

NATIVE AMERICAN AND FRENCH  
SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

AT ST. IGNACE, MICHIGAN, 1670-  
1715.

By

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## INTRODUCTION

This study was originally developed at the request of the St. Ignace Downtown Development Agency in 1989. It is a compilation of existing data which deal with the tri-cultural settlement of St. Ignace between 1670 and 1715.

The story of the settlement of the Straits of Mackinac is directly related to the coming of the French into the St. Lawrence valley in the seventeenth century. Lacking an economic base, the French engaged in the fur trade and the Indians became important partners. The Huron and Odawa both played important roles in this trade. As part of the French plan to acculturate the Indians into French colonial society, Jesuit missionaries developed missions among the Huron people in order to convert them to

Christianity.

Into this trading partnership and mission experience entered the Iroquois of New York state. They sought to displace the Huron and the Odawa in the fur trade and this led to a bitter struggle. By the late 1640s the powerful Iroquois had driven the Huron and Odawa westward and caused the Ojibwa to accept the latter in their land.

After a migration which took them into eastern Minnesota and northern Wisconsin the Huron and then the Odawa settled at the Straits of Mackinac where there was a plentiful supply of fish for their subsistence. Between 1670 and 1701 the two tribes lived in the vicinity of the newly established Jesuit mission of St. Ignace. It is important to remember that these Indians maintained their independence throughout their residence at St. Ignace. Too often ethnocentrism makes us look at such experiences merely as successful missionary ventures which destroyed Indian culture and ultimately their independence. Throughout the thirty years or more that the Huron and Odawa were at St. Ignace, while some of them did become Christians and were allies of the French, they were also concerned with their independence. They carefully watched the actions of the French in regard to the Iroquois and to the French fur traders who sought to infringe on Huron-Odawa trading patterns.

The result of this experience at St. Ignace was that the Indians resisted French

attempts at total frenchification. Today several thousand Odawa continue to reside in the United States and Canada as do a smaller number of Huron or Wyandot. Furthermore the union of Frenchmen and Indian women created a metis population whose relatives continue to live in the Great Lakes region. It is important for non-Indians to remember that these people are alive and well and their sorjourn at St. Ignace is merely a stop on their road to the present.

For nearly ten years this work has not been broadly marketed. It is hoped that available in this format it can be used by teachers of Michigan history and others to get a better understanding of colonial St. Ignace.

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**NATIVE AMERICAN AND FRENCH SETTLEMENT  
PATTERNS  
AT ST. IGNACE, MICHIGAN, 1670-  
1715.**

**PART I**

**THE STRAITS OF MACKINAC**

From time immemorial the Straits of Mackinac have attracted people because of the fish resources and because of its strategic

location in the Great Lakes. Between 1670 and 1715 a tri-cultural settlement developed at this location. It must be stressed that within this community the Indians encountered the Europeans and made the necessary accommodations whereby they could continue to survive the cultural encroachment on their traditional lives. The Indians maintained their independence and interacted with the French primarily around the fur trade.[1] The religious life of the community seems to have been of secondary importance. Unfortunately little indepth research and writing has been undertaken in the past and this study will alleviate this problem.

**Designation of the Area.** - In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the French and probably the Indians referred to the entire region as Michilimackinac.[2] This includes: a) the area on the north side of

the Straits of Mackinac including the city of St. Ignace; b) the south side of the Straits where Mackinaw City now stands; c) Mackinac Island and d) possibly Round and Bois Blanc Islands as well. The term, Michilimackinac is an Indian term referring to the shape of the island, a Great Turtle.

The Straits of Mackinac were known for their fish resources among the Indians. There is archaeological evidence that prior to 1670 there had been a lengthy period of sporadic or seasonal occupation by nomadic hunters occurring as early as 2,000 B.C. However it was only in the historic period that it is possible to talk of a "permanent" settlement, and even that is questionable.[3]

**Indian Myths and the Straits.** - The French Jesuit, Pierre de Charlevoix noted a number ways in which the Indians viewed the Straits region according to their myths:

When Michalou, add the Indians, formed Lake Superior he dwelt at Michilimackinac the place of his birth; this name properly belongs to an island almost round and very high, situated at the extremity of Lake Huron, though custom has extended it to all the country round about.

. . . both of them [Bois Blanc and Round Islands] are well wooded and the soil excellent, whereas that of Michilimackinac is only a barren rock, being scarce so much as covered with moss or herbage; it is notwithstanding one of the most celebrated places in all Canada, and has been a long time according to some ancient traditions among the Indians, the chief residence of a nation of the same name, and whereof they reckoned as they say to the number of thirty towns, which were dispersed up and down in the neighborhood of the island. It is pretended they were destroyed by the Iroquois, but it is not said at what time nor on what occasion; what is certain is,

that no vestige of them now remains; I have somewhere read that our ancient missionaries have lately discovered some relics of them. The name of Michilimackinac signifies a great quantity of turtles, but I have never heard that more of them are found here at this day than elsewhere.

The Indians tell you that it was Michabou who taught their ancestors to fish, invented nets of which he took the idea from Arcahne's, or the spider's web. Those people, as your Grace very well sees, do their deity full as little honor as he deserves, by sending him to school to such a contemptible insect.

The Indians out of gratitude for the plenty of fish with which this lake [Huron] supplies them, and from the respect which its vast extent inspires them with, have made a sort of divinity of it, to which they offer sacrifices after their own manner. I am however of opinion, that it is not to the lake itself but to the genius that presides over

it, that they address their vows. If we made credit these people this lake proceeds from a divine original, and was formed by Michabou god of the waters, in order to catch beavers.[4]

**French Bypass the Straits Region.** - The French advanced into the Straits of Mackinac early in the seventeenth century but did not settle there. In 1634 Jean Nicollet (c.1598-1642) passed through the Straits on his way to Green Bay seeking a route to Asia. The Tionontati/Petun and Huron people migrated westward fleeing Iroquois hostility. French traders such as Sieur des Groseilliers (c.1618-c.1696) and Sieur de Radisson (1654-1660) and the Jesuit missionaries such as René Menard (1605-1661), Claude Allouez (1622-1689), Claude Dablon (1619-1697), and Jacques Marquette (1637-1675) went up the St. Mary's River into the Lake Superior country

seeking and eventually contacting the Huron. In 1668 Father Marquette established St. Mary's mission at Sault Ste. Marie and this would serve as the staging area for the reoccupation of Michilimackinac.

## PART II

### INDIAN ORIGINS

Three Indian tribes: Ojibwa, Huron, and Odawa dominated the affairs of the eastern Upper Peninsula of Michigan in the late seventeenth century. Of these three groups, the Ojibwa had the oldest claim to region as the Huron and Odawa were survivors and emigres of the Iroquois wars of the 1640s.

**Ojibwa/Chippewa.**- Scholars have reasonably ascertained that the Ojibwa homeland was located from the east shore of Georgian Bay, westward along the north shore of Lake Huron to the northeast shore of Lake Superior and into Michigan's Upper Peninsula. At the time of the advent of the French they numbered between 3,000-4,000 people living in small groups of no more than several hundred people. Since they did not practice they hunted, fished and gathered. In the twentieth century these people are known as the Chippewa, Ojibwa, Mississauga, and Saulteaux. Over the years they were linked with the Odawa and Potawatomi and periodically with the Huron.[5]

The Ojibwa living along the east shore of Georgian Bay were first visited by Samuel de Champlain in 1615 and about seven years later Etienne Brule encountered other groups.

The first Jesuit missionaries visited them in the fall of 1641 at Sault Ste. Marie. In 1648 the Jesuits established St. Peter mission for the Indians of Manitoulin Island and the northeast shore of Lake Huron.[6]

**Objibwa Life Style.** - Prior to the mid-seventeenth century their life style remains a mystery. In 1647-1648 the Jesuits reported that the Algonquian tribes north of the Hurons "live solely by hunting and fishing and . . . roam as far as the 'Northern Sea'" [Hudson Bay?] to trade for "furs and beavers, which are found there in abundance," and "all of these tribes are nomads, and have no fixed residence, except at certain seasons of the year, when fish are plentiful, and this compels them to remain on the spot." [7]

**Iroquois Intrusion.** - The collapse of the Huron buffer in 1649-1650 allowed the

Iroquois to press on the Ojibwa with a variety of results. Some temporarily withdrew westward and others retaliated against the Iroquois. However, these previously politically autonomous Algonquian groups saw their population reduced by warfare, starvation, and European diseases. When this occurred they began the practice of amalgamating with other groups and in the process many lost their group identity. By the late seventeenth century the people remained but the names Amikwa, Marameg, and Nikikouek had disappeared. In 1670 the Ojibwa at Sault Ste. Marie numbered only 150 and even united with three other groups, numbering slightly more than 550. Throughout the seventeenth century, Sault Ste. Marie was the focal point for the native people living to the east, northwest and for the French-named Saulteaux who considered this site

their home. [8]

**Huron People.** - Jesuit records written in the 1630s indicate that five tribes - Attignawantan, Attigneenongnahac, Arendaronon, Tahontaenrat, and Ataronchronon - comprised the Huron confederacy. These tribes called themselves Ouendat/Wendat and spoke a Northern Iroquoian language. These Huron were located along a Orilla-Midland, Ontario axis. [9] About 26 miles southwest of the western end of Huronia was the homeland of the Khionontateronon/Petun/Tionontati or called the Nation of the Tobacco by the French. [10] Except for the cultivation of tobacco their culture was similar to their Huron neighbors. [11] With the Iroquois destruction of these people in the 1640s some Petun joined the Huron refugees. Neutral was the name the French applied to a number of allied groups of Northern Iroquoian speakers

who lived between the Huron and Five Nations Iroquois and who remained neutral in the hostilities between them. Their villages were mostly in Ontario between the Grand and Niagara rivers until their dispersal in 1652. The Wenro were located to the east of the Neutrals and by 1638 some 600 refugees, mostly women and children, survivors of Iroquois expansion had moved to Huronia.[12]

Prior to the epidemics of the 1630s the Huron population, including the Tionontati as there are no separate population estimates for them, has been estimated between 18,000 to 22,000.[13] By 1640 the reduced population of Neutrals is estimated at 12,000.[14]

**Huron Life Style.** - The Hurons and their neighbors were agriculturalists who also fished and hunted. The longhouse was the physical expression of the extended family. The village was defined as a cluster of

longhouses sometimes surrounded by a palisade and located on a hill. In theory every clan segment had a civil and war chief and village affairs were run by two councils with separate membership and duties. The Neutral, Wenro, and Tionontati had similar cultures.

**Odawa. [15]** - The Odawa, speak a southeastern dialect of Ojibwa. were located on Manitoulin Island, the adjacent parts of the Bruce Peninsula, and possibly the north and east shores of Georgian Bay. At times it is difficult to separate Odawa lands from those of their linguistically-related neighbors. As Johanna and Christian Feest have noted: "Seventeenth century sources apply the term Odawa not only to a local group otherwise known as Sable but also to both the total of totemic or local groups that together formed the tribe (Kiskakon ('Cut-tail' referring to the bear), Sinago

(black squirrel), Sable ('sand'), Nassauakueton ('fork'); later also others) and to all other "upper Algonquians" who came down to Montreal for trade." Due to their mobility it is difficult to localize their villages.[16]

**Role of the Fur Trade.** - During the first half of the seventeenth century all of the Iroquoian-speaking peoples of the Northeast grew increasingly dependent on European trade goods. The coastal Indians first encountered the Europeans and became involved in trade. However by the late 1630s even the interior Hurons were involved in the trade. The Hurons became important middlemen in the French fur trade in the 1630s and 1640s and involved Indians in the Upper Great Lakes region. When the demand for beaver had greatly reduced the supply in their homeland by 1630 but they met the demand by trading

with their northern neighbors. Even after 1640 a much reduced Huron population was able to sell as many furs to the French as the Hurons had done previously. The Iroquois had similar problems. The Iroquois confederacy moving from east to west consisted of: Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, Seneca. Their strong confederate system allowed them to unleash strong and efficient war parties in all directions.

**Origins of Iroquois Hostility.** - Trade for European goods and the power it brought with it had widespread effects on Native Americans. In response to the decline of the fur supply in the 1630s the Mohawks began to attack the Algonquians in the Odawa Valley. These attacks were extended to the French and Montagnais in the St. Lawrence Valley in the early 1640s. Iroquois hostility towards its neighbors intensified as they sought control

over hunting grounds and the fur trade.

**Destruction of Huronia.** - Beginning in 1642, warfare was directed against the Huron villages in an attempt to obtain furs. At first the Iroquois only raided and plundered the Huron villages but soon they decided to disperse the Hurons so that they could raid the Indians to the north. In the years that followed the Huron villages were methodically destroyed by Iroquois warriors. Some Huron attempted to hold out on nearby islands, but fled due to starvation and sickness; others moved to be near French communities in the St. Lawrence Valley; some affiliated with other tribes even as adoptees among the Iroquois or fled to the west. By 1650 the Hurons had become emigres removed from their homeland.

These Hurons or Wyandots were known to the French after 1650 as Tionontati

(Khionontateronon or Petun), Tionontati Hurons, or simply Hurons. First they fled in the early 1650s from Petun country to Michilimackinac where the Odawa who had also fled had four villages around the Straits of Mackinac.

**Odawa-Huron Relations.** - After 1650 the Odawa and Huron were linked but their commercial roles shifted. The Huron role of middlemen was taken over by the Odawa who had been joined by Huron and Tionontati emigres. At first the Huron or Wyandot fled to Michilimackinac.[\[17\]](#) Here the Odawa reportedly had four villages where according to tradition they had superseded the Assegun or Bone Indians. There are references to some Odawa and Huron living on Mackinac Island in 1653 and later. There is archaeological evidence that they may have been in the Graham Point (formerly known as Iroquois

Point) area in St. Ignace around 1650 and there is some evidence for similar occupation at the Beyer site as well.[18] However after a short stay there, others (including Kiskakon and Sable groups) fled with other Algonquians and the Hurons to Huron Island (later called Potawatomi Island, then Washington Island, now Rock Island) at the entrance to Green Bay. They fortified themselves against the Iroquois and resumed the fur trade sending a fleet of canoes to the St. Lawrence valley in 1654.[19] This was an important development for the French because the western trade had been cut off since the Iroquois war.

**Westward Migration to Northern Wisconsin.** - When these Indians were threatened by the Iroquois in 1654 or 1655 they moved westward. They lived briefly in the late 1650s, on an island in Lake Pepin,

Minnesota, but were driven out by the Sioux. Now they ascended the Black River and crossed the Wisconsin country to Chequamegon Bay on Lake Superior in 1660; another group of Odawa was living on Keweenaw Bay.[20] During the prehistoric and early historic era Lake Superior was seen as a great trading center and because of its fish resources, a grand food source for adjacent tribes. At this time Chequamegon Bay had become an Indian trading center, known for its excellent fishery.[21] The Odawa settlement grew over the years. In 1666 the three Odawa bands lived in a joint village, while three years later there were five villages. The Hurons, now numbering 500 people, settled the area and built a village near the Odawa and resumed trade with the French.[22] The fame of Chequamegon as a French commercial center became so well known that even a group of Illinois from the south

settled in the vicinity. When the Jesuits heard that the Christian Hurons were living at this site they decided to establish the mission of the Holy Spirit/Saint Esprit in the area in 1665. In 1666-1667 Claude Allouez, S.J. noted that the great village held 2,000 people living in 45-50 longhouses and there were eight hundred men capable of bearing arms.[\[23\]](#)

For a number of years this Huron-Odawa community prospered. It consisted of a number of Indian villages, a Jesuit mission, trading center, and attracted Indians from through the Lake Superior region and even the Illinois from the south as early as 1667.

**Ojibwa at Sault Ste. Marie.** - The Ojibwa were centered at Sault Ste. Marie which also had an excellent fishery and which attracted many diverse tribes during the summer months. During times of famine this

site was critical to the survival of all Indians. The Ojibwa engaged in the profitable fur trade and starting in the 1650s began to travel to the St. Lawrence valley to trade with the French. Since the falls of the St. Mary's River were the only passage into Lake Superior, French traders stopped at the site on their way west. In 1668 the Jesuits decided to establish St. Mary's mission under the direction of Father Jacques Marquette, for the permanent Ojibwa population and to minister to neighboring Indian settlements. At this time St. Simon mission was established on one of the islands on the north shore of Lake Huron serving, some if not all of the Amikwa who had moved from the mainland to Manitoulin Island along with half of the Mississauga.[\[24\]](#)

**PART III**

**SETTLEMENT AT**

**MICHILIMACKINAC**

**Huron and Odawa Migration Eastward.** - By 1660s there was change in the wind for the Odawa and Huron at Chequamegon. They had become involved in warfare with the Sioux who lived in modern north central Minnesota, which threatened to rival the war with the

Iroquois. In the east a short peace was established with the Iroquois. Thus the Indians decided to migrate eastward and the Huron and Odawa "announced" their intentions to Father Marquette. As a result in 1670 and 1671 groups of Odawa returned to Manitoulin Island. Some Sinagos moved to Green Bay for a few years.

**Mackinac Island Chapel.** - In response to this talk of an eastward migration, Claude Dablon, S.J. noted in 1669 that the Straits area was rich in fish, had soils suitable for agriculture, and had been formerly occupied for some years by the "Hurons from Tionontate" who sought refuge from the Iroquois.[\[25\]](#) The Odawa had also used the lands in the vicinity and were familiar with them.

A year later in referring to Mackinac Island he wrote, ". . . we erected a chapel there, to receive the passerby, and trail the Huron

who have taken their abode there."[\[26\]](#)

**St. Ignace Mission.** - When Father Marquette arrived in the region in the early summer of 1671 he removed the mission to the mainland where there was better soil for agriculture. In 1672 a palisaded Huron village was established on the shores of East Moran Bay. Father Marquette oversaw the construction of a palisaded mission complex consisting of a chapel and residence near the Indian village.

**Indians at St. Ignace.** - At the time Marquette noted that there were over 380 Tionontati who were joined by an additional sixty Odawa.[\[27\]](#) The partially Christianized Kiskakons settled near Sault Ste. Marie before they migrated in 1676 to St. Ignace mission near the Hurons at Mackinac. By 1695 parts of the Sinagos, Sables, and Nassauakuetons had settled there as well.[\[28\]](#)

**Marquette Leaves.** - In the fall of 1672 the St. Ignace mission was visited by Louis Jolliet who carried instructions for Father Marquette to join him on their famous voyage to the Mississippi River. With the absence of Marquette, Philippe Pierson, S.J. took charge of the mission.[29] In 1675 the Tionontati and some Odawas and other Algonquians were living at St. Ignace. Father Pierson ministered to the Huron community and Henry Nouvel, S.J. was assigned to the Odawas. Father Dablon also noted that a "fine chapel" had been completed in 1674.[30]

### Settlement Pattern

**La Hontan's Description.** - In a letter dated 2 June 1688 Baron de LaHontan provides us with the following description of the Euro-Indian settlements at the Straits of Mackinac:

Michilimackinac, the place I am now in is certainly a place of great importance. It lies in the latitude of  $45^{\circ} 30'$ , but I do not know its longitude for reasons mentioned in my second letter. It is less than half a league from Lake Michigan, . . . . Here the Hurons and Odawas each have a village; the one being separated from the other by a single palisade. But the Odawas are beginning to build a Fort upon a hill that stands 1000 to 1200 paces off. They have taken this precaution because of the murder of a certain Huron, called Sandaouires, who was assassinated by four young Odawas in the Saginaw Valley. In this place the Jesuits have a little house, or college adjoining to a sort of a Church and enclosed with poles that separate it from the village of the Hurons.

The Coureurs de Bois have a very small settlement there; though at the same time it is not inconsiderable, as being the stable of all the goods that they truck with the southern and western savages; or they cannot avoid passing this way when they go to the seats of the Illinois and Miamis, or to Green Bay and the Mississippi River. The skins which

they collect from these places must wait here for some time before they are transported to the colony. Michilimackinac is situated very advantageously; for the Iroquois dare not venture to cross the Straits in their sorry canoes and Lake Huron is too rough for such slender boats. As they cannot cross by water so they cannot approach by land because of the marshes, fens and little rivers which would be difficult to cross if the Straits were not still in the way. . . . The Odawas and Hurons have very pleasant fields, in which they sow Indian corn, peas and beans, besides a sort of summer squash, and melons which differ from ours... .[31]

### **20th Century Commentary of La Hontan. -**

LaHontan prepared a map of the area which accompanied his New Voyages to North America. The map found on the following page is based on that map. The Odawa village was located on the north side of the bay in an area now known as Ryerse Hill. The Richardson ossuary

was located in this area as were traces of late seventeenth century village occupation.[32] The "fields of the savages" are located between them. In 1973, traces of a late seventeenth century or early eighteenth century garden bed, with a radiocarbon date of 1720 +/-100 (N-1722), were found at the Gyftakis site adjacent to the Tionontate village site.[33]

While some of the fields are located on what modern maps show as swamps, the relative positioning, if not the site of these features is probably accurate, and is supported by independent accounts and other maps. It is also significant that there is no mention of a French fort in these accounts or included on the map. There are two independent contemporary accounts left by survivors of the La Salle expedition. Jean Cavelier, La Salle's brother, simply notes

that they arrived at Michilimackinac on April 30, 1688 and stayed for two weeks before they went to Montreal.[34]

**Joutel's Account of St. Ignace.** - The second account is in the journal of Henri Joutel who indicated an arrival at St. Ignace in late May 1688 and wrote:

There are some Frenchmen in that place and four Jesuits, who have a house well built of timber, enclosed with stakes and palisades. There are also some Hurons and Odawas, two neighboring nations who those Fathers take care to instruct, not without very much trouble, those people being downright libertines and there are very often none but a few women in church . . . . They offered Father Anastasius and Monsieur Cavelier a room, which they accepted, and we took up our lodging in a little hovel some travelers had made . . . .  
.[35]

**Dating Establishment of Fort Buade.** - The first references to Fort Buade do not appear until the 1690s and Durantaye was

"Commander of the Coureurs de Bois" rather than a garrison and neither LaHontan, Cavelier, Joutel or the Jesuits mentioned a fort during the 1690s. De Buade was the family name of Count Frontenac and it is almost certain that no post would have been given this name while La Barre and Denonville were governors. It was probably established after Frontenac returned to New France in 1689 and placed Louvigny in charge of Michilimackinac in 1690 with 175 men.

**Cadillac's Memoir of the Straits Area. -**

The most extensive description of the area is included in a memoir prepared by Cadillac who was commander of what was most certainly a going military and trading establishment between 1694 and 1697. By 1695 Cadillac observed that the size of the St. Ignace settlement had grown to a village of sixty-two houses, a garrison of two hundred men,

and between six and seven thousand Native American residents. On the basis of archaeological evidence alone, these figures would appear to be an exaggeration.

Cadillac particularly irritated Father Carheil who wrote several long and bitter letters about his command, one of which was written at least five years after Cadillac had left St. Ignace, returned to France, and came back from France to establish Fort Pontchartrain in 1701 at Detroit.

The published version of the Cadillac memoir is dated January of 1718, at which time Cadillac had returned to France from Louisiana. In the introduction to his edition of this memoir, Milo Quaife (1947) cites an article by Jean Delanglez on a letter from Cadillac to Frontenac written in 1695 indicating that he was writing a memoir and preparing a map of the area. The entire

tone of the document seems more of a "relation" (a recounting) than a "memoir" (an official report); and even if it was written later, it describes St. Ignace of the 1685-1697 period:

The word Michilimackinac means "Island of the Turtle." The reason why it is so called may be either because it is shaped like a turtle, or because one was found in the vicinity. It is in Lake Huron and is nearly two leagues in circumference; it is a league and a half from the inhabited mainland; it is frequented only in the fishing season, when there is excellent fishing all around there.

Opposite the Island is a large sandy cove, and here it is that the French fort is situated, where there is a garrison and the Commander-in-Chief of the district resides, who has under him the commandants of various posts; but both he and they are appointed by the Governor-General of New France. This post is called Fort Buade.

The Jesuit Mission, the French village and the village of the Huron and Odawa are adjacent to one

another,  
and together they border and fill  
up the head of the cove. It should  
be observed that in that country  
the word "city" is unknown; so that  
if they wished to speak of Paris,  
they would describe it by the  
phrase "the Great Village." [36]

Since I have shown the position of  
the Fort and of the villages of the  
French and the Indians, I will now  
describe the manner in which the  
latter are built and fortified.  
Their forts are made of piles.  
Those in the outer row are as thick  
as a man's thigh and about thirty  
feet high; the second row, inside,  
is a full foot from the first,  
which is bent over on to it, and is  
to support it and prop it up; the  
third row is four feet from the  
second one, and consists of piles  
three and a half feet in diameter  
standing fifteen or sixteen feet  
out of the ground. Now, in this row  
they leave no space between the  
piles; on the contrary, they set  
them as close together as they can  
making loop-holes at intervals. In  
the first two rows there is a space  
of about six inches between the  
piles, and thus the first and  
second rows do not prevent them  
from seeing the enemy; but there

are neither curtains nor bastions and strictly speaking the fort is only an enclosure.

Their cabins are built like arbors. They drive poles into the ground as thick as one's leg and very long and join them to one another by making them bend over at the top, and then tying and fastening them together with bass wood bark, which they use in the same way as we use thread and rope. They then entwined between these large poles crosspieces as thick as one's arm, and cover them from top to bottom with the bark of fir trees or cedars, which they fasten to the poles and the cross branches; they leave an opening about two feet wide at the peak, which runs from one end to the other. Their cabins are weatherproof, and no rain gets into them; they are generally 100 to 130 feet long by 24 feet wide and 20 feet high. There is an elevated platform on each side, and each family has a little apartment. There is also a door at each end. Their streets are regular, like our villages.

The houses of the French are built of wood, one log upon another, but they are roofed with cedar bark. Only the houses of the Jesuits are roofed with planks.

It should be borne in mind that four different tribes are included under the name Odawa. The first is the Kiskakon, that is the "Cut Tails," and it is the most numerous; the second is the Sable tribe, so called because their former dwelling place was in a sandy country, but the Iroquois drove this tribe from its

lands; the third is the Sinago, and the fourth is the Nassauaketoum, that is the tribe of the fork, a name derived from that of the chief, or, much more probably, from the river from which they originally came, which divides into three branches, forming a sort of fork. These four tribes are allies and are closely united, living on good terms with one another, and now speak the same common language.

The Huron tribe is not incorporated with the other four, moreover, its village is separated from theirs by a palisade. They speak a different language, so that the two understand one another through interpreters. It was formerly the most powerful and also the most numerous tribe, but the Iroquois destroyed them and drove them from their homeland, so that they are now reduced to a very small number; and it is well for us that it is so. For they are cunning men, intriguing, evil-dispositioned

and capable of great undertakings, but, fortunately their arm is not long enough to execute them; nevertheless, since they cannot act like lions they act like foxes and use every possible means to stir up strife between us and our allies.

With regard to the land, each tribe has its own district and each family marks out its piece of land and its fields . . . .[\[37\]](#)

#### **20th Century Commentary of 1717 Map. -**

The Cadillac map which was prepared at the same time as this relation has not survived. However, there is an anonymous map in the Ayer Collection of the Newberry Library in Chicago (Figure 2) that is believed to date from 1717 or nearly the same time as the earliest surviving longhand copy of the Cadillac memoir. This map shows a fort and small village on the south side of the Straits, as well as a larger settlement on the north side of the Strait in East Moran Bay. The caption to his map indicates that

the settlement on the north side had been abandoned earlier and that in 1716 about six hundred coureurs de bois had gathered on the south side to trade.

The location of the residential features is almost identical to that of the 1688 LaHontan map with the addition of the bastioned fort. The area of the fort is in a cluster of cabins along the south edge of the bay and is labeled as Michilimackinac. The fort would be Fort Buade as it existed in Cadillac's time. This would be in the general area along State Street between the post office and city hall in modern St. Ignace.

The "Mission of the Jesuits: is shown as a fairly large palisaded area, as it was in the LaHontan map, with a large structure in one corner, probably the house or college as it was

described by LaHontan. The village of the Hurons is immediately to the north of the Jesuit mission. As in the LaHontan map, it is pictured as a long and narrow village running roughly east and west. Although not shown on any maps, this would have run parallel to the Chain Lake drainage channel which flowed somewhere around where the Driftwood Motel stands today (1980s) one block north of the park site.

The location of the Jesuit mission near the junction of modern Marquette Street and State Street and the Tionontate village to the north of it around Glashaw Street, is compatible with both the LaHontan and Anonymous 1717 maps and the written descriptions and the archaeological evidence.[\[38\]](#)

The 1717 map notes that the St. Ignace community had been abandoned by at least 1717

and Charlevoix's map of his 1721 visit shows the fort and mission of St. Ignace on the south side of the Strait with a notation that the fort and mission on the north side of the Strait had been destroyed.[39]

## **Indian Life Style at the Straits**

### **Utilization of Fauna.**

**Categories of Use.** - It is important to understand the utilization of animal resources at St. Ignace.[40] Their use falls into three categories: 1) subsistence; 2) ideology/ritual; and 3) technology. Information has been gathered from ethnohistorical literature, archaeological analysis, and zooarchaeological analysis.

**Importance of Fishery.** - The Huron and Odawa who lived at St. Ignace relied totally on wild animal species. They did not consume

European foods. Fish was an important part of the Indian diet, which is found in ethnohistorical and archaeological evidence. Father Marquette wrote of the important fishery at the

Straits of Mackinac:

. . . besides the fish common to all other Nations, as the herring, carp, pike, golden fish, whitefish, and sturgeon, there are here found three kinds of trout: 1) the common kind; 2) larger being three feet in length and one [foot] in width; and 3) monstrous, for no other word expresses it, -- being moreover so fat that the Savages, who delight in grease, have difficulty in eating it.[41] Now they are so abundant that one man will pierce with his javelin as many as 40 or 50, under the ice in three hours' time.[42]

In 1688 when Baron LaHontan visited the site he noted "vast shoals of whitefish" and concluded that: "The Odawa and the Hurons could never subsist here, without that

fishery . . . ." [43]

Fishing was the dominant activity at the settlement during the last part of the 17th century. Faunal analysis and historical evidence supports the importance of lake trout and whitefish. During the fall spawn burbot and lake trout preyed on whitefish roe and whitefish and burbot preyed on lake trout. The gill net was used in the fall and was probably used for prehistoric fishing. [44] Evidence from Joutel leaves no doubt that the gill net was in use at the Straits during the Mission period. [45] High winds and strong currents broke the nets or drove them to the bottom of the lake where they were on rocks and became difficult to retrieve. [46] Baron LaHontan noted that even at two to three leagues (six to nine miles) from shore nets got entangled. [47] Gill nets were used in the summer and winter when they

were passed through the ice.[48] Large catches of whitefish and lake trout were caught in the summer, fall and winter through the use of nets.

The Huron and Odawa also used spears and hooks and line to catch fish especially during the winter and spring. The Indians used antler and large mammalian bone as raw material in the manufacture of conical projectile points, leister prongs and large unilaterally barbed harpoons. These spears or "javelins" were used for catching large or "monstrous" lake trout during the winter through holes in the ice. The fish were decapitated and filleted on the ice and then brought to the village.[49] Bone awls, iron fishhooks and brass and iron wire were used in catching fish. Lake trout is best taken by hook and line early in the spring immediately after the ice breakup.[50] Spring is also the

spawning season for the yellow walleye/sauger, a popular angling fish.[51] During the dangerous spring breakup of the ice the Indians sought out migrating sturgeon and sucker on tributary waters.

**Native Diet.** - The basic diet of the Huron and Odawa was primarily fish together with maize.[52] This was also the basic diet of the protohistoric Huron in their Ontario homeland.[53] The traditional Indian dish was sagamite, which is a corn meal gruel that included meat or fish and sometimes other vegetables. The addition of the fish or meat provided the necessary protein balance thus creating a food of superior nutritional value.[54] Other ways of preparing the fish were by boiling and broiling. In the 1690s Cadillac reported that "In the evening they eat fish cooked in all sorts of ways - fried, roasted, boiled, smoked or stewed . . ." and

in the 1670s Father Marquette took smoked fish with him on his voyage of discovery. A common beverage among the Indians and French at St. Ignace was made of a whitefish broth which when cooled turned to gelatin.[55]

**Decline of Meat Supply.** - In the early years of Indian settlement at St. Ignace large mammals lived within the vicinity of the Straits and thus provided the people with a local food source. Father Marquette indicated that the woods were filled with bear, deer, beaver, and "wildcats" or marten. However by 1688 the extensive use of firearms among the younger Indians had depleted the wildlife in the immediate area. As a result the Indians were forced to travel approximately forty to sixty miles in order to find deer and elk and then found it difficult to carry the butchered meat back to St. Ignace. Under these circumstances it was

growing increasingly difficult to keep the population supplied with meat.[56]

**Outside Meat Sources.** - The Indians at St. Ignace had to rely on a meat supply from distant locations. During the winter of 1687-1688 the Odawa, some 400-500 strong, were forced to spend the winter hunting in the Saginaw Valley where they found the game plentiful and could carry it back to St. Ignace in their canoes.[57] A type of turtle was obtained in the forests to the south of the Saginaw River in Michigan. In the 1690s the Illinois Indians from the Chicago area traded bone marrow from buffalo, deer and elk to the Huron and Odawa which was an important source of dietary fat.[58]

**Use of Beaver, Dog and Passenger Pigeon, etc.** - The dominant species eaten at the site were beaver and dog which are not mentioned in the historical records. Cadillac wrote of

a large number of dogs also being sacrificed for the Feast of the Dead. LaHontan also noted that when beaver hunts were not good the Indians sold their corn at a premium price.[59] The Indians also took other fur bearing mammals other than beaver such as red fox, mink, marten, fisher, otter and raccoon but these were used in the fur trade and not for food. The passenger pigeon was another important source for food. Thousands of these bird nested in the Straits area from the spring through the fall. Father Marquette was the first European to describe the passenger pigeon in the Relation of 1670. Other birds, ducks, geese, swans, grebes, cranes and herons, grouse and turkey were possibly only incidental to the diet.[60]

### **Ideology and Ritual**

**Retention of Native Beliefs.** - Although Christianity was introduced by the Jesuit missionaries, there is strong evidence that animal oriented ideological beliefs continued with the retainment of traditional religion. Researchers at the British Museum of Ethnology state that the Ojibwa and possibly other Algonquian groups decorated their calumet pipes with pileated woodpecker feathers. This species was associated with the Thunderbird and thus with the fight against Underworld spirits. Several catlinite and pottery pipes have been recovered along with related avian bones including the pileated woodpecker.

**Use of Amulets and Charms.** - Furthermore there is historical evidence that the Huron used portions of the eagle, raven and possibly longnose gar as amulets and charms. [61] Odawa war costume reported by

Cadillac (1694-98) included ". . . headdresses made of the tail of eagles and other birds . . ." and some warriors fitted their headdresses with antler racks.[62]

### **Traditional Symbolism and Artifacts. -**

Animal effigies in bone and catlinite were found at the St. Ignace site. Carved bone representing a dog or wolf is significant as evidence of traditional symbolism. Traditional curing ceremonies were practiced some of which were mentioned and condemned by the Jesuits. One of these was a sucking tube manufactured of Canada goose humerus. Huron shamans were known to "suck inanimate objects from the bodies of the ill in order to effect a cure.[63] The most striking evidence of traditional curing ceremonies can be seen in Father Marquette's account of 1673:

Over two hundred souls left for the chase; those who remained here asked me what dances I prohibited .

. . . Every dance had its own name; but I did not find any harm in any of them, except that called 'the bear dance.' A woman who became impatient in her illness, in order to satisfy both her God and her imagination, caused twenty women to be invited. They were covered with bearskins and wore fine porcelain collars; they growled like bears; they ate and pretended to hide like bears. Meanwhile, the sick woman danced and from time to time told them to throw oil [bear grease?] on the fire, with certain superstitious observances. The men who acted as singers had great difficulty in carrying out the sick woman's design, not having as yet heard similar airs, for that dance was not in vogue among the Tionnontateronnons.[64]

There was some evidence that the bearskin robe had a head attached.

### **Technology**

**Materials Utilized.** - Bone, antler, and shell served as a source of raw material in the manufacture of utilitarian and decorative

items at the Mission site. The Indians worked with catlinite, bone and antler and the craftsmanship experienced a temporary renaissance.[65] The introduction of metal tools would have facilitated fine delicate carving, replacing antler and bone artifacts. Rather delicate items relating to the domestic and decorative spheres were produced.[66]

### **Agriculture**

**Traditional Crops.-** Traditionally the Huron and Odawa practiced agriculture prior to their migration westward. At St. Ignace in the 17th century the Indians cultivated: maize or corn identified as Eastern Complex or northeastern flint maize (Zea mays), squash (Cucurbita spp) and a small amount of beans (Phaseolus vulgaris).[67] These crops were well to the north of their natural range

but the soil and climatic conditions were favorable to their successful cultivation. Originally from Mesoamerica these crops were introduced during the late prehistoric times. The Cucurbita spp which includes pumpkins and squash were cultivated in gardens. The fruits were either eaten fresh or dried for winter storage.

**Maize Fields.** - The historical record shows that the Indians at St. Ignace had "pleasant fields" of maize and other crops. Many of these fields were at some distance from the mission complex and these farmers found it difficult to attend religious services. The cultivation of maize required a short maturation period of approximately 120 frost free days. The maize crop could be harvested in late August and early September. Baron de Lahontan noted that even in a time of poor harvests the Indians were able to

provide him with 1 1/2 tons of corn.[68]  
There was also evidence of pear or apple trees (Pyrus-Malus) in the area. These fruits were developed in Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries from Euro-Asian species. These trees were brought to North America by the early colonists which coincides with French settlement.[69]

### **Gathering**

**Flora Gathered.** - The other floral remains at the Mission site represent herbaceous, woody, and aquatic plants that are found in a variety of local habitats. The trout lily (Erythronium americanum) is a herbaceous plant which grows in rich woodlands, bottom lands, thickets and meadows. It flowers from March to May and produces edible bulb-like corms which can be harvested during May and June. Exactly how

this plant was utilized is not cited in the ethnographic literature. However it is closely related to the spring lily (Erythronium mesochorem) which was utilized as a food source by the Winnebago of the Plains and thus the same use was made for this plant. The hazelnut (Corylus americana) is a small tree or shrub found in thickets and it was used as a food source and dye by the Indians. The plant flowers in May and its nuts can be gathered during August and September and stored for the winter use. The tubers and nuts of the American lotus (Nelumbo lutea) were gathered historically for use by the Indians of the Great Lakes region.[70] The nuts were dried and stored for winter use. Other fruits gathered in the vicinity were plums and cherries which flower from May through June and produce edible fruits. They include the pin cherry (Prunus pennsylvanica)

and the chokecherry (Prunus virginiana) both of which are available during July and August. Sand cherries (Prunus pumila) are harvested during July through September while black cherries (Prunus serotina) ripen in early August and September and plums (Prunus americana) are available from late August through September. Traditionally the Huron took blueberries which they called Ohentaque and other small fruits which they dried for winter use. They were given to invalids as preserves, used to flavor their sagamite and baked them in their bread.

**Non-edible Uses of Flora.** - A plant used for non-edible uses was the bearberry (Arctostaphylos uva-ursi) leaves. They were used in the preparation of kinnikinnick, a mixture of dried leaves and bark and sometimes tobacco. This mixture was used as a form of tobacco and it is believed that it

was used as a charm and medicine.

Personal Context of

Utilization

**European Trade Goods.** - Since St. Ignace was both an Indian settlement and French trading center it is natural that European goods would be found in the Indian village sites. [71] Some of the items which have been uncovered include: metal buttons, leather fragments, hooks and eyes. Adornment beads included: necklace beads, seed beads, and rosary beads. Theoretically the necklace beads were strung together in strands, seed beads were sewn on clothing for decoration and rosary beads were manufactured for religious purposes. Naturally there was some overlap in these categories.

**Use of Catlinite.** - Catlinite artifacts were fashioned by the Indians who made them into rings, pendants, disks, beads and

effigies. The calumet or pipe was an important item among the Indians. At St. Ignace they used European-made white clay pipes, catlinite and native clay pipe bowls.

**Ideology and Artifacts.** - Ideology came together here as Christianity followed native customs. The Indians had crucifixes and religious medals along with brass rings and Jesuit or trade rings. They also attached small cone-shaped bells which were attached to clothing and produced a tinkling sound with movement. These bells were also used to decorate clothing and leather bags and other goods. The Indians also had bracelets and hawk bells and pendants made from materials other than catlinite.

**Games of Chance.** - For recreation the Huron at the mission site played a traditional game of dice. The game consisted of a round plate polished on both sides. The

dice, the size of plum stones, were made from six pieces of bone. The faces of the dice were painted black, red, green or blue and the other generally painted white or any different color from the first mentioned face. The gamblers threw the dice in the plate, holding the two edges, and on lifting the plate made the dice jump and turn therein. As they struck the plate on a cloth, they would strike themselves on the chest and shoulders crying, "dice, dice, dice" until the dice stopped moving. Five or six dice showing the same color would win. Gambling was common and at time while villages were seen gambling away their possessions and ruining themselves. When women and girls played the game eight dice were used. [72]

**Household Context of**

**Utilization**

**Household Goods.** - A variety of household goods were used and found at St. Ignace. These items included: awls fashioned out of copper, iron, and bone; needles; and straight pins. Tin-glazed and polychrome earthenware ceramics of European origin were used. Native clay ceramics were also used at this time. Copper kettles and glass were common along with strike-a-lites or fire steels and tacks from small boxes or used for upholstery.

**Structural Context of**

**Utilization**

The Indians also used many European made items for the house which include: hinges, pintles, and latches. Hand-wrought nails were common as well.

**Craft or Activity Context of**

## **Utilization**

As part of the important fishing culture the Indians obtained copper and iron fishhooks from the French along with lead line weights. Gunflints, lead musket balls, and gun parts were also found at the Mission site. A variety of types of iron knives were used by the Indians.[73] Other items found included projectile points made of iron and brass. Metal and bone harpoons were used as stated earlier and there were axes, copper mail, brass disks.

## **Jesuit Mission Complex**

The Jesuit missionaries followed the Indians to St. Ignace in 1670-1671. At first a chapel was established on Mackinac Island by Claude Dablon, S.J. in 1670.[74] Due to better agricultural possibilities on the mainland, when Father Marquette arrived on

the island he moved the mission during the summer of 1671. He oversaw the construction of a palisaded mission complex consisting of a chapel and residence near the Huron village at East Moran Bay.

In the fall of 1672 the St. Ignace mission was visited by Louis Jolliet who carried instructions for Father Marquette to join him on their famous voyage to the Mississippi River. With the absence of Marquette, Philippe Pierson, S.J. took charge of the mission.<sup>[75]</sup> In 1675 the Tionontati and some Odawas and other Algonquians were living at St. Ignace. Father Pierson ministered to the Huron community and Henry Nouvel, S.J. was assigned to the Odawas. Father Dablon also noted that a "fine chapel" had been completed in 1674.<sup>[76]</sup>

**Chapel of St. Francis Borgia.** - During the 1670's the Jesuits built a small cabin

and adjoining chapel called St. Francis Borgia after the superior of the Jesuit order. It was built in the woods about 3/4ths of a league from St. Ignace and approximately halfway between the Huron and "new" Odawa villages on Lake Michigan. This was a central position because the distance from East Moran Bay to Lake Michigan on the west was about 4 1/2 miles and the cabin 2 1/4 miles from each village. A missionary lived at the site during the winter months from early December until Easter. This chapel was abandoned when the Kiskakon moved to the St. Ignace mission prior to 1688.[77]

### **Fort Buade**

By the early eighteenth century the French in Canada had created a trade framework with the Indians in the Great Lakes region which would last until the early

nineteenth century. [78] The hallmarks of the system included:

- 1) a licensing system which while far less restrictive than the British and American systems, attempted to regulate both the flow of furs to market and the dimensions and quality of white-Indian contact.
- 2) a recognition of the fur gathering tribes as being necessary, if unequal partners with whom economic and diplomatic alliances were maintained through fair dealing and gift exchange.
- 3) a willingness to trade with the Indian hunters at their residential source, ingress to trade with, which necessitated the erection of fortified posts for protection.
- 4) employment of a semi-Indianized occupational class -- the voyageur-

trader -- in the middle and lower-rung trade positions requiring travel to and contact with Indian hunters.

5) widespread marriage between this class and native women.

**Commandant Durantaye.** - French commercial interests established a military presence at St. Ignace. The commandant of the post was Olivier Morel de la Durantaye (1640-1716). [79] Born in France he arrived in Canada in June 1665 as a captain in the Carignan-Salieres regiment. He fought against the Mohawks and between 1670 and 1683 was attached to the Quebec garrison, where he commanded one of the six companies of colonial regular troops. Fur trading was also one of his occupations, since for eight years he owned a fur trading site at Montreal.

In October 1682 Governor La Barre called

a meeting of religious and lay leaders, which Durantaye attended to discuss the best course of action to take in face of the Iroquois peril. At the governor's request Durantaye accompanied by Louis-Henri de Baugy, in the spring of 1683, traveled to the Great Lakes and Illinois countries to halt the corrupt practices of the coureurs de bois, who were trading in furs without licenses. In an effort to bring control over the Straits region, in July Morel de la Durantaye was placed in command of probably a trading post established there. Baron LaHontan wrote that in 1687 Durantaye had been ". . . invested with the Commission of Commander of the Coureurs de Bois that trade upon the Lakes, and in the southern countries of Canada." [80] Concerning Durantaye's relations with the missionaries, which would be a source of contention in the future

Father Carheil, who was stationed at St. Ignace between 1686 and 1702, reported in the latter year that Durantaye's administration had been an era of cooperation between the commandant and the missionaries. In the years which followed Durantaye was kept busy with intrusions into the region and by attacks on the Iroquois. In 1686 a combined Anglo-Dutch expedition from Albany went to the Straits where they successfully traded. The following year they returned in two parties to continue their successful trading but were captured by Durantaye.[\[81\]](#) In the summer of 1687 acting on Governor Denonville's instructions he took possession of the land to the south of Lake Erie. Then with Dulhut and Henry de Tonty he joined with Denonville's army to the south of Lake Ontario. He led a party which was composed of 160 Frenchmen, 400 allies and 60 prisoners. Within a few days he and his men

assisted in the destruction of some Seneca villages.

In 1690 he persuaded 400 or 500 Indians to go to trade in furs at Montreal, and according to the intendant Bochart de Champigny he marshalled one hundred canoes for this purposes. However in the same year he was relieved of his post as commandant and replaced by La Porte de Louvigny. The reason for his removal seems to have been that he was too well disposed towards the Jesuit missionaries. He remained involved in the fur trade and the year after his removal from St. Ignace he obtained permission to trade in the west and signed an agreement with Jean Fafard.

**Commandant Louvigny.** - The new commandant at St. Ignace was Louis de la Porte de Louvigny (c.1662-1725).[\[82\]](#) Louvigny arrived in Canada in 1663 and distinguished

himself in the struggle against the Iroquois. He impressed Governor Denonville who sent him to Hudson Bay in 1688 and a year later Governor Frontenac sent him to Michilimackinac with 170 men, with orders to reinforce that post and to relieve the commandant, Morel de la Durantaye. The reason for this change is unclear. Frontenac said that the change of command was necessary to prevent the Odawa from coming to terms with the Iroquois. However the intendant Bochart de Champigny claimed that La Durantaye was an excellent officer, who had the situation well in hand at Michilimackinac, whereas Frontenac's appointee was a fur trader by instinct. The real reason for the latter's appointment, according to the intendant, had been his willingness to pay Frontenac's secretary 500 livres annually in return for the command of the post. When he asked to be

relieved in 1694, in order to go to France to attend family matter, Champigny as well as Frontenac warmly commended him for his services. Since the fort was established under Governor La Barre it is unlikely that it was originally named Fort Buade (Frontenac's family name), but probably given the title some time after Frontenac's return to the governorship in 1689.

**Commandant Cadillac.** - The third commandant at Michilimackinac was Antone Laumet, dit de Lamothe Cadillac (1658-1730).[\[83\]](#) He arrived in Canada at Port-Royal (Annapolis Royal, N.S.) around 1683 and after a checkered career arrived in Quebec in 1691. Frontenac liked Cadillac and because of his knowledge of the Atlantic seaboard would have used him for a attack to be launched against Boston or New York. Because of his service in assisting cartographer, Jean-Baptiste

Franquelin in mapping the New England coast in 1692 Cadillac was promoted to the rank of captain in October 1693. The following year he was appointed commandant at Michilimackinac. At the time Michilimackinac was the most important military and trading station held by France in the western country. To command there at the height of the Iroquois war was a heavy responsibility. Basically the duties of the commandant were threefold: 1) to keep all the western tribes in the French alliance; 2) to make them live in harmony with each other; and 3) to induce them to wage war relentlessly on the Five Nations of the Iroquois. It is quite odd that Frontenac and his secretary, Charles de Monseignat, the author of the annual "Relation of the most Remarkable Canadian Occurrences," should have asserted that Cadillac was acquitting himself very well in

this work when the facts they reported proved the exact contrary. Cadillac was unable to prevent the Hurons and Iroquois from exchanging embassies for the purpose of concluding a peace treaty; he was unable to preserve harmony between the various western tribes, much less persuade them to form a large striking force to attack the Iroquois. In 1697, when Cadillac returned to Canada, Monseignat reported that affairs in the Great Lakes region were "extremely confused."

Cadillac may have been a failure as commandant but he proved to be very adroit as a fur trader. When he arrived at Michilimackinac in 1694, his capital assets consisted only of his captain's pay of 1,080 livres annually. Three years later he sent to France letters of exchange valued at 27,596 livres 4 sols which represented only a part of his net profits. These gains were realized

in two ways: by selling unlimited quantities of brandy to the Indians, a practice which both angered and distressed the Jesuits, Father Etienne Carheil and Father Joseph Marest; and by fleecing the coureurs de bois, few of whom dared to complain because they knew that Cadillac was protected by Frontenac. The commissary of the king's troops, Louis Tantouin de La Touche, best summed up the nature of Cadillac's tenure as commandant when he stated: "Never has a man amassed so much wealth in so short a time and caused so much talk by the wrongs suffered by the individuals who advance funds to his sort of trading ventures."

On May 21, 1696, the situation in the west was drastically altered. To reduce the flow of beaver pelts into the colony, a flow which had saturated the French market, Louis XIV issued an edict which abolished the fur

trading licenses (conges) and ordered the withdrawal of the garrisons from the principal western posts. This law obliged Cadillac to return to Canada, where he arrived on August 19, 1697, with a large flotilla of canoes bearing nearly 176,000 pounds of beaver pelts. By that date, in order to keep the western tribes under French influence, Louis XIV had issued a second edict which allowed the retention of the posts of Fort Frontenac, Michilimackinac, and Saint-Joseph des Miamis. The ban on trade in the west, however, was not lifted and the governor claimed that this restriction made the reoccupation of the posts unfeasible since it deprived the men of their chief means of subsistence. As for Cadillac, he was not interested in returning to the hinterland if he could to engage in the fur trade. In 1698 he sailed for France to present to the

court a new program for the west which was the master stroke of his career -- the colonization of Detroit.

**Commandant Tonty.** - The fourth commandant at Michilimackinac was Alphonse de Tonty (c.1659-1727).[\[84\]](#) Arriving in Canada in 1685 he moved to Montreal, married and as a lieutenant in the colonial regular troops had a salary of a mere 720 livres per year. Aware of the profits to be made in the fur trade, he gave his attention to the western country, hiring men and outfitting canoes for the Illinois country. In 1693 he was commissioned half-pay captain and moved into larger quarters. He represented his brother, Henri, in any legal and financial disputes which arose from his activities in the west and continued to make his own investments in the fur trade.

In 1697 Cadillac returned from

Michilimackinac. Although the minister of Marine had ordered the evacuation of the western posts because of the saturation of the beaver market, Governor Frontenac appointed Tonty to serve in Cadillac's place. He left Montreal with 25-30 indentured employees and a cargo of trade goods worth approximately 35,000 livres. The understanding was that Tonty would receive 50 per cent of the profit realized in their sale. His command at Michilimackinac lasted only one year, but it enabled him to meet with his cousin, Pierre-Charles de Liette and his brother Henri. On this occasion the latter ceded to him half his share of Fort Saint-Louis (Pimitoui) in the Illinois country.

The financial outcome of Tonty's first major trading venture is not known; similarly the returns on several houses leases and

sales are unknown. Through 1701 his finances were not good as a balance sheet with one merchant for that year showed a deficit in excess of 11,000 livres. However during these years he made powerful allies such as Philippe de Rigaud de Vaudreuil.

#### PART IV

#### NATIVE ACCOMMODATION AND

#### RESISTANCE

**Nature of the Problem.** - The coming of the Europeans to the Americas forced the native population to make necessary

accommodations. A particular people and circumstances brought about different results. Ultimately Native people were seeking to maintain their road of life against a decisive European cultural, social, and technological intrusion and disruption of their lives [85]

The Huron and Odawa people living at the Straits of Mackinac in the late seventeenth century were no exception. The coming of the French in the early part of the century had drawn them into the French economy. They became middlemen in the all-important fur trade and because of this they became engaged in a deadly and destructive on-going war with the Iroquois. As a result of the first phase of this struggle with the Iroquois, both peoples were forced away from their homelands. Eventually at the Straits of Mackinac they had to survive the bellicose

Iroquois, deal with French commercial policy, and in the process survive. It is essential that the historical records be carefully studied so that we are not led astray from the native reality by French and twentieth century ethnocentrism. The analysis of the process of resistance and survival which took place between 1671 and 1715 which follows will attempt to emphasize the Native American view of the situation.

**Role of the Fur Trade in Odawa and Huron Life.** - Trading relationships were essential to the Odawa way of life and the word "Ota'wa'," means "to trade."[\[86\]](#) The Odawa acted as middlemen for the Ojibwa to the north and for the Huron to the south. The Odawa supplied the Ojibwa with their own and the Huron's surplus corn and received in return the furs that they traded to the

Huron. Each Odawa family owned its own trade route, which was both a geographical path or waterway and a set of relationships with trading partners along the way. So important were these trade relationships that marriages were often arranged to turn trading partners into family members and so extend kinship ties and trade networks. The trade routes could be used only by the family who pioneered them and who maintained the gift-exchange and kinship ties which assured safe passage for the traders and a supply of goods when they reached their destination. Members of the kin group who owned the route used it only with the permission of the family leader, usually the same man who represented them in council and was respected for his personal powers. Trespassers along the trade route could be charged a toll of furs, grain or other native trade goods or might

even be killed for their trespass.

**French Enter.** - With the coming of the French the Indians were drawn into the fur trade. Felt hats were the height of fashion in Europe at the time and the beaver pelts were needed to produce the felt. Because the French were too few in number and too weak militarily to take control of the fur trade, they established trading partnerships with the Huron who lived southeast of the Odawa. These partnerships, however, did not interfere with the long-established Odawa-Ojibwa-Huron trade relationships. The Odawa continued to exchange their corn and other goods for Ojibwa furs and to trade the furs for Huron goods. The Huron, in turn, brought the furs to the French in the St. Lawrence River Valley.

Although the Odawa had little direct contact with the French prior to the late-

seventeenth century, they did see evidence of the European presence. When the Huron traded north, their native crops and crafts were augmented by metal tools, kettles, beads, and other European manufactured goods. These new goods were highly prized by the Odawa and their neighbors.

The fur trade grew in importance for the Native Americans as more Europeans came to the northeastern corner of the future United States. At first the Iroquois of New York and Pennsylvania traded with the Dutch out of Fort Orange and subsequently with the British who renamed the post Albany. The Indian offered furs for European knives, kettles, axes, and guns. The best furs were to the north and the Hurons and their allies in southern Ontario blocked the Iroquois passage to this important region of fur-bearing animals.

**War with the Iroquois and Western Migration.** - The Iroquois encouraged by their European trading partners went to war against the Huron people in the 1640s intent on destroying the Huron trading networks and subsequently getting control of the source of furs. At first the Huron villages were raided for furs, corn, and trade goods. However as the years progressed the Iroquois were determined to eliminate the Huron. The continuous Iroquois raids destroyed Huron fields and caused the people to flee their homes. A series of smallpox epidemics brought further devastation to the Huron. These disasters along with the activities of the French missionaries, raised Huron doubts about their traditional values, created divisions in their political organization, and sowed the seeds of conflict and dissension along them. Divided, demoralized,

weakened, with a greatly reduced population some of the Huron fled to the safety of Quebec, others to the Odawa and a westward migration, while those who escaped death were adopted into the Iroquois nation.

The Iroquois wars severely disrupted the northern trading networks. By 1650 Huron society was destroyed and Huron trading partnerships were broken. However the French traders still sought their fortunes in furs and the Odawa and their Huron neighbors had new needs that could be satisfied only through trade.

**Reliance on European Goods.** - European manufactured goods began to have an impact on the Odawa and Huron way of life. European hoes, knives, axes, sewing needles, and metal kettles were sturdier than the traditional tools of bone, flint, wood and clay and made lighter work of daily chores. Without guns

and ammunition the Odawa and Huron were easy prey for enemies such as the Iroquois and over time they came to value the gun over the bow and arrow for hunting as well. But the Odawa did not have gunsmiths to repair their weapons nor did they have the ability to manufacture their own gunpowder or shot. Increasing Odawa and Huron reliance on European goods and firearms meant an increased dependence on European trade.

**Hurons Attached to the Odawa.** - In 1650 a large group of Huron who had escaped the Iroquois took advantage of their trading-partner relationship with the Odawa and moved to Odawa villages for protection. However with the destruction of Huron military power, the Odawa themselves were open to Iroquois attacks. Seeking to avoid their Iroquois enemies, the Odawa and Huron moved into northern Michigan, Wisconsin and eventually

back to the Straits of Mackinac. In 1653 the Odawa, Ojibwa and other allies united to defeat their enemy in a battle near Sault Ste. Marie at a place still called Iroquois Point and so secured a place to live in the northern Great Lakes while the Iroquois Wars dragged on.

The Hurons were without their own crops to trade for northern furs and had too few men to transport the furs to Montreal. The Odawa, however, already owned their own northern trade routes and had many other trading partners with whom to exchange goods. The Huron introduced the Odawa to the French and for the next fifty years Odawa men traded directly with the French. They brought furs into Quebec and Montreal and took back the European manufactured goods that their Native American neighbors were so eager to have. Between 1650 and 1700 the Odawa became the

best known and most successful traders in the Great Lakes region.

During the years of the Iroquois threat, the Odawa were dispersed but not destroyed. Some Odawa families moved briefly into their old hunting and fishing territories at Mackinac, Saginaw Bay, and Thunder Bay. The Kiskakon and Sinago clans along with some Huron went to Green Bay. In the 1650s they moved as far west as Lake Pepin in Minnesota, only to be driven back by the Sioux who lived there. By 1660 Odawa groups were living at Chequamegon Bay on Lake Superior and the Keweenaw Peninsula near the present Ojibwa L'Anse reservation.

**Importance of Odawa Trade.** - Wherever they moved, the Odawa had trading partners who willingly shared their hospitality and who, in many years, were kinsmen related by marriage. The flexibility of their political

organization and their varied subsistence techniques allowed the Odawa to live in small groups or large villages, hunting and fishing in the northern climes and farming in the warmer regions to the south. Although the time were not easy for them, the Odawa adapted to a variety of new locations without sacrificing their cultural identity or losing their strength.

In the 1670s, after peace was temporarily made with the Iroquois, the Odawa once again formed their large villages near the Straits of Mackinac. Seeking an environment similar to their homeland they built villages on the banks of rivers flowing into Lakes Michigan and Huron and on the lake shores as well.

**Indians and Christianity.** - At St. Ignace the Odawa and Huron were ministered to by Jesuit missionaries. However when the

record is studied it is found to contain evidence that many of the Indians rejected Christianity. The Jesuits themselves wrote of their work among the Odawa and Hurons. Writing in 1675 some four years after the Indians settled at St. Ignace it was noted that "a considerable number" of Huron and Odawa "publicly profess the Faith and live in a very Christian manner." A year earlier when the chapel was consecrated sixty-three Indians were baptized: fourteen adult and thirteen Huron children; fifteen adult and thirty-four Odawa children. The Jesuit report is filled with information on the religious practices of the Indians at Christmas and during Holy Week and Easter.[87] The problem of the two different languages: Algonquian for the Odawa and Iroquoian for the Huron caused two Jesuits to be stationed at St. Ignace. The Jesuit Relation of 1677-1678

noted that the "first and most numerous" people were the Kiskakon clan of the Odawa numbering some 500 or more individuals. The chiefs and most of the important elders were Christians and along with the children perform their Christian duties well.[88] The Kiskakons were first instructed in the father by Father Marquette a decade earlier. They were the Indians who returning from their winter hunt at the southern end of Lake Michigan disinterred Father Marquette's bones and returned them to St. Ignace with great ceremony.[89] Writing in 1688 Baron de LaHontan tells of the problems the Jesuits faced:

These good fathers lavish away all their divinity and patience to no purpose, in converting such ignorant infidels; for all the length they can bring them to is that oftentimes they [Indians] will desire baptism for their dying

children, and some few superannuated persons consent to receive the sacrament of baptism, when they find themselves at the point of death. [90]

At the same time we have a second writers, Henri Joutel who offers additional evidence of the trouble that the Jesuits were having trying to convert the Indians:

There are also some Hurons and Odawas, two neighboring nations, whom those Fathers take care to instruct, not without very much trouble, those people being downright libertines, and there are very often none but a few women in their churches. Those fathers have each of them the charge of instructing a nation, and to that effect have translated the prayers into the language peculiar to each of them, as also all other things relating to the Catholic faith and religion. [91]

When the Jesuit Father Pierre de

Charlevoix visited St. Ignace in June 1721 he noted:

The fort is still kept up as well as the house of the missionaries, who at present are not distressed with business, having never found the Odawas much disposed to receive their instructions, but the [royal] court judges their presence necessary in a place where we are often obliged to treat with our allies, in order to exercise their functions on the French, who repair hither in great numbers.[92]

He also wrote in a vein that indicates that the Odawa who dominated the region at this time continued to practice their traditional religion. They continued to refer to their origin myths about the Michabou and Michilimackinac as being the island of his birth. Furthermore he indicated that because of the abundance of fish in the Straits the Indians made sacrifices " to the genius that

presides over [Lake Huron]."[93]

At St. Ignace there were two Indian communities: 1) the Hurons who lived in a palisaded village in close proximity of the Jesuit chapel-residence complex and the 2) Odawa who lived next to them separated by a palisade. The Kiskakon clan of the Odawa numbering 1,300 people were considered the most important Christian converts.[94]

**Indians and Illegal French Traders.** - By the early 1680s competition from illegal French traders caused the Odawa some concern. The governor general was empowered to regular the fur trade by issuing a limited number of licenses. However the profits were so great (at times 12,000 francs could be realized) that many individuals operated beyond the law. They went to Michilimackinac which was the hub of the trade and then went among Indian tribes "who they believed had the most

peltries.[95] In 1682 La Salle wrote of this illegal trade which now centered around the person of Daniel Greysolon DuLuth. After legally operating in the Lake Superior he publicly announced this illegal intentions and operated with a band of twenty coureurs de bois. Possibly exaggerating somewhat, La Salle wrote of Du Luth's activities "during that period they exhausted the supply of pelts in the Lake Superior country, besieging it from all sides; this year [1682] they prevented the Odawas from going down to Montreal." [96] Father Louis Hennepin made a useful observation concerning the nature of trade among the Odawa and the French:

Our enterprise [trade] had been very successful hitherto; and we had reason to expect, that everybody would have contributed to vigorously carry on our great design to promote the glory of God as well as the good of our colonies. However, some of our

own men opposed it as much as they could. They represented us to the Odawas and their neighbors as dangerous and ambitious adventurers, who designed to monopolize all the trade and furs and skins, and invade their liberty, the only thing that is dear to that people.[97]

Continuing Father Hennepin said that La Salle had sent fifteen traders ahead of him but they had "been seduced and almost drawn from his service." These traders had "dissipated and wasted" the goods which they were given and instead of going to the Illinois country they remained among the Hurons "notwithstanding the exhortations and the prayers of M. [Henri] Tonti who commanded them."

Naturally this type of activity worried both the Odawa and the Huron who could easily see their trade networks interfered with and

the supply of fur-bearing animals greatly reduced or exhausted. This would eliminate the Odawa and Huron as middlemen in the trade and make them vulnerable to Iroquois attacks. It is possible that these Indians remained nominal Christians as a way to maintain good relations with the Jesuits and ultimately French officials who were concerned with maintaining good relations with the Indians.

PART V

FRENCH IMPERIAL AND

COMMERCIAL POLICIES:

Preliminary Struggle for the

Northern

Fur Country [98]

**Sphere of French Influence.** - When Governor Frontenac returned to France in 1682, the French were predominant in Acadia, in the St. Lawrence Valley, in the region of the Great Lakes, and in the Illinois country, and were extending their power into the lower valley of the Mississippi. In the West Indies they had secured a foothold. The missionary and the fur trader had been the instruments of interior expansion, the Indians the source

of wealth. To keep control of the Native Americans and to win new tribes to church and trade was the settled policy of France. The Abenaki of Maine were between Acadia and Massachusetts and were friends of the French. To the south of Lake Ontario were the Iroquois, the friends of the English. In the upper lake region the various Algonquian tribes had long been attached to the French. Their furs were brought to Three Rivers, Montreal, or Quebec, or were traded to the coureurs de bois.

**The English Policy.** - To wrest the fur monopoly of the north from the French was one of the mainsprings of Stuart policy. The establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company posts, an alliance with the Iroquois, and the attempt to gain control of the Huron region, thus cutting off the French from the upper lakes and the Illinois country, were the

means adopted to carry out the policy. To defeat it was the problem of the governors of New France.

**The Huron Policy.** - Although the Tionontati Huron were nominally allied to the Odawa and traded maize to the hunting and fishing bands that gathered at the Straits, the Huron were ready to make friendly overtures to the Iroquois if they felt their security threatened. Their immediate fear was that the latter, currently warring with the Miamis and the Illinois to the south in an attempt to gain new beaver grounds, would turn their attention to the tribes at the Straits of Mackinac.

**Crisis with the Seneca.** - A crisis came soon enough. While raiding westward a Seneca leader strayed, was captured by some Winnebagos, and was carried as prize to Michilimackinac. During the meeting with

Henry Tonty in a Kiskakon wigwam, the Seneca was murdered by an Illinois. Lest the Iroquois annihilate them, the Mackinac tribes sought the protection of the French governor and it was during negotiations with Frontenac in 1682 that the Huron leader, Kondiaronk (c. 1649-1701) known by the French as "Le Rat" was first noticed.

**Kondiaronk Speaks.** - While the Odawa speaker whined that they were like dead men and prayed that their father the governor take pity on them, Kondiaronk acknowledged "that the earth was turned upside down," and reminded Frontenac that the Huron, his erstwhile brother, "is now thy son" and therefore entitled to protection in return for obedience. These blandishments neither convinced Frontenac nor satisfied the Kiskakons, for it was known that the Huron had sent wampum belts to the Iroquois without

confiding in the allies or giving notice to Ontonio [the Indian name for "governor"]. On being questioned, Kondiaronk claimed that the Huron action had been an attempt to settle the affair of the murdered warrior but the Kiakakons maintained that not only had the Hurons withheld the wampum belts of the Odawa but they had blamed them for the entire incident. Having trusted the Huron to placate the Seneca on their behalf, the Odawa now feared unilateral dealing at their expense. In spite of Frontenac's efforts to get them to trust one another, both tribes returned to Michilimackinac as uneasy neighbors while Iroquois aggression against the western tribes continued unabated.

**La Barre and the Iroquois, 1684.** - The successor of Frontenac was Joseph-Antoine Le Febvre de la Barre. Upon arrival he found conditions deplorable. A disastrous fire had

devastated Quebec and the Iroquois were at war with the Illinois, Huron, Odawa, and other "children of the French." La Barre at first negotiated with the Iroquois, but their depredations continued, fostered by Governor Thomas Dongan of New York. La Barre finally realized that his policy was alienating the interior tribes and he determined upon war. He gathered a force of Indians and French and entered the Iroquois country where he was met by a deputation of Iroquois chiefs. After an extended conference, instead of war of extermination, peace was ignominiously agreed upon, in spite of the fact that the Iroquois refused to desist from war on the Illinois. In the meantime Du Luth and other leaders had brought five hundred warriors to Niagara, who arrived at the rendezvous only to learn that peace had been made. With sullen hatred in their hearts, the disappointed warriors

returned to their homes. French influence in the region of the lakes had suffered a severe blow. The Indians from the Great Lakes region were attempting to maintain their independence from the hostile and organized Iroquois and now the French were imposing their own policy on the western Indians.

**Denonville and Dongan.** - Louis XIV had determined upon the recall of La Barre, and Jacques-Rene Brisay de Denonville, "a pious colonel of dragoons," assumed the governorship. He at once entered into a correspondence with Dongan. Both governors lacked resources to carry out an effective campaign; both resorted to Jesuit influence to obtain control of the Iroquois; and both determined to build a fort at Niagara. Denonville, in addition, planned to erect forts at Toronto, on Lake Erie, and at Detroit which at this time referred to the

narrows at Port Huron, Michigan. Du Luth actually erected a stockade called Fort St. Joseph at the lower end of Lake Huron at Port Huron. In 1685 Dongan sent eleven canoes to the upper lakes where a successful trade was conducted. The following year a large flotilla was dispatched, followed by an expedition which was intended to make a treaty of trade and alliance with the lake Indians.

**French Attack on the Iroquois.** - Dongan, however, received dispatches from England which led him to believe that his policy might not meet with the entire approval of his government. He accordingly wrote a conciliatory letter to Denonville, accompanied by a present of oranges. Denonville replied, "Monsieur, I thank you for your oranges. It is great pity that they were all rotten." His sarcasm was the more

effective when it was known that eight hundred French regulars were in the colony, and that as many more were on the way. In the spring of 1687 Denonville was prepared to strike. Leaving eight hundred regulars to protect the settlements, he gathered two thousand men at Fort Frontenac. In addition Henri Tonty and other post commanders had raised a considerable force in the interior which captured the canoes sent by Dongan. The combined forces of French and Indians, totaling nearly three thousand, penetrated the country of the Seneca, defeated them, and burned their villages. But instead of completing the conquest of the Iroquois country, Denonville led his forces to Niagara where a fort was erected, and then returned to Montreal. The expedition merely served to set the Iroquois hive buzzing, and to increase the influence of the English.

**Huron concerns.** - After this invasion of the Seneca country, Kondiaronk and the allies extracted from them, in return their loyalty, a pledge that the war should not be terminated until the Iroquois were destroyed. Peace might suit the old men of the Iroquois and relieve a harassed French colony, but it posed a threat to the Huron of Michilimackinac that Kondiaronk perceived. Without the French to divert their attention, the Iroquois would be able to concentrate on their campaigns in the west.

**Huron Take the Initiative.** - In the summer of 1688 Kondiaronk decided to strike a blow for himself. He raised a war party and they set out to take scalps and prisoners. Arriving at Fort Frontenac (Cataracoui, now Kingston, Ontario) to obtain information, Kondiaronk was amazed to learn from the commander that Denonville was negotiating a

peace with the Five Nations, whose ambassadors were momentarily expected there for conduct to Montreal. He was advised to return home at once and to this he assented. Inwardly resenting the French decision, however, Kondiaronk withdrew across the lake to Anse de la Famine (Mexico Bay, near Oswego, NY) where he knew the Onondaga embassy must pass before going on to the fort. Within a week the delegation appeared, composed of four councillors and forty escorting warriors. The Huron waited until they began to land and greeted them with a volley as they disembarked. In the confusion, a chief was killed, others were wounded and the rest were taken prisoner.

**Huron-Iroquois Conference.** - The

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Go, my brothers, I release you and send you back to your people, despite the fact we are at war with you. It is the governor of the French who had made me commit this act, which is so treacherous that I shall never forgive myself for it if your Five Nations do not take their righteous vengeance.

When he propped up his words with a present of guns, powder, and balls, the Iroquois were convinced, assuring him on the spot that if the Huron wanted a separate peace they could have it. As Kondiaronk had lost a man, however, custom entitled him to request a replacement for adoption: the Onondagas gave him an adopted Shawnee. They then turned back to their villages and the Huron set out for Michilimackinac. Passing by Fort Frontenac, Kondiaronk called on the commandant, and made this chilling boast as he left: "I have just

killed the peace; we shall see how Ontario will get out of this business."

**Further trouble brews at Michilimackinac.** - The war party reached Michilimackinac in apparent triumph and presented the hapless "Iroquois" to the commandant who, having heard nothing of the intended peace between his government and the Iroquois, promptly condemned the man to be shot. Although the captive protested that this treatment was a violation of diplomatic immunity, Kondiaronk pretended that the man was light-headed and, even worse, afraid to die. Kondiaronk sent for an old Seneca slave to witness the execution, told him his countryman's story and freed him to carry the word back to the Iroquois. Kondiaronk charged him to relate how badly the French abused the custom of adoption, and how they violated their trust while deceiving the Five Nations

with feigned peace negotiations.

**Iroquois Reprisals.** - Although one member of the Iroquois delegation attacked by Kondiaronk had escaped to Fort Frontenac where the French gave assurances of their innocence in the affair, the damage done to the peace negotiations was irreparable. The message of French perfidy passed rapidly from fire to fire the length of the Iroquois longhouse. The wampum belts were buried and the war kettles hung. The Iroquois soon began a war of reprisal. Within a year of Kondiaronk's treachery the war parties of the Five Nations descended on the island of Montreal, sacking Lachine in the summer of 1689. Because of the renewal of French-English hostilities in Europe called King William's War (War of the League of Augsburg; May 12, 1689-Sept. 20, 1697), the New York colony aided and abetted the Indian attacks

but Baron de LaHontan, held Kondiaronk responsible for provoking the Iroquois to the point where it was impossible to appease them.

**Factionalism.** - In the decade of warfare that followed, Kondiaronk's intrigues were numerous. In 1689 he was caught plotting with the Iroquois for the destruction of his Odawa neighbors and that September, as if to witness his own mischief, he went down to Montreal and returned home unscathed, proving that the French lacked the temerity to hang him. But he was worth more alive than dead. Although it was probably he who was behind the Odawa rebuff to Frontenac the following year and their proposed treaty with the Iroquois to trade at Albany, by mid-decade when the Huron at Michilimackinac were again divided Kondiaronk was leading the pro-French faction, while another Huron chief, Le Baron,

leading the English-Iroquois opposition, each side having a mixed following of Odawas. The Baron wanted to ally with the Iroquois to destroy the Miamis, but in 1697 Kondiaronk warned the latter and attacked the former, cutting fifty-five Iroquois to pieces in a two-hour canoe engagement on Lake Erie. This victory ruined the possibility of a Huron-Iroquois alliance, reestablished Kondiaronk's preeminence and helped to restore the tribes at Michilimackinac as children of Frontenac when they went to Montreal to council.

**Great Anti-Iroquois Struggle.** - Most colonial observers, as well as most past and present historians, consider the Iroquois as the central military and diplomatic Indian force of the northeastern United States. On the other hand, the traditions of the Ojibwa, Odawa and Huron talk of an extended and fiercely contested struggle that by 1700 had

soundly crushed the Iroquois. The internal consistency of Indian oral tradition as it has been preserved by nineteenth century Indian writers, strongly support these ancient traditions of a cataclysmic defeat suffered by the Iroquois. These traditions are supported by data found in the usual colonial historical records.[99]

The Ojibwa, along with the Odawa and Huron, had been the enemies of the Iroquois. In the late seventeenth century when it looked as if the French would make peace with the Iroquois and as a result interfere with western Indian independence and trade, these Indians took action. A grand council was held at Sault Ste. Marie called by the Ojibwa and attended by the Odaw, Huron, Potawatomi and other tribes.

The Ojibwa led a three-pronged attack whose details differ according to informants.

First this allied force successfully attacked a small Iroquois settlement on the French River which would block access to the Ottawa River and Montreal. The second coordinated attack took place on the Saugeen River in Ontario. The third phase of the campaign saw the Ojibwa and their allies move from Orillia at Lake Simcoe and 1) moving against Iroquois positions in the Toronto and Niagara falls area while 2) they made four successful attacks against the Iroquois at Pigeon Lake, in the Peterborough area, in the Rice lake/Otonabee River area and finally in the region of the Trent River/Bay of Quinte.

Historians continue to debate the reality of this great campaign. A variety of reasons are presented and oral tradition is questioned. This "Ojibwa thesis" would certainly support the Treaty of 1701 which clearly marked "the eclipse of Iroquoian

power."

**Reduction in Fighting.**- With the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697 ending the conflict in Europe, New York and New France agreed to suspend hostilities. The withdrawal of active support, combined with the depredations of a long war and the decisive campaign against them the Ojibwa and their allies, prompted the Iroquois to make peace overtures to Frontenac. Negotiations went on for several years and led to the settlement of 1701. Unfortunately during the negotiations in which Kondiaronk took an active part, he fell ill with a violent fever and died soon afterward.

## PART VI

### FRENCH ABANDONMENT OF ST.

#### IGNACE

**Order of Louis XIV.** - In 1696 Louis XIV ordered the western posts of New France abandoned and in 1697 Cadillac left and returned to France. It would appear that the garrison left with him but coureurs de bois continued to trade in the area. Father Carheil remained with the mission and was joined by Father Jean Joseph Marest in 1700. There are indications that Father Marest remained until 1714. In 1700 the coureurs de bois refused a royal pardon and laughed at the officer who offered it. The focus of the settlement shifted, however, after Cadillac returned and opened Fort Pontchartrain du Detroit in 1701 and invited the native tribes

at Michilimackinac to settle there.

**Huron Migration.** - The Cadillac Papers in the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections (Vol. 33) include letters written by Fathers Marest and Carheil to Cadillac in 1701 with Cadillac's often sarcastic notation written in the margins of these letters published in parallel columns. While outwardly encouraging the settlement in Detroit, the priests were trying to discourage relocation there. They seem to have had little success and Cadillac noted that by 1701 only twenty-five Huron were left at Michilimackinac; although Father Marest later wrote that he had worked to prevent the Michilimackinac Huron from joining in an attack on Detroit. The Huron, however, eventually abandoned the area entirely. A report of an inspection of the "posts of Detroit and Michilimackinac" in 1708 includes

mention of a four day visit to Michilimackinac which was inhabited by Odawa, "the Huron having moved to Detroit." There were also fourteen or fifteen Frenchmen at Michilimackinac and it was suggested that the Huron be urged to return.[100]

**Odawa Struggle to Go South.** - The struggle to depopulate the Straits region of the Indians was continued by Cadillac. The Odawa were torn between remaining at the Straits and migrating to the new center of the fur trade.[101] In July 1703 Le Pesant ("The Heavy", so called because of his corpulence) representing the Kiskakon, Sinago and Sable clans visited Quebec to express Indian condolences at the death of Governor Callieres. However some of the Odawa clans expressed interest in moving to Detroit. The Sinago Odawa secretly sent Cadillac a wampum belt and promised to move after the fall

harvest. The Kiskakon Odawa had six large households at St. Ignace, but they were not interested in moving.

**Jesuit Frustration.** - The Jesuits felt the effects of the removal of the French garrison from St. Ignace.[\[102\]](#) Many of the Odawa refused their ministry and the illegal traders who gathered at the Straits were involved in illegal relationships with the women. The missionaries felt that prostitution was out of control. In 1705 Father Joseph Marest, totally frustrated at the turn of events, burned the Jesuit mission and returned to Quebec.[\[103\]](#) He said that with the removal of the Huron to Detroit there was not a single Christian left. This caused serious consternation in Quebec and in 1706 Vaudreuil persuaded Father Marest to return to Michilimackinac in the company of Louvigny, who had been commander of the post

before Cadillac. From all indications the mission of St. Ignace continued to exist at the Straits of Mackinac. Father Marest was still there in 1711 when Father Joseph Germain, S.J., in his description of the western missions, wrote, "we have one [mission] among the Odawa at Michilimackinac where there are two fathers, Marest and Cardon - and a coadjutor brother named Hiram." [104]

**Odawa at St. Ignace.** - 1706, which saw the return of the Jesuits saw problems for the Odawa. In the summer there was an eight-day siege of Fort Buade by the Indians over the death of an Indian by a Frenchman. Father Marest stationed at Sault Ste. Marie sent Merasilla, a Sinago Odawa to successfully intervene in the difficulty. Fearing further trouble, the French fortified the post. Onaske and Koutaouiliboe, pro-French Odawa

leaders living in the vicinity of St. Ignace, kept 160 Odawa from traveling to Detroit to avenge the death of some of their people. A smallpox epidemic desolated Onaske's village and the Indians found it increasingly difficult to trap marten and raccoon.

**Odawa Trade at Hudson Bay.** - As the years progressed, although Detroit had officially become the new trading center in the Great Lakes region, the north country continued to hold the advantage as a source of high quality furs. However with the loss of the French commercial outlet the Indians looked elsewhere. In 1703 John Fullartine, factor at the Hudson Bay post of Fort Albany, was visited by French-speaking Odawa who arrived with several canoes filled with beaver pelts. In an attempt to capitalize on this development Fullartine encouraged them to trade through his post in the future. Five

years later conditions grew worse. Only seven hundred pounds of beaver pelts were sent to Montreal from Detroit while over 40,000 pounds were sent from the Straits. In response to this situation and the outcry from the Montreal merchants, Francois Clairambault d'Aigrement inspected the western posts and concluded that if the Straits area was completely abandoned by the French and the Odawa forced to relocate at Detroit, the English would completely dominate the fur trade from Lake Superior to Hudson Bay. **Odawa Life at St. Ignace.** -

The majority of the Odawa who stayed at St. Ignace were joined by others who became disillusioned with conditions at Detroit and returned to the Straits. Here they found that they were in a strategic location and could play a role in halting intertribal warfare. Although their land was not very fertile they

raised enough maize for themselves and French traders. In 1708 there were over a dozen Frenchmen who used St. Ignace as their trading headquarters under the auspices of Montreal merchants. There were also many illegal fur traders who entered the region under the pretext of being on government business.

The Huron had been drawn to Detroit by the promises of Cadillac, the trading possibilities at the new post, and their hatred for the Odawa who had come to dominate them. The Huron came to feel that they were the "slaves" of the Odawa. But by 1708 their extreme dislike for Cadillac's arrogant attitude and policies was so great that they considered returning to the Straits and/or making an alliance with the Iroquois.

**French Re-occupy the Straits.** - In Paris the Minister of Marine, Count de

Pontchartrain, having read D'Aigremont's report on the situation at the Straits, decided to reestablish French control over the area. In New France officials realized that unless the Straits was reoccupied the Odawa would ally themselves with the Iroquois with disastrous results.

The many French concerns about reoccupying the Straits of Mackinac were heightened by the outbreak of the Fox War in 1712. Caused by an attack on Fox Indians who sought to relocate at Detroit, the war embroiled the French and their Indian allies in the west for many years.

As a result of the Fox War it was decided to finally reestablish French control at the Straits. The area was recovered in 1715 when Louvigny commanded a punitive expedition against the Fox in Wisconsin. His second in command on the expedition, De

Lignery, had apparently been sent to Michilimackinac prior to 1712 and in 1720 appealed for reimbursement for his expenditures during the Fox War, including those for "a new establishment created for the Odawas and the French on the other side of the river" including "a fort for the garrison, two guardhouses, and a forty foot house . . . ." [105] In a much later account dating to 1767 it is suggested that the post on the south side of the strait was established in 1717 at the request of the Odawa whose village was already there. [106] If the Odawa village was, by this time, located in the vicinity of modern Mackinaw City rather than on Ryerse Hill in St. Ignace, this would be a logical choice for the new French fort site. It would also suggest that the mission to the Odawa was by this time located on the south side of the

Strait as well.

Maxwell and Binford have suggested that Fort Michilimackinac was built around 1715 and Stone (1974:8) would concur. This post seemed to be the staging area for the 1716 attack on the main Fox village in Wisconsin, which had been identified as the Bell Site by Wittry (1963), who has related the historical context of this attack.

**Odawa Migration.** - While the French contemplated reoccupation of the Straits, the Odawa at St. Ignace were making changes beginning in 1710-1711. First some things had not been altered - they had retained their traditional religion. When Jesuit Pierre-Gabriel Marest visited his brother Joseph at St. Ignace he noticed that the religion of the Odawa was not deep and that there were few Indians who were truly converted. At this time the Odawa began a southward migration

seeking more arable lands which they found to the south of the Straits. The Fox War caused some of the Odawa who remained in Detroit to return to the north. By 1721 a group of Odawa had settled on Beaver Island in Lake Michigan while some 500 remained at the Straits.

In 1740 a major Odawa population took place. An extremely severe winter caused grave hardship among the Odawa. As a result the French decided to move them farther south where the climate and soil was better suited to farming. Thus in the 1740s the Kiskakon, Sinago, and La Fourche clans relocated in the Grand Traverse Bay area where their descendants remain today. Father Pierre Du Jauney, S.J., opened a new mission of St. Ignace at L'Arbre Croche (Cross Village) where he also maintained a small farm and found time to develop a French-Odawa dictionary.

**Ojibwa Southward Migration.** - Over the years the Ojibwa who were related to the Odawa had allowed the latter to reside in their lands as allies against the Iroquois. With the southward migration of the Odawa, the Ojibwa filled the void which was left. In 1728 they were living at the Straits of Mackinac with the Odawa. Over the years other Ojibwa would migrate into the Lower Peninsula of Michigan as well.

**Charlevoix's Description of St. Ignace.**

- By 1701 the settlement in the St. Ignace area had fallen into decline. It was completely abandoned in 1715. When Father Pierre de Charlevoix, S.J., visited St. Ignace in June 1721 he left the following description:

I arrived the 28th [of June] at this post which is much fallen to decay, since the time that Monsieur de la Mote Cadillac, carried to the Narrows [Detroit] the best part of

the Indians who were settled here [Michilimackinac], and especially the Hurons; several of the Odawas followed them thither, others dispersed themselves among the Beaver Islands, so that what is left is only a sorry village, where there is notwithstanding still carried on a considerable fur trade, this being a thoroughfare or rendezvous of a number of Indian nations. [107]

There were occasional references in the St. Anne's parish register from eighteenth century Michilimackinac to baptisms and marriages of individuals from the St. Ignace area. At the time of the 1823 land claims settlement, there were individuals who claimed to have lived in St. Ignace prior to 1812 but it was not until the last half of the nineteenth century that St. Ignace again became a population center.



PART VII  
LATER HISTORY OF ST.

IGNACE [108]

**Metis People.** - There were virtually no French women in the western country during this time and as a result the French traders legally or illegally took Indian women as their wives. At the opening of the eighteenth century the Jesuits wrote of these relationships and vigorously condemned the illegal relationships. Father Carheil thought that the traders resident among the Indians had been supported by a succession of "unchaste Commandants," notable among them was Cadillac. He felt that their lax leadership had encouraged movement away from male barracks and the building of separate housing where the traders could live with

their consorts. As a result, there were numerous metis children in the village of St. Ignace. Even after the reestablishment of French control at Fort Michilimackinac this situation continued. As a result this was a new racial type living among the people at St. Ignace. [109]

**French Families.** - Although the major settlement at Michilimackinac shifted to the Mackinaw City area after 1715 and to Mackinac Island after 1780, there is some evidence of a continuous sparse occupation in St. Ignace. The Michilimackinac baptismal register, as an example for 1741 records Charles Chabollier and his family as residents of "point St. Ignace." The American State Records contain the report of the Commission which sat at Mackinac Island in 1823 to confirm title to lands held prior to 1812. Seventeen individuals filed claims for lands in St.

Ignace and although none had deeds or paper titles, all claimed to have possessed and occupied these lands prior to 1812.

These included a mixture of French and non-French families. All appear to be legitimate occupants for at last a short period of this time although some, such as Ezekiel Solomon and Daniel Bourassa, are names more closely associated with Mackinac Island. The sparsity of the settlement at this time is shown by the fact that two of the nineteen private tracts had no claimants.

Early settlers of this period included: Louis and Peter Grondin, Francis Perault, Mitchell Jeandreau, Mitchell Amnaut, Louis Charbonneau, J.B. Lejeunesse, Charles Cettandre, and Francis DeLeverre. Many of these French names are found with many alternative spellings: such as Truckey, which appear as Trucket, Troquette, and Trottier;

and St. Andrew which appears as Cettandre, St. Andrie, and St. Andres. John Graham was a native of Ireland who had served as a soldier on Mackinac Island. He married a Native American and purchased Private Claim No. 1 from the Jeandreau family, although he apparently settled there in 1818, five years before the final claims settlement. Point St. Ignace, or Iroquois Point was generally known as Graham Point after that time with Graham Road the main east-west street on the point.

**Land Claimants.** - Several other veterans settled in the area as well including: Isaac Blanchard, Nathan Puffer, and two others named Hobbs and Rousey. Interestingly enough, Blanchard's name is sometimes found in its French version, Isais Blanchette.

The permanency of some of these claims is open to some question and several of the

1823 claimants (Francis LaPointe, Francis Clemmon, Jean Baptiste Terresron) vanish almost immediately from St. Ignace history. Some of this land was purchased by Michael Dousman and resold to latter settlers.

**New St. Ignace Parish.** - The population was large enough to be established as a separate parish by 1832 under the direction of Father Bouduel, although Father Edward Jacker later gave the establishment date as 1838 when the first recorded baptism of Agnes LaBute took place in the church. Improvements were made on the church under the supervision of Father Killian Haas in 1882. In the twentieth century, the old church building was moved to the lot on the corner of Marquette and State Streets, where it now serves as a museum.

**19th Century Population.** - While the population of the area increased dramatically

in the nineteenth century it is difficult to document this growth because of the shifting political boundaries of the time. The county of Michilimackinac was established by Lewis Cass in 1818 with Mackinac Island City (then called the Village of Mackinac), which had been incorporated in 1817, as its county seat. The county itself covered all of the Upper Peninsula and nearly a third of the Lower Peninsula. It was eventually divided into more than twenty separate counties. The population of St. Ignace, however, was only "79 whites and 325 Indians" in 1860 and grew to "405 whites, 132 Indians and 19 colored persons by 1870. By 1882 the population of St. Ignace was nearly 1,000 and the city was incorporated and swayed the county election in 1882 to move the county seat from Mackinac Island City to St. Ignace where it remains today.

The period of most rapid growth was in the decade of the 1880s and by 1890 the population of St. Ignace had climbed to a little over 2,700 people. This declined to below 2,300 in 1900 and to nearly 2,100 a decade later. In recent times St. Ignace has never been half as large as it was reported to have been in the last decade of the seventeenth century and in the twentieth century it has not matched the last decade of the nineteenth century in size until the 1970s.

During the first half of the nineteenth century most of the population growth was from the immigration of French families (Beaudoins, Goudreaus, Hombachs, LaDukes, LaVakes, Masseys, Pauquins). Near the middle of the nineteenth century several Irish families, notably the Murrays, Chambers and Mulcrones followed the lead of John Graham

and settled in St. Ignace. The patterns of settlement here seems to have been the initial movement from Ireland to Mackinac Island with subsequent resettlement in St. Ignace. A similar pattern was followed by Siegfried Highstone, a German immigrant. With the coming of the railroad in the 1880s St. Ignace was opened to the outside world and as a result more and varied people entered the community and vicinity, but the Indian and French heritage was not forgotten.

**20th Century Indian Population.** - Both the Huron and the Odawa have survived some 360 years of contact with Euro-Americans. There are 8,000 Odawa descendants scattered in the United States and Canada. There are 3,000 in Ontario, about 4,500 in northern Michigan, and 500 in Oklahoma. There is also an unknown number living in northern Wisconsin. The Odawa are an example of a

people whose population has increased over the years. The records show that there were 5,000 Odawa living on Manitoulin Island in Lake Huron, Ontario in 1615.[110] The Huron or Wyandot living in the United States and Canada. In the United States there were some 2,400 living in Oklahoma where they have a reservation status. There are 494 living on the reservation. In the 1970s the Wyandot living in Lorette had for the most part assimilated into the white community while they preserved much of the tribal culture and heritage. They are located on a reserve called, Huron Village near Quebec City and they had an estimated population of approximately 1,050.[111] During the wars with the Iroquois many Huron were adopted into the Iroquois Confederacy and their numbers are lost. Unfortunately complete and accurate population figures are not available

for them.[112] It is important to reiterate that these tribes have survived despite their numbers.

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[3].James E. Fitting. "The Nelson Site (SIS-34)," The Michigan Archaeologist. 20:3-4 (1974), 121-38; Charles E. Cleland. "The Prehistoric Animal Ecology and Ethnozoology of the Upper Great Lakes Region," Anthropological Papers, Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, No. 29 (1966), Ann Arbor; Alan L. McPherron. "The Juntunen Site and the Late Woodland Prehistory of the Upper Great Lakes Area," Anthropological Papers, Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, No. 30 (1967), Ann Arbor. Fitting and Cleland. "Late Prehistoric Settlement Patterns in the Upper Great Lakes," Ethnohistory. 16:4 (1969), 289-302; Fitting. "Settlement Analysis in the Great Lake Region," Southwestern Journal of Anthropology. 25:4 (1969), 360-77; The Archaeology of Michigan. New York: Natural History Press, 1970; "The Huron as a Ecotype: The Limits of Maximization in a Western Great Lakes Society," Anthropologica. 14:1 (1972), 3-18.

[4].Pierre de Charlevoix. Journal of a Voyage to North America. 2 vols. London: R. and J. Dodsley, 1761, II:45, 44.

[5].E.S. Rogers. "Southeastern Ojibwa," in Bruce G. Trigger, ed. Handbook of North American Indians. Vol. 15 Northeast. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1978, p. 760.

[6].Reuben G. Thwaites, ed. The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travel and

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[7].JR 33:67,153.

[8].JR 52:133; 54:129-131.

[9].Conrad E. Heidenreich. "Huron," in Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 15, p. 368.

[10].The terms Huron and Tionontati are used interchangeably since the two groups become mixed and lose their identity in their westward migration.

[11].Charles Garrad and Conrad E. Heidenreich. "Kionontateronon (Petun)," Ibid., pp. 394-397.

[12].Marian E. White. "Neutral and Wenro," Ibid., pp. 407-411.

[13].Heidenreich. "Huron," p. 369.

[14].White. "Neutral and Wenro," p. 410.

[15].In recent years Native people and scholars have begun using the term "Odawa" to refer to the people former called the Ottawa. The former term will be used in this study.

[16].Johanna E. Feest and Christian F. Feest. "Ottawa," Ibid., pp. 772-786.

[17].JR 56:115.

[18].Fitting and Wesley S. Clarke. "The Beyer Site (SIS-20)," The Michigan Archaeologist. 20:3-4 (1974), 227-282.

[19].JR 41:77-79.

[20].Emma H. Blair, ed. The Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley and Region of the Great Lakes as Described by Nicholas Perrot . . . ; Bacqueville de la Potherie . . . 2 vols. Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark, 1911-1912, 1:165.

[21].JR 50:297, 54:149-151,167, 55:97.

[22].JR 54:169,283.

[23].JR 50:273,301.

[24].JR 55:153.

[25].JR 55:159-161,167; 56:115, 117.

[26].JR 56:117; 55:171.

[27].JR 57:249-251.

[28].JR 55:132,170, 57:228,248, 58:41,228, 59:200, 61:69, 102, 122, 126, 62:192; Pierre Margry. Decouvertes etablisements des francois dans l'ouest et dans le sud de l'Amerique Septentrionale (1614-1754), Memoires et documents originaux recueilles et pub. 6 vols. Paris: Impr. D. Jouaust, 1876-1888, V:80. For an excellent study of both the traditional and Straits of Mackinac phases of Huron and Ottawa life see: W. Vernon Kintz. The Indians of the Western Great Lakes, 1615-1760. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1988 reprint of 1940 edition, pp. 1-160, 226-307.

[29].JR 59:71.

[30].JR 59:217.

[31].Louis Armand de Lom d'Arce. Baron de LaHontan. New Voyages to North-America. Reuben G. Thwaites, ed. 2 vols. New York: Burt Franklin, 1970 reprint of 1905 edition, I: 146-148.

[32].Emerson F. Greenman. "An Early Historic Cemetery at St. Ignace," The Michigan Archaeologist. 4:2 (1958), 28-35; James E. Fitting and Patricia L. Fisher. "An Archaeological Survey of the St. Ignace Area," in Archaeological Survey on the Straits of Mackinac. Mackinac Island: Mackinac Island State Park Commission, 1975, pp. 3-90.

[33].Fitting. "The Gyfakis and McGregor Sites: Middle Woodland Occupations in St. Ignace, Michigan," The Michigan Archaeologist. 25:3-4 (1980), 3-4.

[34].Jean Cavelier. The Journal of Jean Cavelier. Jean Delanglez, S.J. tr. Chicago: Chicago Institute for Jesuit History, 1938, p. 127.

[35].Henri Joutel. Joutel's Journal of La Salle's Last Voyage, 1684-7. Henry Reed Stiles, ed. Albany, NY: Joseph McDonough, 1906, pp. 199-200.

[36].Milo M. Quaife, ed. The Western Country in the 17th Century: The Memories of Lamothe Cadillac and Pierre Liette. Chicago: Lakeside Press, 1947, pp. 3-4.

[37].Ibid., pp. 8-12.[37].

[38].Lyle Stone. "Archaeological Investigation of the Marquette Mission Site, St. Ignace, Michigan, 1971: A Preliminary Report," Reports in Mackinac History and Archaeology No. 1. Lansing: Mackinac Island State Park Commission, 1972; Fitting, "Archaeological Excavations at the Marquette Mission Site, St. Ignace, Michigan, in 1972," The Michigan Archaeologist. 22:2-3. (1976), 108-282.

[39].Pierre de Charlevoix. Journal d'un Voyage fait par Ordre du Roi dans l'Amerique Septentrionale: Adresse a Madame la Duchess

de Lesdiquieres. Paris: Nym Fils, 1744, p. 288.

[40].This section is based on Beverley A. Smith. "The Use of Animals at the 17th Century Mission of St. Ignace," The Michigan Archaeologist. 31:4 (1985), 97-122.

[41].Here Marquette is describing three 'kinds' of lake trout (Salvelinus namaycush namaycush) in various stages of its life cycle. There is a lake trout called a siscowet (formerly Cristivomer siscowet now considered a subspecies of the lake trout Salvelinus namaycush siscowet, W.B. Scott and E.J. Crossman. Freshwater Fishes of Canada. Ottawa: Fisheries Research Board of Canada, Bulletin 184, 1973, p. 221) which is found in the lakes where the depth exceeds three hundred feet and is described as "excessively fat."

[42].JR 55:157-159.

[43].Baron de Lahontan. New Voyages to North America, I:147.

[44].Charles Cleland. "The Inland Shore Fishery of the Northern Great Lakes: Its Development and Importance in Prehistory," American Antiquity. 47:4 (1982), 761-784.

[45].Kinietz. The Indians of the Western Great Lakes, 1615-1760. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1972, p. 29.

- [46].JR 55:161-165.
- [47].Lahontan. New Voyages, p. 147.
- [48].Ibid., p. 148.
- [49].Smith. Michigan Archaeologist, 102.
- [50].Scott and Crossman. Freshwater Fishes, p. 226.
- [51].Carl L. Hubbs and Karl F. Lagler. Fishes of the Great Lakes Region. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1964, p. 101.
- [52].JR 55:159-161; Louis Hennepin. A New Discovery, pp. 311-312.
- [53].Conrad E. Heidenreich. Huronian: A History and Geography of the Huron Indians, 1600-1650. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1971, p. 156.
- [54].Ibid., p. 116; Kinietz. The Indians, pp. 23-24, 34, 240.
- [55].Ibid., p. 241; Hennepin. A New Discovery, p. 312.
- [56].Lahontan. New Voyages, p. 147; JR 61:135.
- [57].Lahontan. New Voyages, pp. 147, 143.
- [58].Kinietz. The Indians, p. 241.
- [59].Smith. The Michigan Archaeologist, p.

106; Lahontan. New Voyages, p. 148.

[60].Normal A. Wood. "The Birds of Michigan." Ann Arbor: Museum of Zoology, University of Michigan, Miscellaneous Papers, Number 75 (1943), p. 224; Smith. The Michigan Archaeologist, p. 108.

[61].JR 17:207,211, 33:211-215 15:181.

[62].Kinietz. The Indians, p. 252.

[63].Ibid., p. 114.

[64].JR 57:255.

[65].Ronald J. Mason. Great Lakes Archaeology. New York: Academic Press, 1981, p. 404.

[66].Domestic items: bone needles, mat knife, weaving shuttle, antler flaker, bone punch, awl/splinter pins; subsistence items: bone and antler projectile points, harpoons, leister prong; personal adornment items: bone beads, comb and bracelet items, carved shell runtee/gorgetts.

[67].Nancy Nowak Cleland."A Preliminary Analysis of the 17th Century Botanical Remains at 20MK82," in Susan M. Branstner. "1986 Archaeological Excavations at the Indian Village Associated with the Marquette Mission Site 20MK82/20MK99, St. Ignace, Michigan," A Planning Report Submitted to: The St. Ignace Downtown Development

Authority. East Lansing: The Museum, Michigan State University, 1987, pp. 205-227.

[68].Lahontan. New Voyages, p. 148-149.

[69].Cleland. "A Preliminary Analysis," p. 196.

[70].Frances Densmore. How Indians Use Wild Plants for Food, Medicine, and Crafts. New York: Dover Publications, 1974; Richard Asa Yarnell. "Aboriginal Relationships between Culture and Plant Life in the Upper Great Lakes Region." Museum of Anthropology, The University of Michigan Anthropological Papers 23. Ann Arbor, 1964.

[71].Branstner. "1986 Archaeological Excavations. . ." pp. 93-134.

[72].Stewart Culin. Games of the North American Indians. New York: Dover Publications, 1975 reprint of 1907 edition, pp. 106-110.

[73].Types of knives: clasp knives (hinge present between blade and handle), case knives (no hinge between handle and blade).

[74].JR 56:117; 55:171.

[75].JR 59:71.

[76].JR 59:217.

[77]. "Notes to Map," Edward Jacker Letters, Burton Collection, Detroit Public Library. Microfilm reel 35.

[78]. Jacqueline Peterson. "Ethnogenesis: The Settlement and Growth of a 'New People' in the Great Lakes Region, 1702-1815," American Indian Culture and Research Journal. 6:2 (1982), 23-64.

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[81]. F.X. de Charlevoix, S.J. History and General Discovery of New France. John G. Shea, tr. 6 vols. New York: Francis P. Hale, 1900, III:384; Thwaites. "The French Regime," 130.

[82]. Ibid., pp. 345-347.

[83]. Ibid., pp. 351-357.

[84]. Ibid., II:631-633.

[85]. Papers presented by Alice Kehoe. "Maintaining the Road of Life" and Rolena Adorno. "The Art of Survival in Early Colonial Peru" at a symposium "Violence and Resistance in the Americas: The Legacy of

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[86].This section on Ottawa trade comes directly from: James M. McClurken. "Ottawa." in James A. Clifton, et. al. People of the Three Fires: The Ottawa, Potawatomi and Ojibway of Michigan. Grand Rapids: The Grand Rapids Inter-Tribal Council, 1986, pp. 11-17.

[87].JR 59:217.

[88].JR 61:69.

[89].JR 59:201.

[90].LaHontan. New Voyages to North-America. 2 vols. New York: Burt Franklin, 1970 reprint of 1905 edition, I:146.

[91].Henri Joutel. Joutel's Journal of La Salle's Last Voyage, 1684-7. Henry Reed Stiles, ed. Albany, NY: Joseph McDonough, 1906, p. 199.

[92].Pierre de Charlevoix. Journal of a Voyage to North America. 2 vols. London: R. and J. Dodsley, 1761, II:42.

[93].Ibid., II:44-45.

[94].JR 61:101.

[95].Wisconsin Historical Collection, 16:100.

[96].Wisconsin Historical Collection, 16:107.

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[101].See: Russell M. Magnaghi. A Guide to the Indians of Michigan's Upper Peninsula. Marquette: Belle Fontaine Press, 1984, pp. 10-13.

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