

**Hurons of the West: migration and adoptions of the
Ontario Iroquoians, 1650-1704**

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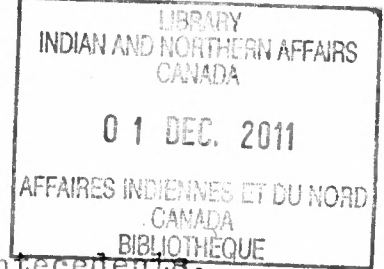
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Hurons of the West:Migrations and Adaptations of the Ontario Iroquoians,1650 - 1704*

by

James A. Clifton



This essay concerns the culture historical antecedents, during the second half of the seventeenth century, of the ultimate demise of the Ontario Iroquoians as viable, identifiable communities in a much later period, the last fifty years of the nineteenth century. The focus of the discussion will be on the refugee descendants of the three Iroquoian confederacies known to the officials of New France as the Huron, Petun, and Neutral. As is well known portions of the remnants of these confederacies fled westward following the disastrous assaults of the Five Nations Iroquois from New York colony in the years 1649-1653. Following this great diaspora the Ontario Peninsula remained a nearly unpopulated region for more than half a century, serving as a vast hunting preserve for the New York Iroquois, or as a hazardous war-road for bands of armed men engaged in trade and colonial rivalries.

Meanwhile, for more than fifty years some survivors of the nine or more tribal societies that had made up the three confederacies engaged in a series of complex, overlapping migrations which spanned the upper Great Lakes and the upper Mississippi Valley, even reaching out deep into the prairie lands beyond these forested waterways. Then, beginning in 1702--

following the peace of Montreal, the founding of Detroit, and the decline of the New York Iroquois as the dominant military power in the region, most of the remaining Ontario Iroquoians began reassembling near Fort Pontchartrain on the Detroit River. Soon thereafter this population began expanding its estate eastward, eventually moving back into the Ontario Peninsula, and penetrating deep into the Ohio country south of Lake Erie. On both expansive paths they were followed by bands of their sometime allies from the much more numerous Algonquian Odawa, Ojibwa, and Potawatomi tribes.

One interesting fact and a salient observation will provide the theme of this essay. The fact is that no group of descendants of the Petuns, Neutral, or Huron organized as a cohesive local community survived in Ontario into the twentieth century. On the other hand, numerous communities made up of Odawa, Ojibwa, and Potawatomi (as well as other tribes) did, and these persist today as viable social entities. Relatedly, we may observe that in the early 1840s, while thousands of Algonquians from the United States were seeking refuge in Ontario as a means of avoiding the American Indian removal policy, many of the surviving Iroquoians, then living near Amherstburg, migrated in precisely the opposite direction so as to join with their kinsmen in Ohio for a trek west to a reservation in eastern Kansas.¹

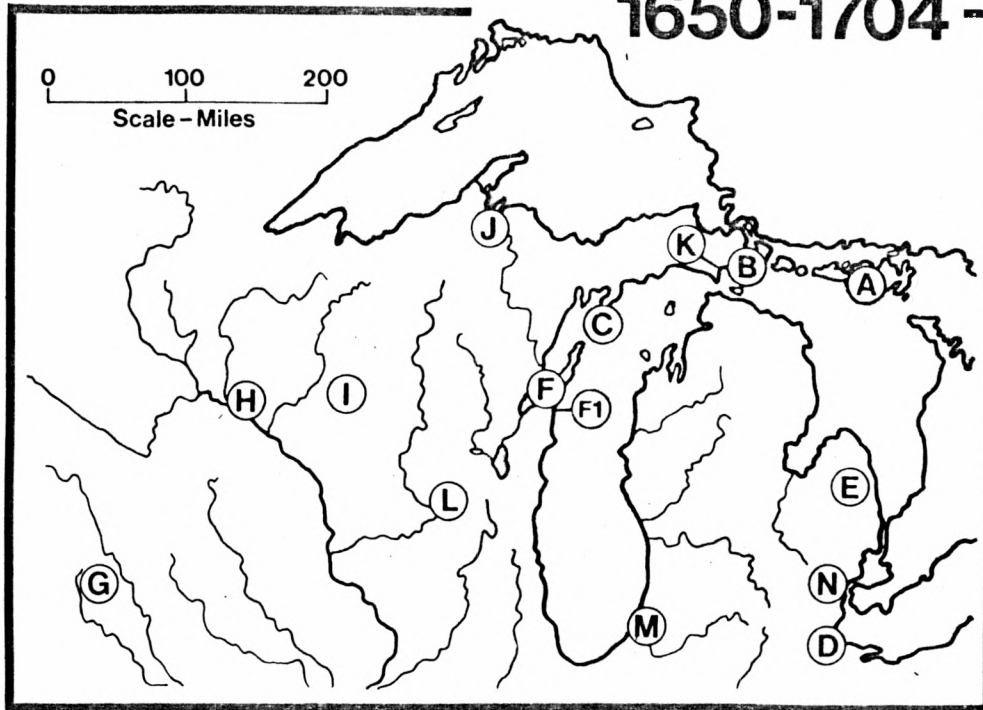
The plan of the essay, thus, is a close examination of the historical record of a half century of experience following the diaspora for evidence of a succession of adaptations which may

have contributed significantly to, if they did not actually predetermine, the later disappearance of these groups. Those facts and trends which emerge from this chronicle will be examined with ideas about adaptive strategies and cultural ecology drawn from the armory of contemporary anthropological thought.² To summarize our intent: other tribal societies managed to adapt themselves to the exigencies of living through this period and to survive, but not the Ontario Iroquoians. We ask, thereby, why not?

Ethnic Antecedents and Identification

The phrase Ontario Iroquoians has served with convenient ambiguity so far; however, using the geographic prefix for events after 1643 when these tribesmen were no longer in that region, would prove confusing. Besides, we must ask about the particular ethnic antecedents of these refugees: which of the several Ontario Iroquoian tribal populations were represented in the westward streams of migrants and in what proportions? Unfortunately, neither French or other contemporaneous commentators nor later historians and anthropologists are of much help in unraveling this tangle. Broadly speaking, the French--whether in Quebec or the West--took the old phrasing Huron, once applied mainly to four tribe league of the Lake Simcoe-Georgian Bay area, and applied it indiscriminately to all the Iroquois refugees in the western Great Lakes, whether Neutral, Petun, or Huron proper. Next most common in French usage during the period 1651-1704 was the phrasing Petun or

Hurons of the West: Post-Diaspora Locations, 1650-1704



Location	Description	Dates
A	Manitoulin I. (Ekaenton)	1650, 1658-59
B	Mackinac I.	1651-52, 1671
C	Rock I. (Huron I., Potawatomi I.)	1652-59
D	Mouth of Maumee R. (Tea, onto'rai)	1653
E	"Thumb" of Michigan (Sken'chio, e)	1653
F	Méchingan (A, otonatendie - Green Bay)	1654-57
F1	Méchingan (fort on L. Michigan shore)	1657
G	Headwaters of Iowa R.	1656
H	Pelée I. of Mississippi R.	1657-61
I	Headwaters of Black R.	1658-61
J	Chequamegon Bay (La Pointe)	1662-70
K	Missilmackinac (St. Ignace)	1672-1704
L	Portage of Fox R. & Wisconsin R.	1685
M	St. Joseph R. (R. of Miamis)	1695-1704
N	Detroit (Te'o'chanontian)	1653, 1679, 1702-1843

Tobacco Hurons. Sometimes the context of this usage indicates the reference was only to a portion, albeit a substantial if not a dominant fraction, of all these Iroquois refugees. Dutch and English officials and traders in New York colony followed this latter usage, habitually calling the western Iroquois Dionondade, which they took directly from the Seneca-Mohawk pronunciation of Tionontati ("There the Mountain Stands"), the self-name of the confederacy known to the French as the Petuns or Tobacco Hurons. Apparently the New York Iroquois perceived the western refugees as Tionontati, or else--more importantly for our present purposes, they were regularly negotiating alliances with only one major faction of the Iroquoian refugees in the upper lakes.

Later historians have generally followed the main French usage, lumping together all the refugee Iroquoians as Hurons, or Hurons of the West. One, in her classic history of Wisconsin and the Old Northwest, went a step further by asserting they were exclusively Tionontati.³ Anthropologists, similarly, have concluded that these refugees were a cohesive assemblage of both Tionontati and Hurons proper. Together, both view the Tionontati-Huron emigrants as a solidary group traveling as a unit from Manitoulin Island to "Huron Island" (actually Rock Island in Wisconsin),⁴ thence to the Mississippi, Chequamegon Bay, Missilimackinac, and, eventually, Detroit.⁵ We will shortly note that this interpretation involves a considerable simplification, that the Ontario Iroquoians migrating to the west did so in multiple streams at different times, and that their ethnic composition was somewhat more

varied than these standard conclusions allow for (see Map).

If there are any mysteries in the historical record one consists of the fate of the Neutrals and another the much later emergence of the word Wendat (later anglicized as Wyandot) to designate the migrant Iroquoians after they moved into the Michigan-Ohio region. As regards the Neutrals, whom the Hurons called Attiwandaron ("Those who speak a slightly different language"), there are just two known references to them in the western country. One dates to 1653 and reports that eight hundred persons from this confederacy were wintering at Sken'chio,e ("territory of the Fox tribe", i.e., the "thumb" of Michigan) near Te,o'chanontian (the Detroit River), and that they were planning a move to A,otonatendia ("Lake of the Stinkards," i.e., Green Bay) the next autumn. The second known reference is on Nicolas Sanson's 1657 map, which locates the Neutral west of Green Bay in northeastern Wisconsin.⁶ Thereafter, the record is blank as regards specific references to this group. However, on the basis of the evidence available, we may conclude that a fair number of the Neutral joined the migrant streams, whereupon the French called them by the generic name Huron. Indeed, there is some suggestion, if little direct evidence, that a small number of refugee Erie also joined the Hurons of the West after 1676, further complicating the ethnic composition of this population.⁷

As regards the much later emergence of the word Wendat (subsequently Wyandot) as a cover name for some of the descendants of the Hurons of the West, two facts are clear.

The first is that the word Wendat (Sendat, Ouendat) was known to the Jesuits; but it was very rarely used. Indeed, the two known applications of this word in the Jesuit Relations came from the quill of one man, Father Le Jeune, while his usage may have been borrowed from the so-called Lost-Huron Map of Father Paul Ragueneau. In 1639, for example, Father Le Jeune noted that "the general name, and that which is common to these four nations, is Wendat," while a year later he used this same phrasing once again.⁸ In both instances he was referring specifically and narrowly to the four tribes of the Iroquoian confederacy in the Lake Simcoe-Georgian Bay area, and there is no suggestion the word was ever applied more broadly to encompass the Petun or the Neutral confederacies in that period.

Now, the most commonly accepted gloss of Wendat is "The Islanders," but recent philological study suggests it may have had a somewhat different, and a particularly interesting denotation.⁹ In this interpretation Wenda would seem to have carried the meaning of "Islanders" as a self-name, while the addition of the -ot root ("standing" or "surviving" or "living"), making the construction Wendat, alters the signification to "the Surviving Islanders" in contrast to the dead and gone. In early seventeenth century usage Wendat may well have been a usage associated with beliefs about relationships between the living and the dead. However, a century later, when the word was resuscitated and once again put into common use, it had a quite different significance. At that time, beginning in

the 1740s, part of the Detroit area Iroquoians were moving into the Ohio country, legitimizing their claim to that area upon the assertion of long prior occupancy and the social integration of all Iroquoians north and south of Lake Erie. In this period the older usage of Tionontati was gradually dropped, while variations of Wendat came into increasingly common use, until the pronunciation Wyandot was standardized early in the nineteenth century. In this same period the Hurons of Amherstburg and Lorette never adopted this usage. Therefore, it seems that Wendat or Wyandot came into force as a new self-name for an assemblage of people claiming title to a new estate and, thus, its contextual significance was political rather than religious.¹⁰

These observations are meant to undermine any hasty presupposition of a straight line connection between any of the Ontario Iroquoian tribes and the later Wyandot grouping, or any assumption that the western refugees were simply Hurons or Tionontati. To begin, we must appreciate the nature of the societies which produced these emigrants. In this respect there is no improving on Father Le Jeune's perceptive analysis of 1639 concerning the fundamental structure and the basic social dynamics of these northern Iroquoian tribes and confederacies. Although he was speaking of the Huron proper his comments apply as well to the Petun and the Neutral. These were, he noted, an assembly (a league) of different collections (tribes) of grouped family stocks (clans). These stocks or clans, he observed, were hardly distinguishable except for their

different ancestors, whom "they cherish tenderly." What these assemblages had in common, Le Jeune saw, "was a community of language, of enemies, and of other interests." He also noted the basic growth dynamic of these societies, which grew, he wrote, by adoption of other families (clans), which sometimes moved off to form a separate community by themselves, or to affiliate themselves with some other community.¹¹ That is to say, these northern Iroquoian societies were fundamentally segmentary and divisive, separated by internal rivalries, charged with centripetal forces, and only partially and weakly integrated by communalities of language, culture, and opposed external powers.

Tribe by tribe and confederation by confederation, this condition of balanced divisiveness was ruptured by Five Nations raids in the years 1649-1652. In this short period the old economic and political adaptations were reduced to a shambles, the subsistence base destroyed, and the population cut down to a small fraction of its former strength. With neither the will nor the power for further resistance, some of the surviving Ontario Iroquoians elected the adaptive strategy of migration; but characteristically they did not do so collectively as an integrated whole. To begin, we must appreciate the full intensity of the grave physiological, psychological, and culture stresses experienced by these refugees during the diaspora. Doing so will sensitize us to evidence of conflict and controversy as the refugees worked at coping with their greatly altered circumstances.

Two preeminent adaptive problems facing them are obvious: one, to find for themselves a secure habitat where they could establish their communities and obtain their subsistence; two, to forge some kind of a new Iroquoian alliance in the west, to provide themselves with the strength of organized numbers so that they could deal effectively with their new social environment. How well they accomplished these important goals and what forces interfered with their coping must now be teased out of the fragmentary historical record.

Migration and Adaptation, 1650-1704

Following the assaults on Huronia by the Seneca and Mohawk armies in the late winter of 1649 the great majority of the terrorized Hurons fled their country. Thousands sought refuge on inhospitable Christian Island. Others moved directly to the camps of their Odawa allies on Manitoulin Island, while many more--mainly women, children, and older men, were accepted in the Petun country whose population they infected with their panic. Yet others fled south and east, to the territory of the Neutral, the Erie, the Susquehannah, and to the St. Lawrence River.¹² Of the thousands on Christian Island, only a few hundred survived the next winter. Meanwhile, that December, Five Nations warriors fell on the Petun during the absence of most of their warriors. The Tionontati then began their flight, a few to Christian Island, many more to Mantioulin Island. At this point in the dispersion the Petun formed the great majority of the refugees, and they were better organized than the

scattered remnants of the Huron tribes.¹³ During the spring and summer of 1650 the Five Nations directed their attacks on the Neutral towns so that by the following year many of these tribesmen were fleeing to the west. Unlike the Petuns and Hurons, we should note, the Neutral were not skilled, habitual users of bark canoes. Thus, as pedestrians, they were restricted to land routes in their migration, and so the paths they took differed from those used by other Ontario Iroquoian refugees.¹⁴

For the next several years reports on the whereabouts and doings of all these migrants were few, fragmentary, and sometimes confusing. During the early 1650s, however, eight hundred Neutral were reported wintering (1652-1653) in Michigan near Detroit. That same winter some of the Petuns spent just to the south of the Neutral, at Tea, onto'rai ("where the lake disappears," i.e., the mouth of the Maumee River). Together, these Neutral and Petun were reported as on their way to Green Bay, which was becoming a rally point for both Michigan Algonquian refugees and the Iroquoians. However, in the same period (1651-1652) other Petuns were reported settled temporarily on Mackinac Island. Soon thereafter (perhaps the spring of 1652), these latter Petuns together with some of their Odawa allies moved to Rock Island at the mouth of Green Bay, where they began constructing a large fortified village on the south shore. This important position they occupied for at least the next half-dozen years.¹⁵

Now, if Manitoulin and Mackinac Islands had proven too bleak for subsistence activities and too vulnerable to Five

Nations attack, Rock Island was a strategically ideal place. At this location they had excellent access to good hunting grounds, productive fisheries, and rich agricultural lands. More importantly this site commanded access to the two major routes leading into the interior of Wisconsin and the Mississippi Valley, via the Green Bay-Fox River-Wisconsin River waterway, and by way of the west shore of Lake Michigan and the Chicago-Illinois Rivers. In addition, these Hurons of the West, who had been joined at Rock Island by their Odawa allies from Manitoulin Island, Saginaw Bay, and Thunder Bay, were in a desirable location to serve as middlemen between the primary producers of furs and the French on the St. Lawrence. These client tribes whose custom and political support they sought were the remnants of the long resident Menominee and Winnebago, as well as the far more numerous, newly arrived Michigan Algonquian populations such as the Potawatomi and the Sauk.

Over the next seven years, until 1660, the Hurons of the West (who were mainly Petun) and their Odawa partners monopolized the trade from the upper lakes to the St. Lawrence. In this period, almost annually, their canoe fleets regularly conducted business at the French Posts in the east.¹⁶ Indeed, during their 1658-1660 or Mississippi voyage, Pierre Radisson and Medart Groseilliers were partly concerned with breaking up their Huron-Odawa lock on the western trade routes. In their journey west these Frenchmen were accompanied by Huron and Odawa traders who first tried to persuade them to settle at

their village on Manitoulin Island. When the Frenchmen insisted on moving west, their "wild-men" accompanied them to their main base on Rock Island. There the Huron and Odawa wanted Radisson and Groseilliers to aid them in a raid on the nearby Potawatomi, who were then trying to intrude themselves as middlemen in the trade; but the brothers-in-law refused and instead negotiated a peace.¹⁷

Two points of interpretation are relevant at this juncture. First, very soon after the diaspora the Petun moved in as middlemen in the fur trade, replacing the Huron confederacy whom they had earlier served as suppliers, and which, together with the Odawa, had long dominated this aspect of the upper Great Lakes economic system. Until 1650, we must emphasize, the Huron had blocked direct Petun involvement with the French on the St. Lawrence, to the degree that the Petun viewed the French as strangers with whom they had no economic-political relationships.¹⁸ This situation was dramatically altered by the events of 1649-1651, so much so that we may deduce the Petuns perceived--in what has been seen by later commentators as a massive disaster--significant advantages for themselves. With the important middleman role vacated by the destruction of the Huron confederacy, the Petuns quickly assumed this profitable and important position. Thus, while the Five Nations had successfully displaced the Ontario Iroquoians and obtained control of valued hunting territory, they had not significantly altered fundamental economic and political relationships in the upper lakes. The principals, partners, and protagonists

had been changed, but not the basic system. Similarly, we may conclude that the element of panic and threat as motive forces ejecting the Iroquoians out of Ontario have been overrated to the exclusion of positive factors attracting them elsewhere. The Petun, together with some Hurons and Neutrals, likely saw relocation at the upper end of Lake Michigan as having numerous desirable features. To be certain, there they were further out of range of marauding Five Nations war parties; but they were also closer to the supply of prime peltry and their canoe-using Algonquian hunter customers and suppliers.¹⁹

The late 1650s were not, however, without alarms and diversions for the Hurons of the West, who did not all long remain settled on Rock Island (which was much too small a parcel of real estate to support a substantial population anyway). In 1657, for example, some one hundred of their warriors moved sixty miles south to join a much more numerous assembly of Algonquians and Winnebagos in the defense of the large, fortified Potawatomi village called Méchingan.²⁰ This combined force of Algonquian, Siouan, and Iroquoian warriors successfully held off the Five Nations war-party that came into eastern Wisconsin that year planning to dislodge the refugees from this rich territory. Eventually the eastern Iroquoians were driven away, pursued, and destroyed piece-meal, while in process the Petuns received an unexpected windfall in the form of an infusion of manpower: many of the "Seneca" men outside the pallisades of Mechingan were actually Petun

captives, and their release was negotiated before the Five Nations party fled the area.²¹

However successful this defense may have been, and whatever the advantages of the northern Wisconsin habitat to the Hurons of the West, not all parts of this population were equally satisfied. By this year some Petuns had begun pioneering the route to the Mississippi valley via the Fox-Wisconsin Rivers, becoming familiar with the opportunities in that area, while in this period northeast Wisconsin was becoming intensively populated by other refugee tribes, with consequent overhunting and intergroup friction. Thus, sometime in 1657 or 1658, part of the Petun sloughed off from the main group and migrated further west. After crossing the Mississippi this party traveled up the Iowa River to its headwaters. Finding only prairie lands they backtracked and settled at Pelée Island on the Mississippi. There, after spending their winter at Sault Ste. Marie, Radisson and Groseilliers found them in early spring, 1660. These Frenchmen noted that the Petun were not particularly effective hunters, that their corn-crops were poor, and that there were numerous professing catholics among them. Pressed to accompany the travelers back to the St. Lawrence the Pelée Island Petun demurred, and the Frenchmen traveled on, later that year discovering more Petun and Ottawa well to the south, at the confluence of the Mississippi and the Missouri Rivers.²²

During their explorations of western Wisconsin and the country beyond the Mississippi, this group of Petuns had their

first contacts with the great Santee divisions of the Dakota peoples. These eastern Dakota included the Wahpeton, the Wahpekute, the Mdewakanton, and the Sisseton, all centered at Mille Lacs and controlling and hunting the tributaries of the upper Mississippi and the Minnesota Rivers. At first these Santee tribes received the easterners with all available hospitality, hoping to create and cement trading alliances with them so as to obtain access to the French goods carried by the Petun and the Odawa. The latter, longer experienced with and more disposed to peaceable trading relationships, reciprocated; but the Petuns, their vision distorted by the notorious Iroquoian ethnocentricity and by their conviction that the hospitality offered by the Santee reflected fear and weakness, soon conceived the plan of conquering these Dakota and commanding their hunting territories. Nicholas Perrot later commented that the Petuns acted very rashly in this conspiracy. His judgment cannot be faulted, for the Petuns, shortly seconded by their Odawa allies, were displaying extremely poor understanding of the geography of the area, a worse set of convictions about their own capacities, and near total ignorance of the fighting strength of the Santee tribes. In this period the Eastern Dakota may have numbered twenty thousand or more, far outnumbering the few hundred Petun and Odawa warriors who could be mustered for their ambitious war of conquest. Nonetheless, over the next decade the Petuns, reluctantly aided by the Odawa, persisted in their grandiose scheme of humbling and reducing the Dakota, until in 1670

they were themselves finally driven out of Wisconsin.²³

These Petun-Dakota conflicts may be seen as a precursor of the long continued war that broke out between the rapidly expanding Ojibwa and the Santee a half century later.²⁴ In both instances what was at stake was the lush furred and large game populations in the forest-edges, the oak-openings, the prairie-lands, and the swamps and streams of the Santee habitat. However, the Ojibwa spent the first half century of their association with the Eastern Dakota in peaceful trading and military alliances. This same explanation cannot be used to account for the Petun drive to conquest, for they were far too few in this period to be pressed by their own hungry numbers. We may, perhaps, look to a continuity of the values and traditions of the old Ontario Iroquoian adaptive strategy, which required dependent client tribes serving as primary producers, to understand their maneuvers. In any respect the Petun's ethnocentric ambitions far exceeded their grasp of the realities of warfare against the Santee, ignoring as well the vulnerability of their own situation in western Wisconsin.

The first step in their retreat from the Mississippi was a move of one part of the Pelee Island group to the headwaters of the Black River in the densely forested uplands of north-central Wisconsin (see Map, location I). Some of them likely established a village in that area as early as 1658, and the site was occupied for the next several years. During this period other Petuns remained at Pelee Island until they too migrated eastward in the summer of 1660. One last unsuccessful

try at reducing the Santee probably explains their reluctance that spring to join Radisson and Grosielliers in a journey to the St. Lawrence. While they were voicing fears of Five Nations war-parties on the Ottawa River route, they were themselves planning an assault on the Dakota. When this effort failed, they were more than eager to aid the French explorers later that summer. In any respect, by the fall of 1660 the village on Pelée Island was deserted and these Petun were clustered on the upper Black River, while their Odawa allies had moved farther north to found a large village at Chequamegon Bay.

It is at this point that we obtain the first specific indication of which Petun were involved in the western adventures from the reports of Father Rene Menard, who had been ordered west to reestablish the Petun mission. In 1661 Menard reported that the Petun on the Black River were starving (hunting was poor in the Black River country, and the Petun were low-skilled hunters), and that they were led by Sastaretsi of the Deer clan.²⁵

By 1662 the Petun were congregated at the great inter-tribal hunting, fishing, and trading village on Chequamegon Bay. Apparently, a few years earlier the Hurons of the West remaining on Rock Island had gotten into a squabble with the Odawa, who threatened war against them, and so they, too, withdrew to the Lake Superior center. In this period the Iroquoians living there numbered about fifteen hundred, about one third of the total population in this large village. Not having learned their lessons while living further west, where they had

substantial casualties, they continued their harassment of the Dakota from this new base. It was in this period that their political maneuvering against the Dakota, their own allies, and the French earned them the beginnings of the noxious reputation that was to stay with them so long as they lived in the Wisconsin-Upper Michigan area. As La Mothe Cadillac was to say of them thirty years later, they were "cunning men, intriguing, evil-disposed and capable of great designs," but their strength was insufficient to execute their plans. Too few to "play the part of lions," Cadillac observed, the Hurons of the West were acting like foxes.²⁶

In 1661 during his fourth Lake Superior voyage Radisson was again aided by western Iroquoians he identified as Hurons. Indeed, he was guided west by two Huron men who had escaped their Five Nations captivity and were desirous of rejoining their families on the furthestmost of the Great Lakes. Once arrived on Lake Superior Radisson acquired a substantial group of Huron supporters who travelled with him to the head of the lake, where they promptly established a temporary village in the Minnesota country and participated in a great trading fair with the Dakota. But Huron-Dakota relationships did not long remain peaceful. Soon a Huron hunting party captured a small group of their men, who were handed over to the Odawa leader Sinagos (Little Squirrel) for his disposition. Sinagos wisely did not rise to this Huron provocation. More concerned with peaceful trading relations he personally escorted the Santee prisoners back to their village, where

he was received with a calumet ceremony. A year or two later an overly ambitious party of some one hundred Petun warriors took matters into their own hands by attempting to destroy the Santee villages near Milles Lacs, but they were trapped by several thousand Dakota in the unfamiliar swampy terrain, then surrounded and slaughtered. At this moment the Odawa became increasingly reluctant supporters of their trading partners in these punishing adventures; a temporary peace ensued for the three Odawa clans and the Hurons of the West then living in the large Chequamegon Bay village.²⁷

It was in 1665 that Father Claude Allouez arrived at Chequamegon to begin his long mission to the "upper Indians." Unfortunately, his cultural descriptions of the western Hurons were not so rich or full as the reports he made of other, newly encountered tribes. He did, however, specify that this Iroquoian population was predominantly Petun, that they well remembered Father Garnier, and that, while many retained some identification with his church, they were now only "Christians by calling rather than by profession." Nonetheless these Hurons of the West were more willing to reembrace Christianity than were the Algonquian tribes to try this cloth on new. This began a period of extensive missionization by the Jesuits among the Petun, which culminated fifteen years later in a considerable syncretic religious revival when they were located at St. Ignace. However, Father Allouez's efforts did not make peaceable souls out of these Iroquoians, nor did they soon abandon some of their (in Dakota eyes) less

savory customs such as the taking of trophy heads and ritual torture and cannibalism. Thus in 1669, when an irresponsible group of young Dakota captured a band of Huron hunters, the Santee village leader protected them and dispatched one to Chequamegon to report all was well. But the Huron messenger lied about the condition of his fellows, and when the Santee leader arrived with the remaining prisoners the Hurons persuaded the Odawa to kill and eat him. This treachery brought the final rupture in the fragile peace between the Dakota and their dangerous Huron-Odawa trading partners. The war that broke out soon drove these immigrants from Chequamegon Bay.²⁸

In the summer of 1670 the Huron-Odawa trading fleet to the St. Lawrence invested nearly their entire stock of peltry in new weapons and munitions in preparation for a concerted attack on the Dakota, ample testimony of the value they placed on acquiring control of the Upper Mississippi River hunting grounds. Later that winter they drew upon a complex web of intertribal marriages and alliances to assemble a force of some one thousand warriors from the Huron, Odawa, Sauk, Fox, and Potawatomi tribes. But even this large, heavily armed war-party was inadequate to the task of subduing the formidable Santee tribes. Their invasion ended in a disastrous defeat and rout, with the Hurons, the Odawa Squirrel clan, and the Sauk taking heavy casualties as they covered the retreat of their less than enthusiastic allies. That following spring, fearing a Dakota "storm might burst over them," they abandoned

their Chequamegon Bay village, the Odawa withdrawing to Manitoulin, the Hurons to Mackinac Island. Not all Hurons of the West migrated immediately to the straits of Lakes Michigan and Huron, however. In the spring of 1672 Father Jacques Marquette reported only 380 Petun and 80 Odawa settled there. Where the other one thousand or more Hurons of the West were located in this period is unknown. However, the group that was located first at Mackinac Island and the next year at St. Ignace on the mainland was described as near fully missionized. In cultural terms it was also a quite heterogeneous population. When a Huron Bear clan woman tried to arrange a curing rite for herself, for example, the Petun men (perhaps from the Deer clan) stumbled over their lines, being unfamiliar with the ritual. How fully catholicized these Hurons of the West were was also disputed by two skeptical Sulpicians, François Dollier de Casson and René de Galinée, who visited with Father Marquette at Sault Ste. Marie in 1670.²⁹

The unsettled circumstances occasioned by their move from Chequamegon caused the Hurons to miss the delights of the great French annexation ceremony at Sault Ste. Marie on June 14, 1671, although Perrot later met and explained to them what had transpired, obtaining their agreement and consent to the proceedings arranged by François Daumont de St. Iusson. In the same period the Hurons and the Odawa received and welcomed the first of what was to become a tempting deluge of English trade overtures carried into the west by Five Nations Iroquois messengers. By the summer of 1672 the Tionontati

formed the most numerous and the most enthusiastic participants in the St. Ignace mission, then located in their new, fortified village. From this location, although badly hurt by their previous western adventures, they continued sending occasional forays against the Santee, until the Ojibwa--by 1678 the dominant factor in the Lake Superior trade, threatened war against them if they did not cease aggressions against their trading partners. By this period it had become evident the Hurons' efforts at securing for themselves a position of preeminence in the west had failed. Their major political-economic adaptation--involving conquest of the Santee territory and reduction of that population to the status of dependent client tribes--was everything short of successful. The old eastern Iroquoian cultural strategy had failed when applied in the west by a population unable to back up its plans and threats with adequate force. Thus for some years the Hurons of the West settled in at Missilimackinac nursing their wounds and grievances, recovering their strength, and subsisting on a more modest scale by the production of surplus corn and fish for those more effectively and creatively involved in the fur trade.³⁰

It was at St. Ignace that the Hurons and their Odawa neighbors in the early winter of 1678 welcomed Henri de Tonty, and the next spring his employer Robert LaSalle. By this time the Huron population numbered some five hundred persons at that location. The great majority of these remained in their permanent village year round, indicating only a modest

dependency on winter hunting and trapping. Upon LaSalle's arrival on board the Griffon these Hurons, more attuned to the niceties of French culture than the Odawa, fired off three salvos from their muskets. But during the winter months they had also helped to subvert the loyalties of LaSalle's advance party, many of whom had taken Huron women and settled into the economy of the region, unwilling to accompany their employer on his plans for exploration.

By that year as well the Hurons of the West had, after their fashion, become avid Christians. They were in these months caught up in the emotional fervor of a religious revival which combined elements of their own traditions with Catholic forms, symbols, and practices. A new level of community organization had arisen, with some Hurons assuming formal politico-religious roles. One man--who was accepted by the Jesuits as a lay-preacher, was charged with responsibility for announcing masses, encouraging attendance, and interpreting the substance to the congregation. Two subordinate officials were responsible for quarterly rites, which apparently synthesized elements of Catholic with Huron belief and practice. At Christmas time, 1679, this revival reached a peak as the Hurons of the West divided themselves into three "companies according to the different nations that constitute their village." One leader was selected from each of the three "nations" to assume the roles of the Three Wise Men, and these acted out this ancient celebration worshipping the birth of Christ, giving to these new symbols

and forms meanings the Jesuits may not have understood and did not record, so excited were they at seeing the formal outlines of a medieval European pageant acted out on the bleak beaches at Missilimackinac. These three Huron "kings," representing three different "nations," pose a problem of interpretation. Obviously they represented substantial subdivisions of the whole composite Huron population. But which? They may have been new kinds of leaders for old traditional clan units, perhaps the Deer, Wolf, and Bear of the old Huron and Petun confederacies. Or they may have represented larger social aggregates, perhaps the Petuns, Hurons, and Neutrals. Which is impossible to decide on the basis of available evidence, although the latter seems the more likely choice.³¹

By the mid-1680s the Hurons of the West, now outnumbered by the three divisions of the Odawa who lived adjacent to them, were well situated at Missilimackinac, which remained their base of operations for the next full generation. By then large game hunting was extremely poor in the surrounding country, while the short-growing season and the frequent foggy and cloudy days in summer made farming problematic. In this difficult physical environment their major economic adaptations centered upon fishing and, corn-farming, supplemented by the collection of some peltry, trading, the sale of surplus farm products, and the manufacture of canoes. Early on, as the Franco-British contest for control of the interior of North America increased in tempo, the

young men and their leaders began trying on a new economic role, that of mercenary warriors engaging their services temporarily for rations, pay, and booty. But the French never found them entirely comfortable or reliable allies. When the least occasion was presented them they immediately began measuring the value to their tribal interests of a new relationship with a different colonial power. Thus, although the scale of their subsistence remained at a modest level for more than twenty years, their old ambition of achieving a position of dominance in the upper lake country was never diminished in its strength. These were decades, then, when the Hurons of the West began giving more attention to adjusting their needs and skills more to the exigencies of their social than to those of their physical environment. They were searching for a niche somewhere between the French, British, Five Nations, and other tribes, one where they could realize the most profits for themselves.³²

The sheer variety and seeming contradictions of Huron maneuvers in these decades is at first bewildering; however, behind the contradictions lies a basic adaptive pattern. It was, to begin, a period of experimentation, with the Huron searching for more profitable and prestigious social alignments. Early in these years, for example, some--led by Andiaronk, traveled to Quebec to request permission for taking the offensive against the Five Nations; and for the next generation one segment of the tribe or another was generally willing to wage war against their old antagonists in the east,

or at least to give the appearance of doing so.³³ Thus in 1684 the Hurons--unlike other tribes in the upper country, willingly subscribed to Governor LaBarre's invitation to participate in his abortive invasion of Iroquois territory, while some of their parties successfully raided the Five Nations in 1687 and 1688. In these same years another group of Hurons led by Duluth was embittered when they were dismissed from French service without being allowed to do battle. Their raids continued through the 1690s, organized most often by the indomitable Andiorank, who seemed firmly committed to a policy of keeping the French and the Five Nations at odds with one another, seemingly calculating that his Petuns would gain from whatever disaster that could be made to befall the other two parties in contention. If we may read the identity of the subdivision of the tribe from that of its leader, then it was Andiorank's Deer clan of the Petun who most favored hostilities against the Iroquois, and who most consistently and successfully employed the standard Iroquoian playoff tactic against the French and the Five Nations.³⁴

While the Petun Deer clan was more or less consistently committed to a French alliance and war against the Iroquois other Hurons expressed a different political-economic polity. Some sustained the older interest in the far west and the Dakota trade, operating by way of the Fox-Wisconsin River route. In 1685, for instance, a party of Hurons along the Wisconsin River attempted to block Nicolas Perrot's new trading venture to the Dakota. That same year other Hurons

at Missilimackinac had their first taste of English trade goods in the upper lakes with the arrival of a Dutch-English-Iroquois fleet, an experience that was repeated the following year. By 1687, their appetite for English prices and goods whetted to a sharp edge, some Hurons at Missilimackinac were ready to fight on behalf of these newcomers and for the privilege of aiding Johannes Rosebloom's enterprise; they were dissuaded from doing so only by the threat of retaliation from the Odawa. Sorely tempted by this opportunity, the Hurons were reported as receiving offers of an alliance and important middleman concessions from the English. This event marked the beginning of a serious rift between the Huron and the Odawa at Missilimackinac, a spark kindled into a small blaze the next year when four Odawa killed a Huron hunting on the Saginaw River. Up to this moment the Huron and Odawa villages at Missilimackinac had been adjacent, separated only by "a single Palissadoe," but soon they were moved apart to reduce friction between the two groups.³⁵

But the Odawa were no less enticed by the possibilities of an English connection. However, while the Odawa expressed their growing interest openly, the Hurons tried to conceal and to distort theirs in an effort to maneuver the Odawa away from the advantage given by their greater numbers. Thus when the Odawa leader Little Root spread word of Iroquois successes in 1689 against French settlements on the St. Lawrence and attempted to spark a revolt in the upper country, the Hurons openly expressed unwillingness to join in the

conspiracy, while at the same time making their own private overtures to the Iroquois and the English. Yet other Hurons, led by Andiaronk, persisted in their aggressive acts against the Five Nations. Indeed, one of Andiaronk's successful ambushes was used by the Five Nations in their traditional rationalization for their bloody assaults on the French settlements. Andiaronk, in the Mohawk's account of this affair, had attacked a party of peaceful emissaries on their way to Montreal, explaining to his prisoners that the French had ordered the ambush.³⁶

At this juncture the Hurons' hard earned reputation for deception and treachery was shared by all French agents and officials, their closest neighbors and allies the Odawa, the Santee tribes, the Five Nations, and other peoples as well. Looking back on their political strategy some years later Claude LaPotherie summed up their favored adaptive tactic in a fashion that would not displease modern games theorists. Theirs was a policy "so shrewd that it is difficult to penetrate its secrets," he wrote. On all inter-group political issues they formed two parties, "one conspiring for and the other opposing it." If one party succeeded in their design, then their alter would "return to the other side" to share in whatever benefits were due. In such a fashion, LaPotherie concluded, the Hurons always "attain their objects."³⁷ This is a classic zero-sum strategy with no likelihood of losing a round. For a small, weak, but very ambitious population this adaptive tactic

had numerous benefits, at least in the short-run. But as a long range posture it had, as we shall note, certain serious short-comings.

Huron machinations continued throughout the unstable decade of the 1690s as the Five Nation declined in effective war-making potential and the French moved toward a lasting peace with their old adversaries. On occasion some Hurons, identified by the Iroquois as "Dionondades," promised them they would remain neutral in the war. This effort was generally led by a Huron leader known to the French as Le Baron, who was working to detach the Odawa from their French alignment and planning a war of conquest against the Miami tribes on the St. Joseph River. By 1695 he had moved his few supporters (perhaps a Huron clan-segment, although this cannot be ascertained definitely from historical sources) into that tribe's territory. His commitment to a Five Nations alliance was hardly diminished when he was unexpectedly wounded by an Iroquois ambush while on his way to Montreal to "beguile Monsieur de Frontenac." However, by this time French interest was shifting to the straits separating Lakes Erie and Huron, and their strongest western allies--the Potawatomi, Odawa, and Ojibwa "Brotherhood of Three" (also called the Three Fires confederacy), was moving rapidly to occupy and to prevent Five Nations use of this valuable territory. As La Mothe Cadillac observed, the Hurons expressed friendship with the Brotherhood of Three because of "necessity only, because they are the weaker." By necessity,

rather, because of the geopolitical imperatives of these years, the Hurons were drawn into an alliance with these Algonquians and Le Baron's plans for introducing the Five Nations into the Miami territory were temporarily blocked. It was at this moment that he began negotiations to move his village east to take up residence with the Five Nations. Thus, as the nineteenth century closed the fortunes of the Hurons remained fastened tightly to those of the French and neighboring Algonquian tribes, and their future lay in the Detroit area, once Cadillac moved to realize the Baron de La Hontan's old scheme of establishing a major French post there.³⁸

While French officials were feeling their way toward peace with the Iroquois and an approval of Cadillac's plans for Detroit, the English, too, were examining the possibility of strengthening their position at that strategic place. Their plans included developing a confederacy among the "farr Indians" under their auspices, one based on Five Nations leadership, and building their own "nursery of bushlopers" at the head of Lake Erie. But the French moved first and most effectively, temporarily blocking English designs on the upper lake country. Following the Peace of Montreal, Cadillac's scheme was approved and construction of the fort later to be called Pontchartrain begun. Then Cadillac set about acting out his own self-designed role as the "Moses or Caleb" of the western tribes, encouraging them to abandon their existing villages and to reestablish themselves in the shelter of his

new post. Among the first invited, the Hurons were the slowest to respond. It was three years before all from this tribe resettled on the Detroit River, and in the interim they were lured in several directions by different interests in the factionalized French North American establishment.³⁹

Andiaronk, bearing the powerful title of Sastaretsi and recognized by the French as principal leader of the Hurons, died during the peace negotiations in Montreal, where he was buried with full military honors. Following his death three new leaders rose to prominence, Alloyoue, Saint Souan (or Sanchouan), and Michipichi, the latter being also known to the French as Quarante Sous. It was Michipichi, who had inherited Le Baron's influence among the Hurons on the St. Joseph River, who quickly gained French recognition as their main man in Huron affairs. The names of these men are of special interest because they suggest some considerable degree of acculturative change among the Huron. Alloyoue, for example, seems to be a Huron pronunciation of Father Claude Allouez's family name, suggesting that this leader was a Catholic convert who had identified himself closely with the Jesuits. Michipichi, on the other hand, is an Algonquian rather than an Iroquoian name, probably the Odawa Mtchibichi, "Great Stream." The third name, Saint Souan, is also Frenchified, but its origins and ethnology are obscure.⁴⁰

In any respect it was not easy persuading the Hurons either to depart Missilimackinac and the St. Joseph River or to congregate at Detroit. Fathers Marest and Carheil at the

well established St. Ignace mission were not disposed easily to part with their favored parishioners, nor to see them transported to a seat of secular power. Indeed, Alloyoue and Michipichi informed Cadillac that the Jesuits were encouraging them to settle instead on the St. Joseph. This may well have been the case, or their report may simply have reflected their perceptions and manipulations of Cadillac's jealous suspicion of the priests. Actually there was a concerted effort to have the Hurons move into southwestern Michigan and northwestern Indiana, but this came from Pierre d'Iberville, the governor of the new Louisiana colony, who was working to resettle the Miami further south and desirous of having the Hurons replace them in their old location. Not until 1702 was Michipichi able to persuade Le Baron's people to leave the St. Joseph and move to Detroit, and even then he may also have been hanging back himself, for he seems to have been a prime mover in a effort to develop a marriage of convenience between the Miami and the Huron, one whose dowry would bring the Hurons free access to the Miami's prime hunting grounds along the St. Joseph, Kankakee, and Wabash Rivers. In this same year other Hurons were visiting the Five Nations discussing a trade alliance and offering access to these Miami hunting grounds. Thus, within a year after the Peace of Montreal and the founding of Detroit, the Hurons--continuing their favored play-off strategy, were negotiating with Cadillac, his rivals the other French agents in the upper lakes and the Jesuits, officials of Louisiana colony, the governor of New York colony, the Five

Nations, the Miami, and such other parties whose situation held some promise of obtaining greater influence, wealth, and power for themselves.⁴¹

The hold-outs at Missilimackinac consisted of parts of the Petun Deer clan under their newly appointed Sastaretsi, apparently a younger man much threatened by Michipichi's rise to influence among the French. The Petun in this northern village expressed great fear of the Five Nations, who were still hunting over the Ontario Peninsula, and themselves invited Michipichi to move his Hurons back to Missilimackinac. When the two could not agree on Detroit or Missilimackinac as a central location for the whole tribe, Sastaretsi threatened to take his Petun to settle on Saginaw Bay. Ultimately, the two contenders agreed to allow the French governor to arbitrate their dispute, which did not involve much of a concession on Michipichi's part as he perfectly well understood what decision would be made. By May 1703, only twenty-five families remained at Missilimackinac and a smaller number on the St. Joseph River. So few were the Petun at Missilimackinac that the Odawa, who heavily outnumbered them, were becoming oppressive, treating them "like slaves." In the end the Petun's Jesuit supporters capitulated, while simultaneous pressure from the Odawa brought the end desired by Cadillac. Thus French and Odawa influence, plus whatever satisfaction could be obtained from an Iroquoian reunion at Detroit, won out over the Petun's desire for autonomy and dominance. By 1704 the total Huron population at Detroit numbered 180 fighting men, some one thousand persons in all.⁴²

From the very beginning of their brief stay as a united village at Detroit the Hurons were dissatisfied with their lot. Among their other problems was the severe competition they faced from numerous other tribes clustering in that area, most of them more numerous and powerful than they, all contending for influence and favor in French eyes. But the ever ingenious Hurons soon conceptualized a means of establishing themselves in a position of special power and prominence, one that would give them the role of French sanctioned policemen for the other tribes. In advancing this novel plan they raised up such a scheme as must be one of the most unusual ever laid before a French colonial official in the New World. In August, 1703 the three principal leaders of the Hurons (none of whom were identified by name) approached Cadillac privately and separately. These men, whom Cadillac described as much "Frenchified," requested permission to travel to France there to gain an audience with the King. What they had in mind was discussion at the highest level of their proposal to organize themselves as regular companies of Marine troops, each of them to be commissioned a Captain, each with his own Lieutenant and Ensign, all paid regularly, monthly, in hard money at the same rates paid other Companies of the Marine.

At this stage in their history the Hurons were acculturated to the point where they were eager to enter French service and to go on the French payroll. But this innovative plan was rejected by the Comte de Pontchartrain on the grounds

of inexpedience. The king and the colonial ministry, he explained to Cadillac, had little desire to see this group of "savages" acquire the potent discipline of regular French troops.⁴³ Thus the Hurons had conceived a plan of fully assimilating themselves into French colonial society in an occupational role, but this adaptive route was blocked. The Hurons of the West, then, had now to settle in at Detroit and seek new adaptive opportunities for themselves during the next turbulent generation of the history of the Upper Great Lakes frontier.

Conclusions

Within a few years of the 1649-1651 diaspora some remnants of the three Ontario Iroquoian confederacies reassembled at several scattered locations in the Upper Great Lakes. Roughly in order of their political-economic importance, numbers, and fighting strength, they consisted of Petuns, Hurons, and Neutrals, with, perhaps, a few Eries joining them some years later. At no time during their fifty years of experience in the west did this assemblage ever give much evidence of rearranging their internal relationships so as to constitute a single, solidary society, although from time to time a majority of this assemblage at one location for a brief period might achieve a limited policy consensus and a modest capacity for concerted action. On the other hand, there is ample evidence of profound divisiveness, in part reflecting the older

tripartite ethnic-tribal distinctions of the Ontario era. But these traditional cultural differences and social structural segments were quickly and increasingly overlain with new sources of internal discord. These arose out of French acculturative pressures, and are likely best measured by the considerable successes the Jesuits had among them, particularly with the Petun segment. These additional lines of factional cleavage were regularly reflected in conflicting and opposed policies as regards external alliances as well as joint economic ventures.

Throughout this half century the Hurons were never successful in efforts to seize and control a substantial territory in their own right for their own purposes, nor were they successful in their repeated efforts to reduce neighboring tribes to the status of dependent clients. Indeed, the early attempt at expansion into Santee territory brought them near disaster, sharp population decline, and the imperative necessity of retreat. However, from the earliest years their major adaptive successes, as well as their most glaring failures, came from efforts to cope with their social rather than their physical environments. So long as they sustained effective alliances with the more numerous Odawa, for example, they were able to dominate the trade routes into the upper lakes. But when their excessive ambitions got the better of their sense of reality, especially as their reputation for treachery grew among all potential allies and antagonists, they began losing the sources of support.

they most needed. As a population of modest size with immodest ambitions, we may see with some understanding, they were essentially dependent upon firm alliances. But they themselves made dangerous friends and unreliable enemies. In this respect we must appreciate their condition as a harassed minority of Iroquoians adrift in a sea of Algonquian refugee tribes, each with its own interests and ambitions, most more numerous and stronger than the Hurons of the West.

In such circumstances, reduced in numbers and influence if not in their overreaching ambition, dependent clients of the French and only half-welcomed allies of other tribes, they reluctantly resettled on the Detroit River in the first years of the eighteenth century. If anything, their profound divisiveness was well reflected in the halting, fractionated manner in which they approached this last migration. However, that they could unite on certain issues is well expressed in the last adaptive maneuver discussed in this essay. Unable to realize their ambitions on their own they turned to their French patrons for aid and succor. This would seem to be the entire sense and meaning of the proposal they made Cadillac in 1703: they wanted the French king to sanction their assumption of a new role as French appointed, French uniformed, French supplied, and French paid policemen for the Upper Great Lakes region. Rejected, they were then forced back on their own devices.

Ultimately they were successful in establishing themselves as what Henry R. Schoolcraft once described as "the

umpire tribe" in the Detroit region.⁴⁴ However, this achievement came at some considerable cost, for it was acquired only by playing French off against English, English against American frontiersmen, and tribe against tribe, while in this region neither umpires nor policemen were inordinately popular to begin. Over the next several generations the descendents of the Hurons of the West, increasingly acculturated to both English and American models, persisted in a version of their old adaptive strategy, always maneuvering and meddling in their search for the main chance. They were finally successful in laying effective claim to a substantial estate, in the fallow Ohio country as well as in the eastern tip of the Ontario Peninsula, but their success came to late. This territorial expansion left portions of the population settled in Ontario and eastern Michigan, as well as in Ohio, each segment pursuing separate interests. And it came much too late. Hardly had they moved into this area when they were overrun with the first advance forces of the Canadian and American frontiers. By fixing on eastern Ontario and Ohio they had selected that territory most strategic in British and American eyes and most subject to Euroamerican population expansion and settlements, while allowing themselves no place to seek further refuge. For these reasons we may better appreciate their later decline and disappearance as a people in an era when their old allies the Algonquian tribes were successfully making one more adaptive change on a vastly altered intercultural frontier.

Notes

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7. Charles A. Hanna, The Wilderness Trail (New York: Putnams, 1911), Vol. 1: 9. In his Wars of the Iroquois (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1940), 97-98, George T. Hunt claimed that four cabins of the Neutral were among the Hurons on Huron (i.e., Rock) Island in 1652. As is frequently the case in this book, the sources cited do not support this assertion. The "100 Awechisaéronnon" at Méchingan at that time were the French River Algonquian band. This same source, in fact, places the Neutral by name in south eastern Michigan. See Jesuit Relations 38: 181.

8. Jesuit Relations 16: 227 and 18: 233. See also Goddard 1972: 123-24.

9. Elisabeth Tooker, An Ethnography of the Huron Indians, 1615-1649 (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 190, 1964), 9-10; Mrs. P. Blin-Lagarde, personal communication to the author, 4 October 1976.
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11. Jesuit Relations 16: 227.
12. Ibid., 35: 73-79, 193-97; 34: 197, 203-204, 223; 36: 119, 179; 39: 251.
13. Ibid., 35: 107-109; 36: 179-181; 45: 343.
14. Ibid., 36: 121, 177-79.
15. Ibid., 38: 181; 55: 159; 56: 115; Nicolas Perrot, Memoir on the Manners, Customs, and Religion of the Savages of North America, in E.H. Blair, ed., Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi and the Great Lakes Region (Cleveland, A.H. Clark Company, 1911), Vol. 1: 148, 155. The Huron-Potawatomi village site on Rock Island has only recently been systematically studied by professional archeologists. See Mason 1974: 154-55, and forthcoming monographic reports of these excavations by Ronald and Carol Mason.
16. Jesuit Relations 45: 161-63; 41:77-79; Perrot 1911 1: 157.

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18. Jesuit Relations 21: 177-81; Tooker 1964: 13; Conrad Heidenreich, Huronian: A History and Geography of the Huron Indians, 1600-1650 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1971), 293-94.
19. For a comparative interpretation of Central Algonquian migrations to the Green Bay region, see James A. Clifton, The Prairie People (Lawrence: The Regents Press of the University of Kansas, 1977), chaps. 2 and 3.
20. Méchingan was used by Perrot in two distinct senses, one including the Upper Peninsula of Michigan and most of eastern Wisconsin, and the other for the Potawatomi village known to the Jesuits as St. Michel. An Algonquian word, Mtchigami, it translates as "Great Lake." See Jesuit Relations 44: 245-47; Perrot 1911 1: 151-52.
21. Jesuit Relations 45: 161-63, 235-37; 46: 69; Adams 1961: 95-98. Pélee Island, located at the head of Lake Pepin, was also called Prairie Island.
22. Ibid., 1961: 96-96; Perrot 1911 1: 163-64.
23. Ibid., 163-66.
24. See Harold Hickerson, The Southwestern Chippewa: an Ethnohistorical Study (Washington, D.C.: American Anthropological Association Memoir No. 92, 1962), 15-16, 66-67, and 88-89.
25. Jesuit Relations 46: 143; also Kellogg 1925: 148-50.
26. Jesuit Relations 50: 297, 307-311; Adams 1961: 131;

Pierre Margry Decouvertes et Etablissements des Francais dan l'Amerique Septionale, English translation on microfilm, 4 rolls (Detroit: Burton Historical Collections, Detroit Public Library, 1876), Roll 2, Frame 268.

27. Adams 1961: 111-13, 131; Perrot 1911 1: 166-70, 181-86.

28. Jesuit Relations 50: 297, 307-11; 51: 21; Perrot 1911 1: 187-88.

29. Ibid., 188-89; Jesuit Relations 54: 167; 55: 171-73; 57: 249, 255-59; Hickerson 1962: 96; Margry 1876, Roll 1, Frames 201-202.

30. Perrot 1911 1: 225; Governor Daniel Courcelles Report on Lake Ontario Journey, in Margry 1876, Roll 1, Frame 225; Jesuit Relations 57: 249; 61: 69; Daniel Freysolon Duluth to Governor Frontenac, 5 April 1679, in Margry 1876, Roll 2, Section 6.

31. Louis Hennepin, A New Discovery of a Vast Country in America, 2 Vols. (Chicago: 1903), Vol. 1: 114-16; Father Zenobius Membre's Account of LaSalle's Discoveries, in Margry 1876, Roll 1, Frames 472-94; Henri de Tonti's Narrative, Ibid., Roll 1, Frame 619, 635; Jesuit Relations 61: 103-121.

32. Claude Charles le Roy La Potherie, History of the Savage Peoples who are Allies of New France, in Blair 1911 1: 281; Henri Joutel's Report, in Margry 1876, Roll 2, Frames 501-502; Baron de LaHontan, New Voyages to North America (New York: Burt Franklin Co., facsimile, edited by R.G. Thwaites, of 1703 Edition), 145-46.

33. Ibid., Roll 2, Frame 21; Andiaronk (sometimes, Kondiaronk)

was one of two Hurons of the West known to the French as The Rat (i.e., Muskrat), the other being Saint Souan (sometimes, Souoias or Sanchouan). In this period Andiaronk bore the title Sasteretsi, making him the principal leader of the Petun Deer clan. He was immortalized by LaHontan under the name Adario in the famous satarical dialog pitting the fancied virtues of the Noble Savage against the decadence of French culture. See Hodge 1911 1: 13; LaHontan 1703, Vol. 2; and Wisconsin Historical Collections (hereafter, WHC) 16: 166-67.

34. Perrot 1: 233-34, 251; LaHontan 1703: 72-73, 125, 140, 165; LaPotherie 1911 2: 27-28; Governor Frontenac to the French Minister, 20 October 1691, in Margry 1876, Roll 2, Frames 245-46.

35. LaPotherie 1911 1: 364-67; 2: 22-23; Governor Denonville to Governor Dongan, 21 August 1687, in Colonial Documents of New York (hereafter, NYCD) 2: 466-68; Governor Denonville to the French Minister, 8 June 1687, in WHC 16: 130-32; Henri Tonti's Memoir, in Historical Collections of Louisiana 1: 52-58; LaHontan 1703: 145-46.

36. LaPotherie 1911 2: 44-49; Abbé Jean Carheil to Count Frontenac, November, 1689, in WHC 16: 142; C.G. Klinck and J.J. Talman, eds., The Journal of Major John Norton, 1816 (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1970), 236-37; Kellogg 1925: 265.

37. LaPotherie 1911 2: 44-45.

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- Frames 89-93, 95-96, 306; Perrot 1911 1: 256-57; WHC 16: 166; NYCD 9: 671-75; LaPotherie 1911 2: 132-33.
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40. Margry 1876, Roll 2, Frames 395-402.
41. Ibid., Roll 2, Frames 406-408, 411-18; Roll 4, Frames 657-71; Governor de Callieres to Cadillac, 24 August 1701, in WHC 16: 205; Father Marest to Cadillac, 1702, MPHC 33: 121-22; Lord Cornbury's Conference with the Indians, 9 July 1702, NYCD 4: 978-999.
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43. Cadillac's Report on Detroit, 1703, MPHC 33: 165-66; Pontchartrain to Cadillac, 14 June 1704, MPHC 33: 187-89.
44. Henry R. Schoolcraft, Information Respecting the History, Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States, 6 Vols. (Philadelphia: 1851/1857), Vol. 6: 204.