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Hale, Horatio.

With the author's kind regards

THE FALL OF HOCHELAGA:

A STUDY OF POPULAR TRADITION.

BY

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When, in the early autumn of 1535, the intrepid explorer, Jacques Cartier, with his little flotilla, recalling in number and dimensions the caravels of Columbus, made his doubtful and hazardous way up the great stream which his native guides knew as the River of Hochelaga, but which he renamed the St. Lawrence, he found the lands through which he passed occupied by tribes belonging to two distinct ethnic groups. These have been commonly known as the Algonkin (or Algonquin) and the Huron-Iroquois families. The latest scientific nomenclature makes them the Algonquian and Iroquoian stocks. But, for the purpose of the present paper, it seems advisable to retain the older designations.

From his guides, who were two Indians of the Huron-Iroquois race, that had accompanied him to France from an earlier voyage to the St. Lawrence Gulf, he learned that the regions along the river, on both sides, from its mouth as far inland apparently as their knowledge extended, belonged, according to the native notions, to three separate provinces or "lands" (*terres*). Nearest the gulf was the land of Saguenay, deriving its name from the great tributary stream which unites with the St. Lawrence about a hundred miles below Quebec. This territory was occupied, then as subsequently, by scattered bands of the Algonkin stock. Next came the province of "Canada" proper, that is to say, the land of the "Town," for such is the well-known meaning of *Canada* in the Iroquoian language and all the allied idioms. This town was Stadaconé, a native village which stood near the site of what is now Quebec. It was the capital or chief abode of Donnacona, the Great Lord (*Agouhana*) of the province. He himself, as his title indicates, was of the Huron-Iroquois stock, though his people seem to have been in part of the Algonkin family. But he and they were alike subject to a much

mightier ruler, the great King and Lord (*Roy et Seigneur*) of HOCHELAGA.

This densely peopled and strongly fortified town, which occupied the site of what is now Montreal, was visited by Cartier, who has left us a vivid description of the place and its inhabitants. The path by which he approached it from the river led through a beautiful plain, shaded at first by a forest of stately oaks, to which succeeded large and well-cultivated fields of maize. In the midst of these plains, rising near the foot of a lofty eminence which Cartier named the "Royal Mount" (*Mont Royal*, now abridged to Montreal), the civic fortress presented the towering and formidable front which caused the early settlers of northern New York to give to the similar strongholds of their Iroquoian neighbors the name of "castles." The inclosing wall was composed of a triple row of tree-trunks, shaped and planted as palisades, and rising to the height of two lances' length. The middle row was upright; the inner and outer rows, inclining to this, were crossed at the top, and braced by horizontal beams, thus forming galleries, whence missiles could be showered upon an assailing force. Within the inclosure were fifty spacious houses, or rather barracks, some of them fifty yards long by fifteen in width, framed of wood, and covered with sheets of bark. Each house, divided into compartments, was the abode of several families; and the whole population probably comprised between two and three thousand persons. But this number did not really indicate the defensive force which its ruler had at his command. The occupants of the fortress were merely a local garrison, which in case of need could soon be largely recruited from the neighboring country. For Hochelaga, as we learn from Cartier, was the capital of a considerable empire, embracing, besides the "Canadians" of Stadaconé, "eight or nine other peoples along the great river."

In 1543, France, disturbed by civil commotions, withdrew from North America, and all efforts at exploration were intermitted. For nearly sixty years the names of those strange northern chiefdoms which Cartier had disclosed to the world remained unmentioned. It was not until 1598 that the Marquis de la Roche, a nobleman of Brittany, at length obtained from Henry IV. authority to resume the colonization of New France, and received with this authority the grandiloquent title of "Lieutenant-General of Canada, *Hochelaga*, Newfoundland, Labrador, and the countries adjacent." But five years later, when Champlain, who was to be the actual founder, made his way up the St. Lawrence to the seat of his future colony, he found, to his surprise, that Hochelaga, along with Stadaconé and its other subject towns, had disappeared entirely, leaving no trace of their existence. A few wandering Algonkins occupied, but

hardly pretended to possess, the country which had been the seat of this lost empire. They and their Huron allies from the Georgian Bay lived in a state of constant warfare with the confederate Iroquoian nations, who held nearly the whole southern shore of the St. Lawrence and Lake Ontario, and kept the tribes along the northern coast of that river and lake in perpetual alarm. It is natural to inquire what had become of the great Hochelagan dominion, which had so strangely vanished, and had been replaced, as it seemed, by a still more formidable power on the southern side of the dividing waters.

This is a question with which many historians, from Charlevoix to Parkman, have dealt, but to which no decisive answer has thus far been returned. It is evidently a question of no small importance, historical as well as ethnological; for it concerns the leading cause of the failure or success of French and British colonization in America. If, after the lapse of more than three centuries, we can succeed in answering it, there may be good hope of solving hereafter some other still more interesting and perplexing problems, such, for example, as the origin and fate of the Mound-builders and Cliff-dwellers, and the source and development of Mexican and Mayan civilization.

In the present case the problem, it must be admitted, is comparatively simple. Unless we make the very unlikely supposition that not only were Hochelaga and its subject towns totally destroyed, but their populations were completely exterminated, there are only two directions in which we can reasonably look for the offspring of these populations. The survivors either withdrew to the south side of their great river, and there united with, or, as some suppose, actually became, the Iroquois nations, or else they retired to the west and there joined, or, as some think, wholly composed, the Huron tribes whom Champlain found near the Georgian Bay. The question is thus narrowed down to two points: firstly, to which of these ancient divisions of the Huron-Iroquois family are the Hochelagan people to be traced; and secondly, by what hostile power was the overthrow of their state accomplished?

It might seem that the evidence of language alone should be sufficient to settle the first of these points. We have two vocabularies left us by Cartier, containing many of the common words by which the affiliations of language are determined. But unfortunately all that they enable us to prove is that the people of Cartier's "Land and Kingdom of Hochelaga and Canada" spoke a dialect of the Huron-Iroquois stock. Every attempt to find a specially close connection between this dialect and that of any other known branch of the stock has thus far proved a failure. The imperfections of Car-

tier's orthography and the changes of time are quite sufficient to account for this result.

In the absence of other evidence, we have to fall back upon that of tradition. It is only of late years, and especially since folk-lore has become a science, and is studied as such in connection with its sister science of comparative philology, that the value of this evidence has been fully understood. In the present case it has been found decisive. Several years ago, while engaged in studying the languages and history of the Canadian tribes, I visited the Wyandots of Anderdon, on the Detroit River, the last feeble remnant of the only tribe which retained in Canada the speech of the once famous and powerful Huron people. This ill-fated people, crushed by the Iroquois in the desperate struggle of which Parkman, in his volume on "The Jesuits in North America," has given us a narrative of singular interest, fled at first to the far west, and took refuge for a time among their Algonkin friends, the Ojibways, on the shores and islands of Lakes Michigan and Superior. After a time, returning gradually eastward, they made their principal abode for a term on the island of Michilimackinac. Thence, at a later day, descending through Lakes Huron and St. Clair, they took possession of the fertile plains on both sides of the Detroit River, where the guns of Fort Pontchartrain and the presence of friendly Algonkin bands — Ojibways, Ottawas, and others — gave them hope of security against their persistent Iroquois enemies. The same distinguished historian, in his "Conspiracy of Pontiac," has described the remarkable predominance which the intellectual superiority of this people, even in their reduced condition, enabled them to maintain over the surrounding tribes.

Finally, about the middle of the present century, the majority of the Wyandots, on both sides of the Detroit River, decided to remove to the southwest, under the auspices of the American government. There in the Indian Territory, and, singularly enough, on a tract directly adjoining the abode of an emigrant band of their ancient enemies, the Senecas, they have found what they may well hope to be a final refuge. It is interesting to know, as an evidence of their strongly conservative character, that, after so many wanderings and vicissitudes, they retain their ancient civic polity with so much vigor that Major Powell has been enabled, in a "Study of Wyandot Government," to reveal fully this remarkable system, and to clear up many mysteries which the intelligent and well-educated Franciscan and Jesuit missionaries, living in the Huron towns nearly three centuries ago, did not fully comprehend.

A small number of the Wyandots, not exceeding seventy, but including a few persons of superior capacity, clung to their Canadian

homes, and remained on what was known as the Anderdon Reserve. From them, and especially from their chief, an elderly man of noble presence and marked intelligence, much information concerning the history, customs, and beliefs of the people and their ancestors was obtained. The chief bore in English the name of Joseph White, and in his own language the somewhat singular appellation of Mandorong, or "Unwilling." The name, which he owed to the fancy of his parents, did not by any means indicate his disposition, which was peculiarly frank and genial. He assured me that the traditions of his people represented them as having dwelt originally in the east, near Quebec. He had once journeyed as far as that city, and had then visited the remnant of the Hurons at Lorette. These had ceased to make use of their ancient language in their ordinary speech, but they had not entirely forgotten it; and they still retained the primitive traditions of their race. They took him, he said, to a mountain, and showed him the opening in its side from which the progenitors of their people emerged, when they first "came out of the ground." This notion, which prevails in many countries, is commonly held to be a childish myth, born of a metaphor, through which, as in the case of the ancient Athenians, a people proclaim themselves to be the autochthones of a country. Further inquiry, however, has led to the opinion that the expression, with the resulting myth, has had in many cases another and more intelligible origin. It indicated in the first instance simply that the people believed their ancestors to have come "from below," that is, "from down-stream," or, in the case of an oceanic tribe, "from the leeward." In the present case it probably showed that the Hurons of Quebec believed their progenitors to have ascended the St. Lawrence from an earlier abode nearer the Atlantic Ocean.

Among other informants whom I consulted in my successive visits to Anderdon were two aged men, of considerable ability and some literary attainments, Alexander Clarke, the government interpreter, and his brother, Peter Dooyentate Clarke. They were sons of an English officer by an Indian mother, and had both received some schooling; but they had spent their lives among the Indians, with whose ideas, customs, and legends they were thoroughly familiar. From Peter I received a small printed book, of which he claimed to be the author, and doubtless with truth, though he had evidently had the occasional aid of a more practised hand. It was published in 1870, by Hunter, Rose & Co., of Toronto, and bore the title of "Origin and Traditional History of the Wyandots, and Sketches of Other Indian Tribes of North America." A careful perusal and some conversation with the author left no doubt that he had done his best to give a fair and correct report of the beliefs which pre-

vailed among his people respecting the events of their troubled history.

To make these clear it should be explained that the people to whom the French colonists gave, in their dialect, the nickname of Hurons, or "Shock-heads," from their mode of dressing their hair, were known among themselves, and to other tribes of the same race, as the "Wandat," a word which means simply "of one speech." This name was corrupted by the English to Wyandot, and has now, except in literature and as a geographical expression, superseded the more euphonious French term. The modern Wyandots are mostly descended from a single Huron tribe, the only one which retained its organization when the confederacy was broken up by the Iroquois. This tribe, which originally dwelt apart from the others, in the hilly region about Nottawassaga Bay, was known to its allies and to the French as the Tionontatés, or "People beyond the Mountains," and more commonly to the traders as "the Tobacco Nation" (*Nation du Petun*), from a choice variety of tobacco which they cultivated and sold. They had still another name, as will be hereafter mentioned. In various respects these Tionontatés bore to the other Huron tribes the same relation which the Caniengas (who are commonly known by the nickname of Mohawks) bore to their fellow "nations" of the Iroquois confederacy. They were deemed the oldest in lineage and the highest in civil rank. Their head-chief surpassed in dignity all other chiefs. Their dialect was the source from which the dialects of all the other tribes of their branch were derived. This linguistic paternity and preëminenee of the Mohawk speech among the Iroquois dialects had been already made clear to me by a careful comparison of vocabularies and grammars. My inquiries on the Anderdon Reserve brought out equally convincing evidence of the fact that the speech of the Tionontatés was the oldest in form, not only of the Huron dialects, but of all the Huron-Iroquois languages. It alone, with the doubtful exception of the Cherokee (which bears marks of being a "mixed language"), has retained a labial articulation, the *m*, which, with all other labials, the remaining idioms of that stock have lost.

Of the persistence of ancient names and beliefs in this Huron sept I found remarkable evidence in a story related to me by Chief Mandorong, and confirmed in a singular and unexpected manner from various other quarters. This story, which may be entitled "The Legend of King Sastaretsi," is given in my note-book as follows: —

"In very ancient times the Hurons (or Wandat) had a great king or head-chief, named Sastaretsi. They were then living in the far east, near Quebec, where their forefathers first came out of the ground.

The king told them that they must go to the west, in a certain direction, which he pointed out. He warned them, moreover, that this would not be the end of their wanderings. He instructed them that when he died they should make an oaken image resembling him, should clothe it in his attire, and place it upright at the head of his grave, looking toward the sunrise. When the sunlight should fall upon it, they would see the image turn and look in the direction in which they were to go.

"King Sastaretsi went with his people in their westward journey as far as Lake Huron, and died there. But he had time before his death to draw, on a strip of birch bark, by way of further guidance, an outline of the course which they were to pursue, to reach the country in which they were finally to dwell. They were to pass southward down Lake Huron, and were to continue on until they came to a place where the water narrowed to a river, and this river then turned and entered another great lake.

"When he died they fulfilled his commands. They made an image of oak, exactly resembling their dead king, clothed it in his dress of deerskin, adorned the head with plumes, and painted the face like the face of a chief. They set up this image at the head of the grave, planting it firmly between two strong pieces of timber, its face turned to the east. All the people then stood silently around it in the early dawn. When the rays of the rising sun shone upon it, they saw the image turn with such power that the strong timbers between which it was planted groaned and trembled as it moved. It stayed at length, with its face looking to the south, in the precise direction in which the chief had instructed them to go. Thus his word was fulfilled, and any hesitation which the people had felt about following his injunctions was removed.

"A chosen party, comprising about a dozen of their best warriors, was first sent out in canoes, with the birch-bark map, to follow its tracings and examine the country. They pursued their course down Lake Huron, and through the River and Lake St. Clair, till they came to where the stream narrowed, at what is now Detroit; then advancing further they came, after a brief course, to the broad expanse of Lake Erie. Returning to the narrow stream at Detroit, they said: 'This is the place which King Sastaretsi meant to be the home of our nation.' Then they went back to their people, who, on hearing their report, all embarked together in their canoes and passed southward down the lake, and finally took up their abode in the country about Detroit, which they were to possess as long as they remained a nation. The image of King Sastaretsi was left standing by his grave in the far north, and perhaps it is there to this day."

It will be observed that in this narrative "King Sastaretsi" is described as leading the Hurons in their migration from the east, and is dying just before their return from the northwest to the vicinity of Lake Erie. The time which elapsed between these two events cannot have been less than a century. This portion of the legend, at first perplexing, is explained in a singular and unexpected manner by a passage in the well-known work ("New Voyages to North America") of the French traveller, Baron La Honton, whose descriptions of New France in the period between the years 1683 and 1694 contain the results of much inquiry and acute observation. "The leader of the nation of Hurons," he tells us, "is called Sastaretsi. The name," he adds, "has been kept up by descent for seven or eight hundred years, and is likely to continue to future ages." This practice of keeping up the name of a chief by succession seems to have been common among the tribes of the Huron-Iroquois stock. The names of the fifty chiefs who formed the Iroquois league have been thus preserved for more than four hundred years. The Sastaretsi who led his people from the St. Lawrence to Lake Huron was the predecessor of his namesake whose dying injunctions induced them, after their overthrow and expulsion by the Iroquois, to take refuge about the French forts at Detroit and in northern Ohio.

It is a curious and noticeable fact, however, that neither the Iroquois nor the French are mentioned in this story, nor is any reason given either for the departure of the Hurons from their original home near Quebec, nor for their return from the northwest to the neighborhood of Detroit. The pride of the Indian character refused to admit that their wanderings were determined by any power beyond their own will and the influence of their chief.

The story of the image is probably true in its main incidents, though tradition has added some marvellous details. It was natural that the French, after they had established their forts in Michigan and Ohio, should desire to have the aid of their Indian allies in defending them against the Iroquois and the English. This project would involve the removal of the Hurons from their asylum in the far north to the perilous vicinity of their powerful and dreaded foes. While the leaders might be persuaded, by the arguments and solicitations of their French friends, to take this risk, the majority of the people may have been unwilling to abandon their secure retreat and their cultivated fields. To overcome this hesitation, it would be natural also for the chiefs to employ some artifice. Of this species of management, to which the leading men among the Hurons and Iroquois were wont to resort in dealing with their self-willed but credulous people, many curious and amusing examples are related by the

early missionaries. In the present instance, it would seem that an appeal was made to the reverence with which the memory of their deceased head-chief was regarded. A rude image of him was set up with much formality, and a report was circulated of a death-bed prediction made by him concerning it. Early in the morning after its erection the image was found to have preternaturally changed its position, and to be gazing in the direction in which the great chief, in his lifetime, had desired that his people should go. This monition from the dead was effectual, and the emigration at once took place. The legend, as told in after times, assumed naturally a more lively and striking cast; but in its leading outlines it is intelligible and credible enough. Its chief interest, however, resides in the fact that it proves beyond question the existence of a belief among the Wyandots of the present day that their ancestors came to the west, at no very distant period, from the vicinity of Quebec.

The casual references which are made to this subject in the Jesuit "Relations" deserve to be noticed. In general the missionaries, while describing with much particularity the customs and religious rites of the Indians, and in fact every matter which seemed to have any bearing on the work of their conversion, took no pains to record any facts relating to the early history of the tribes. Only a casual allusion apprises us that the former residence of the Hurons near the coast was spoken of among them as a well-known fact. The "Relations" for 1636 contain a full and detailed account of the Huron nation by Brebeuf,—an admirable work, from which our knowledge of that people in their primitive state is chiefly drawn. In speaking of their festivities, he ascribes the origin of some of their dances to the teaching of a certain being, "rather a giant than a man," whom the people encountered at the time when they lived by the seaside (*lors qu'ils habitoient sur le bord de la mer*).

The other allusion seems, at the first glance, to bear a different interpretation. It has been quoted by Gallatin and others as affording evidence that the people whom Cartier encountered on the St. Lawrence were Iroquois; but a careful consideration of the facts, in the light of recent information, shows that this inference cannot properly be drawn from it. Father Le Jeune writes from the vicinity of Quebec in 1636: "I have often sailed from Quebec to Three Rivers. The country is fine and very attractive. The Indians showed me some places where the Iroquois formerly cultivated the land." These Indians were of the Algonkin race, and their statement, which we need not question, merely shows that their immediate predecessors in that locality were Iroquois. If, as the traditions of the Hurons affirm, the flight of their ancestors from their eastern abode was caused by the attacks of the Iroquois, we may be certain

ut these conquerors did not leave the deserted country vacant. Their first proceeding would be to assume possession of it, and to plant colonies at favorable points. This was their custom in all their conquests. An Iroquois colony was thus established at Shamokin, now Sunbury, in Pennsylvania, after the Delawares were subdued; and other settlements secured the territories which the confederacy acquired in northern Ohio. Thus it would seem probable that, after the flight of the Hurons, the Iroquois held their lands along the northern bank of the St. Lawrence for a considerable time. At length, however, the annoyance and loss from the incessant attacks of the surrounding Algonkins became so intolerable as to make these distant outposts not worth keeping. Their abandonment apparently did not long precede the arrival of Champlain, who, as is well known, found the Hurons and the Algonkins united in strict alliance, and engaged in a deadly warfare with the Iroquois.

On another occasion, Chief Mandorong gave me an account of the origin of the war between the Hurons and the Iroquois, which caused his people to leave their eastern abode. The two communities were living near each other, beside the mountain from which their ancestors had issued. They dwelt on opposite sides of the mountain, and apparently of the river, though the latter point was left in some obscurity in the narrative. To prevent differences, the chiefs had forbidden the people of the two tribes to intermarry. An Iroquois warrior at length transgressed this interdict, and married a Huron woman She incurred his anger by some misconduct, and was killed by him. The chiefs of the two tribes held a conference, and agreed that, as she seemed to have merited her fate, her husband should go unpunished. This decision, however, did not satisfy her kinsmen. One of them went secretly into the country of the Iroquois, and killed a man of that people. Thereupon a war arose between the two nations. Many conflicts took place, in which the Hurons generally had the best. At last, however, by an act of treachery, the Iroquois got possession of the Huron town during a truce, when the men were absent from it, holding a council elsewhere, and killed all the women and children. When the Huron warriors returned and found their wives and children massacred, their grief and wrath knew no bounds. They pursued and overtook the murderers (as the chief affirmed) and slew them to the last man. They then quitted the mountain near Quebec, and scattered themselves over the country. This statement may be taken as sufficient evidence that what they had suffered was really an overwhelming defeat. That this was the belief of the chief was evident from what he immediately added, — that there were some families which had not been included in the massacre, having been in the woods, hunting or otherwise engaged,

at the time, and from them all the Wyandots are descended. He further said that the missionaries were in the country at the time of the final dispersion, though not at the beginning of the war. It was evident that he looked upon the war as a secular strife, which began in early times in the far east, and was fought out through many years and successive stages of westward flight and pursuit, until it culminated near Lake Huron in the terrible conflicts witnessed and recorded by the Jesuit missionaries, several of whom perished in its final agonies. If we wish to picture to ourselves the incidents which, at the outset of the war, preceded, accompanied, and followed the fall of Hochelaga, we have only to turn to the pages in which Parkman, in his work already referred to, has related the closing scenes of the same contest.

The traditions preserved by Peter Clarke in his book accord in general with those related to me by Chief Joseph White, differing just enough to show that the two narratives are the independent testimonies of honest reporters. "From traditional accounts," writes Clarke, "the Wyandots once inhabited a country northeastward from the mouth of the St. Lawrence, or somewhere along the gulf coast, before they ever met with the French or any European adventurers." At a later period, "during the first quarter of the sixteenth century," as he thinks, — though his chronology must be mainly conjectural, — a rupture took place between the Wyandots and the Iroquois (whom Clarke generally designates by the name of their largest tribe, the Senecas), "while they were peaceably sojourning together, in separate villages, within the vicinity of what is now Montreal." "At this time," he adds, "and back to an unknown period, the Iroquois and Wyandots had always dwelt in the same region, where their abodes and hunting-grounds were conterminous." There are, he says, conflicting accounts of the cause which led to the quarrel. "Some say that it commenced about a Seneca maiden and a chief's son." The wrongs of the maiden led to the assassination of a Seneca chief by a Wyandot warrior. It is a curious fact, and a strong evidence of the truthfulness of the narrative, or at least of the narrators, that both Clarke and White admitted that their own people were in fault at the beginning of the war. The result is told alike in both narratives, but with more particularity by Clarke. The Wyandots "broke up their villages and journeyed westward," until they reached Niagara. Here they remained a considerable time, and then "migrated northward to where the city of Toronto now stands." Thence after a time, in fear of the Iroquois, they retreated still further to the north, until they reached Lake Huron. Here they found game abundant, and abode for many years. And here they were joined by a band of their own people, who had remained

on the Ottawa River. These doubtless composed that branch of the Huron nation which had separated from the Tionontatés on the overthrow of the Hochelagan dominion, and had retreated from Montreal up the Ottawa River. It was along this river that Champlain and the French missionaries followed the traces of these fugitives early in the seventeenth century. From this northern refuge on the Georgian Bay, Champlain, with a party of his soldiers, led a Huron army into the region south of Lake Ontario, on an expedition against the Iroquois, which ended disastrously. Had the result been otherwise and the Iroquois been crushed, as the assailants expected, the course of North American history would undoubtedly have been widely deflected. The attack of Champlain and his redskin allies was soon terribly avenged by the Iroquois warriors, whose raids broke up the Huron towns, and kept back the French settlements for more than a century, while the English colonies were gathering strength.

The flight of the Tionontatés, first to Michilimackinac and thence to the neighborhood of Detroit, is narrated by Clarke at some length. In connection with the latter movement is mentioned "the last of the ancient line of head-chiefs or kings of pure Wyandot blood, named Suts-tau-ra-tse." He is spoken of as living about the middle of the eighteenth century, and is said to have died at a great age in its last decade. He was probably the grandson of the King Sastaretsi of my friend Mandorong's legend; and there can be little doubt that he was the person who was seen in his boyhood by Charlevoix, when that historian visited Detroit as the guest of the commandant, Tonti, in 1721. He describes a great meeting of the neighboring tribes, Huron and Algonkin, which was called by the commandant to receive a message from the governor. "Sastaretsi," writes Charlevoix, "whom our Frenchmen call the king of the Hurons (and who is in fact the hereditary chief of the Tionontatés, who are the true Hurons), was present. But as he is still a minor, he came merely for the form. His uncle, who governs for him and who is styled the Regent, spoke in his stead, in the quality of the orator of the nation. When a council is held, the honor of speaking for all the tribes is commonly conferred upon the Hurons."

On another occasion this noted name turned up unexpectedly. In obtaining from my Iroquois friends a list of the Indian tribes with which they were acquainted, I received from them two names for the Tionontatés, in addition to the latter name, which was merely a local designation. One of the names was Wanat, the Iroquois form of Wandat; the other was *Sastaretsi*. It is not uncommon for an Indian tribe, of the Huron-Iroquois stock, to be named from its principal hereditary chief. A common name of the Mohawks was the plural form of the title of their leading chief, Tekarihoken.

An important confirmation of the tradition received from the Anderdon Wyandots is furnished by a high authority. That accomplished ethnologist and careful investigator, the late Sir Daniel Wilson, contributed to the transactions of the Royal Society of Canada for 1884 an admirable paper, entitled "The Huron-Iroquois, — a Typical Race." This paper is reprinted in his latest volume, "The Lost Atlantis and other Ethnographic Studies," and should be consulted by every student of this interesting subject. He had visited the Hurons of Lorette, near Quebec, already referred to, — a small band of some three hundred half-castes, descended from Huron refugees who found an asylum in that quarter after the destruction of their towns in the west by the Iroquois. In referring to the story told me by the Anderdon chief, Joseph White, Sir Daniel Wilson, adds: "The late Huron chief, Tahourenche, or François Xavier Picard, communicated to me the same legendary tradition of the indigenous origin of his people; telling me, though with a smile, that they came out of the side of a mountain between Quebec and the great sea. He connected this with other incidents, all pointing to a traditional belief that the northern shores of the lower St. Lawrence were the original home of the race; and he spoke of certain ancient events in the history of his people as having occurred when they lived beside the big sea."

All these facts, taken together, seem to lead to conclusions of great importance with regard to the value of traditional evidence. It is plain that until recently this evidence has been seriously undervalued. Our students of history have been too generally a book-worshipping race, unwilling to accept any testimony with regard to ancient events which is not found in some contemporary page, either written or printed. It is not half a century since a distinguished English author, eminent both as a statesman and as a philologist, pronounced the opinion that no tradition can be trusted which is more than a hundred years old. At the time when this opinion was put forth by Sir George C. Lewis, many voyagers and missionaries in the Pacific Islands were accumulating traditional testimony of vast extent and varied origin, which is now admitted on all hands to prove the occurrence of events that must have taken place at successive periods extending over the last two thousand years. The "Brief History of the Hawaiian People," by Prof. W. D. Alexander of Honolulu, published in 1891 "by order of the Board of Education of the Hawaiian Kingdom," recounts as unquestionable facts many voyages, migrations, battles, royal and priestly accessions, marriages, and deaths which have occurred in the Sandwich Islands and other groups, from the eleventh century to our own time. At the other extremity of the great ocean, the "Polynesian Society," established

at Wellington, New Zealand, has published in its excellent quarterly journal communications from able contributors relating to various island histories, and carrying these back, with the aid of numerous mutually confirmatory genealogies, for many centuries, with unhesitating belief in their general truth. In this way the history of the peopling of the vast Polynesian region, extending over a space larger than North America, and covering at least twenty centuries, is gradually becoming known to us as surely, if not as minutely, as that of the countries of Europe during the same period.

The question naturally arises whether we may not hope to recover the history of aboriginal America for at least the same length of time. The facts now recorded will show that the few dispersed members of the Huron-Iroquois stock retain to this day, after many wanderings, clear traditions of a time, which cannot have been less than four centuries ago, when their ancestors dwelt on the northern coast of the St. Lawrence Gulf. The historical traditions of the Delawares, retained in memory by their famous Picture Record, styled the *Walam Olum*, or Red Score, which has been carefully published and admirably elucidated by Dr. Brinton in his volume, "The Lenâpé and their Legends," seem to go back for more than thrice that period. And the conclusions derived from these sources have been lately confirmed and enlarged by a series of important investigations relating to almost every branch of the fifty-eight aboriginal stocks which have been found to exist between Mexico and the Arctic Ocean. In these studies, in which, besides the names already mentioned, those of many members of the Bureau of Ethnology, the Peabody Museum, the Hemenway Expedition, the Royal Society of Canada, and its affiliated Associations, the American Antiquarian Society, the American Folk-Lore Society, and several historical societies, have been honorably conspicuous, we have the gratifying earnest of large future gains to historical and ethnological science which are to be expected from this source. We have every reason to feel assured that in the three hundred Indian reservations and recognized bands of the United States and Canada, with populations varying from less than a hundred to more than twenty thousand, and comprising now many men and women of good education and superior intelligence, there are mines of traditional lore, ready to yield returns of inestimable value to well-qualified and sympathetic explorers.

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Note. — This paper was prepared for the World's Congress of Anthropology, held at the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, in August and September, 1893, and will appear in the volume of Proceedings of the Congress.