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Résumé de l'article

Dans cet essai, nous revisitons l'expédition entreprise par Samuel de Champlain, lors de laquelle il rencontra les Odawas, les Petuns, ainsi que des délégations de Neutres qui se trouvaient dans la région. Tout en confirmant les conclusions déjà établies, nous émettons de nouvelles hypothèses sur les raisons pourquoi la poursuite de la route qui conduirait vers les Neutres et ensuite vers l'Orient n'a pas eu lieu..

THE ROUTE AND PURPOSE OF CHAMPLAIN'S JOURNEY TO THE PETUN IN 1616

by Charles Garrad

Intended for the celebration of Champlain's 400th anniversary in 2015-2016

Abstract

The route[1] taken by Samuel de Champlain and party in 1616, during which he encountered Cheveux-relevés-Odawa and Petun-Wyandot peoples, and also some visiting Neutrals, is again considered. Previous conclusions are confirmed. That Champlain's purpose was to proceed to the Neutrals, and possibly further to China, and his reasons for not doing so, are suggested.

Résumé: *Dans cet essai, nous revisitons l'expédition entreprise par Samuel de Champlain, lors de laquelle il rencontra les Odawas, les Petuns, ainsi que des délégations de Neutres qui se trouvaient dans la région. Tout en confirmant les conclusions déjà établies, nous émettons de nouvelles hypothèses sur les raisons pourquoi la poursuite de la route qui conduirait vers les Neutres et ensuite vers l'Orient n'a pas eu lieu..*

Introduction

Long before Champlain was born, the belief was established in Europe that the New World was part of a fabled and wealthy Asia. In 1524, an expedition commissioned by the king of France, Francis 1, was undertaken specifically to "discover a western passage to Cathay."[2] Ten years later, Jacques Cartier explored the Gulf of the St. Lawrence river with the same purpose. He returned in 1535 and entered the St. Lawrence river. "Here, at last, concluded Cartier, was the passage he was seeking." On his return to France, Cartier speculated to the King that the river "might lead to Asia."[3] It was therefore likely that long before Champlain himself reached the St. Lawrence he "allowed himself to be persuaded that the Asian Sea was not far away."[4]

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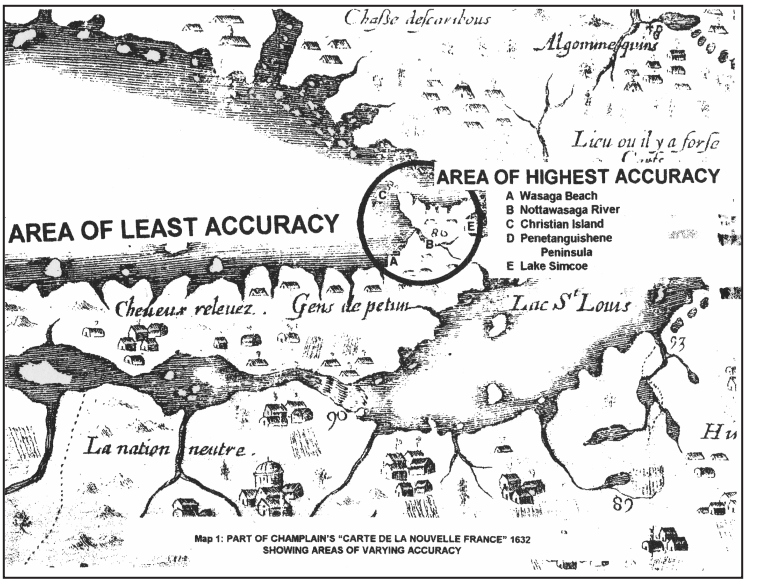
[1] Map 1 is adapted from Champlain's 1632 map *Carte de le Nouvelle France*, amended to show areas of contrasting accuracy, as indicating where Champlain was and where he was not. Both Maps 1 and 2 are taken from Charles Garrad, *Champlain and the Petun,* Research Bulletin 13, December 1997 (Toronto: Petun Research Institute, 1997) . <www.wyandot.org/petun>.

[2] JR = *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents 1896-1901* (hereafter JR), ed. Reuben G. Thwaites, 73 volumes, (Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers Company, Publishers), 3: 291-92, note 5.

[3] Marcel Trudel, "Cartier, Jacques," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Vol. 1 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966), 165-172, 167, 168.

[4] Marcel Trudel, "Champlain, Samuel de," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Vol. 1 (Toronto: Uni-



Map 1 - Part of Champlain's "Carte de la Nouvelle France" 1632, showing the contrasts in accuracy as indicating where he actually visited and where he did not.

Champlain's Mandate and the Route to China

In 1612, the year that Henri de Bourbon, the Prince de Condé, was appointed the Viceroy of New France, Champlain received a mandate by Royal Commission:

> to bring into subjection, submission and full obedience all the people of the said land (New France), to trade and traffic amiably and peacefully, to have carried out... discoveries and reconnaissance of the said lands and notably from the said place called Quebec... to extend upwards from this place, in the interior of the lands and rivers which discharge into the said Saint Lawrence river, to try to find the easy route to pass through the said country to the country of China and the East Indies.[5]

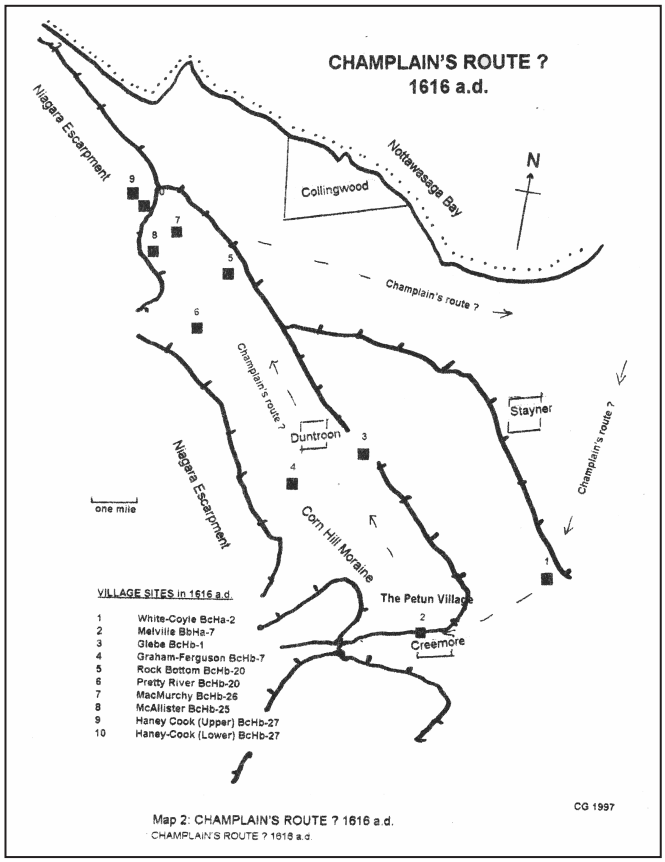
The Commission was the result of Champlain's lobbying, so it is possible that its wording was actually Champlain's own, and reflected what Champlain thought he was most likely to be able to achieve at that time. To find Indian tribes and ally and establish trade with them was difficult enough. To find the way to China by exploring the St. Lawrence and the rivers which flowed into it would prove impossible, but his mandate of 1612 gave him the task of finding it. After four fruitless years, and certainly at some point, he might have begun to doubt that China was to be reached through New France.

It is possible that Champlain reached this point during his visit to the Petun Country in early 1616 and, after conver-

versity of Toronto Press, 1966), 186-199, 188.

[5] Samuel de Champlain, *The Works of Samuel de Champlain*," 6 volumes and a portfolio of maps, (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1922-1936), 1925 2: 241-47; Cornelius J. Jaenen (ed.), *The French Regime in the Upper Canada Country of Canada during the Seventeenth Century* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1996), 54-56; Trudel, *Histoire*, 1186.

Map 2 - Champlain's Route through the Gens de Petun in 1616?



sations with Neutral visitors there (whose country he had intended to visit next after the Petun), he then intended to proceed further, perhaps with their help. Certainly at some point his objective of reaching China, or at least the route to it, "seems to have interested Champlain less and less, or else he no longer had the leisure to concern himself with it."[6] Champlain then adopted a policy of heavily emphasising in detail his successes in other fields, such as exploration, promoting trade, alliances and warfare, and finding reasons not to pursue the task of finding China.

However, if this is true it has yet to be explained why Champlain continued in later years to promote the idea he could reach China, or at least Asia. In February 1618 he assured the King "that by way of New France one could easily reach the Kingdom of China and the East Indies" specifically "by way of the river St. Lawrence... which... issues from a lake , from which flows a river that empties into the said South Sea." He was careful to avoid being held responsible for this information by stating it was "according to the account given... by a number of people" from "divers peoples and nations," whom he had discovered.[7] The same arguments were repeated in 1621. A revised mandate of 1625 simply "encouraged him to look for the route to China." Finally the same arguments were again presented in 1630 when the King Louis XIII began lobbying for the restoration of New France following the Kirke brothers' occupation.[8] Given that after 1616 the possibility of his reaching China and its unbounded riches was always advanced under extreme conditions when he had nothing to lose, and he could always blame the aboriginal people for misinforming him,

[6] Trudel, "Champlain, Samuel de," 186-199, 195.

[7] Champlain, *Works*, 2: 326, 330.

[8] Trudel, "Champlain, Samuel de," 186-199, 196.

Champlain felt confident in continuing to associate himself with the possibility of finding the route to China even if he had privately developed doubts. His proposal that the "river St. Lawrence... issues from a lake, from which flows a river that empties into the said South Sea" may partially explain why a river which is shown on his 1616 map as having no particular significance appears in his 1632 map hugely enlarged and labelled "*Grande riviere qui vient du midy*" (Big river that comes from the south) even though it flows in the wrong direction, and it, and all of its tributaries, are shown as rising within 400 miles from its mouth.[9]

Champlain's Account of his Journey West in 1616

Champlain's first (1619) published account of his early 1616 adventure[10] is in some ways obscure, perhaps purposefully so, to avoid the matter of China. It was written well after-the-fact, in France after he had assessed his situation, and his text emphasizes his successes and overlooks those requirements of his mandate that he had not yet achieved.

According to Champlain, early in 1616 he was living in the Huron Rock tribe principal village of Cahiagué, from which he visited the Recollect Father Joseph le Caron at Carhagouha. He found that the Father was planning to visit the neighbouring Petun, as he had also "thought of doing."[11] Such a journey would be entirely within his mandate. They, presumably with other Frenchmen who were not mentioned in the 1619 text, set off from Huronia together and reached the Petun Country in two days. There he again met the band of Odawa (Ottawa) he had previously encountered on the French River,[12] whom he had nicknamed the *Cheveux-relevés*, into whose winter territory the Petun had moved, and also some visiting Neutrals.

The "Frenchmen" are mentioned in the 1632 text. These would be the "*arquebusiers*" who had accompanied him on the attack on an Iroquois village the previous year. Their role in the 1616 expedition might include providing Champlain with support and protection, and, as they were travelling in winter, dragging the sleds holding their baggage and the European goods which were a necessary part of Champlain's diplomacy. Champlain said such sleds carry "their loads and draw behind them without any difficulty" and "they go along very quickly." There are numerous references to the use in winter of sleds, sledges and toboggans in the Jesuit Relations. Lafitau illustrates sleds in use and describes their construction in detail.[13]

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[9] Compare Champlain's maps, 1616 *La Nouvelle France,* faict par le Sr. de Champlain, 1632 *Carte de le Nouvelle France.*

[10] Champlain, *Works*, 3: 94-101.

[11] Champlain is being obscure.

[12] Champlain, *Works*, 3: 43.

[13] JR 73: 335; Champlain, *Works,* 3: 71, and plate facing p.74, 3: 93, 4: 277; Father Joseph Francois Lafitau, *Customs of the American Indians*, two volumes (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1977), 2: 128, Plate XI opposite p. 136.

After inferentially visiting the principal village of the Petun, Champlain visited "seven other villages of their neighbours and allies," evidently close by, all of which, following Sagard,[14] are today regarded as Petun, plus two villages that they were beginning to build "in the midst of the woods." He also visited the *Cheveux-relevés*, inferentially wintering among, or near, the Petun. There were also the visiting Neutrals, with whom Champlain was able to discuss his plan to proceed to their country.

As protocol would surely have required Champlain to commence his formal visit to the Petun area at the principal Petun village, ("*chief village*" per Parkman),[15] and to make this village his base, does not remove the possibility that he passed through other villages, active or abandoned, on his way to the principal village. There is also the possibility that the sequence Champlain recorded—the principal village (inferentially), seven other villages, two villages under construction, the *Cheveux-relevés*—corresponded to his actual journey.

Both his two maps of Nouvelle France[16] place the "Gens de Petun" inland, and south-west of a recognizable Penetanguishene Peninsula, with *les cheveux releuez* further west, although the accuracy of the maps varies. The Penetanguishene Peninsula, which Champlain actually saw, is shown with accuracy as far west as Wasaga Beach and the Nottawasaga River, but the shoreline of the Georgian Bay west of Wasaga Beach bears no resemblance to reality,[17] allowing the conclusion that he never saw it because, after crossing the frozen Nottawasaga River somewhere near Wasaga Beach, he turned inland and toward the south. There is no trace on either map of any body of land that could be the Bruce Peninsula.

Champlain's second (1632) published account of his early 1616 adventure has a significant change from his earlier text. All mentions of the Recollet Father Joseph Le Caron are deleted. In 1619 the Viceroy of New France was still the Prince de Condé, with whom Champlain had planned the "sacred undertaking" of bringing four Recollects to New France in 1615, and who had personally contributed to the cost. It was therefore politic and appropriate for Champlain to demonstrate that his plan was successful, and the funding justified, and had resulted in a Recollet Father being actively working and residing among an important aboriginal peoples. In 1632 the situation was entirely changed. The Viceroy was now Armand-Jean du Plessis, the Cardinal de Richelieu, who was in charge of all aspects of the pending return of Quebec to France following the

[14] Gabriel Sagard, *The Long Journey to the Country of the Hurons* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1939), 9.

[15] Francis Parkman, *Pioneers of France in the New World*, (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1886), 413.

[16] Samuel de Champlain's maps referred to here are 1616 *Nouvelle France*, and 1632 *Carte de la Nouvelle France*..

[17] Map 1, i.e. Champlain's map 1632.

Kirke occupation. The Cardinal made it clear that only the Jesuits would be allowed to return to New France, and that the Recollets would not be permitted to do so. If Champlain hoped to retain his position as the Viceroy's Lieutenant and confidant, it was necessary for him to demonstrate compliance with the Viceroy's policies and biases. That Champlain had served and survived as Lieutenant to five successive Viceroys suggests he was skilled at adapting.

Champlain's Further Intended Destination

Champlain emphasised his success among the Petun, that he made friends in all the villages, contracted trade commitments, received "very good cheer, with presents of meat and fish" and received "a thousand signs of friendly feeling." Also important to him was that the Petun lived "near the Neutral nation, which is powerful and occupies a great extent of country." He twice mentioned the importance of the Neutrals, their large numbers, their location "At two days' journey from them in a southerly direction," "west of the lake of the Onondagas" (Ontario), his desire to visit them, and gave a number of reasons that "prevented" him from doing so. He gave more space to the Cheveux-relevés Odawa than to the Petun, but declined their request to accompany them in their war against the Mascoutens as he "was not provided with the necessary means."[18] He would repeat the argument of insufficient funding to the Chamber of Commerce in 1618.

Champlain's mandate to find the route to China required him to explore "the interior of the lands and rivers which discharge into the said Saint Lawrence river." He needed to explore lands he had not previously reached, to find the river to the South Sea which flowed out of a lake. It is surely most probable that his intention was to proceed to the Neutrals, on Lake Erie, accessed via the Petun Country, both to establish trade and to explore further from there. However, as noted, after spending time with the Neutrals he met in the Petun country, Champlain found a number of reasons not to proceed, but instead to return to Huronia as soon as there was a plausible reason to do so.

Given that the level of knowledge that Champlain had attained before he undertook the westward journey cannot now be estimated, it might be asked who, and where, he thought the "gens de Petun" were at that time. His only mentioned source of information was the Odawa (Cheveux-relevés) Chief he had met far away on the French River the previous year, who had drawn for him a map of "his country, which he drew for me with charcoal on a piece of birchbark." The (principal?) allies of these people were "another tribe of savages, who produce a great quantity of tobacco... called the Neutral nation...These assist the Cheveux-relevés against the Fire people." their common enemy.[19]

[18] Champlain, *Works*, 3: 95-96, 99-100.

[19] *Ibid*., 3: 44, 99.

The only people Champlain associated with tobacco (petun) were the Neutrals "qui font grand nombre du Petun," translated by the Champlain Society as "who produce a great quantity of tobacco."[20] It seems likely that before he set out on his expedition, Champlain knew something of the Neutrals as the "gens de Petun." After he coined the name Neutrals for them, the people we now term "Petun" became "gens de petun" by default. Champlain certainly knew what tobacco was. He had seen it at San Domingo and in the coast of Maine.[21] Even though he visited the Petun during winter when crops would not be visible, it is surely significant that Champlain did not even mention the Petun having or using tobacco. Neither did any other first-hand observer who actually visited them at any time of year.

When Champlain departed from Cahiagué to begin his expedition west, he expected to be gone for three months.[22] The villages he encountered on the second day of his expedition were therefore not his final intended destination, but on his route. In his account, Champlain identified the people visiting those villages from a more distant group as "Neutrals." He wrote knowledgeably of the Neutrals, their country, and their neutrality while trading with peoples who were enemies to each other, for which reason Champlain presumably named them Neutrals, but he never reached their country. His statements were written after the fact, possibly even after the return of Etienne Brulé, who had passed through the country of the Neutrals on his long journey south in 1615-1616 to the Susquehannas (various spellings).[23]

Champlain's Reasons For Not Proceeding Beyond the Petun to the Neutrals

[The page numbers cited are from *The Works of Samuel de Champlain* 3 (1929)]:

1) That "travelling is very troublesome in winter" (95).

2) That he was "not provided with the necessary means" to travel further west to assist the Cheveux-relevés Odawa in their war with the Fire People (99).

3) That the Neutrals were currently "angry" and "very revengeful" against the French because a Frenchman had supposedly killed one of them, and "unless an agreement has been previously reached and gifts and presents made to the relatives of the deceased" the Neutrals would visit the French "with punishment" (100).

4) That he was "besought .. earnestly" to return to Cahiagué to arbitrate a dispute which had arisen between Captain Iroquet who, with his Algonquins, was win-

[20] *Ibid*., 3: 99,

[21] JR 6: 329 note 25.

[22] Champlain, *Works*, 3: 94.

[23] Olga Jurgens, "Brûlé, Étienne", *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* Vol. 1 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966), 130-33, 131.

tering there, and the Huron Bear, which had already resulted in the deaths of two men, an attack on Captain Iroquet personally, other Algonquins being beaten soundly, and a "great animosity," even though the Algonquins had made reparations. These events placed the visiting French in a potentially "awkward situation," inferentially requiring his personal attention. Further, if he did not do so, "none of them would ever again come down to the French" (i.e. come to Quebec to trade). On his way to Cahiagué Champlain learned that "on account of these quarrels and affrays" the Nipissing had withdrawn their offer to guide him to the north. In an oblique possible reference to his mandate to reach China, Champlain commented, "If any one was sorry, it was I; for I had quite expected to see that year what in many other preceding years I had sought for with great solicitude and effort amid much toil and risk of my life" (pp.104-105).

5) The Nipissings "promised to take me further afield in the prosecution of my plans and explorations" (101), so he could resume the explorations "shortly," with new information from "those people trading with others" (105).

6) If Champlain did "not put them in harmony they would separate ill-satisfied with one another" and not go "to the French settlement" (to trade) (107).

7) If Champlain gave the Indians his "opinion and advice" they promised that "If I did so that in future I could dispose of them as seemed good to me" (108). This seems to be the hint that the trade would benefit.

8) If the Hurons and Algonquins did not heal the breech "the French would have been prevented from seeing and associating with them, and compelled to seek out other tribes" (108-09).

Champlain devoted more space to recording his role in settling the quarrel than to any other topic in 1616, emphasising that the participants "had not desired my return (from the Petuns) for any other reason." Thus the King, awaiting the promised riches from China, had to be satisfied that Champlain had at least saved the existing trade. The possibility that the quarrel was a plot contrived by the Hurons to prevent Champlain going to the Neutrals has been considered.[24] Perhaps it was, and Champlain was astute enough to recognise it as such, but it provided him with a credible reason not to continue the search for China.

In 1618 he added further reasons for aborting both his 1613 and 1616 expeditions: lack of adequate funding.[25] On both occasions he claimed that the hostility of the people he was with to his proceeding further was so severe that, against his wishes, he aborted the missions rather than risk damage to the trade.[26]

[24] Champlain, *Works,* 3: 101-114; David Hackett Fischer, *Champlain's Dream* (Vintage Canada Edition, 2009), 338.

[25] Champlain, *Works,* 2: 345.

[26] Compare Champlain, *Works*, 1925 2: 285 and 1929 3: 10.

The Location of the Petun Country

Whatever Champlain's ultimate plan was, and whoever and wherever he initially thought the people who grew tobacco (and whom he would name Neutrals) were, he got no further than the country of the people we now call Petun. The archaeological identification of the Petun Country, and the villages within it likely visited by Champlain, have been previously undertaken several times, most recently as 2014,[27] but without entirely conclusive results because there are too many eligible villages, as will now be explained.

Allowing one of Champlain's two days walking from the Hurons in the winter snow to reach the Nottawasaga River, and the second day beyond the river to reach the first (principal?) Petun village, each daily distance must have been within the seventeen miles that Father Jones calculated that could be walked in one day in winter. This calculation places the Petun in the area west of the Nottawasaga River and between the river and the Niagara Escarpment and complies reasonably with the locations shown Champlain's maps and a number of Jesuit estimates of the direction and distance from where they were, also cited by Father Jones.[28] In the area, from Banda to Craigleith, many village sites have been found, more than enough to include those Champlain visited in 1616. The problem is how to distinguish the Champlain period villages from others in the same area. To this question there are some archaeological dating techniques which can be applied. It is also necessary to consider and disprove all other contrary proposals.

Unfortunately, archaeological methodology is open to many types of potential challenge. How sure can we be that every archaeological site in the Petun Country has been located and correctly interpreted and is indeed Petun. The size and limits of not even one site are certainly known. No site in the Petun area has been completely excavated, and archaeological techniques were not consistent before the 1970s. The excavators of the Sidey-Mackay BbHa-6 site in 1926 by the National Museum and the MacMurchy BcHb-26 site in 1953 by the University of Toronto [29] did not screen their backdirt to recover small items, a now standard procedure. Some sites are still entirely known only from surface collections. Dating sites comparatively using artifacts, is difficult because different types of artifacts may produce different data. These are all valid concerns. On the other hand, the data now available are more extensive than ever before. Al-

[27] Charles Garrad, *Petun to Wyandot, the Ontario Petun from the Sixteenth Century,* (Canadian Museum of History, Ottawa, 2014).

[28] Arthur E. Jones, "8endake Ehen, or Old Huronia," *Fifth Report of the Bureau of Archives for the Province of Ontario 1908* (Toronto: Legislative Assembly,1909), 221-23, 236.

[29] William J. Wintemberg, *The Sidey-Mackay Village Site* (American Antiquity 11, January, 1946), 3: 154-82; W. Douglas Bell, *The MacMurchy Site: A Petun Site in Grey County*, unpublished mss, arbitrarily dated and paginated (Toronto: University of Toronto Dept. of Anthropology, 1953).

though not a single Petun site is protected from development or other damage, they are all still there, should anyone wish to repeat our work and come to their own conclusions.

The Bruce Peninsula Myth

The earliest advocate of the Petun living in the Bruce Peninsula ("Bruce promontory") and "near the south end of the County of Bruce" may have been James H. Coyne, as early as 1895.[30] However, the more widely published was the Jesuit archivist, the Rev. Father Arthur E. Jones. He espoused a secondary-source map inaccurately showing a Jesuit Mission station to the Petun ("St. Simon & St. Jude") at the northern tip of the Bruce Peninsula and another ("St. Peter & St. Paul") south of Southampton. He dismissed "the opinions of modern authors," as "some writers circumscribing (the Petun Country) within too narrow limits the region occupied by that nation. Some few, indeed, seem to restrict them to the low plains of Nottawasaga township." He argued that the Petun Country "extended all the way westward from the Blue Hills, in the western part of Nottawasaga Township (Simcoe County) to the shores of Lake Huron proper, and northward to Cape Hurd, taking in approximately what now constitutes Grey and Bruce Counties." He claimed that there was "scarcely a shred of evidence" to locate the Petun anywhere else, except that the site of St. Mathias was marked by the Rock Ekarenniondi. To prove his point, Jones conducted a field trip to locate the rock "Ekarenniondi." He found and identified a rock in the Pretty River valley as "Ekarenniondi" with enthusiasm.[31] He was not disturbed, perhaps not even aware, that there were other candidate rocks, or that there was no evidence of a nearby village site that could be St. Mathias, or even that during his entire trip he had not seen even one aboriginal artifact, let alone an archaeological site. The "modern authors" he dismissed not only included the archaeological surveys sponsored by the Canadian Institute,[32] but also the researches of Andrew F. Hunter. who had already concluded "It is doubtful in any of the nine villages (of the Petun) were outside of Nottawasaga township."[33] These sources found the villages of the Petun entirely on the east side of the Niagara Escarpment, and about the same distance west of the Nottawasaga River as were the nearest Huron villages east of it.

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[30] James H. Coyne, *The Country of the Neutrals,* (in) Historical Sketches of the County of Elgin, (The Elgin Historical and Scientific Institute, St. Thomas, 1895), 9.

[31] Arthur E. Jones, "Identification of St. Ignace II, and of Ekarenniondi," *Annual Archaeological Report 1902* (Toronto: Legislative Assembly),108-114, 131-36; *Annual Archaeological Report 1903*, 92-136; "8endake Ehen," 220, 227-29.

[32] David Boyle, "Archaeological Report," *Annual Report of the Canadian Institute, Session 1886-1887*, (Toronto: Minister of Education, Ontario, 1888), 12-13; "The Land of Souls," *Annual Report of the Canadian Institute, Session 1888-9* (Toronto: Legislative Assembly, 1889), 4-15.

[33] Andrew F. Hunter, (Tobacco Nation), JR 5: 279 note 18; (St. Peter and St. Paul), JR 20: 307 note 6.

When the ensuing criticism of Jones' conclusions by Fred Birch,[34] who had a local life-long knowledge of the area, did not change Father Jones' mind, the citizens of Collingwood founded The Huron Institute, which conducted more detailed local archaeological researches.[35] These researchers espoused Fred Birch's proposal that the true rock Ekarenniondi was further north at the Scenic Caves, and confirmed that there were a considerable number of Champlain and Jesuit period archaeological sites to the east of the Niagara Escarpment. To explain the Petun being both in the Pretty River Valley east of the Niagara Escarpment and also in the distant Bruce Peninsula, Father Jones then proposed that "the Petun dwelt for several years" in the eastern sites and then moved west because of a war with the Hurons. The "bulk" of the Petun returned to the eastern sites "after the year 1639," because of a war with the Mascoutens, the "Fire People" of Michigan and beyond.[36]

The two principal allies of the Petun, the Neutrals and the Odawa Cheveux-relevés, were both at war with the Mascouten. There is some probability therefore that the Petuns were too, if only nominally, although there is no record of it. A war of sufficient magnitude to compel the Petuns to remove east is entirely of Father Jones' invention. He claimed that "The Petuns had been at war for years with the Mascoutens, and at that very time there were Mascouten captives among them, adopted into the nation, and who had grown old in their service." Father Jones' pluralisation of a single elderly "good old man" and as evidence of current warfare [37] is entirely unjustified. To further support the proposed movement, Jones re-translated the Huron names recorded for the Petun (Khionontatehronon, Tionontate) as meaning "those that dwell *beyond* the mountains," and "The *former* hill dwellers" (my emphasis), rather than the accepted "people who live where there is a mountain or hill" in the present tense.[38] There is no acceptable evidence to support Father Janes' claim that the country of the Petun "previous to their last war with the Mascoutens, extended as far west as the mouth of the Saugeen, and as far north as the townships of St. Edmund and Lindsay in the Bruce Peninsula."[39]

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[34] Fred Birch, "The Standing Rock," *Annual Archaeological Report 1903* (Toronto: Legislative Assembly of Ontario, 1904a), 98-101; "Says Father Jones is Wrong," (The Collingwood) *Bulletin*, 14 April 1904, 4.

[35] John Lawrence, Maurice Gaviller and James Morris, "Exploration of Petun Indian Village Sites," *Huron Institute Papers and Records*, Vol. 1 (Collingwood: Huron Institute, 1909), 11-18.

David Williams, "Some Pages from Collingwood's Story," *Huron Institute Papers and Records*, Vol. 2. Part 2 (Collingwood: Huron Institute, 1914), 20-40.

[36] Jones, "8endake Ehen," 217-23; Ives Goddard, "Mascouten," in Bruce G. Trigger, ed., *Handbook of North American Indians*, 15 (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), 668-72.

[37] JR 20: 61; Jones, "8endake Ehen," 224, 422.

[38] John L. Steckley, *Petun Language*, Research Bulletin No. 1, (Petun Research Institute, Toronto, 1996), 1, <www.wyandot.org/petun>.

[39] Jones, "8endake Ehen," 219, 220, 224, 225, 228-29, map between 234 and 235, and map between 228 and 229.

Alas, the map by François du Creux (1660) on which Father Jones relied and cited as authoritative, was copied from Sanson d'Abbeville's 1656 map, which was secondary at best, and certainly inaccurate in showing Petun villages so far west.[40]

Archaeological surveys of the Bruce Peninsula in 1951 by Thomas E. Lee,[41] and in 1956 by Fritz Knechtel and James V. Wright,[42] both failed to find even one Petun village. Lee briefly considered one site to be "the best candidate known as a possible site for the most northerly of the Jesuit Missions to the Petun" but later rejected the possibility: "Although the site is within the supposed territory of the Petun, the material appears to be too early for that group."[43] As is further mentioned below, in 1978 William R. Fitzgerald conducted a survey "along the Niagara Escarpment between Wiarton and Craigleith with the express primary objective of locating the Cheveux-relevés villages visited by Samuel de Champlain during February 1616." The survey included the area where Jones supposed the Petun village named "St. Peter & St. Paul" to be. Fitzgerald found "possible Algonquin influence" during his survey, but that "no sites the size of those intimated by Champlain were found."[44]

At some point, probably from the appearance of the persuasive writings of William Sherwood Fox (below), it became assumed that if Champlain visited the Petun and they were living in the Bruce Peninsula, then Champlain must have gone there. But he visited ten villages in 1616, not just two, and it may be presumed that these will be located in an area that also includes preceding and successor sites to 1650, when the Petuns dispersed.

In 1970 the writer reviewed the available literature, scholarly and otherwise, relating to the belief that Champlain visited the Bruce Peninsula, and concluded that this was a myth resulting from Father Arthur E. Jones' naive acceptance as credible of an unreliable, secondary-source, map, coupled with the assumption that since Champlain visited the Petun, this is where he must have gone. The writer has several times reviewed this argument, most recently in 2014, and finds no cause to revise this argument.[45]

Even if the map by Du Creux (1660),

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[40] Sanson d'Abbeville, *Le Canada ou Nouvelle France,* (map, 1656), Paris: Chez Pierre Mariette etc. Francois du Creux, *Tabvla Novae Franciae* (map, 1660), Paris.

[41] Thomas E. Lee, "An Archaeological Survey of Southwestern Ontario and Manitoulin Island," Pennsylvania Archaeologist, 29:2 (August, 1959), 80-92

[42] James V. Wright, "Comments on the Bruce," *Ontario History*, 29 (Toronto: Ontario Historical Society, 1957), 193-94

[43] Lee, "An Archaeological Survey of Southwestern Ontario and Manitoulin Island," *Pennsylvania Archaeologist*, 29:2 (August, 1959). 80-92, 85, 86.

[44] William R. Fitzgerald, *An Assessment of the Potential for Future Archaeological Research in the Area of Grey County Beneath the Niagara Escarpment*, unpublished ms., (McMaster University, Dept. Anthropology, Hamilton, 1979), 1, 24, 27

[45] Charles Garrad, *Did Champlain Visit the Bruce Peninsula? An Examination of an Ontario Myth, Ontario History* 62:4 (1970), 235-39; *Petun to Wyandot*.

on which Father Jones relied, was accurate, the argument still fails. The two sites named on the map were not mentioned until 1639,[46] and are no indication of where the Petun were when visited by Champlain twenty-three years previously.

Later Literature

Father Jones' myth was accepted by such scholars as Jesse Edgar Middleton and Fred Landon. In their imposing four-volume 1927 series, authoritatively titled "The Province of Ontario–A History 1615-1927," the authors state categorically that "The Petuns or Tobacco Nation occupied the Bruce Peninsula," being "the Indians of the present Grey and Bruce Counties." [47]

William Sherwood Fox, a retired University President, accepted both the myth and the assumption, but with more caution. He accepted as reliable both the secondary-source maps by Sanson d'Abbeville (1656), and its copy by François Du Creux (1660), and believed that the second map was a reaffirmation of the first by "a former member of the Huron Mission," which is not the case. Pertinent to Champlain, Fox believed that Champlain's description of the Penetanguishene Peninsula[48] actually applied to the Bruce Peninsula, even though to do so meant that "Champlain's concept of the lie of the region was indeed lamentably incorrect." Fox compromised by proposing that Champlain "had never gone far into the Peninsula proper," but "Champlain seems to have got at least as far as Owen Sound."[49] This suggestion became an entrenched belief.

Consequently, when the skeleton of an aboriginal girl was found was found in Owen Sound in 1953 the newspaper report assigned her "Presumably... to the Petun of Tobacco Nation... who are known to have inhabited this part of the country."[50] In 1972, T. Arthur Davidson, drawing on "the old records" of the same newspaper, claimed that "Tradition says Champlain came as far west as Newash (Owen Sound). The probability is that he went to Lake Huron" and that "there is strong evidence" that the "Jesuits had missions on Lake Huron not long after Champlain's tour." The "strong evidence" was a silver Cross of Lorraine, found at Southampton in 1909, of a type which Davidson wrote was "popular in Champlain's time."[51] This trade item may be examined in the Southampton Museum.

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[46] JR 20: 43.

[47] Jesse E. Middleton and Fred Landon, *The Province of Ontario - A History 1615-1927,* Vol. 1, (Toronto: The Dominion Publishing Company Limited, 1927), 7, 11.

[48] Champlain *Works,* 3: 122, and footnote 2.

[49] W. Sherwood Fox, *The Bruce Beckons. The Story of Lake Huron's Great Peninsula* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1952), 27, 31.

[50] "Indian Girl Murdered, Find Skeleton on Cliff. Mystery Remains Unsolved," *Owen Sound Sun Times*, 21 August 1953.

[51] T. Arthur Davidson, *A New History of the County of Grey* (Owen Sound: Grey County Historical Society, 1972), v. 4; Donald B. Shutt, "Cross of Loraine found in Bruce Peninsula," *Martyrs' Shrine Message*, March 1959, 14-15.

It bears the hallmark of Robert Cruikshank, who was active in Montreal between 1773 and 1809, and therefore has no relevance to Champlain or the Jesuit missions to the Petun more than a century previous.[52]

Later writers were influenced to accept that the Petun were in the "present counties of Dufferin and Grey,"[53] or "along the shore of Nottawasaga Bay, in the neighbourhood of present Meaford and Owen Sound,"[54] "their territory extended as far as the Bruce Peninsula."[55] Other scholars, while writing of Champlain, avoided speculating where he visited the Petun or more reasonably placed the Petun closer to the Hurons, south of Nottawasaga Bay, or "to the west of the Hurons," even in the "valleys of the Blue Mountains."[56]

According to Rosario Bilodeau,[57] Champlain visited the Cheveux-relevés and the Neutrals, but, from their lack of mention, not the Petun. Charles Colby[58] has Champlain headed for Lake Superior. Thomas B. Costain states that the Iroquoian Petuns were Algonquins and owned all of western Ontario. His separate index entries for Petun Tribe and Tobacco Nation creates doubt if he knew or realised these were the same people.[59]

Narcisse E. Dionne believed that Champlain and Le Caron visited the Petun because they were "at a loss to know how to employ their time," rather than, in the case of Champlain, in compliance

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[52] William R. Fitzgerald, *Bruce County's Cross of Confusion*, Newsletter, Part 1 September 2001, Part 2 February 2002, (Southampton: Bruce County Museum and Archives).

[53] Edward G. Bourne, (edited, with Introduction and Notes by), *The Voyages and Explorations of Samuel de Champlain1604-1616 Narrated by Himself,* Translated by Annie Nettleton Bourne, Vol. 1, (New York: Allerton Book Co., 1922), 99, footnote.

[54] Morris Bishop, *Champlain The Life of Fortitude* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948), 247; *Champlain, The Life of Fortitude* (McClelland and Stewart, Toronto, 1963), 216-18.

[55] Michael Macklem, *Samuel de Champlain Voyages to New France, Being an Account of the Manners and Customs of the savages and a description of the country, with a history of the many remarkable things that happened in the years 1615-1618,* Translated by Michael Macklem, Introduction by Marcel Trudel. Second Printing, (Canada: Oberon Press, 1971), 64, footnote 2.

[56] e.g. James H. Coyne, "The Indian Occupation of Southern Ontario," *Fourth Annual Report of the Waterloo Historical Society* (Waterloo 1916), 13; Narcisse E. Dionne, *Champlain* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963), 106-107; Fischer, *Champlain's Dream*, 338; Ralph Flenley, *Samuel de Champlain Founder of New France* (Toronto: The MacMillan Company of Canada Ltd., 1924), 67; W. L. Grant, *Voyages of Samuel de Champlain 1604-1618 (*New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907), 302, footnote 4; Elsie M. Jury, *Champlain in Huronia* (London: University of Western Ontario, 1965), 10; Sixte Le Tac, *Histoire Chronologique de la Nouvelle France ou Canada depuis la Découverte (mil cinq cents quatre) jusques en l'an mil six cents trente deux* (Paris: G. Fischbacher et al., 1888), 99; Samuel E. Morrison, *Samuel de Champlain, Father of New France (*Boston & Toronto: Little, Brown and Company, 1972), 164; Francis Parkman, *The Jesuits in North America in the Seventeenth Century* (Corner House Publishing, Williamstown, MA, 1970), 32.

[57] Rosario Bilodeau, *Champlain* (Montréal: éditions H.M.H. limitée, 1961), 109.

[58] Charles W. Colby, *The Founder of New France* (Toronto: Glasgow, Brook & Company, 1915), 113-14.

[59] Thomas B. Costain, *The White and the Gold – The French Regime in Canada*, (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1954), 74, 477, 483, 488.

with his mandate. Dionne did not accept that the "six or seven other tribes living in the vicinity" were necessarily villages of the Petun.[60] This was a modification of Father Jones' assertion that the seven other villages were "without doubt these were villages of the Cheveux-relevés."[61] The statement by Thomas G. Marquis that Champlain and Le Caron "were not kindly received" by the Petun and had "an uncomfortable month"[62] is in total contrast to Champlain's account of the lavish hospitality he received. Marcel Trudel initially noted Champlain's enthusiastic reception by the Petuns, but later deleted mention of them.[63]

Dionne regardless, Champlain's journey west was totally in compliance with the requirements of his mandate, particularly, it might be suggested, in 1616, to find the way to China. Because he failed to find such a route on both his 1613 expedition up the Ottawa river and again in 1616, Champlain made no public reference to China. However, Marc Lescarbot specifically stated that a factor in the 1613 expedition was that "Champlain's great desire was to find the passage to China,"[64] and in his address to the Chamber of Commerce in 1618, after detailing the many ways that New France could become a profitable investment, Champlain continued

> in addition to all these things one may hope to find a short route to China by way of the River St. Lawrence... without much difficulty... in six months whence a notable profit might be gained... the Sieur de Champlain has been toiling at this quest for sixteen years, but the scant assistance he has received has not been sufficient to allow him to complete this undertaking, as he will do when assisted.[65]

"Sixteen years" might be an exaggeration but certainly includes both his 1613 and 1616 expeditions.

The Cheveux-relevés

Unlike the Petun, the "Cheveux Releués" (Odawa Kiskakon?) whom Champlain visited, were undoubtedly sometimes in the Bruce Peninsula. Archaeological sites attributed to the Odawa have been found on the Bruce Peninsula.[66] They are shown there as "Ondatauauat" on acceptable maps.[67] This not

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[60] Narcisse E. Dionne, *Champlain* (The Makers of Canada Series 1911, 1926), 106

[61] Jones," 8endake Ehen," 273.

[62] Thomas G. Marquis, *The Jesuit Missions*, Chronicles of Canada series, (Toronto: Glasgow, Brook & Company, 1916), 5.

[63] Marcel Trudel, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France 11. Le Comptoir 1604-1627* (Montreal: Fides, 1966), 226. Trudel, "Champlain, Samuel de," 186-189, 193. Marcel Trudel, *The Beginnings of New France 1524-1633 (*Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1972), 121.

[64] Marc Lescarbot, *The History of New France,* Vol. 3 (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1914), 29 .

[65] Champlain, *Works*, 2: 345,

[66] William A. Fox, *The Odawa*, The Archaeology of Southern Ontario to A.D.1650, Occasional Publication 5, (London Chapter of The Ontario Archaeological Society, London, 1990), 457-72; William A. Fox and Charles Garrad, "Hurons in an Algonquian Land," *Ontario Archaeology,* 77/78 (2004), 121-34, 126.

[67] Anonymous 1631-1651?; (partly Brébeuf?), *Description du Pays des Hurons,* (map, n.d.), (Ottawa:

an indication of where they were when Champlain visited them in 1616. They were nomadic and moved easily between the Petun Country, the Beaver Valley, and "two days journey" away, which acceptably meant the Bruce Peninsula.[68] Writing for the Smithsonian Institute, Johanna and Christian Feest placed the Odawa on "parts of the Bruce Peninsula" during the French period, but provide no evidence to support their claim that "Champlain visited one of their villages west of the Petun in the vicinity of the Bruce Peninsula."[69]

Leo Waisberg[70] noted the acceptable evidence that the Cheveux-relevés were sometimes "midway up the Bruce Peninsula," but did not propose that Champlain visited them there. He cautioned that their villages have never been found, and suggested these should be "in those areas west of the Petun suitable for aboriginal horticulture," "approximately midway between the Petun territory and the Upper Peninsula," which coincides well with the Beaver Valley, where, in fact, a sequence of prehistoric Ottawa villages has been found. Their archaeology demonstrates that the Odawa Cheveux-relevés had wintered in the Beaver Valley for hundreds, if not thousands, of years prior to the arrival of the Petun nearby.[71] After the Petuns arrived, the Odawa wintered in Petun villages.

The result of a survey in 1978 "along the Niagara Escarpment between Wiarton and Craigleith with the express primary objective of locating the Cheveux-relevés villages visited by Samuel de Champlain during February 1616," was that "evidence for the presence of the historic *Cheveux Relevés* was not found," and "no sites of the size of those intimated by Champlain were found."[72]

Archaeological Evidence for the Location of the Petun

Nowhere west of the Niagara Escarpment, and certainly not in the Bruce Peninsula, has a cluster of Iroquoian villages dating to ca. 1616, been found, but on the east side of the Escarpment, within a two-day walk from Huronia, between Banda and Craigleith,

Library and Archives Canada); Franceso-Guiseppe Bressani, *Huronum Explicata Tabula* (map, 1657), (Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada).

[68] Champlain, *Works*, 3: 97 ; Fox and Garrad, *Hurons in an Algonquian Land*, 125; Charles Garnier, "Letter from St. Charles Garnier to his brother Father Henry of St. Joseph, Carmelite, from among the Hurons, 28 April, 1648," *Martyrs' Shrine Message,* 21:3 (September 1957), 6; Jones, "8endake Ehen," 356; Sagard, *The Long Journey to the Country of the Hurons,* 66.

[69] Johanna A, E. Feest and Christian F. Feest, "Ottawa," *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol. 15, Northeast, (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), 772, map fig. 1, 773

[70] Leo G. Waisberg, *The Ottawa: Traders of the Upper Great Lakes 1615-1700*, Unpublished M.A. thesis (Hamilton: McMaster University, 1977), 16-22, 51.

[71] Charles Garrad, *The Beaver Valley – Surveys and Sequences*, Paper presented at the Twelfth Annual Symposium of The Ontario Archaeological Society (Inc), held at London, Ontario, 1985, on file with author.

[72] Fitzgerald, *An Assessment of the Potential for Future Archaeological Research in the Area of Grey County Beneath the Niagara Escarpment*, 1, 24.

are an abundance of archaeological sites which can arranged into two sequences which both terminate in the general Dispersal of 1650. It is accepted that these sequences are the Petun Wolf and Deer, the "two different Nations which occupy the whole of that country."[73]

The first and earliest principal Petun Village, which begins the Wolf sequence, is the Sidey-Mackay BbHa-6 village site at Creemore. This village dates ca. 1575/80-1600, too early for Champlain. However, its demonstrable successor as principal village is the nearby Melville BbHa-7 site, which dates ca. 1600-1620. Native goods on both sites are very similar, but there are considerable differences in the amount and range of European trade goods. Both villages have European brass scrap but the percentage at Melville is higher than at Sidey-Mackay. Melville also has glass beads, copper and brass kettle lugs and rims, iron knives, iron axes and a sword blade. Various tests indicate the glass beads, iron knives and axes on the site are all appropriate to the 1616 period. The village that is now the Melville BbHa-7 archaeological site was Champlain's headquarters, the principal village from which he set out to visit the "seven other villages of their neighbours and allies," and probably where the visiting Neutrals were residing when Champlain met them. It is the only Petun village site that has yielded any suggestion of a Neutral presence.[74] The abundance of European goods at Melville may be evidence of the village's survival into later times, or of Champlain's largesse towards his hosts.

Champlain's generosity did not extend to the villages he only briefly visited. The Rock Bottom BcHb-20 village site, for example, is quite scarce of trade goods, but those that have been found there, comprising trade copper scrap, one iron knife, two iron axes, all date nicely to ca. 1616. There are also two glass beads, typed IIa26, and IIa40.[75] These are indeterminate as to time, but both are present on contemporary sites. The Native goods on the site indicates it was preceded by an ancestor site further south which dates ca. 1580-1600.

Champlain described the Petun country as "full of hill-slopes and little level stretches which make it a pleasant country."[76] This implies he was to the south of the steeper Blue Mountains nearer to the Georgian Bay lakeshore and is particularly appropriate to the view seen south from the Melville site, overlooking the Mad River.

The Deer sequence produced separate challenges. It commenced ca. 1600." with the twin McAllister BcHb-25 and Mac-

[73] JR 33: 143.

[74] Carolyn Walker, *Copper Chronological Markers? A Chemical and Typological Analysis of Copper and Alloy Trade Metal Artifacts from Petun Sites in Southern Ontario.* M.Sc. thesis, (Toronto: University of Toronto Dept. of Anthropology, 1997), Appendix "A" Melville.

[75] Using the typology introduced by Kenneth E. and Martha A. Kidd, *A Classification Scheme for Glass Beads for the Use of Field Archaeologists,* Canadian Historic Sites Occasional Papers in Archaeology and History No. 1, (Ottawa: National Historic Sites Service, 1970), 45-89.

[76] Champlain, *Works*, 3: 96.

Murchy BcHb-26 sites near Osler Bluff. Although contemporary with Melville, these sites have considerably fewer trade goods. The McAllister site so far has produced only one glass bead, it is typed 1a4, which is also present on the Melville site. McAllister produced an engraved European iron knife that is so unique and unlike knives made for trade, that it is interpreted as the gift by a Frenchman, logically one of Champlain's party.[77] The iron trade knife and partial sword found at the MacMurchy village match those at Melville. A possible reason for the shortage of trade goods at these two sites, apart from inadequate artifact samples, is that when the occupants received them they were preparing and packing to move to new locations. It was the people of the McAllister and MacMurchy villages that were building the "two villages" "in the midst of the woods," which we know as the Haney-Cook Upper and Haney-Cook Lower BcHb-27 sites, and where, it seems, the Cheveux-relevés were already present.

The Haney-Cook sites are unique in that they are the highest in elevation of any Petun sites, and probably have the worst soil for corn agriculture. However, from the Haney-Cook Upper village a trail may be traced which lead west over the Blue Mountain to the Beaver River Valley and its prehistoric Cheveux-relevés Odawa sites below. It was logically by this trail that the Odawa reached the Petuns. The evidence suggests that even after they began wintering in Petun villages, the Odawa still hunted and probably planted crops in the Beaver Valley. It was here, on the west side of the Petun territory and the interface with traditional Ottawa territory, that they met with Champlain. The archaeological evidence of a Cheveux-relevés presence at the Haney-Cook sites is not strong due to the condition of the sites and the lack of excavations, but it is there.[78]

In the territory between the Melville Site and the McAllister and MacMurchy villages some dozen other Petun or shared Petun/Algonkian (Cheveux-relevés and possibly Nipissing) villages, are recorded. There is thus no shortage of candidate villages for the remaining five that were visited by Champlain. To select from this abundance five villages that date to 1616 depends on the accuracy of the dating technique and of the archaeological record, which is always subject to reconsideration, because archaeology is not an exact science. In the past, the Coefficient of Similarity technique, by which the similarity of some types of artifact collections can be calculated on a scale of 0 to 200, applied to pottery rimsherds, and an assumed route always north from the Melville village, has suggested that the ten villages visited by Champlain were Melville BbHa-7, Graham-Ferguson BcHb-7, Glebe BcHb-1, Currie BcHb-18, Pretty River BcHb-22, Rock Bottom

[77] Charles Garrad, "The Fear of Death: A Unique Inscribed Knife Blade from the Petun Country," *Arch Notes* 8:2 (March/April, 2003), 9-10.

[78] William A. Fox, "Lithic Tools from the Haney-Cook Site (BcHb-27)," *KEWA* 79:9, (London: London Chapter of The Ontario Archaeological Society 1979), 7; *The Odawa,* 471.

BcHb-20, McAllister BcHb-25, MacMurchy BcHb-26, Haney-Cook Lower and Haney-Cook Upper BcHb-27.[79] The Coefficient of Similarity technique applied to clay pipe bowls suggests the same villages.

While these proposals may be more reliable than has been previously achieved, the calculations are nevertheless tentative pending further work. Should the Currie site prove not to be a village, or the Graham-Ferguson or Glebe sites prove to be later in time, yet to be demonstrated, then the McEwen 1 BcHb-17 may be substituted.[80] Champlain's route from where the Nottawasaga River could be crossed near Wasaga Beach to the Melville village site is not known and could have been via the White-Coyle BcHa-2 village, but this is not confirmed by either the pottery rimsherds or the clay pipe bowls, leaving the possibility that Champlain's count included a village that was already abandoned. If Champlain went out of his way to explore south of the Melville BbHa-7 village, the Latimer BbHa-12 village appears to be contemporary.

The evidence of the iron trade artifacts confirms that eight of the villages were Melville, Glebe, Pretty River, Rock Bottom, McAllister, MacMurchy, Haney-Cook Lower and Upper.[81] The evidence of the copper artifacts gives only six villages as contemporary ca. 1616," Melville, Glebe, McAllister, MacMurchy, and Haney-Cook (Lower and Upper together).[82]

Misrepresenting Champlain's Journeys

Claiming that Champlain visited places which he did not and when he did not has a long history. In 1688 the King of France claimed ownership of certain "Countries of North America" by right of Champlain's discoveries

> treated... very fully in his Book" (of 1632), stating that "in the years 1611 and 1612, he (Champlain) ascended the Grand River (Ottawa) as far as Lake Huron; called the Fresh Sea; he went thence to the Petun nation, next to the Neutral Nation and to the Mascoutins who were then residing near the place called the Sakiman; from that he went to the Algonquin and Huron tribes, at war against the Iroquois. He passed by places he has, himself, described in his book, which are no other than Detroit and Lake Erie.[83]

Most recently, in the summer 2008,

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[79] Charles Garrad, *Champlain and the Ottawa in 1616*, Research Bulletin 15, (Toronto: Petun Research Institute, 1998), 15, map 2 <www.wyandot.org/petun>.

[80] Charles Garrad, "Champlain and the Odawa," *Midcontinental Journal of Archaeology*, 24:1 (Spring 1999), 70. (Not all sites are identified by name on the cited map)

[81] Walker, *Copper Chronological Markers?,* 9, Fig. 3.

[82] Carolyn Walker, Ronald .G.V. Hancock, Susan Aufreiter, Martha .A. Latta and Charles Garrad, "Chronological Markers? Chemical Analysis of Copper-Based Trade Metal Artefacts From Petun Sites in Southern Ontario, Canada," in M.M. Young, A. Mark Pollard, Paul Budd and Robert A. Ixer, eds., *Metals in Antiquity,* British Archaeological Reports International Series 792 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 1999), 324, Fig. 7.

[83] "Memoir explanatory of the Right the French have to the property of the Countries of North America ...," *New York Colonial Documents* (Albany, 1855), 9: 378.

in a publication of uncertain origin, celebrating 400 years of French in Ontario, readers were invited to "Follow Champlain's Footsteps "to Lake Erie" (7, 8), "Sudbury, Manitoulin Island, the Bruce Peninsula, Collingwood, Wasaga Beach and Barrie" (9). These places were all included in a tour "of the route which supposedly brought Champlain to Huronia between 1615 and 1616" (9-11). The nearest he got to any of these was close to Wasaga Beach. The tour was closest to where Champlain had been on day 9, when it visited the Scenic Caves near Collingwood, close to where Champlain had visited the Cheveux-relevés.[84]

Summary

It is concluded that Champlain's ultimate purpose in undertaking the 1616 expedition was to search for the route to China by first visiting the country of the Neutrals, and not as presented in his 1618 and 1632 publications. Visiting the Petun *en route* was incidental. He did not proceed further west than the villages of the Petun.

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[84] Direction Ontario, *Follow Champlain's Footsteps in Ontario*, Summer, (Toronto, 2008). The origin of this document is identified only by a web site address. Consult <www.directionontario.ca> for an address and other details.