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Ethnogenesis: The Settlement and Growth of a "New People"[1] in the Great Lakes Region, 1702–1815

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A standard answer of the Métis people to those curious as to when the Métis originated has been: "Nine months after the first White man set foot in Canada."[2]

The inhabitants are chiefly of Canadian origin, all more or less imbued with Indian blood. Not being previously aware of the diversity in the character of the inhabitants, the sudden change from an American to a French population, has a surprising, and to say the least, an unpleasant effect; for the first twenty-four hours, the traveler fancies himself in a real Babel. . . . The business of a town of this kind differs so materially from that carried on in our cities, that it is almost impossible to fancy ourselves still within the same territorial limits.

William S. Keating, Fort Wayne, Indiana, 1823[3]

Introduction

At what historic moment and for what cause do a "people" spring into being? This is an especially pertinent question for the western hemisphere. Following the invasion of the American Indian worlds by various European nation states, four centuries of colonization, subjugation and intermingling have produced ample opportunity for the genesis and recreation of bold new ethnicities and identities. There are nonetheless critical geographical and cultural variations across the hemisphere. In South and Middle America, composite "mestizo" populations, now a majority, have been heralded as the "New Peoples," a felicitous term coined by Darcy Ribeiro. In North America, by contrast, a number of factors, among them a color-coded caste system entrenched by mid-nineteenth century, combined to discourage the historical emergence and cohesiveness of such hybrid groups. Except for small bi- and tri-racial enclaves in the Southeast, many of which still survive, the only instance of large-scale formation of a new people occurred in the Red River valley of the north.

The origins of the people who call themselves "Métis"—now numbering upwards of 1,000,000 people in Canada and the northwestern border states of the United States—remain relatively obscure. We do know that they were the byproduct of unnumbered marriage compacts accompanying the only relatively benign interaction in North America between Indian peoples and their invaders—the fur trade—and that they acquired a political and ethnic consciousness in the social and economic dislocations occasioned by the transition from a mercantilist to capitalist colonial economy. The modern persistence of Métis consciousness or ethnic identity may be, as Joe Sawchuk has perceptively suggested, a "reformulation," largely formed in response to political pressures and economic necessity. Nonetheless, group identities are not mere fabrications. They must have a beginning. And they must depend upon a core of characteristics held, even if not yet fully recognized, in common.[4]

Recent research reveals that at least one of the antecedants to the flowering of a Métis national consciousness at Red River after 1815 occurred in the Great Lakes region during the eighteenth century. This is not to suggest that the Peoples and communities we are about to describe were (or that their American descendants are) self-consciously Métis, but rather that they

were a People in the process of becoming, whose distinctiveness was fully apparent to outsiders, if not to themselves.

After 1800, Englishmen and Americans traveling into the Great Lakes fur trade universe discovered to their surprise that they had entered a foreign land. Such travelers generally wrote disparagingly, but their comments are provocative. Whereas eighteenth century travelers were apt to refer to members of Great Lakes fur trade settlements as "Canadian," "French," or "Indian," depending upon cultural attributes such as dress, demeanor or social rank, by the early decades of the nineteenth century, this cultural classification system was being challenged and supplanted by a system based upon pseudoscientific ideas about race.[5]

Following the War of 1812, terms such as "half-breed," "Métis," and "Metif" begin to appear with some frequency in the literature, carrying with them the pejorative baggage of social inferiority or degeneracy. William S. Keating minced no words about the mixed inhabitants of Fort Wayne, or of Chicago: they were "a miserable race of men." Caleb Atwater similarly derided the society at Prairie du Chien in 1829 as a "mixed breed," "as motley a group of creatures (I can scarcely call them human beings) as the world ever beheld."[6]

George Flower, an Englishman traveling to the Illinois country in 1817, painted an equally derogatory picture, this time of the Métis population of Cattinet, a suburb of Vincennes, Indiana:

> The inhabitants are half-breeds between French and Indian. Some of them catching the bad points of both parents are disagreeable to behold. A few exhibit a style of beauty peculiarly their own. . . . They are of the complexion of the "bois-brule" of the Far West. The lank curs, half-dog, half wolf, lurk with thief-like look about the door. Here the wild and domestic cat live together in harmony with pet possom, coon, and squirrel.[7]

Such negative labels reveal a good deal more about the observers than the observed, and tend to confirm that the decades of the 1820s and 1830s were marked by an intensifying race prejudice in the United States and Canada. Yet, ironically, while travelers' accounts tell us nothing about how residents of Great Lakes trading communities perceived themselves, they illuminate the distinctive contours of a new society. They point directly,

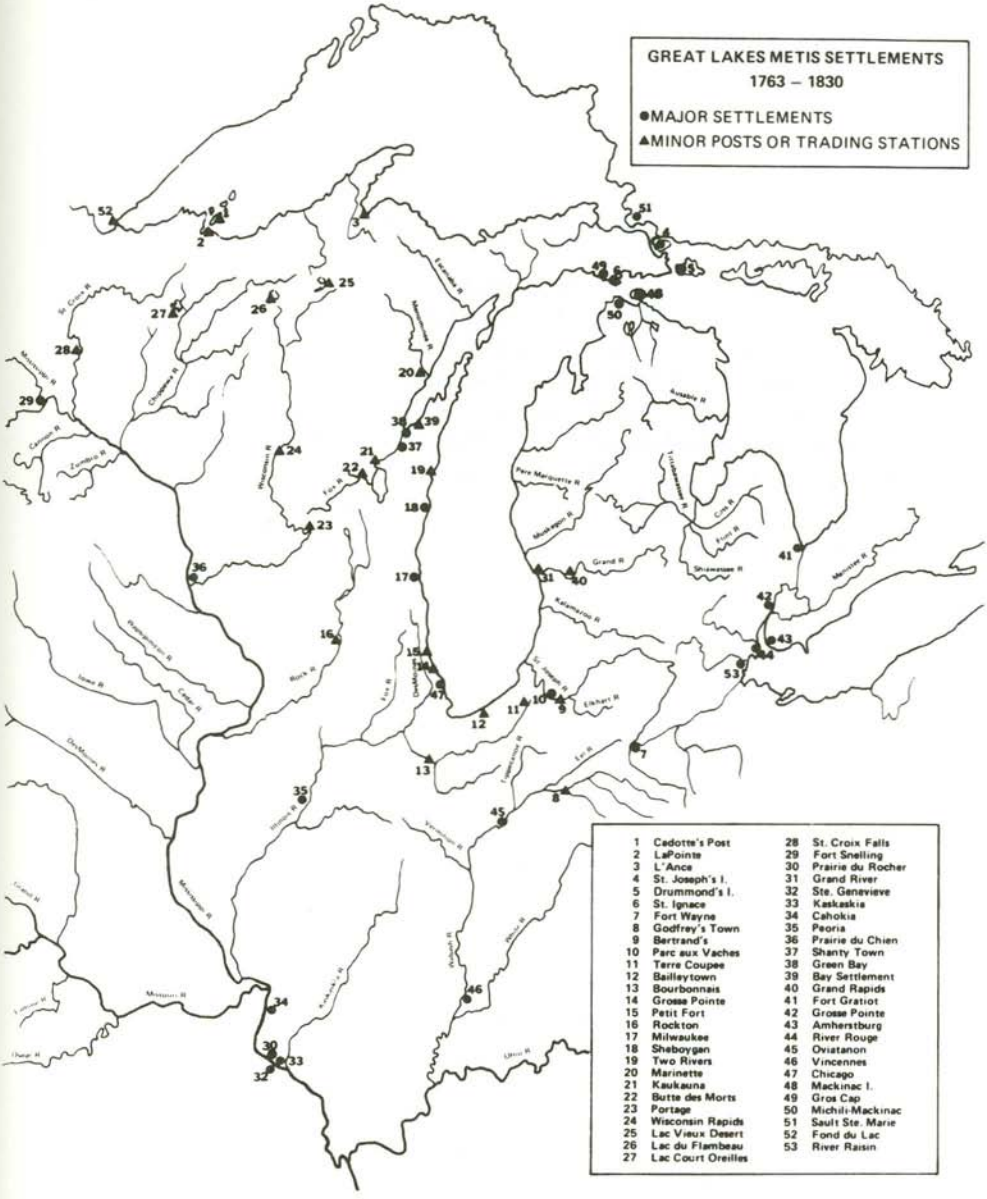
in fact, to the emergence of a unique hybridization of Native and European cultures, to a highly fluid although bounded geographical domain, and to an occupational identity which was recognizeable to outsiders at such distant points as Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan; Vincennes, Indiana; and Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin. All of these communities had deep roots, and this is how it happened.[8]

The Human Landscape

> [The French and Indians] have been bred up together like Children in that Country.[9]

By the early decades of the eighteenth century, the French in Canada had constructed a framework for trade with the native inhabitants of the Great Lakes region which was to survive, with minor modifications by the British and Americans, until overexploitation and subsequent scarcity of wildlife rendered the fur traffic unprofitable and Indian land cessions opened the region to agricultural settlement. The hallmarks of that system were the following: (1) a licensing system which, while far less restrictive during the British and American regimes than under the French, attempted to regulate both the flow of furs to market and the dimensions and quality of Indian-White contact; (2) a recognition of the fur gathering tribes as necessary, if unequal, partners with whom economic and diplomatic alliances were maintained through fair dealing and gift exchange; (3) a willingness to trade with Indian hunters at their residential source, which necessitated the erection of fortified posts for protection; (4) the employment of a semi-Indianized occupational class—the voyageur-trader—in the middle and lower-rung trade positions requiring travel to and contact with Indian hunters; and (5) widespread intermarriage between this class and Native women.[10]

The fur trade system did not include a commitment to settle large numbers of non-Indian agriculturalists upon lands wealthy in fur-bearing animals. With the exception of Detroit, Kaskaskia, and Cahokia, the French colonial administration established no farming communities in the Great Lakes region. After 1763, only partly in response to the regionwide Indian resis-


GREAT LAKES METIS SETTLEMENTS
1763 – 1830
●MAJOR SETTLEMENTS
▲MINOR POSTS OR TRADING STATIONS
1 Cedotte's Post
2 LaPointe
3 L'Ance
4 St. Joseph's I.
5 Drummond's I.
6 St. Ignace
7 Fort Wayne
8 Godfrey's Town
9 Bertrand's
10 Parc aux Vaches
11 Terre Coupee
12 Baillystown
13 Bourbonnais
14 Grosse Pointe
15 Petit Fort
16 Rockton
17 Milwaukee
18 Sheboygan
19 Two Rivers
20 Marinette
21 Kaukauna
22 Butte des Morts
23 Portage
24 Wisconsin Rapids
25 Lac Vieux Desert
26 Lac du Flambeau
27 Lac Court Oreilles
28 St. Croix Falls
29 Fort Snelling
30 Prairie du Rocher
31 Grand River
32 Ste. Genevieve
33 Kaskaskia
34 Cahokia
35 Peoria
36 Prairie du Chien
37 Shanty Town
38 Green Bay
39 Bay Settlement
40 Grand Rapids
41 Fort Gratiot
42 Grosse Pointe
43 Amherstburg
44 River Rouge
45 Oviatanon
46 Vincennes
47 Chicago
48 Mackinac I.
49 Gros Cap
50 Michili-Mackinac
51 Sault Ste. Marie
52 Fond du Lac
53 River Raisin

tance known as Pontiac's Rebellion, the British likewise discouraged settlement west of Lake Ontario. A desire to keep the peace and to monopolize the profits of the Great Lakes Indian trade were the overriding considerations favoring this policy. To have simultaneously encourged an influx of White farmers would have upset both the diplomatic alliance with the native inhabitants inherited from the French and the man-animal ratio on the ground, straining the fur-bearing capacities of the region long before the inevitable breaking point.[11]

Relative to the dense settlement of Whites along the Atlantic shore, there were few non-Indians in the present states of Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota and in northern Indiana and Illinois prior to 1815; and, almost none of them were farmers, husbandmen, or tradesmen inhabiting commerical towns tied to an agricultural hinterland. Yet, despite administrative restrictions and almost no inducements in the form of land titles, numerous Canadians did cast their fate, and the future of their progeny, with the Great Lakes country after 1700.

These folk were neither adjunct relative-members of tribal villages nor the standard bearers of the French empire and civilization in the wilderness. Increasingly, they stood apart or, more precisely, in between. By the end of the last struggle for empire in 1815, their towns, which were visually, ethnically, and culturally distinct from neighboring Indian villages and "white towns" along the eastern seaboard, stretched from Detroit at the east to the Red River valley of the north, the birthplace of Métis national consciousness.[12]

The following pages present a regional overview of three types of interrelated towns and villages founded by members of a "fur trade society" prior to 1815. Particular attention has been paid to Michilimackinac, now Mackinac, Michigan, situated at the straits connecting Lakes Michigan and Huron. Not only was Michilimackinac the hub of the fur trading universe west of Montréal, but documentary and archaeological evidence is more abundant there than elsewhere [As will soon be discussed, Ed.]. La Baye, now Green Bay, Wisconsin, has also been singled out as a typical example of smaller corporate trading towns dependent upon Michilimackinac for trade goods and personnel. Milwaukee, Wisconsin serves as an example of the trading hamlet.

All Great Lakes trading communities founded between 1702 and 1815 shared two characteristics in common. First, such towns were increasingly dominated during the eighteenth and early

nineteenth centuries by Métis—the offspring of Canadian trade employees and Indian women, who had reached their majority, were intermarrying among themselves, and rearing a second generation of Métis. Second, such towns were occupationally homogeneous, that is, they were oriented almost exclusively toward the fur trade. As such, they displayed a relatively simple social structure with few status distinctions and a fairly even distribution of wealth, with the exception of a small number of high-status individuals such as commandants and merchants [Even high-status on the "frontier" is relative to interpretation, Ed.]. Their residents depended primarily upon a local subsistence base rather than imported goods, with the exception of Indian trade goods, not only in terms of foodstuffs, but other material artifacts as well, e.g., clothing, tools and utensils, and building materials, borrowed or adapted from the local Indian populations. Canadian or "Métis" trading towns, as they will hereafter be termed, did not represent an extension of French colonial culture, but were rather "adaptation[s] to the Upper Great Lakes environment."[13]

Several qualifications of these generalizations are in order. Lyle Stone's analysis of the archaeological remains at Fort Michilimackinac has confirmed that even during the French period the community at the straits was growing increasingy heterogeneous, its population more stratified and dependent upon a wider range of imported materials. Other communities, even those most isolated, experienced the same trend although at a somewhat later date. Métis communities were not stagnant, nor were they traditional in the same sense that their tribal neighbors waged a losing battle to preserve customs and beliefs, sacred objects, and a time-honored sexual division of labor.[14]

On the other hand, Stone's conclusion that the British regime saw a transformation of the homogeneous, subsistence-based, trade-oriented community at Michilimackinac into an economically and socially diverse military outpost, whose orientation and artifact source was the eastern seaboard, cannot easily be extended to most of the other Great Lakes towns. Important distinctions can be drawn between the French and Anglo-American occupations of the Great Lakes region, particularly after 1790 when the growth of powerful monopoly companies truncated the rise of French-speaking men to positions of influence in the trade, creating both a system of castes based on ethnicity and sharp divisions of status and wealth. However, the social

and occupational composition and the material bases of communities such as Green Bay and Chicago suggest that, despite increasing complexity, the early French model was the rule rather than the exception until American agriculturists, land speculators, and logging interests swept across the region after the American Revolution in the south and after the Peace of Ghent in the north.[15]

The foundations for settlement in the lakes region by Canadian men of the trade were laid during the so-called concentration phase, 1702–1714, at Detroit and Kaskaskia and at trading sites which had been formally abandoned when the fur trade was closed in 1698. Such settlement was neither inspired nor directed by the Crown. On the contrary, the growing numbers of *coureurs de bois*, population dispersal along the St. Lawrence, and Jesuit complaints that Canadians were debauching the Natives of the interior were at least partially responsible for the trade ban and the concentration effort. Kaskaskia and Detroit were intended as military-mission centers where Jesuits and Recollects could purify Indian farmers of the traders' earlier contamination.

Instead, the missionaries found that Indian villages located adjacent to former trading posts still sequestered Canadian outlaws, some with Indian wives. At St. Ignace (Fort Buade) on the north shore of the straits of Michilimackinac, for example, an unknown number of "dissolute" *coureurs de bois* still plagued the Huron and Ottawa villages in 1702, despite the recall. The remaining Jesuit missionary, Etienne Carheil, thought that the traders resident among the Indians had been "supported" by a succession of "unchaste Commandants" (notably Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac) whose lax leadership had encouraged movement away from the male barracks and the building of "separate houses for themselves alone," and their Indian consorts. The result was that "one of them [had] more than one child in the village."[16]

Even after the post was abandoned, the illegal men of the trade continued to leave the French houses within the fort and "to go to live with the women in their Cabins." Initially the cabins of the Canadians, which were "separated from one another," were probably within one of the adjacent Indian villages. Eventually, however, these single family dwellings at St. Ignace clustered, distinguishing themselves by 1712 from the old French fort and the palisaded Huron and Ottawa villages.[17]

Illegal traders were also settling in the Illinois Country, at Peoria and, after 1700, at the new mission villages of Kaskaskia and Cahokia on the Mississippi River. Cahokia, in particular, seemed to attract the criminals of the trade. In 1715, the acting Governor Ramezay and the Intendant of Canada, Begon, reported that "about 100 coureurs escaped to Cahokia where they joined 47 others who had previously settled there." The town, they declared, was "a retreat for the lawless men both of this colony and of Louisiana." The wives of these men were by and large Kaskaskias and Peorias, judging from the Jesuit complaints. The slaving expeditions among the tribes west of the Mississippi and the uncivilized demeanor of the outlaws so disturbed the priests that in 1708 a military force was rushed from Louisiana to restore order. Three years later, in 1711, Father Gabriel Marest was again demanding aid against *coureurs de bois* who debauched Native women.[18]

Prior to 1717, intermarriage all over the Illinois Country was the rule rather than the exception. When Father Jean St. Cosmé reached his mission station at Peoria in November, 1698, most of the Indians were scattered down the river banks in search of game. The few women he encountered, however, were all married to Frenchmen. Two months later, Father Binneteau wrote from the same locale that there was much intermarriage. Thaumur de la Source concurred that "many Canadians marry among the Illinois."[19]

Despite the fact that the majority of the Kaskaskia, Tamoroa, and Michigamea were relocating at the lower villages on the Mississippi, in 1707 there were still some three thousand semi-Christianized Peoria settled about Fort St. Louis at Peoria. Marriages between Native women and traders and *coureurs de bois* persisted. Nor was the fetish for Native women exclusively the preserve of lawless traders. The "gentle and polite manners" of the Kaskaskias under Father Marest's charge induced many of the *habitants* "to take their daughters in marriage."[20]

Between 1701 and 1713, twenty-one Catholic baptisms were recorded at Kaskaskia; of these, eighteen children were born of Indian mothers, and all but one of French-Canadian fathers. Many of the first settlers at Kaskaskia were traders and voyageurs from Peoria, some of whom had already married Indian women. Among them were Michael Accault, who had wed Marie Rouensa (daughter of the Kaskaskia chief), Jacques Bourdon, Louis Delaunais, Jean Colon Laviolette, Bizaillon, Pierre Cha-

bot, Nicholas Migneret, Pierre Boisjoly Fafart, Louis Texier dit Lavigne, and Beausseron dit Leonard. Evidently, the Kaskaskia register recorded only a portion of the total population along the Mississippi.[21]

A similar pattern of intermarriage and illegal trade was discernable at Detroit, to which Cadillac brought fifty soldiers, fifty traders and artisans, and Jesuit and Recollect priests in 1701. A year later, some six thousand Indians were gathered about the new fort in four or five villages. Among them were Potawatomi and Miami drawn eastward from the St. Joseph's River valley in search of trade goods, as well as Ottawa, Huron, and Ojibwa from the straits of Michilimackinac.[22]

Such concentration provided abundant opportunity for Detroit's primarily male Canadian population. Although Cadillac held a personal trade monopoly, many of his men surreptiously bartered with their Indian neighbors. Personal relations were intimate and friendly, as they had been at St. Ignace under Cadillac's management. The commandant did not discourage commingling, particularly on the part of single men. And, while he personally brought a wife from the St. Lawrence, "it was no uncommon thing for a citizen to have left behind him a lawful wife and to have selected another in Detroit from some savage tribe." A search of the Canadian parish records by Clarence Burton, Michigan's early historian, "disclosed many items of this nature."[23]

The failure of the Crown's concentration policy was evident as early as 1710. The illegal fur traffic and debauchery of Indian women persisted; French tribal allies did not all gravitate to the centers; and many of those who did did so only temporarily. The majority of the Ottawa at Detroit in 1702 had slipped back up the Michigan pensinsula by the end of the decade. Moreover, the absence of French forts and licensed traders elsewhere in the upper lakes allowed the Fox or Mesquakie (a tribe with strong Dakota and Iroquois connections) to assume the middleman role in Wisconsin, exacting tribute from Native hunters and Canadian traders alike. They spread discontent among the Algonkian tribes and threatened to carry the whole of the rich northwestern fur trade to the British.[24]

The combination of the Fox political threat and economic competition enlivened Canadian administrators. By 1716, Louis de la Porte Sieur de Louvigny had left Québec with a force of 425 men, plus farmers, carpenters, and an armorer, destined for

the straits of Michilimackinac. Coincidentally, in 1717, France's vast empire in the interior was divided. Louisiana was granted the status of a separate colony to be administered from New Orleans established in 1718. Thereafter, the French on the lower Mississippi controlled the Illinois settlements at Kaskaskia and Cahokia, exerting an influence which set these towns apart culturally, economically, and demographically from their neighbor, Peoria. The latter town, which was situated to the north of the Louisiana-Canada border retained its Canadian character, as did Vincennes, although administered from Louisiana. These two towns were the southernmost links in the eighteenth century Great Lakes trade network described in this study. While intermarriage and cultural fusion contributed to the growth of the communities on the Mississippi River bottom lands, the orientation of these towns was to the south and west. And, that orientation produced a lifeway sufficiently unique in itself to place upper Louisiana after 1717 outside the Great Lakes universe.[25]

In the north, the decision to reoccupy the stategic military sites was accompanied by the reopening of the licensed trade, limited as before to twenty-five congés and the extension of amnesty to all *coureurs de bois* who would return to the St. Lawrence. Few went home. In fact, their numbers multiplied as license holders inflated the number of canoes allowed, sneaking unknown hundreds of anonymous men into the field. Some of these men trafficked in places where no licenses had been granted, but by and large they tended to congregate about the cordon of wilderness posts garrisoned after 1714: at Fort Miamis (now Fort Wayne) on the Maumee River in northeast Indiana, (1715); Fort St. Joseph at Niles, Michigan (1715); Fort St. Louis at Peoria (1715); Fort St. Francois at La Baye or Green Bay (1717); at Madeleine Island (LaPointe) in Chaquemegon Bay (1718); at Kaministiquia on the northwest shore of Lake Superior (1717)—and between 1727 and 1750 at Fort Beauharnois on the western shore of Lake Pepin, near Frontenac, Minnesota; at Sault Ste. Marie; at Ouiatanon (Lafayette) and Vincennes, Indiana; at Fort Nipigon on the north shore of the lake of the same name; and at nearly a dozen other forts stretching to Lake Winnipeg and beyond called, jointly, "Posts of the Sea of the West." At nearly all of these places, self-contained Métis communities were to develop during the eighteenth century.[26]

Michilimackinac ranked as the most important of all the advance posts of Canada. The name, later shortened to Mackinac, which the French used to designate the shore on both sides of the straits between Lakes Michigan and Huron as well as the island itself, referred in Indian oral tradition only to the island. Michilimackinac was not as large as its sister island, Bois Blanc, whose white beaches and ash and maple groves were the haunts of springtime sugar-making and winter logging. But in the dawn mist it rose, north by east of the straits, a great, green hulk, its chalky cliffs clothed with spruce. The Ottawa and Ojibwa called the sacred island, Great Turtle. Michibou, or Nanabozho, the Algonkian spirit teacher who brought Indian religion, material culture, and moral understanding, was born there. Other spirits, some said even the Great Spirit, lived in its bowels. Ottawa passing in their canoes threw tobacco on the shore as an offering, and buried their chiefs there.[27]

Although the first French mission and trading post in the upper lakes were temporarily located upon the island itself, nearly a century of contact was to pass before the Ojibwa were persuaded to deed their "mother" to the British who then raised a fort upon her in 1779. Rather, it was upon the north shore, or at St. Ignace where Father Jacques Marquette founded a mission in 1671, that the stockade and barracks of Fort Buade were raised in 1689.

And, it was here that an advance party of several hundred men, sent to quell the Fox under Monsieur de Lignery in 1712, discovered the log and bark cabins of the *coureurs de bois* and their families. The exact population of this early Métis settlement is unknown, although among the odd one hundred *coureurs de bois* were certainly men by the names of L'Esperance, DuRivage, Vieux, Menard, and Villeneuve. These voyageurs were living with Indian women.[28]

Anticipating the arrival of a large force to subdue the Fox, Lignery's men raised, between 1715-17, a rectangular fort with corner bastions on the south side of the straits close by the Ottawa village. Soon thereafter, the mission and at least part of the St. Ignace traders moved across the six-mile expanse of water into the fort and its shadow. The caption on an anonymous map of the straits circa 1717 demonstrates to what purpose the new "fort" was immediately put:

> The fort on the south side of the Straits has a commandant, a few settlers, and even some French women, and . . . in 1716 about 600 coureurs-de-bois were gathered there during trading time.[29]

Although the garrison at the straits was the largest in the region during the French regime, its commandant outranking all his counterparts, the military force rarely numbered more than thirty-five men. The garrisons at other posts were considerably smaller and, generally, after 1742, were employees of commandant-traders who had leased or were licensed to engross the profits of a given area. At Michilimackinac, as elsewhere, the garrison engaged in little military activity "and served primarily to protect traders" and the free flow of goods and furs across the straits.[30]

Trade was the preoccupation of all residents, civilian and soldier alike. Michilimackinac was the inland seat of the Montréal merchants who, if they did not personally visit there, sent their agents to supervise the unpacking of trade-good laden canoes shipped from Montréal and Lachine late each summer. Once inside the post, goods were sorted and outfits organized for voyages to Lakes Michigan and Superior. Then, in the spring, the water gate saw the last of the voyageurs heading east with their furs weighed, baled, and marked.

The population of Michilimackinac rose and fell with the mercury. In the summer months, the narrow beach stretching west to the Ottawa villages was crowded with the canoes and portable mat and bark covered wigwams of thousands of visiting Natives who came to barter furs, corn, maple sugar, dried fish, and bear's grease for ammunition, traps, stroud, thimbles, glass beads and trinkets, and brandy, as well as to receive their annual present, a reward for a good hunt and fidelity to the crown. Moreover, several hundred voyageurs, clerks, and their *bourgeois* (wintering trader) came in to tally up the year's receipts, to revive family ties and obligations or, if single, to spend their meagre wages on riotous amusements for a few months, and, if not returning to Montréal, to catch their breath before endebting and indenturing themselves for the next season's outfit of goods.

When the thousands departed in the fall for the hunting grounds, Michilimackinac battened down for the winter. Those remaining included the garrison and its female camp followers;

families of voyageurs and traders gone for the trading season; clerks, apprentices, indentured servants, petty local merchants, representatives of Montréal trading firms; retired voyageurs and traders with their kin and servants; laborers like Joseph Ainse, builder of the rows of one-story dwellings within the fort; and slaves, both Panis (Indian) and black.[31]

Precise descriptions of the community at Michilimackinac during the French regime are relatively rare. Much of what can be pieced together about the stable residents is gleaned from the incomplete Michilimackinac register of births, marriages, and deaths stretching from 1699 to 1821. Unfortunately, the original register was destroyed and the transcription of the earliest entries up to 1722 is badly fragmented. Nevertheless, the register serves as a useful device for measuring travelers' tallies against a roster of family names persistent at the straits of Michilimackinac.[32]

An additional source for Michilimackinac at mid-century is the report and map of an officer sent by the Commandant-General of Canada, M. de la Galisonnière, to survey the route from Montréal to the straits. Michel Chartier de Lotbinière arrived at the fort toward the end of September, 1749. Eight days of wind and rain confined him to quarters, but, finally, on October 1 he was able to begin his measurements and observations. The human landscape failed to impress him.[33]

Lotbinière counted forty housed within the cedar stockade, but he encountered only "ten French families . . . among whom three are of mixed blood." None of these families farmed, although the surveyor assumed they had been "born farmers since they all came from rural areas." As far as Lotbinière could tell, the "sole occupation" of the men was "strolling around the fort's parade ground, from morn till night, smoking," and that of the women, putting on "lady-like airs" and "going from house to house for a cup of coffee or chocolate."[34]

The men called themselves "Merchants," although the surveyor insisted they were "only plain *Coureurs de Bois*." Apparently, they preferred their rough hewn log and bark-covered habitations, their "corn and grease," and their leisure to laboring to "give themselves some of the comforts of life." The residents may have appeared lazy, but Lotbinière recorded another explanation of their behavior: these men would have felt "dishonored if they cultivated the soil."[35]

Lotbinière erred in classifying the residents as mere "*coureurs de bois*." Those men whom he met in the stockade as late as October 1, 1749 were not winterers but the petty merchant elite of Michilimackinac. Unlike the summer residents of the abandoned houses, they could afford to pass the winter idly parading and smoking and to supply their wives with imported coffee and tea. What Lotbinière's description confirms, however, is the relative lack of material status distinctions characteristic of the Great Lakes communities of the French period. Even "merchants" had adapted themselves to the local environment, wearing the same clothes, eating the same foods, and occupying the same houses as those of common voyageurs. Most of their material goods were either Indian-made or were items designed for the Indian trade.[36]

Lotbinière erred on another count. Neither the men he observed nor the occupants of vacant houses were necessarily transient. While the population of Michilimackinac varied seasonally, the summer population was composed less of tourists and vagabonds than of half-time residents. The majority of Michilimackinac's inhabitants were forced to migrate in winter in response to the demands of their occupation. These were the non-merchants, men occupying the middle and lower rungs of the trade—the *bourgeois*, clerks, voyageurs and boatmen—who annually hied themselves into the interior to man distant trading posts or to winter with a Native hunting band.

Comparison of the names of house occupants on Lotbinière's map of 1749 and the register of births and marriages at Michilimackinac during the French and British periods confirms that the community at the straits had a stable population from the 1720s onward. Families of many of the householders of 1749, the Langlades, Bertrands, Desrivières, Amelins, Bourassas, Parents, Amiots, Chaboyers, Ainse, Blondeaus, and Chevaliers, can be traced over several generations.[37]

Most of Michilimackinac's growth during the French period came from within. While Lyle Stone has estimated the early population at only 30 to 50 souls, 351 baptisms were recorded between 1698 and 1765, of which only 119 were Indian and black slaves or Indian converts. And, while frequent gaps in the register make family reconstitution problematic, those families which can be even partially reassembled displayed a remarkable fecundity.[38]

TABLE 1

FAMILY SIZE
MICHILIMACKINAC
1698-1821

Baptismal date of 1st child	Families Recon-structed	Average No. of Children	Com-pleted Families*	Average No. of Children
1698–1720	5	5.20	2	9.0
1721–1730	6	7.50	3	10.0
1731–1740	6	5.33	1	9.0
1741–1750	8	4.38	3	8.0
1751–1760	15	3.00	2	4.0
1761–1770	9	2.67	0	
1771–1780	9	3.80	2	8.0
1781–1790	7	4.30	2	8.5
1791–1800	6	4.00	0	

SOURCE: "The Mackinac Register," transcribed and reprinted in *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, 18: 469–513, 19: 1–149.

*Families where the mother survived to age 40.

Between 1698 and 1765, sixty-two marriages were recorded at Michilimackinac and an additional twenty-five can be inferred from the baptismal register. Of these, twenty-nine, or roughly one-third, were contracted between French-Canadians and only three between Indian men and women. By far the largest number of marriages, 48 percent, joined Canadian employees of the fur trade to Native or Métis women. In the French period, Métis endogamy and marriage between Métis and Native appear insignificant.

There are several conclusions that can be read from the Michilimackinac register, but at base the register measures only the marital proclivities of previously unmarried, Christian, full or part-time residents desiring a church ceremony. It does not measure marriages contracted without church sanction, particularly between Canadian males and Native women who had no interest in conversion. That number may not have been large, given the social pressure generated by close company within

the stockade and the keen eye of the curé. However, a steady flow of registered illegitimate births (many of them the offspring of Panis concubines) suggests that illicit unions frequently occurred.

Not surprisingly, a rising number of residents were Métis. During the French period, 38.75 percent of all recorded baptisms were of persons at least one-eighth Indian. If one deducts the large numbers of Indians baptized, often as adults, during this period, the actual percentage of Métis births as compared to Canadian births is significantly higher. During the British period, 1765–1797, for example, when few Indians received baptism, 71.67 percent of the 131 baptisms recorded were Métis.[39]

TABLE 2

MARRIAGES BY ETHNICITY
MICHILIMACKINAC
1698–1765

N = 62

Ethnicity	Number	Percent
Between Canadians	20	32.26
Between Canadians and Indians	17	27.42
Between Canadians and Métis	13	20.97
Between Métis	1	1.61
Between Métis and Indians	3	4.85
Between Indians	1	1.61
Uncertain Ethnic Origin	7	11.29

TABLE 3

MICHILIMACKINAC BIRTHS BY ETHNICITY
1698–1765

N = 351

Ethnicity	Number	Percent
Métis	136	38.75
Euro-Americans	78	22.22
Indian	115	32.76
Black	4	1.14
Uncertain	18	5.13

TABLE 4

MICHILIMACKINAC BIRTHS BY ETHNICITY
1765–1797

N = 131

Ethnicity	Number	Percent
Métis	94	71.76
Euro-Americans	8	6.11
Indian	13	9.92
Black	2	1.53
Uncertain	14	10.69

The small explosion of children born of mixed marriages revealed in the register explains why the picket walls at Michilimackinac were enlarged at least three times during the French regime. And still quarters were cramped. The average civilian house measured only seventeen feet four inches by twenty feet five inches, with two three-foot five-inch doors and a tiny garden attached.[40]

Despite the pressures of space, however, Lotbinière's 1749 map and the land allotment ledger for Detroit, 1749–52 indicate that few residents of either of these posts received title to households and lands outside the forts before 1749. Prior to that time they doubtless held rotating strips in a common field and grazed their few animals on a common pasture, but townsmen like Charles Langlade, the Métis son of Michilimackinac trader Augustin Langlade and a well-connected Ottawa woman, who had built homes beyond the walls did so at their own risk. As late as 1763 the majority of Michilimackinac's inhabitants still made their homes within the walls, although at least one resident, René Bourassa, had by then received more than eight concessions of land.[41]

René Bourassa was a trader, not a farmer, however. And Michilimackinac grew in response to the demands of the fur trade rather than the grainery. Its residents tended to eschew farming except for family truck patches. Food stuffs, particularly corn, squash, beans, and maple sugar, were acquired from the neighboring Ottawa who, until their fields gave out circa 1741, were situated a few miles distant. After that date, residents purchased corn and bear's grease from the new Ottawa villages

stretching from Arbre Croche along Little Traverse Bay and at Cheboygan, Michigan.[42]

If the Ottawa crop failed, the town turned to the Potawatomi and Menomini at Green Bay. Fish, particularly whitefish, sturgeon and trout, were likewise procured from Indian fishermen who speared their catch through the ice in winter and employed long hemp nets in summer. While a few European staples and delicacies such as coffee, teas, chocolate, biscuits, and white flour were imported from Montréal during the French period, for the most part residents relied upon local resources, catching and drying fish and hunting for game, water fowl, and small birds. Enormous numbers of pigeons and squabs, which the Indians did not seem to relish, roosted in upper Michigan between March and June, providing a rich source of food in the starving months between corn harvesting and the ice-free spring passage of supply ships from the east.[43]

The disinclination of men of the trade to farm and the rather tight-fisted land policy of both the French and British at Michilimackinac and Detroit meant that growth *in situ* was limited to those who could afford to stay. Thus, despite a high birth rate, particularly of Métis, the number of year-round residents increased undramatically during the French and British regimes and tended to reflect the ingress of paid affiliates of the military like the armorer, joiner, blacksmith, and carpenter, or official representatives of the colony, e.g., notary and priest. These men, out of all proportion to their actual numbers, lent increasing diversity and complexity to the social structure of the major trading communities as the eighteenth century progressed.

The British takeover seems to have spawned a major movement of Canadians and Métis out of the fort at Michilimackinac, although in 1767 a traveler, John Portheous, noted that a much enlarged stockade—nearly 110 yards in length — still enclosed much of the town with its "square, church and several lanes." Residents, if they farmed, were doing so across the straits at the adjunct community of St. Ignace which had never been completely abandoned. The fort itself stood on a "dry barren beach," whose sands, whipped by the winds funneling through the narrow water passage, blew through the "crevices of houses" and into the eyes. The old Indian field, two or three miles distant, was being used as pasture, but the soil was "neither very fit for grain, nor Luxuriant in Grass." Maple sugar and dried fish were the staple manufactures of the one hundred or so families dwelling at Michilimackinac at that date.[44]

Only a decade later, Michilimackinac had become a relatively complex and socially differentiated commercial and military center whose principal British residents imported most of their material goods from the east. A suburb of nearly one hundred houses skirted the stockade. Farming was still a minor activity however, and the persistent wind and thin soil ultimately persuaded the British to relocate the town and fort upon the island in 1779.

Mackinac was not destined to grow into a modern agri-business center. Under the British aegis, which placed greater emphasis upon military activity, the town lost its simple occupational homogeneity and local orientation but it was not weaned of its attachment to the trade. Although several British and American traders established moderate sized farms and pastures, the majority of residents at the island continued to pursue trade-related occupations, to intermarry (see table 5), and to live in semi-Indianized fashion. In 1797, Mackinac had some seventy-nine log and bark houses, two stores, and a Catholic church hugging the southern shore of the island which looked out across the narrows to the hardwood groves of Bois Blanc Island.[45]

At Detroit where, in contrast, a salubrious climate, rich soil and government policy encouraged farming, the British ascendancy seems to have slowed an earlier movement of Canadians onto their own lands. Both Johnathan Carver and John Portheous noted in the late 1760s that the eighty to one hundred houses within the walls were occupied primarily by English traders, whereas the Canadians and Métis had plantations scattered about the river above as far as Lake St. Clair.[46]

The titles to most of these "plantations," plus gifts of oxen and seed, were granted by French commandants at the post between 1734 and 1753 to Québec *habitants* as inducement to settlement by agriculturists. By British and American standards the farmers of Detroit were lackadaisacal workers, but the point is that they did farm, raising sufficient surplus to feed their kin and to provision the lower Michigan fur trade. During the French regime, therefore, many Detroit residents did not engage primarily in the fur traffic and as a result métissage occurred less frequently there than elsewhere, even though the physical appearance of the settlement and its residents differed little from those of Michilimackinac.[47]

The layout of the Canadian community at Detroit was reminiscent of the string settlements along the St. Lawrence, themselves being early adaptations to the needs of trade and trans-

TABLE 5

MICHILIMACKINAC MARRIAGES BY ETHNICITY
1765–1818

N = 43

Ethnicity	Number	Percent
Between Euro-Americans*	8	18.60
Between Euro-Americans and Indians	6	13.95
Between Euro-Americans and Métis	22	51.16
Between Métis	2	4.65
Between Métis and Indians	2	4.65
Between Indians	0	0.00
Between Blacks	1	2.33
Uncertain Ethnic Origin	2	4.65

*Includes French and British Canadians, Europeans and Americans

portation in an alien environment. Unlike the stockade community, with its rectangular grid, orderly rowhouses, and avenues, Detroit at large was laid out along the water line. Each man staked out his plot based on the available river shoreline, his cabin hugging the bank and his picketed garden trailing like a streamer into the timber behind. The "estates" were narrow, "only 1, 2 or 3 Square Acres in front," and relatively equal in size. After a generation or two, additional log and bark cabins sprang up alongside the original, occupied by sons and grandsons and their families, so that increasingly the straggle on the shore appeared from the water road "like a continued town or village."[48]

Detroit was the largest town in the Great Lakes region after 1765, reflecting the greater commercial and administrative importance attached to it by the British. Significantly, however, while British and later American merchants flocked to the urban core at the stockade, the old Canadian population was forced to cope with its burgeoning population through dispersal and a shift from farming to trade. Governor Henry Hamilton declared at the close of 1778 that he had never granted lands at Detroit despite pressure from settlers "whose farms [were] small and families numerous." The consequences, he admitted, were that "young men growing to age engage as canoe men, go off to distant settlements and in general become vagabonds, so that

the settlement does not increase in numbers as may be seen by comparing the recensement of 1776 with that of 1766."[49]

Whatever the motivations behind British restraint, at least some of Detroit's Creoles and Métis met the problem by establishing a new settlement without the benefit of European land titles. During the 1780s, as lands at Detroit moved into the hands of sharp-witted English merchants, several dozen Métis families moved south to the River Raisin under the leadership of Francois Navarre who had acquired a tract from the Potawatomi. More than one hundred families had built cabins on the River Raisin by 1788, recreating both the spatial patten and life style they had enjoyed at Detroit for two or three generations.[50]

The community at "Rivière Raisin" or Frenchtown was a late example of a second type of Great Lakes Métis settlement which *we* have chosen to call corporate trading towns. Unlike the commercial-military centers of Michilimackinac and Detroit, whose increasingly diversified economy and strategic locations allowed for potentially unlimited growth, towns like Frenchtown did not, prior to inundation by American farmers, shrug off their dependence upon the fur trade and the local subsistence base. As a result, the population of few exceeded five or six hundred persons.

Corporate trading towns were marked by a simple social organization, occupational homogeneity, dependence upon either Michilimackinac or Detroit for supplies and recruits, and upon a local "home guard" or Indian band for surplus foods. Less apparent were the clear status and wealth demarkations of a Michilimackinac or Detroit which set apart royal officials, commandants, and eastern merchants from lesser Creole and Métis merchants and traders, military officers, master craftsmen, and the laboring ranks. The usual presence of a commandant-trader, a small garrison, a militia captain, and occasional hired farmers, blacksmith, notary public, and missionary, however, provided the outlines of a broader institutional structure which residents struggled to maintain in isolation. The upper class, such as it was, i.e., the senior Creole traders and their male Métis offspring, assumed when necessary the roles of priest, commandant, judge, and notary.

Such towns functioned as corporate entities, laying out relatively equal ribbon-shaped lots, common fields, and pastures; regulating trespass and theft; and transferring lands and houses. They did so—with the exception of Vincennes, Indiana, which

was administered from Louisiana and where many of the eighty-eight landholders of 1773 claimed pre-1763 French patents—without the benefit of European or American titles, having purchased or received freely their estates from neighboring tribal lands.[51]

At Green Bay and Prairie du Chien, for example, prominent traders formally purchased lands of the Menomini and Fox, respectively, but there, as at St. Ignace, Sault Ste. Marie, Fort Wayne, Indiana and other corporate trading towns, title was not lodged with the inhabitants until after the War of 1812. And, then, American surveyors were forced to take verbal depositions to untangle the Métis' customary rights. In contrast, claims at Michilimackinac and Detroit carried the weight of French and British documentation.[52]

It was no wonder that the residents of Frenchtown on the River Raisin "had little knowledge of or interest in the exact distance their land extended into the woods," and "gathered their firewood and did their hunting without regard for boundary lines." Preoccupied with the fur trade, they farmed "in the most primitive manner," and "but a short distance back from the river." Métis townsmen cut few land roads; instead, the river served as the year-round highway, a source of food, and as a dumping ground for refuse and accumulated manure which they carted "on to the ice in winter."[53]

The growth of the corporate trading towns was accelerated by the British takeover in 1765; however, population pressure and limited opportunities were sufficient catalysts without an expansionistic British policy which encouraged new men to enter the field and propelled old residents out of Michilimackinac and Detroit. Most of these towns had their beginnings in the French period. All were located along rivers, bays or lakeshores at important breaks in trade or portage points. They were generally sites of Indian agricultural activity and had often been the locations of early French forts and/or missions.

By 1746, for example, on the lower Wabash at Post Vincennes, forty male inhabitants and their families and five slaves commingled with a band of 750 Piankeshaw warriors. To the north at Post Ouiatanon, present-day Lafayette, Indiana, twenty householders were living alongside six hundred Wea warriors and their kin. At Fort St. Joseph on the St. Joseph's River near Niles, Michigan, a thriving trade with the neighboring Pota-

watomi had gathered forty to fifty Canadian families to its environs by 1750.[54]

The mild climate and rich fur fields of the Green Bay area were attracting traders at least as early as 1720. In 1732, a contract to trade at La Baye was issued to Didace Mouet de Moras, the brother of Michilimackinac trader Augustin Langlade, founder of Green Bay's most illustrious Métis family. By the 1740s, several traders with Indian wives were permanently residing there, among them Pierre Reaume, Claude Caron, LeBeau, and Jourdain.[55]

The Métis community at Green Bay was only solidly launched in 1763, however, when following the fall of Michilimackinac to the British, Langlade, his Ottawa wife, and Métis son Charles abandoned their residences at the straits and engrossed fifteen acres on the east bank of the Fox River opposite the fort. Charles Langlade, whose military career has received less acclaim than it deserves, enjoyed the patronage of both British merchants and the title of Indian Superintendent in the Green Bay district. Through his influence, members of other well-connected Michilimackinac trading families migrated to "La Baye" where they settled upon ribbon plots upriver from the Langlades. By 1785, according to Augustin Grignon, one of Langlade's descendants, the community contained at least fifty-six permanent residents — all traders, voyageurs, hunters, and Indian slaves. Grignon, who was five years old in 1785, seems to have recalled only a portion of Green Bay's early residents. While no Englishmen resided on the Fox River before 1792, based upon a reconstitution of early families and land claims testimony, the population in 1790 may have been as high as 170.[56]

Although the residents of Green Bay had marked off common fields and pasture, they, like the inhabitants of Frenchtown and its sister communities, made little effort to grow or husband what they could acquire from the neighboring Menomini and Winnebago or as easily do without. Traveling through Green Bay in 1793 Scots trader Robert Dickson thought it shameful that

> there have long been settled some Canadians [here] who sow but little grain, they have about 100 head of Horned Cattle and a number of Horses which run wild in the woods most part of the year. Altho' every one on his Road to the Mississippi passes La Bay and

> would mostly wish to purchase Corn, Flour, Butter, or fresh Provisions, Yet such is the indolence of the People settled there that we pay half a Dollar for a quart of milk and this at all times not to be had.[57]

Twenty years later, the forty or fifty Métis heads of household at Green Bay were "generally old worn out voyageurs or boatmen, who [,] having become unfit for the hardships of the Indian trade, had taken wives generally of the Menomonee tribe, and settled down on a piece of land." Settling down for men of the trade generally meant fishing and tinkering in their gardens and orchards, however, for they only "pretended to cultivate the soil."[58]

Similar trading towns were growing at Peoria, St. Ignace, Fort Miamis (Wayne), and Sault Ste. Marie on the eve of the British takeover in 1763 and in that year French and Spanish traders and voyageurs participated in a trade fair at the "Dog Plain." Prairie du Chien had long been a great thoroughfare and market for neighboring Sioux, Sauk, and Mesquakie bands, as well as the site of Perrot's early Fort Nicolas, but it did not attract a permanent Métis population until the British period.[59]

In 1767, Johnathan Carver described the congregation at the juncture of the Wisconsin and Mississippi Rivers as a "large town" and "a great mart." Less than fifteen years later, John Long affirmed that Prairie du Chien was a "town of considerable note, built after the Indian manner," whose residents were primarily traders who had taken Mesquakie, Sauk, or Dakota wives. Some primitive farming was carried on there, but not until the Mesquakie formally ceded nine square miles of prairie in 1781 to a group of British traders did residents take an interest in their lands.[60]

British and American traders did not penetrate the Prairie du Chien community until the turn of the eighteenth century. But, by 1807, the Métis and Canadian population had stretched itself along the Mississippi bottom for "four miles up and down the river, and nearly a mile wide, from the river to the bluff." They occupied 37 houses, which, according to John Reynolds's generous estimates, held 370 inhabitants, plus several households on the west side of the river at Girard's River. Three years later, Canadians Dubuque, Antaya, Girard, Brisbois, and Boilvin were still the principal settlers, all of whom had Indian or Métis wives. This pattern was true of the less influential settlers as well, so

that several decades later Reynolds could claim that "many of the present generation have some Indian blood in their veins." Colonel John Shaw commented similarly in 1815-16, when the trading village had grown to fifty or sixty houses and counted, in summer, at most six hundred to eight hundred non-Indian inhabitants.[61]

Because Prairie du Chien drew some of its residents from the American Bottom in southern Illinois, agriculture appears to have played a more significant role in the life of the settlement than was true of other Métis towns, especially after 1812. Nonetheless, when Major Stephen Long visited the community in 1817, he found that the inhabitants, "principally of French and Indian extraction," had been "degenerating . . . instead of improving."[63]

Compared to Green Bay, Peoria, and St. Joseph's, Prairie du Chien had, as Long described it, a sizeable common field:

> About one mile back of the village is the Grand Farm, which is an extensive enclosure cultivated by the inhabitants in common. It is about six miles in length, and from a quarter to half a mile in width, surrounded by a fence on one side and the river bluffs on the other, and thus secured from the depredations of the cattle and horses that were at large upon the prairies. Upon this farm, corn, wheat, potatoes, etc., are cultivated to considerable advantage; and *with proper care*, no doubt, large crops of these articles, together with fruits of various kinds might be raised. (itals. mine)

The residents made no effort, however, "to seed the ground with any kind of grain except the summer wheat, which is never so productive as the fall or winter wheat," and the towns' continued dependence upon the Sauk and Fox farmers of the Mississippi as fur trade provisioners suggests that Prairie du Chien raised crops primarily for its own subsistence. Nonetheless, farmer *habitants* were more likely, as at Detroit, to marry among themselves or within the Creole communities at Kaskaskia, St. Genevieve, St. Louis, and Cahokia than to establish alliances with Native women.[63]

In contrast, far to the north at the rapids of the St. Mary's river linking Lakes Huron and Superior, the Métis community of Sault Ste. Marie exhibited almost no occupational diversity. Although this site of one of the earliest French missions and

posts in the Great Lakes had attracted a handful of traders and their Native spouses during the French regime, in 1761 Alexander Henry the Elder found only four houses occupied by the interpreter, Jean Baptiste Cadotte, his Ojibwa wife, and Métis family.

The growing rivalry between traders out of Hudson's Bay, French Canadians and Métis resident in the Great Lakes region, and the independent associations of Scots and Englishmen, who joined to form the North West Company after 1774, reestablished the strategic importance of the Sault. In 1777, the settlement included "a small picketted fort, built by the Indians, and about ten log houses for the residence of English and French traders." A little more than a decade later, in 1789, Alexander Mackenzie found ten or twelve independent traders and their families living at the Sault. After 1796, when the British were at least theoretically obliged to abandon their posts and interests south of Lake Superior, and Grand Portage eclipsed Michilimackinac as the rendezvous of the nor'westers, the British North West Company and its ill-fated rival, the XY Company, lodged their trading headquarters on the British side of the rapids. A short-lived combination of traders from the American side, the Michilimackinac Company, also had a post at the Sault.[64]

Significantly, the highest level of métissage for the early corporate towns occurred at the Sault, where by 1800, a growing number of French Canadian, Métis, and Scots and Irish traders had fanned out along both sides of the rapids with their Native wives and children. Among them were J. B. Nolin, Joseph Piquet, Laurent Barthe, and François Comparé. Solely occupied with the greater northwest fur traffic, Sault Ste. Marie imported its corn from the Ottawa at L'Arbre Croche and lived year-round on the whitefish snared by the Ojibwa, maple sugar, water fowl and game. A limited number of artisans—blacksmith, cook, tailor, cooper—were employed by the major trading concerns.[65]

Because of its location on the thoroughfare to Lake Superior and the Canadian northwest, Sault Ste. Marie felt the impact of British institutions and personnel far earlier than most of the Great Lakes trading towns. Further south, as late as 1800, the Americans appeared as only a speck on the eastern horizon and even direct British influence was minimal. While the commercial entrepots of Detroit and Michilimackinac, fortified by British troops after 1763, had attracted a few British merchants and

adventurers prior to 1776 and a still greater number between 1783 and 1796, the remote settlements were surprisingly free of English-speakers until the 1790s.

In seeming disregard for the era of commercial expansion ushered in by the British ascendancy, the trading towns south of Lake Superior grew from within and new villages sprang up along the rivers and streams watering Native hunting grounds. In addition to fur traders and their employees, such towns usually lured a few independent tradesmen and farmers, plus an occasional miller, in the years prior to 1815. Sporadically, they were blessed with the "protection" of a garrison, "order" imposed by a civil official and the absolution granted by a visiting priest. For the most part, however, these oases of trade thrived in isolation—a mixture of French Canadian and Indian culture—depending for their subsistence, household goods, and social arrangements upon the materials of the local environment. At Green Bay, the only corporate town for which population estimates have been attempted in the absence of a vital register, of eighty-four households noted between 1796 and 1815, seventy-three or 87 percent of them contained at least one Métis or Native parent.[66]

By the last decades of the eighteenth century, a third type of Métis settlement was beginning to punctuate the Great Lakes landscape. Scarcely deserving the name "village," these new communities or hamlets sprung up around what were known in the vernacular of the trade as "jack-knife" posts, i.e., subsidiary trading outlets run by a single trader and his employees or by one or more trading families related by blood or marriage. Milwaukee, Wisconsin, developed by the Vieau family of Green Bay, was a typical jack-knife post, akin to many of the smaller trading stations established during the British regime in northern Wisconsin and Minnesota as part of the Fond du Lac Department. A very few of these petite trading communities, such as LaPointe, Wisconsin and Chicago, Illinois, had once been occupied as secondary military forts by the French.

The roster of trading hamlets is long, particularly if one includes sites in present-day Minnesota. The more important settlements included Saginaw, Grand Rapids, Baillytown, St. Joseph, L'Anse, and Bertrand, Michigan; South Bend and Peru, Indiana; Chicago, Rockton, and Kankakee (Bourbonnais), Illinois; Lac Vieux Desert, Lac du Flambeau, Lac Court Oreilles, Kaukauna,

TABLE 6

GREEN BAY
1750–1829

Years	Heads of Household	Estimated* Population	Métis Heads of House-hold	Métis** Households	Percent
1740–1796	27	171	4	22	81.48
1796–1816	84	533	22	73	86.90
1816–1829	142	897	40–60	85	59.86

Based upon a reconstitution of families of household heads who appeared as residents in at least two different years.

*Household heads multiplied by a factor of 6.35, the average household size in 1830, according to the Federal Census of Michigan Territory for Brown County.

**Includes all households where one or both parents were at least one-eighth Indian.

Butte des Morts, Portage, Milwaukee, Chippewa Falls, Wisconsin; Fond du Lac, Mendota, Traverse des Sioux, Crow Wing and trading stations at Sandy Lake, Lac qui Parle and Lake Traverse, Minnesota.

Villages of this type usually housed as few as one and as many as four or five traders, their wives, and Métis children, plus voyageurs, engagés, and, if wealthy, slaves or domestic servants. The sites selected most often skirted the wintering ground of a hunting band with whom a marital alliance had been forged. Traders' wives in these intimate encampments were likely to be close relatives—sisters or nieces—of the local band leader rather than outsiders.

In contrast to Michilimackinac's and Detroit's increasingly diverse and stratified multi-ethnic populations which were dominated by an English-speaking commercial elite, and to the corporate towns' preponderance of Métis trade employees, trading hamlets housed only fur trade personnel with Native and Métis wives, surrounded by a sea of Indian hunters and relatives. There were several exceptions worth noting. Chicago's "White" founder, John Kinzie of Detroit, married two White captives successively. His step-brother and partner, Thomas Forsyth, likewise wed a captive, Keziah Malotte, (the sister of Simon Girty's wife), after his first wife (an Ojibwa woman), died in childbirth. White captives reared among Indians did not challenge the customs and values of fur trade society, however. By experience they shared more in common with Métis women reared in Indian country than with their American cousins further east.[67]

Residents of trading hamlets took little delight in farming; instead, they relied upon corn and wild rice gathered by their tribal neighbors, foodstuffs imported from commercial centers, and produce grown by engagés in small truck patches. Occasionally, as was true of Antoine Ouilmette at Chicago prior to 1812, independent traders raised and sold some livestock, primarily horses and pigs. A few, like Ouilmette's predecessor, Jean Baptist Point du Sable, raised sufficient corn and wheat to warrant a bakehouse. However, few hamlets attracted farmers or *habitants* per se. In fact, the only tradesmen were blacksmiths imported to care for the metal accoutrements of the trade and a carpenter or sawyer to construct buildings and carts. Most engagés hired on expecting to perform a variety of manual duties in the interior and even blacksmiths like Jean Baptiste Miran-

deau, who settled at Milwaukee circa 1798, supplemented their income by trapping or trading when the opportunity presented itself.[68]

Such small communities were often little more than patriarchal fiefdoms. If not related through their Native or Métis wives by marriage, the major residents of trading hamlets were predictably brothers, cousins, or fathers and sons, surrounded by their Métis families. After 1790, the extensive Cadotte clan of Sault Ste. Marie ruled at LaPointe, Wisconsin, with subsidiary posts at several of northern Wisconsin's inland lakes; the interrelated Pacquettes, Lecuyers, Fillys and Roys at Portage, Wisconsin; the Vieux and Juneau families at Milwaukee, after the kin-connected LaFramboise and Beaubien families migrated to Chicago; the Chevaliers, Bertrands and Burnetts on the St. Joseph River in Michigan; the Godfroys and Richardvilles on the Wabash in Indiana; and the Ducharmes and Grignons at Kaukauna and Butte des Morts, Wisconsin. Outsiders settled uneasily at these spots. Whether driven out by group pressure or foul means, most competitors did not stay longer than two or these seasons.[69]

Since the arm of civil government rarely reached these settlements prior to 1815, traders took up, without title, lands according to need and desire. The new posts erected by the North West Company and their competitors in northern Wisconsin and Minnesota usually were fortified by a stockade and provided housing for employees in the form of barracks. Villages settled by a trading family with kin ties to an adjacent Indian village had no need of such defenses. Households at Chicago and Milwaukee, for example, sprawled along the the rivers' banks.[70]

Population rarely exceeded one hundred persons, most of whom were transient engagés hired for the winter hunting season. Since the purpose of these communities was to engross the traffic of a hunting band occupying a limited region with limited wildlife resources, urban concentration or extensive cultivation were senseless. As it was, depletion of game reserves caused by overhunting fueled a persistent Native search for underexploited grounds and the continual migration of traders toward richer fur fields. To the extent that Indian hunters and White traders consciously attempted to "manage" the resources of a particular region, trading posts could be expected to rotate seasonally between several locations. Ultimately, however, the

locus of the most intense activity shifted to the north and west, and as this occurred new trading hamlets sprang into existense.[71]

By 1815, tangible evidence of a 150 year long alliance between Canadian men of the fur trade and Native women was everywhere in abundance. Throughout the upper Great Lakes region, towns and villages populated by a People of mixed heritage illustrated the vitality of the intermarriage compact. The absence of vital records nearly everywhere makes enumeration of the residents of Great Lakes fur trade society difficult; that they were a sizeable and influential population should be obvious, however.

Grace Nute conservatively estimated that in 1777 five thousand voyageurs plied the waterways of the greater northwest. Six years later British merchants at the Paris peace table, who were furious at the potential loss of the fur fields south of Lake Superior to the Americans, counted ten thousand inhabitants at the chief posts of Niagara, Detroit, and Michilimackinac. The figure does not seem unrealistic, despite the obvious benefits of inflation to the British. In 1780, the British at Montréal licensed 3,048 men for the trade west of Niagara. Of course a fair percentage—perhaps as many as one-half to two-thirds—of these men did not remain in the interior, take Indian wives, or rear Métis children. On the other hand, this number does not account for the numbers of Métis already resident, many of whom were unlicensed freemen, as well as traders, hunters and voyageurs, who hired on at Michilimackinac and the inland posts. Nor does it include woman and children.[72]

By the late 1820s, a population of ten thousand to fifteen thousand residents of Métis communities south and west of Lakes Superior and Huron seems a plausible estimate. Lewis Cass informed John C. Calhoun in 1819 that in Michigan Territory alone (Michigan and Wisconsin) "there are not more than eight thousand Inhabitants." Indiana and Illinois also had sizeable Métis concentrations at this date, as did what would become the state of Minnesota. John Johnston, a prominent British trader at Sault Ste. Marie with an Ojibwa wife and a flock of Métis children, was more familiar with the country west of Lake Michigan that was Cass. Both his son George and his son-in-law, Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, served as Indian agents for the combined Sault Ste. Marie-Michilimackinac agency. While Johnston made no tallies, he was sufficiently cognizant of the trading class penchant for Native women and the prodigious size of

Métis families to worry about the birth rate. In 1822, he wrote to the senator from Ohio, Colonel Trimble, that "the Canadians and half bloods all over the country are very numerous."[73]

In addition to the numerical strength of fur trade society, which was equal to or even larger than most individual tribal populations in the Great Lakes region by 1822, these folk had made a distinctive residential imprint on the Great Lakes region prior to American settlement. By the early nineteenth century, they had establish a network of corporate towns and trading villages linked economically and socially to the commercial emporia of Michilimackinac and Detroit. The residents of such towns were not transient vagabonds, although the requirements of their occupation led them on an annual round from town to winter hunting ground, and to the warehouses of Mackinac or Detroit. The commitment to place can be seen in the persistence of family names over several generations in the same location.[74]

On the other hand, because fur trade society was not an agricultural society, its members did not develop a keen sense of the value of individual property rights, particularly in the smaller hamlets where houses were easily bartered or swapped among neighbors and even improved lands were sold for a pittance to more sanguine Americans. Trade was the heartbeat of Métis growth and vitality, and because success in the occupation demanded an ever enlarging sphere of contacts, the strongest forces operating on trading towns were centripetal. The eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries saw a host of Métis intermarriages linking the dominant lineages of the Great Lakes communities. Intermarriage with distant hunting bands also saw the establishment and expansion of new trading hamlets.

Such intraregional mobility seems to have fostered, by the early decades of the nineteenth century, a personal and group identity which was less place-specific than regionally and occupationally defined. In the 1850s, J. G. Kohl happened upon a Métis voyageur in Minnesota who articulated this sense of himself:

> Ou je reste? Je ne peux pas te le dire. Je suis Voyageur - je suis Chicot, Monsieur. Je reste partout. Mon grand-pêre était Voyageur: il est mort en voyage. Mon pêre était Voyageur: il est mort en voyage. Je mourrai aussi en voyage, et un autre chicot prendra ma place. Such is our course of life.[75]

The geographic mobility of Great Lakes Métis was crucial to the spread of the fur trade, but ultimately it was a profound liability. The very diffuseness of fur trade communities, whose members had married among and were related to more than a dozen tribes—Algonkian, Siouan and Iroquoian speakers— made group solidarity and combined action almost impossible to sustain. In the end, Great Lakes Métis identity, like the transitional economy which gave it life, was to prove a fragile construction.

Between 1815 and 1850, years which witnessed the sudden florescence of a distinctive Métis population and culture radiating outward from the juncture of the Assiniboine and Red Rivers, present-day Winnipeg, the old fur trade communities of the Great Lakes region collapsed, drowned in the flood of American settlement and capitalistic expansion. But perhaps this was not coincidence. The "new people" of Red River—not merely biracial, multilingual and bicultural, but the proud owners of a new language; of a syncretic cosmology and religious repertoire; of distinctive modes of dress, cuisine, architecture, vehicles of transport, music and dance; and after 1815 of a quasi-military political organization, a flag, a bardic tradition, a rich folklore and a national history—sprang only metaphorically from the soil. Many human roads led to Red River, and one of them stretched from the southeast, from the Great Lakes country.

NOTES

1. Darcy Ribeiro, *The Americas and Civilization*, trans. Linton Lomas Barrett and Marie McDavid Barrett (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1972), pp. 175–76.

2. D. Bruce Sealey and Antoine S. Lussier, *The Métis: Canada's Forgotten People* (Winnipeg, Manitoba: Pemmican Publications, 1975), p. 1.

3. William H. Keating, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Source of St. Peter's River, Lake Winnepeek, Lake of the Woods, etc. etc. performed in the Year 1823, by order of the Hon. J. C. Calhoun, Secretary of War Under the Command of Stephen H. Long, Major U. S. T. E. Comp. from the Notes of Major Long, Messrs, Say, Keating, and Colhoun, by William H. Keating* . . . 2 vols. (Philadelphia: H. C. Carey and I. Lea, 1824), 1: 75–76.

4. For a discussion about the nature of tribes and ethnic groups, how they are formed, and how their membership is defined and bounded see Morton H. Fried, *The Notion of Tribe* (Menlo Park, California: Cummings Publishing Company, 1975), especially pp. 101–05; Elizabeth Colson, "Contemporary Tribes and the Development of Nationalism," in June Helm, ed., *Essays on the Problem of Tribe: Proceedings of the 1967 Annual Spring Meeting of the American Ethnological Society* (Seattle and London: American Ethnological Society, University of

Washington Press, 1963), pp. 201–06; Frank Bessac, "Cultunit and Ethnic Unit—Process and Symbolism," in Helm, ed., pp. 58–79; Raoul Naroll, "On Ethnic Unit Classification," *Current Anthropology* 5 (1965): 283–312; Frederik Barth, ed., *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Difference* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1969). For how this body of theory has been applied to Canadian Métis today see Joe Sawchuk, *The Métis of Manitoba: Reformulation of an Ethnic Identity* (Toronto: Peter Martin Associates Ltd., 1973). For a brillantly reasoned effort to deny "ethnicity," the universal applications it has recently been awarded, and the forceful suggestion that not all ethnic identities are similar and may be ambiguous, fuzzy, unarticulated, situational, and "tangled," see Karen I. Blu, *The Lumbee Problem: The Making of an American Indian People*, Cambridge Studies in Cultural Systems (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1980), pp. 200–35.

5. Jennifer S. H. Brown, "Linguistic Solitudes in the Fur Trade: Some Changing Social Categories and Their Implications," in Arthur Ray and Carol Judd, eds., *Old Trails and New Directions: Proceedings of the Third North American Fur Trade Conference* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), pp. 147–59; Robert E. Bieder, "Scientific Attitudes Towards Indian Mixed-Bloods in Early Nineteenth Century America," Paper read at the Ethnohistory section of the 43rd International Congress of Americanists, Vancouver, British Columbia, August 1979.

6. "Half-breed" was in use among English-speakers in Canada at least as early as 1773. References to Métis and Métifs in the Illinois country date from the 1750s. See, for instance, Father Vivier's letter of 8 June 1750 in Rueben Gold Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610–1791*, 73 vols. (Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers Company, 1896–1901; New York: Pageant Book Company, 1959) 69: 145. Henry Rowe Schoolcraft referred to the Métif (his brother-in-law, William Johnston, used "half-breed") in 1825. See his *Personal Memoirs of a Residence of Thirty Years with the Indian Tribes on the American Frontiers: with brief Notices of Passing Events, Facts, and Opinions, A. D. 1812 to A. D. 1842* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo, and Company, 1851; reprint ed., New York: AMS Press, 1978), p. 206. See also Keating, 1: 106; Caleb Atwater, *The Indians of the Northwest, Their Manners, Customs etc. etc., or Remarks Made on a Tour to Prairie du Chien and Thence to Washington City in 1829* (Columbus, Ohio: O. I. N. Whiting, 1831), p. 180.

7. George Flower in Shirley S. McCord, ed., *Travel Accounts of Indiana, 1679–1961; A Collection of Observations by Wayfaring Foreigners, Itinerants, and Peripatetic Hoosiers* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historial Bureau, 1970), pp. 79–80; Leonard Lux, "The Vincennes Donation Lands," *Indiana Historical Society Publications* 15 (1949): 431–32.

8. Jacqueline Peterson, "The People in Between: Indian-White Marriage and the Genesis of a Métis Society and Culture in the Great Lakes Region, 1680–1830," Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois-Chicago Circle, 1981.

9. George Croghan, quoted in Joseph Jablow, *Indians of Illinois and Indiana: Illinois, Kickapoo and Potawatomi Indians* (New York and London: Garland American Indian Ethnohistory Series, 1974), pp. 248–49.

10. William H. Keating, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Source of St. Peter's River, Lake Winnepeek, Lake of the Woods, etc. . . . performed in the Year 1823*, by order of the Hon. J. C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, under the command of

Stephen H. Long, Major, V. S. T. E. Comp. from the notes of Major Long, Messrs. Say, Keating, and Colhoun, by William H. Keating . . . 2 vols. (London: G. B. Whittaker, 1825) 1:75.

11. There is a sizeable literature on the fur trade in Canada and, by extension, the Great Lakes region under French and British rule. Considerable work still needs to be done on the Great Lakes trade during the American regime. See, in particular, Harold A. Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada*, rev. ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970); Louise Phelps Kellogg, *The French Régime in Wisconsin and the Northwest* (Madison, Wisconsin: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1925) and *The British Régime in Wisconsin and the Northwest* (Madison, Wisconsin: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1935); Wayne E. Stevens, *The Northwest Fur Trade, 1763–1800* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1928); G. C. Davidson, *The Northwest Company* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1918); E. E. Rich, *The Fur Trade and the Northwest to 1857* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967); Kenneth W. Porter, *John Jacob Astor, Business Man* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1931); Ida A. Johnson, *The Michigan Fur Trade* (Lansing, Michigan: Michigan Historical Commission, 1919); Bert Anson, "The Fur Traders in Northern Indiana, 1796–1850, "Ph.D. diss. Indiana University, 1953. Collections of documents and first-hand accounts include Charles M. Gates, *Five Fur Traders of the Northwest* (St. Paul, Minnesota: Minnesota Historical Society, 1965); L. R. Masson, *Les bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest: Recits de voyages, lettres et rapports inédits relatifs au Nord-Ouest canadien*, 2 vols. (New York: Antiquarian Press, 1960); E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents relative to the colonial history of the state of New-York, procured in Holland, England and France by John Romeyn Brodhead, Esq., agent under and by virtue of an act of the legislature. . . .* 15 vols. (Albany, New York: Weed, Parsons and Company, printers, 1853–87), particularly vol. 10, hereafter cited as *NYCD*; "The French Regime in Wisconsin," and "Fur-trade on the Upper Lakes, 1778–1815," in *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, 31 vols. (Madison, Wisconsin: 1854–1931), 16–18, 19, hereafter cited as *WHC*; W. S. Wallace, ed., *Documents Relating to the North West Company* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1934); William Johnson, "Letters on the Fur Trade," in *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society Collections*, or *Michigan Historical Collections*, 40 vols. (East Lansing, Michigan, 1874/76–1929), vol. 37: 132–207. Hereafter cited as *MPHC*.

12. The definitive work on the Canadian Métis, their origins and emergence as a distinct ethnic group, is still Marcel Giraud, *Le Métis Canadien, son rôle dans l'histoire des provinces de l'Ouest* (Paris: Institut d'Ethnologie, 1945), never translated and now out of print.

13. Lyle M. Stone, *Fort Michilimackinac 1715–1781: An Archaeological Perspective on the Revolutionary Frontier*, Publications of the Museum (East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University, 1974), p. 355. For the contrasting view that French civilization in the Great Lakes region "was an adaptation of that of the St. Lawrence valley," see Louise Phelps Kellogg, *The French Régime*, p. 402. Kellogg's two-volume study of Wisconsin and the Old Northwest, although dated, is still one of the best secondary works available.

14. Stone, pp. 354–55.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 356.

16. Etienne Carheil to de Callières, 30 August 1702, in Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610–1791*. 73 vols., (New York: Pageant Book Com-

pany, 1959) 65: 239, hereafter cited as *JR*. E. M. Sheldon, *The Early History of Michigan, From the First Settlement to 1815* (New York: A. S. Barnes & Co.; Detroit: Kerr, Morley & Co., 1856), p. 306.

17. Carheil to de Callières, *op. cit.*

18. Jablow, pp. 120, 123; Natalia Maree Belting, *Kaskaskia under the French Regime* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1948), pp. 12–15.

19. Jablow, pp. 120, 123.

20. Gravier to ?, 6 March 1707, *JR* 66: 121; Jablow, p. 142; Belting, pp. 12–15.

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 12–15, 35, 39–40; John Francis McDermott, "French Settlers and Settlements in the Illinois Country in the Eighteenth Century," *Proceedings of an Indiana American Revolution Bicentennial Symposium* (Indianapolis, Indiana: Indiana Historical Society, 1977), p. 9, and personal communication with John Francis McDermott summer 1976. It would appear that the censuses taken in the Illinois country prior to 1767 did not include the "volontaires," i.e., the non-landholding population which included voyageurs, engagés, hunters and other seasonal residents and transients. Kaskaskia in that year had six hundred men, women and children and 303 Negro slaves; "volontaires" are not listed. Vincennes on the Wabash, however, numbered 232 men, women and children, 10 Negroes and 17 Indian slaves, and 168 "strangers." The latter easily outnumbered the stable White males. For population growth in the Illinois country, most of which migrated to the west bank of the Mississippi after 1763, see Padron General de los Pueblos de Sn. Luis y. Sta. Genovena de Ylinois, 1787. Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, Missouri. For Vincennes, see John D. Barnhart and Dorothy L. Riker, *Indiana to 1816: The Colonial Period* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1971), pp. 164–318.

22. E. M. Sheldon, p. 91; "Memoir on Detroit," 1714, probably attributable to Captain de la Forest, *NYCD*, 10: 866–67. La Forest said that Cadillac had been given 150 soldiers, rather than 60, which he thought excessive. He said he needed only twenty plus a sergeant, but the post was essential for fending off the Iroquois and the British traders and for preventing the *coureurs de bois* from taking their peltry to the British.

23. Clarence M. Burton, comp, *"Cadillac's village" or "Detroit under Cadillac"* (Detroit: none, 1896), p. 15; Sheldon, pp. 93, 99, 103–04.

24. *WHC* 8: 242–50.

25. *Ibid.*, 291; Kellogg, *The French Régime*, p. 291; *JR* 69: 20 for a comment on the impact of intermarriage in the Illinois country by 1750.

26. Kellogg, *The French Régime*, pp. 292–311; Ernest Voorhis, comp., *Historic Forts and Trading Posts of the French Regime and of the English Fur Trading Companies* (Ottawa, Ontario: Department of the Interior, 1930); Richard Asa Yarnell, *Aboriginal Relationships between Culture and Plant Life in the Upper Great Lakes Regions*, Museum of Anthropology Papers No. 23 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1964) p. 127.

27. Sieur d'Argremont, 1708, in Eugene T. Peterson, *France at Mackinac, 1715–1760* (Mackinac Island: Mackinac Island State Park Commission, n.d.), p. 3; for travelers' descriptions of Mackinac Island from 1669–1899, see "Mackinac Island Tourist Map," *Mackinaw History*, vol. 1, no. 3 (1964). Denis Raudot, in Vernon W. Kinietz, *The Indians of the Western Great Lakes, 1615–1760* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1940), p. 379 said that according to the Ottawa, Mackinac Island was the abode of "Michapoux, the place where he

was born and taught his people to fish." See "Nanabozho (Michibou, Mieska, Wisakdjak)" in Frederick Webb Hodge, ed., *Handbook of American Indians*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30, Part 2 (Washington: 1910), pp. 19–23.

28. Kellogg, *The French Régime*, p. 291; "The Mackinac Register," *WHC* 19: 2; *NYCD* 10: 889; "The Memoir of La Mothe Cadillac" in *The Western Country in the 17th Century*, ed. Milo M. Quaife (Chicago: The Lakeside Press, 1947), pp. 68–69; Peter Scanlan, *Prairie de Chien: French, British, American* (Menasha, Wisconsin: George Banta, 1937), p. 23.

29. For an historical treatment of Michilimackinac, supplementary to Stone, see Eugene T. Peterson, *Michilimackinac: Its History and Restoration*, rev. ed. (Mackinac Island, Michigan: 1968).

30. Stone, pp. 7–8.

31. The term "Panis," or "Panis-Maha," referring to the Pawnee and Omaha tribes, was used interchangeably with "Indian slave," since raids upon these tribes provided the majority of slaves in the Great Lakes region owned by Indians and Canadians. See Russell M. Magnagni, "Indian Slavery in the Great Lakes Region," paper read at the Great Lakes Regional History Conference, Grand Rapids, Michigan, April 30-May 1, 1975.

32. "The Mackinac Register," *WHC* 18: 469–513; *WHC* 1: 1–161. The original transcription of the register is deposited in St. Anne's Catholic Church, Mackinac Island, Michigan.

33. "Relation trés abregé de Mon Voiage de michillimackinac," attributed to Michel Chartier de Lotbinière, 1749. Original manuscript is in the library of the New York Historical Society, negative photostat in Public Archives of Canada, MG 18, K3, vol. 3.

34. *Ibid.*

35. *Ibid.*

36. *Ibid.*, Stone, pp. 349–51.

37. "The Mackinac Register," *op. cit.*

38. *Ibid.*

39. *Ibid.*; Edward Osgood Brown, *Two Missionary Priests at Mackinac* (Chicago: Barnard & Gunthorp, 1889), pp. 39–40. Reference to L'Abbe Cyprian Tanguay, *Dictionnaire Genealogique de Familles Canadiennes*, 7 vols. (Province de Québec, 1851) was not especially useful in tracing the ethnic and regional origins of Michilimackinac's first generation of traders. Perhaps erroneously, we have treated all of these traders and voyageurs as Canadian rather than Métis. Wives have likewise been treated as either Canadian or unknown, unless their Indian affiliation is specifically mentioned in the register or in travelers' accounts.

40. Peterson, "France at Mackinac," p. 9; Stone, pp. 312–21; 350–51.

41. Edward V. Cicotte Ledger 1749–1752 Containing Accounts of French Settlers at Detroit, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library, Detroit, Michigan. Not until the Proclamation of 1749 were many non-trading families induced to migrate to Detroit, and even with subsidies of cattle, grain, seed, tools and land, the fur trade proved irresistable for most. See also *Registre de fort Ponchartrain de Detroit, 1703–1754*, Public Archives of Canada, FM 8, G8, vol. 1 (microfilm), "Concessions 1734 à 1753." For Michilimackinac, see *WHC* 8: 211, signed Lecuyer: "We concede with the good pleasure of the General to Mr. Bourassa, Sr., dwelling at this fort, a meadow or marsh, which lies on the road leading to Grand Lac, three-fourths of a league in depth at the dis-

tance of some arpents from the pinery where we cut the wood for his house in the eighth concession for him in property, or for his use as long as it pleases the General. Done at Michilimackinac, the first of June, 1754." Also Stone, p. 354.

42. Peterson, *France at Mackinac;* George S. May, "The Mess at Mackinac," *Mackinac History* (1964) 1: 5; Lotbinière.

43. May, "The Mess at Mackinac."

44. John Portheous MS, 16 August 1767. Letter to John Portheous of voyage to Michilimackinac dated there, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library, Detroit, Michigan. See also La Forest for an early comment on the unsuitability of Michilimackinac for colonization owing to the bad soil at the straits, *NYCD* 10: 866–67.

45. Nearly every traveler visiting Mackinac in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was struck by the summer lagniappe of people and wares. Among the best descriptions are those by Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, *Summary Narrative of an Exploratory Expedition to the Sources of the Mississippi River in 1820* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo and Company, 1855), pp. 68–69 and by Gurdon S. Hubbard in 1818. See Gurdon S. Hubbard Collection, Recollections, First Year, Chicago Historical Society, Chicago, Illinois, especially pp. 11–13. In 1818, according to Hubbard, "the permanent population on this picturesque island was about 500—old voyagers, worn out with the hard service incident to their calling, lived there with their families of half breeds, subsisting mostly by fishing." During the summer the traders congregated at the island "so that when all were collected together they added 3000 or more to the population." The Indians from the upper lakes, "who made this island a place of resort, numbered from 2000 to 3000 more—Their wigwams lined the entire beach 2 or 3 rows deep. . . ." See also Elizabeth Therèse Baird, *WHC* 9: 319. Caleb Swan in Kellogg, *The British Regime*, p. 236; Sheldon, p. 337. English troops took possession of the island fort on July 15, 1780.

46. Portheous MS; John Parker, ed., *The Journals of Jonathan Carver and Related Documents 1766–1770* (St. Paul, Minnesota: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1976), p. 66.

47. Registre du fort Pontchartrain de Detroit, 1703–1754, "Concessions 1734 à 1753," vol. 1, illustrates that farms allotted at Detroit were 2–4 arpents wide. A French arpent equals 192.5 feet.

48. Portheous MS.

49. *MPHC* 9: 474,469,649. Detroit's population in 1773 was 1,400. By 1778, however, it had grown dramatically to 2,144, of which 564 were men.

50. Russell F. Bidlack, "The Yankee Meets the Frenchman, River Raisin, 1817–1830," *Occasional Publications*, 2 (Lansing, Michigan: Historical Society of Michigan, 1965): 4. By the turn of the 18th century, the old Creole population of Detroit was also moving north toward Grosse Pointe, on the shore of Lake St. Clair. Thomas McKenney, touring the lakes in 1827, commented that the British side of the straits looked the same as it probably had one-half century earlier, with no improvements in land or buildings. On the American side, however, "a new face is put on things . . . save where, here and there, an old French family lingers. And wherever that is, the picture of inactivity and barrenness is visible. . . ." The town was still laid out along the river, buildings scattered upon the bank for nearly a mile in length. Thomas L. McKenney, *Sketches of a Tour to the Lakes, of the Character and Customs of the Chippeway Indians,*

and of Incidents Connected with the Treaty of Fond du Lac (Baltimore, Maryland: Fielding Lucas, Jr., 1827), p. 109.

51. While Vincennes' Creole inhabitants received their land patents earlier than towns to the north and west, the original title, gained from the Piankeshaw and Miami in 1742, was never legally registered. Like other corporate trading towns, Vincennes was without a royal notary and register, although the commandant, St. Ange, did issue patents for tenure and meritorious service after 1742. See Joseph Henry Vanderburgh Somes, *Old Vincennes* (New York: Graphic Books, 1963), p. 34. Under the Québec Act of 1774, the British attempted to extend legal jurisdiction over the trading population of the Great Lakes region, but these efforts were frustrated by the American Revolution. Not until the organization of Indiana Territory in 1803 did towns like Green Bay actually see an officially appointed justice of the peace. Usually, such early justices were traders with no legal training. For British policy in the west prior to the Revolution, see Marjorie G. Reid, "The Québec Fur-traders and Western Policy, 1763–1774," *Canadian Historical Review* 6: 15–32, especially, p. 30.

52. Scanlan, p. 42; *WHC* 18: 281–83, 263–67; *American State Papers, Documents of the Congress of the United States in Relation to the Public Lands, from the First Session of the Twentieth to the Second Session of the Twentieth Congress Enclusive, commencing December 3, 1827, and ending March 3, 1829*, vol. 5 (Washington: Gale & Seaton, 1860), pp. 56–328. See also vols. 1 and 2 for land patents at Prairie du Chien, Vincennes, Sault Ste. Marie and Mackinac.

53. Bidlack, pp. 5–9.

54. Barnhart and Riker, pp. 95–96, 156, 164, 170, 318n., 320–22. In 1746, Vincennes had forty male inhabitants and five Negroes; in 1765, George Croghan estimated the population at eighty or ninety families. In 1769, Father Gibault claimed there were 700 to 800 persons there who desired a priest, and in 1787 Josiah Harmar found 900 Canadians and 400 Americans there. For the communities on the St. Joseph's River in Michigan, see Powell A. Moore, *The Calument Region: Indiana's Last Frontier* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1959), p. 26; R. David Edmunds, "A History of the Potawatomi Indians 1615–1795," Ph.D. diss., University of Oklahoma, 1972, p. 68; Rev. George Pare and M. M. Quaife, eds., "The St. Joseph Baptismal Register," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 13: 201–39; Rollo B. Oglesbee and Albert Hale, *History of Michigan City, Indiana* (Edward J. Widdell: 1908), pp. 29–30, 54–55.

55. Major Robert Rogers, "Rogers' Michilimackinac Journal," ed., William Clements, *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, n.s., 28: 271; contract between Didace Mouet de Moras and Courtemanche for trade at La Baye, dated June 9, 1732, Schmidt Collection, No. 252, Chicago Historical Society, Chicago, Illinois; "Augustin Grignon Recollections of Wisconsin," *WHC* 3: 241–42; Durrie, p. 5; *WHC* 7: 126–27.

56. Kellogg, *The British Régime*, pp. 13, 95; Thomas Forsyth counted "nearly forty French settlers" at Green Bay circa 1812, Thomas Forsyth Papers, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, Missouri, Forsyth to Ninian Edwards, n.d.; "Charles Langlade," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, eds. Francess G. Halpenny and Jean Hamelin, 10 vols. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966) 4: 563–64.

57. Kellogg, *The British Regime*, p. 22; *WHC* 12, 134–35.

58. Hon. James H. Lockwood, "Early Times and Events in Wisconsin," *WHC* 2: 105.

59. Scanlan, pp. 60, 67, 71–73; Joseph Tassé, *Les Canadiens de l'Ouest*, 2 vols. (Montreal: Cie. d'imprimerie Canadienne, 1882) 1: 172–73.

60. Jonathan Carver in *WHC* 18: 281–83; John Long in *WHC* 7: 176.

61. A. R. Fulton, *The Red Men of Iowa, Being a History of the Various Aboriginal Tribes Whose Homes Were in Iowa* (Des Moines, Iowa: Mills & Company, 1882), pp. 405–07; Reynolds, p. 121; Scanlan, pp. 71–72; "Personal Narrative of Col. John Shaw," *WHC* 2: 226; Lockwood, pp. 124–25, for a post-War of 1812 estimate of twenty-five to thirty houses.

62. Stephen H. Long, *Voyage in a Six-Oared Skiff to the Falls of Saint Anthony in 1817* (Philadelphia: Henry B. Ashmead, printer, 1860), reprinted in *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society*, 17 vols. (St. Paul, Minnesota: 1872–1920), 2: 61–62. Hereafter cited as *MHC*.

63. *Ibid.* At Prairie du Chien fields stretched nearly a mile behind the village; at Green Bay and elsewhere to the north, one-quarter of a mile was usual. For the Sauk farmers, see Ellen B. Whitney, ed., *The Black Hawk War, 1831–1832*, 3 vols. (Springfield, Illinois: Illinois Historical Society, 1972–75).

64. Reid, p. 26. *Alexander Henry's Travels and Adventures in the Years 1760–1776*, Milo M. Quaife, ed., (Chicago: The Lakeside Press, 1921), p. 64.

65. John Long, p. 57; Tassé, 1: 105–17; McKenney, pp. 191–92; personal correspondence with F. K. Hatt, Department of Sociology/Anthropology, Carleton University, Ottawa, Ontario. The Métis families of J. B. Nolin and J. B. Cadotte were among the most influential early Red River settlers.

66. Wayne E. Stevens, *The Northwest Fur Trade, 1763–1800* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1928), especially chapter 4, "Expansion and Monopoly, 1783–1800," pp. 89–119; Jacqueline Peterson, "Prelude to Red River: A Social Portrait of the Great Lakes Métis," *Ethnohistory* 25 (Winter 1978): 51.

67. Thomas Forsyth Papers, Genealogy Folder, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, Missouri. For John Kinzie, see A. T. Andreas, *History of Chicago from the Earliest Period to the Present* (Chicago: A. T. Andreas, 1884), pp. 101–02; John Kinzie Papers, Chicago Historical Society, Chicago, Illinois; Kinzie Family Papers, same source.

68. Antoine Ouilmette 1790 Reminiscence, Antoine Ouilmette to John H. Kinzie (written by James Moore), June, 1839, in Edward Everett Ayer Collection, The Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois; Antoine LeClaire's statement, *WHC* 11: 238–44; "Narrative of Peter J. Vieau," *WHC* 15: 458–69.

69. Letter Book of William Burnett, New York Historical Society, New York, New York, printed as *Letter Book of William Burnett*, ed., William M. Cunningham (Fort Miami Heritage Society of Michigan, 1967); Journal of a Voyage Made by Mr. Hugh Heward to the Illinois Country, Hugh Heward Collection, Chicago Historical Society, Chicago, Illinois; LeClaire, pp. 238–44; Peter J. Vieau, pp. 458–59; John H. Fonda, "Early Wisconsin," *WHC* 5: 219; McKenney, pp. 261–64; Kellogg, *The British Régime*, p. 95; Charles Grignon Papers, Wisconsin Manuscripts, Wisconsin State Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin; "Early Times at Fort Winnebago," *WHC* 8: 316–20; "Narrative of Andrew J. Vieau," *WHC* 11: 224; *History of Columbia County, Wisconsin* (Chicago: Western Historical Company, 1880), p. 347.

70. Narrative of Andrew J. Vieau, p. 224; LeClaire, pp. 239–40; Peter J. Vieau, p. 466; "The Beaubiens of Chicago," Frank Gordon Beaubien Papers,

Chicago Historical Society, Chicago, Illinois; Jeanne Kay, "Wisconsin Indian Hunting Patterns, 1634–1836," *Annals, Association of American Geographers* 69 (1979), 402–18.

71. Kay, 402–18; Harold Hickerson, "The Genesis of a Trading Post Band: The Pembina Chippewa," *Ethnohistory* 3 (1956): 289–345.

72. Pierce, p. 14 for population of Chicago in 1837; Grace Lee Nute, *The Voyageur* (New York and London: D. Appleton Co., 1931), p. 7; Kellogg, *The British Régime*, p. 189; William Henry Puthoff to Lewis Cass, Mackinac, 4 March 1818, *WHC* 20: 32, for "foreigners" in American territory: "The great mass of such as have descended from them mostly from a Connection with the aboriginal inhabitants. . . .;" Returns of Licenses Granted to Trade with the Indians at Michilimackinac, Detroit and the Northwest Posts for 1780, photostat from the Public Archives of Canada deposited in the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, Missouri. While his estimates are based purely upon impressionistic evidence, Arthur Donald Gast claimed that "the records suggested that approximately one out of every two Euro-American traders acquired an Indian wife." See his "The Impact of the Fur Trade upon Chippewa-American Culture and Education," Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1940, p. 208.

73. Lewis Cass to John Calhoun, 27 May 1819, Lewis Cass Papers, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library; John Johnston to Col. Trimble, St. Mary's Falls, 24 January 1822, in Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, *Archives of Aboriginal Knowledge, Containing all the Original Papers Laid Before Congress Respecting the History, Antiquities, Languages, Ethnology, Pictography, Rites, Superstitions and Mythology of the Indian Tribes of the United States*, 6 vols. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1868), 2: 524; Gast, pp. 208–09; Mrs. Anna Jameson, *Sketches in Canada, and Rambles Among the Red Men*, New Edition (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1852) for an interesting 1837 account of the Métis residents of Lakes Huron and Superior. She noted: "In 1828, Major Anderson, our Indian agent, computed the number of Canadians and mixed breed married to Indian women, and residing on the north shore of Lake Huron, and in the neighborhood of Michilimackinac, at nine hundred. This he called the *lowest* estimate." See p. 188n.

74. Bidlack, pp. 7–9.

75. J. G. Kohl, *Kitchi-Gami, Wanderings Round Lake Superior* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1860), p. 259. Translation of quotation: "Where do I stay? I am not able to tell you that. I am a Voyager—I am a Chicot,Sir. I stay everywhere. My grandfather was a Voyager: he died on voyage. My father was a Voyager: he died on voyage. I am going to die also on voyage, and another Chicot will take my place." (Editor)

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