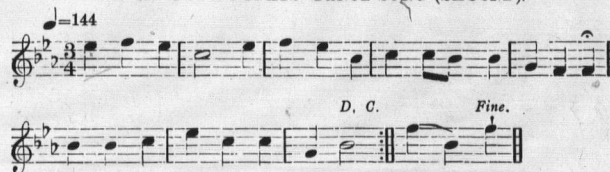
No. 12. WAKE SONG (THIRD).



No. 13. FOUR NIGHTS' DANCE SONG (FIRST).



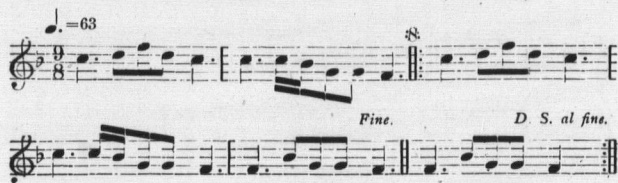
No. 14. FOUR NIGHTS' DANCE SONG (SECOND).



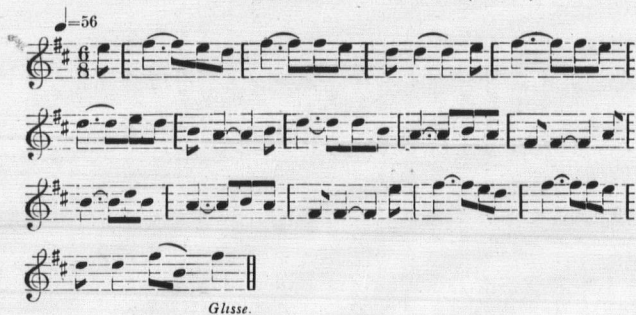
No. 15. FOUR NIGHTS' DANCE SONG (THIRD).



No. 16. FOUR NIGHTS' DANCE SONG (FOURTH).



No. 17. FOUR NIGHTS' DANCE SONG (FIFTH).



No. 18. FOUR NIGHTS' DANCE SONG (SIXTH).



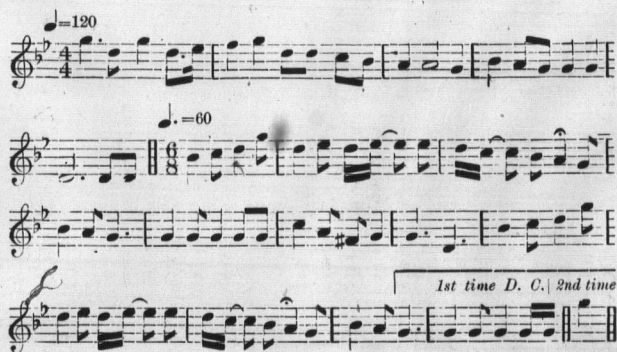
No. 19. FOUR NIGHTS' DANCE SONG (SEVENTH).



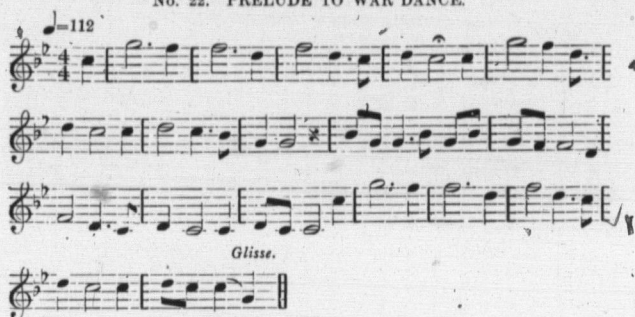
No. 20. FOUR NIGHTS' DANCE SONG (EIGHTH).



No. 21. WOMEN'S DANCE SONG.



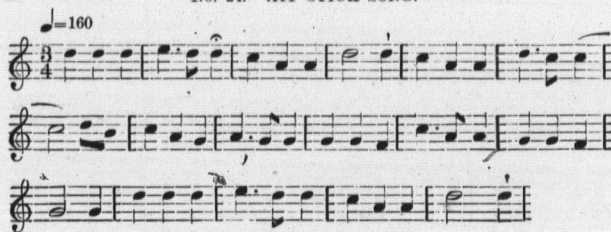
No. 22. PRELUDE TO WAR DANCE.



No. 23. WAR DANCE SONG.



No. 24. HIT STICK SONG.



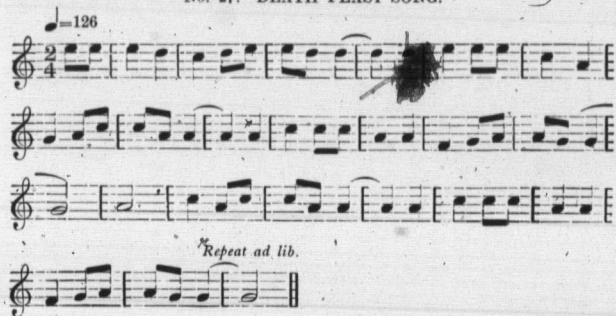
No. 25. CHANGE BODY SONG.



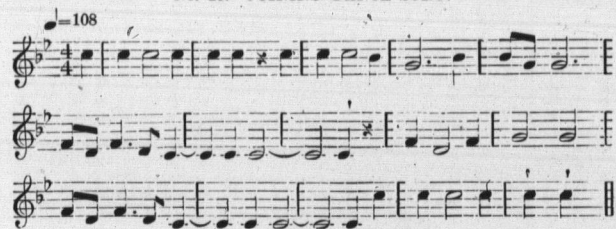
No. 26. BEAN SONG.



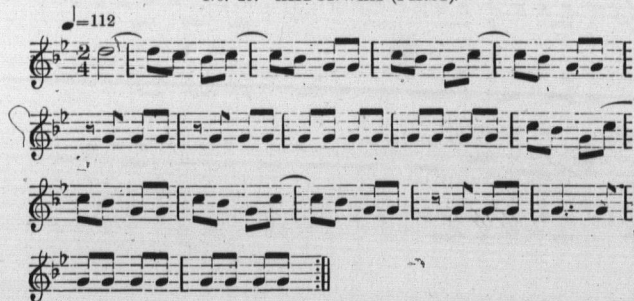
No. 27. DEATH FEAST SONG.



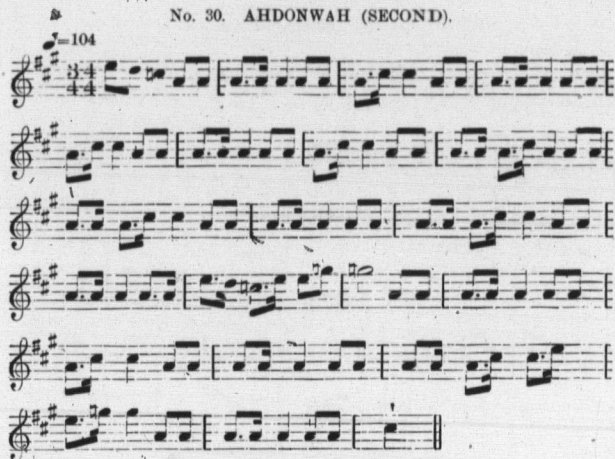
No. 28. JOINING DANCE SONG.



No. 29. AHDONWAH (FIRST).



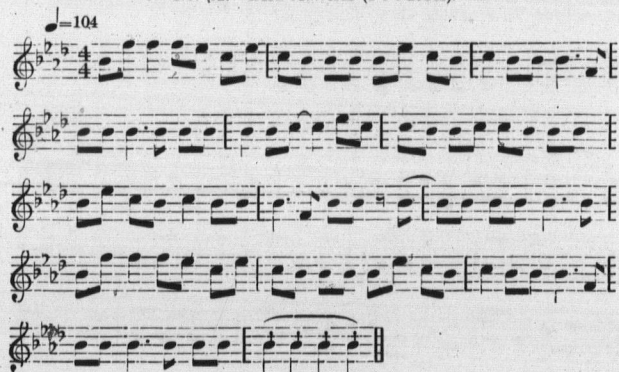
No. 30. AHDONWAH (SECOND).



No. 31. AHDONWAH (THIRD).



No. 32. AHDONWAH (FOURTH).

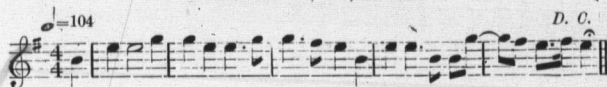


No. 33. AHDONWAH (FIFTH).



No. 34. MAKING CHIEF SONG.

(When on the road from fire to fire.)
See Hale's Book of Iroquois Rites.



No. 35. MAKING CHIEF SONG.

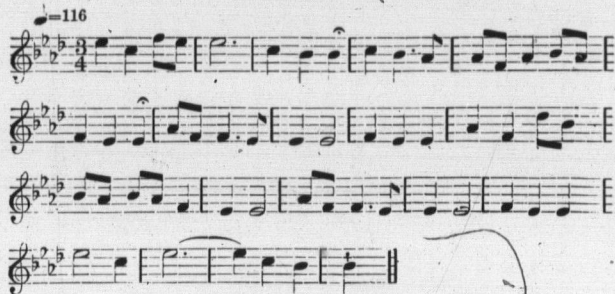
(On arrival at the fire.)



No. 36. LONESOME WOMAN'S SONG (FIRST).



No. 37. LONESOME WOMAN'S SONG (SECOND).



No. 38. LONESOME WOMAN'S SONG (THIRD).



No. 39. JOINING HANDS DANCE SONG.



No. 40. GREEN CORN DANCE SONG (OLD FORM)



No. 41. GREEN CORN DANCE SONG (NEW FORM).



No. 42. NAKED DANCE SONG (FIRST).



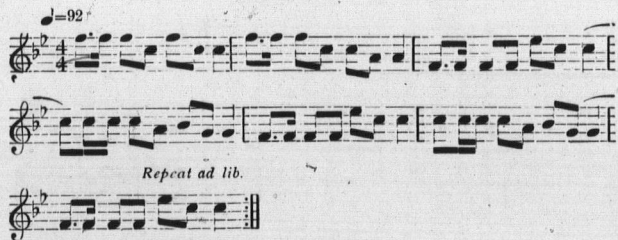
No. 43. NAKED DANCE SONG (SECOND).



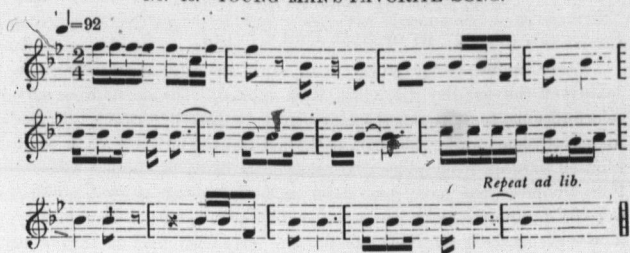
No. 44. NAKED DANCE SONG (THIRD).



No. 45. OLD MAN'S FAVORITE SONG.



No. 46. YOUNG MAN'S FAVORITE SONG.



No. 47. NAMING OF THE BOY.



A STUDY OF THE WORD TORONTO.

BY GENERAL JOHN S. CLARK

Every Indian geographical name must describe accurately some feature of the locality to which it is affixed. The description may relate to some topographical feature, to some historical event, to a residence of some noted chieftain, to the natural productions, or to some relation to some other place. Frequently a name is applied to more than one place, but it must be under such circumstances that no mistake or misapprehension can arise as to the meaning. Occasionally names are used figuratively, as was the case with that of the great Iroquois confederation, Kanonsionni, from kanonses or kanonsis, a house, and ionni, *extended or drawn out*.—thus using the figure of a long-house as representing their political structure. They carried the figure still further. As each of these houses had a door at each end, they also had doors at the eastern and western extremities of their occupied territory, the eastern guarded by the Mohawks, the western by the Senecas. As several of these long-houses constituted a village or castle, and was surrounded by an enclosure of palisades, it became necessary to have openings through the enclosure at different points to pass in and out for wood, water and other purposes. Their confederation was also enclosed by an imaginary structure, having gateways for purposes of peace or for military operations offensive and defensive, and parties having business with the confederation must first make that business known to the guard at one of these gateways, and whoever entered by any other way placed themselves in a position to be suspected of having evil purposes, and being treated as spies and enemies. Every other confederation had like places, well known and recognized by their neighbors. These places sometimes had local names, and when it was desired to describe them as gates, it was done by adding the word for *gate* to the local or general name. Thus Lake Champlain became known as Caniaderi Guaruntie. In precisely the same manner Lake Simcoe at an early date was known and recognized as the Lake Door or Gate-way of the country of the Hurons. It will be readily seen by an examination of maps that all intercourse with the Hurons, whether relating to peace or war, from the south and east, must necessarily pass through Lake Simcoe. Many routes of travel centered in that lake, and in aboriginal intercourse, as in modern times, it was a key to inland navigation. When Lake Ontario was closed to all other tribes, as described by Champlain, and the inland waterway *via* Quinte Bay became exceedingly dangerous, all the commerce of the Hurons with the French sought the much longer and more difficult route of the Ottawa as fraught with less danger. This

change increased the importance, temporarily, of Matchedash Bay as a gateway to the Huron country. After the Hurons were driven out and Indian commerce returned to the natural channels, it was then and in this manner that the name of *Toronto* became prominent as the name of the bay of the same name, as the southern terminal of what may well be called the international inland waterway between Lake Ontario and the great northwest. If the theory advanced by the writer is correct that *Toronto* is an abbreviated compound word, somewhat disfigured, but based on *kaniatare, lake*; and *iokaronte, a gap, breach, or opening*, then it has always been the name of *Toronto Bay* considered simply as a bay. And this will be the same if Dr. O'Callaghan's theory be true, for his derivation reaches the same conclusion, and each will agree with Dr. Lewis H. Morgan who gives *Neoda-on-da-quat, a bay*, as the name of Irondequoit Bay. Neither is there any material variation from the Rev. Asher Wright, who gives the meaning of the name as 'the turning aside of the lake,' as this constitutes the bay. All parties reach the same conclusions by slightly varying methods of explanation. In none of the theories where this name has been discussed has any idea been presented of a possible origin from *karonta, a tree*; or *karonto, a tree or log in the water* except at present *Toronto*. As must be conceded, this last derivation must be erroneous, as it would be impossible to find the name in different localities several hundred miles apart based on a fact appurtenant to one location. This is a violation of the fundamental rule relating to Indian place-names that the fact on which the name is based must be common to all the localities. This can only be found in the word signifying 'an opening.' If an opening from a lake, as a bay, the name will disclose it, as *Toronto bay*, or *Ouentaronto*, this last meaning the lake that constitutes the opening or gateway of the country, and this brings us around to the Mohawk form of *Caniaderi Guaruntie*, of which Governor Pownall gives the meaning, as "The Mouth or Door of y^e Country."*

* "Lake Champlain, as the French call it; Corlaer, as the Dutch call it; but according to its Indian name, *Caniaderi Guaruntie*, lies in a deep, narrow chasm of the land, bounded up to the water's edge with steep mountains on the western shore which continues as far as Cumberland Bay. Pownall, 1776, p. 13. On the map appears the legend "L. Champlain, called by the Indians *Caniaderi Guaruntie*, signifying the Mouth or Door of ye Country." Analysis of Pownall—Evans' map 1776.

Gov. Pownall, in writing to Under Secretary Wood in 1758, says:

By the reduction of Cape Breton and its dependencies, the uninterrupted Dominion of these Seas and the Powers of Trade are again restored to His Majesty's Subjects; by the destruction of Fort Frontenac and the naval armaments and stores at Cadaraqui, the Dominion of the Lakes which sooner or later will be the

Rev. Jean de Lamberville, missionary at Onondaga in 1684, in writing to M. de la Barre in October of that year, says: "Had I the honor to converse with you somewhat longer than your little leisure allowed me, I should have convinced you that you could not have advanced to Kania-Toronto-Gouat, without having been utterly defeated in the then state of your army, which was rather a hospital than a camp." This was the present Irondequoit Bay, near Rochester, New York, a body of water substantially of the same general features as Toronto Bay. Evidently de Lamberville was skilled in the Iroquois dialects, and knew the meaning of the name as understood by the Onondagas. Dr. O'Callaghan, the learned translator, says in a note, "Literally an opening into or from a lake; an inlet or bay; from Kaniatare, a lake, and Hotontogouan, to open.—(Col. Hist., N. Y., IX. 261.) This is in line with the statement of Spafford in 1813, author of Spafford's Gazette, of N. Y., in which he says "Teoronto was the proper name of Irondequoit Bay, meaning in Onondaga almost a lake." The name given by De Lamberville is in accord with the names of the bay appearing in the Franquelin great map of 1684, Gannia-Taronto-Quat, and Gannia-Toronto Gouat; and of the Jesuit's map 1665 Andia-Taronta-Quat; of Denonville's account of his expedition, 1687, Gannia-Taronta-Gouat, and numerous others. This particular form appears to have been compounded from Kaniatare, lake, and the Onondaga term to open, as given above, and appears to account for the terminal gouat of De Lamberville and others. Cuoq gives Iokaronte, an opening, and Bruyas, Gannhotongouan, to open the door. The several words appear to rest on a common base, meaning an opening, or its equivalent, and in

Dominion of America, is restored to the British Empire; and from the prosperous way in which the Western operations now are by the reinforcements brought by Major General Amherst, I cannot even entertain a doubt but that the very gates of Canada (as Lake Champlain is truly called by the Indians) must be put into our hands, so that for the future the enemy must live with us in peace, or not at all.

Boston, 30 Sept., 1758. Col. Hist., N. Y., VII., 349.

Gov. Pownall states in his Administration of the Colonies (Ed. 1768 and 1774, p. 267) that the Indian name of Lake Champlain is *Caniaderi Guaruntie*, that is "The lake that is the gate of the country." It is compounded of "Kaniatare," the Mohawk word for lake, and "Kanhohkaronde," door.—Doc. Hist., N. Y., Quarto III, 723.

The early French writers do not refer to the Indian name, but speak of the lake as the passage that leads to the country of the Iroquois.—Palmer's Lake Champlain, p. 12.

The Mohawks certainly had abundant reason for remembering Lake Champlain as a door leading to these countries, for Champlain, in 1609, gave them in that quarter their first lesson in the use of gunpowder. And in 1666, Courcelles and Macy ravaged their country and burned their 'castles' with an army that passed through this gateway.

which the idea of door is understood, if not expressed. Rev. Asher Wright in discussing this from the Seneca standpoint, and there is no better authority, says the name is compounded from Ganyiwadæh, *a lake*, and Odaghwah, *it turns aside*, making the name Onyiudaøndag-wat, literally *the lake turns aside*. As in entering a cabin, the door is opened by turning it aside, possibly the same idea is carried in the name for the bay. As a rule, the earlier forms of the name beginning with the Jesuits' map, 1665, conform very closely to the model of De Lamberville. The variations are such as would arise from different modes of expression in the different dialects. The substance of the several opinions shows that the name signifies simply a body of water connected with the lake *by an opening*. Historically considered, when such an opening became an important factor in reaching the Seneca villages from the lake as a thoroughfare, the signification was brought within the field of a gateway or door to the country of the Senecas, precisely as lake Champlain became the mouth or gateway of the country in general, and that of the Mohawks in particular. From the earliest historical period, each of these places was considered as the gateway of the confederation. Denonville availed himself of the advantages of Irondequoit Bay in 1687, when he ravaged the country and destroyed their castles. After that date the Senecas removed their larger western villages to the vicinity of the Genesee river, but the bay continued as the route through which all the intercourse and traffic connected with the lake was held, and as the veritable gateway or western door of the Iroquois country.

The name of Irondequoit Bay appears in a great variety of disfigured and corrupt forms, but all are based primarily on the Indian word for lake in some one of the Iroquois dialects. The Onondaga term for opening (Ganhotongouen) appears in many of the names, but the precise manner of compounding is not understood. De Lamberville was most excellent authority, and the name of *Toronto* must mean substantially the same as the Seneca form which all authorities say means simply a bay, and taken in connection with Caniaderi Guaruntie as applied to lake Champlain, the conclusion that the two are identical cannot be far from the truth, and that the definition given by Gov. Pownall will furnish a reliable explanation of the meaning of *Toronto* Bay on the north side of the lake. It will be seen that the parallelism between the two bays is especially significant aside from the names. The *Toronto* of the north, had been known, unquestionably, far back into the prehistoric occupation of the country. It was a new discovery to Joliet and Perray in 1668, and ten years later had leaped into notoriety as a most important thoroughfare, but not for several years did the name that has now prevailed appear on the

maps of that locality. The bay of the south shore has been known from the earliest historical period of the Senecas as their landing place, and the route to their castles. It was beyond question one of the most important points in charge of the Senecas as guardians of the western door of the confederacy. The importance of Toronto Bay and the passage to lake Huron was not fully understood until some years after the construction of Fort Frontenac in 1673. The anxiety of the French to secure a monopoly of the fur trade led them to believe that all the trade could be controlled from that point. It was soon apparent that the Indians and traders found ways to reach the English and Dutch without passing Fort Frontenac. La Salle who was the original projector of that stronghold, in August 1680, on his return voyage from the west, took the Toronto route *via* lake Simcoe and again in 1681 when journeying westward, desiring to reach lake Huron from lake Ontario, availed himself of the Toronto portage, and was for a fortnight engaged in the work of transporting his goods and provisions to lake Simcoe. It was not known as Toronto until some years later, but was called the portage of Teioiaagon, which was the name of a small Seneca village near the Humber river. It undoubtedly was known in prehistoric days by some distinctive name, but not until it became part of an important thoroughfare did it take the name of Toronto, the gateway of the ancient Huron country, which implies a way, or route, through which people pass to and fro, as through a gateway in a palisade enclosure. On the map of Rafféix, 1688, is the legend written along the line "*chemin par où les Iroquois vont aux Outaouas*."* and along the northern shore of lake Ontario appears the following: "*Villages des Iroquois d'ont quan'ité s'habituent de ce cote*."† A fair copy of this map will be found in the Very Rev, W. R. Harris' History of the Early Missions of Western Canada, and a skeleton copy in Winsor's Hist. of America IV. 234. The map of Rafféix was of about the date when the name of *Toronto* was very generally indicated on the maps of the period. It shows that the Iroquois introduced the name, and not the Hurons, for the latter had long previous to this date been driven from the country or incorporated with the Iroquois. If, therefore, a correct meaning of the name is desired it must be from Iroquois sources, and from their standpoint.

It may be well at this point to allude to the earliest known name of lake Simcoe, which appears as *Lacus Ouentaronius* on the Ducreux map of 1660. This is the Latinized form of Ouentaron, Oentaronck, and Oentaronk, as given on other and later maps. The map of Ducreux, though dated 1660, was in fact compiled from data of about 1645,

* Way by which the Iroquois go to the Ottawas.

† Villages of the Iroquois, of whom many live in this region.

This was previous to the destruction of the Hurons, and while the Jesuit missionaries were on the ground and in daily communication with them. The missionaries make no mention of *Taronto* as a name of the lake, or in any other connection. The name Ouentaron was used, and I desire to point out a few facts which leads me to believe that Taronto and Ouentaron may have been identical in meaning. The form Ouentaron appears to have continued as the name of Lake Simcoe for over a hundred years, from Sanson, 1656, to D'Anville and other French maps as late as 1755 and later. But beginning with La Hontan, who was in the country from 1684 to 1691, the form *Toronto* appeared and finally prevailed. La Hontan accompanied D'Anville in 1687 in his expedition against the Senecas, and it is somewhat significant that he not only gives the name Toronto to Lake Simcoe, but to its outlet now known as Severn river. He also calls Matchedash Bay "The Bay of Toronto," which he describes as twenty-five leagues long and fifteen wide. He places the name on some of his maps between Ohouendoe Island* and the mainland, and other maps apparently following La Hontan carry the name *Toronto* quite up to the River of the French. La Hontan names one of the Huron villages Torontogeron, which he says was destroyed by the Iroquois, and locates it near Lake Couchiching. Raffex, on his map of 1688, makes Lac Tarontha as the name of Lake Simcoe, which is very near the word given by Cuq of Kah-ron-tha, *to make an opening* (93). Denonville, in writing to M. Seignelay in Nov., 1686, says M. de la Durantaye is collecting people to fortify himself at Michillimacina, and to occupy *the other passage at Taronto*, which the English might take to enter Lake Huron. (Col. Hist., N.Y., IX. 296). Now, if as I suspect, *Toronto* is a contracted form of a compound word derived from Kaniatare, *lake*, and onto, *to open*; and the name Ouentaron is also a compound Huron word derived from the Huron ontare, for *lake*, and a root equivalent in Huron to *open*, or a *door*, or *gateway*, it will go far to establish an absolute identity between the two names Ouentaron and Taronto. Both of these names based on Ontare, *lake*, will explain why the Hurons were known as Lake Indians, and their country, or at least the country around Lake Simcoe, as *Toronto*.

There was another name occasionally applied to Lake Simcoe by the French, which was "Lac aux Claies," which in English would be "The Lake of the Fish Weirs." These were described by Champlain in 1615, as located between lakes Couchiching and Simcoe, in the narrow channel now known as the Narrows. The Indians, known as Ojibways of the present day, speak of the locality as Mitchekun, which means a fence, or the place which was fenced, or staked across. The

* Christian Island.

structure was composed of small sharpened stakes, from six to ten feet in length, driven into the clay and sand which constitutes the bottom of the channel, and were from an inch to two inches in diameter. Champlain says: "They almost close the strait, only some little openings being left where they place their nets." Probably smaller twigs were woven in back and forth in the form of what is called "wattling." Fish weirs constructed in this manner were common along the Atlantic coast, and are illustrated by White in Harriott's *Hist. of Virginia*, also in Beverly's *Virginia*, 1675. In the "French Onondaga Dictionary," from a manuscript of about 1700, in the Mazarin Library, Paris, *Gaya-ouenta-ha* is given as the equivalent of the French word *Claye*, which in English is *hurdle*, flat screen, or wooden grate. It will be seen that the six letters from the heart of this word, are identical with those found in the name *Lacus Ouentaronius* of the *Creuxius* map, supposed to be derived from *Ontare, lake*. *Gah-a-yah* is given by Rev. Asher Wright as *fence* in Seneca. An analysis of the name *Gayaouentaha* will probably disclose a fair description of the fish weirs in the Narrows, the base of the French name of *Lac aux Claiés*. This could have only a local significance, unless it should appear that other weirs of like character existed at other points, which is not probable.

On several maps lake Couchiching is named Lake Contarea. The Relations give this as the name of a Huron village and tribe of Kontarea, which Brebeuf describes as a day's journey from Ihonatiria. A site at the narrow passage between the two lakes would be about thirty-five miles from Ihonatiria. The Ducreux map locates L. Contarea a few miles west of Ste. Marie on the Wye, which could not be more than five or six miles from any supposed site of Ihonatiria. These facts appear to indicate that the earlier site of Kontarea was near the narrow passage between the lakes, and that previous to 1645 the village or villages had removed to the west of Ste. Marie on the Wye. The Relation of 1642, p. 74, says: "Last winter the Hurons had a real fright in consequence of a false alarm that had reached them that an army of Iroquois was on the point of carrying the village of Kontarea, the chief bulwark of the country." Burrows' edition XXIII, 105.

The Kontarearons are mentioned by Vimont in the Relation 1640, p. 35, as a distinct tribe, sedentary, and speaking the Huron language. The name appears as number nine in a list of twenty-nine names, and is followed by the Ouendats. When the Hurons abandoned their country a large number took refuge with the Iroquois and were known as Hurons of Kontarea. That the name was generic, and related to the country of the Hurons in some instances is certain. If

lake Couchiching was known as lake Kontarea, it would be very strong evidence of a residence near it at some earlier period, and that Brebeuf's statement of a location a day's journey from Ihonatiria was correct. An analysis of the name shows that it was derived from Gontare lake in Huron, and as *g* and *k* are interchangeable in Indian names it would become Kontare, this with a diminutive terminal *a*, the result will be Kontarea. La Hontan appears to have had in mind a waterway on all sides of the Huron peninsula by giving the name *Toronto* to lake Simcoe, Severn river, Matchedash Bay and the passage between Ahoendo* and other islands, and the main land. Just what he meant by the name Torontogne is uncertain. The name as given by the Raffieix map of 1688 of Tarontho should be carefully considered in the study of these more or less affiliated names, as this comes very near to the modern Mohawk of Kkahrontha (Cuoq 24), Kkaronte-Kkaronten, meaning *an opening*, as a door or gateway.

It is an interesting fact that wherever this name of *Toronto* has appeared either as combined with other words, or in its evidently contracted form, it has always from the very beginning, been on an important thoroughfare of water-communication. The fact that it has appeared in several positions with several hundred miles intervening, is proof conclusive that the name is not based on any fact incident to any one locality. It must be from something common to all, having a distinct meaning, and must be so clearly expressed "as to convey that meaning with precision to all who speak the language to which it belongs, and whenever from phonetic corruption or by change of circumstances, it loses its self-interpreting, or self-defining power, it must be discarded from the language." This rule laid down by Mr. J. H. Trumbull in his "Indian Names of Connecticut" applies with equal force in Iroquois as in Algonquin place-names.

There is no question whatever in my opinion as to a common origin of Caniaderi Guaruntie as applied to lake Champlain; the Gania *Toronto* Gouen of De Lamberville as the name of Irondequoit Bay, and of *Toronto* as names of Toronto Bay and Lake Simcoe. Each in its place was a gateway of the country. Ouentaron was probably of the same meaning and derived from the Huron Ontare, *lake*, and Tarontho, *a door or gateway*. As will be seen later on, the final part of the word-sentence, which carries the idea of a door or gateway, makes it appurtenant to the initial part of the sentence, which describes the character of the body in which the opening is made. Thus Iotstenra, *a rock*, combined with Karonte, makes Iotstenrakaronte, *a a grotto or cavern*, distinctly an excavation in a rock whether natural or artificial, and every grotto or cavern has

* Christian Island.

a door or entrance. Iokahronte is a *gap*, breach or opening; (Cuoq 6, 93) so kkahrontha is to pierce, to make an opening as a door or window, or breach in a wall (Cuoq 24). Katenhenra-karontha is given in the verbal form, *to make an opening in an enclosure and put a gate in it* (Cuoq 93). A curious example is given by Cuoq (93) which is Tekahontakaronte. This appears to be Honta, *an ear*, the organ of hearing; Tekahonta, *two ears*, that is, the two openings in the head, the organs of hearing, which sometimes become obstructed, and the person becomes deaf or partially so. Tekahontakaronte then means to open the two openings that the person may hear.

Auburn, N. Y., Dec. 30, 1899.

DANIEL GARRISON BRINTON.

*Born in West Chester, Pennsylvania, U.S.A., May
13th, 1837. Died, July 31st, 1899.*

When reference was made in the report for 1896-7 to the death of our distinguished friend Horatio Hale, it was said, "Mr. Hale's place in scientific ranks, will be hard to fill and perhaps none will more readily acquiesce in this statement than Dr. D. G. Brinton, of Philadelphia, who, having so long shared his mantle, must now wear it alone." Now that Dr. Brinton himself has departed, the loss, for the time-being, seems almost irreparable.

His services in the study of American ethnology in its very widest sense, can hardly be overestimated. As a thinker he was as bold as he was original, and with respect to conclusions at which he arrived, he sometimes stood alone.

Few American writers in any department of science have produced so many books, pamphlets and papers as he did on his favorite subject—even the mere naming of them in type, as they appeared from 1859 until within a few months of his death, would require several of these pages.

While inclined to be somewhat dogmatic in the enunciation of what he conceived to be truth, he was too great a man to be jealous of what others had achieved, and he was always willing to assist inquirers with his opinions or advice.

At the time of his death he was Professor of American Linguistics, and Archæology in the University of Pennsylvania.

As an authority on the studies he had so markedly made his own, he will long be quoted, and even when, as is almost inevitable in the advancement of knowledge, it shall appear that he formed some wrong conclusions, he will always be credited with great scholarship, sound, critical judgment, considerable caution, and the courage of his convictions.