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ANCIENT SOCIETY IN TENNESSEE

THE MOUND BUILDERS WERE INDIANS

By G. P. THRUSTON

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Nashville

Magazine of American History for May, 1888

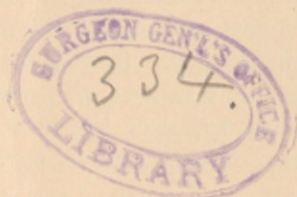


presented by the author

A PAPER READ BEFORE THE TENNESSEE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, AT NASHVILLE, DECEMBER 19, 1887

PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF THE SOCIETY





ANCIENT SOCIETY IN TENNESSEE

THE MOUND BUILDERS WERE INDIANS

The ancient stone-grave cemeteries of Middle Tennessee are most interesting memorials of aboriginal life in America. They are peculiar to this section. The dead were placed in rude tombs or cists made of flat stones carefully laid. Sometimes they were laid in three or four tiers, forming burial mounds that contain more than a hundred graves. The remains and memorials placed within them were thus sealed up and preserved.

One of these aboriginal cemeteries, about five miles from Nashville, upon the waters of Brown's Creek, has recently been explored, in fact pillaged, and devastated by relic hunters and collectors. Notwithstanding its rough usage, it has yielded many rare and valuable specimens—some four or five hundred perfect pieces of ancient pottery, a number of them unique in form, and of such fine finish that they may be said to be almost glazed, cooking vessels, water jars, hanging vessels, drinking cups, ornamented and plain sets of ware, apparently for rich and poor and for the little children, basins, plates, and indeed an ample store for a well-supplied aboriginal cuisine; also pipes, implements, and an infinite variety of articles illustrating the domestic life of the ancient inhabitants of Tennessee.

Among the treasures found are a number of articles indicating some commercial development, a pipe made of "red pipestone," or catlinite, found only in Dakota Territory, more than a thousand miles distant, native copper from the shores of Lake Superior, ornamented sea shells from the Gulf and South Atlantic coasts, mica from North Carolina, exquisite polished implements of cannel coal, pearls from the southern rivers, implements of polished hematite from distant iron mines, and of steatite and quartz from the Allegheny range; also a large number of images or idols, some of them doubtless types of the very features and lineaments of the prehistoric race buried in these graves—evidently the ancient Indian aristocracy of this section.

No specimens of the kind of superior workmanship, or more distinctly outlining features and expression have been found, so far as I am informed, within the limits of the United States. In a child's grave in this ancient cemetery was also found a remarkable figure in clay nine inches long, intended to represent a little child or papoose tied to its hanging board, after the historical Indian style—a veritable little flathead.

Favorite implements of war or the chase were found beside the hunter, with vessels of provisions probably intended to supply him on his journey to the land of the Great Spirit. Toys and unique little rattles of clay were found beside the children, placed there, doubtless, by the hands of the ever-loving mother. No state in the Union has yielded rarer treasures to the archæologist or searcher among its antiquities than Tennessee.

The Smithsonian Institution at Washington, and the Peabody Museum at Cambridge, Massachusetts, our two largest depositories of American antiquities, probably contain a greater number of specimens from Tennessee than from any other section. Other private and public collections have also been greatly enriched by contributions from Tennessee. A vast ancient population occupied the fertile valley of the Cumberland, and left monuments and memorials of exceeding interest.

It is within the bounds of the truth to state that after more than a century of occupation by the whites, the burial grounds of its aboriginal inhabitants, within a radius of fifty miles from Nashville, contained the remains of a greater number of dead than the aggregate of the present cemeteries of the whites.

The ancient cemetery on Brown's Creek referred to numbered not less than two or three thousand graves. Professor F. W. Putnam, of the Peabody Museum, and his assistants have explored more than six thousand, the majority of them in this immediate section. Dr. Joseph Jones, a most intelligent investigator, examined a large number in some fifteen different cemeteries. Dr. Troost, the learned geologist of Tennessee, stated that "the ancient burial grounds on the banks of the Cumberland River opposite Nashville extended in 1844 more than a mile along the river," and there are still remaining, scattered here and there, within the central counties of Tennessee, hundreds of acres of unexplored aboriginal stone graves and burial mounds. They may be found along almost every water course and in most of the fertile valleys. Occasionally a large artificial mound springs up from the green sward or in some cultivated field, surrounded by lines of ancient earthworks, designating the site of a fortified town or village once inhabited by the stone-grave race.

The recent explorations near Nashville have excited renewed interest in the subject of archæology in Tennessee and elsewhere, and it is my purpose to consider briefly some of the questions suggested by these discoveries.

There are a number of popular errors regarding the mounds and works of this ancient race, notions and ideas unnecessarily mysterious and exaggerated. Their characteristics and importance are often magnified,

misunderstood, and wrongly interpreted. Ancient remains are generally overestimated by their discoverers—usually unlearned pioneers of investigation.

More patient and systematic research, a vast accumulation of valuable material, and a thorough analysis of facts and theories by competent authority, have finally unraveled nearly all the secrets of these works and graves, until their origin and the mysteries of their construction and of ancient domestic life in Tennessee—and indeed elsewhere in the Mississippi valley—represented by them, are nearly as well known as the life and history of the modern Indians.

The conclusions reached (often unwillingly) as the result of these investigations in all departments of research, historic, ethnologic, and traditional, may be briefly stated as follows :

1st.—The progress made by these ancient tribes in the direction of civilization or semi-civilization has been overestimated. The stone-grave race and the builders of the ancient mounds and earthworks in Tennessee and probably in the Mississippi valley were Indians, North American Indians, probably the ancestors of the southern red or copper-colored Indians found by the whites in this general section, a race formerly living under conditions of life somewhat different from that of the more nomadic hunting tribes of Indians, but not differing from them in the essential characteristics of the Indian race.

2d.—The interesting collections of mounds, earthworks, and stone graves found in Tennessee and Southern Kentucky are simply the remains of ancient fortified towns, villages, and settlements, once inhabited by tribes of Indians more devoted to agriculture and more stationary in their habits than the hunting tribes generally known to the whites.

3d.—No single implement or article of manufacture or earthwork or defensive work has been found among their remains indicating intelligence or advancement in civilization beyond that of other Indians having intercourse with the whites within the historic period.

4th.—The accumulation of dense population in favored localities, and progress made toward civilization, were probably the results of periods of repose and peace that enabled these tribes to collect in more permanent habitations, and to pursue for a time more peaceful modes of life than some of their neighbors and successors.

5th.—These periods of peace and advancement were probably succeeded by years of wars, invasions, migrations, or changes which arrested the limited development in the arts of peace and civilization, and left the native tribes in the status in which they were found by the whites.

These propositions I am satisfied can be successfully maintained, and will afford the most reasonable solution of archæological problems long in controversy.

If we could have been given a glimpse of the fair valley of the Cumberland in 1492, the date of America's discovery, there can scarcely be a doubt but that we would have found many of these ancient settlements full of busy life, and we could have learned the story of the mounds and graves from some of their own builders; but nearly three centuries elapsed before the pioneers of civilization reached the confines of Tennessee. It is true that, about fifty years after Columbus came, De Soto and his army (A.D. 1540) brushed along its southern border, rudely startling the native inhabitants; but they passed on across the great river and probably never came within the actual bounds of Tennessee. A hundred and thirty-two years then elapsed. In this long interval no European stepped within our limits so far as we know. In 1673 Marquette came in his shallow bark, floating down upon the broad waters of the Mississippi, its first white explorer.

A few years later came that intrepid French discoverer La Salle, but he only looked upon the swamps and forests of the river margin. Nearly a century was yet to elapse before the hardy pioneers of Virginia and Carolina scaled the mountains and claimed a home in the valley of the Watauga, or Daniel Boone started on the "Wilderness trail" for the far West.

In all these intervening years Tennessee, infolded in her ancient forests and mountain barriers—in her insulation remote from ocean, lake and gulf—was as unknown to the outer world as Central Africa.

France claimed her territory by right of discovery as part of Louisiana and Illinois. Spain called her Florida and set up her right. England assumed sovereignty over her as part of Virginia and Carolina, but none of them took possession.

Even her Indian claimants had to fight for their title. Vincennes in Indiana, Kaskaskia in Illinois, and New Orleans were founded. Texas and Missouri were colonized. Santa Fé in New Mexico, a thousand miles and more to the west, had become an old Spanish town; yet Tennessee was still without name or description, save that it was marked on the New World maps as "the unexplored land of the Ancient Shawnees."

These facts are stated to show how little history can tell us directly of Ancient Tennessee or of the stone-grave race, yet for nearly four hundred years, Spanish, French, and English travelers have published chronicles and manuscripts relating to the natives of the South Atlantic and Mexican

Gulf coasts, neighbors and allies of the tribes of the interior country, now known as Tennessee, and presumably akin to them in race and manner of life. Ponce de Leon came to Florida in 1512. De Ayllon, another Spaniard, visited the coast of South Carolina in 1520, and again in 1524. An Italian discoverer, Verrazano, visited the coast of North Carolina in 1524. He reports that he found the natives primitive in their habits, uncivilized, and numbering a large population. Narvaez, who vainly attempted in 1528 to conquer the country then called Florida (embracing Tennessee), found there populous towns, well fortified, and surrounded by extensive fields of corn and maize. Volumes of narrative and manuscript have also been left us by the chroniclers of De Soto's expedition.

About 1540 Cartier and Roberval, French pioneers of discovery, visited Canada, then claimed by Spain as their Florida of the North. The French Huguenots came under Ribaut, and attempted to plant a colony on the Carolina coast in 1562, nearly fifty years prior to the Virginia settlement at Jamestown.

Ribaut's published Journal describes in detail the character and habits of the natives on the coast and in the interior;—describes their villages, their agricultural habits, and their cultivated fields. Champlain and others gave faithful accounts of the Native Americans of the North. La Salle describes the natives of Arkansas and Texas as he found them in 1673. Other early French and Spanish writers describe with much particularity the habits, dress, and manners of the ancient tribes living on the Gulf coast.

From these journals and manuscripts sometimes buried for centuries in the great libraries of Europe, we have reasonably faithful information as to the history, traditions, and mode of life of the ancient inhabitants of the territory adjacent to and surrounding Tennessee.

The testimony of all, added to that of the Virginia and Puritan colonists, unite in establishing the fact, that all these native Americans, called by Columbus Indians, were alike in their main characteristics, a distinct race, peculiar to itself, without any well-defined or clearly traceable Old-World affinities or connections.

The swarthy red or copper or olive complexion, the dark eyes, the coarse, straight black hair, the high cheek-bones, were common to all, from the St. Lawrence River to Texas. Their half-nakedness, their simple and primitive habits, the drudgery of the women, the generally aquiline nose, the absence or scantiness of beards, their love of smoking, of gay colors, painted faces, feathers, plumes, feasts, dances, were noted by all these writers, and clearly indicated the remarkable unity of the race—recalling

the remark of Ulloa, the early Spanish governor of Louisiana—that “if we have seen one American, we have seen all, their color and make-up are so nearly alike.”

Their chiefs and principal men were found with similar characteristics—haughty, taciturn, self-willed, impatient of reproof, faithful friends, and implacable enemies.

These early records, however, show no traces of an advanced civilization or of a superior race. They indicate that the southern tribes were generally gathered in villages, and were milder and more friendly in manner, and more devoted to agriculture than the tribes of the North and Northwest. A careful reading of the interesting though often unreliable Chronicles left us by De Soto's followers will, I think, give the best key to an understanding of town and village life in ancient Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee and Arkansas. (The antiquities and earthworks of these states are of the same general character.)

The principal towns of the natives were found to be well fortified and are described as “walled towns.” They were surrounded by palisades formed by the trunks of trees, plastered with clay and straw, and surmounted at intervals with towers. They had protected openings or gateways. They sometimes contained a population of several thousand inhabitants. One town is mentioned containing six hundred houses.

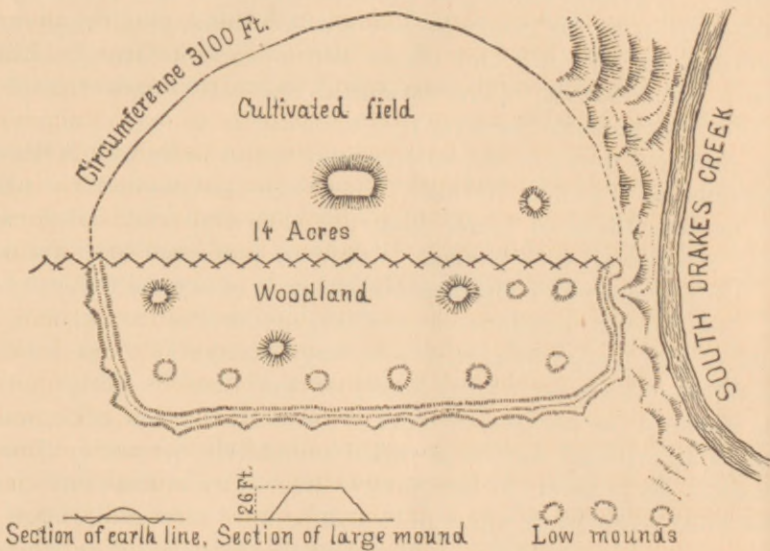
Some of the houses described were large enough to lodge a thousand or fifteen hundred people—great family or communal dwellings.

The house of the cacique, or chief of the settlement or tribe, was often built upon an artificial mound or raised foundation of earth. Sometimes the houses of his retainers or family were erected upon the same elevation. The so-called temples, or altars of worship, were also built upon raised foundations or mounds. A mound or temple is described as the place of burial of a chieftain. The common houses or huts were built of poles or rude timber, were plastered with clay and straw, and thatched with bark and cane. A number of towns were environed by artificial ditches filled with water. The three original historic accounts of De Soto's expedition unite in confirming the characteristics of ancient town and village life in the territory through which his army passed.*

* La Vega says: “The natives constructed artificial mounds of earth, the top of each being capable of containing from ten to twenty houses. Here resides the Cacique, his family and attendants. At the foot of this hill was a square according to the size of the village, around which were the houses of the leaders and most distinguished inhabitants. The rest of the people erected their wigwams as near to the dwelling of their chief as possible.” “Conquest of Florida,” Irving, pages 129, 317, 241. According to La Vega, these mounds were about eighteen to twenty-five feet high. “Prehistoric Times,” Lubbock, page 273.

A careful consideration of these features with a map in hand, showing the present appearance and condition of any one of the many groups of ancient earthworks in Middle Tennessee—a group on the Harpeth River, or the works near Lebanon, Tennessee, or in Sumner County, Tennessee—will readily indicate the striking similarity of these remains to the ancient fortified towns described, and, indeed, will be conclusive of the fact that these earthworks are simply the remains of towns and villages, similar to those through which De Soto and his army passed in 1540-41, and then found active with busy life.

The long lines of earth that outlined the old walls with their well-se-



GROUND PLAN OF FORTIFIED VILLAGE IN SUMNER COUNTY.

lected openings and projections, the ditches, the raised foundation mound, or pyramid of the chief's house—perhaps the mound that supported the rude temple or altar of worship—the rows of graves or burial mounds of the ancient cemetery will still be found. Sometimes the outlines of the low circular platforms upon which the common houses or wigwams were placed may be seen, as in the Lebanon group.

“The cacique's house stood near the shore upon a very high mound made by hand for strength.”—“Gentlemen of Elvas.” *Historical Col. of La.*, Part II, page 123; see also *Idem—Biedna*, page 105. For description of fortified villages and walled towns, see “Gentlemen of Elvas.” *Historical Col. La.*, Part II., pages 157, 158, 173; also *La Vega*, “*Conquest of Florida*,” Irving, pages 261, 262.

A ground plan of the group of mounds on the Rutherford farm in Sumner County, near Saundersville, Tennessee, as they now appear, will give a tolerably correct idea of one of these ancient fortified villages.*

This work incloses about fourteen acres. The earth-lines and smaller mounds in the cultivated field are nearly obliterated, but in the woodland they are well preserved. The mound of the chief, or the mound of observation near the centre, nearly twenty-six feet high, has still its flat top platform, its sharp outlines and steep sides. It is about 318 feet in circumference and is entirely artificial, having been constructed of earth excavated near its base. The small elevations are burial mounds, with stone graves radiating from the centre. The next in size are probably house or wigwam mounds. They are circular in form, averaging about thirty feet in diameter, with the remains of burned clay or ancient fire hearths in the centre. At irregular intervals along the earth-lines in the woodland, angles of earth project about ten feet beyond the general line, indicating the location of towers or rude bastions in the stockade or wall line. Some of them were doubtless protected openings or gateways. In the burial mounds have been found many fine implements and vessels of pottery.

The ancient earthworks near Lebanon, Tennessee, are of the same general character.†

This is a good type of an ancient fortified or walled settlement. It contains about ten acres of land. The usual great mound is near the centre (A). A large number of the smaller elevations were found to be the remains of lodges or wigwams. When the earth was cleared away, hard, circular floors were disclosed with burned clay or ancient hearths in the centre, indicating that these habitations were similar in form to the circular lodges of many tribes of modern Indians, arranged for fires in the centre, and doubtless they had openings in the roof to let out the smoke.

The fact that these houses or wigwams were irregularly scattered within the inclosures also establishes the primitive character of the settlement; yet beneath the floors of these rude structures, and within the adjacent burial mounds, were found some of the finest specimens of pottery and ancient art yet discovered among the mounds, indicating that these villagers of the stone-grave race had reached a stage of development probably equal to that of any of the aboriginal inhabitants of the Mississippi valley.

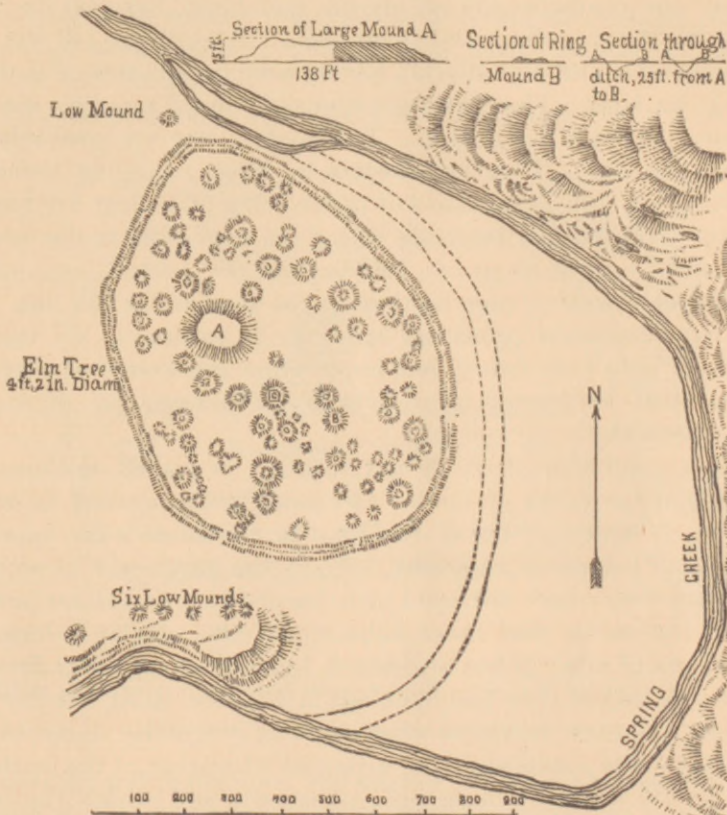
No pottery or pipes or implements have been found, within the more elaborate earthworks of the Ohio valley, in finish or workmanship superior

* Surveyed by W. H. Edwards, Esq., and drawn by the writer.

† Map reduced from Prof. F. W. Putnam's plan in the 11th Annual Report Peabody Museum, page 338.

to those taken from the graves and tumuli in Tennessee. The pottery found in Ohio is usually of ruder character than Southern pottery.

It requires little effort of the imagination to picture Ancient Society in one of these settlements in Tennessee, to crown the long, lowlines of earth again with their strong palisades, to place the rude house of the chief upon its high pyramid overlooking the village and the far country,



THE LEBANON GROUP.

to repeople the council house, the family dwellings, humble and spacious hives of busy life, to replace the altar of the sun worshipers in its rude temple, to see the near-by burial mounds consecrated by the bones of their heroes, the gay colors of the warriors, the trappings of the hunters, the toiling of the women, the basket and cloth makers, the yelping throng of half-naked children and dogs, the medicine man with his herbs and kettles, the dealer in implements and vessels of stone, clay and shell, the

trader, perhaps from a far country, with his wares and strings of shell money, the pipe maker, the flint chipper, the fisherman, all necessary features of ancient town and village life in the South as described by early writers in their account of the Southern Indians.

Now, picture this town swept by the desolation of war or rudely pillaged by the marauding soldiery of De Soto—picture it after the lapse of three centuries!

Fire and decay have consumed its strong palisades, its great houses, and all that was left of wood. The raised foundations and pyramids of earth with their steep sides may have become commonplace hillocks.

The dense forest has again spread over the scene. Giant trees are covering its graves and ditches. Time and probably the plowshare of the pioneer have almost obliterated the lines of the crumbled wall.

You thus have the true story of ancient society in Tennessee and of the monuments and remains of the stone-grave race.

The young oaks that sprung up on the mounds that De Soto left desolate and unoccupied in 1541 would now be three hundred and forty-seven years old—old enough indeed to be lords of the forest. Most of the earthworks in Tennessee and the Mississippi valley doubtless date from a period anterior to the time of De Soto—probably centuries anterior. The testimony of his followers is given, however, to show their objects and uses, and to solve at least some of the apparent mysteries of their construction.

The accounts left us by the historian of the Narvaez expedition into Florida in 1564 confirm these views.

We learn from Dumont's memoirs also, that near the mouth of the Yazoo River in Mississippi were the villages of the Offogoulas and other Southern Indians built upon mounds artificially made.*

Dumont also says the cabin of the chief of the Natchez Indians "was on an elevated mound." La Petit, a missionary among the Natchez Indians, mentions that "the residence of the great chief or 'brother of the Sun,' as he was called, was erected upon a mound of earth carried for that purpose." Du Pratz, the early historian of Louisiana, states that the house of the Great Sun of the Natchez stood upon a mound "about eight feet high, and twenty feet over on the surface," and that the temple of the priest was on a mound about the same height.†

It is a matter of comparatively recent history that when the French and Choctaws defeated the Natchez Indians in Mississippi in 1730, the latter established themselves upon the Black River, where they erected

* Hist. Collection La., Part 5, page 43.

† Quoted by Dr. D. G. Brinton.

mounds and embankments for defense. These defenses covered an area of four hundred acres, and could still be seen as late as 1851.*

The pyramids of earth raised by the Choctaws over their dead when collected together, as described by Bertram, who traveled among these Indians in 1777, are in the form of some of our Southern burial mounds. †

James Adair, who lived among the Southern Indians forty years, and published his history of them in 1775, generally confirms these views.

A large mound of earth was erected by the Osage Indians on the Osage River, in Missouri, during the present century, in honor of one of their dead chiefs. ‡

The earthworks of Western New York, long regarded as the unquestioned remains of an ancient race of mound builders, were, after careful exploration, declared to be the remains of the stockade forts of the Iroquois Indians, or their western neighbors, and of no great antiquity. §

They are often exact counterparts of our fortified works in Tennessee. One of these stockade forts of the Iroquois is minutely described by Champlain, who attacked it in 1610. A familiar old print of this remarkable structure is given in the Documentary History of New York. ||

The lines of stockades, the ditches, the great houses inside, all recall some of the descriptions in the chronicles of De Soto, and show a marked similarity to our Tennessee remains.

The Iroquois nearly three centuries ago had acquired a knowledge of military defense that the armies of the North and South had to learn during the late war by costly experience. La Salle tells us they built a rude fort of earth and timbers every night they encamped near the enemy.

Cartier found the site of modern Montreal occupied by a strongly fortified Indian town in 1535. On approaching it, nothing could be seen but its high palisades. They were made of the trunks of trees set in triple rows. Transverse braces formed galleries between them to assist the defenders. Lewis and Clark describe the forts built by the Mandans and other Indians of the Northwest in 1805, with raised stockades, ditches and fortified gateways. Captain John Smith, the founder and historian of the first Virginia colony, writes that the Indians of Virginia had "palisadood towns."

Bienville of Louisiana in 1735 attacked a Chickasaw village protected by a strong fort. He was repulsed, with heavy loss. The palisade wall was six feet thick, arranged with loopholes, covered with heavy timbers. ¶

* Pickett's Alabama, Vol. I., page 166.

§ *Ibid.*, page 83.

† Bertram's Travels, pages 514, 515.

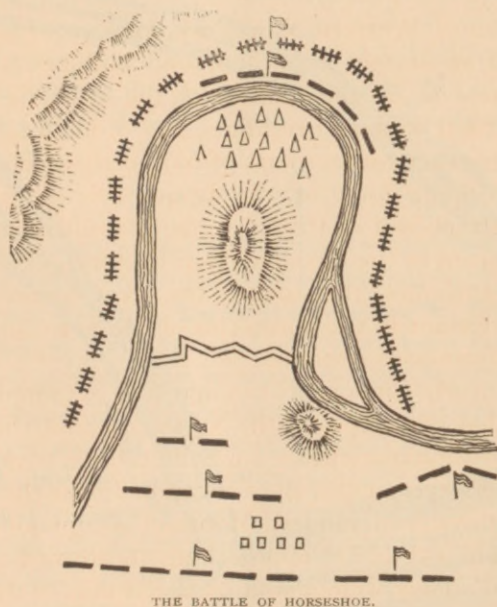
|| Vol. 3, page 15.

‡ Ab. Mon. N. Y., Squier, page 107.

¶ Hist. Memoirs La., Part 5, page 110.

The plan of the "Battle of the Horse Shoe," where the Creeks, protected by breastworks, fought General Andrew Jackson in 1814, indicates that these Indians possessed considerable knowledge of military defensive works. The original sketch drawn by the General is appended to his interesting report of the battle, made to Governor Blount of Tennessee.*

General Jackson states in his Report that "Nature furnishes few situations so eligible for defense, and barbarians never rendered one more secure by art. Across the neck of land which leads into it from the north, they had erected a breastwork of great compactness and strength,



THE BATTLE OF HORSESHOE.

from five to eight feet high, and prepared with double rows of portholes very artfully arranged. The figure of this wall manifested no less skill in the projectors of it than its construction. An army could not approach it without being exposed to a double and cross fire from the enemy who lay in security behind it." Surely no prehistoric defensive work could receive a higher compliment from higher military authority!

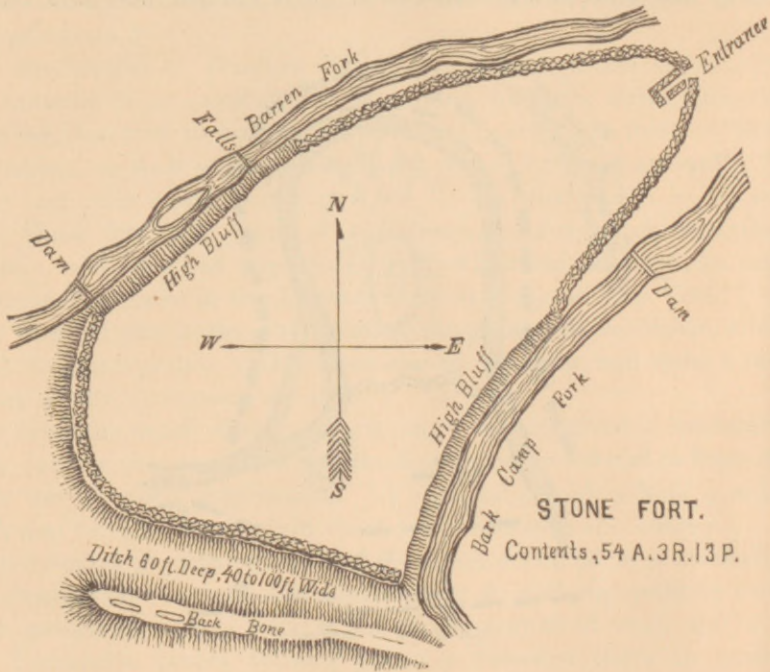
These instances have been selected to show the knowledge of military defensive works possessed by the modern Indians. This knowledge was not inferior to that of the so-called mound builders. That the works of the

* Traced by the writer from the original report in the possession of the Tennessee Historical Society at Nashville.

latter surpassed in magnitude all modern native earthworks does not necessarily indicate a higher order of intelligence, nor is there any deep mystery in their larger proportions.

There is, indeed, a striking similarity in all these native works of defense, whether ancient or modern. I have visited a number of the great mounds of the Ohio valley. They are remarkable structures—monuments of labor and patience.

Imagine a thousand Indians—women and children—men, also—with



baskets of willow and skins, bearing on heads and shoulders the alluvial soil from the river side, to raise a mighty memorial to some great warrior, or to build a strong defensive work as a protection against a dreaded enemy, or a towering home for an honored chief, and it will not be difficult to account for most of these large earthworks.

I have seen the busy throng of a hundred or more Italian women and boys with baskets removing the earth that covered ancient Pompeii. The ashes of Vesuvius, nearly nineteen centuries old, buried the city twenty feet deep; yet about one-half of the entire city has been uncovered and laid bare to the eyes of the travelers. Less than a tithe of this vast labor

of removal would have erected the largest purely artificial mound in the Mississippi Valley.

The highest of the great mounds of America, at Cahokia, Illinois, is but one-fifth of the height of the solid stone pyramid of Gizeh on the banks of the Nile; and how insignificant does the largest system of native American earthworks appear, when compared with a work of antiquity like the Chinese Wall, built long prior to the Christian era!

There is an interesting ancient work near Manchester, Tennessee, called the "Stone Fort." It differs from the other aboriginal defensive works in Tennessee, in its partial construction of stone, yet upon examination we find there is no masonry in it, no wall of stone. Large stones from the adjacent river were used with the earth in building in. Its position is well selected for defense, but it shows no greater skill in engineering than other Indian earthworks. It is similar in construction to a number of works in the Ohio valley.*

INDIAN AGRICULTURE

The large population necessary to have enabled the ancient tribes of our great river valleys to construct these works, has been given as a reason why they should not be attributed to the ancestors of the red Indians. It is argued that such population could only have been supported by a race devoted mainly to agriculture. It seems to have been presumed that the modern Indians knew little or nothing of the cultivation of land as a means of living, yet we find upon investigation that all the historic tribes were more or less devoted to agricultural pursuits. The Southern Indians, the Iroquois, the Ohio and Illinois tribes cultivated immense fields of maize or corn, especially during periods of repose and freedom from wars. The Choctaws, in their ancient home east of the Mississippi River, were called "a nation of farmers."

Adair mentions a maize field of the Catawbans of South Carolina "seven leagues long," a field that would do credit to the prairie-farms of the West. Think of cultivating such a field with the rude wood and stone implements of the Indians!

The Plymouth Fathers were taught the art of planting and raising corn by the Indians. Drake tells us that King Philip, the great chief of the Pequots, "had a thousand acres of corn at Mount Hope."

Henry Hudson, who sailed up the Hudson River in 1609, writes that he "found dried corn and beans enough in and about one house on the bank of the river to load three ships, besides what was growing in the field."

* Slightly changed from plan in "Antiquities of Tennessee," Jones, p. 100.

General Anthony Wayne reported that he never saw such large maize fields as the Miami Indians cultivated.

The granaries and caches of the natives furnished the soldiers and horses of De Soto their main supplies.*

In his expedition against the Cherokees in 1779 General Shelby is said to have destroyed more than 20,000 bushels of corn. Hawkins tells us that to constitute a legal marriage among the Muskogeas [Creeks] the man "must build a house, make his crop, and gather it in; then make his hunt and bring home the meat; that when all was put in possession of the wife, the ceremony was ended and the woman bound, and not till then."

What better proof do we need of the ability of the Southern Indian to support himself by agriculture than the progress made by the tribes removed to the Indian Territory?

The Creeks, the Cherokees, the Choctaws, the Chickasaws, have not only become "a nation of farmers," but are far advanced on the march toward civilization.

Hominy, succotash and mush were evidently included in the regular aboriginal menu.

Those instances of Indian success in agriculture might be multiplied indefinitely. †

They clearly establish the fact that the advanced tribes of historic Indians had the ability to support the population necessary to the erection of even the greatest mounds.

MOUNDS OF RECENT DATE

We have, however, direct testimony that some of these mounds, long regarded as the exclusive work of an ancient and more civilized race, have been built by modern Indians since the period of European discovery.

There are a number of instances, well authenticated, where articles certainly of modern European manufacture and origin, have been found in mounds, undistinguishable in general character from more ancient mounds.

Col. C. C. Jones, in his "Antiquities of the Southern Indians," ‡ reports at least one absolutely certain instance where "a portion of a rusty old-fashioned sword," evidently of European manufacture, was found in a

* Hist. Col. La., Part 5, page 203.

† This subject is considered at length and with much force by Mr. Lucius Carr in "Mounds of Mississippi Valley," page 7.

‡ "Antiquities of the Southern Indians," page 131.

mound with decayed bones of a skeleton alongside of pottery, and a stone cell. Atwater, a well-known archæologist, tells us of his discovery in an Ohio mound of articles of silver and iron of modern European origin.

Prof. F. W. Putnam, in the 14th annual publication of the Peabody Museum, reports the discovery by Dr. Mack, in Florida, of glass beads and ornaments of silver, brass and iron, deeply imbedded and associated with pottery and stone implements of native manufacture, all found in a burial mound, and furnishing conclusive evidence that the Indians of Florida continued to build mounds over their dead after contact with the Europeans.

The National Bureau of Ethnology also reports in detail similar discoveries in a number of mound explorations in Wisconsin, North Carolina, Illinois and Arkansas.*

It has thus become a well-settled fact in American archæology, that modern tribes of Indians have to some extent been builders of mounds within the historic period, and that it is not necessary to attribute our ancient remains in Tennessee to any other or more civilized race than the ancestors of our Southern Indians.

ART IN ANCIENT TENNESSEE

Passing from the mounds and earthworks to a consideration of the manufactured articles or antiquities, images, implements, pottery, pipes, tablets and pictographs of the ancient inhabitants of Tennessee or the Mississippi valley as a test of their civilization or development, we find an interesting field of inquiry.

The result may be summed up under two heads:

First. Nothing has been found in mound or grave or elsewhere in Tennessee or the Mississippi valley, showing an advanced state of civilization or semi-civilization. No article has been found requiring in its manufacture skill or intelligence beyond the capacity of the best representative tribes of modern Indians.

Second. No antiquarian or archæologist can distinguish the implements, pottery, pipes or inscriptions of the mound-building people from the same general character of articles manufactured by the more advanced tribes of modern Indians within the historic period.

It seems strange that among the vast stores of material discovered in these mounds, graves and ancient habitations, no single article has been

* Report Bureau Ethnology, 1882-83, page xxxii.

found indicating an advanced state of society. Rare and unique forms of stone, clay, bone, shell and copper; mysterious objects whose exact uses we cannot always discover, beautiful implements, wrought with infinite labor and no little skill have been found in abundance; yet all indicate, or are consistent with, the theory of a comparatively rude and primitive state of society.

No prehistoric implement, or article of iron, or evidence of manufactured iron, has been found, excepting objects made from the unmelted ores. Rude articles of native copper hammered into form and an occasional ornament of hammered silver have been discovered, but none of melted copper or bronze or silver.

No writing or intelligible inscription indicating a written language or decipherable symbol language, no pictograph or tablet or inscription approaching the higher grades of hieroglyphic writing, no cloth or fabric except of coarse or rude manufacture, no piece of masonry or stone wall, or of architecture worthy of the name, or trace of burned brick wall, has been found.

Utensils and objects of well-burned clay are found in Tennessee, Missouri, Arkansas and elsewhere, of varied, original and even artistic form, interesting mementos of ancient life, but they indicate no knowledge of the potter's wheel. They are without glaze, and are but comparatively rude conceptions, fashioned by the hand.

The images or idols of stone found are rude, and belong to a low grade of sculpture.

Indeed all the infinite variety of articles and antiquities found within the widely extended limits of the Mississippi valley, once occupied by a widely spread native population, after centuries of exploration, tell only the same story of primitive barbaric life, the life of the town, village, and hunting Indian.

Obsidian from Mexico has been found in our ancient graves and mounds. Doubtless some other articles, images or tablets in clay or stone are of the same origin. The mound builders have been thus credited with the more skilled workmanship of the Mexican or Aztec; still, none of these articles indicate an advanced state of society.

Again, when we come to draw the line separating the implements, images or hand-work of these prehistoric peoples from those of the modern Indians, we find no certain test by which to classify or distinguish them. Neither skill in workmanship nor beauty of form can be relied upon as a test. I have in my collection a shelf of ancient pipes from the mounds and graves, and one of pipes made by modern Indians. No one

can tell with entire certainty the antique from the modern, or whether one came from an ancient mound or from a modern Indian camp.

The most exquisite piece of work of the whole number is a pipe of red pipestone I purchased in Dakota years ago from a chief of the Sioux tribe.

The large gray stone pipe, once used by the great chief Tecumseh and owned by Col. Sam Morgan, of Nashville, does not differ from a number of specimens found in the mounds of Tennessee and Georgia.

Captain John Smith, in his quaint history of Virginia, describes the stone pipes, in which Powhatan and his "wild courtiers" smoked their tobacco—pipes like our antique western specimens, carved in the form of birds and animals, and as Smith says, "heavy enough to beat out one's brains."

Hennepin and Marquette carried large stone pipes or calumets as symbols of peace and friendship in their voyages of discovery. Adair mentions that the Cherokees made beautiful stone pipes in imitation of birds and animals. Lieutenant Timberlake, who traveled among the Cherokees in 1761, reports the same fact. We may thus be assured that it is not necessary to ascribe the large or quaint stone pipes found in Tennessee to any more ancient or civilized race than the modern Shawnee or Cherokee Indians.

Flint implements and arrow-heads similar to our old field and mound flints have been made in quantities by the Indians up to a recent period. The highly polished discoidal stones, among the most beautiful and symmetrical of the implements, Adair tells us, were used by the modern Southern Indians as gaming stones.

No one who has seen the hand-work of even the degenerate Indians of to-day in Canada or the Northwest, has failed to observe that as a race they are naturally gifted with taste and dexterity in making useful and ornamental articles.

The ancient people of the Mississippi valley left behind them no implements superior to the work of the Iroquois or the Cherokee.

The finding of terra-cotta and earthenware of good quality in the graves and mounds of the Mississippi valley has been regarded as an indication of a superior race and of a higher civilization. Yet we find many tribes making and using the same general class of pottery within the historic period. The historian of De Soto's campaign declares that the pottery found in use by the natives of Arkansas and elsewhere equaled standard Spanish ware.*

Le Moyne in 1564 contributes a number of illustrations of the forms of

* Hist. Col. La. Part 2, p. 201.

pottery in use among the Southern Indians. Captain John Smith says, "the Indians of Virginia used pottery of clay made by the women." Lewis and Clark in 1805 found the Mandans and other natives of the Northwest using vessels of clay and stone.

Marquette, the discoverer of the Mississippi, in his account of his visit to the Indians in Arkansas and Mississippi in 1673, writes that "they used in cooking large earthen pots, very curiously made, also large baked earthen plates, which they used for different purposes."*

Adair and Lieutenant Timberlake both mention the use and manufacture of pottery by the Cherokees. The former states that when he visited them—as late as 1774—they made "earthen pots containing from two to ten gallons, large pitchers to carry water, bowls, dishes, platters, basins, and a prodigious number of other vessels of such antiquated forms, as would be tedious to describe and impossible to name;" a statement that certainly accurately describes the motley assortment of pottery found in our Tennessee mounds and graves. †

The Natchez Indians were so skillful in making their "red-stained pottery," that Du Pratz, the historian of Louisiana, states that he had them make for him a set of plates for his table use. ‡

Bertram states that the Indians of Alabama made and used utensils of earthenware when he visited them in 1777. §

The ability of the mound-building tribes to make finely finished stone implements and vessels of hand-made earthenware cannot be regarded as indicating an advanced state of culture, although there is a wide-spread popular impression to the contrary. The most savage races have been able to make finely wrought weapons of war and of the chase. This resulted from a natural mechanical instinct, rather than from culture.

Sir John Lubbock, in writing of the skill of certain savage tribes in making ornaments and weapons, says, "their appreciation of art is to be regarded rather as an ethnological characteristic, than as an indication of any particular stage of civilization." ||

The same learned author refers to the art of making pottery as "one

* Hist. Col. La., Part 2, p. 295.

† The writer has a large number of these forms in his collection varying in size from delicate little vessels an inch in diameter to pots holding twelve gallons.

‡ The women make pots of an extraordinary size, jars with a medium-sized opening, bowls, two-pint bottles with long necks, pots or jugs for containing bear's oil, which hold as much as forty pints, and finally plates and dishes in the French fashion."—Du Pratz, *Histoire de la Louisiane*, Vol. II., p. 279.

§ "Bertram's Travels," ed. 1792, p. 511.

|| "Prehistoric Times," Lubbock, p. 549.

of the rude arts easily acquired by savages." He says the Hottentots and Fuegians, races grading very low in the scale of civilization, made and used pottery.* And Birch, in his work on "Ancient Pottery," states that "clay is a material so generally diffused, and its plastic nature so easily discovered, that the art of working it does not exceed the intelligence of the rudest savage."† Schoolcraft says the arts of planting corn and making pottery came together.‡

These authorities make it clear that art had made but an humble start among the mound-building tribes, and had not advanced beyond the status of other savage races, or beyond that of the red Indian of America.

It may also be stated that, in view of the manufacture and general use of pottery among the historic Southern Indians, there is no certain evidence that our Tennessee grave and mound pottery is of very great antiquity, or that it all antedates the visit of Marquette in 1673.

It cannot be of much later date, however, for that is about the latest period of permanent Indian occupation. Leather thongs or strings not yet decayed were found in a stone grave near Nashville by Dr. Joseph Jones.§ Professor F. W. Putnam found the fragment of a string in a stone grave on Fort Zollicoffer.|| In both cases they were attached to copper ornaments, and thus probably preserved.

The writer found in a stone grave in the same ancient cemetery on the bank of the Cumberland, a small, well-preserved, carved wooden wheel. A thin film of copper covering it had probably partly preserved it. In an adjoining stone grave was found a small but perfect specimen of pottery, indicating a contemporaneous burial.

Fragments of wood not entirely decayed are also frequently found in the burial mounds of Tennessee. These indications point to the comparatively recent origin of at least some of the graves and tumuli of the Cumberland valley. Haywood, in his "Aboriginal History of Tennessee," states that in 1819 a white oak tree growing on the top of the "Stone Fort" near Manchester, Tennessee, was cut down, and contained 357 "annulars" or rings.¶

This ancient landmark was therefore but 78 years old when De Soto landed on the coast of Florida. An elm tree about four feet in diameter is still standing on the earthwork near Lebanon. These trees indicate a very considerable age, yet there are familiar old elms at Salem and in the suburbs of Boston and elsewhere in New England—elms planted since the

* "Prehistoric Times," pp. 551, 555.

§ "Antiquities in Tennessee," p. 45.

† Introduction, p. 1.

|| 11th An. Report Peabody Museum, p. 307.

‡ Schoolcraft, Part I. p. 61.

¶ Ab. Hist. Tenn., p. 170.

advent of the Europeans—that fully equal in size the Lebanon elm, or the largest trees I have observed growing upon the ancient works.

THE CRANIA OF THE STONE-GRAVE RACE.

In the effort to discover the race or tribal affinities of our stone-grave builders ethnologists have made a careful study of physical structure, and especially of the crania found in the graves, but without any very definite or satisfactory results. They have not been able to trace radical or definite characteristics separating them from the modern Indians, or, indeed, any well-defined forms to distinguish them from the ancient Mexicans, or Pueblo builders of the far West.

The Smithsonian Institution has published the results of Dr. Joseph Jones' faithful explorations and studies in this department.*

The Peabody Museum has also published the very intelligent observations of its assistant curator, Mr. Lucian Carr, upon some sixty-seven crania carefully taken from the stone graves and mounds of Middle Tennessee. Careful measurements are given, comparisons made, results classified, but they do not indicate a distinct race or an advanced development.

Long skulls and short (the high and low grades) have been found side by side in the same mound. Skulls, in their types and capacity almost as widely apart as the Negro and Caucasian, have been found in adjoining graves, indicating a very ancient admixture of tribes or races—an admixture so remote, in fact, that the science of craniology has not been able to dispel the confusion, or trace its origin, or the lines of descent that have united in forming the sharply defined Indian race of the Mississippi valley.

Mr. Carr states that the crania from the stone graves of Tennessee, as a rule, indicate a higher order of intelligence than the ancient Peruvian, the native Australian, or the Hottentot; but he concludes with the observation that it would be a vain effort to try to conjure up the vision of an extinct civilization by the study of these crania.

A large number of clay images found in our stone graves and idols of stone from the mounds and ancient village sites have been examined with a desire to trace race characteristics in their faces or features, but they afford very unsatisfactory results. The types are so varied, and the native art so crude, that they must be generally regarded as accidental forms. I have, however, in my collection, at least one excellent specimen of as pure and well-defined a modern Indian type as the face and features of Sitting Bull or Black Hawk.

* "Antiquities of Tennessee," Jones, p. 110.

A genuine red Indian was undoubtedly in the mind of the native artist or sat as the model for this unique image in clay. A few of the images also are so marked and individual in their expression that they seem to have been efforts at portraiture. The little clay papoose on its hanging board is certainly a modern red Indian type of the flat-head tribe. Thus, when the whole field is worked over, the conclusion must be reached that it has been a mistake to regard the mound builders as a distinct and advanced race. They were evidently the *ancestors of the modern Indians, nothing more*. This is the simplest solution of the problem as to their nationality. Any other theory regarding them must be mainly mere conjecture.

Col. C. C. Jones, eminent authority on this subject, writing of the earthworks of Georgia, which approximate in size the largest tumuli of the Ohio valley, states: "We do not concur in the opinion so often expressed, that the mound builders were a race distinct from, and superior in art, government, and religion to, the Southern Indians of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries."*

The late Lewis H. Morgan, a most original and learned ethnologist, in an article upon the houses of the aborigines of America, states: "It will be assumed that the tribes who constructed the earthworks of the Ohio valley were Indians. No other supposition is tenable. The implements and utensils found in the mounds indicate very plainly that they had attained to the middle status of barbarism. . . . They fairly belonged to the class of sedentary village Indians, though not in all respects of an equal grade of culture and development."†

Major J. W. Powell, the Director of the National Bureau of Ethnology, has also given an opinion to the same effect. "With regard to the mounds so widely scattered between the two oceans," he states, "it may be said that mound-building tribes were known in the early history of discovery of this continent, and that vestiges of art discovered do not excel in any respect the arts of the Indian tribes known to history."

Major Powell also quotes approvingly the opinion of W. H. Holmes, of the National Museum, relative to the pottery found in the mounds, that "there is no feature in it that cannot reasonably be attributed to the more advanced historic tribes of the valley where it is found."‡

And in an interesting article upon "Animal Carvings from the Mounds of the Mississippi Valley," Mr. H. W. Henshaw, of the National Museum,

* "Antiquities of Southern Indians," Jones, p. 135.

† Contributions to North Am. Ethnology, Vol. IV., pp. 198, 199

‡ Report Bureau of Ethnology, No. 4, p. lix.

reaches the conclusion that "No hard or fast line can be drawn between the art of the Indian and of the mound builder."*

Similar views upon this general subject are also held by Professor Putnam and Mr. Carr of the Peabody Museum,† and by Dr. Joseph Jones.

Dr. D. G. Brinton, noted authority in this department of research, not only holds the same opinion, but specially designates the ancestors of the Chatta-Muskogee tribes as probably the original mound-building stock or family. This stock embraced the Choctaws, Chickasaws, the Natchez, and other allied tribes of Southern Indians. There is considerable evidence in support of Dr. Brinton's views. Within the historic period these tribes formed a nation of mound builders. The widely spread traditions of the Northern Indians also indicated that this ancient race was driven southward from the Ohio and upper Mississippi valleys.

Many causes led the early settlers and writers to underrate the natural abilities and capacity of the Indian race. The tribes that wasted their numbers and strength in the vain effort to stay the mighty march of the western pioneers became more savage in this very frontier warfare. Revenge and despair, the occasional violation of treaties, the destruction of their towns and crops, often led them to abandon the pursuit of agriculture. Contact with the whites upon the frontier also sowed the seeds of discord and degeneration.

Thus, to the eyes and imagination of our pioneer settlers, the modern Indian appeared chiefly in his savage character—the type of a wild race of hunters and warriors. He could give to the whites only uncertain traditions as to these strangely formed earthworks. He knew little or nothing of their history. He knew nothing of the uses of many of the stone implements and antique images. He shook his head mysteriously, and claimed they belonged to a strange and unknown race.

The French trading explorers had come with their convenient wares of iron, brass and copper, and the rude pottery of the natives soon disappeared from sight and was forgotten. Arrow points and implements of iron supplanted those of flint.

Our Tennessee images and vessels of clay were fortunately preserved in the stone graves of our ancient cemeteries; the rest were generally lost and destroyed. Thus, many writers were led to draw a broad distinction between the race of mound builders and the modern Indians, and to magnify the works and intelligence of the former in contrast with the uncivil-

* Report Bureau of Ethnology, No. 2, p. 165.

† See summary of authorities cited by Lucian Carr. *Mounds of Mississippi Valley*. Memoirs of Ky. Geological Survey, Vol. 2, 1883.

ized condition of the latter. Modern investigation has broken down these theories, and greatly lessened this contrast. The deeper the subject is probed, the more closely they are found to be related, until we are forced to the conclusion that there is no other theory so simple and rational as that which assigns the mound builders a place in history as the ancestors of the advanced tribes of modern Southern Indians.

The systems of earthworks and tumuli in Tennessee and the States adjacent must be regarded as clearly presenting most of the characteristic features of the mound builder's structures. They offer a fair test of the question at issue. No higher grades or forms of pottery, or more elaborately wrought implements, or articles showing more commercial development have been found elsewhere in the Mississippi valley.*

Prof. Putnam with his archæological spadé has recently penetrated the inmost recesses of elaborate mounds and ancient cemeteries in Ohio, and Wm. McAdams and A. J. Conant have explored hundreds of graves in Illinois and Missouri without discovering anything superior to the arts of the primitive tribes who built the earthworks in Tennessee.

There are features common to all the works of the mound-building tribes. The differences are not sufficiently radical to make it necessary to attribute them to different races. There are also many traces of kinship connecting these tribes with the ancient pyramid builders of Mexico and the Pueblo builders of the far West.

Doubtless some offshoot of the ancient Mongol race or races, who built up the first semblance of civilization upon the banks of the Gila and Colorado, then found their way to the valley of Mexico—doubtless some offshoot finally pushed across the wide plains to the eastward and colonized the Mississippi valley. Waves of immigration may have followed. The date was too remote for chronology. Centuries of time, migrations, changes, wars, extinctions, absorption must have succeeded.

The nomadic tribes of the plains, the more sedentary or village Indians of the South, their industrious kindred of the Ohio valley, were probably each the progeny of this ancient race, under different conditions or stages of development.

The special influences that caused certain branches of the family stock to adopt the semi-agricultural state, and others the hunter state, may readily be imagined; nor is it difficult to account for their military or defensive works, simple or elaborate, wherever they exist.

The particular development, religious or social rites, the semblance of

* Characteristic tumuli exist in all sections of Tennessee, sometimes rising to the height of 60 or 70 feet, but I have specially considered only those that have come under my observation.

culture, that led to the construction of the so-called effigy or figure mounds of Wisconsin and Ohio, and the groups of exact forms, circles, squares, the systems of terraced pyramids of the Ohio valley and of the South, offer some minor problems more difficult of solution, yet these enigmas are being unraveled. The effigy work seems a natural outgrowth of the religious rites and superstitions of the Indian race, and Mr. Lewis H. Morgan in an elaborate treatise has offered a most reasonable explanation of the peculiar features of the Ohio structures.

Consider the influence of a century of peace upon tribes of Indians like the Natchez, the Shawnees or the Iroquois. Peace and agriculture in a fertile territory would naturally have enabled them to produce all the spurs of development represented by these remains. Consider the effect of a succeeding century of wars, invasions, pestilence, famine, and we have the key to the apparent decadence of the North American Indians. These vicissitudes have marked the pathway of the most civilized nations.

Conquest and progress followed by degeneration and decay is the lesson of history. There is no mystery in the disappearance of some of the mound-building aborigines. Scores of tribes have become extinct during the last three centuries. An Indian trail is now almost unknown even on the plains of the far West.

The Mandans of the Northwest, a modern tribe, lived in dwellings very similar in character to those of our stone-grave race. Catlin describes one of their villages, in the bend of a river, protected by a solid stockade and ditch. It resembled in other respects one of our ancient fortified villages in Tennessee.

They burned in kilns an excellent variety of pottery. They played the game of "Chungke" with discoidal stones like the Southern Indians a century and more ago. They were once a strong tribe, yet under the unrelenting persecutions of the Sioux tribes they have become nearly extinct.* Here doubtless is an epitome of the life and fate of some of the mound-building tribes. There has been a great deal of sentimental rubbish written on this subject about "vanished races of high culture akin to the Aztecs and the Incas." It is better to face the simple truth even at the expense of sentiment.

I have personally assisted in exploring many mounds and stone graves. I have also carefully examined a large number of collections and Museums of American Archæology. The result is disappointing to any one searching for evidences of ancient civilization among the remains of the Missis-

*"Mound Builders." Force, p. 76.

sippi valley. He will find only the remains of ancient barbarism. There has been no exception.

I have also had the pleasure of witnessing excavations, made under official authority, in the ruins of the ancient cities of Southern Italy—indeed have been permitted to assist in them. I have seen a number of articles lifted into daylight from their original bed in the ashes and cinders of Pompeii—an Etruscan vase, a kitchen ladle of copper inlaid with silver, a lock and key and other humbler antiques, but all showing the high state of civilization that existed in ancient Italy. I could not help thinking of the contrast between the antiquities of Europe and America, a contrast scarcely less striking, though the explorer prosecutes his labors among the most noted remains of Central America or Mexico.

History and tradition tell us that the ancient tribe of Natchez Indians probably occupied the fertile valleys of the Cumberland and Tennessee rivers at the dawn of European discovery. The Creek confederacy was subsequently founded upon the ruins of the Natchez. Later the Shawnees from the far Sewanee, or Shawnee River of Florida and from the Savannah in Georgia became the conquerors of the land now called Tennessee. An ancient Shawnee village was built upon the present site of Nashville. They were a fine type of the native American.—the tribe later of Logan and Tecumseh.

For a century or more they held sway. Their domain extended from the Ohio to the Tennessee River, but these fair possessions were the constant envy of their neighbors. They were never at peace. No wonder their ancient homes upon the Cumberland were fortified like the walled towns of feudal Europe! Each settlement probably had its castle of security. The Iroquois on the north pressed them, through years of unrelenting hate. The Chickasaws and Choctaws preyed upon them from the south; the Cherokees from the southeast.

The Shawnees were finally overwhelmed and scattered. They fled beyond the Ohio. Their towns and villages were desolated and left in ashes.

They occasionally stole back to their ruined homes in the land of their fathers. The Iroquois, their ancient enemies, sometimes hunted the Cherokees even to the banks of the Tennessee, yet no claimant dared to build a permanent home in all this fair territory, and for sixty years or more prior to its first settlement by the whites Tennessee was an uninhabited wilderness. The trees grew still larger upon its mounds and earthworks, and its maize fields again became a forest. President Harrison, an eminent antiquarian in his day, tells us in a paper relating to the

history of the Indians that even "the beautiful Ohio rolled its amber tide until it paid tribute to the Father of Waters, through an unbroken solitude for nearly a century."

What an Eldorado was buried in this deep wilderness! An Eldorado not of gold, but of nature's better riches! No wonder that its pioneer discoverers called it the Garden of Eden, and the Land of Promise beyond the Mountains! No wonder that the Cherokees from the mountains on the east looked down along the bright silver ribbon of the Tennessee upon the immigrants' floating barge, and tried to stay its coming, or lay in ambush along the narrow "Wilderness Trail"!

Here we take leave of "Ancient Tennessee." We have come out of prehistoric shadows into the light of history. What a mighty change has been wrought by a century of civilization!

G. P. Thurston.

