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BY WILLIAM WALLACE TOOKER

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THE BOCOOTAWANAUKES OR THE FIRE NATION

With Historical and Ethnological Notes

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THE BOCOOTAWANAUKES, OR THE FIRE NATION.*

IN the Historie of Travaile into Virginia, Britannia, etc., by William Strachey, secretary of the Jamestown Colony, 1609–12, first published from his manuscript by the Hakluyt Society of London in 1849, we find the following interesting recital, bearing very forcibly upon some of the

* Contributed to the Archæologist, vol. iii. 1895.

problems which to-day engage the attention of many prominent archæologists: "To the norward of the Falls [Richmond, Va.] and bending to the noreast lieth the skirt of this high land country, from whence the aforesaid five great navigable rivers take their heads which run through the low land (as is before mencyoned) into the Chesapeack Bay; this quarter is altogither unknowen to us as yet, only herein are seated (say the Indians) those people whom Powhatan calls the *Bocootawwonaukes*, who (he saith) do likewise melt copper and other metalls; how true we must leave to further discovery."

This account of a people who were considered remarkable enough, from an aboriginal point of view, to be noted and extolled, nearly three centuries ago, has not received the analysis and study which it deserves, in connection with some recent discoveries of an archæological character. This story, however, has been frequently quoted, and in some instances, with what must be considered absolute misunderstanding of its original sense and bearing. Professor A. L. Guss, for example, in his Early Indian History on the Susquehanna,* attempts to identify this nation with those people called

* Hist. Reg. of Penna., vol. i. p. 173.

the *Sasquesahanoughs*. But in unqualified contradiction of this supposition, Captain John Smith says explicitly of the *Sasquesahanoughs*,* "These knowe no more of the territories of Powhatan then his name, and he as little of them." This quotation surely proves beyond dispute that Powhatan did not refer to the *Sasquesahanoughs* when speaking of the *Bocootawanaukes*. The allusion to melting copper is alone enough to refute the conjecture. In reality everything appertaining to the question is in every way antagonistic to Professor Guss' hypothesis; for it

* Arber's Smith, p. 119.

must be remembered when considering the facts governing the case, that when Strachey wrote his "historie," the whole of the Chesapeake Bay had been more or less explored; and was fairly well known to the whole colony. That the *Sasquesahanoughs* were equally well known through Smith's explorations will hardly admit of any contradiction. The quarter, on the other hand, which was absolutely unknown and unexplored was that portion to the west and northwest of the "high land country" (Alleghany mountains). That the *Bocootawanaukes* were located beyond these mountains to the northwest is

proven by the fact that their country was omitted by Captain Smith from his well-known map of Virginia because it was outside of the territory which his map was intended to represent. Strachey also further says, in support of this declaration, when speaking of the bounds of Powhatan's dominions at the period of which he writes: "The greatness and bounds of whose empire, by reason of his power and ambition in his youth, has larger limits than ever before had any of his predecessors in former times, for he seems to command south and north from *Mangoags* and *Chawonaks* . . . to

Tockwogh, a town palisaded standing at the north end of the bay; . . . southwest to *Anoeg*, ten days distant from us; west . . . to the foot of the mountains; norwest to the borders of *Massawomeck* and *Bocootawwonough* his enemies; northeast and by east to *Accohanock*, *Accomack*, and some other petty nations lying on the east side of our bay." *

Captain John Smith in his True Relation,† that was written and sent to England by Captain Nelson in the *Phenix*, a vessel sailing on June 2, 1608, the day Smith began

* Historie, etc., p. 49.
† Arber's Smith, p. 19.

his explorations, remarks of the same nation: "After good deliberation hee [Powhatan] began to describe [to] mee the countreys beyonde the Falles, with many of the rest; confirming what not only *Opechancanoyes* and an Indian who had been prisoner to *Pewhatan* had before told mee; but some called it five dayes, some sixe, some eight, where the sayde water dashed amongest many stones and rocks each storm; which caused oft tymes the heade of the Riuer to bee brackish:

"*Anchanachuck* he described to bee the people that had slaine my brother; whose death hee would

reuenge. Hee described also upon the same Sea, a mighty Nation called *Pocoughtronack*, a fierce Nation that did eate men, and warred with the people of *Moyaoncer* and *Pataromerke* Nations vpon the toppe of the heade of the Bay, vnder his territories; where the yeare before they had slain an hundred. He signified their crowns were shauen, long haire in the necke tied on a knot, Swords like Pollaxes." On a chart that accompanied the foregoing Relation, a copy of which was lately discovered in the Spanish archives,* we find the "mighty nation" placed west of the head-

* Brown's Genesis of the U. S., p. 184.

waters of the Toppohanock (Rappahannock River) and are there described as the: "*Pecoughtawonauck*, a salvage people dwelling upon the bay beyond this mayne that eat of men and women." If I should construe this Relation, and the description on the chart, under the light of our present knowledge, it would be to observe that Smith here had two distinct tribes described to him; and through misinterpretation or misunderstanding has mixed the stories, for it is very evident to the critical observer that he has confounded the *Pecoughtawonauck* or *Pocoughtronack*, with those people whom he afterward

designated as the *Massawomeke* ("those that travel by boat"). The description applies to the latter, and, as will appear, the former were of Algonquian stock, of whom there is no evidence whatever that they were men-eaters, while we know the *Massawomeke* and others of the Iroquoian family had that reputation. It will be noticed that Strachey separates the two tribes by name, correcting as it were Smith's error. Captain Smith and associates believed a large salt-sea existed to the west, and it was upon this supposed sea, or "bay beyond this mayne," that he imagined the "mighty nation" had

their homes; this belief in a western sea survived in the colony for many years. The people alluded to by Powhatan as the *Anchanachuck* could not have been the tribe called the *Atquanachukes*, as Professor Guss has erroneously assumed.* The latter, who first became known to Smith the following year, dwelt to the northeast beyond the people called the *Tockwoghs*, in what has been regarded as the State of Delaware. This may be an error, as on all subsequent maps from Dutch sources† they are located much

* Hist. Reg. of Penna., vol. i. p. 171.

† Col. Hist. N. Y., vol. i., also Van Der Donck's Map of 1656.

further north, on the other side of the Delaware; and are there designated as the *Aquanachukes*.

At the time of this conversation with Powhatan, and the record of it, Smith had no personal knowledge of these people, and, as I have before remarked, had not explored Chesapeake Bay. Furthermore the two appellations are not identical in their synthesis—a very strong point in favor of the foregoing assertion. As I shall briefly demonstrate, the name *Anchanachuck* is formed from the animate transitive verb *anchanau* (Massachusetts *adchanau*, varied, *achanau*), "he hunts animals or live game"; and *-achu*, "a hill,

or mountain," which, with the animate plural affix *-uk*, signifies "they hunt in the mountains, or the mountain hunters." This expression, as made use of by Powhatan, probably alluded to all those barbarous and rude Indians, confederate with the *Monacans*, dwelling in the "hilly countries by small rivers, living upon roots and fruits; but chiefly by hunting";* and were the "hunting-tribes" of other writers.

Atquanachuck, or *Aquanachuke*, on the other hand, is a descriptive expression, which, while having the same penult and affix, has an adjec-

* Arber's Smith, pp. 71, 367, 427–8.

tival prefix of another meaning, viz.: *Atqua* (New England, *aqua*, *ucqua*, *wequa*, etc.), "at the end of," "limit," beyond; "those beyond, or at the end of a hill or mountain"; thus indicating a people who were living "beyond or at the end of a hill or mountain," to the northeast, from where the *Tockwoghs* were located when discovered by Captain Smith.

Subsequently Powhatan said to Smith:* "As for *Atquanuchuck* [using the same expression, having the mountains to the west in his mind, for in no other way can we make sense of it], where you say

* Arber's Smith, p. 124.

your brother was slain; it is a contrary way from those parts where you suppose it [Smith supposed it to be where he located it on his map]. But for any salt water beyond the mountains, the relations you have had from my people are false."

Analysis is given of these two terms as used by Powhatan, in order to establish by strict interpretation and reading, that the territory west and northwest of the Falls (at Richmond, Va.) was the part of the country to which this story belongs, and not to any portion of the Chesapeake Bay, or its numerous appendages, as has been

taken for granted; therefore the only deductions to be drawn from these early narratives are that the "mighty nation" known to the Powhatans as the *Bocootawanaukes*, or *Pocoughtaonacks*,* were inhabitants of a country beyond the mountains to the northwest.

Their name, however diversified, as *Bocootawwonaukes*, *Becootawanauckes*, or *Pocoughtaonacks*, etc., signifies: "the people who make a fire," or the "fire nation," from the fact, as stated by Strachey, that they "melted copper," which was enough in itself to mark them as a nation of repute.

* Arber's Smith, p. 25.

Strachey's Powhatan Vocabulary gives us *Bocuttaw*, "fier"; but he is not constant even in this orthography, as he presents five other variations of the same word.* Captain Smith, in his brief list of Indian words, renders it as *Pokatwer*, "fire," literally; "he makes a fire," which agrees with his form of the tribal appellation. It is well known to all Algonquian scholars that the phonetic sounds of *p* and *b* frequently alternate in the various

* For instance, *Boketawh*, "fier"; *Otawiaac bocataw*, "the fier is out"; *Meshpataan bocotawh*, "so fetch me some fier"; *Bocata-oc-kok*, "to strike fier"; *Powtowhone boketau*, "blow the fier with your mouth."

dialects of the family, even among individuals of the same tribe, which fully accounts for the difference between Smith and Strachey, in the use of the initial consonant.

The generic terminal *-onauk*, or *-anauck* (Narragansett *-añeuck;* Mohigan *-aneok*), is one of the general names in the plural form, signifying "men," or "people," applied by the Algonquian family to all people of like characteristics as themselves. Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull recognized the truth of this when he suggested that* "*Pocoughtaonack*, or *Bocootawanaukes* are forms of the Massachu-

* Hist. Mag., vol. vii. p. 48, 1870.

setts *Paquateánuog*, 'destroyers,' another 'fierce nation' of Mohican stock,—the terror of southern New England until it was destroyed by the English in 1637,—was similarly designated by the neighboring tribes as *Paquatoog* or *Pequuttoog*, destroyers, corrupted by the English to the 'Pequots.'" Dr. Trumbull is undoubtedly correct as to the radical identity of these forms, for the root *coughta* or *cootau* (*squtta*, "fire," Narragansett and other Algonquian dialects) means primarily "to destroy," "to consume." It was not used to denote fire in the Delaware, or, at least, is not to be found in the various

vocabularies in that connotation, but the same radical appears in *guttamen*, "to consume."* Therefore Dr. Trumbull's suggestion does not really conflict with my interpretation of the name, preferable in this instance because it is historically and linguistically in accord with our authorities.

In order to bring some other historic facts to bear on the problem as to the identity of this "mighty nation," I shall be obliged to quote some of the relations of the explorers on the St. Lawrence River and the Great Lakes. Samuel de Champlain, the famous French ex-

* Zeisberger's Dict.

plorer, and the most commanding figure in the early history of Canada, whose travels and discoveries on the St. Lawrence were also contemporaneous with Smith and Strachey in Virginia, had related to him the same story of a nation of Indians, who mined, melted, and prepared copper. He tells us* "that in June 1610, while on his way up the St. Lawrence river, about twenty-five miles above Quebec, to join a war party of Algonquins, Hurons and Montagnais, he met a canoe containing

* Champlain's Voyages, Paris, 1613, pp. 246–7 ; Discovery of the Northwest, Butterfield, p. 36.

two Indians—an Algonquin (of the Isle des Allumettes, on the Ottawa river) and a Montagnais—who had been sent to urge him to press forward with haste. While entertaining them on his vessel, he conferred with them about many matters concerning their wars; thereupon the Algonquin drew from a sack a piece of copper a foot long, which he gave Champlain; it was very handsome and quite pure. He said there were large quantities of the metal where he obtained the piece, and that it was found on the bank of a river near a great lake. He also declared that the Indians gathered it in lumps and having melted

it, spread it in sheets, smoothing it with stones."

We can assume from this story that this piece of copper was not mined, melted, or smoothed by this particular Algonkin, any more than that found in the hands of the Powhatan Indians was mined by its possessors, but was rather obtained in war, as related to Champlain, or else by trade, as related to the Jamestown people. In the light of our present knowledge of the geography of the country, we can easily state it as a fact that the "great lake" was Lake Superior, and the river on whose bank the copper was found was

the Ontonagon in Northern Michigan.*

These "Algonkins of the Isle," and in fact all of this family north of the St. Lawrence River, were

* Pierre Boucher wrote, in 1663: "In Lake Superior there is a great island which is fifty leagues in circumference, in which there is a very beautiful mine of copper." He also stated that "he had heard of other mines from five Frenchmen lately returned, who had been absent three years, and that they had seen an ingot of copper which they thought weighed more than eight hundred pounds, and that Indians after making a fire thereon would cut off pieces with their axes" (Narr. and Crit. Hist. of America, vol. iv. p. 171). This was probably Isle Royale, near the north shore of Lake Michigan, where ancient mines have been discovered. All of the diggings contain stone hammers or mauls, amounting in all to countless numbers. A few wooden

afterward designated by the French as Ottawas. They were, at that period and subsequently, at war with a nation of great celebrity living some distance to the westward.

shovels strongly resembling canoe paddles were found in some of the diggings, together with wooden bowls for bailing, birch-bark baskets, and some spear- and lance-heads and other objects of copper. The largest mass of float copper found in modern times weighed eighteen tons, and contained very little rocky matter. When found in the woods it was covered with moss and resembled a trap boulder. It had been manipulated by the ancient miners, and much charcoal was found around it. Its top and sides were pounded smooth and marks of stone hammers were apparent. All projections—every bit of copper that could be detached—had been carried away (see R. L. Packard, American Antiquarian, vol. xiv. pp. 67–78, 152, 164).

Champlain further remarks: "After having visited these people [Natio de Petun, or Tobaco Nation, in 1615], we left the place and came to a nation of Indians which we have named, Standing Hair [Ottawas] who were very much rejoiced to see us again [He had met them previously on the Ottawa River], with whom also we formed a friendship, and who in a like manner promised to come and find us and see us at the said habitation. At this place it seems appropriate to give a description of their country manners and modes of action. In the first place they make war upon another nation of Indians

called the *Assistagueronon*, which means nation of fire, ten days distant from them."* Therefore, as will be noticed, Champlain learned from his Algonkin and Huron allies of a "Fire Nation" as early as 1615. On his well-known map of 1632 they are placed beyond and to the south of Lake Huron, which, as C. W. Butterfield believes,† is an error, for the reason that Lake Michigan had not been heard of. Hence the mistake of the cartographers subsequently in locating the "Natio de Feu," in the territory lying between the two lakes.

* Voyages, 1632, i. pp. 262, 272.

† American Antiquarian, vol. v. p. 321.

They were never dwellers at an early day upon the peninsula afterwards formed into the southern portion of the State of Michigan, although they had, I believe, from evidence to be presented, jurisdiction over Iowa, Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio when in the zenith of their glory; and this is one reason why the early explorers were in doubt about the bounds of their country.

Abbé Sagard in 1636*—who possibly quotes Champlain, for the language of the two historians is nearly identical—is equally uncertain as to their geographical posi-

* Histoire du Canada, p. 201.

tion, though locating them westward of the southern end of the Georgian Bay of Lake Huron. He says: "The whole assembly [the different bands of Ottawas and Hurons] are at war with one other nation named *Assistagueronon*, which means nation of fire; because in the Huron tongue, *Assista* signifies the fire, and *Eronon* signifies nation. They are distant from this part [south end of the Georgian Bay] nine or ten days' journey by canoe, which makes the passage two hundred leagues [600 miles] or more."

Up to the date of Champlain's map the "Fire Nation," as far as our knowledge goes, had never been

visited by any white men who lived to tell the story; nor had the exact situation of any of their towns been ascertained. They were visited, however, a few years later in 1634–35 by Jean Nicollet, but he left no clew to their positions.* In fact, all that we learn in regard to this visit is the brief mention in Vermont's relation of 1640, p. 35, where they are called *Rasaoua koue-*

* Winsor (Cartier to Frontenac, p. 152) says: "Nicollet pushed up the Fox river, threaded its tortuous way, passed its frequent lakes, and reached the villages of the Mascoutins,—a tribe whose name had been familiar, by report twenty years before, for they had fame for daring courage which had extended far to the east."

ton. The "*R*" should have been "*M*," thus: *Masaoua koueton* [Mascoutin].* For a number of years subsequent to Nicollet's visit, they were simply known, as before stated, as living some two hundred leagues or more to the west of the furthest point reached by Champlain. It finally remained for Allouez † to be the first to give us a detailed description of their dwelling place (or one of them) at that period. He says: "The 20th [April, 1670] which was Sunday, I said mass after having navigated five or six leagues

* Discovery of the Northwest, Butterfield's, pp. 66–67.

† Relation 1670, p. 99.

in the lake; after which we arrived in a river [the Fox, at what is now Oshkosh] that comes from a lake of wild rice [Big Butte des Morts Lake] which we came into; at the foot [head] of which we found the river [the Wolf] which leads to the Outagamis [Fox Indians] on one side, and that [the Fox] which leads to the *Machkoutench* [Mascoutins] on the other. The 29th [of April of same year, having returned from the Fox Indians living up the Wolf River] we entered into the [Fox] river, which leads to the *Machkoutench* [Mascoutins] called *Assista Ectaeronons* fire-nation [gens de feu] by the Hurons. This [Fox]

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river is very beautiful without rapids or portages [above the mouth of the Wolf]; it flows to [from] the southwest. The 30th, having disembarked opposite the village [of the Mascoutins] and left our canoe at the water's edge, after a walk of over a league, over beautiful prairies we perceived the fort [of the Mascoutins].* These peo-

*The Relation of 1671, p. 45, says: "The fire-nation bear this name erroneously calling themselves *Maskoutench* which signifies 'a land bare of trees,' such as that which these people inhabit; but because by a change of a few letters, the same word signifies fire, from thence it has come that they are called the 'Fire-Nation.'" This statement is without question a greater error than the one assumed, for they were, as shown by the abundant evidence pre-

ple are established in a very fine place where we see beautiful plains and fine level country as far as the eye reaches. Their river leads to a great river called Missisipi to which there is a navigation of only six days."

Marquette also relates in 1680: "It was beautifully situated on an eminence from whence we look over

sented, called the "Fire Nation" by the Hurons as well as by the Algonquins, long before the name *Mascoutin* was heard; consequently the term "Fire Nation" and its aboriginal equivalents had nothing whatever to do with the name by which they called themselves in later years, *i. e.*, *Maskoutench.* It is evident, however, that at the time this relation was written, the origin of the term "Fire Nation," and the reasons for it had been forgotten, for

an extensive prairie interspersed with groves of trees, the river looked like a corn field. It was full of wild rice. It was said that in three leagues we should find the Wisconsin." Therefore their country was at this period, as historians now agree, upon the Fox River of

at that time more than a half century had elapsed since Champlain had first learned of it.

Prof. Lucien Carr, in an essay on "The Mascoutins," printed since the foregoing notes were written (Proceedings American Antiquarian Society, April, 1900, also Reprint), has followed up, to a limited extent, the subsequent history of this nation, gleaned from the Jesuit Relation and from other early works. Those interested in the subject will do well to read and to study carefully this excellent monograph.

Green Bay, above Winnebago Lake, Wisconsin, extending southeastwardly, as far possibly as the site of the present city of Chicago.* There is great probability that their domain extended much further, and that they had villages or places of refuge at an earlier day still further to the southeast, as I hope to demonstrate.

The proximity of this "mysterious people"—as they are sometimes termed—to the copper district of Lake Superior, together with the translation of their appellations from Algonquian, Huron,

*American Antiquarian, Butterfield, vol. v. p. 321.

and French sources, would seem to identify them in every way with the *Bocootawanaukes* of the Powhatans. They were, according to all the early relations, a vigorous and warlike nation of Algonquian stock. They were the most noted of all the tribes of the Northwest, at the earliest historic period. They had fame for daring courage, which had extended far to the east. They were hereditary foes of the Huron-Iroquoian family and their allies. The arriving and planting of colonies on the Atlantic sea-coast—the English on the James River, the Dutch on the Hudson River, the Puritans on Massachusetts Bay, together with

the French traders on the St. Lawrence—brought into the country a vast and unlimited supply of copper and other articles, for the purposes of trade and traffic; a condition of things which soon drove the "Fire Nation"—as it did other tribes—out of competition, as far as their manufactures were concerned. Consequently, at the time of Allouez' visit in 1670, owing to the aforesaid competition and other causes, they had abandoned their mines, had ceased to be "melters" and "beaters" of copper; and their experts in these arts of two generations or more previous had long since departed, and their skill had been forgotten.

The discovery, in this year of research and investigation, that their territory on the Fox River, and elsewhere in the State of Wisconsin, south of this river, is dotted with earthworks, effigy mounds, and other evidences of a sedentary population, affords additional proof as to the remarkable character of these people. The fact that their villages, when visited by Nicollet, Allouez, Marquette, and others, were located where the monuments are found, does not, it seems to me, point to a prior occupation by a prior race; but rather to the truth that they were in the country of their ancestors for generations pre-

vious.* If we accept the conclusion that the "Fire Nation" and their allies were the builders of these earthworks and of others found following the points of the compass to the southeast, as far as the valley of the Ohio, we may find a partial solution to some of the many problems which now confront us. Repeating again what Strachey

*The *Winnebagos* are supposed by some to have been the builders of these mounds and effigies, but they have no traditions as regards them, while the Algonkins have. Their position, inserted like a wedge into the Algonquian habitat, between the Fire Nation and the *Menomonees*, makes them look like intruders from the West. The French called them People of the sea (*gens de mer*), from the fact, as reported, that they came originally

relates, as existing in 1609, that "the bounds of Powhatan's dominions were . . . norwest to the borders of . . . *Bocootawonough*," this would carry us to the State of Ohio, indicating that the "Fire Nation" was the only tribe that Powhatan feared in that direction; and that the *Massawomeke* or *Eries* bounded the *Bocootawanaukes* on the east.

from the sea shore, which meant probably from the western shore of Lake Superior.

For a discussion of the opposite side of this question the reader is referred to Thomas' Mound Exploration in Twelfth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology and to Dr. S. D. Peet's paper on The Effigy Builders and the Indians, in the American Antiquarian, vol. xvii. p. 19–45. The whole question is one open to discussion.

Judge Force remarks:* "Where we find the distinguishing feature of the western belt of the State, is the great line of strong and mutually supporting works of defense. These three belts, corresponding with three valleys, the valley of the Miamis to the west, the Scioto valley in the center, and the Muskingum to the east, appear by these local peculiarities to have been the *homes of three different, though kindred tribes.*

"Recent investigations show that the mining of native copper was carried on by these ancient people

* To What Race Did the Mound-builders Belong? pp. 44–47.

to an extraordinary extent. It is said that in a single district of eighteen miles square on Isle Royale, on the northern shore of Lake Superior, more ore was taken out by them in their crude processes, than has been taken out in the last twenty years from the largest single mine on the lake with all the aid of modern machinery. But fragments of native copper from the mines, from which pieces have been chipped off, have been found in the mounds of Ohio. The miners were summer visitors, who necessarily left when winter threatened to close the lake, and returned when the thaws of spring reopened navigation."

As an unbiased student of American archæology, I have been unable, from the description of the objects discovered, and the conditions revealed by opening these mounds, to satisfy myself that these mounds and inclosures of Ohio are as old as has been supposed. Nothing whatever, so far discovered, indicates a very great antiquity. Most of the objects are identical with those known to have been made by the Indians within historic times; and the line of demarcation between historic and pre-Columbian, or Indian and the so-called mound-builders, cannot be indicated from the contents of any of these

mounds. Village sites of the past two centuries have nothing whatever to do with the question, as the pressure of the unrelenting and cruel Iroquois, and the gradual advance of civilization soon changed the condition of the Algonkin, his habits and his necessities. As Professor Thomas observes:* "The great age that has been attributed to them is simply theory without adequate facts upon which to base it." The remarks of Mr. Gerard Fowke,† following the same line of reasoning, are to the

* Cir., Sq., and Oct. Earth Works of Ohio, p. 23.

† Notes on Ohio Archæology, p. 38–40.

point and worthy of careful study. This being the case, the "Fire Nation"—which, as a united confederacy existing at an early date [sixteenth and part of the seventeenth centuries], more than likely included the ancestors of all those people afterwards termed the *Illinois*, *Miamis*, *Menomonies*, etc., for they were of the same linguistic stock, branches of the same family tree—might have been living, at and previous to Strachey's time, in the Scioto Valley, Ross County, Ohio. The effigy mound, especially of the Hopewell group, named the effigy on account of its resemblance to the human

figure,* seems to be related, in a degree, to those of Wisconsin,† thus pointing to the "Fire Nation" [I use this term now to designate the Algonquian tribes of the Northwest who were copper traders] as its builders.

The discovery among the effigies of Wisconsin ‡ of the "Monitor-pipe," with a curved and flat base, a round bowl, and the same finish as those found in the mounds of Ohio, I regard as an additional link in the chain of evidence, and believe that they are of Algonkin manufacture wherever discovered. Here I regret to

* Primitive Man in Ohio, Moorehead, p. 174.

† Amer. Antiquarian, vol. v. p. 331.

‡ Amer. Antiquarian, vol. xv. p. 94.

differ with Professor Cyrus Thomas, who attributes this form of pipe to the Cherokees. His theory, it appears to me, is open to many serious objections, which cannot be pushed aside in considering the question. These pipes, more or less modified, have been discovered in eastern Iowa, southern Wisconsin, northern Illinois, Indiana, southern Ohio, Kentucky, West Virginia, and to a limited extent down as far as western North Carolina, eastern Tennessee, and northern Georgia; a line of travel which, as far as the first six States are concerned, and possibly the seventh, is through an Algonquian habitat from the time

we know not. They have also been found in Massachusetts,* in New York,† and lately also in Nova Scotia.‡ On calling his attention to these facts, the late Dr. D. G. Brinton wrote me: "My tendency is to agree with you on the monitor-pipe question. I have seen many Cherokee pipes of ancient date, but none in that form."§ Colonel C. C. Jones

* Primitive Industry, Abbott, pp. 318–19.

† League of the Iroquois, Morgan, p. 356.

‡ American Antiquarian, vol. xvi. p. 115.

§ Mr. J. D. McGuire, in his excellent monograph on American Aboriginal Pipes (Report U. S. Museum, 1897, p. 525), remarks quoting the above: "An examination of the geographical distribution of

does not illustrate this form of pipe, and none is exhibited

mound pipes apparently sustains Mr. Tooker's assertion, that they are not of Cherokee origin, though he considers the monitor and mound pipe identical, which they do not appear to be." I followed both Barber and Thomas in regarding them as modifications of one form, *i. e.*, "the cheese-box-on-a-raft" type. Mr. McGuire, who is unbiased, having carefully examined so many pipes with critical acumen, his opinions should not be hastily rejected, but carefully considered by the archæologists of our country. Leaving Squier and Davis' find, of over two hundred pipes in one mound, out of the question (for these and others like them, found elsewhere, seem to be the product of one individual—a pipe-maker), a careful study of existing information indicates that there is no typical mound-pipe, for all kinds and descriptions have been found in mounds. The fact that the monitor-curved-base type

in his collection now in the Museum of Natural History, New

has been found mostly in Ohio would indicate its center of distribution. Again, Mr. McGuire's Figure 108, monitor type with a handle, was found in Tennessee, another at Newark, O.; another in Illinois, still another at Pompey, N. Y.; and figured by Beauchamp (Bulletin N. Y. S. Museum, vol. iv, Fig. 114), who considers it a recent form, while the writer found a defective specimen of exact size and shape, on the top layer of a shell heap at Three Mile Harbor, New York. Was Ohio the center of distribution of this type?

Mr. Gerard Fowke (Bulletin Bureau of Ethnology, No. 23, p. 73), speaking in conclusion of his researches in Virginia, remarks: "It is worthy of note that many of the pipes and most of the gorgets found in this section, whether in the earth or stone mounds, very closely resemble in style, finish, and material those considered typical of the mound-building tribes of

York.* Professor Thomas, in order to carry out his theory, brings the Cherokees from the Northwest.† There is no evidence whatever to show that the Cherokees were ever inhabitants of the above six States. On the contrary, as is evidenced by language, they were off-shoots from the Iroquoian family, and their line

Ohio. It would be of interest to know whether this coincidence is accidental, or whether it may result from communication between the different peoples. If the latter, it would have the effect of reducing considerably the length of time that is generally supposed to have elapsed since the construction of the western mounds."

* Antiquities of the Southern Indians.

† Cherokees in pre-Columbian Times, p. 82 ; Problems of the Ohio Mounds, p. 49.

of migration must have been necessarily from the Northeast and not from the Northwest. Dr. Horatio Hale, the eminent philologist, remarks as to this fact:* "But tradition and language alike award this position [parent tribe] to the Mohawks. This nation was styled in council the 'eldest brother' of the Iroquois family. The native historian, Cusack, distinctly affirms that the other tribes broke off from the Mohawk people, one after another, and as each became a separate nation, 'its language was altered.' Meanwhile the striking

* Indian Migrations, etc., Amer. Antiquarian, vol. v. p. 23–28.

fact has become evident that the course of migrations of the Huron-Cherokee family has been from the Northeast to the Southwest, that is, from Eastern Canada, on the St. Lawrence, to the mountains of Northern Alabama." Still another fact becomes evident by investigation, that the so-called "altars" of the Ohio mounds, on which are found offered up to the destructive influence of fire, on behalf of the spirits of the dead, ornaments of shell and stone, pipes, beads, effigies of animals and birds, fragments of copper, implements of stone, etc., etc., are ethnic characteristics of the Algonquian peoples. In

proof of which * "Hearn describes a custom among the Chippeways, after the shedding of blood, of throwing all their ornaments and pipes into a common fire; and Winslow narrates of the Nanohiggansets that they had a house ordinarily frequented by priests, whither at certain times resorted all the people and offered their riches to their gods. These contributions were cast by these priests into a great fire made in the middle of that house." Can these and other corroboratory facts be ignored in considering these problems?

* Wilson's Pre-historic Man, 2d ed., p. 323, quoted by Jones' Antiquities, S. G., p. 412.

Mr. Moorehead found several "monitor-pipes" in the Hopewell group; and one with the remains of its owner in the effigy mound. Mr. Moorehead quotes as to the find:* "He was certainly the most important Cacique of the Scioto valley. At his head were imitation elk horns, neatly made of wood and covered with sheet copper rolled into cylindrical form over the prongs. The antlers were twenty-two inches high and nineteen inches across from prong to prong. They fitted into a crown of copper, bent to fit the head from occipital to upper jaw. Copper plates were

*Primitive Man in Ohio, p. 195.

portance, quantity, and variety any other previously made; all bringing into the arena of anthropological investigation new problems for discussion, and throwing light on some of the older ones. The question now arises, Do we find in this famous group of mounds the "Golden City" of David Cusack,* a capital of a vast empire, the resi-

Claw through it, beset with fine Copper or Gold. He entertained us in so modest a proud fashion, as though he had been a Prince of civil government; holding his countenance without laughter or any such ill behaviour. He caused his Mat to be spred on the ground, where hee sate downe with a great Maiestie, taking a pipe of Tabacco; the rest of his company standing about him."

* Iroquois Trail, Beauchamp, p. 10.

dence of a "Great Emperor," who built many forts throughout his dominions, almost to the shores of Lake Erie? Was the "Great Elk" of tradition, figuratively, the name of the Emperor, and was it his skeleton that Mr. Moorehead has brought to light? As Dr. Horatio Hale remarks:* "The mention of the Golden City has probably induced many readers of Cusack's book to relegate this story to the cloudland of mythology. But it must be remembered that to the Indians of North America, one metal was as remarkable and as

* Indian Migration, etc., Amer. Antiquarian, vol. v. p. 115.

precious as another. Copper was in fact their gold."* Again, in seeming corroboration of the foregoing, Mr. Moorehead's explorations and uncovering of this effigy mound, beside the remains and objects before mentioned, has brought to view† with other skeletons, thousands of plates and other objects of copper, such as anklets,

* The only ground for doubt I can observe in Cusack's story is the very distant period of time to which he assigns the Golden City and its emperor. Indians invariably exaggerate time, distance, and quantity. Three hundred years in their minds were as great as two thousand in their traditions. Many examples of this fact can be quoted.

† Primitive Man in Ohio, pp. 192, 195, Amer. Antiquarian, vol. xiv. p. 85.

bracelets, and ornaments for various parts of the body, circular disks joined in pairs by a thick stem of copper, and by pivots, richly ornamented by repoussé work. There were thin plates in form of fishes, birds, and animals; others in diamond forms with geometrical figures. Two pieces represented the Suastica. There were sixty-six copper belts of various sizes; several copper axes, one of which weighed forty-one pounds. Thirty copper plates overlapped the axes. A great copper eagle, twenty inches in diameter, wings outspread, beak open, tail and wing feathers stamped upon the copper surface,

covered the knees of one of the skeletons. Some of the copper was stuck together in a mass six inches in width and two feet long. Over three thousand of the copper spool-shaped objects were unearthed. In fact, it was the most remarkable discovery ever made in the United States. Mr. Moorehead read a paper describing these singular copper objects before the Anthropological Society of Washington on November 15, 1892, and Mr. Frank H. Cushing in a recent admirable essay on "Primitive Copper Working,"* after some remarks on Mr. Moore-

* American Anthropologist, vol. vii. pp. 93, 117.

head's discovery, demonstrates by a series of practical illustrations that all of these copper plates, as well as those previously discovered, by some believed to have been wrought by roller-mills, or the other modes of European manufacture, could be produced by the primitive appliances of the red men. He remarks: "Additional points of technologic significance and interest developed by my experiments and by comparison of their results with features of workmanship on the ancient specimens under discussion might be presented. Reserving these, however, for a future paper on primitive metallurgic art in

America, I do not hesitate to say, in summing up this portion of the present study: first, I have neither seen nor heard of a single object of copper from the mounds which I cannot reproduce from native or nodular copper with only primitive appliances of the kinds described, by successive processes of stone hammering, beating and rolling, scouring, embossing and grinding—such processes as, in more or less modified ways, are actually employed to-day, by comparatively rude Indians in fashioning and embossing of parfleche, horn and other like substances; second, that sufficient results of these experimental

studies have been above brought forward. I trust to establish as an easy possibility, if not probability, the aboriginal and pre-historic character of the workmanship on the sheet copper articles from the Ohio and more southern mounds."

While these conclusions are contrary to the opinion of some workers in the field of American archæology, who believe that these stamped and carved figures in copper point to a Mexican origin,*

* How anyone can retain the theory as to the Mexican decoration on the Etowah plates, after the remarks by General Gates P. Thurston as to "New Discoveries in Tennessee" (Amer. Antiquarian, vol. xiv. p. 95), I, for one, cannot understand. As he

Mr. Cushing's deductions are amply verified by many of the early historians, especially so by Strachey, who observed plenty of these plates of native manufacture in the possession of the Powhatan Indians, which they had obtained in trade from the "Fire Nation." He early recognized the beauty of workmanship displayed on these objects, which could not be surpassed by the arts of civilized man. He remarks in the last chapter of his work:* "And for copper the hills

says: "The art is evidently of original and independent growth, the product of the North," etc.

* Historie of Travaile, etc., p. 132.

to the Northwest have that store as the people themselves remembered in the first chapter called the *Bocootawanaukes* are said to parte the solide mettall from the stone without fire, bellows or additament, and beat it into plates, the like whereof is hardly found in any other part of the world."

Strachey in these passages seemingly denies to these people the use of fire, contradicting, as it were, his statement previously quoted, on which this paper is based. But he evidently means in the sense of smelting,—that is, to recover the metal from its ore by the aid of fire and fluxes,—a process unknown to

the yeere 1620 to this present, 1624," is the following: "The Indians have made relation of a copper mine that is not far from thence [referring to the settlement], how they gather it and the strange making of it—a piece whereof was sent home, being found (after triale) very excellent metall." Farther on the same narrative says: "They report also copper peeces presented to Opechancanough, which copper is gathered at the foote of the mountains, where they dig a hole in the ground in which they put the oare, and make thereon a great fire, which causeth it to run into a masse, and become malleable,

neither have they any tooles but smooth stones for that purpose. This seemed strange to ours which heard the English copper passeth eleven fires." *

Ralph Lane, Commander of the Roanoke Colony in 1585–86, heard a similar story of a copper mine far to the Northwest. His story, however, is mixed up with one on making salt, and the latter story predominates in the blend, as I have shown in a paper read before the American Association for the Advancement of Science at Brooklyn, N. Y., August, 1894, on "The Dis-

* Quoted from American Anthropologist, Reynolds, vol. i. p. 348.

covery of Chaunis Temoatan of 1586." * These quotations from early authorities afford the strongest kind of evidence that these plates and other objects of copper, as found in the mounds and seen in the hands of the Powhatans and cognate tribes of the North, must be classed as belonging to about the same era, using the term in its broadest sense. Also, perhaps, as the marked individuality of some particular specimens bear evidence, they were the hand work of one skilled metal-worker, whose product by traffic was scattered far and wide among remote tribes. In fact, in many

* American Antiquarian, vol. i. pp. 1–15.

cases, the metal-workers may have been captives, who were compelled by their savage task-masters to perform this laborious task or die.*

We are told in recent times

*The Narrative of the Adventures and Sufferings of John R. Jewett, who lived among the savages of Nootka Sound on the Northwest Coast for three years (1803–6), is a good example of such captivity. His life was preserved because he was a blacksmith. He says (p. 43): "Maquina allowed me the privilege, when not employed for him to work for myself in making bracelets and other ornaments of copper, fish-hooks, daggers, etc., either to sell to the tribes who visited us, or to our own chiefs." A new edition of Jewett's adventures was published in London in 1896, edited, with introduction and notes, by Robert Brown. The latter was commander of the first Vancouver exploring expedition, according to Stevens Catalogue of July, 1900.

that * "The best blanket makers, smiths and other artisans among the Navajos are descendants of captives from the Zuñi and other pueblos." †

Strachey relates a tradition existing among the Powhatan Indians, that the "Werowance or chief of that country beyond the mountains, called *Eyanco*, who spared seven Englishmen escaping from the Roanoke slaughter in 1586, to beat his copper of which he hath certaine mynes at the said *Ritanoe*, as also at *Pamawauk* are said to be store of salt stones." ‡

* American Race, Brinton, p. 71.

† Burke, Journal of American Folk-Lore, 1890, p. 115.

‡ By many writers it is believed that this,

Let us analyze this story, for there is more in it than appears on its surface. Here are mentioned two localities, as lying beyond

and other relations point with much unanimity to mines in the Alleghany or the Blue Ridge mountains. But as the country is expressly stated to have been beyond them, these references could not have meant either of those ranges, where no evidence of aboriginal mining, or any mine of metallic copper, has as yet been discovered. If Strachey's story is true—I can see no valid reasons to doubt it, for many similar instances have happened within historic times—these captives were probably hurried as far away as possible, so that there was no chance of escape. The light complexions seen among some of the western Algonkins, as noted by Marquette and others, might be indications of this English blood of a hundred years previous.

the mountains to the Northwest. These localities are under the jurisdiction and in the territory of *Eyanco*, chief of the *Bocootawanaukes*. This latter fact is not stated, but as they were the only people mentioned by the Powhatans who were famous for copper, we can safely infer that *Eyanco* was their chief. *Ritanoe* is an Algonquian term, which seems to be formed from the verb *niton*, "to make," and probably referred to the locality or town where the copper was beaten or melted, and not to the mine itself. *Pamawauk* is likewise of Algonquian derivation, and appears to be from a verb

pamaw, "to take care of, to protect"; hence, with its locative termination *-auk*, signifies "the protected country." Now this place, according to the context, was noted for its store of salt-stones, and must necessarily refer to either of two localities, or to both, viz.: the Saline Springs at Charleston, on the Kanawha River, West Virginia, or else to those occurring in "that country of ancient monuments about Paint Creek, between the Scioto and Muskingum." * At both localities

* See Long's Expedition to the Rocky Mts., vol. i. pp. 15, 16.

This may refer to *Chaun-istem-oatan*,

are found the celebrated inclosures attributed to the so-called mound-builders,* who I believe to have

"salt-making town," as given in my Discovery of Chaunis Temoatan of 1586, for many reasons, mainly because that country was in the possession of the ancient *Chaouanons* at that period (see Marquette's map as given in Thevenot, where the salt springs are set down as "Mines de Fer" in what is now Gallatin County, Illinois (Cartier to Frontenac, Winsor, p. 248).

*Since the completion of this paper, Mr. Clarence B. Moore's excellent monograph As to Copper from the St. John's River, Florida (Journal of Academy of Natural Science of Philadelphia, vol. x.), has come to my hands. Mr. Moore in a very thorough and painstaking manner demonstrates by tables of chemical analyses of various samples of mound copper that all, so far examined, are of native metallic copper, as evidenced by the high per cent. of pure copper, the restricted list of impurities

been the famous *Bocootawanaukes*, the Algonkins of the Northwest,

present and the absence of lead, and must necessarily, so far as known, have been mainly derived from the Lake Superior region. Mr. Moore says in conclusion: "Incidentally, that mound copper from other localities, including the copper of the famous Etowah plates of Georgia, and of the no less known Hopewell mounds of Ohio, is like the Florida copper aboriginal, having nothing in common with the products of the impure European sulphides and imperfect smelting processes of the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries." Thus he confirms, in a way hitherto entirely overlooked, the opinions of those, who, like myself, believe in the aboriginal origin of the specimens under discussion. While believing in the aboriginal origin of the plates, I believe the designs and methods used to have been influenced from European sources in some way.

where, in the protected country, I now leave them.

I have suggested in several newspaper articles, more fully in the New York *Sun* of April 22, 1900, that perhaps the prisoners of the Roanoke colony were the makers of some of these most extraordinary copper objects, like those discovered by Moorehead. No doubt there were several metal-workers among the colonists. Take for instance the members of the Jamestown supply of the spring of 1608. Among others there were "a Jeweller, 2 Refiners, a goldsmith, a blacksmith, and a tobaco-pipe maker."