CRAIGLEITH IN THE MIDDLE 1600s

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INTRODUCTION

For a short time in the seventeenth century, probably most of the twenty years from the early 1630s until 1650 A.D.., Craigleith was a busy place. Although it was not directly attacked, its inhabitants were involved in war, rebellion, diseases, famine, local and international politics, and loss of trade, all of which resulted in such a total disruption of their way of life that early in 1650 they abandoned the Blue Mountain area and moved away to south-western Ontario, from which they had originally come within a life-time, beginning a treck that finds their descendants today principally in Kansas and Oklahoma, with a few in the Detroit Valley..

The modern evidence of this activity is the three registered archaeological sites a short distance inland at Craigleith. Plater-Martin BdHb-1 is the remains of a substantial principal village which was occupied from the early 1630s to 1650. Plater-Fleming BdHb-2 is a smaller subsidiary village which functioned as an outlying suburb of the larger village. Goodchild BdHb-3 is the cemetery for the Plater-Fleming village. It was discovered in 1968 when John Goodchild excavated for a basement for his new house. The corresponding cemetery for Plater-Martin has not yet been found and is presumably on the part of the property that has never been ploughed. Human burials and scattered bones not in cemeteries have been found on both village sites.

Both villages belonged to the Deer Tribe of the Wyandot Nation. The Deer was one of two tribes that the French collectively nicknamed Nation du Petun, meaning Tobacco Nation. Other allied peoples, especially the Ottawa, visited and sometimes stayed.

CRAIGLEITH AND THE GREAT ISLAND

The people who built the two villages would have called themselves by a name resembling *ouendat* (Wyandot, Wyandotte) meaning People of the Island. This was a mythical Island on the back of the Big Turtle, where all the many tribes of the Wyandot Nation lived, created for the Wyandots by the Founding Animals, for which the various Wyandot Tribes, phratries and clans were named. The Petun were a confederacy or alliance of two Wyandot Tribes, both named for Founding Animals. The Wolf Tribe settled at Creemore, about 1580, or perhaps even a few years earlier. The sites of their subsequent villages can be traced across the country to north of Duntroon. The Deer Tribe settled first in the vicinity of Osler Bluff (ca. 1600-1616), then moved to near the Scenic Caves (ca. 1616-early 1630s), and then built and moved to the two villages at Craigleith, on the Nipissing Beach Ridge south of the Craigleith Heritage Depot, where they stayed until leaving the Blue Mountain area in 1650 A.D. The Wyandots would have regarded the whole area and everywhere they lived as part of *wendake*, the Great Island.

CRAIGLEITH AND THE LAND OF THE DEAD

Craigleith has two connections to the Land of the Dead (Heaven, the Upper World). The name of the Tribe of people who built the villages at Craigleith, in their own language, was the *Oskenonton*, meaning "Those who go to the Land of the Dead". This is rendered as Deer in English because it relates to the actions of the Deer in the Wyandot story of the Creation of the World, the Great Island. To help in the work, mythical Original or Founding Animals came down from the Upper World (Heaven, the Land of the Dead). After the work was finished these Original Animals returned to the Upper World by climbing the rainbow. They were led by the Deer. That the Deer was a principal communicator with the Land of the Dead (the Upper World) would have given the Deer Nation at Craigleith a high status among other Wyandot Tribes. However, for most of their time at the Blue Mountains the Deer was junior in status to the adjacent Wolf Tribe south of them, because the Wolf had even higher status and had arrived in the area first. However, when the principal Wolf village was destroyed by the Five Nations Confederacy ("Iroquois") in 1649 the Deer became the senior by default.

CRAIGLEITH AND THE ROCK AND NAME EKARENNIONDI

The second connection of the Plater-Martin village at Craigleith to the Land of the Dead was recorded in its Wyandot name, *Ekarenniondi* ("Where the Rock Stands Out", the Standing Rock). The importance of the Rock is that it marks the trail taken by souls journeying to the Village of the Dead (Land of the Dead, Heaven), and is at the same time a petrified living entity who assists the Dead in their journey. The place "Where the Rock Stands Out" is at the Scenic Caves. At its previous location, before it moved to Craigleith, the principal village later at Craigleith had stood near to the Rock. It kept the name when it moved to Craigleith because it was still the nearest occupied village to the Rock at the Scenic Caves.

CRAIGLEITH AND THE GREAT LAW OF THE FIVE NATIONS IROQUOIS

Long before the Deer Tribe moved to Craigleith from their location in south-west Ontario as part of the people whom the French later named Neutrals, an event had occurred in far off New York that would have a significant consequence for the Ontario Wyandot tribes, including the Deer at Craigleith. A number of the Wyandot tribes that had settled south of Lake Ontario in New York became antagonistic to each other. According to one story, possibly about 1536 A.D., a shaman from yet another Wyandot tribe went to them and made peace among them by forging them into the Five Nations Confederacy, now nicknamed "Iroquois", governed by agreed rules intended to enforce peace, the Great Law. The Great Law was intended to enforce peace not only among the member tribes of the new Five Nations Confederacy, but throughout all mankind, by inviting all Tribes and Nations to accept the peace administered by the Confederacy. All tribes, including the French, were deemed to be invited to accept the Great Law, and those who declined or did not respond became eligible to be compelled to do so. Thus, whether the Petun knew it or not, they were eligible to be attacked by the Iroquois, not to destroy them but to compel them to accept the Great Law of Peace. The Iroquois Confederacy did not actively pursue this mandate until other factors made it necessary. As regards the Petuns and other Wyandot groups such as those the French nicknamed Hurons and Neutrals, these other factors arose from the arrival of Europeans and the fur trade and disease epidemics which followed. CRAIGLEITH AND THE OTTAWA INDIANS

As late-comers, the Wyandots moved into territories already occupied or claimed by other tribes. Craigleith belonged to the Ottawa (*Odawa*) Indians, who had wintered in the Beaver valley for perhaps thousands of year, and and no doubt hunted all over the Blue Mountains. That the Petun were able to move into Odawa territory indicates that although they spoke different languages and led different life-styles, the two peoples were friendly to each other. The Odawas not only moved closer to the Petun but began to spend winters in Petun villages. The two villages the Petun Deer built at Craigleith were occupied both by the Wyandot Deer and also, in winter, by their Odawa allies, so many, in fact, that the Jesuits sent a priest to Craigleith who could speak the language of the Odawa.

CRAIGLEITH AND THE ARRIVAL OF THE FRENCH

When a group of Frenchmen, including Samuel de Champlain and the Recollect Father Joseph le Caron, crossed the Nottawasaga River early in 1616 A.D., to visit the Petun, the villages at Craigleith did not yet exist. The Deer were still at their first location near Osler Bluff in the Silver Creek drainage, but were already preparing to move to a new second location, upstream to the plateau below *Ekarenniondi*, the Standing Rock at the Scenic Caves, on the trail that led over the Blue Mountain and down into the valley of the Beaver River and the winter settlements of the Odawa. Some of the iron knives, axes and glass beads the French gave or traded to the Petun Deer during their visit may have survived to be taken to the two later villages at Craigleith. The first Frenchman to certainly visit the two villages at Craigleith was Father Charles Garnier in 1637. He was sent to examine the possibility of opening a mission that became the Mission of the Apostles in 1639. Father Jean de Brébeuf had toured the Petun Country in 1634, but whether he reached Craigleith, and if the two villages later there were already built and occupied at that time, are unknown. Unknown French traders visited.

CRAIGLEITH AND THE FUR TRADE

The fur trade between Canada and Europe began incidentally when European ships penetrated the mouth of the St. Lawrence River in the 1500s. Soon, French ships came as far inland as Quebec, later Montreal, with iron axes, knives and swords, glass beads, goods of brass and iron, and other useful wares, to trade for furs. Many of these items may still be found on the archaeological sites at Craigleith. But contact with the crews of these ships was risky. Many of the Wyandot people who paddled down to the St Lawrence to visit these strangers from Europe returned home deathly ill from diseases which they had never before encountered and against which they had no defence or cure. Even the magic goods the strangers brought might be spreading the infection. The best technique for those who had supplies of furs to trade was to get other Indians to make the actual contact with the visitors. The Petun Wolf and Deer did not go to Quebec to trade with the French ships. For a while this was the function of another Wyandot Tribe, the Rock, who lived until ca. 1580 A.D. on the Trent River. From there they traded with the French ships to the east for European trade goods which they took to the Petun Wolf at Creemore to the west. in return for beaver pelts which the Wolf procured from the Neutrals further west along the several tributaries of the Nottawasaga River. About 1580 A.D., the Rock moved from the Trent River to Huronia, perhaps to access the safer Ottawa River route to Quebec. This brought the Rock closer to and in alliance with the Huron Bear, who eventually took over the trading with the French. This may have had something to do with the coming of the Deer to the Blue Mountains about the year 1600 A.D., , from where they could trade with the Bear, whose villages were just across the Nottawasaga Bay. The Deer also acquired beavers from their Odawa friends in the Beaver Valley and the numerous streams which then flowed from the Blue Mountain. While it was customary for the Wyandots to move their villages to new locations every twenty years or so, the decision of the Deer to move their two villages from near the Scenic Caves to near the shore at Craigleith in the early 1630s may well have been encouraged by the desire to be geographically, as well as socially, closer to the Bear across Nottawasaga Bay.

CRAIGLEITH AND THE INTERPRETERS

When Samuel de Champlain was Governor of settlement and the trade of New France on behalf of the Viceroy of New France, then the Prince of Condé, who remained in France, he found it advisable to send French youths to live with the Indian Tribes that traded with the French to keep them loyal and to dissuade them from trading elsewhere, such as with their Five Nations kin who traded with the Dutch. These were called "Interpreters". The best known of these "Interpreters" was Etienne Brulé, who lived with the Hurons to the east of the Petun a full five years before Champlain himself arrived to visit the Petun in 1616 A.D. He had ample time to visit the Petun before Champlain arrived, and the eager reception the Petun gave Champlain might suggest that Brulé had prepared them beforehand. However, too many Interpreters, including Brulé, became more sympathetic to the Indians than to their French employers. Brulé even opposed Champlain when he advocated French settlement rather than trade. As a result, the paid Interpreters were replaced by priests of religious Orders, to make trade loyalty a religious matter and save costs because religious Orders raised their own funds. Thus, Brulé might well have visited the Petun Deer villages when they were at Osler and the Scenic Caves, but by the time the Deer moved to Craigleith the Interpreters had been replaced by Roman Catholic Priests of the Society of Jesus.

CRAIGLEITH AND THE JESUIT PRIESTS AND MISSIONS

About the time the Petun Deer were moving their two villages from near the Scenic Caves to the ridge south of Craigleith, the French settlement at Quebec was briefly occupied by the French Protestant Kirke brothers under the flag of England. On the restoration of Quebec to the French king in 1632, Armand-Jean du Plessis, the Cardinal Richelieu, not only became the new Viceroy of New France, but also the King's Minister and head of his own trading company. In one or several of these capacities, he decreed that the Society of Jesus was to have exclusive right to conduct missionary activity inland from Quebec. Because the cances that came down to Quebec with furs were from the Hurons, principally the Bear Nation, it was to their territory that Jesuit priests were taken. Yet the Petun were particularly important because of their evident control of the most abundant and reliable source of furs. Accordingly, a mission to the Petuns in the name of Christianity would benefit the fur trade and was a high priority for the Richelieu regime.

In 1633 the Jesuit Superior at Quebec announced the hope of extending the mission to the Hurons to "neighbouring tribes". The first extension would be to the Petun, both from the convenience of their geographic proximity and because of their role in the fur trade. In 1634, Father Jean de Brébeuf returned to the Huron Mission as Superior, and within two months personally undertook a tour of the Petun country. He probably concluded that a successful mission to control the Petuns would require one or more priests who could speak the language sufficiently well to be accepted by them, supported by certain and dedicated funding. The epidemic of sickness among the Petun that followed the visit may have been another legacy. In 1635 the same Superior at Quebec appealed to the rich high-born women of France for financial aid. In 1636 and 1637 there were positive responses from a then unidentified source. And so in 1637, a newly arrived young priest, Father Charles Garnier, who had evidently been selected for the future Petun mission, was sent on a familiarization tour of the Petun villages.

If the two villages later at Craigleith were not yet in place when Father Jean de Brébeuf toured the Petun Country in 1634, they more certainly were when Father Charles Garnier arrived in 1637. A report on his findings was hurried to the Superior at Quebec for editing and conveyance to the potential sponsor in France. In 1639 the Mission of the Apostles to the Petuns commenced. The principal missionary was the same Father Charles Garnier.

CRAIGLEITH AND THE MISSION OF THE APOSTLES TO THE PETUN 1639-1640

In the fall of 1639, Father Charles Garnier and another priest arrived in the southernmost Petun village to commence a Mission. The Petuns were usually hospitable to visiting strangers, but were aware that wherever Europeans went the people died from a variety of diseases such as measles and smallpox, with which the Petuns were now familiar but still lacked a cure. Fortunately for the visiting Jesuits, the Petuns saw them as agents of the fur trade which was important to them. Instead of killing the priests the Petuns harassed and threatened them until they left. The intention of the priests to visit every Petun village and to reach Craigleith was not achieved.

CRAIGLEITH AND THE BIBLE

The report in 1640 of the failure of the mission to the Petun-Wyandots revealed that the mission was named the Mission of the Apostles, and that accordingly the names of the Apostles of Christ, which are given completely and partially several times in the New Testament, were given to the Petun villages. Eleven of the twelve Apostle names, (Judas Iscariot's name was not used) were reduced to nine, the number of Petun villages, by combining the names of the four Apostles who shared the same Feast Days. Because St. Paul shared the same Feast Day with St. Peter, his name was added even though he was not an actual Apostle. The names

assigned south-to-north to the six Wolf villages were St. Peter & St. Paul, St. Andrew, St. James, St. Thomas, St. John, and St. James & St. Philip. The name St. Bartholomew was assigned to a village in the Pretty River Valley. The names St. Matthew, and St. Simon & St. Jude, were assigned to the two Deer villages further north at Craigleith. These were the two villages which had removed to Craigleith from their previous location near the sacred Rock *Ekarenniondi* at the Scenic Caves. some time prior to Father Garnier's visit in 1637. The larger of the two villages, the principal village of the Deer Nation, retained the name *Ekarenniondi* from its previous location, but at Craigleith gained the Jesuit name St. Matthew.

Thus the names of Petun villages were taken from the Christian Bible.

CRAIGLEITH AND THE MISSION OF THE APOSTLES TO THE PETUN 1640-1641.

In the Fall of 1640 Father Garnier and another priest tried again to find acceptance by the This time they were more respectful of Petun protocol and were allowed to stay all Petun. winter. Another factor may have been that the Petun had rethought the possible benefit of a French alliance, and of having French among them who could be held as hostages, because during the interim since Father Garnier's last visit the principal Petun Wolf village had undergone some sort of contact with the Iroquois. This was reported by the Jesuit Superior to have been a major destructive attack, but in fact the village was so little harmed by the Iroquois that it was still in place and functioning. However it suffered extensively from In the spring of 1641 the Jesuits suspended the Mission of the Apostles, continuing diseases. not because of the Iroquois, the diseases, and continuing but modified Petun hostility, but probably because the promised funding from the anonymous donor had not arrived. This mission continued to exist as short visits to the Petun, so that the anonymous donor remained committed. There is no evidence that during the period 1639-1641 the Jesuits actually visited the villages at Craigleith.

However, in 1646 the came to stay.

THE MISSION OF THE APOSTLES TO THE PETUN REVIVED 1646-1650

In 1646 Father Charles Garnier returned to the Petun to recommence the Mission. This time he chose as his residence headquarters the larger of the two villages at Craigleith, the Petun Deer Village of *Ekarenniondi*, dedicated by the Jesuits to St. Matthew as the residence of the local mission of St. Mathias. Jesuits remained at Craigleith for as long as the mission lasted.

The resumption of the Mission in 1646 was explained by Father Garnier as due to a request by the Petun for the French to live among them both to instruct them and to frighten their enemies. However, the principal factor was more likely that the long-promised funding from the donor in France finally began to arrive in 1645. The Mission of the Apostles re-commenced in 1646 sufficiently endowed that it soon supported four missionary Fathers. Father Garnier, who was proficient in the Wyandot language, was initially accompanied by Father Léonard Garreau, who was to work with the Algonkian-speaking Odawas in the two villages at Craigleith.

CRAIGLEITH AND THE NEW LOCAL MISSIONS

During the time after Father Garnier left St. Peter & St. Paul in 1641, and his taking up residence at Craigleith in 1646, all the villages in the southern Wolf territory were abandoned because of the diseases. The survivors had principally moved to the village of St. John (*"Etharita"*), near Duntroon, which was now the new principal village of the Wolf and the southernmost occupied village in the Petun Country. Because of the importance of this village, Father Garnier moved there from Craigleith, leaving Father Garreau at the principal village of *Ekarenniondi* (St. Matthew) at Craigleith. Both villages were made the headquarters of local missions, each with a staff of two. Father Nöel Chabanel joined Father Garnier at *Etharita*, which became the residence of the local Mission of St. John. Father Adrien Grelon joined Father Garreau at *Ekarenniondi*, St. Matthew, which became the residence of the local Mission of St. John.

CRAIGLEITH AND THE FRENCH ROYAL HOUSE

After Samuel de Champlain had visited the Petun in 1616, he returned to France and reported to the Viceroy of New France, Henri de Bourbon, the Prince de Condé. The Prince was a cousin of King Louis IV and could have succeeded to the throne of France had the King not produced heirs. It may have been when Champlain reported to the Prince at his wife's estate of Chantilly north of Paris, that the Prince and Princesse first heard of the Petun. Charlotte de Montmorency, the Princesse de Condé, was related by blood or marriage to the King, and to all five French Viceroys of New France, the last being Armand-Jean du Plessis, the Cardinal Richelieu. The Condés compelled their unwilling eldest son to marry the Cardinal's nearest female relative. He became le Grand Condé.

When the Jesuits returned to New France following the restoration of Quebec to France in 1632, it was with a mandate from the Cardinal to found a Mission to the Petun. First it was necessary to find funding, and from 1633 appeals were made in France for funds. It was the eldest son of the Prince and Princesse de Condé, when a fifteen-year old student at a Jesuit college in France with close ties to New France, who responded in 1636 to the Jesuit appeal for support. His mother the Princesse confirmed her support for a Mission to the Petun, but she lived in tumultuous times with competing obligations, and although the Mission of the Apostles commenced in 1639 on the strength of her commitment, her personal fortunes were too erratic to allow her to make the promised payments at the time, and she remained anonymous. The Mission consequently was suspended in 1641. In 1643 her estates, which had been confiscated when her husband was accused of treason, were restored to her because her son, le Grand Condé, won a military victory for France. This enabled her to provide the funding in 1645 and the Mission to resume in 1646. That same year her husband the Prince died, and she inherited his fortune and the freedom at last to announce that it was she who was "the Mother and Foundress of the Mission of the Apostles" to the Petun.

Possibly, the Princesse first heard of the Petun from Samuel de Champlain himself. She probably never knew that the Mission ended when the last two villages at Craigleith were abandoned in 1650, as she died that year.

CRAIGLEITH AND THE ARRIVAL OF HURON REFUGEES AND THE THIRD MISSION 1649

From the Deer villages at Craigleith the Petun-Wyandots could see across Nottawasaga Bay the distant cliff on which stood the principal Southern Huron Bear village of Ossossane, home at this time of their nearest Huron allies and trading partners. Although within the Bear Nation, Ossossane and related villages were dominated by the Turtle Clan. This numerical strength was largely the result of the adoption in 1638 of some six hundred refugee Wenrôhronnons (Moss-Backed Turtle People) from the Neutral country, where some remained. The Wenrôhronnons were not happy to be adopted Hurons under the French. In their former location on the Niagara Frontier of New York they had been an independent nation. They knew there were other Europeans than the French and other religions than that propounded by the Jesuits, who accused them of being "Barbarians" who had traded with "the English, Dutch, and other heretical Europeans", and who now in their insolence spread the heresy that the Jesuits caused the disease. Not surprisingly the Wenrôhronnons, although nominally Hurons by adoption, did not assimilate but remained an identifiable element within them.

In 1649, the village of Ossossane, where most of the Wenrôhronnons lived, was the residence of the Jesuit Father Joseph Chaumonot and the Mission of La Conception. In March 1649 the rumour reached the village that its warriors had been defeated and the village was now defenceless from the approaching Iroquois who were only a short distance away. The people, supposedly mainly women and old men, accompanied by Father Chaumonot and another Frenchman, abandoned their homes and fled across the ice of frozen Georgian Bay to take refuge in the two Petun villages at Craigleith.

Although the Petun Deer must have been short of food so near to the end of winter, they received the refugees, and more that followed, with hospitality. Father Chaumonot re-established the Mission of La Conception in the smaller village at Craigleith, where he remained until May 1649, until which time two of the three missions among the Petun were based at Craigleith. Then the Mission of La Conception, Father Chaumonot, and his Christian followers, moved to Christian Island, but some of the Ossossane migrants preferred to remain with the Petun. For the Wenrôhronnon Turtles it was their opportunity to escape the French and particularly the Jesuits, for although Jesuits lived in both Petun villages at Craigleith, there was much anti-Jesuit sentiment. Either while still at Craigleith, or at some later date, the Petun Wolf and Deer restructured politically to admit the Wenrôhronnon Turtles to equal status and created the three-phratry Wyandot Tribe.

CRAIGLEITH AND THE RESISTANCE COUNCIL OF 1649.

The Jesuits admitted that wherever they went people soon died, without understanding that they themselves were spreading disease germs. Some Petuns and Hurons considered how to get rid of the Jesuits and their perceived witchcraft but maintain the trade with the French. To some the answer was to accept the Great Law of Peace and ally with the Iroquois. Some did. Hurons led the Iroquois back to their former country to attack the villages where Jesuits resided, and participated in the torture to death of Fathers Gabriel Lalemant and Jean de Brebeuf. Chiefs hostile to the French priests ordained that Frenchmen were excluded from the traditional codes of hospitality and could be executed for witchcraft as the opportunity permitted. This resulted in the death of the donné Jacques Douart in April 1648 almost within the shadow of the French fort Sainte-Marie near Midland. In early December 1649, these Chiefs held Council in the village of *Ekarenniondi* at Craigleith during the absence of the Fathers who resided there. Again, the issue of how to be rid of the priests but keep the traders could not be resolved. The Chiefs confirmed that Jesuits were witches and traitors and were to be executed as such according to established native custom with a blow from a hatchet. Within hours their mandate was obeyed.

CRAIGLEITH AND THE EXECUTION OF FATHER NÖEL CHABANEL 1649

In December 1649, Father Nöel Chabanel, who was stationed at *Etharita* (St. John) near Duntroon as assistant to Father Charles Garnier, was recalled to Jesuit headquarters at Sainte-Marie, which had removed to Christian Island. Setting off from *Etharita*, he went first to *Ekarenniondi* (St. Matthew) at Craigleith to advise his brother Jesuits there, with whom he stayed overnight, and presumably to seek a guide and news of any Iroquois war parties in the territory through which he intended to travel. On the morning of December 7, 1649, he left St. Matthew at Craigleith with a group of Wyandots, some of whom must have been delegates to the Resistance Council, freshly mandated by the traditional Chiefs to execute any Jesuit as a witch in accordance with the traditional protocol for witches. Father Chabanel was never seen again. He was followed and executed somewhere near the Nottawasaga River crossing by Louis Honareenhax, a resident of the village of St. Matthew who returned to the village with some of Father Chabanel's possessions. No other details are certainly known. For the presumed manner of his death, Father Chabanel was canonised a Saint in 1930. Louis Honareenhax was bitterly condemned in the Jesuit literature as an apostate but he was obeying the Chiefs.

CRAIGLEITH AND THE ARRIVAL OF SURVIVORS FROM THE WOLF VILLAGE 1649

The day that Father Chabanel left Craigleith, an Iroquois war party attacked and demolished the principal Wolf village of *Etharita*, near Duntroon, home of the Mission of St. John, which Chabanel had left only the day before, and took most of its inhabitants back to New York for forced adoption into the Iroquois Confederacy, in accordance with the Great Law of Peace. Those who escaped and avoided capture, and others from a neighbouring Wolf village, fled to the two Deer villages at Craigleith.

During the attack the resident Jesuit Father Charles Garnier was executed, reportedly shot down from a musket and killed by a blow from a hatchet.

The warriors and their Chiefs from *Etharita*, who were absent during the attack searching for the Iroquois, returned to their village to find it destroyed. A number whose loved ones had been taken captive, voluntarily moved to the Iroquois in New York to be reunited with their families. These were later found living with the Onondaga.

The two priests residing at Craigleith, Fathers Léonard Garreau and Adrien Grelon, went to *Etharita* on the following day, and found and buried Father Garnier's body. Undoubtedly some of the former inhabitants also went, if only to see if they could salvage any of the food stores intended for winter. The food at *Etharita* was destroyed and the Deer at *Ekarenniondi* did not have a sufficient surplus to feed everyone. It became necessary to move

elsewhere in order to survive.

CRAIGLEITH AND THE MARTYRS

In 1930, the two Jesuits priests who both had been associated with the villages at Craigleith, and died within a day of each other in December 1649, were declared Martyrs for the Roman Catholic faith. The first was Father Nöel Chabanel (above) who was executed in the forest somewhere near the Nottawasaga River after leaving the Village of St. Matthew (*"Ekarenniondi"*)at Craigleith. The second was Father Charles Garnier, killed during the Iroquois attack on the village of St. Jean (*"Etharita"*) near Duntroon on December 7, 1649. Garnier was the senior Priest in the Mission and had formerly resided at the principal village of St. Matthew at Craigleith.

CRAIGLEITH AND THE GREAT DECISION OF EARLY 1650

To the Huron Bear and Turtle people from *Ossossane* who remained with the Petun Deer in the two villages at Craigleith from March 1649 were added the refugees from *Etharita* in December 1649. There was congestion, shortages and potential famine as food stocks ran low. There was also disease and the possibility of the Iroquois returning. The trade with the French through the Hurons for which the two Craigleith villages existed, was totally disrupted. The need became urgent to move away from the Iroquois, to an established friendly community, where there were houses to shelter them, and food and other supplies enough to get them through the winter, and where there were fields available to plant when spring came. The Huron country was in even worse plight, but in any event the solution for the Petun Wolf and Deer, and the Wenrôhronnon Turtles with them, was obviously to return to their former Neutral homeland, which they had left less than a lifetime ago. It is true that there they would not be a safe distance from the Iroquois, but at the time the Iroquois and the Neutrals were at peace.

Winter was the time for travelling and conveying bulky and heavy goods on sleds towed by people on snowshoes. It was the Petun practise to take European trade goods to the Neutrals and return with beavers during the winter. The Petun knew the way, where to camp and, most importantly, where to obtain food *en route*. Before the winter of 1649-1650 ended, the Petun repeated the journey for the last time, with their sleds loaded not with trade goods but with their families, personal belongings and household supplies. Supplies and equipment they could not carry or did not want were left behind in the two abandoned villages at Craigleith. Much has been found by archaeologists, but much certainly still remains.

The two villages at Craigleith were not immediately entirely abandoned. The nomadic Odawas in the villages would have remained until after the spring break-up, and then launched their canoes from Craigleith beach to commence their annual round of the upper Great Lakes.

Earlier in the winter of 1649-1650, the Jesuit Father Adrien Grelon at the village of St. Matthew at Craigleith became sick, and was recalled to the Jesuit headquarters of Ste. Marie, now removed to Christian Island. Father Léonard Garreau was left alone at Craigleith, until he too left after the ice broke up in the spring of 1650. During his journey from Craigleith beach to Christian Island Father Garreau's canoe was surrounded by a fog which was so dense and impenetrable that the paddlers lost their bearings and became so exhausted that Father Garreau prepared them for what seemed inevitable death. However, "God quieted the tempest", the fog lifted, and the paddlers found themselves in a calm close to the shore. Thus the Mission of the Apostles to the Petun ended on an appropriately miraculous note.

CRAIGLEITH'S PRINCIPAL CHIEF

As the principal village of the Wyandot (Petun) Deer Tribe, Plater-Martin had jurisdiction over Plater-Fleming and other villages possibly as far south as the Pretty River valley, and from the Nottawasaga River to the east and at least to the top of the Blue Mountain overlooking the Beaver River to the west. It was also home to the principal Chief, *Sastaretsi*.

About 1703 there died at St. Ignace, Michigan, the Chief *Sastaretsi* who was probably born at the Plater-Martin village. It was then recorded that the name *Sastaretsi* had been maintained for more than 700 years. There were four more succeeding *Sastaretsi*s before the Wyandots ceased maintaining traditional Chief titles in the 1800s. A portrait of the last Chief *Sastaretsi* at Detroit in 1766 exists, sketched by a British Officer.

The name *Sastaretsi* is still so powerful and cherished by the Huron-*wendat* of Lorette in Quebec that there are children there today with the name.

CRAIGLEITH AND THE BIRTH OF A NEW NATION

The two Petun-Wyandot Deer villages at Craigleith were never directly attacked by the Iroquois, but did suffer from disease. The addition of Turtle and Bear refugees from across the bay, and Wolf refugees from further south, brought not only the threat of famine but the need for some political re-organization. Before the epidemics of disease, and the wars, the Deer, Wolf, Turtle and Bear had all been independent Tribes with their own territories, but now were so reduced in numbers that they could not sustain separate jurisdictions. At some point, either before they left Craigleith, or soon after, the groups of survivors which came together at Craigleith reorganized into a single Wyandot Tribe of three phratries, Deer, Wolf and Turtle, each comprising traditional clans. The Deer became the principal phratry and the Deer Chief *Sastaretsi* the Principal Chief. The Wyandot Tribe retained the three-phratry multiple-clan structure for as long as the Traditional system was honoured, and even after Chiefs became elected. As late as 1874 in Oklahoma, the Voters' List of men eligible to elect Chiefs, gave the voter's name, clan and phratry, Deer, Wolf or Turtle, thus reflecting events at Craigleith more than two hundred years earlier.

CRAIGLEITH AND PEACE WITH THE IROQUOIS

The Five Nations Iroquois made peace with the French and their native allies at Montreal in 1701. At this time the Wyandot Tribe of people who had left Craigleith in 1650 were residing at St. Ignace at Michilimackinac. The Tribe and Chief *Sastaretsi* were represented in the

negotiations at Montreal by the Tribal Orator *Kondiaronk*, most likely a relative of Sastaretsi, and, like him, probably born in the principal village of *Ekarenniondi*, St. Matthew, today the Plater-Martin archaeological site at Craigleith, Ontario.

CRAIGLEITH'S CONNECTIONS IN NORTH AMERICA

The Petun Wyandot at Craigleith were related by blood and language to the Cherokees, Susquehannocks, Nottaways, Tuscaroras, Eries, Senecas, Cayugas, Onondagas, Oneidas, Mohawks, Wenrohonoron, to the Huron Bear, Cord, Rock and Deer, to the possibly ten Wyandot tribes collectively called "Neutral", and to the Wyandot tribes who settled in the Montreal area. Later, in the Detroit Valley and Ohio, they became related by adoption, alliance and inter-marriage to a number of Algonkian Tribes, to whom they became "Keepers of the Council Fire".

CRAIGLEITH AND SPAIN AND CHINA

Both Fathers who resided at Craigleith were part of the French establishment which returned to Quebec in 1650. Father Garreau died in Montreal in1656 following an Iroquois attack. Father Grelon returned to France in 1650, and from there he went to China, where he spent the remainder of his life. Passing through Spain on his way to China, he met an Iroquois Indian who had become a Christian priest. In China he supposedly met a Wyandot woman whom he had personally known in Canada. The only native villages in Canada in which Grelon served and could have met native women were the two at Craigleith. How a Petun woman from Craigleith could have reached China has never been convincingly explained.

CRAIGLEITH AND EUROPE

Not all the trade goods imported by the French were made in France. Some of the glass beads found by archaeologists at Craigleith were made in Amsterdam in Holland. The sword blades were probably made in Germany, and the copper kettles nay have been made there also.

CRAIGLEITH AS THE PROPERTY OF THE KING OF FRANCE

In 1699 King Louis XIV of France made a formal claim "of the Right the French have to ... the Countries of North America", including that of "the Petun Nation", by right of Champlain's visits and supposed discoveries. Champlain himself did not personally reach Craigleith, but other Frenchmen did. Until the French establishment withdrew in 1650 A.D. and returned to Quebec, Craigleith was the furthest western limit of New France, and of French influence, culture, religion and residence.

CRAIGLEITH AND THE NAME MATTHIAS

In 1639 it became known that the principal Petun Deer village at Craigleith ("Ekarenniondi") was named St. Matthew by the Jesuit priests. After 1646 it was the headquarters of the local Mission of St. Matthias. In later years Matthias was a popular Christian name among the Wyandots who accepted the Roman Catholic faith. In Oklahoma, Matthias Splitlog was famous. A church he built still stands today. It seems that when baptising children and converts in the villages at Craigleith the priests borrowed on the name of the Mission. The name Matthias became traditional among the Wyandots who became Roman Catholics, handed down for generations from people who had lived in the two Petun villages at Craigleith.

FROM THEN UNTIL NOW

Contrary to the expectations of the Petun-Wyandot migrants from Craigleith in 1650, food was so difficult to find during their return journey to the Neutral homeland that cannibalism resulted. They arrived to learn that the Iroquois Confederacy policy of neutrality with the Neutrals, which may have been a factor in their decision to leave Craigleith, had become uncertain, and the Iroquois attacked them later that year and again in 1651. In 1652 the Neutrals abandoned their country, and with the Petun Wolf, Deer and Turtle groups moved to the Detroit area. There the Neutrals accepted the Great Law of Peace and moved to Ohio under Seneca jurisdiction. Their descendants are today the Senecas of Oklahoma.

The Petun Deer, Wolf and Turtle groups, organized into phratries of the Wyandot Nation, remained independent by migrating around the upper Great Lakes, returning to the Detroit area and Ohio in the 1700s. In Ohio the Turtle Wyandots, mainly descendants of the former Wenrôhronnons, also accepted the Great Law of Peace, but as the United States had become the dominant power, the Great Peace controlled by the Iroquois soon lost all meaning. In 1843 the Wyandots of Ohio and Michigan, accompanied voluntarily by some from Ontario, were removed by the United States to Indian Territory beyond the Missouri River, the future Kansas. The condition of removal that thereafter the Wyandots would never be further disturbed was quickly violated. In 1855 the United States terminated the Indian status of some of the Wyandots in Kansas and reclassified them as US citizens. Some who refused citizenship found sanctuary among their old Neutral allies and kin, the Senecas of Oklahoma. There they retained Indian status as the Wyandotte Tribe of Oklahoma, and received a part of the Seneca lands as a Reserve. Today they are the large and growing Wyandotte Nation of Oklahoma. Those left in Kansas lost federal status but remained Wyandots. Today they are the Wyandot Nation of Kansas, with state status. Those who remained in Ontario surrendered both their Anderdon Reserve (near Windsor) and their Indian status in 1892. In recent years some of their descendants have formed the Wyandot Nation of Anderdon, and a few individuals successfully lobbied to regain Indian status.

The Petun-Wyandot inhabitants of Craigleith in the middle 1600s have many descendants with a growing knowledge of their history. Since 1999, some, including the Chiefs from Kansas and Oklahoma, have returned to visit modern Craigleith. Chief Janith English of the Wyandot Nation of Kansas has taken particularly interest in the Craigleith Heritage Depot, and has donated a modern clay pot made in Kansas in the ancient Ontario tradition. In May 2010 ten Wyandottes came from Oklahoma to visit their ancestral home at Craigleith.

APPENDIX

MODERN CRAIGLEITH'S POTENTIAL FOR HERITAGE TOURISM

Craigleith's historical and archaeological heritage provides perhaps a responsibility and certainly the opportunity for a unique and successful heritage tourism attraction.

The two native village sites are archaeologically richer than the sites of most other abandonned Indian villages in southern Ontario, because the villages were abandonned in a hurry, and in winter, and without the possibility of returning to collect more goods than could be carried away the first time. Careful archaeology led by experienced archaeologists might identify which longhouses were used by the priests as chapels and residences, which were Chiefs' houses, and perhaps even the one in which the Resistance Council was held in December 1649. At the same time, there is the potential for public and student archaeological and educational courses which could keep the Town in the headlines for decades. This statement is true even though surface-collecting and minor excavations have taken place at Plater-Martin, and two trenches were bulldozed across the Plater-Fleming site. Professional Archaeological Assessments were made of both sites in 1989 and 1989. Senior scholars have stated their support for such work..

The unique opportunity provided by the Plater-Fleming village site because if its modest size, and its proximity to a highly travelled road, has long been recognized. In addition there are on the property the sites of the first pioneer cabin and buildings built at Craigleith (John Brasure, ca. 1839) and the Craigleith House (1855-1989), built by Sir Sandford Fleming's family.

The subject was first brought to the Council of the Township of Collingwood in 1967. Since then there have been numerous letters, briefs, petitions, proposals, presentations and meetings on this subject by various organisations. The properties have been zoned to defer or prevent devlopment, currently as "Proposed Park".

Both as the Township of Collingwood and the Town of the Blue Mountains (as of January 1998) the municipality has conducted studies to confirm the heritage and tourist potential of the sites. A Craigleith Heritage Master Plan Advisory Committee was active 1995-2001, resulting in the employment of a professional consultant (Carolyn Woodland of Hough Woodland Naylor Dance Leinster), whose Report (March 23, 1999) confirmed the feasibility of developing a Heritage Tourism attraction and included development budgets, estimates of operational costs and attendance potential at that time. Because of the subsequent extensive development in the Craigleith area, these figures are now out of date and in need of revision. The Town also conducted a staff in-house Heritage Strategy Project which included a study of the Craigleith project (Andrew Pask 2001).

MAPS Maps follow on Pages 15 and 16. The Map on Page 15 illustrates the suggested ideal boundaries of a possible Craigleith

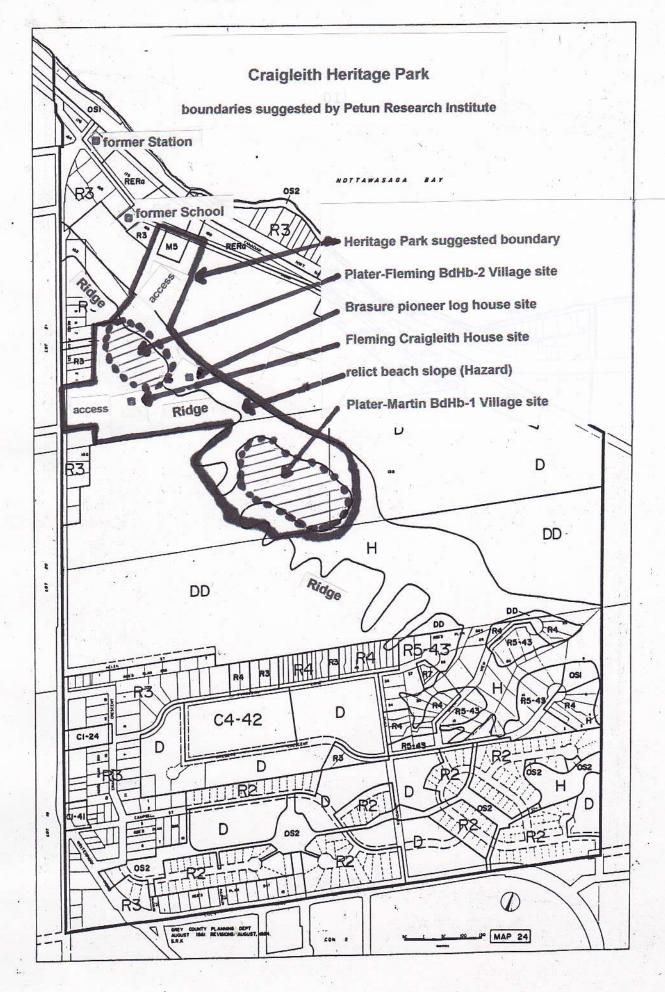
Heritage Park. The extension northward toward the lake to the Hydro Transformer Station (M5) is to include part of the original Trail from the Village to the beach, as far as the Gravel Road, which still exists and was in use within living memory. This is to provide alternative access to the village site upslope by one of the original routes, and to provide additional parking for school buses, etc.

The Map on Page 16 illustrates the migration route from Craigleith to the later and current locations of the Wyandot. Below the map is illustrated a modified black-bear mandible with the ramus perforated to make a tool. Unique tools like this were first found at the Plater-Fleming BdHb-2 site at Craigleith in 1962. Others were subsequently found on the nearby Plater-Martin BdHb-1 site, and then others at the locations indicated in Wisconsin and Michigan, confirming these post-Craigleith locations on the Petun/Wyandot migration route

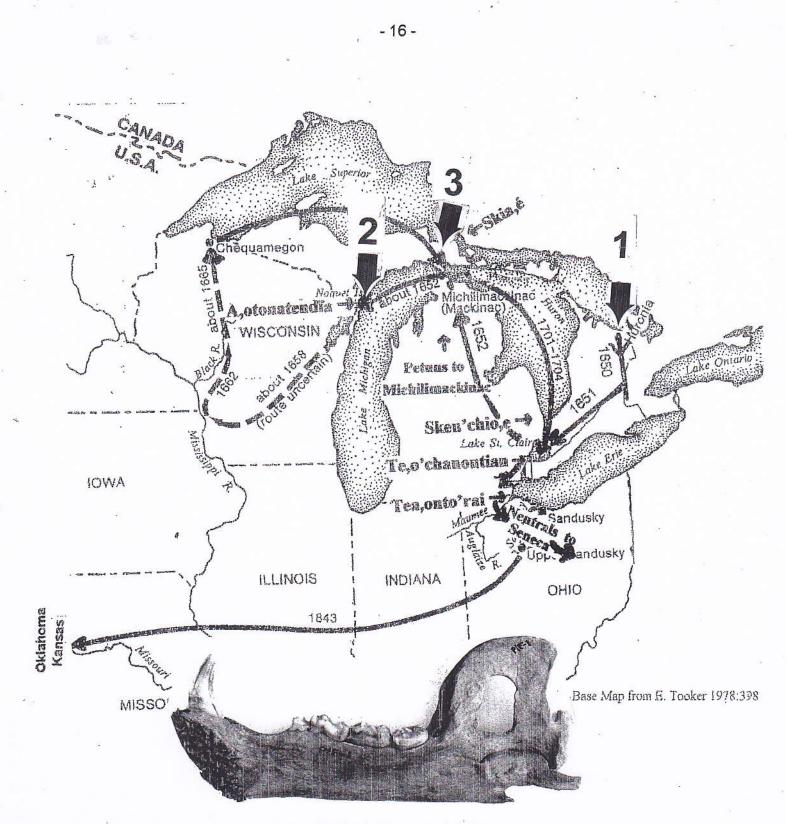
Note concerning References and Sources

This document contains statements taken by the writer from the historic literature, principally the contemporary Jesuit records, the sources of which are not identified here to conserve paper. These sources will be found identified in other writings by the author, particularly previous Research Bulletins of the Petun Research Institute. Some other statements are the writer's interpretations of the documented sources, concluded after more than half-a century of study of the subject. Other scholars may have alternative interpretations.

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The Craigleith Bear-Jaw Tool

The first location in North America to produce Bear-Jaw Tools was the Plater-Fleming site at Craigleith in 1961 (1). Subsequent finds at Rock Island, Wisconsin (2) in 1969, and at St. Ignace, Northern Michigan Peninsula, (3) in 1974, helped reconstruct part of the migration route of the Petun after leaving Craigleith.