

THE MASCOUTINS.

BY LUCIEN CARR.

IN the accounts that have come down to us of the first settlements in Canada and the United States, mention is made, more or less frequently, of a tribe or, possibly, it would be more correct to say a band, of Indians who lived, at different times, in different places, were known by different names and who virtually disappeared early in the eighteenth century. Who they were, where they lived and what became of them, has been, either directly or indirectly, a subject of frequent inquiry; ¹ and as the results have not always been satisfactory, it has occurred to me that it might not be amiss to devote a few moments to an examination of the early records, with the view of finding out exactly what they tell us of these people, and whether it is of such a character as to justify us in forming definite conclusions as to their career and probable fate.

Beginning with Champlain, ² from whom we first hear of them, we are told that "they call themselves Assistague-ronons," a Huron word which means in French "*gens de feu*," or, as we should say, Fire Nation. This was in or about the year 1615, and at this time they were living some

¹ Among the best of these is the paper by William Wallace Tooker, in which he contends, and with a fair measure of success, that the Fire Nation and Bocootanaukes of Strachey (Historie of Travaile into Virginia) were one and the same people. The Indians of Ohio by M. F. Force; An Inquiry into the Identity and History of the Shawnee Indians by C. C. Royce; and the Story of a Mound or the Shawnees in Pre-Columbian Times by Cyrus Thomas—may all be consulted to advantage. In fact, anything and everything that tends to throw light upon the fortunes of these Parthians of History, as the Shawnees have been called, will be found of interest by those who hold, as I am disposed to do, that the Fire Nation, Mascoutins, or to give them the name by which they called themselves, the Prairie people, were an offshoot of that tribe.

² Voyages, Tome I., pp. 357, 358: Paris, 1830.

ten days' journey distant from the Cheveux Relevés, with whom they were at war, as indeed they also were with the Huron tribe of Neuters. Some twelve or fifteen years later, A. D. 1632, Sagard¹ repeats almost verbatim what is said of the hostile relations existing between them and these two tribes, though he speaks of them as the *Nation de Feu*, and tells us that instead of ten days, they were two hundred leagues and more from the Cheveux Relevés, as the Ottawas² were then called. Little as this is, it is practically all that was known of these people prior to the visit of Nicolet in 1634-5, for up to that time, it is not probable that a single member of this tribe, except the child mentioned by Le Jeune,³ had ever been seen by a white man; and the accounts of Champlain, Sagard and even of Raguenaud⁴ are too indefinite to warrant an opinion as to where they lived, though there is reason to believe, as we shall see later on, that they, or the confederacy to which they belonged, once held the region south of the Lakes and north of the Ohio, including the peninsula of southern Michigan.

However, be this as it may, there seems to be no doubt that when visited by Nicolet, they were living in what is now known as Wisconsin and probably on Fox River. Indeed, it is from him that we get the word Mascoutins,⁵ which, we may remark in passing, really means Prairie

¹ Le Grand Voyage du Pays des Hurons, I., pp. 53, 147, 148: Paris, 1865.

² " * * * Ondataouaouat de la langue Algonquine, que nous appelons les cheveux relevez à cause que leur chevelure ne descend point en bas, mais qu'ils font dresser leurs cheveux, comme une creste qui porte en haut," Jes. Relation, 1654, p. 9: Quebec, 1858. " L'ancienne demeure des Outaouacs estoit un quartier du lac des Hurons d'ou la crainte des Iroquois les a chassez, et où se portent tous leurs desirs comme à leur pais natal "; Relation, 1667, p. 17. Cf. Relation, 1670, p. 78; 1671, p. 47.

³ Relation, 1632, p. 14: Quebec, 1858.

⁴ Speaking of the Attistaehronon and others, we are told: " Toutes ces nations sont sedentaires * * * elles cultivent la terre, et par consequent sont remplies de peuple * * * il n'y a point de doute que ces peuples ne soient au nord de la Virginie, de la Floride, et peut estre encore de la nouvelle Mexique "; Jes. Rel., 1640, p. 35: Quebec, 1858.

⁵ Jesuit Relation, 1640, p. 35, where they are called Rasaoua Koueton, and are said to speak Algonquin, and to live in the neighborhood of the Winnebagos, who were on Green Bay. Vimont credits his knowledge of these people to Nicolet.

People,¹ and was the name by which they knew themselves, though owing to a mistake in substituting the word *Ich-koute*, fire, for *Machkoute*, prairie, the Hurons and Iroquois called them *Assista Ectæronnonns*² from *Assista*, fire, and *Eronon*, Nation.³ This, as we have seen, signifies in French, *Nation du Feu*; and though it was evidently a mistake, and the name, like *Sioux*, *Moki*, *etc.*, was unknown to the people themselves, yet it was maintained, especially by the authors of the Jesuit Relations, long after Perrot, Allouez and others had made us familiar with their true appellation.

Continuing our investigations, we find that these people spoke Algonquin,⁴ and that they were always at war with the Neuters, by whom they seem to have been terribly punished.⁵ To take but one instance, we are told that, in 1643, a war party of two thousand Neuters attacked one of their palisaded villages which was defended by nine hundred warriors. After a siege of ten days, it was carried by assault, in the course of which many were killed, and eight hundred men, women and children were taken prisoners. After burning seventy of the best warriors, they

¹ "La Nation du Feu porte ce nom par erreur, s'appellant proprement *Mascoutench*, qui signifie une terre déchargée d'arbres, telle qu'est celle que ces peuples habitent; mais parce que, pour peu de lettres qu'on échange, ce mesme mot signifie du feu; de là est venu qu'on les appelle la Nation du Feu"; *Jes. Rel.*, 1671, p. 45; *Quebec*, 1858. *Charlevoix*, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, V., p. 277; Paris, 1744. *Marquette in Dis. & Exploration of the Mississippi*, p. 13; New York, 1852.

² Perrot, *Memoire sur les Mœurs, Coutumes et Religion des Sauvages*, pp. 237, 277; Paris, 1864. *Jes. Rel.*, 1670, p. 99; *Quebec*, 1858.

³ *Sagard L.*, p. 53; Paris, 1865.

⁴ *Jes. Relations*, 1640, p. 35; 1641, p. 59; 1646, p. 77.

⁵ "Ces peuples de la Nation Neutre ont toujours guerre avec ceux de la Nation du Feu"; *Jes. Rel.*, 1644, p. 98. In *Relation*, 1641, p. 72, there is an account of a successful foray made by the Neuters, in which 170 of the Nation du Feu were taken prisoners and "treated with the same cruelty that the Hurons show towards their captives." In the same *Relation*, p. 72, we are told that there is reason to believe "qu'il n'y a pas long temps qu'ils ne faisoient tous qu'un Peuple, et Hurons et Iroquois, et ceux de la Nation Neutre; * * * mais que par succession de temps, ils se soient esloignez et separez les uns des autres, qui plus, qui moins, de demeure d'interets et d'affection: de sorte que quelques uns sont devenus ennemis, d'autres Neutres, et d'autres sont demeurez dans quelque liason et communication plus particulière." Called Neuters because they refused to take part on either side in the war that broke out between the Hurons and Iroquois. Cf. *Relation*, 1648, pp. 45, 46, for their country.

put out the eyes and cut off the lips of the old men, and then left them to drag out a miserable existence.¹ Shortly after, in 1651, the Neuters were destroyed by the Iroquois,² and this, of course, put an end to the war that had been going on so long between them and the Nation of Fire, or the Mascoutins as we shall hereafter call them. This, however, can hardly be considered as a benefit to the latter tribe, since it simply brought them face to face with a far more terrible enemy. Indeed, for the next fifty years, we seldom hear of them except in connection with some Iroquois foray. Even in the far distant home in Wisconsin to which they had fled, they were not safe: for the Iroquois now had guns,³ and possessed of this advantage, their war parties swept undisturbed from the Niagara to the Illinois. The whole of this region and even far to the south of the Ohio, they claimed by right of conquest,⁴ and what is more to the point, they made good this claim, for a hundred years and more, by force of arms. But it is unnecessary to pursue this branch of the subject further. As Mascoutins, these people played a subordinate part in the war with the Iroquois, and just at present, it is as Mascoutins that we are dealing with them.

Returning from this digression and taking up the thread

¹ Relation, 1644, p. 98: Quebec, 1858.

² Relation, 1651, p. 4.

³ Rel., 1643, p. 62. In the Relation, 1660, p. 6, we are told "les Hollandois * * * leur fournirent des arms à feu, avec lesquelles il leur fut aisé de vaincre leurs vainqueurs, qu'ils mettoient en fuite et qu'ils remplissoient de fraieur au seul bruit de leurs fusils; et c'est ce qui les a rendus formidable par tout et victorieux de toutes les Nations avec lesquelles ils ont en guerre; * * * Et ce qui est plus etonnant, c'est que de fait ils dominant à cinq cents lieues à la ronde, estans neantmoins en fort petit nombre" *etc.* Cf. Charlevoix, V., p. 298: Paris, 1744. Parkman, *Jesuits in North America*, chap. XXXIII.: Boston, 1885. Colden's *Five Nations*, p. 30: New York, 1866.

⁴ Les Iroquois "ont entendu leurs territoires jusqu'à la rivière des Illinois depuis l'an 1672, qu'ils subjuguèrent les anciens Chaouanons les propriétaires naturels du pais et de la rivière Ohio et avec les quels ils ont été incorporés. Ils prétendent qu'il leur appartient par droit de conquête aussi bien qu'une grande partie du Mississippi. Nous l'avons payé de notre sang, disent-ils, et il est juste que nous le possédions": Palairret, *Description Abrégé des Possessions Angloises et Françoises du continent Septentrional de l'Amérique*, p. 41, 1756. At the treaty of Fort Stanwix they sold all that region now known as the State of Kentucky, claiming it by right of conquest: Butler, *Kentucky*, p. 378: Louisville, 1834.

of our narrative, we are told that living west of Lake Michigan and in close proximity to the Winnebagos, were the "Ouchiaouanag" (Oshawano or Shawnee¹), and what makes the statement of vital importance in this connection is the fact that they are said to be "a part of the Nation of Fire."² This, so far as I have been able to discover, is the first instance in which the identity of these two tribes is asserted; and as it is the key-note of my argument, I may be pardoned for insisting upon the fact that the statement is positive, and that it was made by Father Lallement, one of that glorious band of missionaries to whom we are indebted for much of what we know of the early history of the lake region. Moreover, it is inferentially confirmed by others of the Jesuit Fathers, for, obviously, if, as we are told, the Ontouaganha were the same as the Nation of Fire,³ and the Chaouanons were the same as the Ontouaganha,⁴ then the Nation of Fire and the Chaouanons (Shawnees) must have been one and the same people.

Under ordinary circumstances this evidence would be considered conclusive; and with this point gained, I might well afford to rest the argument, at least until it can be shown that there is an error in the record. To do so, however, would be to leave several lines of investigation untouched; and as this would not comport with the purposes of this inquiry, it behoves me to examine, somewhat closely, these additional sources of information, in order to compare the possible results with the conclusion to which a study of the Jesuit Relations led. To this end, then, let us first take up the enforced wandering life of these people—for they can hardly be said to have had a permanent place of abode—and see whether it throws any light upon their tribal affinities. Thus, for example, leaving out all unnecessary details and confining ourselves to what is said of the Mascoutins, we find that when first visited by

¹ Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*, V., p. 41.

² Relation, 1648, p. 62.

³ *Ibid.*, 1660, p. 7.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1672, p. 25.

the white men, as indeed we have already seen, they were living in Wisconsin and probably on Fox River. At all events, it was near Green Bay, or *Lac des Puants* as it was then called; and here they were in 1658¹ when Dreuillettes reported them as being among the tribes that had been recently discovered, and endeavored in a vague sort of way to fix their place of residence. So far as it goes, this account is correct; and yet it is not the whole truth, for upon an examination of the record, it will be found that their original home was not on Fox River. As a matter of fact, they had fled here to escape the fury of the Iroquois,² and we do not know how long they had been here, nor exactly where they came from. Speaking in the light of later information, it is probably safe to say that they had originally come from the east, as the pressure was from that direction, and it must have been after the Iroquois had made good their occupation of Northern New York. In support of this theory, we have the evidence of some of the oldest maps,³ in which they are placed in the southern part of Michigan, and it is borne out by the testimony of the Ottawas, who "attributed the small mounds and garden beds of the Grand River Valley and elsewhere," the bone caves of Michilmacinae, and the bones in the trenches on Menissing or Round Island, Lake Huron, "to the Mushkodainsug, People of the Prairie, whom they conquered and drove off."⁴ Admitting this evidence, and the identity of the names Mascoutins and Mushkodainsug would seem to warrant it, and we are carried back one remove in our search for the primitive home of these people, and towards the east. When next we hear of

¹ Relation, 1658, pp. 21, 22.

² "These incorrigible warriors pushed their murderous raids to Hudson's Bay, Lake Superior, the Mississippi and the Tennessee; they were the tyrants of all the intervening wilderness": Parkman, *Jesuits in North America*, p. 445: Boston, 1867. Compare *Tailhan in Perrot*, pp. 269, 271: Paris, 1864.

³ See *Maps in Winsor's Cartier to Frontenac*, pp. 179, 210, 216: Boston, 1894.

⁴ *Schoolcraft, Indian Tribes*, I., p. 307.

them, in 1668 or 9, Perrot¹ was visiting them; and if we may judge from the feasts, dances and other honors accorded him, he must, from an Indian point of view, have been royally entertained. At this time, they were certainly on Fox River, living in the same village with the Miamis; and here they were in 1670² when visited by Father Allouez in the course of his ministrations. In June, 1673,³ Marquette stopped with them when on his way down the Mississippi, and among other things, he tells us that they had been joined by the Kickapoos, so that, now, there were three tribes living in the village and apparently in perfect harmony.

In the Relations of these two Jesuit Fathers, supplemented largely by Perrot, we have a good account of these tribes—their manners and customs, form of government, religion and material condition. In some respects it is, perhaps, too highly colored; and yet there are but few of us who are familiar with life on a prairie who will not endorse Marquette⁴ when he says: "I felt no little pleasure in beholding the position of this town; the view is beautiful and very picturesque, for from the eminence on which it is perched, the eye discovers on every side prairies spreading away beyond its reach, interspersed with thickets or groves of lofty trees." Being somewhat of a practical turn of mind, he adds: "the soil is very good, producing much corn; the Indians gather also quantities of plums and grapes, from which good wine could be made, if they chose." Flattering as is this picture, it is surpassed by Allouez,⁵ who tells us that "this region has something of the beauty of the earthly paradise, though the road to it," owing to the rapids in

¹ La Potherie, II., pp. 103, *et seq.*: Paris, 1722. Compare Tailhan in Perrot, pp. 271, *et seq.*: Paris, 1864.

² Relation, 1670, pp. 94, 99, and 1671, p. 45: Quebec, 1858.

³ Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi, p. 13: New York, 1852.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁵ Relation, 1671, p. 43.

the river, portages, *etc.*, "may be likened to the one that our Saviour says leads to heaven."

From this time on, and for the next forty years, we hear but little of these people. In the maps of the day they are put down as living about where they were in Marquette's time; and it is probable that they remained here or in the vicinity until early in the eighteenth century, when we find them settled on the Wabash, near the French fort Vincennes, and in the immediate neighborhood of the Kickapoos. Here they were when Mermet¹ came among them, and, if we may credit his account, they were a stiff-necked people, much attached to their superstitions and not overly disposed to profit by his instructions. Being anxious for their conversion, he adopted the plan of engaging one of their medicine men in what seems to have been a public discussion; and although he succeeded, so far as the argument went, in silencing his adversary, yet, practically, this was all he gained, for he was forced to admit, somewhat regretfully, that his Indian hearers "were not less attached than before to their ridiculous superstitions." What, however, the worthy Father could not effect by argument, was brought about by a contagious disease, which desolated their village, and each day carried off many, including some of the medicine men, who "died like the rest." For the purpose of checking the disease, "their medicine men removed to a short distance from the fort, to make a great sacrifice to their manitou. They killed nearly forty dogs, which they carried on the top of poles, singing, dancing and making a thousand extravagant gestures. The mortality, however, did not cease for all their sacrifices. The chief of the medicine men then imagined that their manitou, being less powerful than the manitou of the French, was obliged to yield to him. In this persuasion he many times made a circuit around the fort, crying out with all his strength: 'We are dead;

¹ Kip, *Jesuit Missions*, p. 203: New York, 1846.

softly manitou of the French, strike softly—do not kill us all.' Then addressing himself to the missionary: 'Cease, good manitou, let us live; you have life and death in your possession; leave death—give us life.' The missionary calmed him, and promised to take even more care of the sick than he had hitherto done; but notwithstanding all the care he could bestow more than half in the village died."

Here, then, reduced in numbers to less than half their strength, we take our leave of these people, for we do not hear of them again, at least not as Mascoutins. Whether they were absorbed by the Kickapoos is uncertain, though it is extremely probable that they were. Such an occurrence would have been according to Indian custom;¹ and as these two peoples belonged to the same stock, spoke the same language, and had lived for upwards of fifty years in the same village, or as near neighbors, there can be nothing impossible or improbable in the suggestion that they had, at last, decided to join forces and become, for all political purposes, one people. However, this is not a point on which it is necessary to insist. Its interest is incidental and it might be omitted altogether without affecting in any way the strength of our argument. What we cannot afford to ignore, is the statement that some six or seven days' journey southwest by west of the Pottowatomi village of St. Michel, were thirty villages of Atsistagherronons. In the same Relation mention is made of a village of Makoutensak three days' journey by water from St. Michel and more inland.² If these two statements mean anything, they justify the inference that, at

¹ "C'est la coutume de ces Peuples, mesme des infideles, lorsqu'une nation se refugie dans quelque pais estranger, que ceux qui les recoivent les distribuent incontinent dans diverses maisons, où non seulement on leur donne le giste, mais aussi les necessitez de la vie, avec une charité qui n'a rien de barbare, etc., etc. * * * J'ai veu les Hurons pratiquer tres-souvent cette hospitalité: * * * sept et huit cents personnes trouvoient dès leur abord, des hostes charitables qui leur tendoient les bras, qui les secouroient avec joye, et qui mesme leur distribuoiēt une partie des terres déjà ensemenées, afin qu'ils pussent vivre, quoy qu'en un pais estranger, comme dans leur Patrie." Jesuit Relation, 1650, p. 28: Quebec, 1868. ² Relation, 1658, pp. 21, 22.

this time, these people were divided into two bands, and that the one to the southwest was much the larger. That these latter were the same as the Chaouanon, who lived thirty days' journey east-southeast of the Illinois,¹ hardly admits of a doubt. The names—Atsistagherronons, Ontouaganha, Chaouanons—indicate it, for they are synonymous; and, besides, there was not in all this region a dozen, much less thirty, villages of Atsistagherronons, though Shawnees were known to be on the Ohio² or Ouabouskigou,³ and in large numbers. But even if this were not the case it would not affect our contention that the Mascoutins and Shawnees spoke the same language. That rests upon different grounds; and it is made evident by the fact that the Mascoutins and Kickapoos both spoke Algonquin and were mutually intelligible.⁴ So too did the Shawnees,⁵ though they may have used a different dialect. This is certainly clear enough, but it is not the only proof we have bearing upon this point. The Sacs and Foxes,⁶ for example, according to their own account,

¹ Relation, 1670, p. 91.

² "The next south of this is the vast river Hohio * * * Formerly divers Nations dwelt on this river, as the Chawanoes (Shawanees) a mighty and very populous people, who had above fifty towns, and many other nations, who were totally destroyed or driven out of their country by the Irocois, this river being their usual road when they make war upon the nations who lie to the south or to the west." Coxe, *Corolana* in *Hist. Coll.: Louisiana, Part II.*, p. 229.

³ "We came to a river called Ouaboukigou * * * this river comes from the country on the east, inhabited by the people called Chaouanons, in such numbers that they reckon as many as twenty-three villages in one district, and fifteen in another, lying quite near each other; they are by no means warlike, and are the people the Iroquois go so far to seek in order to wage an unprovoked war upon them." *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi*, pp. 41, 42: New York, 1852. Bearing upon this point is the following: "Tirant un peu plus vers le Couchant que vers le midi, une autre bande d'Iroquois va chercher, jusques à quatre cents lieues d'ici une nation qui n'est criminelle que parce qu'elle n'est pas Iroquoise; ou la nomme Ontouagaunha" *etc.* Relation, 1662, p. 2: Quebec, 1858.

⁴ ". . . Les Kikabou qui parlent même langue que les Machkouteng": Relation, 1670, p. 100. In the Relation, 1672, p. 41, Father Allouez tells us that there were in "cette bourgade des Maskoutench, qui est la Nation du Feu, trois peuples de langues différentes," having apparently forgotten his statement that the Kickapoo and Mascoutins spoke same language. There are many reasons for believing this latter statement to be correct.

⁵ "Où la nomme Ontouagaunha, comme qui diroit là où on ne sait pas parler, à cause de l'Algonquin corrompu qui y est en usage." Relation, 1662, p. 2: Quebec, 1858.

⁶ Morse, *Appendix to Report*, p. 122: New Haven, 1822.

were related by language to the Kickapoos, "could converse with them" as they phrased it, and it is a fair inference that the Shawnees could do the same, since they "were descended from the Sauks." Moreover; in classifying these tribes according to language, Gallatin¹ puts the Shawnees, Kickapoos, *etc., etc.*, into one group, which he styles the Western Lenape; and if to this we add the fact that, according to the account that the Shawnees² gave of themselves, they and the Kickapoos were originally one people, and that in 1811, just before the battle of Tippecanoe,³ we know that bands of the two tribes occupied neighboring sites if not the same village, it will be seen that the evidence points most unmistakeably to their identity both politically and linguistically. If this be admitted; it must follow that the Mascoutins and the Shawnees spoke the same language, for things that are equal to the same thing are equal to each other, and the language of these two tribes did not differ materially from that of the Kickapoos.

Thus far in the course of this investigation, I have approached the subject from one side only; and whilst it has led to results that are believed to be decisive, yet it is incomplete in so far as there are certain features in the early history of the Mascoutins that it does not account for. To fill this gap, let us take up the story from the Shawnee point of view, and see whether and how far it will help us to complete the record. And here I must premise that it is not my intention to attempt anything like a connected account of this erratic tribe. Force, Brinton and others have practically exhausted the field; and if, in some respects, they have left us but little wiser than we were, it has not been due to any shortcoming on their part, but rather to difficulties that are inherent in the subject. For this reason, then, I shall limit myself to

¹ *Archæologia Americana*, II., p. 60: Cambridge, 1836.

² Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*, IV., p. 255.

³ Schoolcraft, VI., p. 379. *North American Review* for January, 1826, p. 97.

such portions of the history of the Shawnees as fits in with what we have been told of the Mascoutins, in order to see whether it is of such a character as to justify the conclusion that these two apparently different tribes were but different bands of one and the same people.

The first that we hear of them is from Perrot,¹ who gives us to understand that they lived south of the lakes, and that, after a war which had lasted many years, they and their allies were driven away—"towards Carolina"—by the Iroquois. Of the beginning of this struggle it is unnecessary to speak in detail. Suffice it to say that the Iroquois, defeated and driven from their home near Montreal by the Adirondacks, fled to Lake Erie. This brought them into collision with the Shawnees, and, being again worsted, they were obliged to take refuge south of Lake Ontario, in what is now the State of New York. This, in brief, is the substance of the story; it is, of course, traditional, and yet it is repeated by La Potherie,² who states it as a fact, and by Charlevoix,³ who introduces it with the remark that it is the only part of Iroquois history that has come down to us clothed with an appearance of truth. In a general sort of way, too, it is confirmed by Colden,⁴ who tells us that the Shawnees, called *Satanas* by the Iroquois, lived on the shores of the lakes; by John Bartram,⁵ who says they were the first people against whom the Iroquois turned their arms after their expulsion from Montreal; and, finally, by Morgan,⁶ according to whom, the Iroquois had a tradition that they formerly lived near Montreal and were subject to the Adirondacks. These are the principal writers who have

¹ *Memoire sur les Mœurs, Coustumes et Religion des Sauvages de l'Amerique Septentrionale*, chap. IV., and p. 79: Paris, 1864. Compare Charlevoix, II., p. 244, for end of the War.

² *Histoire de l'Amerique Septentrionale*, I., p. 289, *et seq.*: Paris, 1724.

³ *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, V., pp. 294, *et seq.*: Paris, 1744.

⁴ *History of the Five Nations*, pp. XIII., and 6: New York, 1866.

⁵ Observations made by Mr. John Bartram in his *Journey from Pensilvania to Onondago*, p. 23: London, 1751.

⁶ *League of the Iroquois*, p. 5: Rochester, 1851.

treated of this matter, and on examining their several contributions to the story, it will be seen that it comes down to us as a closely connected whole and with a strong presumption in favor of its truthfulness.

Exactly when these tribal upheavals took place is uncertain. Perrot gives no date; neither does Charlevoix, though he thinks "it could not have been very long ago." From other sources, however, there comes a ray of light, and, following it, we are led to the conclusion that it must have been in the latter part of the sixteenth century; for in 1535, in the time of Cartier,¹ the Iroquois were living at Montreal; in 1609² they were established in New York, waging an apparently successful war with their old enemies, the Adirondacks; so that their flight from Montreal, their collision with the Shawnees and their subsequent settlement on the southern shore of Lake Ontario must all have occurred between these two dates. From this time on, we have, relatively speaking, plain sailing. The war that had been going on for so many years, with varying fortunes, between them and the Shawnees, was still in progress, though it is evident, from contemporary records, that towards the middle of the seventeenth century, the Iroquois were, as the old Father expressed it, "at the top of the wheel."³ In fact, after the destruction of the Eries in 1656,⁴ the whole of the region north of the Ohio and from the Niagara to the Illinois was, virtually, uninhabited. The Iroquois had conquered and driven off the tribes that lived here, and for a hundred years and more they held it as a hunting-ground.⁵

¹ "Les Sauvages m'ont montré quelques endroits, où les Hiroquois ont autrefois cultivé la terre." Relation, 1636, p. 46. Cf. preceding notes and text.

² Champlain, Voyages, I., pp. 199, *et seq.*: Paris, 1830.

³ Relation, 1660, p. 6.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 30, 31: Quebec, 1858.

⁵ "The Iroquois, after expelling the Hurons and Exterminating the Eries who inhabited the country bordering on the Great Lakes, which now bear their names, events which happened about the years 1650 to 1660, took possession of their vast territory and retained it for more than a century after. Their hunting country, which they once occupied, is now embraced in the state of Ohio, and while in their possession was called Carrahague": Appendix to Morse's Report, p. 60. According

Of the tribes that had once dwelt here, the Shawnees were now and had been for some years a broken and scattered people. De Laet,¹ *circa* 1632, puts a band of them on the Delaware, and another, known to us as Pequods,² in Eastern Connecticut. In the course of the succeeding century, they are found in Georgia, Carolina, Virginia, Illinois, *etc.*,³ though the bulk of the tribe, judging from the number of their villages, was on the Ohio or rather the Cumberland. Of their allies, those who once belonged to what Rafinesque⁴ calls the Shawnee confederacy, and had been expelled from the region south of the Lakes, we know but little. Perrot⁵ tells us that some "were destroyed" whilst "others were obliged to abandon their country"; and curiously enough, La Potherie⁶ makes use of much the same language when speaking of the Mascoutins, Kickapoos and Miamis whom he found living in the village on Fox River. Moreover he tells us that after the

to Brant, the famous Iroquois chieftain, "all the country south of Buffalo Creek and Lake Erie was obtained by the joint exertions of the Five Nations * * * so that by our success, all the country between that and the Mississippi became the joint property of the Five Nations. All other nations now there by permission of the Five Nations": *Life of Red Jacket*, p. 117; *Archæologia Americana*, II., p. 72.

¹ *New York Hist. Collections*, New Series, Vol. I., pp. 303, 307.

² Brinton, *The Lenape and their Legends*, pp. 29, 30; Philadelphia, 1885.

³ Force, *Indians of Ohio*, pp. 12-40; Pamphlet, Cincinnati, 1879.

⁴ *Ancient Annals of Kentucky*, p. 25; Frankfort, 1824. Not much faith is to be put in these annals, and yet it has not been very long since we distrusted his account of the Walam Olum, or Bark Record of the Delawares, which Squier and Brinton have accepted as genuine.

⁵ "Toutes ces guerres servirent bien à aguérir les Iroquois, et à les rendre capables de combattre les Algonkins, qui portoient auparavant la terreur chez eux. Ils sont venus à bout de les détruire, et plusieurs autres nations ont éprouvé la valeur de ces redoutable ennemis, qui les ont contraint d'abandonner leurs pays." p. 12; Paris, 1864. " * * * ils se renderent maître de ces lacs d'où ils chasserent les Chaouanons, qui n'étoient accoutumés qu'à tuer des ours et des cerfs": La Potherie, II., p. 293; Paris, 1722.

⁶ "Les Miamis, les Mascoutechs, les Kikabous, et cinquante cabanes d'Illinois, approcherent l'été suivante de la Baye, et firent leurs deserts à trente lieues à côté des Outagamis, vers le sud. Ces peuples que les Iroquois étoient venus chercher, avoient passé dans le sud du Mississippi après le combat dont j'ai parlé. Ils avoient vu avant leur fuite des couteaux, des haches entre les mains des Hurons qu'ils avoient négociés avec les François," *etc.*: La Potherie, II., p. 102. "Peu s'en fallut que les Outagamis, les Maskoutechs, Kikabous, Sakis et Miamis, ne s'en soient défaits il y a quelques années, ils sont devenus un peu plus traitables." La Potherie, II., p. 77; Paris, 1722. In the Relation for 1672, p. 41, Allouez speaks of the inhabitants of the village of the Mascoutins and "particulièrement de ceux qui estant arrivés de nouveau des quartiers du sud n'avoient jamais eu connaissance d'aucun François."

war "of which he had spoken" and "their defeat," they had wandered for a time "in the south, near the Mississippi," where the Shawnees then were; that they had but recently arrived on Fox River; and that the Iroquois, who never thought themselves sufficiently avenged until they had completely destroyed their enemies,¹ were still in pursuit of them, as they were of the Shawnees.

Indefinite as this is, it is, except in the case of the Andastes, all that is known of the allies of the Shawnees, in the war they waged with the Iroquois for the possession of the region south of the Lakes and north of the Ohio. It is not conclusive, and yet it gives good grounds for the belief that the Miamis and Kickapoos had belonged to a confederacy or league of which the Shawnees were the ruling spirits; that they had been expelled from the region south of the Lakes at the same time that the Shawnees were; that, after more or less wandering in the south, bands of them were found in Wisconsin, living in the same village with the Mascoutins; and that, finally, in the war of 1812, between the United States and Great Britain, they followed Tecumseh and a discontented portion of the Shawnees into the British camp. So much may, we think, be safely accepted. It certainly indicates a long and close alliance between the Miamis and Kickapoos on one side and the Shawnees and Mascoutins on the other; and whilst it does not, of itself, justify us in asserting that the Mascoutins were a band of Shawnees, yet when we remember that they were never heard of except in connection with the allies or enemies of the Shawnees, that the two peoples spoke the same or closely related dialects of the same language, and add to it the fact that according to the Jesuit Relations, Mascoutin and Shawnee were but different names for the same people, it would seem as if there could no longer be room for doubt.

¹ "D'ailleurs les sauvages ne se croyent jamais bien vengés, que par la destruction entière de leurs ennemis; et cela est encore plus vrai des Iroquois": Charlevoix, *Nouvelle France*, V., p. 298: Paris, 1744.

Copyright of Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society is the property of American Antiquarian Society and its content may not be copied or emailed to multiple sites or posted to a listserv without the copyright holder's express written permission. However, users may print, download, or email articles for individual use.