

SHEA'S PETUN HISTORICAL SKETCH

with Added Notes by Charles Garrad

abstract

Dr. John Gilmary Shea's pioneer study of the Petun is presented, together with some notes for the period 1616-1650 a.d., to add more recent research.

Résumé

L'étude défrichée par le docteur John Gilmary Shea du peuple Petun est ici présentée; ci-joint se trouvent aussi des remarques pertinentes d'une recherche plus récente de cette même période 1616-1650 a.d.

Introduction

In 1861 Dr. John Gilmary Shea published "An Historical Sketch of the Tionontates or Dinondadies, now Called Wyandots". For its time, when far fewer early sources were available in English, it was an outstanding collection of information about the Petun, much of which Dr. Shea must have translated himself from the original French. He began with the first known written record, that of Champlain in 1619, rather than earlier, which would have required speculation. The "Petun" period, from Champlain to the Dispersal from Ontario in 1650 a.d., requires but a single page (p.263). Some of the statements made are now superseded by later research, and when this is so, it is to this page that the following comments apply by paragraph. Other than the references included to Dr. Ronald J. Mason's work on the post-Dispersal Petun on Rock Island, Wisconsin, the documents cited in support of each specific Note are not identified, but comprise generally the Research Bulletin series of the Petun Research Institute.

Dr. Shea's text

The text "An Historical Sketch of the Tionontates or Dinondadies, now Called Wyandots", from The Historical Magazine and Notes and Queries Concerning the Antiquities, History and Biographies of America, September 1861 5(9):262-269, published by Charles B. Richardson & Co., New York, is attached.

Notes applicable to page 263

para 2 beginning "Champlain":

That the Petun are so named "from their raising large quantities of tobacco" is now rejected. This source of this statement is the Identification Table attached to Champlain's 1636 map which, in fact, was not by Champlain. It is now believed that the Petun grew no more, nor less, tobacco than was usual for an Iroquoian group. That "they were almost the only instance of raising a crop for sale" is rejected. The tobacco grown by the Petun was for personal and shamanistic use, not a crop for sale.

para 3 beginning "The Recollect":

The statement attributed to Champlain concerning "large villages and palisades", while not challenged, was not by Champlain but by the anonymous contributor to the Identification Table to the 1636 map. Champlain himself did not mention tobacco.

para 4 beginning "Their distance":

Their language was substantially identical to some of the Hurons, among whom there were linguistic and dialect differences

para 6 beginning "After":

"Le Clerq" (Le Clercq) is an error for Father Joseph le Caron, as is later shown.

para 7 beginning "Father":

The Mission of the Apostles commenced in 1639. Ehwaee was attacked but could not have been entirely destroyed as it continued to function for a while.

para 9 beginning "They":

St. Mathias was not the name of a town but the name of the Mission head-quartered in the village of St. Matthew.

para 10 beginning "This":

The separation of the missionaries to two separate town did not mean that the Petun were reduced to those two towns. Both towns had at least one related satellite (?) village.

para 11 beginning "In 1648":

The third mission was not "established" in 1649. The Mission of La Conception was the oldest Huron mission. In 1649 it moved from Ossossane to the Petun country. The Petun country has elevations that from a distance could appear to be mountains, but the Hurons did not move to the high lands, but to the villages on the flat lands below the Blue Mountain.

para 12 beginning "In December":

It is not accepted that the Iroquois massacred "the old, the women and children" because, in the absence of the men, these comprised the total population of the village. It is now believed that one of the purposes of the Iroquois raids was to capture women and children for forced adoption. These were heard during their forced march and the Jesuits later found them in the Iroquois country. The band of Tionontates who "were cut off by the Iroquois" while supposedly attempting to follow the French to Quebec may well have been the husbands of the captured women hoping to re-unite with them by going voluntarily to the Iroquois.

The migration route of the post-1650 a.d. Petun, with which this paragraph concludes, and continues onto page 264, is beyond the temporal and geographic scope of these notes, but it is relevant to mention that in 1969 the 1652 Petun and Odawa settlement among the Noquet or Potawatomi Islands at Green Bay, Wisconsin, was found on Rock Island (see "Great Lakes Archaeology" by Ronald J. Mason, 1981, page 398, Academic Press, New York). The site was initially identified by the similarity of unique bear mandible artifacts there with those from pre-Dispersion Petun sites, particularly at Craigeleith, Ontario (see "Rock Island" by Ronald J. Mason, 1986, especially pages 181-4, Kent State University Press).

AN HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE TIONONTATES OR DINONDADIES, NOW CALLED WYANDOTS.

THE tribe which, from the time of Washington's visit to the Ohio, in 1753, down to their removal to the West in 18... , played so important a part under the name of Wyandots, but who were previously known by a name which French write Tionontates; and Dutch, Dinondadies, have a history not uneventful, and worthy of being traced

the Noquet Islands (Rel. 1672, p. 36), and then, says Perrot, to Mechingan (Moeurs, &c., p. 161), with the Ottawas, thenceforth for many years their inseparable companions. Grown careful by repeated disasters, they cultivated the ground carefully, and kept well to their fort, so that when an Iroquois war-party came, the Tionontates and Ottawas defied them; and the assailants were soon glad to make offers of peace, so as not to be pursued. Yet the Ottawas tried to poison them, and the Chippeways and Illinois soon after cut off the whole party. This was apparently in 1655.

Their position was however too exposed, the fugitives crossed to the other side of Lake Michigan, descended the Wisconsin, and mounting the Mississippi, to the river of the Iowas, sought refuge among the Dacotas. These tribes as yet ignorant of fire-arms, regarded the Hurons with a wonder which they returned with contempt. After the Ottawas had settled in peace at Isle Pelée, the Hurons attacked the Dacotas, but being defeated and harassed in turn by this tribe, retired to the sources of the Black River, the Ottawas continuing their retreat to Chagoimegon. The Tionontates or Hurons, as they are generally called by writers at this period, were then about sixty leagues from Green Bay, it was supposed (Rel. 1660, p. 27), and invited their old missionary, Father Menard, from Chagoimegon; but the veteran perished in an endeavor to reach their town, on Black River (Rel. 1663, p. 21). When Allouez raised his chapel at Chagoimegon, the Tionontates removed thither to enjoy the advantages of French trade and French protection against the Sioux and Iroquois, who still pursued them. Their village lay on one side of the mission, the Ottawa village on the other (Rel. 1667, p. 15). At Chagoimegon they subsisted on maize and the produce of their fisheries, relying but little on hunting (Rel. 1670, p. 86). They numbered from four to five hundred souls, but from long mingling with pagan tribes had almost lost all traces of Christianity. Their missionary, the celebrated Father Marquette, endeavored not only to reclaim them, but to create peace; he sought to win the Sioux, and sent them pictures as symbols, being as yet unable to address them. Still keeping up the Sioux war, a party of one hundred Hurons, entered the Dakota territory, but were surrounded and retreating to the narrow necks of land into which the country is cut up, were all taken actually in nets, by the Dacotas. To prevent the escape of the Hurons, they stretched nets with bells across each isthmus, and as the Hurons in the dark attempted to escape they betrayed themselves and were all taken but one, called by the French "Le Froid" (Perrot).

On this the Sioux armed, and sending back Father Marquette's presents, declared war (Rel.

1672, p. 36). The Ottawas retired to Ekaentouton, and the Hurons to Mackinaw (1671, p. 39), founding the Mission of St. Ignatius.

In 1672, Marquette wrote to Dablon: "The Hurons, called Tionontateronnon or Petun nation, who compose the Mission of St. Ignatius, at Michilimakinong, began last year, near the chapel, a fort inclosing all their cabins." Their number, he states elsewhere, at 880 (see his letter in Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley, p. 62). From what is said in the Relation of 1671-2, that the Hurons settled on the island, one may infer that this fort and chapel were there, nothing appearing in the Relations of 1672-3, to indicate a change.

They soon, however, transferred their town to the mainland: and this village is that from which the discoverers of the Mississippi set out, and to which the remains of Marquette were finally so strangely brought, as described by Dablon (Rel. 1673-9, p. 58).

In 1676 or 7, the Senecas sent an embassy to the Hurons, bearing very rich presents, offering aid against the Sioux, but really, as the missionaries believed, to allure them to New York (Rel. 1676-7, p. 47).

The Recollect Father Hennepin, who visited their town in 1679, with La Salle,—his pioneer vessel, the Griffin, bearing them to that spot,—describes the Huron village as surrounded with palisades 25 feet high, and very advantageously situated on a promontory, towards the great point of land opposite Missilimakinak (Decouverte dans l'Am., Sept. in Voyages au Nord, vol. ix., p. 124).

Their intercourse with the Senecas now became frequent (N. Y. Col. Doc., vol. ix., p. 164); when the murder of Annahac, a Seneca chief, by an Illinois, in their presence, in 1681, exposed them to war (H., pp. 175, 176), they treated with them separately, drawing on themselves the reproaches of Frontenac (*Ib.*, p. 188).

Sasteretsi was regarded at this time as head chief or king, and all was done in his name. Ten canoes bearing his word, Souoias or the Rat being the speaker, attended an Indian congress at Montreal, Aug. 15, 1682. The other chiefs mentioned, are Ondahastechen (Burnt tongue), and Oskoüendeti (the Runner).

In 1686, Scoubache, one of their number, betrayed his countrymen, so that seventy, who were hunting in the Saginaw country, fell into the hands of the Iroquois and were carried off (O'Callaghan's Col. Doc., N. Y., vol. ix., p. 293).

The active Dongan, however, wished to win the Tionontates and Ottawas to the English cause, claiming Michilimackinac as English territory. He sent traders there in 1686, who were escorted by the Senecas for a distance, were well received by

the Hurons, who took them on their way to prevent any French pursuit (*Ib.*, p. 297). On their return, he sent another party, comprising some French deserters, under Colonel McGregory, to winter with the Senecas and induce them to restore the Huron prisoners, and at the same time open a trade in the spring. A second party was to follow (*Ib.*, 308). The Tionontates, on their side, won by the persuasions of the Senecas, and the cheapness of English goods, could scarcely be restrained from removing *en masse* to New York, but the missionaries and French officers succeeded in retaining them (*Ib.*, p. 325; vol. v., 437). MacGregory fell into the hands of de la Durantaye, who made the English all prisoners, and the Tionontates, whom he led, fought bravely beside Denonville, in his battle with the Senecas, July 13, 1687 (Colden's Five Nations, p. 73).

The second English party, also led by Tionontate prisoners as guides, fell into Tonti's hands, and through the Tionontates, endeavored to induce Tonti's Indians to murder him; they refused (Colden's Five Nations, p. 75) thus to espouse the English cause.

In the winter of this year, a party sent out from Michilimackinac under Saentsouan, passing Detroit on the 2d of December, on their way to the Seneca country. When they had been out ten days, they surprised an Iroquois encampment, killing or taking sixty-two, only two escaping of the whole camp. The Tionontates lost three, and returned with eighteen prisoners (*La Hontan*, vol. ii., p. 111).*

The Rat, called in the dispatch of Frontenac (O'Callaghan's Col. Doc., vol. ix., p. 178), Souoias, and Souaiti; by Charlevoix, Kondiaronk; by La Hontan, Adario, probably a fictitious name based on the last, also led a war-party against their ancient foes (*La Hontan*, vol. ii., p. 117) early in 1688, but the peace made by Denonville was not agreeable to him, and he craftily resolved to produce a rupture. Knowing that deputies were to proceed to the French to confirm the peace, he attacked them, killing several of the party and taking the rest prisoners. The surprised ambassadors explained the nature of their errand, when the Rat pretended that he had been sent by Denonville to cut them off treacherously; and, as if regretting his unfortunate part in it, urged them to revenge it by a decisive blow. As he lost one in the action, he took a Shawnee slave in his stead, and on returning to Mackinac, gave him to the French, who executed him, and the Rat sent one of the Iroquois prisoners to the Sen-

eca country, to attest this confirmation of French treachery.

By this artful design he roused the spirit of the Iroquois, who burst in their fury on Montreal Island, with some New Yorkers, and butchered over two hundred of the French settlers with every form of brutality (*La Hontan*, vol. ii., p. 191; O'Callaghan's N. Y. Col. Doc., vol. ix., pp. 391, 393, 402; Colden, p. 87; Charlevoix, vol. i., p. 535; Perrot, 282).

But while the Rat, in his hatred of the Iroquois would keep up the war at all hazards, another Tionontate chief, the Baron, was a decided friend of the English and Five Nations. He dissembled, however, and in July, 1696, represented the village in a congress of the Indians at Montreal, professing all eagerness to carry on the war (O'Callaghan's Col. Doc., vol. ix., p. 478); but he had, in reality withheld the braves of the village from taking the war-path, and had, on the contrary, sent his son and thirty braves with nine belts to the Senecas (Colden, p. 114; Charlevoix, vol. ii., p. 156).* In 1695, he gave great trouble to La Motte Cadillac, by his efforts in favor of the Iroquois (Col. Doc., vol. ix., p. 605), and soon after attempted to exercise the influence of a seer, by bringing a package of skins as the message and present of an imaginary centenarian hermit, at Saginaw (*Ib.*, 607). La Motte prevented their renewing the Sioux war, but the Baron's son set out with a party to Seneca, to return some Iroquois prisoners and fourteen belts, to say: "Our Father has vexed us, he has long deceived us. We now cast away his voice; we will not hear it any more. We come without his participation to make peace with you to join our arms. The chief at Michilimackinac, has told us lies; he has made us kill one another. Our Father has betrayed us. We listen to him no more" (*Ib.*, p. 619).

Deputies of the Iroquois then proceeded to Michilimackinac, bearing Anick's belt, an invitation of the English, addressed through the Iroquois to the western tribes to eat White Meat, that is, to massacre the French (*Ib.*, p. 644).

These belts were accepted in spite of all Cadillac's efforts (*Charlevoix*, vol. ii., p. 162), and the Hurons with their Algonquin allies, gave belts and presents in return, among other things a red stone calumet of remarkable beauty and size. A trade was immediately opened and the Iroquois soon after departed laden with furs. But the Indian mind was easily swayed. Cadillac con-

* In July, 1693, when Fletcher met the deputies of the Five Nations, at Albany, an Oneida chief informed him that it was proposed by all the Five Nations to make peace with the Dinondadies; that the Senecas had undertaken it, and had taken belts of wampum from the other nations to confirm it. To this they desired the governor's consent, and asked him to send a belt, which he did.—*Colden*, p. 155.

* *La Hontan*, vol. ii., p. 115, in his letter of May, 1688, says: "That the Hurons and Ottawas had each a village separated by a simple palisade, though the latter were building a fort. The Jesuit house and church being next the Hurons in an inclosure by themselves."

vened the tribes, they forsook their allies, an Ottawa war-party started in pursuit of the Iroquois, whom they overtook and cut to pieces, killing thirty, drowning as many, and returning loaded with scalps, prisoners, and plunder (Charlevoix, vol. ii., p. 164). Among the prisoners were some Hurons, who were sent back to their village (N. Y. Col. Doc., vol. ix., p. 646). This affair, however, caused a bitter feeling between the Hurons and Ottawas, which led to fatal results; the conceited and tyrannical Cadillac inflaming still more the breach he had created. The Hurons were the first to suffer, one of their parties being massacred by the Ottawas, a son of the Rat falling a victim (N. Y. Col. Doc., vol. ix., p. 648).

The Rat, however, remained firm, and when the Baron retired to the Miamis, he learned that an Iroquois force was coming to join him. Against this force he took the field, and by pretending flight, drew them into disorder, then turned and completely defeated them, killing, among the rest, five of the greatest Seneca captains (Charlevoix, vol. ii., p. 212).

The Baron's withdrawal from Mackinaw closed for a time the negotiations with the Iroquois; and after he settled among the Mohawks, with his adherents, he no longer figures in history (N. Y. Col. Doc., vol. ix., pp. 670, 672). It is said that the whole Dinondadie nation would have joined the Iroquois, if the latter had consented to their forming a village apart, as a sixth nation, but that the League steadily refused to do this.

The tribe now in the name of Sasteratsi their king, professed their allegiance to the French crown (N. Y. Col. Doc., p. 667), and when the Senecas threatened the Ottawas, and cut off some French at Mackinaw, in 1698, the Hurons, on both occasions, took the field and cut the assailants to pieces (Charlevoix, vol. ii., p. 224; N. Y. Col. Doc., vol. ix., p. 684).

La Motte Cadillac's great project was to establish a post at Detroit, and, in 1701, he began Fort Pontchartrain at that place, inducing a portion of the Hurons to accompany him, which they did readily, from their hostility to the Ottawas (D'Aigremont, in Sheldon's Michigan, p. 289). The missionary at Mackinaw, Father Stephen de Carheil, was averse to the change, and believed that the liquor trade of the new post would prove their ruin; but thirty more followed, in 1703, leaving only twenty-five at Mackinaw (Sheldon's Michigan, p. 104). Before 1706 all had departed, and the missionaries, burning their house, descended to Quebec (Charlevoix, vol. ii., p. 306), the presence of a Franciscan missionary at Detroit, dispensing with their services there.

The Hurons were lured to Detroit by great plans of the visionary Cadillac. He was going to make Frenchmen of them all; and as the Jesuits

had tried to convert first and civilize after, he attempted to civilize first and convert after. His plan was to enrol the braves as soldiers, dress them in French uniform, and subject them to discipline; to dress and educate the children, teaching them the French language. A fine oak house, forty feet by twenty-four, was built for the head chief, on the river side overlooking the Huron village. This was the first instalment, but it is needless to say that the Huron regiment never figures in the military annals of France.

Soon after their removing to Detroit they took up the hatchet against the English (N. Y. Col. Doc., vol. ix., p. 704); but on the peace, attended the general council of the tribes at Montreal, their chief, Kondiaronk, being received with honor, and rendering essential service to the French. Before the close of the council, he fell sick, but continued to attend till he was so prostrated that he died the day of his removal to the hospital. As he was greatly esteemed by the French, and bore the rank of captain in the army, he was interred with the greatest honors, the governor and all the officers attending the funeral, which opened with sixty soldiers, followed by sixteen Hurons, the clergy, the coffin, with the chapeau, sword, and gorget, to mark his rank; his brothers and children succeeded as mourners, followed by the governor (Charlevoix, vol. ii., p. 276).

The chief who next acquired the ascendancy in the tribe, was one called by the French Quarante Sols (Forty Pence). He favored the English and Iroquois, and, like the Baron, endeavored to open a trade through the Miamis, finding the French goods exceedingly dear (Charlevoix, vol. ii., p. 291; N. Y. Col. Doc., vol. ix., p. 743).

The English influence led, in 1703, to an attempt to burn the fort, and completely divided the western tribes. The Hurons, still jealous of the Ottawas, sided against them, in 1706, when the latter attacked the Miamis at Detroit, and in the confusion killed the Recollect Father Constantine, and a soldier, but when Cadillac subsequently marched against the Miamis, they joined him, though strongly suspected of plotting to cut off the French (Charlev., vol. ii., p. 323). Their war-parties were, however, sent principally against the Southern tribes; the Cherokees, Choctaws, and Shawnees, whose territories they reached by way of Sandusky, the Scioto, and Ohio (N. Y. Col. Doc., vol. ix., p. 886).

In 1710, when the western tribes hesitated to take up the hatchet against the English, the Dinondadies set them an example, by taking the field (Charlevoix, vol. ii., p. 358), and when, two years after, the Foxes besieged du Buisson, in Detroit, in May, 1712, they came with the other allies from their hunting-ground, and after dis-

lodging the Foxes from their first camp, cut them to pieces in that to which they subsequently retreated. In the long and stubborn fight, the Hurons lost more heavily than any other of the tribes (Charlevoix, vol. ii., p. 373; Sheldon, p. 298).

A memoir on the Indians between Lake Erie and the Mississippi, in 1718, published in the New York Colonial Documents (vol. ix., p. 887), says, that the Hurons were about three furlongs from the French fort, and adds: "This is the most industrious nation that can be seen. They scarcely ever dance, and are always at work; they raise a very large amount of Indian corn, peas, and beans; some grow wheat. They construct their huts entirely of bark, very strong and solid; very lofty, and arched, like arbors. Their fort is entirely encircled with pickets, well redoubled, and has strong gates. They are the most faithful nation to the French, and the most expert hunters that we have. Their cabins are divided into compartments, which contain their misirague, and are very clear. They are the bravest of all the nations and possess considerable talent. They are well clad. Some of them wear close overcoats. The men are always hunting, summer and winter, and the women work. When they go hunting in the fall, a goodly number of them remain to guard their fort."

Their number at this time is represented (*Ib.* p. 888) as one hundred fighting men.

Charlevoix, represents their village, in 1721, as being on the American side, near Fort Pontchartrain, but not as near it as the Pottawatomie village. Sasteretsi, the king, was a minor, his uncle acting as regent. There was no resident missionary; although the tribe, especially the female portion, were anxious to have once more a clergyman able to instruct them in their own language. Like the writer last quoted, he bears testimony to the industry of the Tionontatez-Hurons. Comparing them to the other tribes, he calls them more steady, industrious, laborious, and provident: "Being more accustomed to farming, he thinks of what is advantageous; and by his labor, is able not only to support himself without aid, but also to maintain others. He does not indeed do it gratuitously, for among his good qualities disinterestedness is not to be numbered" (*Hist. Nouvelle France*, vol. ii., p. 259).

In the earlier accounts, as we have stated, the families of this tribe are given as the Wolf and Deer; but Charlevoix, who here styles the tribe the Nation of the Porcupine, says that their totems are the Bear or Deer, Wolf, and Turtle, thus making their families correspond with the great Iroquois families. Yet, he remarks, that in a treaty at Mackinaw, their signature was a beaver. De la Chauvagnerie, in 1736 (*N. Y. Col.*

Doc., vol. ix., p. 1058), gives the totems of the Turtle, Bear, and Plover; but Father Potier, in 1745, gives the families, or as he styles them, bands, as follows: Oskennonton, the Deer; Andiaich, the Turtle, and Hannaariskwa, the Wolf; the Deer being subdivided into Esontennonk, Eangontrounnon, Hatinnionen; the Turtle into Enneenstenronnon, Eronisseeronnon, Atieeronnon, Entieronnon; and the Wolf, into the Hatinaariskwa, Hatindesonk, and the Hotiraon and Tia-taentsi—the two last, forming one band, making ten in all. These are, apparently, the ten tribes into which Finley (*Wyandot Mission*, p. 34), says, the nation is divided. He gives the totems, as Bear, Wolf, Deer, Porcupine, Beaver, Eagle, Snake, Big Turtle, Little Turtle, and Land Turtle. The chieftaincy or kingship, under the name of Sasteretsi, was in the Esontennonk down to recent times; Finley says, till Wayne's victory, in 1794, in which the Deer tribe was almost annihilated, after which chiefs were taken from the Porcupine family.

In June, 1721, Tonti convened the Tionontates in council, to announce that he was about to stop the liquor trade, and to invite them to join in the war against the Foxes. To the former, they made no objection, admitting that it was a wise step; but they were averse to the war, as they had been too often sacrificed, hurried into needless wars, which the French concluded without consulting their interest in the least (*Charlevoix, Hist. N. F.*, vol. ii., p. 259; Sheldon's *Michigan*, p. 320). They did, however, take up the hatchet, in 1728, and served faithfully in Ligneris' expedition against the Foxes (*Crespel, in Shea's Perils of the Ocean and Wilderness*, p. 141; *Smith's Wisconsin*, vol. i., pp. 339-345), and again in 1732 (*N. Y. Col. Doc.*, vol. ix., 1035).

In this last year, we see indices of a quarrel with the Senecas, who endeavored again to arouse the Ottawas against the Tionontates; but the latter were too powerful, and from having been a sorry band of fugitives, assumed a bold attitude, and began to assert claims, which our government recognized, and paid for largely. The tribe, which at Mackinaw had no ground, which had none at Detroit, now claimed all the territory between Lake Erie and the Ohio, as their hunting-ground; and when the Shawnees spoke of settling there, warned them to plant their villages on the south of the river, if they would avoid trouble (*N. Y. Col. Doc.*, vol. ix., p. 1035). De la Chauvagnerie, in 1736, estimated their strength at two hundred fighting men.

When the war broke out, in 1744, the Tionontates of Detroit, took up the hatchet, and sent out many war-parties against the English (*N. Y. Col. Doc.*, vol. x., p. 20), but soon began to change sides. Their hunting-ground, as we have seen,

was the present State of Ohio, and Sandusky was their central point, doubtless, from the pure water which induced them to give it that name. The other points of wintering were Tiochiennendi, Cedar River, Karenouskaron, Pointe Pelée, Rivière de la Carrière, Sagoendaon, Huron River, Kerendinondi, Pointe au Rocher, Otsikwoinhiaé, Totontaraton, Tonsetaen, Te ostiesarondi, Karhona, Wahiagué, Karindore, Otsandouske intae, Tsawiske in Sandusky, Sonnioto (? Scioto), Tonwatéiori, Etsoundoutak, and Agaagué, on the Ohio. While scattered thus, they were in frequent communication with the English and their Indian allies, and soon showed a hostility to the French. A village under Nicholas, a war-chief, in Wyandot, Orantondi, had almost formed at Sandusky, and here they suddenly fell upon five French traders, whom they killed and robbed (N. Y. Col. Doc., vol. x., p. 114). The hostility to the French then began to spread among the tribes of the West, encouraged by belts from the confederates in New York. A plan was formed, by the Hurons, to massacre the French at Detroit, and had well-nigh succeeded. As it was usual to let them sleep inside the fort, the conspirators resolved to enter as usual, and during the night, each one was to kill the people of the house where he was. Fortunately, for the French, a squaw overheard this, and sent information to M. de Longueuil, the commander, who baffled their project (N. Y. Col. Documents, vol. x., pp. 83, 84).

The missionary Father Potier on this retired from the village in Bois Blanc island to Detroit (N. Y. Col. Doc., p. 116).

A manuscript of this missionary contains a census of the tribe, in 1745, and also in 1746, from which it appears that in the former year, the small village (near the fort?) contained nineteen cabins, the large village (on Bois Blanc island?), fifteen, with eight in the fields, and four on White river; Sasteretsi, being the king or chief of the Deer band; Angwirot, of the Turtle; and Taéchiaten, of the Wolf; Nicholas, la Foret, Tonti, Le Brutal, Bricon, and Matthias, being prominent men. The next year, he enumerates only seventeen in the small village; fifteen, in the large village; eight at Etionoutout, and four, as before, on White River, or Belle Rivière. Of the whole tribe, nine are put down as Iroquois, among them Bricon, a leading man; four, as half-breed Ottawas; one Pottawatomie, two Abnakis, six Choc-taws, fifteen Foxes, two Chickasaws.

The Indians of Sasteretsi's and Taéchiaten's bands, immediately endeavored to exculpate themselves; but de Longueuil would not listen to them, referring them to the governor. Fearing a war, they sent down deputies, the occasion of the return of Mr. Belestre with some Lorette-

Hurons enabling them to do so safely. Sasteretsi and Taéchiaten, went in person, and in a council, at Montreal, on the 9th of August, 1747, asked for the return of Father de la Richardie. This was granted, and they set out in September, having been delayed by the sickness of Taéchiaten, who in fact died on the way back. The murder seems to have been disclaimed, and a promise made to insist on the surrender of the murderers; but this was no easy matter, Nicholas being powerful, and gathering many around him, besides influencing those at Detroit. Much depended on the influence of Father Richardie; but his arrival and mission at Sandusky, seem to have had but little influence. A Huron, named Tohaké, who had been supposed dead, but who really had been at New York, returned, and began to treat with the western tribes. Thus encouraged, Nicholas sent his belts to the various nations to urge a general rising. The Ottawas and Pottawatomies, who had promised Longueuil to destroy the Huron village on Bois Blanc island, deferred it on various pretexts; the Miamis seized and plundered the French among them, and French settlers and traders were cut off in all directions.

Longueuil was now in a most critical position. The English had so far gained the tribes that all the western posts were in danger, the English having in fact offered rewards for the heads of the several commanders. Longueuil could only temporize; he kept demanding the surrender of the murderers from Nicholas, and at last, in December, 1747, Nicholas, Ortoni, and Anioton or Le Brutal, came to make peace, surrender the English belts, and make reparation. Pardon was granted on the strange condition, that they should bring in two English scalps for each of the murdered Frenchmen. This was agreed to, but during the negotiation a motley band—Onondagas, Senecas, and Delawares—but led by a Huron, of Detroit, fired on a French canoe, wounding and, as was supposed, killing three persons. They were pursued, brought in, and the Onondaga killed on the spot, by the incensed French. The rest were imprisoned, but the Seneca committed suicide, and the others were given in January, 1748, to Scotache and Quarante Sous, Sandusky Hurons, as the Senecas and Delawares, of the Ohio, threatened to take vengeance on both French and Hurons (N. Y. Col. Doc., vol. x., p. 191. See, also, pp. 128, 138-142, 145, 150-2, 160-7).

Still influenced by the English, Nicholas gathered his band on the White River, twenty-five leagues from Detroit, with one hundred and nineteen warriors, men, women, and baggage, burning his fort and village at Sandusky (Col. Doc., vol. x., 181), but many returned to Detroit.

During all these proceedings, Sasteretsi re-

mained faithful. Delegates of his band went to Quebec, and while the sachems remained to treat, the braves took the war-path against the English.

After a time matters became quieted, many removed to Sandusky, where Father de la Richardie established a mission, at the town of Sunyendeand, on a creek of the same name (meaning Rockfish).

The intrigues of the English to gain the western tribes, so steadily carried on from Dongau's time, showed the French government that nothing could save them but a line of forts at some intermediate line. When Niagara, Presquile, Venango, and Du Quesne arose, the fidelity of the western Indians was acquired.

The Senecas, Shawnees, and Dinondadies, now first called in English accounts Wyandots, at first protested against these forts, and met the Pennsylvania authorities at Carlisle; but the vigor of the French determined their choice. Beaujeu, in 1755, led a force, in which the Wyandots were conspicuous, to annihilate Braddock.

At the conclusion of that war, Col. Bouquet estimated their numbers at three hundred men.

When Pontiac rallied the tribes around him, to avoid the extinction which menaced them, the Wyandots, of Detroit, in spite of the efforts of their missionary, Father Potier, forgot their old English friendship and new allegiance, and joined the patriot forces of the chieftain, fighting better than any other tribe that joined him (Parkman's Pontiac, p. 215). Sandusky was full of traders, too many indeed to attack, so that there the wily Wyandots revealed the plot, assuring the English that their only chance of life was to become their prisoners, as such they could protect them from the other Indians. The credulous English consented, were disarmed, bound, and it is almost needless to say, butchered (Parkman's Pontiac, citing Loskiel). One only, Chapman, whom a frantic act at the stake, made the Indians suppose to be insane, escaped (Heckwelder, Hist. Ind. Nat., p. 250).

Before the siege of Detroit ended, however, those of the villages near the town, asked for, and obtained peace; but, when Dalyell arrived fresh from the destruction of the Wyandot towns near Sandusky, and the ravaging of the fields, they opened a fire on his vessel, which was returned, but the English lost fifteen killed. They then attempted to lure the English to their town, but failing then, soon had their rage satisfied in the battle of Bloody Bridge, where the devastator of their village fell (*Ib.*, p. 278). A party soon after attacked the schooner Gladwyn, killed the commander, and gained the deck, but fled when the mate called out to blow her up.

Dalyell had, as we have seen, ravaged the Sandusky towns; and when the Wyandots of De-

troit made peace with Sir William Johnson, at Niagara, in July, 1764, those of Sandusky held aloof, but when Bradstreet approached, they sent a deputation, promising to follow him to Detroit, if he would not attack them. To this he at once consented (Parkman's Pontiac, p. 464), and both Wyandot towns met him in council, in September, at Detroit.

Between this and the period of the Revolution, all seem to have centred at Sandusky, where the trader, whose estimate is preserved in the Madison papers, estimated them, in 1778, as able to send out one hundred and eighty fighting men. They were then hostile to the Americans, and influenced by Hamilton.