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INDIAN CHIEFS OF MICHIGAN

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AMONG the Algonquian-speaking tribes of Michigan the institution of chieftainship appears to have had no formal foundations. Chiefs were, so far as the earliest records indicate, neither elective nor hereditary, and there is no record suggesting that a single individual was ever regarded as the supreme authority of his group in all matters. Special fitness of an individual for certain purposes was recognized, and consequently while one respected man may have been recognized as authority in civil matters within the group, and to that extent a chief, another might at the same time be in full charge of activities of a military nature. Thus chieftainship rested upon influence, and continued as long as that influence was maintained.

Each clan usually was headed by a chief of its own, and among the Algonquian tribes, including some of those in Michigan, for occasions of a special nature at least, the chief of the tribe was chosen by a council of clan chiefs, but so far as is known his term of office was not prescribed, nor the extent of his authority agreed upon.

Blackbird, Andrew J. The son of an Ottawa chief of Middle Village or Goodhart, the site of the ancient village of L'Arbre Croche. Born in the second decade of the nineteenth century, his father's name was Mackawdebenessy, meaning "black hawk," of which the name "Blackbird" is a mis-translation. Mr. Blackbird's book, *History of the Ottawa and Chippewa Indians of Michigan*, contains in addition to matter pertaining to the title, also an account of the author's life, which is of especial interest in being one of the few accounts of the experiences of a Michigan Indian in adapting himself to the conditions of white civilization.

Mr. Blackbird was baptized a Roman Catholic at an early age, in 1825 at Seven Mile Point north of Harbor Springs. In

1840 he became a clerk in a store at Mackinac Island, and at the end of the winter of that year he moved to Old Mission. For four years beginning in 1845 he attended the Twinsburg Institute, at Twinsburg, Summit county, Ohio, where instruction was given by the founder, Reverend Samuel Bissell, for a fee ranging from two to four dollars a term, with living expenses not greater than one dollar and a half a week. Returning after four years to Little Traverse, the modern Harbor Springs, Mr. Blackbird advocated temperance among his people and was instrumental in gaining them the right of citizenship in the state of Michigan. During negotiations for the treaty of 1855 he attended a council in Detroit where he worked for the cause of government education of the Ottawa, and protested against misuse of funds previously appropriated for that purpose. Previous to 1856 he became a Protestant, taught school, and interpreted in Protestant missions. In the fall of 1856 he started for Detroit with the intention of going to the University of Michigan. He was refused assistance by the Indian agent of the Mackinac agency because he had voted the "black Republican ticket," but later received the amount of his passage to Detroit after threatening to carry the matter to higher authorities. In Detroit the young Indian interviewed Lewis Cass, and was advised to attend Ypsilanti State Normal School. Through the influence of Cass he received an allowance from the government, but at the end of two and one-half years, in an impoverished condition he was forced to give up his schooling. For a time he obtained work wherever he could find it, lecturing occasionally on the subject of the Michigan Indians, and finally secured enough money to return to Little Traverse. In 1858 he was married to a woman of English descent, whom he had met at Ypsilanti State Normal School. Mr. Blackbird was appointed United States Interpreter for the Mackinac Agency in 1861, and after the Civil War he became an auxiliary prosecutor of Indian soldier claims, handling also many claims for the widows and orphans of

white men. For eleven years he held the position of postmaster at Little Traverse.

A brother of Mr. Blackbird, William, studied for the Roman Catholic priesthood in Rome, but shortly before being ordained he died of an injury received when run over by a wagon, in Michigan. Andrew was a cousin of Kanapima, or Augustin Hamelin, Jr., who was appointed chief of the Ottawa and Chippewa of Michigan in 1835.

Mr. Blackbird died in the county poorhouse at Brutus, Michigan, in September, 1908, and was buried in Little Traverse cemetery.

Cheecheebingway. A Potawatomi chief, also known as Alexander Robinson, born at Mackinaw City, Michigan, in 1789. The *Handbook of American Indians*, Bureau of American Ethnology, has the following to say of him: "His father was a Scotch trader, his mother an Ottawa. Although but five years of age when General Anthony Wayne fought the battle of the Miami in 1794, of which he was an accidental observer, Robinson retained a vivid recollection of what he saw on that occasion. He was present at the surrender of the fort at Chicago during the War of 1812, and tried in vain to prevent the massacre of the troops, succeeding in carrying off Capt. Helm, the commandant, and his wife, in a canoe, traversing the entire length of L. Michigan and placing them in safety at Mackinaw It is stated that, probably in 1827, he prevented the young men of his tribe from making an attack on Fort Dearborn. In the Black Hawk War of 1832 Robinson and his people espoused the cause of the whites. . . . He served as interpreter for General Lewis Cass during his treaty negotiations with the Chippewa, June 6, 1820."

Kinonchamek. The son of Minavavana, chief of the Chippewa of Michilimackinac during Pontiac's uprising in 1763. During the siege of Detroit, on June 18, more than a month after the fighting had begun, Kinonchamek, then a young man probably in his twenties, arrived at Pontiac's camp from Michilimackinac in company with the Jesuit du Jaunay, eight Chippewa

and seven Ottawa, bringing news of the massacre of the British garrison. Pontiac ordered a cessation of fighting for the next day while the Indians assembled in council to hear the words of the son of the chief of the Chippewa. At this council Kinonchamek had the temerity to reproach Pontiac for killing the English unnecessarily, and for allowing them to be eaten. He justified the massacre at Michilimackinac by pointing out that only soldiers had been killed, whereas non-combatants had suffered that fate at Detroit. The young Chippewa also criticised Pontiac for being improvident, and robbing the French settlers, always friends of the Indians, to support his army of besiegers. Kinonchamek and his followers returned to Michilimackinac on June 22, and it does not appear that his message, which was given in the name of his father, Minavavana, had any effect upon Pontiac's subsequent policies.

Kishkawko. A chief of the Saginaw Chippewa, and one of the few Michigan Indians who remained bitterly and sometimes effectively hostile to the American after the War of 1812. The date of his birth is not known, but he died by his own hand in 1826. Kishkawko was one of the signers of the treaty of Saginaw, in 1819, and in a trial at law in Saginaw in 1860, to settle a dispute concerning a reserve in that treaty, an Indian named Kawgagzhic testified that Kishkawko attempted to cede the land of the Saginaw Chippewa without their knowledge. The Indians in 1819 were indebted to Louis Campan, a trader, for about fifteen hundred dollars, and he was in attendance at the close of the negotiations, intending to collect his money as soon as the Indians were paid by the government. Three other traders were also present, however, and they persuaded Kishkawko, who was under the influence of liquor, to tell the commissioner that the Indians preferred that the sum be paid to them first rather than directly to Louis Campan as the commissioner had suggested. The result was that the Indians got their money and spent it purchasing goods from the other traders instead of paying their debt.

Kishkawko was a vicious man, not only to his white enemies

but to those of his own race. In 1823 he killed a Delaware Indian who was the husband of a Chippewa woman of his own band, when the Indian had been absolved, by the native custom, of killing a Chippewa in a drunken brawl. The Delaware had walked past the assembled relatives of the dead man, and they had acquitted him of guilt by not molesting him, but he was killed by Kishkawko as he passed in front of him. Kishkawko shouted defiance to the Americans even after signing treaties with them. In the year 1822 a detachment of Third United States Infantry was sent to Saginaw when the Chippewa became restless and ill-tempered. A rude fort was erected on the site occupied by the Taylor House in 1897, not far from the lodge of Kishkawko. Each hour the sentry called out that all was well, and one night each call was followed by a series of disconcerting yells, said to be the war-whoop, from Kishkawko. The chief was silenced only after two charges of grape shot had been fired into the trees above his lodge.

Kishkawko killed himself by drinking poison, while in prison in Detroit, in 1826. He and his son were awaiting trial for the murder, in one account of another Indian, and in another account of a white man.

Kondiaronk. A Huron chief living at Michilimackinac during the latter part of the seventeenth century. He was also known as The Rat, Sasataresi and as Adario, the latter being the name given to him by Baron de Lahontan in his *Nor Voyages to North-America*, which was first published in 1703. Lahontan was a great admirer of Kondiaronk, and caused him to speak for his race in a long imaginary discussion contrasting the cultures of the Europeans and the Indians, in which the religious beliefs and moral conduct of the latter were set at some advantage over those of the former. The place and date of Kondiaronk's birth are not known, but it is likely that he was among the Huron who survived the Iroquois wars of 1650 and fled westward.

Kondiaronk was one of the ablest Indians in American history, and among the native leaders of the middle west is to

be placed beneath only Pontiac and Tecumseh,—perhaps above them in his capacity for strategy, for he conserved his own forces by setting his enemies upon one another in the event for which he is chiefly renowned.

In 1687 and 1688 the French and English in America were each trying to win the Iroquois to their side, and the English denied the claim of the French to the region of the upper lakes. New France was in trouble at this time, with disease decimating the soldiers at Forts Niagara and Frontenac. Famine and destitution were spreading, and the prowling of the Iroquois around the upper settlements made it unsafe for anyone to live outside a palisade. Above Three Rivers the entire population was stockaded in forts hastily built around each seigniory. Denonville, governor-general of New France, was unable to get more troops from across the ocean with which to quell the Iroquois, and finally turned to diplomacy, sending some Iroquois captives to Onondaga in northern New York, with gifts and peaceful messages. The result was the sending in 1688 of a body of 1,200 Iroquois to Montreal under the chief Big Mouth, who informed the French that the Iroquois were subjects of neither the English nor the French, but wished to be friends of both. A tentative declaration of neutrality was drawn up, and Big Mouth promised that deputies representing the entire Iroquois confederacy would soon come to Montreal and negotiate a general and lasting peace. In due time these deputies began their journey, but they were intercepted at La Famine, at the mouth of Salmon river on the present site of Port Ontario, New York, by Kondiaronk. Kondiaronk was at this time about forty years of age, according to Lahontan, and he had come down from Michilimackinac with one hundred men in search of enemy Iroquois. Stopping on the way at Fort Frontenac he learned of the impending peace between the Iroquois and the French, consummation of which boded ill for the Hurons and their Algonquian allies of the upper lakes, for as Kondiaronk shrewdly realized, it was to be a separate peace exclusive of the native allies of the

French. Pretending to return to Michilimackinac Kondiaronk and his men departed for La Famine, where they waited in hiding for a few days until the appearance of the Iroquois deputies, headed by Tegannisorens, a famous chief. As they landed their canoes the Hurons opened fire, killing one chief and wounding others. All, with the exception of one who escaped, were made prisoners, and in pursuance of the strategem he had in mind, Kondiaronk informed them that he was acting on the orders of Denonville. When they objected that they were emissaries of peace, Kondiaronk simulated the whole gamut of emotions proper to the occasion, and after providing his victims with powder and guns he told them to return home and inform their people of the treachery of Denonville. The deputies returned, except one, whom Kondiaronk retained by authority of native custom to adopt. He then set out for Michilimackinac where the prisoner was turned over to the French officer in charge, who had not yet heard of the peace negotiations with the Iroquois. The prisoner's story was not believed against that of Kondiaronk, and he was shot at once. Kondiaronk's next move in this complicated sequence was to release an aged Iroquois man who had long been a prisoner among the Huron, instructing him to return to the Iroquois and tell them of the cruelty of the French to his compatriot.

Meanwhile the Indian who had escaped in the ambush at La Famine made his way to Fort Frontenac where he told his story. He was sent back to Onondaga with a message of regret from the French, and the Iroquois chiefs returned messages indicating satisfaction, but in reality their distrust and fury toward Denonville were only increased. After some months of silence the Iroquois landed to the number of 1500 at night in a violent storm at La Chine, on August 5, 1689, and began what Parkman describes as the most frightful massacre in Canadian history. More than a thousand Frenchmen were slain, and 26 were taken captive.

In 1701 Kondiaronk was present at the final council of

peace between the French at Montreal, and it was here, during negotiations, that he died, on August second.

Mikinac. An Ottawa chief residing at Detroit about 1745. Mikinac, whose name signifies "turtle," was active in the French interest. In 1747 he gathered the Saulteur, Ottawa and Potawatomi to go against Orontony, the Huron, who had conspired against the French in that year. Mikinac demanded that 100 French and Indians be sent to Detroit in the winter of 1747-1748, and sent a letter to French authorities requesting for himself "a fine scarlet coat, with silver facings, similar to that sent Kinousake, another Ontaouas chief; a fine shirt and a silver hilted sword." In the letter reporting this request it was affirmed that "this chief desires these presents to be sent him this winter, so as to be able to decorate his person on the arrival of the Nations (Indians) in the spring, and to show, thereby, that he is not less esteemed than Kinousaki." The presents were granted.

Mikinac was the son of Big Head, who is described in an early record as "the most influential of the Ontaouas du Sable." He spoke at a conference of Indians and French at Montreal, before de Calliere, governor-general of New France, in March, 1694 or 1695.

Apparently the Mikinac described above is the same man who is referred to by the Jesuit Marest in a letter dated at Michilimackinac, October 8, 1701, as an Indian who always behaved well toward the French. He is mentioned as a messenger in a letter from Marest to Cadillac in 1702, and in the same year as inviting the *Nokens* (probably the Chippewa *Noke* or *Noquet*,—"bear foot"), "to come and incorporate themselves with them, in whatever place they may wish to settle" (at Detroit). There was also an Ottawa sub-chief by the name of Mikinac in the Grand Traverse Bay region, who was one of the signers of a document appointing Augustin Hamelin chief of the Ottawa and Chippewa, in May 1835.

Minavavana. Chief of the Chippewa, and their leader during the massacre of the British garrison at Michilimackinac

in 1763, known to the French as Le Grand Sautieur. His village was on Thunder Bay. Minavavana was the father of Kinonchamek, who as a youth delivered his father's message of reproach to Pontiac during the siege of Detroit. Carver, who saw Minavavana, describes him in *Travels* as "a chief remarkably tall and well made, but of so stern an aspect that the most undaunted person could not behold him without feeling some degree of terror." He was at the time, 1767, "past the meridian of life."

After the massacre of the British garrison Minavavana advised the Ottawa, who had rescued the prisoners, including Alexander Henry, no longer to espouse the cause of the British, who, he claimed, were being defeated both by Pontiac and by the King of France. The Ottawa released some of the prisoners to the Chippewa, and among them Alexander Henry. Later, when the Indian Wawatam came to ask for Henry's release, Minavavana acceded.

Noonday. An Ottawa chief whose village was on the site of Grand Rapids in 1831. Shortly after that date he was converted to Christianity by the missionary Leonard Slater, and moved with him to Prairieville, Barry county. The name Noonday is a translation of *Quakezhik*, or *Nawequagezhig*, by both of which names he was known among his own people. Noonday was present at the burning of Buffalo on December 13, 1813, and witnessed the slaying of Tecumseh during the Battle of the Thames on October 5, 1813. Later, during a visit to Washington with Lewis Cass, he pointed out Colonel Richard M. Johnson as Tecumseh's slayer. During the Black Hawk war scare in Michigan in 1832 Noonday promised the help of his band of Indians if it should be needed by the white settlers. He was allowed \$100 by the terms of the treaty of August 30, 1831, with the Ottawa of Blanchard's Fork, Ohio, and in the treaty of March 28, 1836, Noonday was one of a number of chiefs described as of the "first class" who were allotted \$500 each. In July, 1828, when General Cass sent Reverend Isaac McCoy, Baptist missionary, to southeastern Kansas to look

for land suitable for the Michigan Indians, he was accompanied by Noonday and five others of his band. Noonday never learned the English language, always conversing with the whites by the aid of an interpreter. One account places the date of his death in 1855 or 1856. According to another he died at Gull Prairie, a short distance south of the Barry county line, and was buried in Richland cemetery. Still another account states that he died at the age of ninety-eight, and was buried near the mission at Prairieville. He had no children.

Pokagon, Leopold. A Potawatomi chief, and the father of the famous Simon Pokagon. J. N. B. Hewitt, in *Handbook of American Indians*, gives the meaning of Pokagon as "shield or buckler," and Simon Pokagon, in his book *Queen of the Woods*, gives an added translation, "protector." The date and place of Leopold's birth are not known, but Simon states that his father became chief of the Pokagon band at the beginning of the nineteenth century. He died in Cass county in 1841, when Simon was about ten years of age. Leopold first lived, in Michigan, in the village named after him in Berrien county. An early surveyor locates the village in Bertrand township on the north half of section 21 and the south half of section 16, but according to Simon Pokagon the village was in the same township but on the Michigan-Indiana state line. In 1838, after the removal of most of the Potawatomi from Michigan, Leopold purchased lands in Silver Creek township, Cass county, and moved his band there.

For forty-two years Leopold was a chief of the Michigan Potawatomi, second in rank only to Topenabee, and during that time he participated in and signed the treaties of September 27, 1833, September 20, 1838, and October 27, 1832. In articles supplementary to the first Leopold is listed as receiving \$2,000 in lieu of reservations of land, and in the treaty of 1832, described as a "second chief," he was allotted one section of land.

After 1781 the St. Joseph region was abandoned as a mis-

sionary field, and during his life Leopold made several trips to Detroit to ask for a Catholic missionary for his band. The last of these trips was in July 1830, when he made an appeal to Father Gabriel Richard. Frederick Reze was sent to Pokagon's village, and he baptized Leopold, about at the age of 55, and his wife as Elizabeth, at the age of 46.

On September 2, 1838, the Potawatomi of northern Indiana were assembled for removal to the West, but Leopold Pokagon and his band remained in Michigan by special permission of the government.

Pokagon, Simon. The last of the chiefs of the Potawatomi of Michigan, and the son of Leopold Pokagon. Simon was born in the village of Pokagon, in Berrien county, Michigan, in 1830. At the age of fourteen he was sent to Notre Dame University at South Bend, Indiana, where he remained three years. The next year he attended Oberlin College, at Oberlin, Ohio, remaining one year, finishing his education with two more years at Twinsburg, Ohio, where he met Andrew J. Blackbird, the son of an Ottawa chief from Harbor Springs. In later life Simon Pokagon made two trips to Washington to confer with President Lincoln concerning the payments due to the Potawatomi for the sale of Chicago and adjacent territory to the United States in 1833. In 1866 he succeeded in securing \$39,000, and later the Supreme Court ratified a grant of \$150,000, which was paid in 1896.

Simon Pokagon felt strongly the injustice of the treatment of the Potawatomi, and of all Indians, at the hands of the United States government and of private individuals, particularly in the failure of the government to carry out their treaty promises and the illegal sale of intoxicating liquors to the Indians. In the World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893 he saw an opportunity to bring to public attention the grievances of his people and their capacity for the assimilation of white civilization. Upon first hearing of the planned exposition he conceived the idea of organizing a congress on the grounds, to be attended by educated members of his race, but

he was unable to interest the proper authorities and the plan was given up. Returning to his home in Michigan from attendance at the opening day of the Fair on May 1, he wrote a booklet entitled *The Red Man's Greeting*, in which he presented the case of the Indians and told of his unsuccessful plan for an Indian congress. The booklet was printed on birch bark and sold on the grounds. Later, after it came to the attention of Carter Harrison, mayor of Chicago, Pokagon was invited to attend the Exhibition as a guest of the city on Chicago Day. Pokagon accepted and took a prominent part in the ceremonies, presenting Mayor Harrison with a parchment copy of the treaty by which the Indians had delivered Chicago and the surrounding region to the Americans. The ceremony closed with an address by Pokagon in which he spoke admirably and convincingly of the wrongs suffered by his people in the past, and stated his conception of the proper treatment of the Indians in the future. Sometime after the Exposition a monument was erected in Jackson Park, by the people of Chicago to the memory of Simon Pokagon and his father.

Pokagon wrote many articles for such magazines as the *Arena*, *Forum*, *Chautauquan*, *Harpers*, and *Review of Reviews*, and often lectured before pioneer societies. He was a writer of verse, his last production of this kind appearing in the *Chicago Inter-Ocean* for January 23, 1899, in the Potawatomi language with the English translation. In the same year his largest single work, entitled *O-gi-maw-kwe Mit-i-gwa-ki (Queen of the Woods)*, was published at Hartford, Michigan, by C. H. Engle, shortly after his death. It is the story of the wooing of his first wife, whom he met while on a camping trip with his mother deep in the woods, after his return to Michigan from Twinsburg, Ohio. The girl Lonedaw, and Pokagon, were married after the native custom, and two children, a boy and girl, were born. In early youth the boy was sent to Twinsburg to school, but upon completing his education he returned to his home to die of alcoholism, and not long afterward the daughter was drowned when her canoe was upset by the boat

of two drunken white men. In attempting to save her daughter, and in the anguish at her death, Pokagon's wife received a shock which resulted in her own death. The last two chapters of the book are a diatribe against the sale and use of alcoholic liquors.

The book contains a complete account of the author's life, written by the publisher. There is also an appendix containing letters, newspaper accounts, the preface of *The Red Man's Greeting*, and other items concerning Pokagon. In the frontispiece is an excellent picture of the chief which was taken at the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the city of Holland, Michigan. As an introduction to the narrative of the book, which contains many Potawatomi words, there is a brief sketch of that language. Pokagon was a student of Greek, Latin, and French, and was probably the best educated Indian of his time.

Pontiac. Leader of the central Algonquian tribes in their revolt against British domination in 1763, which culminated in the siege of Detroit lasting from May 10 until October in that year. Little is known of Pontiac's early life. He was born about 1720 in northern Ohio, probably on the Maumee river. His father was an Ottawa, but his mother appears to have been a Chippewa. It is said that he commanded the Ottawa in 1746 in defense of Detroit against an attack of Indians from the north, and that he led the Ottawa and Chippewa in Braddock's defeat in Pennsylvania in 1755. His first prominent appearance in history was in 1760, when he met Major Robert Rogers, who had been dispatched to take possession of Detroit for the British, at the mouth of the Cuyahoga River on the present site of Cleveland, Ohio, on November 7. Pontiac at first opposed the advance of Major Rogers, but learning for the first time of the defeat of the French at Quebec, acquiesced and later prevented an attack on Roger's troops at the entrance of the Detroit River.

Pontiac was governed by two complementary ambitions, to make himself head of the confederated Indians of the Middle

West and South, and to maintain French supremacy in the region west of the Alleghanies. In the latter he represented the feelings of all the Indians of that region, and the westward advance of the British after the fall of Quebec threatened his other ambition. When he learned of the taking of Quebec by the English he was for a short time inclined to remain at peace with them, but finding that they did not acknowledge him as the leader of the various tribes, and believing the current rumor to the effect that the French were preparing to reassert their power in Canada, he sent messages of war in all directions, proclaiming a plan to make a sudden attack on all the British forts in the West, at a given time toward the end of May, 1763. Most of the forts were taken by the Indians and the garrisons massacred or taken captive, but those at Detroit and Pittsburgh were successfully defended and the Indians were forced to lay siege.

Pontiac had reserved for himself the command of the attack upon Fort Gratiot at Detroit, and it was a bitter disappointment that the fort did not at once fall into his hands. Previous to the attack, having gathered the Ottawa, Potawatomi, Chippewa, Mississauga, and Huron at a point on the Ecorse River 10 miles from the fort, he related the insults which he and his people had received from the English, exhibited war-belts which he claimed to have received from the King of France, and told the story of a dream of a Delaware Indian, many elements of which appealed to the Indians in much the same manner, and for the same purpose, as did the religious teachings of The Prophet in 1805. The Delaware Indian, said Pontiac, desiring to see or to know "The Master of Life," entered into a trance in order to do so. In the accompanying dream he set out upon a hunting trip, and at the end of eight days found himself on a level plain at the farther end of which the path divided into three branches. After trying two of these unsuccessfully he found himself on the third path at the bottom of a white mountain where a woman informed him that his destination lay over the mountain, but that he

must discard his clothes, and all that he had with him. Proceeding, from the top of the mountain he looked out upon the realm of the "Master of Life," and descending, sat by his side, receiving instructions for the Indians to conduct themselves after the manner of their forefathers, to remain friends with the French and drive the English out. The Indians were also to practice monogamy, to drink intoxicating liquors only twice a day at most, to stop conjuring evil spirits, and to keep the white people from their lands.

Pontiac's exhortations were effective, and his listeners were brought into the proper mood to consider definite plans. On Sunday, May 1, Pontiac with a number of young men, went inside the fort ostensibly to dance a peace dance, but secretly to make observations of the condition of the garrison. Later Pontiac again addressed the assembled tribes at a point two or three miles below the fort, where it was decided that with 60 chosen men he should go to the fort and ask the commandant for a hearing. The Indians were to have their weapons hidden under their blankets, and were to be followed by as many others, similarly armed, as could gain admittance, and who were to stroll around casually until the signal for attack was given. As is well known, this plan was discovered in some manner by Gladwin, commandant of the fort, and when Pontiac and his followers came they found the British soldiers in formation on the drill ground. After another unsuccessful attempt to take the fort by strategy, Pontiac ordered the entire body of Indians across the river to establish villages, and the siege was begun on May tenth. The fort still remained in the hands of the defenders when hostilities ceased, shortly after October 31, when Pontiac had received a message from Neyon, commandant of the French Fort Chartres in the Illinois country, to the effect that the Indians could expect no help from the French. After Pontiac had attempted to raise recruits from among the Indians along the Mississippi, he made final peace with the British at Oswego on Lake Ontario on July 24, 1766.

The several documented accounts of Pontiac's death differ, but most of them agree that he was killed somewhere along the Mississippi River in the general region of St. Louis, by another Indian. In any event he seems to have gone back from Oswego to his home on the Maumee, where he spent the winter hunting and trapping. After that time there is no record of his activities until April, 1769. Parkman's version of his death, and the one most widely accepted, is that in April, 1769, he went to St. Louis to visit French friends. After two or three days he heard of the assembly of a large number of Indians at Cahokia, now East St. Louis, Illinois. He crossed the river to attend, and was killed by a Kaskaskia Indian, either out of his love for the English or under the motivation of a bribe from an English trader. Pontiac's murder brought about a series of wars between the Ottawa, Potawatomi, Saes and Foxes, and the tribes of the Illinois, including the Kaskaskias, Peorias and Cahokias, in which the latter were almost exterminated.

Pontiac's courage and intelligence, and the thoroughness of his methods, excited great admiration among his friends and enemies. He gave receipts to the French settlers around Detroit for supplies commandeered by him during the siege, and it was said of him in 1765 that he kept two secretaries, one to write for him and another to read the letters he received, so managing them as to keep each one ignorant of the business transacted by the other. Parkman relates an incident in which, having been warned by his warriors that the contents of a bottle of brandy sent him by Major Robert Rogers might be poisoned, Pontiac replied that Rogers could not take his life since he himself had saved his, and drank the brandy.

Pontiac had several wives contemporaneously, and left a number of children. A speech of one son, named Shegenaba, is contained in Force's American Archives, 4th. Series, iii. 1542, under date of 1775. There was another son, Otussa, who was buried on the Maumee River. Schoolcraft speaks of a de-

scendant of Pontiac whom he knew personally, and who was a chief of an Ottawa village on the Maumee.

One of the chief sources of information concerning Pontiac and the siege of Detroit is the *Journal of Pontiac's Conspiracy, 1763*. It was written in French by an unknown author who probably was an occupant of the fort during the events related. The manuscript was secured from a French family in Detroit during Lewis Cass' time and, both in the original and in translation by R. Clyde Ford, has been published in book form under the auspices of the Michigan Society of Colonial Wars.

Saguina. An Ottawa chief who was largely responsible for delivering the French at Detroit from destruction at the hands of the Foxes and Mascoutens in 1712. At the time Saguina and his followers arrived at Detroit, together with Indians of other tribes, his wife was held prisoner in the inclosure of the Foxes, and he was urged by the Hurons, who told him that at that moment his wife was being burned, to attack at once. But the report proved to be false, and later during the siege she, with two other Indian women, were delivered to the French fort by the Foxes.

The exact location of Saguina's village at Michilimackinac is not known. That he was a chief of unusual power is indicated in a letter from the Jesuit Marest to Vaudrenil, governor-general of New France, a few weeks after the Foxes had been repulsed and destroyed. "Saguina was very desirous of going to pay his respects to you," the letter reads, "but it was thought advisable for him to remain for the safety of the village at Michilimackinac, for in his absence the enemy might make some attack on us, whereas his mere presence might stop all the enemies' schemes." Saguina, however, did make the trip later, either to Montreal or to Quebec, with Mikisabie, a Potawatomi chief, and for his services in the Fox siege he received a vest and one or two red blankets.

Apparently it was Saguina, referred to as *Sakena* and *Sakiema* in the English military records, who went with a

number of other Indians, including women and children, to Albany in 1723 to enquire if they might trade with the English. These Indians, Ottawa and Huron, were given encouragement and provided with goods for the return trip. There were 80 men in the party.

Shingabawassin. A Chippewa chief whose known incumbency was from 1763 to 1825. He was a member of the crane clan, and lived in and near Sault Ste. Marie. In the treaty of 1825, negotiated at Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, by Lewis Cass, he was acknowledged as head chief of the Chippewa, and signed his name to the treaty as such. Shingabawassin also signed the treaty of Sault Ste. Marie, on June 11, 1820. He died between the years 1828 and 1837. The *Handbook of American Indians*, Bureau of American Ethnology, is authority for the following statement concerning this chief: "He seems to have risen, to a large extent, above the primitive beliefs of his people, and even went so far in one of the councils as to advise making known to the whites the situation of the great copper deposits, although these were regarded by the Indians as sacred. A favorite scheme which he advanced and vigorously advocated, but without effect, was to have the United States set apart a special reservation for the half-breeds." During his youth Shingabawassin took an active part in the wars between the Chippewa and the Sioux.

Tarhe. A Wyandot chief who was one of the native leaders in the Battle of Fallen Timbers near Maumee, Ohio, in 1794, and whose efforts were largely responsible for the success of the treaty of Greenville. Tarhe was born at Detroit in 1742, and was a member of the porcupine clan of the Wyandots, or Huron. He died at Cranetown near Upper Sandusky, Wyandot County, Ohio, in November, 1818. The name Tarhe signifies "Crane." To the English he was known as "Chief Crane" as well as by his native name, and to the French as "Le Chef Grue." Tarhe fought in the Battle of Point Pleasant in 1774. He opposed Tecumseh's war policy from 1808 until the War of 1812, and participated in the Battle of the Thames in

Ontario on October 5, 1813, where Tecumseh fell. Some authorities attribute to him the leadership of the Wyandots during the War of 1812. The Wyandots were divided at this time, however, and Tarhe was at the head only of those in Ohio, who fought on the American side. The Wyandots occupied a preeminent position among the tribes of the middle west, as guardians of the great "council fire," a figure of speech signifying their power of summoning the various tribes in grand council, at Brownstown, Michigan. In the *Handbook of American Indians* it is stated that Tarhe was the chief priest of the Wyandots, and as such was the custodian of the calumet by which the tribes were bound in this confederation for protection against the whites. During the War of 1812 the Wyandots of Michigan, who fought on the British side, were in command of the chief Walk-in-the-Water or, as some Canadian authorities contend, the chief Round-head, who met his death during the War.

Tarhe signed the following treaties: January 31, 1786, at the Mouth of the Miami River, Ohio, with the Shawnee; January 9, 1789, at Fort Harmar; August 3, 1795, at Greenville, Ohio; July 4, 1805, at Fort Industry on the Maumee River, and July 22, 1814, at Greenville, Ohio.

He was over seventy years of age when he fought in the Battle of the Thames. After his death in 1818 all the tribes of Ohio, as well as the Delaware of Indiana and the Iroquois Seneca of New York, assembled in a mourning council at Upper Sandusky, Ohio. The place of his burial is unknown.

Tecumseh. The successor of Pontiac as the leader and organizer of the Indians of the Middle West against the encroachment of the white man, Tecumseh's activities were confined between the years 1786 and 1813. The name refers to a round-footed, quick-moving animal, probably the panther. Accounts differ as to the place of Tecumseh's birth, but it is generally accepted that he was born in 1768 at the Shawnee village of Piqua, about six miles northwest of the present city of Springfield, Ohio, of pure-blood Shawnee parents. The name

of his father was Puckeshinwau, and that of his mother was Methoataska. His father was killed in the battle of Point Pleasant in 1774. Tecumseh was one of seven children, of whom five took an active part in the affairs of their tribe. Tecumseh and his brother, Tenskwatawa or The Prophet, were the only members of the family to achieve wide prominence.

During the formative period of his childhood and early youth Tecumseh was greatly influenced by the wars of the Revolutionary period, coming to regard the English as friends, and the Americans as enemies of the Indians of the border. Probably his first experience in battle was in a skirmish between the Indians and the American forces under the command of Captain Benjamin Logan, in 1786, near the present city of Dayton, Ohio, in which action the youthful Tecumseh was in charge of his brother, Cheeseekau. Later he took part in an attack on some flatboats which were descending the Ohio River, and after enduring a revolting scene in which the white man who survived the attack was burned, he exhibited his powers of oratory in a forceful denunciation of the act. About the year 1787, with his brother Cheeseekau, he went on a trip to the west among the Siouan Mandans where he broke his leg on a buffalo hunt. Remaining there for several months to recover, Tecumseh learned the language and customs of his hosts. The party then went into the south, and finding the Cherokee engaged in war with the Americans they joined in an attack upon a fort, an action in which Cheeseekau was killed. Tecumseh assumed leadership of the band, and after participating in many forays against the Americans they returned after an absence of three years to Ohio. Subsequently Tecumseh took part in the defeat of the American forces under General St. Clair in 1791, in skirmishes with the renowned Indian fighter Simon Kenton, and in the Battle of Fallen Timbers, in which action another brother fell by his side. He refused to countenance the treaty of Greenville, asserting that it was signed by chiefs of no standing among the Indians.

In pursuance of his plan to unite the Indians from the

Great Lakes to Florida in an effort to keep the Americans out of the country north and west of the Ohio River, Tecumseh conceived the dictum that the lands of the Indians were owned by them in common, and were not to be ceded to the United States by separate tribes except by permission of a general council of the Indians. Tecumseh's brother, The Prophet, began to be known as a religious leader about the year 1801, and after the ideas advanced by these two men had begun to gather momentum and excite the settlers on the frontier, General Harrison called a council with Tecumseh at Vincennes, Indiana, on August 12, 1810. Tecumseh here asserted his doctrine, but Harrison denied the right of the Indians to confederate, saying that if the Great Spirit had meant them to be one nation he would not have put different tongues in their mouths. The Wyandots, Potawatomi, Ottawa, Winnebago and other tribes at this council now began to prepare for war, and Tecumseh left for the south to organize the Indians there. His own people, the Shawnee, never gave him much support, and Delaware Indians acted as paid spies for General Harrison before the Battle of Tippecanoe on November 7, 1811, where the Prophet and his forces were defeated. When the War of 1812 broke out Tecumseh offered his forces to the British, and was given a commission as brigadier-general although according to a Canadian authority he had only 30 warriors at his command when he first appeared at Amherstburg after returning from the south. It was probably due to Tecumseh that the Michigan Wyandots, under Roundhead and Walk-in-the-Water, went over to the side of the British. Operating from his camp on Bois Blanc Island in Detroit River, Tecumseh and his followers constituted the intelligence corps of the British Army and were largely responsible for the withdrawal of the American forces from Canada when General Hull heard of the ambush and defeat of Van Horn at River Raisin. According to Canadian authorities it was due mainly to Tecumseh that Hull's line of communication with northern Ohio was broken up, at the Battle

of Maguagua on August 9, 1813. After the surrender of Detroit, Tecumseh went to northern Ohio and Indiana to recruit among the Indians, and was not present at the Battle of Frenchtown. After Perry's victory on Lake Erie, Tecumseh's forces covered the retreat of General Proctor, and he compelled Proctor to give battle to the Americans on the Thames River, near the present site of Chatham, Ontario. The British were defeated, and Tecumseh was killed, October 5, 1813. There is small doubt that his slayer was Colonel Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky, who later became vice-president of the United States under Martin Van Buren. The Ottawa chief Noonday, who claimed to be at Tecumseh's side when he fell, many years later on a visit to Washington with Lewis Cass, pointed out Colonel Johnson as Tecumseh's slayer. This incident is discussed in the *Century Magazine* for June, 1885, and in the *American Mercury* for April, 1930.

Tenskwatawa. The twin brother of Tecumseh, who conceived and introduced a new religious movement among the Indians of the Middle West about the year 1801, this movement spreading far into the South and West. It was in part responsible for turning the Indians to the side of the British during the War of 1812. Tenskwatawa's original name was Lalawethika. After he became famous he changed his name to Tenskwatawa, and was also known as Elskwatawa and as The Prophet. It was in November, 1805, at or near the present city of Wapakoneta, Ohio, that he first announced his new religion, which he claimed was a revelation from the "Master of Life," and which involved denunciation of the native witchcraft, the use of intoxicating liquors, the use of the tools and clothing of the white men and of all customs derived from them. Intermarriage between the two races was banned, all property must be held in common after the ancient native custom, and youth was exhorted to respect the aged and infirm. The Prophet claimed also to be able to cure sickness, and his forecast of an eclipse of the sun in 1806 brought many new adherents and silenced his critics. The new religion spread rap-

idly among the Michigan Indians as elsewhere, and one of his emissaries, at L'Arbre Croche, was known as Le Magouis or The Trout. The Prophet's methods were similar to those of Indian medicine men or shamans generally, in that his revelations were received in dreams and trances. Like many of the true shamans a physical defect, one blind eye, marred his appearance.

The Prophet's influence received a fatal blow when, against Tecumseh's counsel, he gave battle to the American forces under General Harrison, and was defeated by him, at Tippecanoe, Indiana, on November 7, 1811. After the War of 1812 he received a pension from the British government, and resided in Canada until 1826. In that year he removed to Ohio, and thence in 1828 to Wyandotte county, Kansas, where he died in November 1837.

Walk-in-the-Water. The leader of the Wyandots of Michigan in the War of 1812. At this time the Wyandots were living in three separate localities. During the removal of the Wyandots to Kansas, the *Cincinnati Times* of July 19, 1843, reported and described their passage through that city to the number of 750. This number probably was not far from that living in Ohio under the chieftainship of Tarhe at Upper Sandusky, at the beginning of the War of 1812. There were 60 at this time near Malden in Ontario, and some 250 in Michigan living on a reservation allotted to them for fifty years by an act of congress dated February 28, 1809. They lived mainly in the two villages of Brownstown and Magnagua, situated respectively opposite the southern and northern ends of Grosse Isle. They raised corn and wheat with the aid of machinery furnished by the government, and hunted during the winter.

On February 28, 1812, a petition signed by Walk-in-the-Water and seven other Wyandot chiefs was presented to the house of representatives in Washington, setting forth their desire to be insured forever in occupation of their land along the Detroit River, indicating that they had cultivated the land, built houses and made valuable improvements which

would be of little value to their young men if they were to be removed at the end of fifty years according to the terms of the act of congress of February 28, 1809. They desired in addition that each Indian should receive 60 acres of land, and that 640 acres be granted to each of the chiefs, "to enable them to sustain the dignity of their offices, and to keep up their importance. . . ." A similar petition, signed by Walk-in-the-Water and eight other Wyandot chiefs, had been presented to Governor Hull on September 30, 1809, in which they asked to be allowed to continue in occupation of their reservation for one hundred years. One paragraph of this petition read as follows: "Father, listen! We hope you will not think it is for want of respect to you, that we make known our sentiments on paper, by our friend Jacob Visgar. . . ." Jacob Visgar was a farmer appointed by the government to instruct and assist the Wyandots. He was probably the writer of the petition received by the house of representatives in 1812. The petition of 1809 was signed first by "Black Chief," and second by "Maera, or Walk-in-the-Water," and that of 1812 bore Walk-in-the-Water's name first.

Walk-in-the-Water signed the following treaties with the United States: July 4, 1805, at Fort Industry on Maumee River, Ohio; November 17, 1807, at Detroit; and November 25, 1808, at Brownstown, in which the Wyandots ceded land in Ohio. He also signed the armistice of General Harrison with the Indians on October 14, 1813, as "Mayar or Walk-in-the-Water."

At the beginning of the War of 1812 Walk-in-the-Water informed General Hull that he would remain neutral, but after the fall of Michilimackinac he went over to the British, probably under pressure from his own warriors, fired by the eloquence of Tecumseh, rather than in pursuance of his own convictions. But the Wyandots held a position of great importance among the tribes, and this action on their part enlisted other tribes against the Americans, although those of Ohio under Tarhe remained faithful to the American cause.

The Wyandots under Walk-in-the-Water took part in the ambush of the Americans under Major Van Horn at Brownstown, and again in the action at Maguagua, where they were routed. Toward the end of the War, on September 8, 1813, Walk-in-the-Water sent a private message to General Harrison that he would try to induce the Indians to abandon the British, and that upon Harrison's advance he and his warriors would occupy the Huron church at Sandwich and defend themselves against the British and their Indian allies. As Harrison advanced up the Thames River, Walk-in-the-Water sent him a flag and asked for instructions. Harrison commanded him to move with his women and children farther up the creek upon which he was then encamped, and to remain there until after the battle, which he did.

The date of Walk-in-the-Water's death is not known, but he was buried in the Indian cemetery at Maguagua, on the present site of the city of Wyandotte, Michigan. It is said that his remains were later exhumed and taken east by an antiquarian. The name of this Wyandot chief was given to the first steamboat to navigate Lake Erie and the Detroit River. Of some 340 tons burden, the Walk-in-the-Water arrived at Detroit on her first trip on August 22, 1818. The owner of the vessel was Josephus B. Stewart.

Waubojieeg. A chief of the Chippewa of northern Michigan and Wisconsin, and defender of the Chippewa domain against encroachment on the part of surrounding tribes, particularly the Sioux. Waubojieeg, or White Fisher, was born about 1747 at Chequamegon Bay, and according to Warren in *History of the Ojibways*, was a member of a branch of the *Adik* ("Reindeer") clan which had migrated from Grand Portage on the north shore of Lake Superior in Minnesota, to La Pointe. The same authority states that Waubojieeg was the grandfather of Henry Rowe Schoolcraft's first wife.

Waubojieeg was chief of the Chippewa for about twenty years, beginning in 1770, a period during which there was much fighting between the Chippewa and the allied Sioux and

Fox. His last battle, at the Falls of St. Croix, decided the possession of the St. Croix valley in favor of the Chippewa. Tradition relates a dramatic reunion of Waubojieeg with a half brother whom he had not seen since infancy, during a fight with the Sioux on St. Croix River. Waubojieeg challenged the chief of the Sioux to a duel, during which the assembled warriors of both sides were surprised to see their chiefs suddenly embrace. The Sioux, according to this tradition, was the half-brother of Waubojieeg, their mother having been stolen by the Sioux. Wambesha, the Siouan chief, was her son by a Siouan husband. This tradition was related on the occasion of a wedding at Buffalo Bay in 1897, four miles north of Bayfield, Wisconsin, in which the bride, Jeanette Xevieux, was a descendant of Waubojieeg.

Waubojieeg died of tuberculosis at Chequamegon Bay in 1793.

White Pigeon. A Potawatomi chief who won fame by saving the people of the settlement of White Pigeon, in St. Joseph county, from an attack by Indians, in 1812. The *Handbook of American Indians* has the following to say of White Pigeon: "The little that is known of him is derived chiefly from tradition. It is said that about 1812, while in the neighborhood of Detroit, he learned of an uprising among the Indians and of a threatened attack on the settlement that now bears his name, in St. Joseph county, Mich. Far from home and friends, he hastened to the scene of the impending trouble and by a timely warning saved the white settlers from possible massacre. He is described as tall and athletic, an unusually fleet runner, and as having possessed high ideals of truth and honor. According to Indian information he received his name because he was of much lighter complexion than the members of his tribe generally. He died at the age of about 30 years and was buried in a mound on the outskirts of the village of White Pigeon. Here, on Aug. 11, 1909, a monument, suitably inscribed, was erected to his memory under the auspices of the Alta Columba Club of women. White Pigeon signed, in behalf of

his band, the Greenville treaty of Aug. 3, 1795, and the treaty of Brownstown, Mich., Nov. 25, 1808. Two of his great-grandsons and a great-granddaughter (the wife of the great-grandson of Simon Pokagon) reside (1910) near Dorr, Michigan. . . ."

Winamac. A Potawatami chief during the period of the War of 1812, whose name is translated as "Catfish." With the chiefs White Loon and Stone Eater, the latter a Miami of the Wea sub-tribe, he is said to have led the Indians in the Battle of Tippecanoe. Winamac signed the treaty of Greenville with the Potawatami of Huron, a band formerly living on Huron River, Michigan, about 40 miles from Detroit. He signed also the treaties of June 7, 1803, at Fort Wayne, of August 21, 1805, at Vincennes, and of September 30, 1809, at Fort Wayne. In the latter treaty a large tract of land in central Indiana was sold to the United States, and this act so enraged Tecumseh, who believed it had been brought about by the intimidation of Winamac, that he threatened Winamac's life, and violence between the two chiefs at the council of Vincennes, August 12, 1810, was avoided only by the presence of mind of General Harrison. Winamac claimed, probably without truth, to be the instigator of the massacre of the garrison of Fort Dearborn, Chicago, on August 15, 1812. He was killed three months later, on November 22, in an encounter with the Shawnee chief James Logan, near the rapids of the Maumee River, Ohio. Logan himself died a short time afterward as a result of this encounter.

There was another chief by the same name and living during the same period, who was friendly to the Americans and who, according to the *Handbook of American Indians*, interposed in their behalf in the massacre at Fort Dearborn. It is probably this Winamac of whom General Harrison said in a letter in 1810, that he traveled incessantly trying to keep the Indians quiet. This chief also reported to Harrison the transactions in a council of the Indians under The Prophet, or Tenskwatawa, on the St. Joseph River, in May 1810, in which The Prophet proposed the murder of the principal chiefs of all

the tribes who had sold land to the United States, and advocated immediate surprise of the chiefs' towns and forts in the Middle West.

The village of Winamac, in Pulaski county, Indiana, received its name from this chief. He died in 1821.

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