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## The Downfall of the Huron Nation

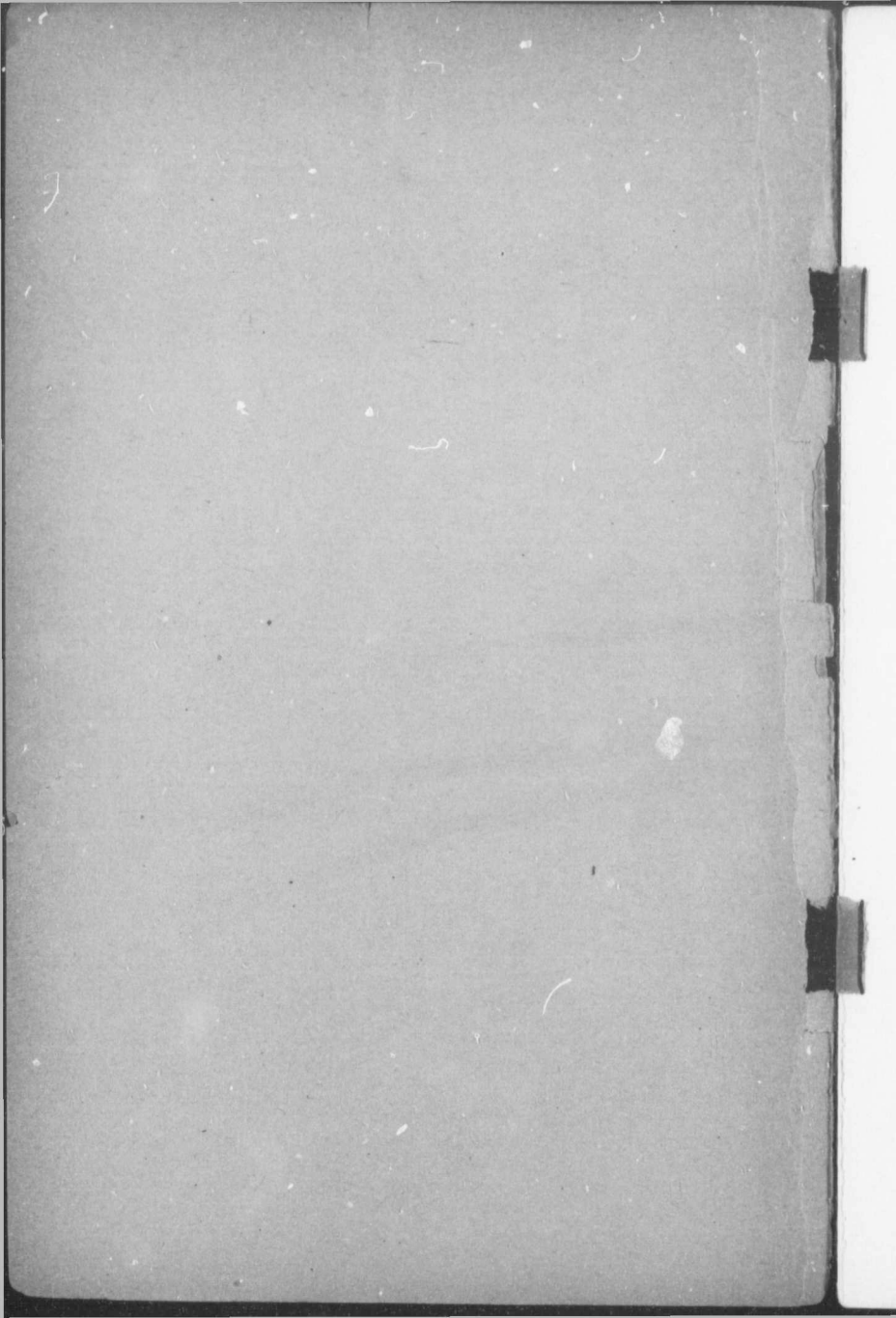
By C. C. JAMES

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1906



IV.—*The Downfall of the Huron Nation.*

By C. C. JAMES.

(Annual popular lecture, delivered May 23, 1906.)

Eight miles from Quebec is a little village overlooking the valley of the St. Charles River. In the cabins clustered about the church dwell the Hurons of Lorette, a remnant of an old Indian tribe.

We come west nearly 750 miles to the Detroit river. In Sandwich we may see still standing the old Huron Mission House. Here and there along the river we find settlers who are very proud to trace their origin back to the aristocratic Wyandotts. A short distance above Amherstburg the electric railway takes you past the Wyandott burial ground where, conspicuous above the rest, rises the tall shaft marking the grave of Mondoron<sup>1</sup> Joseph White, Chief of the Hurons or Wyandotts. On the Michigan side of the river is the City of Wyandott. tradition, place name, and local history all bear traces of the early and continued presence of the Hurons or Wyandotts along both banks of the river.

A little further south, in Ohio, we come to the Counties of Huron and Wyandot. We cross the Mississippi, and in Kansas we find another Wyandot County and a Wyandot City.

Further south we reach the Indian Territory in the north east corner of which is the Wyandott Settlement or Reserve, where the Wyandotts and their old enemies the Senecas live peaceably side by side.

Quebec, the Detroit, and the Indian Territory are far removed from one another. We enquire as to the story of these three groups of Hurons and we learn that they all trace back to Lake Huron, to that section of the Province of Ontario which lies between lake Simcoe and the Georgian Bay. It is the story of the dispersion, the decimation, or the downfall of the Hurons, that I have been asked to tell you to-night.

This story of the Hurons takes us back 260 years and more to the very earliest chapters in the history of the inhabitants of Ontario. Preceding it there is little that can be substantiated. When we would go further back we enter the field of tradition and of speculation.

The story that I am briefly to recount is not a new tale, it is not a piece of original investigation—it is merely an attempt to present in

<sup>1</sup> Inscription as follows:—Mondoron, chief of the Wyandotts or Hurons, Joseph White, Born January 19, 1808; Died February 18, 1885.

popular form some of the main features of a story that is one of the most thrilling when studied in its details, a story that fills a unique place in the history of Canada, and one which we may revive even if we add nothing new or original.

The history and downfall of the Hurons may be studied in three sources.

- 1st. The traditions of the Indians themselves.
- 2nd. The letters of the Jesuit Fathers, the written records commonly called The Jesuit Relations.
- 3rd. Modern archæological researches and ethnological investigations.

These three contributors to a common story are widely different in method, and when they verify one another we are bound to accept the conclusions as facts of history. The dispersion of the Hurons by the Iroquois in 1649 is the first authentic chapter in the history of Ontario, and yet the main features of that story are as well established as any historical event in Canadian history. Indian traditions, the witness of the Jesuit Fathers, and the researches of archæologists during the past fifty years are gradually being brought into harmony in the working out of the details of this history.

When Jacques Cartier sailed into the St. Lawrence in 1535 he found Indians of the Huron-Iroquois stock at Quebec and Montreal, or as the settlements were then called Stadacona and Hochelaga, and even an adventurous band of Huron fishermen as far east as Gaspé. When Champlain came eighty years later, he found that the valley of the St. Lawrence was occupied by Algonquins, and that the Hurons and the Iroquois had moved westward. We may go to the Indian traditions for an explanation. Peter Dooyentate Clarke, a Wyandott of the Detroit River, has left us a book of Wyandott traditions and Mr. Wm. E. Connelly of Kansas has for twenty years studied the language, the myths and legends of the Wyandotts of the Indian Territory.

According to Connelly the traditional home of tribal origin was in Northern Quebec, or in the region between James Bay and Labrador, where the Wyandotts were near neighbours to the Eskimo. They gradually moved southward to the St. Lawrence, where Cartier found them. On the south bank were the Senecas or Iroquois, another branch of a parent stock. Hochelaga was a Seneca village. From choice or necessity the Wyandotts migrated westward along the south shore of Lake Ontario. They crossed the Niagara and, moving eastward, made a settlement on a bay which they called "Toronto." This word Toronto in the Wyandott language means "the land of plenty." Probably through pressure from the Iroquois, who had followed and settled in New



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York State, they had to move on and they brought up on the shores of Georgian Bay, next door neighbours to a branch of their family that had preceded them, the Hurons who lived between Lake Simcoe and Matchedash Bay.

Horatio Hale in his introduction to "The Iroquois Book of Rites" (pp. 10, 11) quotes from Clarke's traditions, which, in the main, agree with Connell's record. He also traces the original seat of the Huron-Iroquois to the Lower St. Lawrence. Hale puts it briefly thus: "As their numbers increased, dissensions arose. The hive swarmed, and band after band moved off to the west and south." This "swarming of the hive" has ever since been a favourite expression with writers and students of the Huron-Iroquois race.

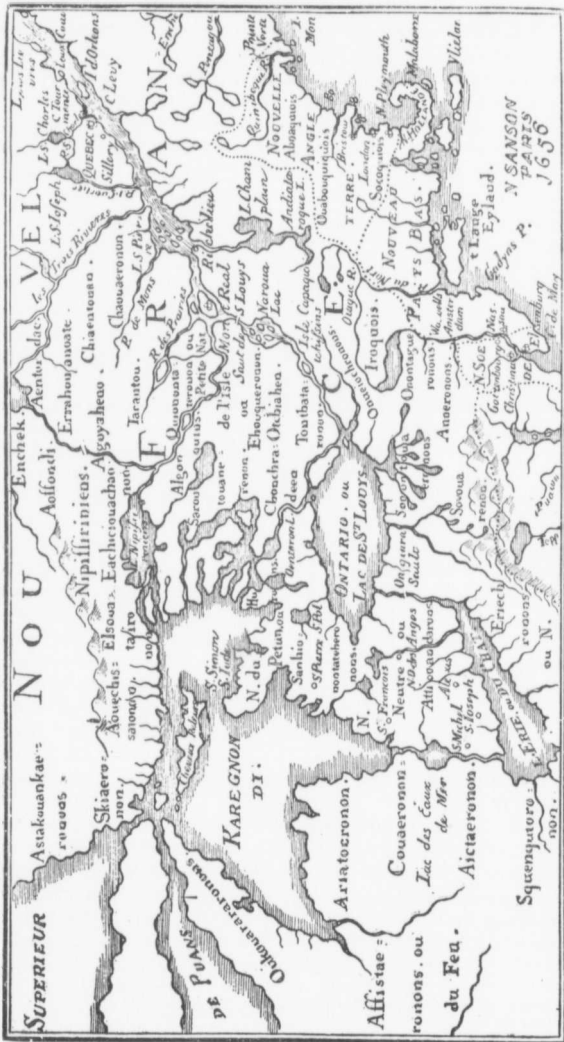
Now let us briefly locate the principal swarms. First of all, there were the Hurons on Georgian Bay between Matchedash Bay and Nottawasaga Bay, occupying part of the present County of Simcoe. West of them were the Tobacco Nation, the Tionnontates or Petuns. South of them, in the district from Niagara to the Detroit, were the Neuters or Neutral Nation. On the South Shore of Lake Erie were the Eries or Cat Nation. Southeast of them on the Susquehannah were the Andastes or Conestogas. Along the South Shore of Lake Ontario in Central New York were the Five Nations of the Iroquois. If we add the Tuscaroras or sixth Iroquois Nation we have the principal nations that had originated in Quebec and, that, before Champlain's time, had moved west and taken up the districts that we have referred to. Ethnologists tell us that their languages were very similar; the traditions of these nations all point to long intercourse and close relationship in origin; archaeologists have determined a similarity of life; the Jesuit Fathers also refer again and again to their kinship.

The Hurons were so called by the French because they wore part of their hair standing straight up like the bristles on a wild boar. Their own name was Ouendat or Wyandott.

The Tobacco Nation was so called because they were growers of that article. Their Indian name was Tionnontates, their French name *Petun*.

The Neutrals were so called because, in the terrible wars between the Iroquois and the Hurons, they maintained neutrality. The Indian name of the Neutrals was Attiwendaronk, which, according to the Relation of 1641, meant in the Huron language "people of a speech a little different."

The Eries were also called the Cats because of the prevalence of racoons in their country.



SANSON'S MAP OF 1650.

The question might now be asked as to why the Hurons had located on the shores of Georgian Bay. Perhaps we can suggest an answer. If it be correct that they were gradually pushed out or driven across the Niagara and Lake Ontario by the Iroquois, we can readily understand that they would seek refuge in a locality where they could most effectively defend themselves, and would probably limit their retreat only by their necessities of living. The Hurons were a sedentary not a migratory tribe; they were growers of crops rather than hunters. They stopped when they came to the borders of the non-arable Muskoka and they took up territory that was in part protected by water.

A study of the traditions of the Huron-Iroquois people does not give us any information as to their intercourse with the Eskimo. We learn that in the far off days they crossed a great river and we know that about the beginning of the sixteenth century they came away from the valley of the St. Lawrence. But this great river that they crossed may have been the Ohio or the Mississippi.

The question now becomes a subject for investigation by archaeologists and ethnologists.

I have had the opportunity of reading a most interesting and well worked out paper by Dr. David Boyle, Archaeologist to the Ontario Government, on the origin of the Iroquois and kindred nations. It will appear in the forth coming report on Ontario Archaeology.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Boyle argues for a southern origin of these people beyond the Ohio, if not beyond the Mississippi, instead of beyond the St. Lawrence in Quebec. He brings them from the south until they come into neighbourhood with the Micmacs of New Brunswick, thus accounting for the traditions of that people recorded by Dr. Rand. Thence they came up the St. Lawrence. After many years swarm after swarm moved off to occupy the territories in which they were found at the time of Champlain. The fact that the Hurons and Petuns were skilled in the cultivation of corn, tobacco, beans, sunflowers and hemp is better explained by a southern origin than by tracing them away to the Labrador home of the Eskimo. I cannot too strongly urge you to read and study this paper when it appears in print.

We come now to the Huron Nation as it was in the early part of the 17th Century, when the French first visited them. Their old village sites can be traced through York County up into Simcoe, becoming more and more numerous as they were crowded by the limitations of the land. Only in the north are relics of French manufacture to be found, hence we conclude that the northern towns were the more recently occupied.

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<sup>1</sup> See Annual Archaeological Report 1905 (Toronto 1906) pp. 146-158.



The Hurons proper occupied the five townships lying between Matchedash Bay, Nottawasaga Bay and Lakes Simcoe and Couchiching. The eastern entrance by land was across "The Narrows" between the two lakes, where the town of Orillia now stands.

They were a settled nation living in fixed towns. The villages on the frontier next to their enemies were strongly fortified by walls of palisades similar to those erected by the Iroquois. The sites of these towns would naturally be selected with a view to protection. Wood and water supply would also have to be considered. The records of the French give us a population varying from 15,000 to 45,000. These variations in number can readily be accounted for but taking the number at 30,000 we see that the district carried a heavy population, as Indian population was usually distributed. The towns occupied at that time were all crowded into the townships of Tiny, Flos, Medonte and the southern part of Orillia, with one here and there in Oro and the northern part of Orillia.

The latest census population of these townships was 26,371. If to this we add the three towns Orillia, (4,907), Midland, (3,174), and Penetanguishene, (2,422), we get a total population of 36,874. It may assist us to form some idea of the population of the Huron Nation, when we say that, in the days before the war of extermination began, the Indian population of the district about equalled that of the present day even including the three towns mentioned. The next point that suggests itself is that with such a heavy population, game could not have been very plentiful. If they wished to hunt they must go north into the Algonquin Park, or south into the Neutral Country.

But the Hurons were rather farmers, fishermen and traders. They did not maintain themselves by hunting—they were on a higher level than the Algonquins, the white Indians of the northern forest. They lived in towns and they raised crops. Corn, beans, pumpkins, sunflowers and hemp were their principal crops. The corn, which was their main article of food, was doubtless similar to that which may still be found in the reserve on the Grand River,—small ears of hard flinty corn with bluish kernels. It was grown in the same hills year after year until the soil became exhausted. Traces of old corn fields of the Indians can still be seen in the woods along Lake Erie and in Nottawasaga Township. The sunflowers were grown mainly for oil with which they anointed or smeared their bodies and hair and for sacrificial purposes. Oil for food was got from fish. The hemp was grown for fishing nets and for the many uses of cord.

When the supply of wood gave out or the soil became exhausted, the town was moved to a new site. This accounts for the very large number of old village sites in Simcoe County and, taken in connection

with the crowded population, explains why that district is the richest archaeological field in Canada, and is one of the richest in all America, north of the Mexican boundary.

The Hurons also were fishermen,—the deeply indented inlets of Georgian Bay and the lakes Simcoe and Couchiching affording a plentiful supply of fish. At "The Narrows" near Orillia might still be seen a few years ago some of the stakes of the old fish weir of the Hurons. It was from these fish stakes or hurdles that the old French name *Lac La Chie* was given to Lake Simcoe.

The Hurons also were traders for themselves and for the neighbouring tribes. They raised the crops that we have mentioned and engaged in barter. From the Neutrals they got furs, from their brethren of the Tobacco Nation they got tobacco, and from the Algonquins they obtained the skins of the beaver, bear, deer and moose. Having a surplus they started in their birch bark canoes for Three Rivers and Quebec to dispose of their packs to the French traders. The ever alert Iroquois guarded the front route by lake and river, hence they were compelled to take the route up the French River, across Lake Nipissing and down the Ottawa. The Iroquois traded with the Dutch by way of the Mohawk and the Hudson. Once started a conflict between these two Indian nations and then bring in two European nations competing for the trade in peltries, and you have good and sufficient ground for the continuance of the fight to the bitter end. Even in this commercial struggle the Neutral Indians remained neutral and we wonder why. Was it because they feared to take out their loads of furs past the Iroquois frontier, or was it because the Hurons were skilful in the use of the birch bark canoe? Probably both. The fact is, however, that the Hurons were the fur traders for a large area and through their annual trips to Quebec maintained a direct connection between their home on Georgian Bay and the headquarters of the French at Quebec. There is much in this to explain the story that follows. A people living in fixed fortified towns, producing crops and engaging in trade must impress one as being of a superior type, even if that type is savage.

What of the house or home life of the Hurons? The migratory hunters of the plains and the Algonquins of the great pine and spruce forests of the north lived in wigwams of skins and bark, but the fixed Huron-Iroquois Nations lived in what may be described as houses or cabins. Their construction was somewhat as follows: Two parallel rows of tall saplings were planted in the ground, bent together at the top until there was left an open space of a foot or so in width along the ridge, and then lashed together so as to form a sort of arbor or booth about thirty feet in width at the bottom and about twenty feet in height. Other poles were tied securely to these upright poles and then the sides

were sheathed in bark overlapping to shed the rain and snow. Another row of horizontal poles kept these huge bark shingles in place. Along either side of the interior were scaffolds or bunks about four feet from the ground which, when covered with furs, furnished the sleeping compartments. The space beneath was the store-house for fuel and cooking utensils. There was a compartment at the end of the house used as a storeroom for corn, fish, sunflowers and other articles of food. Along the upper poles were hung their bows and arrows, clothing, skins and clusters of ear corn. Down the middle were the fires, each one furnishing heat for two families. The smoke escaped by the long narrow opening left at the top of the house. These houses varied in length, in some cases being 200 feet in length. The long houses were not necessarily straight but followed the configuration of the land upon which they were constructed. Picture to yourself such a house, an abnormal sleeping car with ten fires built down the aisle and crowded with twenty Indian families. You will at once understand that such a house might be a bedlam, reeking with smoke, where privacy was unknown and where the customs of even early civilization could scarce find room for development. The effect of a spirit infected brawler, a half-crazed medicine man or the victim of an infectious disease may be more readily imagined than described.

Perhaps the pen of a ready writer or the tongue of one gifted with rare imagination might weave a story of romance about the fires of one of these Huron long houses, but a careful reading of the descriptions of the Jesuit Fathers, eye-witnesses of their degraded life, compels us to say that the romance existed mainly in the imagination of the writer.

I give you one passing picture from the pen of Parkman:

"He who entered on a winter night beheld a strange spectacle: the vista of fires lighting the smoky concave; the bronzed groups encircling each,—cooking, eating, gambling or amusing themselves with idle badinage; shrivelled squaws, hideous with three score years of hardship; grisly old warriors, scarred with Iroquois warclubs; young aspirants, whose honours were yet to be won; damsels gay with ochre and wampum; restless children pellmell with restless dogs. Now a tongue of resinous flame painted each with feature in vivid light; now the fitful gleam expired, and the group vanished from sight, as their nation has vanished from history."

(Introduction to "The Jesuits in North America," p 14.)

Before we tell how the Iroquois flung themselves like a bomb into the midst of this people and scattered the survivors in so many directions, we must introduce into the story the element that adds so much human interest to the tale.

Erect fifty to one hundred of these houses in an irregular group and you will have a Huron town; set up twenty of these towns in an area of about twenty-five miles square; fortify with palisades those on the east and south and you have the Huron Nation which Brebeuf estimated in 1635 to be composed of 30,000 souls.

The Jesuit Fathers came to Quebec to christianize the savages and they selected the Hurons as the special field of their mission. The question at once arises as to why they chose this people so far removed from Quebec. They were the traders who came down every year from the great upper country with their canoes packed with furs; they were a sedentary nation; Champlain had formed a sort of alliance with them against their enemies of the south; the Recollet Fathers had been back and forth from 1615 to 1628; and Lalemant in his Relation of 1639 states that the Huron Country was "one of the principal fortresses and like a donjon keep of the devils." If the evil one could be over-thrown among the terrible Hurons the way would be opened up for the conversion of the Tionnontates or Tobacco Nation, the Neutrals, the Eries, the Andastes and possibly even the Six Nations. The very dangers of the Huron Nation appealed with special attractiveness to the devoted Jesuits, who gladly went in by the one door open to them to the great Huron-Iroquois nations even if that door led to martyrdom. The history of humanity has given us many pictures of the sacrifice of man for his fellowmen, but apart from the great sacrifice of the Saviour of mankind and the sufferings of the martyrs of the early church, it is doubtful whether there is any other picture quite so thrilling and so full of human suffering as the self-sacrificing of the Jesuit missionaries for the salvation of the Huron Nation.

I need not enter into the details of the visit of Champlain to the Huron Nation. You are doubtless familiar with the main facts,—how on a tour of exploration he went up the Ottawa in the summer of 1615, crossed by Lake Nipissing and the French River to Georgian Bay and arrived at the Huron Country. He found the people living in eighteen villages divided among four tribes. A great gathering of the Indians assembled at the village of Cahigué and it was decided to send a band to attack the Iroquois. Champlain decided to accompany them. They left Cahigué, a village of about two hundred cabins, situated at or near Orillia, on the 1st of September and paddled their flotilla of canoes down the Trent to Lake Ontario. The Andastes, their southern allies were to have assisted. After five weeks' journey they had crossed Lake Ontario and had come into the enemies' country. Their allies had failed to come to their help, the Hurons were repulsed, and on the 18th of October were retreating across the eastern end of Lake Ontario. Champlain was compelled to spend the winter with the Hurons. Along

with the Recollet Father Le Caron he visited the Tobacco Nation on the southern shore of Georgian Bay, and in May started on his return journey to Quebec. The effect of Champlain's visit was to confirm the Iroquois in the belief that the French were the allies of their enemies. Champlain did not go down into the Neutral Country, and we can thus readily understand why his map is so faulty in its delineation of Lake Erie.

The mission of the Recollet Fathers gave place to that of the Jesuits, and it is with the latter that our story of the Hurons is most intimately concerned. We ought, however, in passing, to mention that it is to one of the Recollet missionaries, Gabriel Sagard, that we owe the first history of the Hurons and a Dictionary of the Huron language published in France in 1632. The new edition published in 1865 is the one available for students. Although Brebeuf and de Noué had spent some time among the Hurons between 1626 and 1629 the beginning of the Jesuit Mission properly so called, may be set down for the year 1634. It lasted until 1649. In these fifteen years twenty-five Jesuit missionaries carried on their work in Huronia, and five of this devoted band suffered martyrdom in the Huron country.

Time does not permit to tell the story of their missionary work in detail—to be fully comprehended one must read the letters and records preserved for us in the Jesuit Relations now available in all large Canadian libraries in that magnificent production put out some years ago in 73 volumes by the Burrows Brothers of Cleveland. Or it may be that you still remember the story told by Parkman, based on the Relations, in his volume "The Jesuits in North America." We must be brief in our statement. The Jesuits after much perseverance and privation, reached Huronia and took up their abode at Ihonatiria, which they named St. Joseph. Gradually they sought out village after village endeavouring to persuade the savages to embrace the faith of Christianity and to permit their children to be baptised. With a view to permanency they erected in 1639 a head-quarters of their own, choosing a spot on the River Wye, a little east of Penetanguishene. Here they enclosed a small plot of ground with a stone wall and wooden barricade. Within they erected their chapel, mission house and hospital, and without the walls a hostel. From this place as a centre, which they called St. Mary, they sent out their missionaries not only to all villages of the Hurons, but also to the Tobacco Nation, and even down into the country of the Neutrals. They kept up their communication with the Church at Quebec by means of the trading parties that went down every summer by way of the French River and the Ottawa. The sufferings of this devoted band of missionaries can scarcely be realized. They were

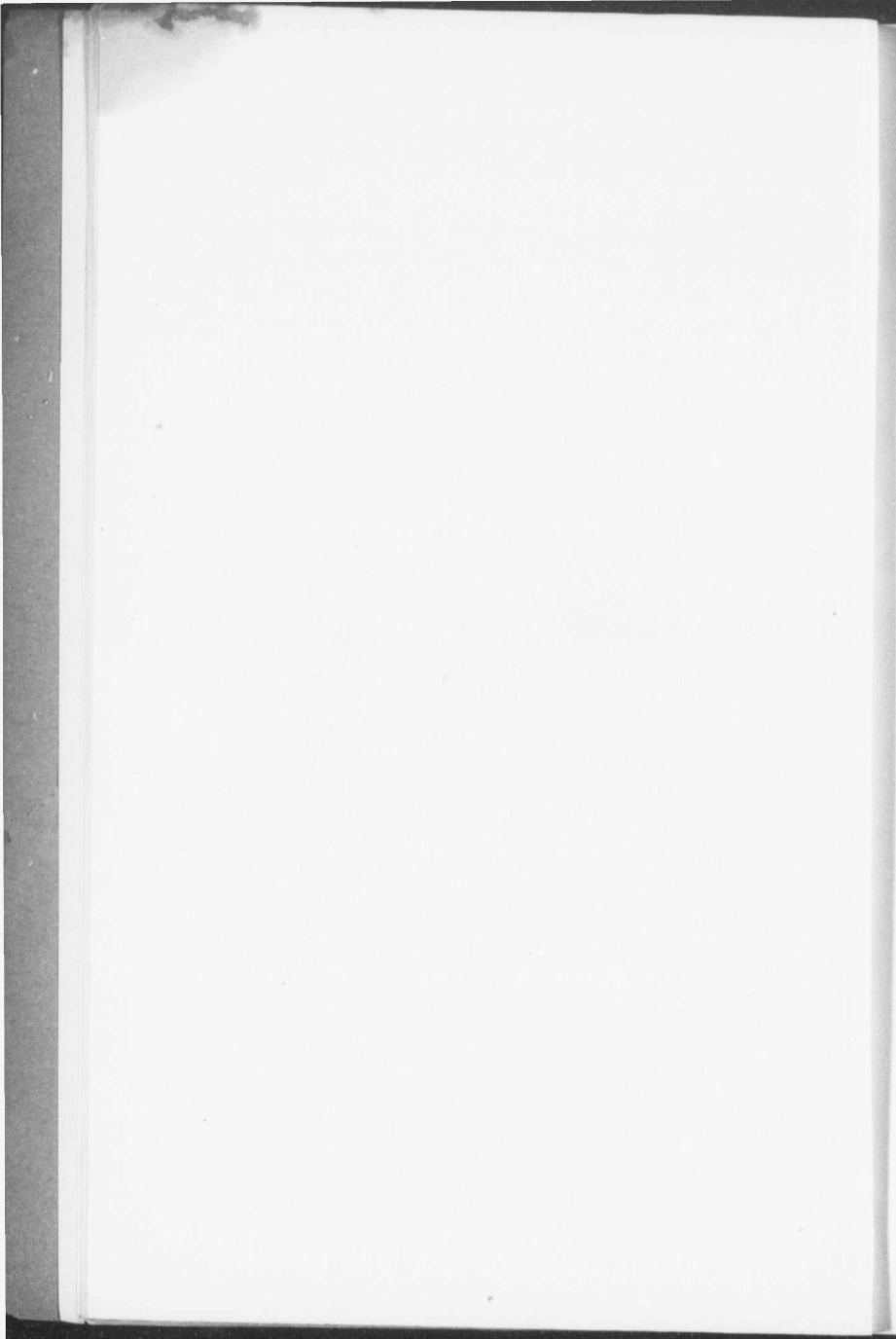
reviled and persecuted, their lives were threatened, they had to submit to all manners of degradation, but they remained faithful at their posts, appearing even to welcome persecution and privation that they might advance the cause of Christianity.

The old rivalry between the Iroquois and the Hurons became more intense and soon there reached this country the reports of forays and depredations of the Iroquois on the St. Lawrence. As we read now the account of the Iroquois expeditions it would seem that a great plan of campaign had been laid down, as though by some Master General. The Iroquois had determined to annihilate all their old enemies and rivals. It was not the impulse of a sudden attack but an extensive campaign that appears Napoleonic in its extent. The Iroquois were now raiding in one direction, a few weeks later in another; one hand was supporting another; even the old Ottawa was unsafe. But the Hurons planned nothing in return. They were oblivious of their danger,—they were improvident. The Jesuit Fathers had advised them to strengthen their villages and improve their methods of defence, but the Hurons were not so far seeing as the Iroquois. Moreover, the Dutch traders had furnished the Iroquois with guns and powder and thus given them a most decided advantage. The Iroquois gradually extended their operations and about 1647 a band came in by way of "The Narrows" between Lakes Simcoe and Couchiching, and captured the nearest Huron village Contarea, killing many and taking the remainder back as prisoners to incorporate them in their own nation. Years after Jesuit missionaries found them in the Iroquois country and were delighted to find that they had not forgotten all their teachings. Again the Iroquois came back in 1648 and took the second village, Teanaustaye or St. Joseph II. In this fight the first Jesuit missionary was killed, Father Daniel.

The work of the Iroquois was thorough: the village was completely destroyed by fire, the inhabitants cut down and 700 who could not escape were taken back as prisoners to be tortured or to be incorporated in their own nation. 1649 saw the Iroquois once more return, but earlier, before the snows of winter had all disappeared. They pushed further up into the peninsula. St. Ignace fell before them, and then, but two miles further on, St. Louis. The smoke of burning St. Louis could be seen from the Jesuit Mission of St. Mary on the Wye, but little did the missionaries there think as they saw the smoke arising that even then their own brethren Brebeuf and Lalemant had been captured and taken back to St. Ignace to suffer most cruel tortures. The story of the death of these two missionaries is one of the most terrible tales in the history of the human race. After the retreat of the Iroquois, the brethren from the mission found the mangled and charred bodies of the two martyrs,



THE SITE OF ST. IGNACE (ON THE HILL) WHERE, ACCORDING TO REV. A. E. JONES S.J., BREBEUF AND LALEMANT WERE TORTURED TO DEATH.

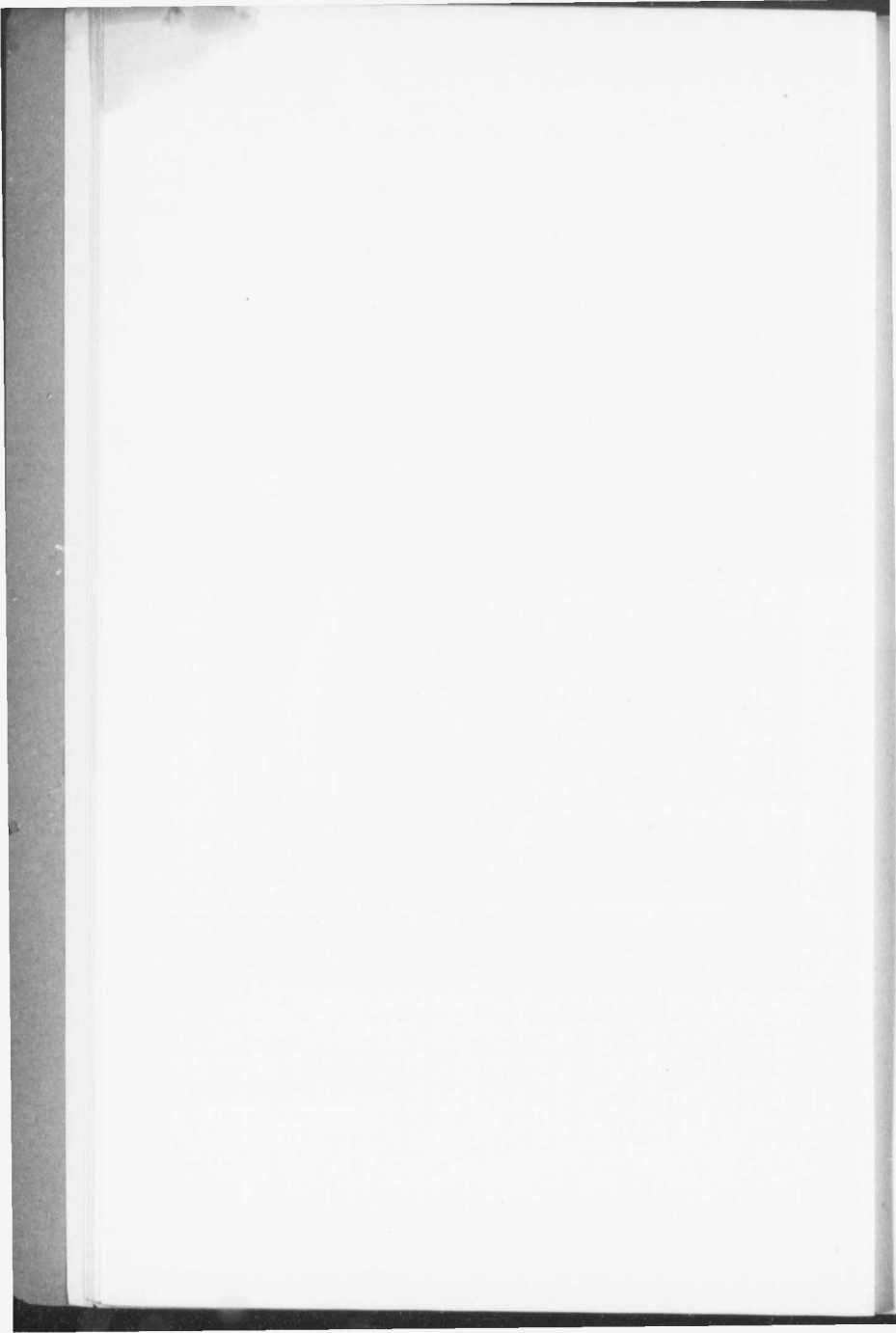






EKARENNIONDI, "THE STANDING ROCK."

(Photo. taken in 1906 by members of the Huron Institute of Collingwood, Ont.)



the heroic Brebœuf founder of the Huron Mission, and his frail but resolute companion Lalemant. They laid their bodies in the little burial plot at St. Mary on the Wye until their return to Quebec when they carried with them the treasured remains of their martyred brethren. Ragueneau, Bressani, and other French priests and their assistants prepared for an attack upon the head mission, but it did not come. The Iroquois were retreating homeward laden with spoils, but the Hurons who were left were in a panic. Town after town was abandoned or destroyed. Some fled westward to the rocky gorges in the Blue Mountains or to the Tobacco Nation; but most of them were crowding towards the northwest promontory of the Huron country. Beyond this lay the island of Ahoendoe, St. Joseph, and further on Ekaentoton or Manitoulin. Whither should they go? The Jesuits prepared to renew their mission on Manitoulin, but the Hurons were bound to settle upon the nearer island. The end of a long conference was that the Jesuits decided to stay with the Hurons. St. Mary on the Wye was given to the flames and a new St. Mary erected upon St. Joseph, the island now known as Christian Island.

The late snows of March had been reddened by the blood of Brebœuf and Lalemant; the early snows of December the same year were to be reddened by the blood of two others of the Jesuit Fathers. Late in the year the Iroquois returned, this time to wreak havoc among the villages of the Tobacco or Petun Nation. Among this people there were two missions served by four priests. St. Mathias, a village on the Pretty River, located near Ekareniondi or the Standing Rock, and St. John, a few miles southwest of it, were captured. Fainer Garnier was killed on the 7th of December and his remains lie buried in a grave still undiscovered somewhere to the southwest of Collingwood. On the following day Father Chabanel was killed at the mouth of the Nottawasaga River. Then began the dispersion of the Petuns, Tionnontates or Tobacco Nation, relatives of and practically forming part of the Huron Nation. Some may have escaped southward to the Detroit, but most of them followed the Hurons northward towards Manitoulin and the Straits of Mackinac.

Having dispersed the Hurons and their neighbours the Tobacco Nation, the Iroquois next destroyed the Neutrals, and then turning their attention to the Eries on the south side of the lake, blotted out that people and thus made themselves master of the whole country formerly divided among the different members of the great Huron-Iroquois family. When the Huron Mission was started in 1634 there were Hurons, Petuns, Neutrals, Eries, Andastes and Iroquois; in less than a quarter of a century only the Iroquois were left. In this short time one

of the great tragedies of the human race had been wrought and people after people had well nigh been wiped off the face of the earth.

But so-called extermination is never quite complete,—there are usually some remnants. The tracing of the remnants of the Hurons and the Petuns is the next chapter in our story. Following the notes of Father Martin, who edited the Canadian edition of Bressani's history<sup>1</sup> of the Jesuits in New France, we can divide the remnants into five groups.

1. A considerable number of the Hurons became incorporated in the Iroquois Nation. Many were taken prisoners and adopted into the confederacy; others, strange to say, appear to have gone by choice. They maintained their identity for many years.

2. Another band sought refuge among the Eries only to be wiped out later on when the Iroquois so completely destroyed that nation.

3. In the year following the great dispersion the Jesuit priests, accompanied by a band of Hurons, set out from Christian Island, taking the old trade route. After running the gauntlet of Iroquois guerilla bands, they finally reached Quebec. The Hurons were settled upon the Island of Orleans.<sup>2</sup> Thither the relentless Iroquois followed them and made life so uncertain that, after eight years of ceaseless attacks, they sought shelter for a time right in the heart of the city adjacent to the fort. Afterwards they were removed to Beauport, again to old Lorette, and in 1679 finally located at new Lorette, Huron Lorette, as it is called, where their descendants live to this day, making moccasins and snowshoes, embroidering fancy deerskin articles and also acting as guides to the hunters and tourists. Their houses or cabins cluster about the old church, erected in 1731, in imitation of the Casa Sancta of Lorette in Italy.

This little band of 300, at Lorette, is much visited by tourists to old Quebec. Many writers in mistake refer to it as the sole remnant of the old Hurons. As it is so well known and is kept so much in public view, we need make no further reference to it than to repeat the words of Father Martin, written in 1852:

"There (at Lorette) is found in our day all that remains of this Nation once so celebrated. After having lost its country, its language, its customs and a part of its nationality, it is disappearing little by little

<sup>1</sup> See appendix to Bressani's *Missions des Jesuites dans la Nouvelle France*. (Montreal, 1852) pp. 209-218.

<sup>2</sup> Students interested in following up the history of the dispersed Hurons should read the story of Dollar's Defence of the Long Sault. See Parkman's *The old Regime in Canada*, chapter VI and Burrows *Jesuit Relations* vol. XLV p. 241 chapter IV of Relation of 1659-60 "Of the Condition of the Huron Nation and of its latest defeat by the Iroquois Nation."

day after day. It resembles a tree that has never taken firm root in the soil to which it has been transplanted. Deprived of its life-giving sap, its withered leaves drop off one by one without which it cannot hope for a new spring time to renew the freshness of its youth. There will soon remain no other trace of this powerful Nation than a name justly renowned in our annals."

4. Another band crossed from Christian Island to Manitoulin, but the Iroquois were on their trail, and after a sojourn of a few years, they loaded their canoes and headed for the mouth of the French River—they were off for Quebec to join their brethren who had preceded them.

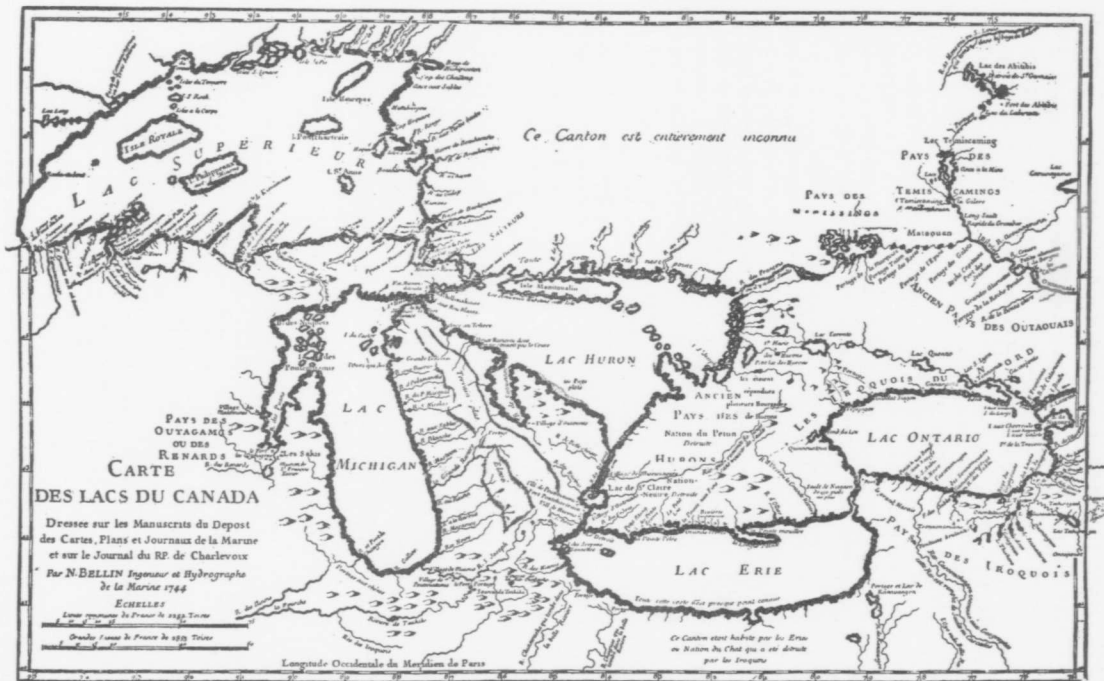
5. The last section of the fugitives sought a home at Michilimackinac Island, whence, on pressure from the Iroquois, they fled to the forests of the west. After much wandering they returned and settled on the shores of Lake Superior. Here a new home was established at St. Esprit alongside a band of the Ottawas. Another enemy came to worry them, an enemy from the west this time, the Sioux. Father Marquette now comes upon the scene and enters into their history. The home upon Lake Superior is broken up; the Ottawas go down to Manitoulin and Father Marquette and the Hurons form a new settlement and mission opposite the Island of Mackinac in 1670, to which the cherished name of St. Ignace is given. It may be interesting to note that it was probably some of these Huron Indians who accompanied Marquette in his discovery of the Mississippi.<sup>1</sup>

The story of this band, however, is not yet told. St. Ignace still remains a mission upon the Straits of Mackinac, but the wanderings of the Hurons were not yet done. Towards the end of the 17th century a considerable portion of the Hurons of this mission moved southward towards the Detroit River and formed three settlements, one on the east

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<sup>1</sup> My attention has been called by Mr. Benjamin Sulte to the suggestion that these refugee Hurons had in their western wanderings found the Mississippi and told Marquette of the great river of the west. The following extract is from the Relation of 1659-1660. It is taken from p. 235, vol XLV of the Burrows edition.

"During the winter season our two Frenchmen (Radisson and Groselliers) made divers excursions to the surrounding tribes. Among other things, they said, six days' journey beyond the lake (Superior) toward the southwest, a tribe composed of the remnants of the Hurons of the Tobacco Nation, who have been compelled by the Iroquois to forsake their native land, and bury themselves so deep in the forests that they cannot be found by their enemies. These poor people—fleeing and pushing their way over mountains and rocks, through these vast unknown forests—fortunately encountered a beautiful river, large, wide, deep and worthy of comparison, they say, with our great river, St. Lawrence. On its banks they found a great nation of the Allimimee which gave them a very kind reception. This Nation comprises sixty villages—which confirms us in the knowledge that we already possessed, concerning many thousands of people who fill all these western regions."



BELLIN'S MAP OF 1744.

bank of the River, another on the west bank, and the third on the south shore of Lake Erie in Ohio near Sandusky. These were the Hurons or Wyandotts of Western Ontario, of Michigan, and of Ohio, descendants of the old Hurons and Petuns of the Georgian Bay. What became of these Western Wyandotts? In 1842 the Wyandotts of Ohio ceded their lands, which were situated in Wyandott County, a few miles south of Sandusky, to the United States, and in the following year purchased



from the Delawares a tract of land in the Indian Territory at the forks of the Missouri and Kansas Rivers. W. E. Connelly says of this migration:

"They brought with them from Ohio a well-organized Methodist Church, a Freemason's Lodge, a civil Government, and a code of written laws which provided for an elective council of chiefs, the punishment of crime, and the maintenance of social and public order."

In 1855 their tribal relations were dissolved and the lands were allotted in severalty. A part of the tribe, however, was dissatisfied with this arrangement and moved south, purchasing from the Cowskin Senecas a small tract in the northeastern corner of the Indian Territory, where they resumed tribal relationships and where they now live, having as neighbours a small band of Ottawas on the north and a remnant of their old enemies, the Senecas, on the south.

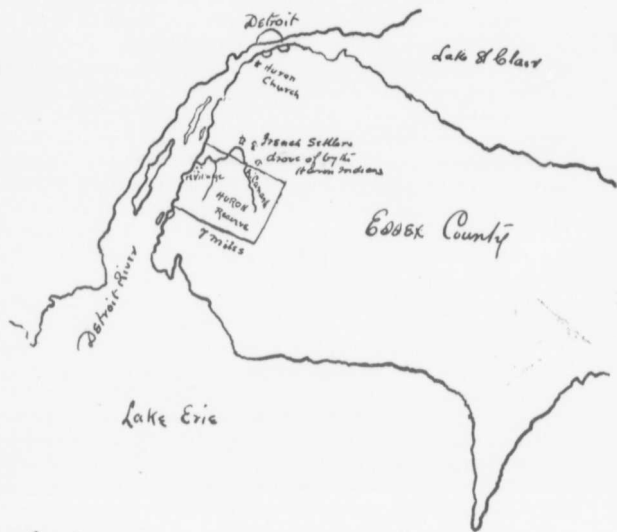
We have now left for consideration the last remnant of the Hurons or Wyandotts on the Canadian side of the Detroit River. Just one hundred years after the terrible Iroquois had swept the country of the Hurons, Petuns and Neutrals, there was to be found on the east bank of the Detroit a prosperous band of Hurons, descendants of the original Hurons who had come around the lake by way of Mackinac and possibly containing also remnants of the Petuns and of the Neutrals. There were also on the same side of the River Indians of other tribes, Ottawas, Chippewas and Pottawatamies; but the Hurons appear to have been of chief importance, with the Ottawas, their old neighbours and associates, next in order of importance. In 1728 the Catholic Church of Detroit established its first mission among the Hurons across the river, a plain log building was erected two miles below Detroit on the opposite side of the river, and in it services were begun. This was the Huron Church about which there gradually grew up a little settlement, later a village. This village is to-day the town of Sandwich, and the visitor to that oldest town in southwestern Ontario can still see in a fair state of preservation the old wooden Huron Mission, erected between the years 1747-1750, the oldest building now standing in the Province of Ontario.

At the close of the war of American Independence, the chiefs of the Hurons and Ottawas desired to express appreciation of their leaders in the late war and so, in 1784, they gave a tract of land seven miles square at the mouth of the Detroit River (the present Township of Malden, Essex County) to Alexander McKee, Wm. Caldwell, Charles McCormack, Robin Eurphleet, Anthony St. Martin, Mathew Elliott, Henry Bird, Thomas McKeen and Simon Girty. This grant was not fully recognized by the British Governor, but it proved that the Hurons claimed the east bank of the river and fought on the British side during the war. Later, in 1790, the land from the Detroit River east to Catfish Creek was ceded to the Crown by the Indians and the Hurons were among the contracting parties. But in this cession there was reserved a tract of about thirty-six square miles on the Detroit River north of Amherstburg, and also a small tract at the Huron Church opposite Detroit. The former was known as the Huron Reserve, and upon it was the Wyandotte Burial Ground that has been in use for the burial of



Huron Indians down to the present time. In 1833 this reserve was surrendered in trust to the Dominion Government and it has been sold bit by bit for the benefit of the surviving members of the tribe.

And what has become of these Hurons? They have been absorbed into the mixture of races living along the Detroit. A few, a very few, may be found whose blood is fairly pure. Here and there you will find



A. Issdell  
 City Surveyor  
 W District

Detroit Feb 20 1796

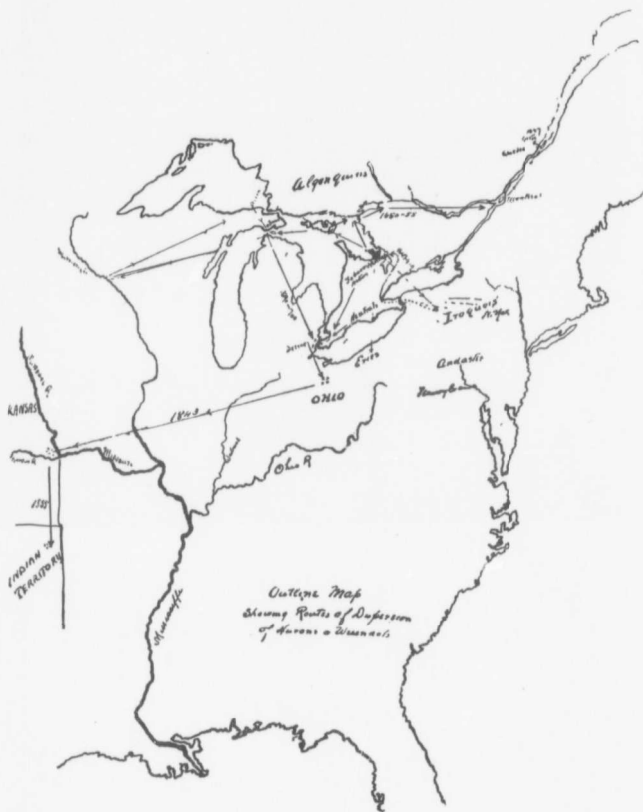
a family bearing an English or a French name but having the lineaments of the Indian more or less distinctly portrayed and who refer with pride to their descent from the ancient Hurons or Wyandotts. Tribal relations ceased in 1880 and 1881 when forty-one heads of families received enfranchisement. The last Indian chiefs of the band were Joseph White and Alexander Clarke. It is worth mentioning that Mr.

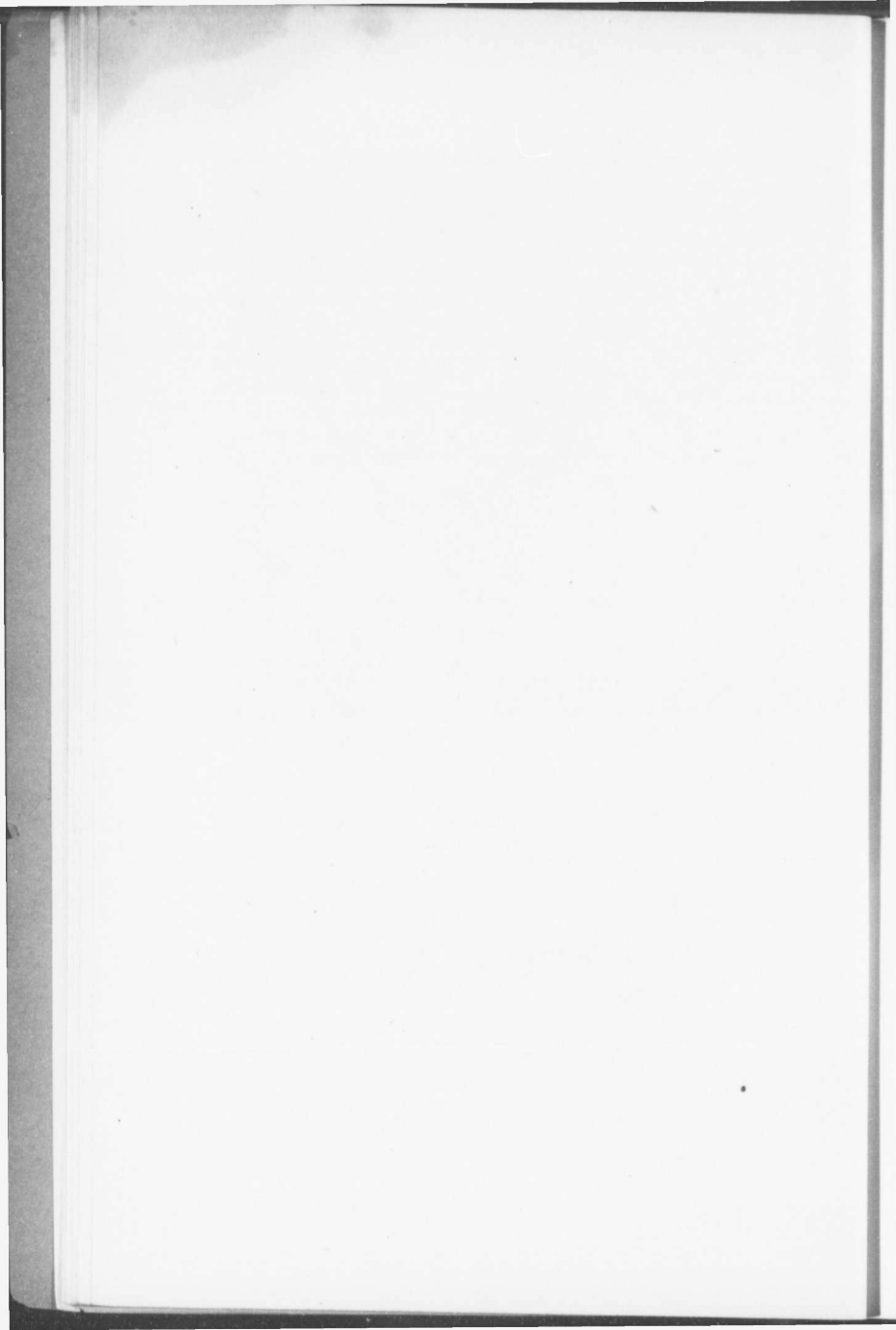
Solomon White for some years a member of the Legislature of Ontario is a son of Chief Joseph White. In this connection it may be mentioned that Mr. William Walker, who was the first Governor of the Provisional Territory of Nebraska in 1853, was a Wyandott from the Detroit River.

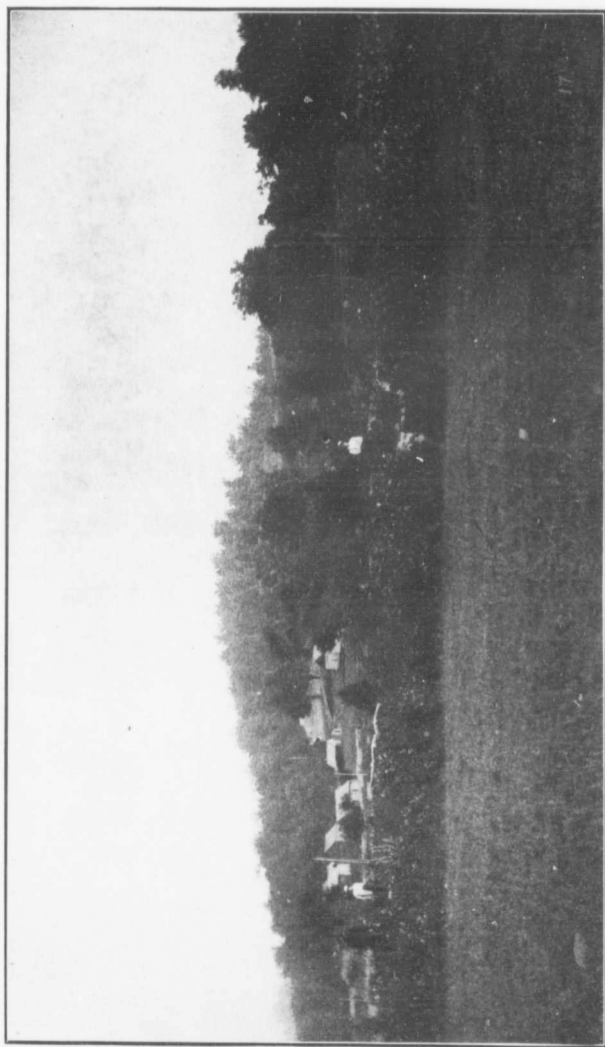
If time permitted we could make an extensive study of the work done by archaeologists in identifying the sites of the old Huron villages. French Canadians interested in the history of the Jesuits have traversed the fields and wooded hills of Simcoe County with the Jesuit Relations in their hands locating here a village, there an ossuary. Archaeologists of Ontario have with pick and shovel dug up hatchets and arrow heads, pipes, bowls, large shells from the Gulf of Mexico and the wampum made therefrom, and, to-day, thanks to the labours of Dr. Taché, Father Martin, Mr. David Boyle of Toronto, Mr. A. F. Hunter of Barrie, Mr. J. H. Hammond of Orillia, and many others, we are able to reproduce the map of old Huronia with no little degree of accuracy. We must acknowledge our great indebtedness to the papers scattered through the Ontario Archaeological Reports, and to the painstaking researches of Rev. Father Jones, Archivist of St. Mary's College, Montreal, who has in his keeping many of the original records of the Jesuit Missionaries, and who has in preparation a work on the identification of the sites of villages and missions in old Huronia.

My story, condensed and but imperfectly related, has been told. Two hundred and fifty years and more ago, a strong haughty nation was entrenched upon the shores of Georgian Bay. To-day one remnant lives far east, near neighbours to the French Canadians of old Quebec; another remnant lives a thousand miles away to the south, beyond the Mississippi and Missouri; and traces may be discovered along the banks of the Detroit River. Some of the descendants of their old enemies and destroyers have shared with them their lands in the Indian Territory, while others till the fields and raise their crops of corn along the Grand River and in the Bay of Quinte.

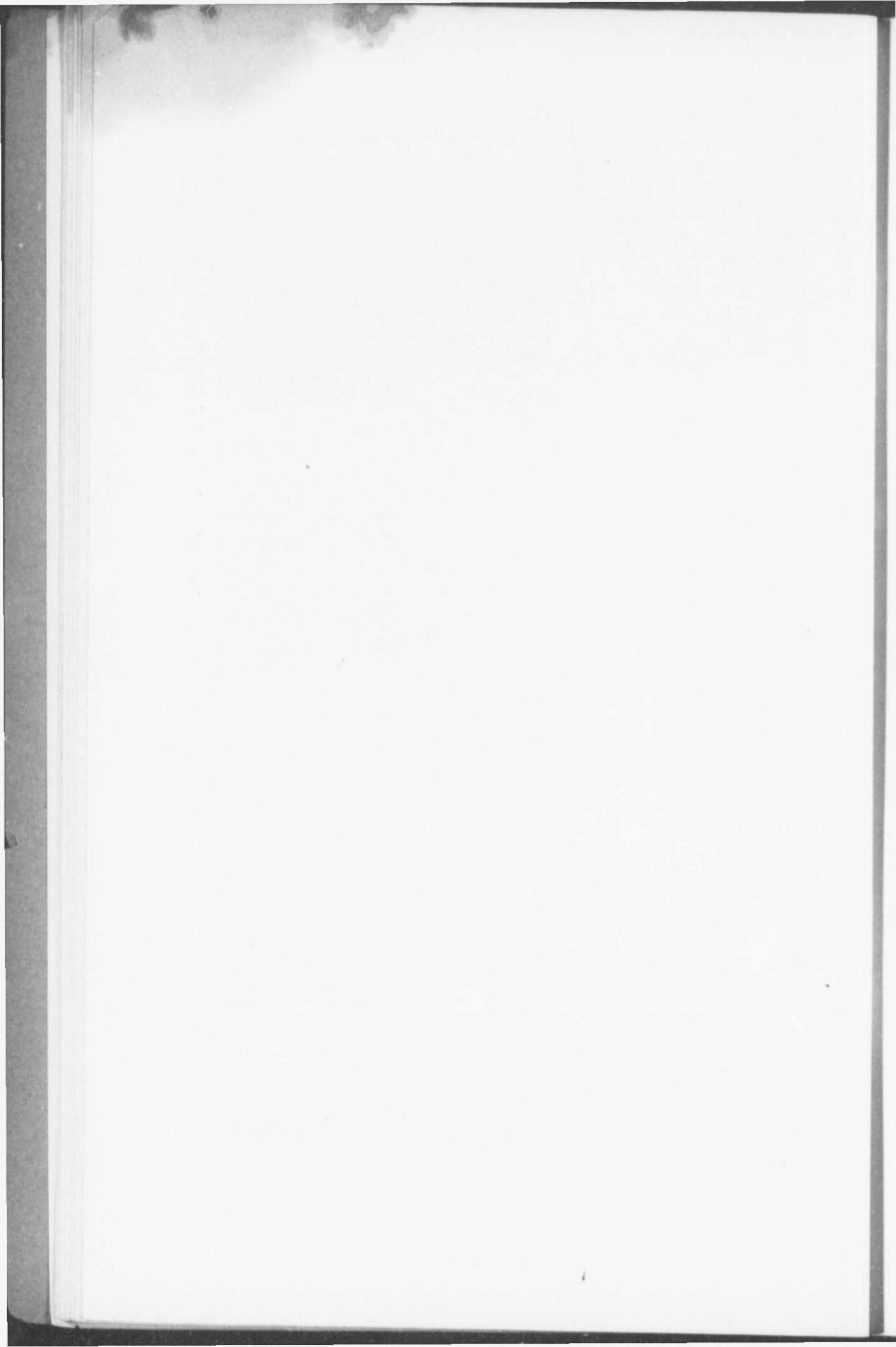
The story that I have tried to tell you forms part of the greater history of the struggle of the people of Europe for the control of the trade of this Continent and the ownership of the land. It forms a part also of the story of the early efforts to convert the savages of this Continent to Christianity. Apart from these two relationships it is a story that in itself is full of interest, a story that should appeal to our Canadian singers, a story that should be known to very one who calls himself Canadian.





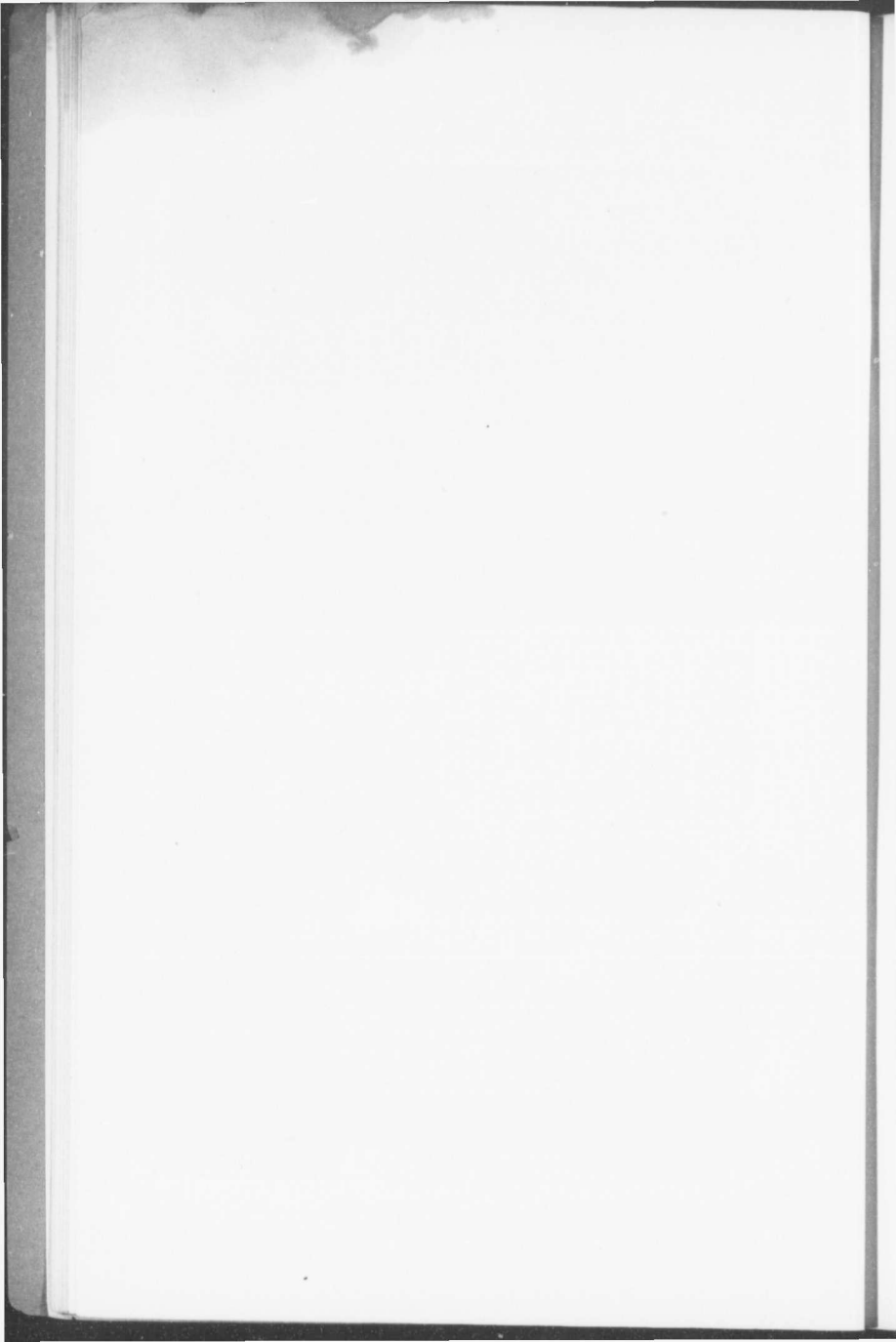


REMNANTS OF WALLS OF FORT ST. MARY ON THE WYE IN 1891. (Photo. by Dr. W. H. Ellis, Toronto).





REMNANTS OF WALLS OF FORT ST. MARY ON CHRISTIAN ISLAND IN 1891. (Photo. by Dr. W. H. Ellis, Toronto).

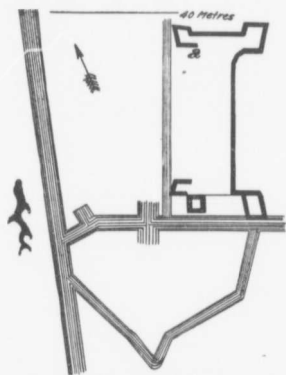


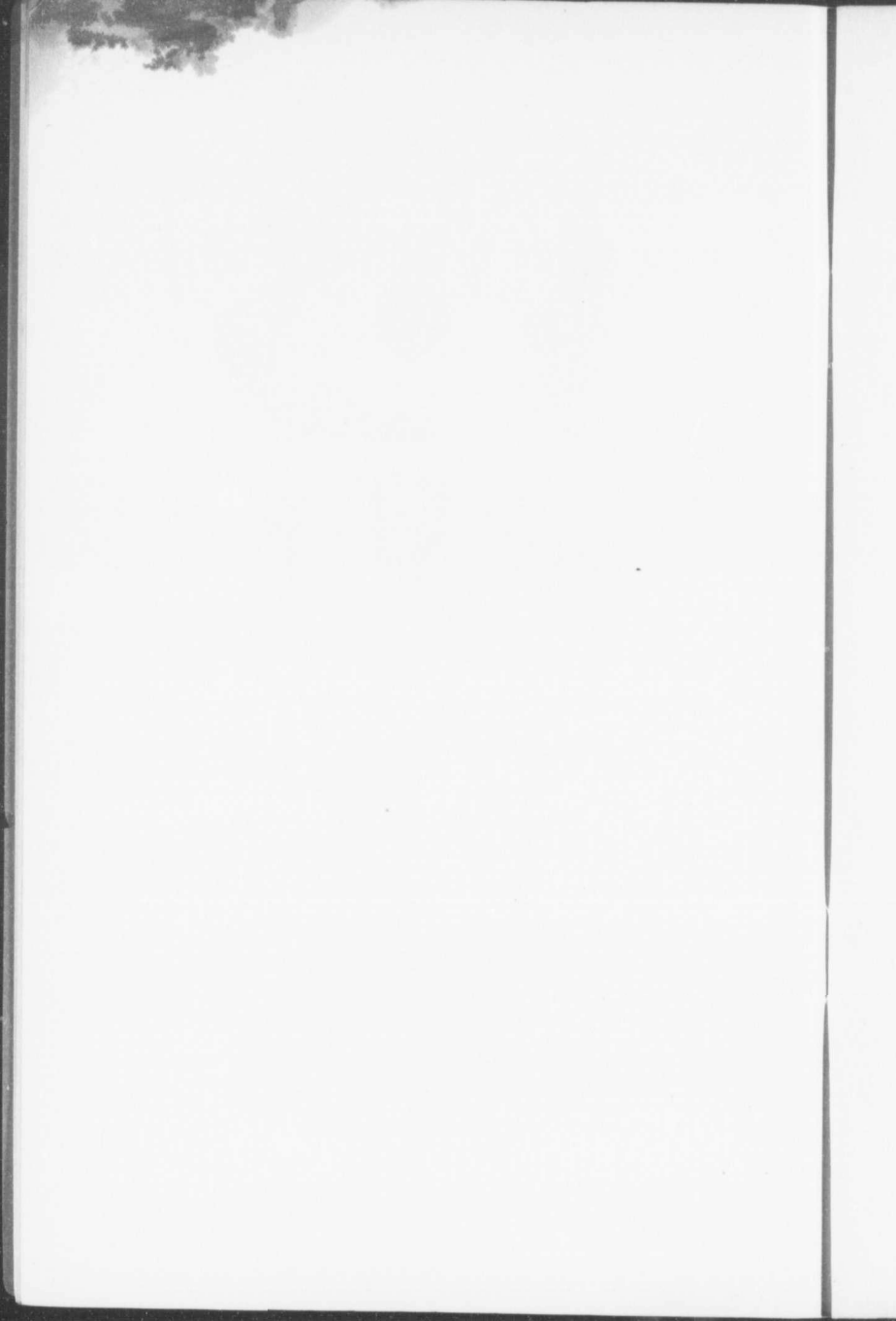




HURON PIPES.

Photographs from relics in the Ontario Archeological Museum. These apparently illustrate the raised hair of the Hurons.

*FORT SAINT-MARIE*



## APPENDIX

## ORIGIN OF NAME "HURON."

"Champlain appelle les Hurons *Ochasteguins*, et les confond avec les Iroquois, qu'il a cru sans doute ne faire avec eux qu'une même nation, à cause de la conformité qu'il avait remarquée entre les langages des uns et des autres. Peut-être aussi les avait-il ouï nommer *Ochasteguins* par quelques autres Sauvages. Mais leur véritable nom est *YENDATS*. Celui de Hurons est de la façon des François, qui voyant ces Barbares avec des cheveux coupés, fort courts, et relevés d'une manière bizarre, et qui leur donnoient un air affreux, s'écrièrent la première fois qu'ils les apperçurent: *Quelles Hures!* et s'accoutumèrent à les appeller Hurons."

*Histoire et Description Générale de la Nouvelle France*, by Father de Charlevoix, 1744, Vol. I, p. 285.

## FORT STE. MARIE I.

The following description of Fort Ste. Marie on the Wye by Father Martin is taken from the autobiography of Father Chaumonot, published in Paris in 1885. Father Martin's examination of the ruins was made in 1859. "Nous trouvâmes sans peine les ruines du fort Sainte-Marie. Ses murailles, en bonne maçonnerie, s'élevaient encore à plus d'un mètre au-dessus du sol. Il a la forme d'un parallélogramme allongé, avec des bastions à ses angles. Malgré quelques singularités dans sa construction, dont il est difficile aujourd'hui de donner les motifs, on reconnaît sans peine dans ce travail des notions d'art militaire, appliqués avec soin. Les courtines de l'ouest et du nord sont entières, tandis qu'il ne reste aucune trace de celles de l'est et du sud. Il est à présumer qu'elles étaient formées par de solides palissades que le feu et le temps ont fait disparaître. De ces deux côtés, l'ennemi était moins à craindre. À l'est et au sud, on voit encore les traces d'un fossé assez profond, qui protégeait l'enceinte. Celui du sud se prolonge jusqu'à la rivière, et il est évident qu'il devait être capable d'en recevoir les eaux, et permettre aux canots sauvages d'y trouver un abri. Il s'élargit en trois endroits, pour former trois petits bassins réguliers très favorables pour aborder. Le long de ce large fossé, s'étend au sud un assez vaste terrain, protégé du côté de la campagne par une espèce de redan, dont on distingue très bien encore le parapet en terre et le fossé qui communique avec la rivière. C'est là que se dressaient les tentes des sauvages visiteurs, et les grandes cabanes, qui formaient l'hôpital et l'hôtellerie.

À côté du bastion du fort, au sud-ouest, il y a une construction carrée qui a un mur très épais. Elle devait sans doute servir de base à une tour élevée, d'où l'on pouvait avoir vue au loin, et surveiller facilement les approches." Autobiographie du R. P. Chaumonot de la Compagnie de Jésus et son complément, par le R. P. F. Martin, Paris, (H. Oudin), 1885, pp. 268-270.

(Copy.)

## THE HURON RESERVE ON THE DETROIT RIVER.

Ottawa, 1st May, 1906.

My Dear Sir:—

Referring to your letter, undated, asking for information relative to the Wyandotte Indians, I have to say that from the records it would appear that the Huron Reserve, in the Township of Anderdon, seven miles square and

fronting on the Detroit River, formed part of the ancient possessions of the Wyandottes and was confirmed to them at the general partition of lands by the different tribes in the year 1791. In 1833 the reserve was surrendered in trust to the Government in order that a portion of it might be sold for their benefit. In 1836 two-thirds of the reserve was again ceded on the following conditions:—

Block A, containing 7,550 acres, to be sold for the benefit of the Tribe; Block C, containing 7,070 acres, for the benefit of Indians generally; Block B, containing 7,770 acres, was retained for a reserve for the Wyandotte Band.

The following surrenders were subsequently made of this reserve:—

20th Sept., 1836. Part of Anderdon Township, Essex County.

19th July, 1853. Part of W. Sandwich Township, Essex County.

28th April, 1854. Part of Town of Sarnia and part of West Sandwich, Essex County (60¼ acres).

27th Feb., 1863. Fighting Island, Detroit River.

20th Aug., 1875. Lots 6, 7, 8, 9 and south ½ of 10, in Con. 6, 7 and 8, Anderdon Township, Essex County.

21st Dec., 1877. Southerly 2-3 of Lot 13, Con. 1, and south ½ of Lot 8, Con. 3, for Solomon White; south ½ of south ½ of Lot 7, Con. 3, for Mary L. White; Indian marsh, for Chief Joseph White; Anderdon Township, Essex County.

7th May, 1879. Water lot in front of southerly 2-3 of Lot 13, Con. 1., Anderdon Township, Essex County, for Solomon White.

7th May, 1879. South-east quarter of Lot 6, Con. 3, for Victoria Maguire; south-west ¼ of Lot 9, Con. 4, for Christine Ramon; north-west ¼ of Lot 8, Con. 2, for Catherine Bernard; south-west ¼ of Lot 6, Con. 3, for Charlotte Marsh, Anderdon Township, Essex County.

27th April, 1880. Water lot in front of Lot 18, Con. 1, Anderdon Township, Essex County.

25th April, 1882. Gore in rear of south ½ of Lot 19, Con. 1, Anderdon Township, Essex County. (6 27-100 acres.) For Lewis Warrow.

16th Dec., 1886. North ½ of south ½ of Lot 7, Con. 3, Anderdon Township, Essex County.

26th June, 1889. Gore in rear of Lot 17, Con. 1, Anderdon Township, Essex County.

In the year 1876 application was made by the Band to be enfranchised under the terms of the Indian Act. The application was approved and the probationary term having been served the Indians were granted enfranchisement in the years 1880 and 1881, in all 41 heads of families received enfranchisement.

The only remaining unenfranchised member of the Band is Mrs. Catherine Malville, née Laforet. This woman who is now 85 years of age, was married to Peter Malville, a white man, in 1846, whose death occurred in 1852. The last Indian Chiefs of the Wyandotte Band were Joseph White and Alexander Clarke.

Yours truly,

(Signed) FRANK PEDLEY,

Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs.

#### SOME WORKS OF REFERENCE ON THE HURONS AND THEIR DESTRUCTION BY THE IROQUOIS.

*Jesuit Relations* (edition published by The Burrows Brothers Company, of Cleveland, Ohio). The letters and journals of the Jesuit Fathers are to be found in nearly every one of volumes VII to XLVI inclusive, covering the years 1634 to 1661.

*Sagard. Le Grand Voyage du Pays des Hurons*, par Fr. Gabriel Sagard, Recollet de St. Francois. This was first published at Paris in 1632. In 1865 a new edition was issued at Paris by Librairie Tross in two volumes. As the date indicates, this description was written just prior to the time of the Jesuit mission.

*Bressani*. Relation Abrégée de Quelques Missions des Pères de la Compagnie de Jésus dans la Nouvelle-France, par le R. P. F. J. Bressani, de la même Compagnie. Traduit de l'italien et augmenté d'un avant-propos, de la biographie de l'auteur, et d'un grand nombre de notes et de gravures, par le R. P. F. Martin, de la même Compagnie. Montréal (John Lovell), 1852. The original was published in 1653. The appendices, by Father Martin, are very valuable in connection with the study of this question.

*Martin*. Two books by Rev. Felix Martin, S.J. (in addition to Bressani, referred to above) contain some information as to the Hurons. The first is his "Life of Father Isaac Jogues," which was translated into English by John Gilmory Shea and published in 1885. Appendix A contains notes on the geography of the Huron country, with description of the ruins of St. Mary on the Wye as Father Martin found them. The following work by the same author will be found more complete and the notes on the Jesuit Fort are accompanied by a sketch plan:—*Autobiographie du R. P. Chaumonot, de la Compagnie de Jésus, et son complément, par le R. P. F. Martin, de la même Compagnie*. Paris, 1885. This latter work also contains a plan of Fort St. Mary on Christian Island (p. 272) and of the chapel at Jeune Lorette (p. 218).

*The Hurons of the Detroit*. The Catholic Home Magazine for 1903 (London, Ont.), contained a paper by the late Miss Margaret Claire Kilroy, of Windsor, entitled "Sandwich, the origin of the Diocese of London." It contains a sketch of the early mission to the Hurons in the Detroit and an illustration of the old mission House still standing at Sandwich. This article is quite exhaustive.

*Clarke*.—Origin and Traditional History of the Wyandotts, and sketches of other Indian Tribes of North America. True Traditional Stories of Tecumseh and the League in the years 1811 and 1812, Toronto (Hunter, Rose & Co.), 1870. By Peter Dooyentate Clarke.

*Connelley*. Volume III, second series (1899), of the publications of the Nebraska State Historical Society is entitled: "The Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory and the Journals of William Walker, Provincial Governor of Nebraska Territory." It is edited by William A. Connelley, of Topeka, Kansas, and contains notes of the migration of the Wyandotts from Ohio to the Indian Territory, a map of the Wyandott Purchase and sketch of William Walker, the Wyandott, who was born in Michigan in 1799 or 1800 and died at Kansas City, Mo., in 1874.

*Ontario Archeological Reports*. Nineteen reports, prepared by Mr. David Boyle, have been issued by the Ontario Department of Education, Toronto. In or the years 1886 to 1894 they were issued as reports of the Canadian Institute. Subsequent to the year 1894, when the museum was transferred to the Department of Education, they have been issued directly by the Department. The following references may be of service to students of the Huron-Iroquois feud.

1889. Pages 4-15 refer to the Tobacco Nation, methods of burial, sites of ossuaries, map of Nottawasaga Township, etc. Pages 42-46, paper by Mr. A. F. Hunter, B.A., on "French Relics from Village Sites of the Huron."

1890-91 (Fourth Annual Report of the Canadian Institute). This contains on pages 18 and 19 some notes on Ste. Marie on the Wye and its decadence, with an appeal for its preservation.

1892-3. (The Sixth Annual Report of the Canadian Institute, misprinted "fifth" on title page.)

Pages 22-34 contain an interesting sketch of the Neutrals and their relation to the Hurons, by Mr. James H. Coyne, B.A., under title of "The Southwold Earthwork and the Country of the Neutrals."

1895. The report for this year, the 8th of the series, appeared under the title: "Notes on Primitive Man in Ontario." The articles on "Aborigenes of Ontario," "Social Condition," "Food," "Religion," "Burial Customs," etc., contain many interesting notes on the Hurons.

1897-8. (11th Report.) "The Jesuit Stone," p. 32, is an interesting note of 1641. "Christian Island," pp. 35-42, contains the plan of the old Jesuit Fort (from Ducreux), also notes on the condition of the ruins in 1897. Sanson's map of 1656 is reproduced. It indicates the location of the Hurons, Petuns, Neutrals, Eries and Andastes before the wars of extermination.

1899. (13th.) "Notes on sites of Huron Villages in the Township of Tay (Simcoe County), by A. F. Hunter, M.A. This was the second of a series, the first on village sites in the Township of Tiny, having been printed by the Department of Education, as a separate brochure in the previous year. On pages 59 and 60 are plans of Ste. Mary on the Wye in 1852 and 1876. This volume for 1899 also contains, pp. 92-123, an interesting article on The Wyandotts, by Mr. Wm. E. Connelley, under the following chapters: "Migration legends," "Clan System," "Government," etc. This article is followed by a translation into English of Mr. Benjamin Sulte's history of "The War of the Iroquois," pp. 124-151.

1900. "The Flint Workers: A Forgotten People," by Rev. Dean Harris, is a sketch of the Neutrals and contains much of interest in relationship to the Hurons.

1901. "Notes on Huron Villages in the Township of Medonte, Simcoe County," by A. F. Hunter, M.A.

1902. "Notes on sites of Huron Villages in the Township of Oro, Simcoe County," by A. F. Hunter, M.A. This volume also contains the paper by Rev. A. E. Jones, S.J., on "The Identification of St. Ignace II and Ekarennioudi," pp. 92-136. This paper illustrates the method of work adopted by the archivist of St. Mary's College, Montreal.

1903. "Indian Villages Sites in North and South Orillia," by A. F. Hunter, M.A. "The Standing Rock," by F. Birch.

1904. "Cahlagué," by J. Hugh Hammond. This is followed by some notes on Huron village sites in Orillia Township.

1905. "The Iroquois," by David Boyle, pp. 146-158. This is the very valuable paper referred to in the address as discussing the question of the legendary migrations of the Huron-Iroquois peoples.

