

A HISTORY OF LANGUAGE AND REVIVAL IN THE WENDAT & WYANDOT(TE)
NATIONS, 1534-2023

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By

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Abstract

The Wxndat languages (Wendat, Waⁿdat, Wyandot, Huron) are some of the best documented Indigenous languages in North America. Yet despite the volume of documentation, the languages fell asleep (became dormant) in the twentieth century, and still today there are no fluent speakers. Over the course of nearly five hundred years, from 1534-2023, the Wxndat languages have had champions from various communities: other Indigenous peoples, Europeans, American and Canadian settlers, and most importantly, the modern Wxndat nations and Wxndat individuals themselves. Previous scholarship has covered varying aspects of the languages and their history, but usually focusing on certain eras only, or as a section within a larger study. This thesis examines the *longue durée* history of the Wxndat languages, efforts to preserve them, and their revival movements, to illustrate the caretaking of the languages from one generation to the next. It features *hędī:hšahs nęh hatitsihęstatsih* (explorers and missionaries), *huⁿdatřižuh nęh hatižatų?* (fighting and writing) to preserve the languages, and the *uⁿdita?wahsta? nęh uⁿdakye:wat* (sleeping and waking) of the languages. Unique sources obtained through fieldwork and the collection of oral history interviews with Elders in Oklahoma, Toronto, and Québec in 2019 inform this work. This meticulously chronological approach contributes a reexamination of Wendat (Huron) and Wyandot (Huron) history through the lens of language and community agency.

Acknowledgements & Forward

The research for this thesis project occurred across many parts of Turtle Island, and I want to express my genuine gratitude to the following Indigenous peoples for hosting this scholarship. I completed part of my research in Treaty 6 territory (Saskatchewan), the traditional homelands of the Cree, Blackfoot, Métis, Nakoda Sioux, Iroquois, Dene, Ojibway/Saulteaux/Anishanaabe, and Inuit, in *Ekaⁿdehšáteh* (the word for “Canada” in Waⁿdat). Part of my research was completed in *Qmętsá?yomęh* (“Virginia” in Waⁿdat), but the local Algonquian speakers called *Tsenacommacah*, homelands of the Chickahominy, Eastern Chickahominy, Pamunkey, Mattaponi, Upper Mattaponi, Rappahannock, Nansemond, Nottoway, Cheroenhaka, Patawomeck, and Monacan.

I also want to thank the nations of the Wendat Confederacy. Not only is this their history, but I am inspired by their example of kinship, cooperation, and dedication to cultural preservation. With projects such as this one, it takes a *kanata* or *yaⁿdata?* (village) to make it as thorough and in-depth as I wanted it to be for the community and for future scholars; therefore, I want to credit my *yaⁿdata?*

A big *tižameh* and *tiawenhk* to the Elders, *Uⁿdatrihqt* (Faithkeepers), Chiefs, and other community members who have supported my work and guided my process at various points: Catherine Taqmeššre’ Tàmmaro, Richard Zane Smith Sqhahiyoh, Linda Sioui, Sallie Cotter Andrews, Janith English, Judith Pidgeon-Kukowski, Judith (Zane-Yunghans) Manthe Tronyaęhks, Beverlee Pettit, Manon Sioui, Pat Garrison, Marcel Godbout, Louisa Libby Yaronyewá?e, Anna Libby Brown, and Michael Odette. One of my main inspirations for doing this work has been language revitalization, revival, reclamation, and I have been so inspired over the years by the various language keepers and cultural revitalizers in both the Wendat and Waⁿdat language communities; their work has driven me to find out more about the past and how each language’s history has shaped its present.

Tiawenhk to La Nation huronne-wendat in Wendake, Québec for allowing me to conduct research in the community and their archives in 2019, as well as to the Wyandotte Nation in Oklahoma for inviting me to participate in an early language learning group in 2021-2022.

I have immense gratitude for my advisor, Dr. Kathryn Magee Labelle, for helping me navigate through this process. She has been working with me since the undergraduate iteration of this project, and I am so lucky to have benefitted from her support, encouragement, and expertise in Wxndat history. Her example of community engagement methodologies has been invaluable, especially in how to translate community priorities for a westernized academic audience. I would also like to thank my committee members, Drs. Angela Kalinowski and Benjamin Hoy, for their guidance on tackling a project of this magnitude. Their conscientious feedback improved this thesis substantially and helped it become more legible for a wider audience.

There are two more scholars whose support has been absolutely essential. Mckelvey Kelly has been there for me every step of the way, whether it was to support our shared Wxndat community, navigating community-engaged scholarship within a western educational institution, or even to simply help me figure out how to use technology. Craig Koprís, my co-creator in coming up with the term, “Wxndat,” has been my ultimate tour guide to learning aspects of the languages, and from time-to-time translating the most difficult linguistic terminologies. A lot of

what I'm able to write about in terms of Waⁿdat language revival wouldn't have been possible without him, and his knowledge of Wendat and many other Iroquoian languages makes him the ultimate expert. Both of these scholars have an incredible commitment to the Wxndat communities.

There are a number of people I would like to thank for their genuine support during the writing and final editing phases of this project. To Dr. Nola Hadley Torres, who taught me what an Indigenous ethnohistorian should be, and Carrie Guerriero, for wholistically and consistently keeping me on the right path. To my incredible colleagues at the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation who held space for me and my scholarship while I was finishing this thesis, thank you to Nicole Brown, Felicity Meza-Luna, Chris Custalow, Adam Canaday, Beth Kelly, Cliff Fleet, Peter Inker, Cathy Hellier, Kelly Brennan, and Daniel Cross.

I want to acknowledge that this thesis is still full of flaws and incomplete. Much of the early primary source material for the Wxndat was recorded by non-Indigenous historical actors, which is a bias that any researcher in this area must confront, though I tried my best to peel that back and find a more authentically Wxndat story. Only a fraction of the research I conducted for this thesis appears in the following pages. What I found out through compiling my appendix chronology of the languages was that there are *a lot* of sources out there –but they have been under-utilized. I wanted to tell a story not just of change over time but *survivance over time*, through skilled and tactical stubborn continuance against all odds. This is why I wanted to write a *longue durée* history of the languages.

While I began learning the Wendat and Waⁿdat languages in 2018, it has been a very slow process. To (somewhat jokingly) quote the priest Arthur Jones, “in any work written in Huron [Wxndat] the number of compound words is, in comparison, endless, and the complexity of their structure appalling for any beginner however enthusiastic.”¹ *There will be mistakes in my use of the language*; I am still learning. Nevertheless, I will do my best to translate linguistic concepts for a non-linguist audience.

Thank you to my mother for being an ear whenever I needed it, and my sister Kris for cheering me on. For my father, thank you for the bear medicine, you must have known I would need that in the last two months of writing my thesis. You were not able to find some of these answers or see me complete my master's degree, and so I want to dedicate this in part to you.

Thank you to my kittens, Takuš (Waⁿdat for “cat”), and Wučingwey (Tsenacommacah Algonquian for “small wildcat”) who danced on my keyboard so much that they probably typed at least 20% of this thesis, as well as my part-time dog, Attemous (Tsenacommacah Algonquian for “dog”), who came and whined at me whenever he deemed I had worked too long. And for Russell Reed, thank you for keeping me grounded in what is truly important, making sure I ate food so that my brain could still function, and encouraging me to take a break every now and then. I hope you will all be proud of the following one million pages of academic writing (that was the page count, right?)

¹ Arthur Edward Jones, “*8endake Ehen*” Or, *Old Huronia*. Edited by Alexander Fraser, Fifth Report of the Bureau of Archives for the Province of Ontario, (Toronto: L.K. Cameron, 1908), p. 169.

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Glossary

The four Wxndat Nations and their locations today:

La Nation huronne-wendat – Wendake, Québec

Wyandot of Anderdon Nation – Ontario/Michigan

Wyandot Nation of Kansas – Kansas

Wyandotte Nation – Oklahoma

Wxndat – This is an umbrella term for all four nations and their languages together (to be explained in more detail in the Introduction). It is also the name being proposed for the parent language to the Wendat and Waⁿdat languages. Additionally, in times where it is unclear in the historical sources which language is being referred to, *Wxndat* will be used to denote that it is unknown, but that it is either Wxndat, Wendat, or Waⁿdat.

Wyandot – Might refer to any Wxndat person or people who are a result of the westward migration of the dispersal beginning in 1649. *Wyandot* is also used specifically for those residing in the Anderdon community, the Kansas community, or in the case of the eighteenth century, to those in Ohio.

Wyandot(te) – This term is used to describe a heterogeneous mixture of people composed of both modern Wyandot and Wyandotte community members. In other words, the combined modern communities of Anderdon, Kansas, and Oklahoma Wxndats.

Wyandotte – This spelling refers only to the Wxndat people who reside in Oklahoma, except where it is utilized by the historical source being cited.

Waⁿdat – The language of the Wyandot(te) peoples. Today, there is a movement among some Wyandot(te)s to refer to the people as Waⁿdat as well, as that is the word written in the language's orthography (writing system). However, in a desire to keep concepts as clearly delineated as possible, I have chosen to only use *Waⁿdat* to describe the language and Wyandot(te) to describe the peoples within this thesis.

La Nation huronne-wendat – While the lack of capitalization might look off to an English speaker, that is in fact the way that capitalization works in Québec.

Huron-Wendat – I use the Anglicized term when I'm talking about a *modern person* who is a member of La Nation huronne-wendat.

Hodinohsɔnih – The Haudenosaunee (endonym), also called the Iroquois (exonym)

Hedí:hšahs – “Explorers” in the Waⁿdat language; literally, “they are looking for.”

Hatinéhskwas – “They steal” in the Waⁿdat language. This could be another term used for European explorers.

Hatitsihēstatsih – “Missionaries” in the Waⁿdat language; literally, “black colored, they are priests.”

Etsihēstatsih – “One is a priest, priests”; another Waⁿdat word for missionaries.

Moribund or endangered language – Meaning there are few remaining speakers, and language is no longer (or infrequently) being transmitted intergenerationally; in other words, children are no longer learning to be speakers of the language. Could also be called “sleepy” language.²

Sleeping language – In linguistic terms, *dormant*, meaning there are no living speakers. In the past, the term “dead language” may have been applied, but that is not a preferred term for describing the state of Indigenous languages, especially not those which are undergoing a revival process.

Awaken (a language) – The process of bringing a language back from sleeping status, working towards having speakers again.

Language Revival (sometimes called Reclamation) – The process or movement by which a sleeping language is being brought back or awakened. Going from a state of no speakers to creating speakers.

Language Revitalization (sometimes called Renewal) – The process or movement by which a sleepy language is being kept awake. This is a process that takes a language where there are still living speakers, but few to no children are learning the language, and strives to bring it back to a point of uninterrupted intergenerational transmission again. **It should also be noted that “Language Revitalization” is used as a catch-all term for any movements wherein a community is attempting to preserve or bring back their language, in other words, it is an umbrella term encompassing language revival, reclamation, revitalization, and renewal.*

Orthography – A designated writing system, chosen by a community or someone working with the language (such as a linguist). It is everything from the letters or symbols chosen to represent sounds in the language, to diacritics or accent marks, glottal stops, and spelling conventions.

Endonym – What a community calls or called themselves, which is usually a word in their language. (Examples: Wendat, Wyandot).

Exonym – A name that a community is designated by outsiders. For Indigenous groups in North America, this often comes from something Europeans heard and misinterpreted, and then the European mispronunciation becomes the most used moniker for that nation. (Example: Huron).

² Fallon Burner, “Healing Through Language: Revitalization and Renewal in the Wendat Confederacy,” Honors Thesis, (University of California, Berkeley: American Cultures Center, 2020), 10, 61.

Ekwakóte? : An Introduction³

I dedicate this project to the United Nations' International Decade of Indigenous Languages, 2022-2032, and to the Wxndat peoples across Turtle Island.

*Kwe:, šahskənó?nye? ?
Fallon iżatsih.
Qmętsá?yqmeh ekwayéhtih.
Ekaⁿdehšáteh íⁿda:re?
Inyómarihú?te? iwíhšas ⁿdi?⁴*

Positionality Statement

When I was very little, I remember my father explaining to me that we are Native American, but with family from Canada (I don't think he knew the terminology "First Nations" yet). I could hear his pride in this heritage as he told me how his mother identified as "Indian" in a time and place when there were signs on business doors that said things like: "No Dogs. No Indians." He told me it was important for me to know that our ancestors were participating members of a community with a role to play for many generations, going back as far as anyone could remember. Our family said we are "Huron" (Wendat wasn't being widely used again yet). Growing up in eastern Virginia, everyone I met told me I looked "exotic" and some people asked me "which one of your parents is Black?" When I gave my ethnic background as I know it, I

³ *Ekwakóte?* is Waⁿdat for "we are going to commence." Thank you to Dr. Craig Koprís, tribal linguist for the Wyandotte Nation, for re-directing me to a more sophisticated translation.

⁴ This introduction is in the Waⁿdat language. Many thanks to Dr. Craig Koprís for providing the tools to put it together. In English, it says roughly: Hello, how are you? My name is Fallon. I'm originally from Virginia/Maryland. I currently live in Canada. I am a community-engaged historian and cultural researcher (literally, "she seeks our old ways").

would offer, “what you’re seeing might be my Native heritage,” only to be answered with “You must be confused, Native Americans don’t exist anymore” most of the time. Being far away from the home of my great-grandparents in a time before Google, I did what local research I could in libraries and bookstores, which yielded results on local Virginia Algonquian peoples, but nothing about my family’s community in *Ekaⁿdehšáteh* (Canada). When I returned to school in 2015, I funneled all my resources towards re-connecting with community and gaining a deep knowledge of Wendat history. I wanted to give something of value back to the community. I found the work of Kathryn Labelle and John Steckley in 2017 and connecting with them both personally opened all the doors that followed. My journey to confirm my ancestry is ongoing. I am not enrolled in any Indigenous nation, and as such do not have citizenship or rights in the Wxndat nations; I also do not speak *for* the Wxndat communities in any official capacity. The perspective I present is based in the work I have done with multiple Wendat and Wyandot(te) community members over the years, as well as the ongoing relationships I have with them today.

This project examines the language history of the Wxndat (Huron) Nations, from the earliest known documentations in the sixteenth century to the current revitalization movements.⁵

⁵ The Wendat and Wyandot (together: Wxndat) have most commonly been referred to in historical documents as “the Huron” and today are all part of the Wendat Confederacy, which spans Canada and the United States. However, I will refer to these four nations collectively as *Wxndat*. I have created and implemented this new term because “Huron” is an exonym. Exonyms have historically been terms chosen by Europeans to define Indigenous groups and are often insulting in some way to the group they describe. I prefer using endonyms, what communities call or called themselves, which are usually terms from their own language. In the case of a group whose exonym is more widely recognized than their endonym, I will include the exonym in parentheses after the endonym for the sake of recognition by the reader.

I thank Dr. Craig Kopsis, Wyandotte of Oklahoma’s linguist, for his collaboration on finding the right spelling for Wxndat. Another key reason for choosing *Wxndat* over *Wendat* to describe all of the nations of the Wendat Confederacy is because only one out of the four member nations uses *Wendat* in their name and I don’t wish to show undue preference to any one nation over the others. I also offer this term to add precision and clarity to the historical narrative. Some scholars may not take to the Wxndat term, possibly due to its pronunciation. They may argue that we

This study seeks to answer the following questions: What factors led to language loss and revival in the Wxndat communities?⁶ What strategies have been implemented to revive the languages since they went to sleep?⁷ And what tactics of *survivance* have Wxndat communities used to preserve the languages and provide the cultural continuity that allows them to be revived today?⁸ Consequently, this study will trace the trajectory of two languages: Wendat and Waⁿdat (Wyandot), which are both Nadowek (Iroquoian) languages, across a span of 500 years.⁹ It takes a chronological approach to studying these languages, including the biographies of figures who have carried them from one generation to the next. The chapters are broken down into three major eras: hēdī:hšahs nēh hatitsihēstatsih, huⁿdatrižuh nēh hatizato?, and uⁿdita?wahsta? nēh uⁿdakye:wat; in other words, from a flourishing language that was being used by explorers, missionaries, and other Indigenous peoples, to one of transition where they had to fight to keep their languages and began writing it down themselves, until finally, the languages fell asleep and were reawakened by their communities. I will be using Wendat to refer to the language belonging to the Huron-Wendat people, while Waⁿdat will be used for the language of the

already have a term which serves this function, *Huron*. Hopefully, those scholars will consider my arguments about the importance of endonyms in reclaiming a sovereign historical perspective.

⁶ Wendake's head linguist, Megan Lukaniec, applied for "Wxndat" to have international recognition as the linguistic term for the parent language in 2021, but the ISO 639-3 Registration Authority rejected it.

⁷ In linguistic terms this would be called *dormant*, or an absence of speakers or intergenerational transmission.

⁸ I like to think of *survivance* as a portmanteau of survival + resistance; the term was coined by Gerald Vizenor. Gerald Robert Vizenor, *Manifest Manners: Narratives on Postindian Survivance*, (Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1999).

⁹ Nadowek is in fact an Algonquian term referring to what are commonly called the Iroquoian culture and language group; it is not a Wendat word. However, because the Wendat word for this term is as of yet unknown, Huron-Wendat historian Georges Sioui proposed the use of "Nadowek(ian)" or "Nadouek" in French in 1999 in his book, *Huron-Wendat: The Heritage of the Circle*. The fact that it is a geographically relevant Indigenous term makes Nadowek preferable to the exonym, *Iroquoian*.

Sioui says that *Nadowek* is an Algonquian term meaning "people of a different stock," and that "by replacing the term *Iroquoian* with *Nadowek*, I also intend to recall the original geopolitical situation established by the Aboriginal Peoples on their continent long before any European adventurers began the project of 'discovering' new 'pagan' lands... The 'Iroquois,' who, as their entire history so patently and eloquently demonstrates, fully deserve the reputation of courage and intelligence that they have secured for themselves as a People, did not originally have the political centrality that European and non-Native historians and writers have made them out to have." Georges Sioui, *Eatenonha: Native Roots of Modern Democracy*, (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2019), 118-119.

Wyandot(te) peoples. There is also a third language discussed in this thesis, called Wxndat, which will be addressed in the following section.

While most documentation on Indigenous languages was done during the heyday of salvage linguistics from the late nineteenth to the early twentieth centuries, the Wxndat languages are unique in that their documentation reaches back to the sixteenth century, with a form of Wxndat first being documented by the French in the 1530s.¹⁰ When a language falls asleep, it means that there are no more living speakers. Before that, when children have stopped learning the language linguists refer to it as *moribund* or *endangered*. Wendat fell asleep around the turn of the twentieth century. Waⁿdat didn't fall asleep until the 1960s. The sleeping dates of the two languages are staggered due to a number of factors including: dispersals, diaspora, colonialism, and political fracture. The revival movements are more closely linked though, and they speak to renewed cultural alliances based on shared history. Wendat and Waⁿdat both began to re-awaken in the 1990s amid a wider cultural revival.

¹⁰ I use Indigenous as an umbrella term for any Original or First Peoples of an area and specific nation or tribe names for individual groups where applicable. I also use the term Native to describe any First Peoples within North America, usually when referencing a relationship to colonialism. Preferred terminologies shift from time to time; currently, the following are used: Native American describes an Indigenous person within the contiguous lower-48 in the U.S., also within the U.S. are Alaska Natives, Native Hawaiians, Pacific Islanders, and Indigenous Puerto Ricans. Many Indigenous people within the boundaries of the United States still prefer the term "American Indian" but I do not use it unless quoting a source. In Canada, the preferred terms are: Indigenous, First Nations, Métis, and Inuit. In French-Canadian communities the term Autochtone is used, as well as Amérindienne, Métis, Inuit, and Premières Nations, though a minority of Quebeckers also use Indigène.

The term "Indian" is an exonym. When Christopher Columbus landed in the Caribbean for the first time in 1492, he truly thought he was either in India or Asia (he makes several references to the Emperor of *Chipangu* or Japan, whom he continually expects to run into). Even though people present on this first voyage with Columbus already knew he was incorrect, the term *indios*, translated in English to "Indians," stuck around, culminating in Europeans referring to this area as "the West Indies" for a very long time. (Note: the East Indies is in fact the actual country of India). Europeans and their descendants then continued to mis-label Indigenous people throughout the massive landmass that is North and South America for five hundred years. Many still use this term today due to the fact that in the U.S. it is a legal term attached to treaties, "Indian status" for individuals with certain rights, and "Indian Country" for lands marked out for acknowledged Native Nations. While not wishing to disrespect the "Pan-Indian" activism of the twentieth century in any way, it is now time to tap into the conversation of how this term originated. I will only use "Indian" when it directly reflects the original source being quoted.

Ultimately, a study of language revival amongst these communities highlights the ways in which culture and community have been affected by colonialism from its earliest inception to the present day in North America. Additionally, historicizing the languages themselves offers a more community-rooted perspective of the historical narrative. I argue that there has been a consistent record of community-based care to preserve and maintain the Wxndat languages from the early days of contact with Europeans up to the present, and that settlers have also played a role in both preservation and revival. It is also central to my thesis that historians take greater care to study the historic narratives of both the languages themselves and the revival efforts of the Wxndat nations in order to recenter community perspectives in this narrative. While many individuals have been very interested in the languages and culture of the Wxndat since contact, traditional academic scholarship has never told the 500-year history of the languages themselves in one narrative, using a biographical approach. Academic scholarship has also not examined the key figures, both Wxndat and non-Wxndat, who contributed to the historiography of Wxndat language documentation and revival. This study is a biography of the languages, told through the individuals who appear in the historical record either speaking them or studying them. At various points, the story is being told solely through instances where Wxndat words appear in the historical record, and those words themselves are considered as data points. The key figures examined will be: speakers and language keepers who have preserved the languages, scholars who have analyzed the languages, settlers who have studied it throughout the eras, and language revivers who are bringing the languages back. Major themes of survivance and settler colonialism play into the ongoing histories of Indigenous languages such as that of the Wxndat Nations. The structure of language itself contains community perspective – within the way words are formed, the syntax, and the grammar, tell you about what a community values and how they

see the world. For example, in the Wxndat languages, there are more components of exclusivity and inclusivity than in English. That tells us that the specificity of who is included or who is excluded *matters more* in Wxndat cultures. There are more feminine tenses, based on what stage of life a woman is in. The Wxndat languages are verb-based, which suggests a culture oriented around action above mere existence, versus English and French which are noun-based. Further investigation into all of the implications this kind of reading on Wxndat history could bring into focus is rich food for future inquiry. Without this deeper knowledge, we are not understanding a fully Wxndat perspective of history. In forcing historians to engage in the history of the Wxndat nations' languages, we hopefully can rectify or reckon with how our own field continues to distort community perspectives through the use of non-Indigenous language in scholarly work.

The Wxndat

The Wendat and Waⁿdat languages both come from the same parent language.¹¹ *Huron* has been used as the name of the parent language in the past, and sometimes still appears today. *Huron* has also been used as the name for both the Wendat and Waⁿdat languages, which creates confusion, understandably. Instead, I am naming the parent language *Wxndat*. I also use the term Wxndat to describe the broader political and cultural group historically known as the Huron who have a shared history, culture, and modern political alliance (i.e. the Wendat Confederacy).¹²

The Wxndat are an Eastern Woodlands group that crosses the U.S.-Canada border and includes the following nations: La Nation Huronne-Wendat, Wyandot of Anderdon Nation, Wyandot Nation of Kansas, and the Wyandotte Nation. These four are the surviving groups from

¹¹ It is not yet known when the parent language split into Wendat and Waⁿdat.

¹² See the earlier footnote for an explanation on the origin and usage of this term.

the original Wxndat nations in the seventeenth century.¹³ Between these four nations there are two Nadowek ancestral languages: Wendat and Waⁿdat, and two European languages: English and French. While the Wxndat were situated closer to one another during the contact era, a fact which allows scholars to group them historically, their present-day geographic spread creates challenges for language revival.¹⁴ The Wendat language is associated with La Nation huronne-wendat (Huron-Wendat Nation), which is composed of descendants of the eastern portion of the Wxndat diaspora. Today, they are located in Québec and are mostly French speakers.¹⁵ The Waⁿdat language is associated with all of the Wyandot(te) nations, who today are located in Ontario/Michigan, Kansas, and Oklahoma.¹⁶ They formed the western arm of the Wxndat diaspora and today are mostly English speakers.

¹³ There were nine groups in the seventeenth century whose descendants resulted in these four nations today: “the Attignawantan, Attigeneongahac, Arendahronon, Tahontaenrat, and Ataronchronon each spoke a different dialect, though to what exact extent they differed is unknown,” as well as the Tionontati (Petun/Tobacco), the Atiwandaronks (Neutrals, who had “strong ties to the Petun,” Garrad [2014: 39]), and the Wenrôhronons (Wenro, who were originally part of the Neutral Confederacy, were independent for a while, and then joined the Wxndat), and some survivors of the Erie. Craig Kopris, “A Grammar and Dictionary of Wyandot,” PhD diss. State University of New York at Buffalo, 2001, 9-11.

¹⁴ This pattern of multiple dispersals has caused challenges for historians as well, because of the variety of terms by which chroniclers throughout the centuries have used to describe the various Wxndat peoples; this has sometimes muddled what the relationships of each group were to each other, and caused erasure of other Wxndat groups within a given time period. I will use suggested terminologies in parentheses () and brackets [] throughout this thesis to add clarity to what term I think the sources are actually referring to, based on my model of terminology usage.

¹⁵ In Québec where they live, capitalization conventions are different than in English-speaking places. They spell the name of their nation as *La Nation huronne-wendat*, while an English speaker would write it *the Huron-Wendat Nation*.

¹⁶ Two of those nations use the spelling *Wyandot*, while the nation in Oklahoma uses *Wyandotte*. See the Glossary.



A.1: Map of the Eastern Woodlands zone.¹⁷ No. 13 Crawford Lake (or *Kionywarihwaen* in Wendat) is an important ancestral cite for the Wxndat.¹⁸

The Wxndat experienced a dramatic dispersal beginning in 1649, followed by a continued dispersal and diaspora that lasted hundreds of years.¹⁹ While this separation eroded the political cohesion of the Confederacy, the nations were still in contact. The Wendat went east and ended up in the Québec City area. The peoples who would come to be called Wyandot(te)

¹⁷ Samuel E. Munoz, David J. Mladenoff, Sissel Schroeder, and John W. Williams, "Defining the Spatial Patterns of Historical Land Use Associated with the Indigenous Societies of Eastern North America," *Journal of Biogeography* 41, no. 12 (2014): 2195–2210, p. 2197, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/44001889>.

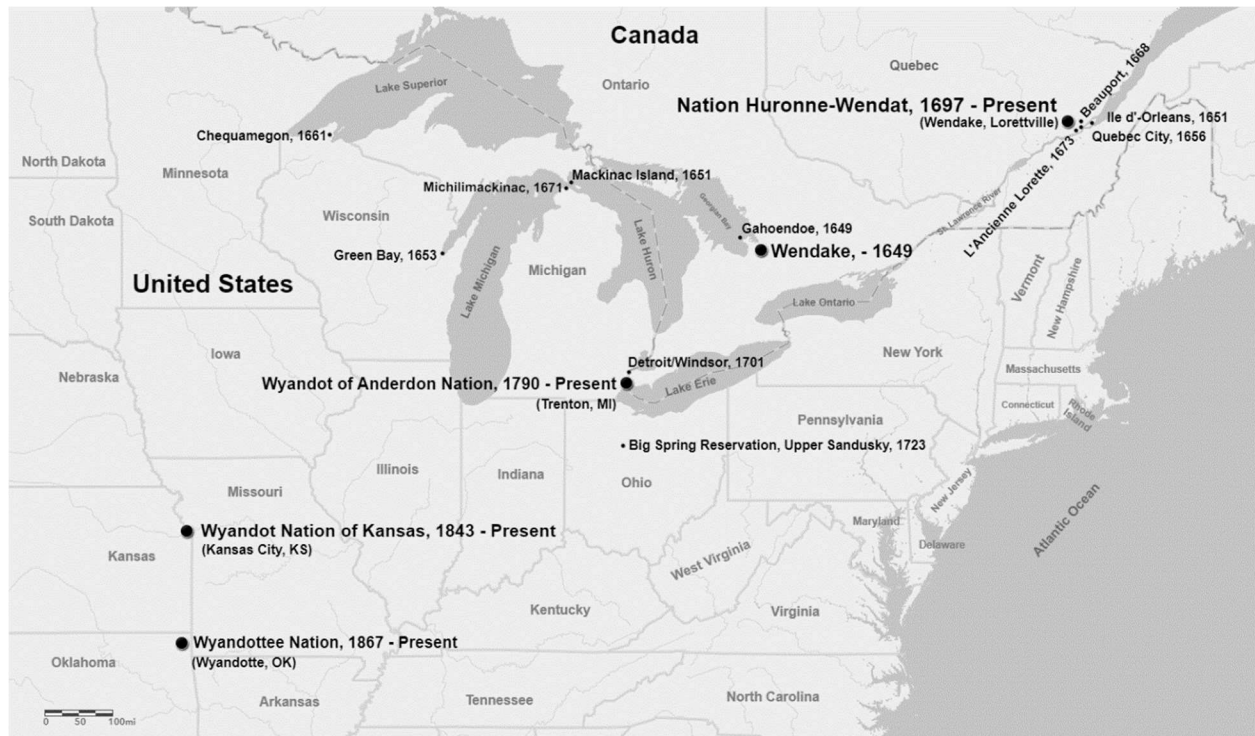
¹⁸ Crawford Lake has recently become significant for scientists in defining the Anthropocene age. See: Sarah Kaplan, graphics by Simon Ducroquet, photos and videos by Bonnie Jo Mount, "Hidden Beneath the Surface," *The Washington Post*, 20 June 2023.

¹⁹ Kathryn Magee Labelle, *Dispersed but Not Destroyed: A History of the Seventeenth-Century Wendat People*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013).

dispersed to Detroit and later to Ohio, and remained in both locations during the eighteenth century. Major language documentation was conducted in the Detroit area, while the Wyandot in Ohio were referenced in European military documents throughout the eighteenth century as they played a major role in the Ohio country and were thus involved in many international conflicts during this period. The geographical separation has posed challenges for Wxndat language revitalization, creating several different movements that have taken place at different times and under different circumstances. In 1999, however, the compact of kinship and shared history between the nations of the Wendat Confederacy was renewed with a joint document at a reburial event of ancestors at Ossossané in Ontario, Canada.²⁰ The below map tracks the major locations of the dispersal and later diaspora of the Wxndat peoples, to their modern locations today: La Nation huronne-wendat in Québec, Wyandot of Anderdon Nation in Ontario/Michigan, the Wyandot Nation of Kansas, and the Wyandotte Nation in Oklahoma.²¹

²⁰ This reburial was to rematriate a large volume of ancestors from museums, and it brought members of all four of the Wxndat nations together to perform this ceremony. “The Wendat Confederacy,” photo of the document on the wall of the Wyandotte Nation of Oklahoma office taken by author for reference. Digital copy can be accessed at <http://www.wyandotofanderdon.com/wp/wp-content/uploads/2013/11/1999ConfederacyAgreement.jpg>. Labelle writes, “Chief [Janith] English created the document with the consent of the other chiefs. It concludes, ‘We vow to attempt to work together in a way that the embers of long ago council fires may be fanned into a flame of kinship, culture, and love that will warm countless generations of Wendat people.’” Kathryn Magee Labelle, *Daughters of Aataentsic: Life Stories from Seven Generations*, (Ottawa, ON: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2021), 3. Kathryn Magee Labelle, “Epilogue: Reconnecting the Modern Diaspora, 1999,” in *Dispersed But Not Destroyed: A History of the Seventeenth-Century Wendat People*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013), 190-195.

²¹ In the Wxndat context, *dispersal* defines the initial relocations of Wxndat peoples, designating their own agency in these decisions, despite external forces, while the ultimate new homelands of each Wxndat nation today constitutes what many would call a *diaspora* from their original homelands.



A.2: Wxndat diaspora map from *Daughters of Aataentsic: Stories from Seven Generations* (2021); map by Mckelvey Kelly.²²

In the twenty years since the Ossossané reburial, cultural and language revival has flourished in the Wxndat communities. Both the Huron-Wendat in Québec and the Wyandotte in Oklahoma now have official linguists for the nations. Remakes of traditional songs and new songs have been composed using Wxndat language and culture, by artists such as Christian Laveau, who was the featured singer for Cirque du Soleil's *TOTEM* show, and Andrée Levesque Sioui, both of La Nation huronne-wendat, and Richard Zane Smith of the Wyandot Nation of Kansas. There are community language classes now running and *u'datrihqot* (faithkeepers) are incorporating language into ceremony and all the healing work that they do. Across an entire continent, these communities remain connected through a passion for language and history.

²² Kathryn Magee Labelle, *Daughters of Aataentsic*, frontmatter.

Settler colonialism has played an integral role in shaping this history. It had truly taken hold of the Eastern Woodlands by the eighteenth century.²³ It was, and is, a force that works *against* language retention, making language preservation or renewal a challenge akin to an act of rebellion. As Patrick Wolfe said, “invasion is a structure not an event,” left in place with an intention to perpetuity, “settler colonialism destroys to replace.”²⁴ The intended destruction is of Indigenous ways of life and culture, to be replaced by that of the colonial invader – and language has been a key factor in this process.

Historiography

Wxndat Studies

Wxndat Studies can be a difficult field to break into, and that has to do with the complex geographic and linguistic details. The dispersal causes confusion for readers because of how many locations the Wxndat moved to, and in order to describe this history properly, the scholar has to interface both Canadian and U.S. Indigenous history, as well as sources in French and English, at minimum. Most U.S. historians are not trained for that, and three-fourths of the Wxndat now reside on the U.S. side of the border. The uncertainty around when the Huron and/or Wendat became Wyandot, or whether these groups were separate even in the seventeenth century, is another source of terminological confusion. This confusion has caused notable scholars to call the Wendat *Wyandot* or to call the Wyandot *Wendat*. Additionally, everyone has been called *Huron*, furthering the confusion. Apart from the historical narrative concerns for

²³ For settler colonial theory, see: Patrick Wolfe, “Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native,” *Journal of Genocide Research* 8, no. 4 (December 21, 2006): 387–409; Lorenzo Veracini, “Settler collective, founding violence and disavowal: the settler colonial situation,” *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 29, no. 4, (2008): 363–379; Lorenzo Veracini, “Chapter 3: Consciousness—Disavowal, non-encounter” in *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 75-86.

²⁴ Wolfe, “Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native,” 388.

needing to sort this out, this has a very real effect on modern communities.²⁵ Language has the answer. I have seen enough evidence in the historical record to suggest that the timeline could be specified further given the available language sources, and while there have been anthropological and linguistic inroads made towards this goal, I argue that a more historical approach would help to clarify the narrative.

Because of the inherently challenging nature of this field of history, the amount of scholars who have contributed book-length studies is small and interrelated. Another major challenge has been bridging the gap between 1649 and the present.²⁶ The reason for that has to do with the interests of previous generations of scholars and the wealth of sources provided by seventeenth-century chroniclers. It's as if previous scholarship was happy to stay right there because there was so much to explore, but that left the general public feeling like Wxndat peoples no longer existed, which was harmful to modern Wxndat individuals. Where they do receive attention in post-1649 historical works, the Wxndat tend to only appear in a minimal number of index entries as additions to other histories, rather than as the central focus.²⁷

²⁵ The Wikipedia page for “Wyandot People” and “Wyandot Language” both deceptively erase the distinctiveness of the Wendat people and language by claiming that they are all the same thing, and that these are just U.S. and Canadian equivalents divided by a modern political border; they are not. If you search Wikipedia for “Wendat people” or “Wendat language” they both redirect back to the “Wyandot People” and “Wyandot Language” pages, respectively. Searching Wikipedia for “Wendat,” yields a list of results where at the top it states, “*Wendat* is an alternate spelling of *Wyandot* and *Wyandotte*, and alternate name for *Huron*.” “Wyandot People,” Wikimedia Foundation, last modified 9 May 2023, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wyandot_people. “Wyandot Language,” Wikimedia Foundation, last modified 28 March 2023, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wyandot_language. [Search for “Wendat”], Wikimedia Foundation, last modified 3 March 2022, <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wendat>.

²⁶ For a discussion on how Wxndat sources typically don't cover anything after 1649, see Kathryn Magee Labelle, “Appendix: Sources and the Discourse of Destruction,” in *Dispersed But Not Destroyed*, 196-214.

²⁷ Notable exceptions to this are the following: Labelle, *Dispersed But Not Destroyed*; Labelle, *Daughters of Aataentsic*; Thomas Peace and Kathryn Magee Labelle, eds, *From Huronia to Wendakes: Adversity, Migrations and Resilience 1650-1900*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2016); Steckley, *The Eighteenth-Century Wyandot*. For other post-1649 historical works which include the Wxndat but do not feature them, see: Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815*, Twentieth Anniversary Edition, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011 [1991]); James Joseph Buss, *Winning The West With Words : Language and Conquest in the Lower Great Lakes*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2011); Karen L. Marrero, *Detroit's Hidden Channels: The Power of French-Indigenous Families in the Eighteenth Century*, (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2020); Susan Sleeper-Smith, *Indigenous Prosperity and American*

The Wxndat have been the primary focus of book-length scholarship by: Elisabeth Tooker, Bruce Trigger, Georges Sioui, and Kathryn Magee Labelle.²⁸ The strength of Tooker's 1964 *An Ethnography of the Huron Indians, 1615-1649* is that it was the first modern anthropological overview of early documentation on the Wxndat by Samuel de Champlain, Gabriel Sagard, and the Jesuit Relations. However, Tooker ended her narrative at 1649. Trigger's 1976 *The Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660* extended Tooker's timeline past 1649 to 1660; however, he still concluded that the Wxndat mostly disappeared into other nations or assimilated into French culture. Trigger was Sioui's external advisor for his 1999, *Huron-Wendat: The Heritage of the Circle* which made the endonym visible in scholarship and provided a uniquely Wendat perspective on this history, examining the Wendat as participants in a circular society of extended kinship networks.²⁹

In 2013, in her work *Dispersed but Not Destroyed: A History of the Seventeenth-Century Wendat People*, historian Kathryn Magee Labelle *Ontidesonk Yari:mema?* took on the prevailing destruction narrative that erased Wxndat identity post-1649/1660, which had been upheld in Tooker and Trigger.³⁰ Labelle, whose advisor was Georges Sioui, is a settler scholar and adopted

Conquest: Indian Women of the Ohio River Valley, 1690-1792, (Williamsburg, Virginia: Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 2018); Paul R. Misencik, and Sally E. Misencik. *American Indians of the Ohio Country in the 18th Century*, (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2020).

²⁸ Elisabeth Tooker, *An Ethnography of the Huron Indians, 1615-1649*, (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1991); Bruce Graham Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660*, (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, Carleton Library Series 2000) (original published 1976); Georges Sioui, trans. Jane Brierley, *Huron-Wendat: The Heritage of the Circle*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999); Labelle, *Dispersed But Not Destroyed*; Labelle, *Daughters of Aataentsic*.

²⁹ I want to point out two other Wxndat scholars who wrote historical accounts earlier: Peter Dooyentate Clarke published under the Wyandot endonym in the late nineteenth century and Marguerite Vincent Tehariolina published with the Huron exonym in the 1980s. Peter Dooyentate Clarke, *Origin and Traditional History of the Wyandots: and Sketches of Other Indian Tribes of North America, True Traditional Stories of Tecumseh and His League, In the Years 1811 and 1812*, (Toronto: Hunter, Rose & Co., 1870); Marguerite Vincent Tehariolina, *La Nation Huronne: Son Histoire, Sa Culture, Son Esprit*, (Québec: Éditions du Pélican, 1984).

³⁰ Labelle has two Wa^adat names: *Ontidesonk* was given by the Wyandot Nation of Kansas and means, "The Eagle That Soars High and Sees Far," and *Yari:mema?* was given by the Wyandot of Anderdon and means "She Carries the Story Along." For a summary of the destruction narrative, see: Labelle, "Appendix: Sources and the Discourse of Destruction" in *Dispersed but Not Destroyed* 196-214.

community member who centers the community in the narrative, adding a discussion about settler colonialism and the role of women.³¹ One of the book's strengths is that it connects the dots between the seventeenth-century ancestors and their descendants who are still in Canada and the U.S. in four different nations today. Her work untangles the usual geographical confusion in the Wxndat narrative, and begins to address the linguistic confusion by utilizing both the Wendat and Wyandot terms. My work aligns with Labelle's in terms of extending the story beyond 1660 and looking at all four modern nations as community partners in this story. My scholarship provides a deep dive into the languages, and uses those sources to examine the adaptability and resiliency of Wxndat peoples, and the steadfast commitment of Wxndat individuals to their languages.

When Kathryn Labelle was writing *Dispersed But Not Destroyed*, *Wendat* was the preferred term to substitute for *Huron*. One example of this was the decision to re-unite the confederacy under the name, Wendat Confederacy. Within the last 5-10 years, as the most recent language revitalization movements have gotten under way, there has been a movement to use *Waⁿdat* as a substitute for Wyandot(te). This spelling honors the pronunciation in the language itself as well as current orthographical practice in the language. This practice is reflected in Labelle's more recent work, *Daughters of Aataentsic*, where *Waⁿdat* has been employed to describe both the language and the Wyandot(te) peoples.

There is another scholar in this field who is in a category unto himself, as his main focus is the languages. John L. Steckley *Hechon* is an anthropologist and self-described ethnolinguist

³¹ In fact, Labelle's most recent publication is entirely focused on Wxndat Women's history: Labelle, *Daughters of Aataentsic*; Labelle, "Women: Unity, Spirituality, and Social Mobility," in *Dispersed*, 159-175.

who has been working for almost half a century on the Wxndat languages.³² He has produced the largest recent collection of published written materials dedicated to the Wxndat culture and languages. As John Steckley said, “by concentrating on archaeological evidence and missionary literature, scholars have largely overlooked a major source of information about the Huron [Wxndat]: linguistic material.”³³ Steckley’s *The Eighteenth-Century Wyandot: A Clan-Based Study* is one of the few major works that bridges the post-1649 gap in the literature.³⁴ Using two 1747 censuses in Detroit taken by Jesuit Father Pierre Potier, the book’s main focus is on the Wyandot clans and phratries but it also includes many translations by Steckley.

Steckley’s biggest contribution to Wxndat language scholarship was his translation of the longest historic document written in the language, *De Religione: Telling the Seventeenth-Century Jesuit Story in Huron to the Iroquois*.³⁵ Steckley posits that the original author was Belgian Jesuit Father Pierson, stating that this was an inter-mission document used to train incoming missionary priests. However, Steckley has not provided a singular *longue durée* historical research source on the chronology of the languages themselves, what led to their loss, or their modern revitalization movements. He has addressed components of this narrative in many different published works across the last half a century.³⁶ However, it requires a lot of reading to put the entire narrative together using Steckley’s massive body of work, and this hampers accessibility for anyone not deeply involved in the academic aspects of this topic.

³² Steckley was given the name *Hechon* by La Nation huronne-wendat. Incidentally, “Hechon” was also the Wxndat name given to Jesuit Father Jean de Brébeuf, who made great contributions to the documenting of the Wxndat language, and composed the original “Huron Carol.” It was later also given to Fathers Pierre Chaumonot and Daniel Richer. John Steckley, *The Eighteenth-Century Wyandot*, 17.

³³ John L. Steckley, *Words of the Huron*, (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2007), xi-xii.

³⁴ Steckley, *The Eighteenth-Century Wyandot*.

³⁵ John L. Steckley, ed. and trans., *De Religione: Telling the Seventeenth-Century Jesuit Story in Huron to the Iroquois*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004).

³⁶ Steckley’s publications are numerous, varying in topic, and ranging from one page to full-length books. See the bibliography for a sample of some of his publications.

While historians have yet to study the language in any depth, linguists have made important contributions to our understanding of Wendat and Waⁿdat.³⁷ Craig Koprís Hamędaehta? is the linguist for the Wyandotte Nation of Oklahoma.³⁸ Koprís's dissertation at the State University of New York at Buffalo was entitled, "A Grammar and Dictionary of Wyandot."³⁹ His work with Wyandot of Kansas citizen Richard Zane Smith, and his work within the Wyandot(te) communities in teaching the Waⁿdat language forms the basis of my understanding of their language revival. Even the keyboard I'm using to type the special characters necessary to write Waⁿdat words comes from Koprís's work. His Waⁿdat curriculum course, Šaróka? Waⁿdat? ("Do you speak Waⁿdat?"), is now being used to teach community members.⁴⁰ The material receives live edits whenever appropriate. I was fortunate enough to be invited to attend the first live language group utilizing this course to learn the Waⁿdat language. Beginning to use the language more in conversation with other people led to me using more language in this study, including the chapter titles. Koprís also introduced the idea that in the mid-eighteenth century, Jesuit Father Pierre Potier was noticing Waⁿdat pronunciations that hadn't been recorded before. This argument is a central focus in Chapter 2 of this thesis.

Language Revitalization/Revival Studies

³⁷ Two scholars who would likely be classified more as anthropologists than historians, Arthur Edward Jones in 1908 and Marguerite Vincent Tehariolina in 1984, did write sections on the language that read much like a historical narrative, but neither devoted an entire publication to the historical language narrative, nor did they cover the sources as comprehensively across the longue durée of *both* languages as this author has worked to do in this thesis. "Derivation of Huron Names," in Arthur Edward Jones, *"Sendake Ehen" Or, Old Huronia*. Edited by Alexander Fraser, Fifth Report of the Bureau of Archives for the Province of Ontario, (Toronto: L.K. Cameron, 1908), pp. 169-219. Vincent Tehariolina, "La Langue Huronne," in *La Nation Huronne*, 383-432.

³⁸ Koprís's Waⁿdat name, Hamędaehta?, means "he wakes up the language/words/voices."

³⁹ Koprís, "A Grammar and Dictionary of Wyandot."

⁴⁰ When I asked him where the name for his course came from, Koprís said that this was the answer that Sarah Dushane gave when Ives Goddard asked her how to ask someone if they spoke Waⁿdat. Personal communication with Craig Koprís, 20 April 2022. Craig Koprís, (Šaróka? Waⁿdat?, Wyandotte Nation of Oklahoma, 2022).

There has never been a comprehensive *longue durée* history written on the Wxndat languages before. This study tells that story including the history of the language revival movements. Language Revitalization is an umbrella term used across the globe to describe various movements in caretaking languages that are endangered or worse.⁴¹ Within the movement itself, the *revitalization* term tends to be applied more to movements focusing on endangered or moribund languages, while *language revival* or *reclamation* describes movements to bring sleeping languages (no living speakers or intergenerational transmission) back into use.⁴² The former focuses on working with remaining speakers, while the latter must work from written documents and old audio recordings, if they exist.⁴³

Before examining the Wxndat language revival movements, I dove into language revitalization scholarship to understand how these movements work across the globe and in North American Indigenous communities. I learned the technical terms used, the preferred terminologies, what challenges these movements faced, and what helped them succeed. Leanne Hinton, emerita professor of linguistics at the University of California at Berkeley, has authored preeminent scholarship in language revitalization literature. Some of her well-circulated books analyze language revitalization literature on an academic level, while others provide techniques

⁴¹ Language revitalization is a global movement, recently celebrated by the United Nations when they declared 2019 the International Year of Indigenous Languages (IYIL). Before the year was out, the UN had already dedicated 2022-2032 as the International Decade of Indigenous Languages. The author is a registered member of this movement. Both UN initiatives produced their own reports: UNESCO, *Global action plan of the International Decade of Indigenous Languages (IDIL 2022-2032)*, (Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 2021). <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000379851>; UNESCO, *The International Year of Indigenous Languages: mobilizing the international community to preserve, revitalize and promote indigenous languages*, (Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 2021). <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000379771>.

⁴² Lenore A. Grenoble, and Lindsay J. Whaley, *Saving Languages: An Introduction to Language Revitalization*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), accessed June 20, 2023. ProQuest Ebook Central, 63.

⁴³ One method with living speakers that received a lot of attention is the Master-Apprentice Program (MAP), see: Leanne Hinton, "Small Languages and Small Language Communities: Survival of Endangered Languages: The California Master-apprentice Program," *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 123, no. 1 (1997): 177-91; Leanne Hinton, "The Master-Apprentice Language Learning Program," in *The Green Book of Language Revitalization in Practice*, Leanne Hinton and Ken Hale, eds., (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013), 217-226.

and inspiration to community revitalizers themselves.⁴⁴ Ojibwe language revitalizer Anton Treuer addressed the uphill battle that community revitalizers are facing: “The deck is stacked against us...It takes real, intentional effort.”⁴⁵ Hinton is one of the creators of the Breath of Life Institute for Indigenous Languages, which pairs community members with linguists to aid in building their revitalization movements. In 2013, Wyandot language keeper Richard Zane Smith (Wyandot of Kansas), Wyandotte Nation’s linguist Craig Kopris, La Nation huronne-wendat’s linguist Megan Lukaniec (Huron-Wendat), and Nathalie Picard (Huron-Wendat) attended the National Breath of Life in Washington, D.C. as a team. Zane Smith attended Breath of Life again in Oklahoma after that, as did some citizens from the Wyandotte Nation.

It is my intent that this thesis demonstrates the endurance of the Wxndat peoples and languages through centuries of settler colonialism. The survivance of their languages connects the past to the present; my scholarship will show Wxndat cultural continuity to the present day *through* the continual caretaking of the languages by both Wxndat and non-Wxndat peoples. My approach is to tell a biography of the languages, thereby bridging the gap between the seventeenth century and now, and extending the narrative into the present day. A chronological account of the history of the Wendat and Waⁿdat languages will be provided, first and foremost as a resource for the members of these communities, but also to demonstrate the viability of their language revival prospects.

⁴⁴ Leanne Hinton, *Bringing Our Languages Home: Language Revitalization for Families*, (Berkeley, CA: Heyday, 2013); Hinton and Hale, *The Green Book of Language Revitalization in Practice*,; Leanne Hinton, Leena Huss, Gerald Roche, eds., *The Routledge Handbook of Language Revitalization*, (New York: Routledge, 2018).

⁴⁵ His intimate account reveals the emotional journey of learning an ancestral language and shows the need for local community leadership. Treuer, *The Language Warrior’s Manifesto*, 12.

Methodology

The methodology for this project is community-engaged⁴⁶, in line with practices such as Community-Based Participatory Research (CBPR) and Participatory Action Research (PAR)⁴⁷, decolonizing and Indigenous methodologies⁴⁸, as well as the New Ethnohistory.⁴⁹ Additionally,

⁴⁶ One of the most challenging aspects of community-engaged scholarship within the Western academic system is that this methodology tends to progress much slower than traditional scholarship. This often disadvantages the community-engaged scholars as timelines on crucial project steps such as funding, proposals, and presentations, tend to happen faster than the community-engaged process is designed to go. Pushing faster than a community's own timeline can trigger historical trauma for the community and create cracks of mistrust in the already strained relationship between researchers and Indigenous communities.

⁴⁷ PAR and CBPR are two codified approaches for community-engaged research. While the two methodologies are virtually indistinguishable from each other, the reason there are two separate terms emanates from different but parallel origin stories. Both are concerned with the involvement of community members when tackling problems that concern that community; think of it as an answer to the slogan, "Nothing about us without us." Members from or representatives of a community are consulted by the scholar(s) conducting research, and research questions can be formed in collaboration with these community members. PAR and CBPR have origins in the mid-twentieth century, but historians have only recently pushed for this methodology in the historical discipline as it applies to research with Indigenous peoples. Professors Keith Thor Carlson and Kathryn Magee Labelle of the University of Saskatchewan have spearheaded how to apply CBPR to historical methodologies.

For PAR and CBPR, see Sean Kidd and Michael Kral, "Practicing Participatory Action Research," *Journal of Counseling Psychology* 52, no. 2 (2005): 187-95; Nina Wallerstein and Bonnie Duran, "The Theoretical, Historical, and Practice Roots of CBPR," in *Community-Based Participatory Research for Health: Advancing Social and Health Equity*, Nina Wallerstein et al, editors, third edition, (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2018); Keith Carlson, John Lutz, and David Schaepe, "Turning the Page: Ethnohistory from a New Generation," *The University of the Fraser Valley Research Review* 2, no. 2 (2014): 1-8; Keith Thor Carlson, Albert Jules McHalsie, David M. Schaepe, and John S. Lutz, *Towards a New Ethnohistory: Community-Engaged Scholarship among the People of the River* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2018).

⁴⁸ Decolonizing and Indigenous methodologies go hand in hand, and have been pioneered by scholars such as Margaret Kovach, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang. Tuhiwai Smith is famous for writing that "research" is one of the dirtiest words in the Indigenous world's vocabulary, largely because academic researchers have historically not practiced a community-engaged methodology.

Margaret Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexts*, second edition, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2021); Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, Second edition, (London: Zed Books, 1999 and 2012); Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, Third edition, (London: Bloomsbury Academic & Professional, 2021); Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang, "Decolonization is not a metaphor," *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* vol. 1, no. 1, (2012): 1-40; Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Eve Tuck, K. Wayne Yang, eds., *Indigenous and Decolonizing Studies in Education: Mapping the Long View*, (New York & London: Routledge, 2019); Norman K. Denzin, Yvonna S. Lincoln, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, eds., *Handbook of Critical and Indigenous Methodologies*, (Los Angeles: Sage, 2008).

⁴⁹ Ethnohistory is the merger between the fields of anthropology and history that gained popularity in the 1960s and 70s. Ethnohistory was the answer to the argument about how to incorporate two types of archaeological sources into historical narratives: those which predate any written record, and those which exist side-by-side with written records. Prior to ethnohistory, traditional historians considered so-called "prehistorical" sources outside of the historian's purview. Ethnohistorians believe that the incorporation of these sources leads to a fuller, more accurate historical narrative. Additionally, ethnohistory provides more historical equity to Indigenous peoples for whom so much of their history exists prior to written records, and prior to self-written records. Julianna Barr provides an excellent argument against using "prehistoric" to describe Indigenous histories that exist prior to or outside of European contact: "There's No Such Thing as 'Prehistory,'" 203-40.

it utilizes oral history interviews⁵⁰ and language-learning.⁵¹ Starting in 2021, I was invited to join a language group hosted by Wyandotte Nation. We met weekly during the Covid-19 pandemic over Zoom and went through their linguist's online course on the Wądat language. In 2022, I made trips to Toronto and Oklahoma to connect with Wądat community members. In June, I attended Wyandot of Anderdon Utrihot (Faithkeeper) Catherine Taqmeʔšreʔ Tąmmaro's art installation at Crawford Lake. Not only was Tąmmaro's exhibit steeped in Wądat history and culture, but the Crawford Lake site itself was an ancestral Wądat village site. Wądats from Kansas, Oklahoma, and Ontario attended and spent time together. In September, I attended the Green Corn ceremony in Wyandotte, Oklahoma, which was also attended by Kansas Wyandots. I was fortunate enough to keep in contact with these community members throughout the past year via email and social media.

Tąmmaro's work as an utrihot and a traditional culture bearer has been a guiding force for the spirit of this project. Tąmmaro feels passionately about the connection between language

For Ethnohistory, see Bruce G. Trigger, "Ethnohistory: Problems and Prospects," *Ethnohistory* 29, no. 1 (Winter 1982): 1-19; J.R. Miller, "Bringing Native People In from the Margins: The Recent Evolution and Future Prospects of English-Canadian Historiography on Native-Newcomer Relations" in *Reflections on Native-Newcomer Relations: Selected Essays*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017), 13-36, <https://doi.org/10.3138/9781442623347-003>; William N. Fenton, "Ethnohistory and Its Problems," *Ethnohistory* 9, no. 1 (1962): 1-23, <https://doi.org/10.2307/480783>; Shepard Krech, "The State of Ethnohistory," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 20 (1991): 345-75, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2155805>; Karl H. Schwerin, "The Future of Ethnohistory," *Ethnohistory* 23, no. 4 (1976): 323-41. <https://doi.org/10.2307/481650>; Keith Carlson, John Lutz, and David Schaepe, "Turning the Page: Ethnohistory from a New Generation," *The University of the Fraser Valley Research Review* 2, no. 2 (2014): 1-8; Bruce G. Trigger, "Ethnohistory: The Unfinished Edifice," *Ethnohistory* 33, no. 3 (1986): 253-67, <https://doi.org/10.2307/481814>.

⁵⁰ Ngāti Porou author Nēpia Mahuika confronts the conundrum of being Indigenous *and* a Western-trained academic at the same time. He articulates the place of oral history and tradition in Ngāti Porou society, and how this is at odds with the kind of oral history expected in Western scholarship. "Traditional Western scholarship tends to criticize oral history and tradition for being inaccurate because it's not written down and therefore may be revised each time it is transmitted, when in fact the very nature of a written historical narrative changes with each generation of thought leaders who take new modern perspectives on the past, hence the practice of historiography," Burner, "Healing Through Language," 30. Ethnohistorian Keith Carlson coined the term "oral footnoting" and provides an excellent defense of the rigor of Indigenous oral history tradition in: Keith Carlson, "Reflections on Indigenous History and Memory: Reconstructing and Reconsidering Contact," *Myth and Memory: Stories of Indigenous-European Contact*, ed. John Lutz, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007), pp. 46-68. Nēpia Mahuika, *Rethinking Oral History and Tradition: An Indigenous Perspective*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019).

⁵¹ See Burner, "Healing Through Language," 22-23.

and culture. In her 2019 oral history interview, she said, “How can you not have culture without language? And how can it not reveal the truth of that culture to you? That it has to, it comes out of that culture's experience, that lived experience.”⁵² She also said, “I think the relationship between language and any culture is huge. I think there's information that is contained in language that you can't find anywhere else. There are customs or traditions that are imbued in concepts, in the way sentences are put together and how people are referred to, and the ways in which gender is or is not described. I think the way in which people relate to the land is described in the language...I mean, everything.”⁵³

In the spirit of reciprocity with the Wxndat community who has held language and culture in high esteem throughout their history, I wish to give something back with my scholarship, especially for those who are working to revive the language and cultural practices today. I hope that this thesis can provide support to those language revivers. More information was discovered in this research process than could fit into this thesis, and I will work to publish that scholarship. The Appendix was written especially as an accessible tool for community members to use.

I'm utilizing a decolonizing methodology by keeping the content Wxndat-centric. With so much of the Wxndat language sources written by non-Wxndats, it is not really possible to write this historical narrative without including these people. Contact with settlers was one of the major causes of language loss. This happened through disease, warfare, depopulation, and mostly living in close proximity with settlers and participating in a blended society. Despite settler involvement in both language preservation and language loss, this story is not about them. This story is about each language itself and its community. So while the restoration of the languages

⁵² Catherine Tàmmaro, oral history interview by author, Wendake, Québec, July 1, 2019, 19:18-20:15.

⁵³ Catherine Tàmmaro, oral history interview by author, Wendake, Québec, July 1, 2019, 19:18-20:15.

is based on many settler works, this history is about the Wxndat themselves preserving and carrying the language as much as possible through five centuries.

With assistance from my advisor, Kathryn Labelle, I was fortunate enough to build relationships with Wxndat community members starting in 2018, eventually conducting oral history interviews with four language keepers from three Wxndat communities. Around the same time, I began independently learning the Wxndat languages. Since there are language requirements in other fields of national and ethnic histories, it is my belief that historians of Indigenous cultures should begin making the move towards language learning as well, where appropriate.⁵⁴ I have chosen to lean more on Waⁿdat translations than Wendat translations in this thesis. My reasons for this are more related to convenience than philosophy. While I started learning both languages at the same time, after two years, I realized it would be more helpful to focus on one first then transition back to the other. Because my first language is English and I live mostly in the U.S., it made sense to learn Waⁿdat first, as those three nations reside in the US. and are primarily English speakers as well. Then, my first opportunity to practice speaking the language with other people consistently arose when the Wyandotte Nation invited me to a language-learning group. And so, this thesis is a reflection of my own journey in learning the Wxndat languages.

In 2019, I embarked on a research trip to Oklahoma, Toronto, and Québec to conduct oral history interviews about the language movements with Wxndat community members. This was the first time in my life that I had the resources and opportunity to visit the Huron-Wendat

⁵⁴ One example of where it would not be appropriate would be when the community of focus is guarding a language for their use only, whether because of an endangered status or for cultural reasons. In those cases, if the researcher is not given consent to utilize the community's language, they would need to pivot their project to one that doesn't require the language. Since language is tied to thought, culture, and philosophy, this would mean choosing a project that does not intersect those concepts.

Nation in Wendake, Québec, which according to my family, is the community we are tied to. Before collecting the interviews, I completed the Committee for Protection of Human Subjects (CPHS)'s Collaborative Institutional Training Initiative (CITI Program) for the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at UC Berkeley, while working on the undergraduate version of this thesis project.⁵⁵ I carried out research in the Huron-Wendat Nation's community archive, and received one-on-one language instruction from two community members. In 2021, was invited to join a weekly language group by the Wyandotte Nation of Oklahoma, which piloted the community-led language groups now occurring.

Up until now, scholarship on Indigenous language revitalization has been published mostly by linguists, and anthropologists. These scholars tend to focus on the language itself, writing grammars, dictionaries, and pedagogies. In examining language revival from a historical perspective, I will place the active modern movements within the *longue durée* of each community's history from contact through today, utilizing oral history interviews, internal community documents, and other archival materials. Examining this history from first documentation, through language loss, and finally what factors led to it being brought back, serves two main purposes. It provides an accessible narrative entry point for community members wanting to engage in language revival, to know what has been done before in order to plot the road ahead.

Sources

Some of the main Wxndat primary sources for this project are: oral history interviews collected with community members, the fonds of Marguerite Vincent Tehariolina's personal effects, Linda Sioui's language program documents from the Wendake Archives, and documents

⁵⁵ Burner, "Healing Through Language."

from the Yawenda Project.⁵⁶ In 2019, I traveled to Oklahoma, Toronto, and Québec City to conduct oral history interviews with community members about the meaning of language in the communities. I spoke with the following language revitalizers: Wyandot of Kansas artist Richard Zane Smith Sq̄ahiyq̄h; Wyandot of Anderdon Utrihq̄t (Faithkeeper) Catherine Taq̄męʔšreʔ Tàmmaro; Huron-Wendat anthropologist Linda Sioui; and Marcel Godbout, cultural agent for the Council of the Huron-Wendat Nation. Additionally, I visited the Wyandotte Nation in Oklahoma and met Kim Gray Garcia, who is Cultural Preservation Officer, and heads language revival and research for the Wyandotte Nation.

This thesis also draws from earlier Wxndat language documentation from the French contact period through the birth of Marguerite Vincent Tehariolina in 1909. That documentation—from the early sixteenth to early twentieth centuries—includes the published accounts of: French navigators Jacques Cartier and Samuel de Champlain; Récollet priest Gabriel Sagard; and Jesuit priests such as Jean de Brébeuf and Pierre Potier. These explorers and missionaries had extensive interactions with the Wxndat Nations throughout the early contact period, leaving behind extensive records including letters, reports and dictionaries. In addition, I draw from anthropologists and other ethnographers including William Connelley and Marius Barbeau, as well as treaties signed by Wyandot leaders such as Kondiaronk and Tarhe.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Marcel Godbout, Oral history interview by author, Wendake, Québec, July 12, 2019; Linda Sioui, Oral history interview by author, Wendake, Québec, July 14, 2019; Richard Zane Smith, Oral history interview by author, Wyandotte, Oklahoma, June 19, 2019; Catherine Tàmmaro, Oral history interview by author, Wendake, Québec, July 1, 2019.

Fonds Marguerite Vincent, Wendake Archives, Québec City, Canada; Linguistic Orientation Committee documents, file 0559, Wendake Archives, Québec City, Canada; Language committee formation folder, Education B1222 “CAGL Projet développement langue huron,” Wendake Archives, Québec City, Canada; Louis-Jacques Dorais, *Yawenda: The Huron-Wendat Revive Their Language* research document 11, (Centre interuniversitaire d'études et de recherches autochtones: Université Laval, Québec, 2014).

⁵⁷ The Brébeuf materials come from Thwaites's *Jesuit Relations*, and Pierson comes from Steckley's edit of *De Religione*. Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France 1610-1791*, Vols. 1-39, 1610-1653, (Cleveland: Burrows, 1896-1901); Steckley, *De Religione*.

Combined, the variety of sources, methodology, and timely topic will offer a new perspective on Wxndat history through the biography of the languages, and a case study for historical examinations of Indigenous language revival movements.

Chapters Outline

The history of the Wxndat languages can be characterized by three major eras:

Hędī:hšahs nęh Hatitsihęstatsih in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, *Huⁿdatrižuh nęh Hatįzatq?* in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and *Uⁿdita?wahsta? nęh Uⁿdakye:wat* in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. In the era of *Hędī:hšahs nęh Hatitsihęstatsih* the languages were thriving, so much so that European explorers and missionaries as well as other Indigenous groups were learning and using the Wxndat language(s) for trade, diplomacy, and religious proselytization. While Cartier was willing to go to any lengths to learn the language, including kidnapping Stadaconans and taking them back to France, in the following century, Champlain and many Catholic *hatitsihęstatsih* took a more diplomatic tack and asked the Wxndat to accommodate them in their villages while they learned the language(s). In the era of *Huⁿdatrižuh nęh Hatįzatq?*, settler colonialism was encroaching on the Wxndat further, challenging language retention. In this era the Wxndat fought to keep their language and some of them began to write and record themselves as language speakers, beginning a period of Wxndat self-documentation. In the era of *Uⁿdita?wahsta? nęh Uⁿdakye:wat*, both languages fell asleep despite preservation, which gave rise to multiple language revival movements led by nations and various Wxndat individuals.

CHAPTER 1

Hę́dī:hšahs neh Hatitsihęstatsih : Wxndat Language(s) Flourishing in the Contact Era, 1534—

1649⁵⁸

For the Wxndat, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries can be characterized as an age of negotiating with European *hę́dī:hšahs* (explorers) and accommodating *hatitsihęstatsih* (missionaries) within Wxndat villages. It was an era when Wxndat peoples may have felt like the object of European voyeurism, but where settler colonialism was not a foregone conclusion. These centuries were also marked by European diseases, particularly in the 1630s, and depopulation due to multiple factors including warfare. However, the vast majority of the Eastern Woodlands was still under Indigenous control. For the majority of this era, Wxndat peoples were not having to fight to retain their language, yet the dispersal which began in 1649 precipitated a separation of Wxndat peoples in European sources into *Wendat* and *Wyandot*, which shifts a major question into focus: is this also where the parent language splits in two, or had that happened before and Europeans didn't notice it until much later?⁵⁹

The *hę́dī:hšahs* and *hatitsihęstatsih* (explorers and missionaries) in this era were documenting a language they called “Huron,” or sometimes recorded as multiple spellings of “Wendat.” This thesis uses the term *Wxndat* as a substitution for “Huron.” However, it should be noted that it is unclear whether the Wxndat (Huron) of this period is one language or two. The *hę́dī:hšahs* and *hatitsihęstatsih* were either recording the parent language, Wxndat, or some

⁵⁸ “Explorers and Missionaries” in Wa^adat, or literally, “they are looking for” (*hę́dī:hšahs*) and “black colored, they are priests” (*hatitsihęstatsih*). Thank you to Dr. Craig Kopris for helping with these.

⁵⁹ Further discussion and research on this topic will be the subject of a future article. There are some linguistic changes that had to have happened prior to the Jesuits recording the Wxndat language(s) in the seventeenth century, and these changes occurred to Wendat but never to Wyandot, the latter of which continued to evolve even later than Wendat. This tells us that when the French arrived in Wendake in the 1600s, Wendat and Wa^adat had likely evolved away from the parent Wxndat, and were already two different languages. I leave any further explanation of this point to the linguists at this time. Craig Kopris (Tribal Linguist, Wyandotte Nation), personal communication, May 2023.

amalgamation of both Wendat and Waⁿdat, but they were not yet familiar enough with either to hear the difference. Since no definitive date exists for when Wendat and Waⁿdat split away from the parent language, Wxndat, the below will utilize the term *Wxndat language* in the singular tense, but the reader should know that this could mean any of the three.

In the 1530s, when the French first began their project in what is now called Canada, and for decades afterwards, they were acutely aware that the balance of power still resided with Indigenous peoples, and so they produced bountiful ethnographies, out of curiosity, for religious conversions, and to better study the locals upon whose good graces they depended. One of the most significant areas of study for Europeans was the Wxndat language. This legacy is forever imprinted on the name of the country (Canada), which is taken from a Stadaconan word for village, *kanata*. Various language scholars have debated whether that word is closest to the Wxndat language or one of the languages of the five nations; Susquehannock may be in the running as well.⁶⁰

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Wxndat language was thriving, as other Indigenous groups and Europeans alike learned and used the language regularly in order to

⁶⁰ Stadaconan is a Laurentian, or St. Lawrence Iroquoian language, which was recorded during the Cartier voyages of the 1530s. Its relationship to Wxndat will be discussed in this chapter. *Kanata*'s proximity to those seven languages has been discussed by various linguists, most notably by Marianne Mithun, Bruce Trigger, and Craig Kopris. Marianne Mithun, "The Mystery of the Vanished Laurentians," Anders Ahlquist, ed. *Papers from the 5th International Conference on Historical Linguistics, Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistics Science IV*, Current Issues in Linguistic Theory, Volume 21, Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1982, 230; Bruce G. Trigger, "Who Were The "Laurentian Iroquois"?" *The Canadian Review of Sociology* 3, no. 4 (1966): 202-203; Craig Kopris (Tribal Linguist, Wyandotte Nation), personal communication, May 2023. Fallon Burner, "Healing Through Language: Revitalization and Renewal in the Wendat Confederacy," Honors Thesis, University of California, Berkeley: American Cultures Center, 2020, 14-15.

Jacques Cartier, 1491-1557, and H. P. (Henry Percival,) 1872-1938 Biggar, *The Voyages of Jacques Cartier: Published From the Originals With Translations, Notes And Appendices*, (Ottawa: F. A. Acland, printer, 1924). Georges Sioui, trans. Jane Brierley. *Huron-Wendat: The Heritage of the Circle*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999), 93. Louis-Jacques Dorais, *Yawenda: The Huron-Wendat Revive Their Language* research document 11, (Centre interuniversitaire d'études et de recherches autochtones: Université Laval, Québec), 2014.

engage with Wendake Ehen (Huronian) culturally and economically.⁶¹ Because the Wxndat were powerful and prominent in the Great Lakes region and their language was part of their influence, French *hēdi:hšahs* and *hatitsihęstatsih* clamored to learn and use the Wxndat language; this led to one of the most robust documentary collections of Indigenous language documents in North American history.⁶²

From a Wxndat worldview, it was only natural that Europeans studied them and learned their language. The Wxndat were one of the largest groups in the region; they provided a hub of trade and mediation between other nations. Theirs was the *lingua franca* of the region when the French arrived, utilized by other Nadowekian (Iroquoian) speakers, as well as Algonquian and Siouan speakers.⁶³ The French wanted to conduct business in Wxndat lands, and wanted some of their people to live there, too – of *course* they needed to learn how the Wxndat functioned, how they thought; it was absolutely necessary that they learn the Wxndat language. For the Wxndat, it was not odd to have people who had grown up in non-Wxndat nations living with them on a day-to-day basis, due to exogamous marriage practices, and captive-taking in warfare – incorporating outsiders into the fold was a well-trodden path. From a Wxndat perspective, it made sense that foreigners would want to learn their language, just as other outsiders did.

Throughout the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the Wxndat language was most reflective of a pre-contact state, as they had not yet had an over-saturation of European contact. This is one of the reasons that these sources get used by scholars more than later centuries,

⁶¹ Wendake Ehen, also named Huronia in French documents (after the exonym, Huron), is the ancestral homeland of the Wxndat peoples and where they were living during the contact period with Europeans.

⁶² John L. Steckley, *De Religione: Telling the Seventeenth-Century Jesuit Story in Huron to the Iroquois*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004), 3; John L. Steckley, *Words of the Huron*, (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2007), xi-xiii.

⁶³ Burner, “Healing Through Language,” 15. Georges Sioui, trans. Jane Brierley, *Huron-Wendat: The Heritage of the Circle*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999), 97. Paul LeJeune, (JR 8: 115).

because it is assumed that this is the most authentic expression of culture and language, before either supposedly became diluted with European presence. But that is a very Eurocentric perspective, as it does not allow Wxndat peoples to evolve as time goes on, leaving them frozen in one time period forever. Wxndat peoples are authentically themselves no matter the century. Language data collected on the Wxndat languages in later centuries, while it must account for European influence, may also have benefitted in accuracy from more advanced linguistic techniques.⁶⁴

It should be acknowledged that the data collected in this era was more unwieldy and theoretical than data collected in later centuries. This is because Wxndat, which is a polysynthetic language, was vastly different from anything Europeans had learned before. Many North American Indigenous languages are *polysynthetic*, meaning many modifiers such as pronouns, animacy, inclusivity, and past or future tense, get attached to a word root, often creating very long words that are akin to whole sentences. Additionally, Wxndat is a verb-based language whereas English is noun-based. If you want to ask someone how they are doing, in Wendat you say, “Ahskennon’nia ihchie’s?” meaning literally “are you in peace” or “are you going in peace?” The words for colors in Wendat, for example, are more descriptive, yaronhia’ iöhtih for blue or öndinienhta’ iöhtih for white, which literally mean, “it is like the sky” and “it is like the snow.” For a European, learning a North American Indigenous language took much longer than any languages they had learned previously. Europeans also had to learn the worldview expressed by this language, which would have informed their understanding of

⁶⁴ One example of this logic from a cultural standpoint is Micah True’s argument about how the Wxndat creation story is told by multiple sources across the centuries. He validates the accuracy of the more modern anthropological sources. Micah True, “Retelling Genesis: The *Jesuit Relations* and the Wendat Creation Myth,” *Papers on French Seventeenth Century Literature* 34, no. 67 (2007): 467-468.

meaning as well. In other words, language documenters were making various mistakes but not always correcting them in their lifetime.

The writings of Jacques Cartier, Samuel de Champlain, Récollet priest Gabriel Sagard, and Jesuit missionaries were principle ethnographic sources from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries which form the basis of our knowledge and understanding of the Wxndat languages today.⁶⁵ The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries represented a period of negotiation and accommodation between the Wxndat and Europeans, with the Wxndat interested in accommodating outsiders and securing trade and Europeans too weak militarily to do anything other than be respectful guests. This power dynamic encouraged Europeans to gather linguistic information to assist them in trade, religious conversions, and to understanding the Wxndat who were the dominant power in the region.

HEDÍ:HŠAHS, or rather, HATINÉHSKWAS⁶⁶

Cartier

The voyages of *hēdī:hšahs* (explorer) Jacques Cartier (1491-1557) to Canada in 1534 and 1535 are linguistically significant to the history of the Wxndat language.⁶⁷ Cartier or someone working with his team, possibly François Rabelais, recorded words and phrases in the Laurentian

⁶⁵ For a nuanced analysis on how Jesuit missionaries used words and tone to convey bias, see: Micah True, *Masters and Students: Jesuit Mission Ethnography in Seventeenth-Century New France*, (Montréal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015); Carole Blackburn, *Harvest of Souls: The Jesuit Missions and Colonialism in North America, 1632-1650*, (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000).

⁶⁶ *Hatinéhskwas* translates to "they steal" in W^andat (thanks to Craig Koprís)

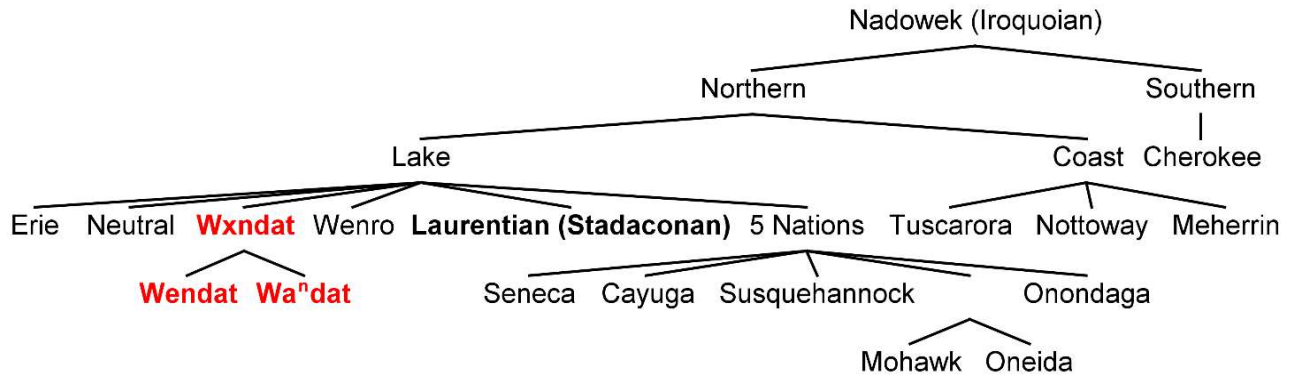
⁶⁷ Henry Percival Biggar, *The Precursors of Jacques Cartier, 1497-1534, a Collection of Documents Relating to the Early History of the Dominion of Canada*, ed. by H. P. Biggar, pub. by Authority of the Minister of Agriculture Under the Direction of the Archivist, (Ontario: Government Printing Bureau, 1911); Jacques Cartier, *The Voyages of Jacques Cartier; Published from the Originals with Translations, Notes and Appendices*, ed. by H. P. Biggar, pub. by Authority of the Secretary of State Under the Direction of the Archivist, (Ontario: F. A. Acland, printer, 1924); Jacques Cartier, and Ramsay Cook, *The Voyages of Jacques Cartier*, edited by Ramsay Cook, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993); Alan Gordon, *The Hero and the Historians: Historiography and the Uses of Jacques Cartier*, (Vancouver & Toronto: UBC Press, 2010).

language (sometimes called St. Lawrence Iroquoian), obtained from Indigenous captives that had been kidnapped by Cartier and his men.⁶⁸ Several Nadowekian scholars have argued that the remnants of the 1530s Laurentians who met Cartier later moved in with the Wxndat and imported their language; thus, the story of Cartier's interactions with the Laurentians (or St. Lawrence Iroquoians) was the earliest European-documented event in the Wxndat languages historical narrative.⁶⁹ Cartier's voyages were important not just to Wxndat language history, but to North American Indigenous language history writ large, as this collection of Laurentian words became the "earliest systematically collected linguistic data from North America."⁷⁰ Furthermore, several interludes from Cartier's account demonstrate the negotiations that the Laurentians were making with the *hędī:hšahs*. These negotiations would have taken place at first in Laurentian and French with no linguistic intermediary, and later, through the cultivation of translators via kidnapping. It also demonstrates how important the acquisition of this language was to the *hędī:hšahs* and the French colonial project.

⁶⁸ Marius Barbeau, "How the Huron-Wyandot Language Was Saved from Oblivion," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 93, no. 3 (1949): 226–228. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3143470>.

⁶⁹ Barbeau, "How the Huron-Wyandot Language Was Saved from Oblivion," 226–228; Trigger, "Who Were The 'Laurentian Iroquois'?" 201–13; Mithun, "The Mystery of the Vanished Laurentians," 230–242; Neha Gupta, and Louis Lesage, eds., *Ontario Archaeology Journal: Multidisciplinary Investigations into Huron-Wendat and St. Lawrence Iroquoian Connections*, No. 96, (2016).

⁷⁰ Goddard, Ives, ed., *Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 17: Languages*, William C. Sturtevant, General Editor, (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1996), p. 17.



A.3: Nadowek (Iroquoian) language tree, featuring the Wxndat languages and Laurentian (also called Stadaconan and St. Lawrence Iroquoian).⁷¹

Cartier was famous for “discovering” what became Canada, New France and the St. Lawrence River Valley.⁷² However, other Europeans had visited those shores earlier. Leif Erikson established a settlement in eastern Canada in the early 11th century, making contact with at minimum, the Beothuk people, before returning to Greenland. Other Europeans who interacted with what is now known as Canada were Italian mariner Giovanni Caboto, sailing under an English flag as John Cabot in 1497, and two brothers from Portugal, Gaspar and Miguel Corte Real from 1500-1502.⁷³ The court of Aragon was sending Breton mariners there in 1511,

⁷¹ The linguistic tree was made using TreeForm: Derrick, D. and Archambault, D., “TreeForm: Explaining and exploring grammar through syntax trees,” *Literary and Linguistic Computing*, (2010), 25(1):53-66. doi: 10.1093/lc/fqp031.

⁷² There are several problems with the Cartier primary source, *The Voyages of Jacques Cartier*, as laid out in an edition by Ramsay Cook: “...their authenticity, their authorship, and the paucity of information about Cartier himself.” There are no extant original manuscripts for any of the three Voyages, however, there is a 1565 version in Italian, a 1580 version in English, and a French edition in 1598. One French-language manuscript in particular that was discovered in 1865 is “thought to be either the original or a copy of it.” On the question of who actually authored the *Voyages* accounts, Cook notes that there are distinct tone differences throughout the *Voyages*, though it is difficult to know since the original published edition has not been discovered. It’s thought that the first two *Voyages* “seem to reveal a common author,” and are probably based on a ship’s log, most likely kept by Cartier himself. This is important because the dictionary of Laurentian words appears at the end of the second Voyage. Cartier and Cook. *The Voyages of Jacques Cartier*, x-xi.

⁷³ Biggar, *The Precursors of Jacques Cartier*, 11-15.

meaning that the Bretons were already well known for having navigated those shores, a reputation they had probably gained by 1504.⁷⁴

Laurentian peoples' first interaction and communication with Cartier's voyage happened at the end of July 1534. It involved language being signed, though there was likely also verbal communication on both sides that was not understood, and ultimately French written language being left behind. The Laurentians paddled out to the French ships in Gaspé Bay in an impressive show of forty canoes. When these two hundred Laurentians approached, the French deemed that they were friendly, so Cartier allowed them closer to trade. It was here that Cartier notes his visual judgements of these people, describing them as poor-looking, naked, and describing a hair style which we would now call a "scalp lock." These people were from a town called Stadacona, what is now called Quebec City. When his crew departed Gaspé on 24 July, Cartier left behind a quintessential calling card of European *hēdī:hšahs* (explorers): "a wooden cross carved with the words 'Vive le Roy de France' and the three flurs-de-lys of Francois I's arms."⁷⁵ This wasn't the first cross Cartier had erected, but it was certainly the most famous. This action was significant because the French were leaving some of their language behind, visible to the Laurentians for as long as they allowed that cross to stand. It is unknown whether they explained the phrase on the cross, pronounced it aloud, or pointed it out to the Stadaconans in any way. The Stadaconans' leader, Donnacona, "immediately raised an objection:

...he came to Cartier's ship and conveyed, by signs, that this country was his and that Cartier might not raise such a totem without his consent. But Cartier managed to quiet him with gifts and the unlikely reassurance that the cross was a simple beacon to help the French find their way back. Emboldened, Cartier decided to snatch two young men and take them back to France with him...Domagaya and Taignoagny, possibly Donnaconas own sons, were pulled on board and spirited away below decks...Donnacona was understandably

⁷⁴ Gordon, *The Hero and the Historians*, 12.

⁷⁵ Gordon, *The Hero and the Historians*, 16.

upset that the French violated Iroquoian custom by failing to exchange some of their own party for Domagaya and Taigoagny.⁷⁶

This episode is of paramount importance to highlight because the two kidnappees, Dom Agaya and Taigoagny, were taken to France, where they learned the French language, enough to tell their own autobiographies to the French, and likely left an imprint of their language for Europeans to record.⁷⁷ These two men were not Cartier's only Laurentian captives. The following year in 1536, Cartier returned to France from his second voyage with "ten captives, most from around the area of Stadacona."⁷⁸ While some never returned to Stadacona, it is likely that some did, carrying back bits of the French language with them. (*Haněhskwas* "he steals" is seeming like a more fitting translation for "European explorer," eh?)

	Laurentian	Modern Waⁿdat	Modern Wendat
1	segada, secata	skat	skat
2	tigneny, tignem	te ⁿ di	tëndih
3	asche, hasche	ahšenk	ahchienhk
4	honnacon, honnaceon	ⁿ dahk	ndahk
5	ouiscon	wiš	wihch
6	indahir, indaic	waža?	wahia'
7	ayaga, aiaga	tsutare?	tsoutare'
8	addegue, adigue	a?tere?	a'tere'
9	madellon	ę?trq?	en'tron'
10	assem	ahsēh	ahsenh

A.4 Comparative table of numbers 1-10 listed in Laurentian, modern Waⁿdat, and modern Wendat.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ Gordon, *The Hero and the Historians*, 16. Biggar, *The Precursors of Jacques Cartier*, 58-59.

⁷⁷ Barbeau, "How the Huron-Wyandot Language Was Saved from Oblivion," 226-228.

⁷⁸ Mithun, "The Mystery of the Vanished Laurentians," 230.

⁷⁹ The Laurentian words come from: Cartier, *The Voyages of Jacques Cartier*, 309. The spellings of these Waⁿdat numbers were pulled from Craig Koprís's language lessons: Craig Koprís, Šarqka? Waⁿdat?, Wyandotte Nation of Oklahoma, 2022. The Wendat numbers can be found on the nation's official site: Nation Huronne-Wendat, Wendat language site, Wendake, Quebec, <https://languewendat.com/>.

The most important part to mention about Cartier is the Laurentian vocabulary list of over two hundred words from the First and Second Voyages, 1534-36.⁸⁰ The first list contains roughly fifty words that were used within the narrative text, and were therefore possibly written down while in Canada. The second list of roughly 150 words may have been written down in the Americas or back in France with the assistance of the captives; scholars are divided on this.⁸¹ The writer titles the vocabulary as if the words are from “Hochelaga and Canada,” but here Canada is a stand-in for the Stadacona area. The vocabulary lists things like: numbers, parts of the body, familial terms, and the names of towns in Donnacona’s jurisdiction. It states the word for Chief is *Agouhanna*, while a woman is *Aggouetté*, and they call their corn *Ozisy*. Kanata is spelled as “Canada” and translated as “Ils appellent une ville/They call a town.”⁸² The vocabulary also points out phrases like “Let us go to the canoe,” *Quasigno quasnouy*, “That’s no good” *Sahauty quahonque*, and “Give me a knife” *Quazahoa aggohed*.⁸³ An examination of the listed phrases and words gives us an idea of what the Wxndat and *hēdī:hšahs* needed to communicate or felt was most important to communicate in these earliest encounters.

Once Dom Agaya & Taïnoagny learned French in France, how much did they or other captives contribute to this vocabulary? The French often get credit for having gathered the linguistic data on their own for the dictionary, but given their short time together in Gaspé, that seems unlikely and was more likely composed over a longer period of time with the translation assistance of these Laurentian captives back in France. But, as Marianne Mithun points out in

⁸⁰ Cartier, *The Voyages of Jacques Cartier; Published from the Originals with Translations*, 241-246.

⁸¹ Trigger, “Who Were The “Laurentian Iroquois?”” 202-203.

⁸² In the far right column it says “[M M. Kanata],” with “M M” standing for “Modern Mohawk.” Biggar explains this in a footnote on page 80, “...modern Mohawk from Schoolcraft, *Notes on the Iroquois*, pp. 264-281 (1851),” demonstrating that Biggar thought Mohawk to be the closest linguistic link to this Stadaconan word. The previous words are found on pages 245, 242, and 245, respectively. Cartier, *The Voyages of Jacques Cartier; Published from the Originals with Translations*, 80, 241-246.

⁸³ Cartier, *The Voyages of Jacques Cartier; Published from the Originals with Translations*, 243.

“The Mystery of the Vanished Laurentians,” it isn’t clear how many languages or dialects might be mixed into the vocabulary list, as the captives came not only from Stadacona, but from surrounding villages as well.⁸⁴ Additionally, “we cannot accurately assess the degree of bilingualism of the participants.”⁸⁵ For example, the word for *salmon* doesn’t match any other Iroquoian- or Algonquian-language words for fish from the area; however, it suspiciously resembles “words in several Iroquoian languages for a kettle,” as well as other terms throughout Cartier’s account which were translated as “earthen dish.”⁸⁶ If the salmon in question was being cooked in a pot at the time, it’s easy to see how the translator could have been confused about what was being gestured at. It is also difficult to know what the French scribe’s perceptions of pronunciation were, and how they translated that into spelling when recording the words, because it is not clear who the scribe was, and “French phonology and orthography were undergoing considerable change at the time.”⁸⁷

Taking Indigenous captives was standard practice for European mariners in the early Atlantic World, and those events had a profound influence on language histories in various locations. Two famous examples are the case of Paquiquineo being taken by the Spanish from Virginia in the 1560s, and Tisquantum/Squanto being taken from what later becomes the English colony at Massachussetts Bay roughly fifty years later.⁸⁸ Paquiquineo and Tisquantum both had to use their skill with languages to navigate their way back to their homelands, becoming

⁸⁴ The difference between a “language” and a “dialect” is hazy in the linguistics world. The choice of which term to use often has to do with the sovereign or subordinate status of the speakers.

⁸⁵ Mithun, “The Mystery of the Vanished Laurentians,” 231.

⁸⁶ Mithun, “The Mystery of the Vanished Laurentians,” 231-233.

⁸⁷ Mithun, “The Mystery of the Vanished Laurentians,” 234.

⁸⁸ For Paquiquineo, see: James Horn, *A Brave and Cunning Prince: The Great Chief Opechancanough and the War for America*, (New York: Basic Books, 2021). For Tisquantum/Squanto, see David J. Silverman, *This Land Is Their Land: The Wampanoag Indians, Plymouth Colony, and the Troubled History of Thanksgiving*, (New York: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2019).

translators for their people and the Europeans. These episodes served as potential starting points for linguistic mixing, whereby languages in geographic proximity to one another begin to accommodate and borrow from each other, in small ways at first and in bigger ways as time goes on. Indigenous people later voluntarily made the voyage across the ocean, such as when Chief Powhatan (Wahunsenecawh) sent delegates with his daughter Pocahontas on her first and only voyage to England.⁸⁹

Many Wxndat scholars today accept that these people, the people of the towns of Stadacona (modern-day Québec City) and Hochelaga (Montréal), were Wxndat ancestors. There is some linguistic evidence for this. One early prevailing theory was that the Cartier Laurentian word lists were likely from the Mohawk language. This argument originated with a *hatsihęstatsih* named Abbé Jean-André Cuoq in 1869. He was most familiar with Mohawk, which may have colored his analysis. However, Cuoq was the first scholar to demonstrate “that the language of the Cartier vocabularies unquestionably was Iroquoian.”⁹⁰ The first person to provide a strong argument that the Cartier vocabularies were very close to Wxndat or Wyandot was Percy J. Robinson in 1948.⁹¹ Not long after, Marius Barbeau argued in 1961 that the vocabularies most closely resemble both Mohawk and Wxndat, but that the visibility of Wxndat words are far more common.⁹²

⁸⁹ Also see: Coll Thrush, *Indigenous London: Native Travelers at the Heart of Empire*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016); Caroline Dodds Pennock, *On Savage Shores: How Indigenous Americans Discovered Europe*, (New York: Knopf, 2023).

⁹⁰ Trigger, "Who Were The 'Laurentian Iroquois'?" 207.

⁹¹ Percy J. Robinson, "The Huron Equivalents of Cartier's Second Vocabulary," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, XLII, Series Three, Sec. ii (Ottawa, 1948), 127-46. Bruce G. Trigger, "Who Were The 'Laurentian Iroquois'?" 210-211.

⁹² Marius Barbeau, "The Language of Canada in the Voyages of Jacques Cartier (1534-1538)," *Contributions to Anthropology*, 1959, National Museum of Canada, Bulletin 173 (Ottawa, 1961), 108-229. Trigger, "Who Were The 'Laurentian Iroquois'?" 211.

Since then, other linguists have attributed the Laurentian vocabularies to “nearly all of the other Northern Iroquoian languages.”⁹³ Using data from modern speakers of related languages can be difficult as well, as a distance of 450 years will certainly change a language – think of the way English was written in the late 1500s (during Shakespeare’s youth), versus how it is written now. Seventeenth and eighteenth century Wxndat documentation is much closer to the time of Cartier. While those sources are comparatively bountiful, they don’t necessarily focus on the exact same words; this is due to the particular interests of the later *hatitsihęstatsih* versus the earlier *hędi:hšahs*.⁹⁴ The connection to Wxndat was posited in 1948 by Percy Robinson, and again in 1959 by Marius Barbeau (more on him in Chapter 3), though he did concede that some of it leaned towards Mohawk. Mithun states that the evidence pool here is “somewhat slim,” with her ultimate conclusion being that the Cartier lists must be representative of multiple Nadowekian (Iroquoian) languages and dialects.⁹⁵

The above scholars have demonstrated through linguistic evidence how the Wxndat in the seventeenth century included a significant number of Laurentians, who likely blended into the community. This means that the story of Cartier and the Laurentians is the first major historical moment in the story of the Wxndat languages. Laurentians at Stadacona negotiated with the *hędi:hšahs* in the form of trade from their canoes and then around captives. *Hędi:hšahs* thought it

⁹³ Mithun, "The Mystery of the Vanished Laurentians," 234.

⁹⁴ Mithun, "The Mystery of the Vanished Laurentians," 235.

⁹⁵ Mithun, "The Mystery of the Vanished Laurentians," 237-242. Floyd Lounsbury concluded that both the Wxndat and Mohawk languages contained equal amounts of Laurentian. Floyd G. Lounsbury, “Iroquois-Cherokee Linguistic Relations,” in *Symposium on Cherokee and Iroquois Culture*, William N. Fenton, and John Gulick, eds., Smithsonian Institution Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 180, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961), 9-17; Floyd G. Lounsbury, “Iroquoian Languages,” in *Handbook of North American Indians*. William C., Sturtevant, General Editor, Bruce G. Trigger, Volume Editor, Northeast, Vol. 15, (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), 334-343.

was important to study Laurentian back in France, demonstrating the prominence of the language in this period of history.



A.5: Image of Wxndat (Huron) armor, from the Voyages of Samuel de Champlain, early 17th century.

Samuel de Champlain

Samuel de Champlain (c. 1567-1635) was a French *hɛdi:hʃahs* (explorer) who recorded Wxndat words in his numerous writings, as well as popularized the use of the Laurentian word “Canada” to describe the territory in northern North America where the French were trying to settle. He is most well known as the founder of Quebec City in 1608 and of New France in general during his time in Canada from 1603-1635. His main objective was to explore the lands and waterways of New France and set up a significant trading center. By 1609, he had an alliance with the Wxndat, committing French soldiers to defend against the *Hodinɔhsɔnih* (Haudenosaunee[Iroquois]).⁹⁶ In 1610, Champlain sent a French teenager by the name of Étienne Brûlé to live with the Wxndat as a *coureur des bois* and to learn their language and customs, so

⁹⁶ *Hodinɔhsɔnih* is a mostly Seneca version of this word, using the current Waⁿdat orthography. It is being used throughout this work because of its proximity to the modern pronunciation of “Haudenosaunee,” while still honoring the Waⁿdat language. Thank you to Craig Kopriv for pointing to this term and explaining its significance.

that he could act as an interpreter for the French.⁹⁷ The Wxndat accommodated Champlain and Brûlé in their villages and taught them Wxndat, showing the prominent status that the language held with Europeans in the early seventeenth century. At the same time, Wxndat language acquisition by Europeans was an example of the Europeans paying homage to the Wxndat in their own territory and on their own terms. Champlain then spent the last half of 1615 and the first half of 1616 in Wendake Ẽhen (Huronian), the homelands of the Wxndat in the seventeenth century.⁹⁸ He published a book about that year spent with the Wxndat in 1619. One of Champlain's primary objectives was to learn some of the Wxndat language, among other Indigenous languages in the area, as part of honoring the French alliance to protect those First Nations from the *Hodinḡhsḡnih* during the Beaver Wars. The Wxndat negotiated with *hḡdi:hšahs* Champlain, obtaining French military assistance in their defense against the *Hodinḡhsḡnih*.

⁹⁷ A *coureur des bois* was a French Canadian who engaged in trade, most often in the form of exchanging European goods for Indigenous furs. Olga Jurgens, "BRÛLÉ, ÉTIENNE," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, accessed 23 Dec, 2022, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/brule_etienne_1E.html.

⁹⁸ "Champlain and Huronia, 1615," *Ontario Heritage Trust*, Building Alliances with Aboriginal Peoples, 1609-10, accessed 23 Dec 2022. <https://www.heritagetrust.on.ca/pages/our-stories/exhibits/samuel-de-champlain/history/champlain-and-huronia-1615>.



A.6: Champlain fighting the *Hodinoḥsqnīh* (Iroquois) in 1609.⁹⁹

Champlain was using the word “Canada” (kanata) to describe where he had landed in 1603. He also used many other Wxndat words, mostly the names of individuals which he assigned to whole groups (or possibly clans or bands). For example, he used the name of a possible Wxndat headman, Charioquois, as a stand-in for a whole group of warriors, when he says “two hundred Charioquois savages [*sic.*]...brought back my servant.”¹⁰⁰ He does the same thing in the following chapter. Ochateguin, whom he had named as a Wxndat headman in

⁹⁹ Samuel de Champlain, (1574-1635), and Jean Berjon. *Les Voyages Du Sieur De Champlain Xaintongeois, Capitaine Ordinaire Pour Le Roy En La Marine. Diuisez En Deux Liures. Ou, Journal Tres-fidele Des Obseruations Faites És Descouuertes De La Nouvelle France ... Ensemble Deux Cartes Geographiques ...* (A Paris: Chez Jean Berjon, rue S. Jean de Beauvais, au Cheval volant, & en sa boutique au Palais, à la gallerie des prisonniers, 1613), 232-233.

¹⁰⁰ Champlain, Vol. 3, beginning of Chapter III “Two hundred savages return the Frenchman who had been entrusted to them, and receive the savage who had come back from France. – Various interviews on both sides.” – no pagination on this version Project Gutenberg. Samuel de Champlain, *Voyages of Samuel De Champlain*, Project Gutenberg, n.d. Vol. 3, <https://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/6825>.

Chapter III, becomes the name of a band or group instead: “of the promise which the Ochateguins and Algonquins had made me, on condition that we would assist them in their wars.”¹⁰¹ Then, two more times in his narrative of the fourth voyage, he uses “Orchateguins” as a stand-in for Wxndat.¹⁰² John Steckley used the Wxndat words recorded by Champlain, mostly personal names and place names, to make an argument that in the seventeenth century there were actually two Bear tribes within the “Huron alliance.” He identified a Southern Bear, which was linguistically closer to the Cord tribe and “one of the groups labeled as Petun,” and a Northern Bear, which was linguistically more similar to the Rock dialect.¹⁰³ The fact that Wxndat headman’s names were recorded by Europeans, instead of arbitrarily being assigned a European nickname, shows how the Europeans were accommodating and trying to work within Indigenous structures, and that the Wxndat language was prominent enough to be both learned and reproduced by Europeans. As an unintended side effect, this practice has helped preserve Wxndat and allowed it to thrive in later periods. Throughout the history of the Wxndat languages, proper names are one of the throughlines that carries the language from one generation to the next. Long after sentence structure and other grammatical concepts break down and fade, names are carried on; this topic will be explored further in the next chapter.

Champlain’s engagement with the Wxndat language represents another example of accommodation and control by Wxndat people to share with and educate Europeans. His

¹⁰¹ “Ehen” is now often written as “iEhen” to make the subscript iota more visible, according to Dr. Craig Kopris. Champlain, Vol. III, beginning of Chapter IV “Arrival at La Rochelle. – Dissolution of the partnership between Sieur de Monts and his associates, the sieurs Colier and Le Gendre of Roen. – Jealousy of the French in regard to the new discoveries in New France,” Project Gutenberg. Champlain, Samuel de. *Voyages of Samuel De Champlain*. 3 Volumes. Project Gutenberg, n.d. Vol. 3, <https://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/6825>.

¹⁰² Champlain, Chapters I & end of Chapt III, Project Gutenberg. Samuel de Champlain *Voyages of Samuel De Champlain*. 3 Volumes. Project Gutenberg, n.d. Vol. 3.

¹⁰³ John Steckley, “Wendat Dialects and the Development of the Huron Alliance,” *Northeast Anthropology* No. 54, 1997, 23-36.

contributions, by recording different names and dialects are important evidence for understanding European conceptions of the language(s). In this historical moment, when the Wxndat were still in control of their homelands, the Europeans were essentially their *guests*. The linguistic balance shifted as colonial settlement occurred at a larger scale and as the displacement of multiple Indigenous peoples heightened conflict and resulted in dispersal of the Wxndat.

HATITSIHĖSTATSIH, or, ETSIHĖSTATSIH¹⁰⁴

The Récollets

The Récollets (Recollects in English) were a Franciscan order of *hatitsihĖstatsih* (missionaries) who were in Canada from about 1615-1623. Like the *hĖdĭ:hšahs* before them, the *hatitsihĖstatsih* felt like the key to living in New France lay in Wxndat language acquisition, not only to facilitate trade and negotiation in the region, but for Catholics to proselytize to the Indigenous peoples in the region. In carrying out their mission, they unintentionally acted to preserve the Wxndat language and carry it forward to the next generation. The first Récollet *hatitsihĖstatsih* to record the Wxndat language was Joseph le Caron in 1616, but that dictionary has been lost. It is thought that all of Father le Caron's effects may have been burned in a fire in 1632 when he died of the plague.¹⁰⁵ The only known surviving language documentation from the Récollets is the work of Gabriel Sagard-Theodat. It contains a dictionary based on information he collected in 1623-1624 when he lived with the Wxndat in Wendake Ehen. The Wxndat

¹⁰⁴ These are both terms for missionaries or Catholic priests in the Wa^adat language. *HatitsihĖstatsih* "they are priests" and *etsihĖstatsih* "one is a priest, priests." Thanks to Dr. Craig Kopris.

¹⁰⁵ Charles Garrad, "The Recollects and the Petun," the Wyandot Nation of Kansas website, 1. <https://www.wyandot.org/PETUN/RB%2021%20to%2030/PRI24.pdf>.

accommodated this *hatitsihęstatsih* in their villages, teaching him the language, likely in service of creating more French trading partners.

Gabriel Sagard (ca. 1590 – ca. 1640) lived among the Wxndat during 1623-1624. He wrote a dictionary of the Wxndat language which was first published in France in 1632 as part of his account, *The Long Journey to the Huron Country*. It was republished in its entirety again in 1636 at the end of his *History of Canada*.¹⁰⁶ In his introduction to the dictionary, Sagard presents himself humbly, “I am very little versed in the Huron language, & very incapable of doing anything good.”¹⁰⁷ Sagard calls it, “a small Dictionary of the main words of the Huron language, necessary for those who have no understanding of it, & have to deal with the said Hurons.”

It was common *hatitsihęstatsih* practice to learn from other previous mission documents, and Sagard may have incorporated some of le Caron’s work into his own study. According to archeologist Charles Garrad, Father le Caron collected his language data while living among the Petun, who are one of the tribes who make up the modern Wyandot(te) peoples.¹⁰⁸ There is evidence for this in the introduction to Sagard’s dictionary “...but for the Hurons or Houandates, their language is so particular and different from all the others that it does not derive from any.”¹⁰⁹ Was this the first recorded instance of the word *Waⁿdat*? It is difficult to say. Saying

¹⁰⁶ George M. Wrong asserts that the dictionary in Sagard’s work is not only the work of Sagard, but was done in collaboration with Le Caron and probably also Étienne Brulé. George M. Wrong (ed.), and H. H. Langton (trans.), *Sagard's Long Journey to the Country of the Hurons*, Champlain Society Publications 25, (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1939). Gabriel Sagard, *Le Grand Voyage du Pays des Hurons*, “Dictionary of the Huron Language,” (Paris: Denys Moreav, Rue St. Jacques, 1632). I want to note here that pagination does not appear in all of the editions. Sagard’s *Histoire du Canada* from 1636 includes the dictionary, but the pagination seems to have been written after the fact in pencil.

¹⁰⁷ Sagard, Gabriel. *Dictionnaire de la Langue Huronne, Necessary a ceux qui n’ont l’intelligence d’icelle, et ont a traiter avec les sauvages du pays*. In *Le Grand Voyage du Pays des Hurons*. Paris: Denys Moreav, Rue St. Jacques, 1632, 1-12.

¹⁰⁸ Garrad, *Petun to Wyandot: The Ontario Petun from the Sixteenth Century*, (University of Ottawa Press and the Canadian Museum of History, 2014), 169.

¹⁰⁹ This is an English language translation of the original French. Sagard, *Dictionnaire de la Langue Huronne*, 4.

“Houandates” aloud, the word is nearly identical to the pronunciation of “Waⁿdat,” and much further from the pronunciation of “Wendat,” which was the predominant term, alongside “Huron,” used for the Wxndat peoples by the French, sometimes appearing as “Ouendat.” This was early in the *heḍi:hšahs* and *hatitsihęstatsih* (explorers and missionaries) exploration of the Wxndat language, so Sagard’s perception of how greatly Wxndat differed from other languages was based on his knowledge of Algonquin and Innu, both of which are Algonquian languages. He may not have had a chance to hear any other Nadowek speakers such as the *Hodinęhsęnih*. In the dictionary section, he spells their name with a tréma, translating “Les Hurons” as *Hoüandate*.¹¹⁰

Sagard begins his work appropriately enough for First Nations introductions, with examples of kinship terms: “to say my father in Huron, one must say *Astan*...to say my mother in Huron, *Auan Ondauen*...my aunt, in Huron *Harha*.” Then he introduces phrases that might be helpful to any new traveler to the area such as, “I don’t hear you in Huron, *Danstan rearonca*...”¹¹¹ Sagard’s intention was to write a quick guide to the language, of use to those who would be traveling through Wendake Eḥen (Huronie), or perhaps trading or communicating with the Wxndat somewhere else. He evidently knew more of the language but chose not to record some words and phrases in this dictionary, for the sake of simplicity for a new learner of the language. He writes:

If I hadn’t feared to uselessly enlarge this Dictionary, which I have proposed to shorten as much as possible, I would have, for the convenience of the simplest, written things at greater length: for I know by experience, that if this Dictionary did not teach and give the things all digested to those who have only to pass through the country, or to deal infrequently with the Hurons, that they could not themselves, in these beginnings, assemble, compose or draw up what they would have to say with all the rules that one could

¹¹⁰ Found under “N” for “nations.” There is no pagination for the dictionary entries in this source. Sagard, *Dictionnaire de la Langue Huronne*.

¹¹¹ This is an English language translation of the original French. Sagard, *Dictionnaire de la Langue Huronne*, 4.

give them, & would often make as many mistakes as they would say words, for there is only practice & the long use of the language which can use rules; who are as confused & uneasy to know as language is imperfect.¹¹²

The numbers listed in Sagard’s dictionary are of particular interest. Sagard lists the numbers 1-21, then 30, 40, 50, 60, 70, 80, 90, 100, 200, 1000, and 2000. Listed here is a side-by-side comparison of Sagard’s recorded numbers / modern Waⁿdat / modern Wendat spellings: ¹¹³

	Sagard	Modern Waⁿdat	Modern Wendat
1	escate	skat	skat
2	téni	te ⁿ di	tëndih
3	hachin	ahšęnk	ahchienhk
4	dac	ⁿ dahk	ndahk
5	ouyche	wiš	wihch
6	hou[h]ahéa	waža?	wahia'
7	sotaret	tsutare?	tsoutare'
8	atteret	a?tere?	a'tere'
9	néchon	ę?trq?	en'tron'
10	assan	ahsęh	ahsenh

A.7: Comparative chart of numbers 1-10 in the Wxndat recorded by Sagard, modern Waⁿdat, and modern Wendat.¹¹⁴

A side-by-side comparison of Sagard’s Wxndat and the modern Wxndat languages shows evidence of change over time, for sure in orthography but also potentially in pronunciation. The work of the Récollet *hatitsihęstatsih* le Caron and Sagard was a monumental contribution to Wxndat language documentation. Laurentian likely fed into Wxndat, but it was not its parent

¹¹² This is an English language translation of the original French. Sagard, *Dictionnaire de la Langue Huronne*, 8.

¹¹³ Sagard’s numbers come from his dictionary: Gabriel Sagard, *Dictionnaire de la Langue Huronne, Necessaire a ceux qui n’ont l’intelligence d’icelle, et ont a traiter avec les sauvages du pays*, in *Le Grand Voyage du Pays des Hurons*, (Paris: Denys Moreav, Rue St. Jacques, 1632). No pagination available.

The spellings of these Waⁿdat numbers were pulled from Dr. Craig Kopris’s language lessons: Craig Kopris, Šaróka? Waⁿdat?, Wyandotte Nation of Oklahoma, 2022. The Wendat numbers can be found on the nation’s official site: Nation Huronne-Wendat, Wendat language site, Wendake, Quebec, <https://languewendat.com/>.

¹¹⁴ The original version from 1632 spells the number 6 as “houdaheá” with a D, instead of “houhaheá” with a H.” However the 1866 reprint edition has it with the H. In the 1632 edition, if you look down to the number 16, it is listed as “assan houhaheá escarhet” with the H as well, and if you sound “houhaheá” out loud, it sounds close to the Wendat, *wahia*, so I’m inclined to think that the D in the original 6 was a typo, so I have erred on the side of sense here and not copied the typo.

language, meaning the Récollet dictionaries were the result of the first concerted effort to record Wxndat language while living long-term within the community. The Récollets' dictionaries, along with Champlain's account, constitute the earliest fully-Wxndat language documentation, which explains why it is still cited today.

The Jesuits

Just ten years after the Recollets moved in with the Wxndat and began to learn the language, the Jesuits began to replace the Recollets in New France.¹¹⁵ The most famous Jesuit *hatsihęstatsih* to learn the Wxndat language was Jean de Brébeuf (1593-1649). There are at least eight surviving pieces of writing by Brébeuf in the Wxndat language between 1626-1640, outside of his regular chronicles within the Relations.¹¹⁶ In 1626, Brébeuf took up residence in the Wxndat village of Ihonatiria near Toaniché, Quebec.¹¹⁷ This is where he began to learn the Wxndat language. Brébeuf noted their corn production saying that the soil, despite being sandy in some places, “produces a quantity of very good Indian corn, and one may say that it is the granary of most of the Algonquains [*sic.*],” meaning that he was noticing how the Wxndat trade came to be so depended upon.¹¹⁸ He also attended the Feast of Souls reburial ceremony at Ossossanné in 1636.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁵ Ives Goddard, ed., *Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 17: Languages*, William C. Sturtevant, General Editor, (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1996), p. 21.

¹¹⁶ These include a grammar, writings on Christian doctrine, and prayers and general discussion. James Constantine Pilling, *Bibliography of the Iroquoian languages*, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1888), 191.

¹¹⁷ Lucien Campeau. *La Mission de Jésuites chez les Hurons, 1634–1650*. (Montréal : Éditions Bellarmin), 1987, p. 114.

¹¹⁸ It's likely that he meant “Algonquians,” however it was common in this era for Europeans to use the name of one First Nation, the Algonquins, and apply it to all Algonquian speakers, so this may also be an alternate spelling representing that. JR 8:115.

¹¹⁹ For a conversation on the Feast of the Dead and Ossossané, both in the 1630s and the 1990s, see: Kathryn Magee Labelle, “Epilogue: Reconnecting the Modern Diaspora, 1999,” in *Dispersed But Not Destroyed*, (Vancouver & Toronto: UBC Press, 2013); Erik R. Seeman, *The Huron-Wendat Feast of the Dead*, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011).

He made demographic and ethnographic notes, which is how we know there were at least 30,000 people living in Wendake Ehen at this time, who according to Brébeuf, were speaking the same language.¹²⁰ He notes that the Wxndat language “has distinction of genders, number, tense, person, moods; and, in short, it is very complete and very regular, contrary to the opinion of many.”¹²¹ While this statement makes it sound like there was definitively one language among the Wxndat in the 1630s, and Father Brébeuf was certainly gifted with languages, we have to question how many of those “30,000 souls” he was gathering linguistic evidence from. This does not exclude the possibility that there were already two or more Nadowekian (Iroquoian) languages in Wendake Ehen at the time; these may have included Wendat, Waⁿdat, and even a Laurentian pidgin.

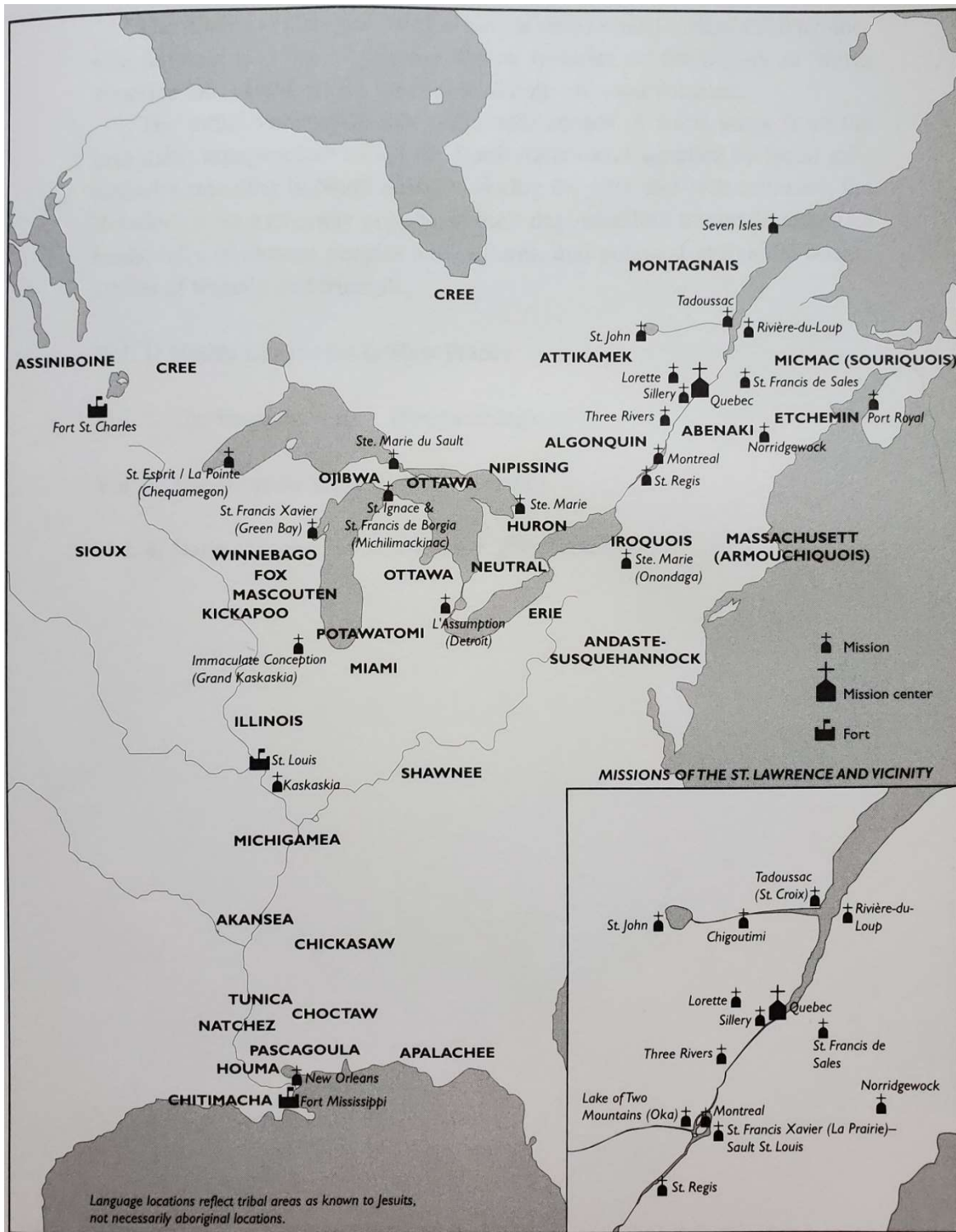
The Jesuit Relations were a series of 73 volumes of writings over the course of roughly 180 years across the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Relations contain information on a multitude of North American Indigenous languages. Information on Wxndat is scattered throughout, though the largest concentration of it is in the 1634-1640 accounts.¹²² Language documentation within the Relations was sprinkled throughout, appearing as terms to be discussed, proper names, and general musings from life within the villages. They were written by Jesuit *hatitsihęstatsih* in New France to convey home to Paris how their mission work was going. They contain the largest volume of ethnographic information on the Wxndat people from the contact era, and are the most frequently cited source on the Wxndat. The Jesuits lived with and studied the language of the Wxndat for multiple decades; ergo, these documents contain some of

¹²⁰ JR 8:115. Anthropologist Garry Warrick reinforces the 30,000–35,000 population figure with archaeological data, see: Gary Warrick, “European Infectious Disease and Depopulation of the Wendat-Tionontate (Huron-Petun).” *World Archaeology* 35, no. 2 (2003): 259, 271. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3560226>.

¹²¹ JR 8:115.

¹²² Claudio R. Salvucci, ed., *American Languages in New France: Extracts from the Jesuit Relations*. (Bristol, PA: Evolution Publishing, 2002), 15.

the best information on the state of the Wxndat language (or languages) in the seventeenth century. The editions which made their way back to France and were published had been edited by many hands – the Jesuit superior in New France, then once again by the editors in Paris before they were released for public consumption. One of the main purposes of these texts was to encourage continued support, both financially and otherwise, for the Jesuits' missionary work in Canada, and they should be read with this fact in mind.



A.8: Jesuit Missions in New France.¹²³

¹²³ Salvucci, ed., *American Languages in New France*, back page.

Like the Récollets, the Jesuit *hatitsihęstatsih* saw a mission among the Wxndat as key to their success in evangelizing the Indigenous populations of New France. The Wxndat language was already a *lingua franca* within the Indigenous communities of the Great Lakes region.¹²⁴ The French were so desperate to learn it that they were running out of paper writing everything down and had to resort to writing on birchbark, an action that must have looked silly to the Wxndat who valued birchbark for medicine and as a construction material.¹²⁵ The reasons for widespread use of the Wxndat language have to do with their geographical and political positioning. The Wxndat grew and traded a lot of corn and were known for their skills in oration and diplomacy. These skills, coupled with the fact that they were situated at a nexus of trade routes between many First Nations in the Great Lakes region, meant that Wendake Ehen was an international hub of activity in the early seventeenth century. This geopolitical prominence was one of the motivating factors that led Europeans to learn the Wxndat language, so that they could by proxy access these diplomatic and trade relationships. This served to preserve the Wxndat language in the seventeenth century, via creating more speakers.

By 1635, Jesuit Father Jean de Brébeuf was writing back to Paris that the Wxndat language was commonly used by twelve other nations.¹²⁶ These nations, (which he listed in the Wxndat language), would all be classified as *Nadowek* speakers today. These were: the *Khionontaterrhonons* (Tobacco Nation), the *Atiouandaronks* (Neutral), the *Andastoerrhonons* (Susquehannock), the *Rhierrhonons* ([Erie] also called the “Cat Nation,” but it may have actually translated to “Raccoon Nation”), the *Ahouenrochrhonons* (Wenro), and the five nations of the *Hodinęhsqni* Confederacy (*Sonontoerrhonons* [Seneca], *Ouioenrhonons* [Cayuga],

¹²⁴ Georges Sioui, trans. Jane Brierley, *Huron-Wendat: The Heritage of the Circle*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999), p. 97.

¹²⁵ JR 8:131.

¹²⁶ JR 8:115; Burner, “Healing Through Language,” 15.

Agnierrhonons [Mohawk], *Onontaerrhonons* [Onondaga], *Onoiochronons* [Oneida]). The two other nations on Brébeuf's list, the *Scahentoarrhonons* and the *Conkhandeenrhonons* have not yet been identified.¹²⁷ It is interesting that in this same entry where the nation names in the language are found, Brébeuf downplays the difficulty of language acquisition: "There are twenty towns, which indicate about 30,000 souls speaking the same tongue, which is not difficult to one who has a master[y of the language]." Then in a later Relations entry, he laments that "if God does not assist me extraordinarily, I shall yet have to go a long time to the school of the Savages [*sic.*], so prolific is their language."¹²⁸ Perhaps he acquired a healthy respect for its complexity the deeper he dove into his language studies. The more he knew, the more he realized he did not know. We can apply this to our reading of the Jesuit Relations for Wxndat linguistic content, the bulk of which is situated early on in their knowledge journey. Compared to those studying the language in the eighteenth century, it is questionable whether the early Jesuits were picking up on all of the variations or even possibly different languages that they were hearing.¹²⁹ Roughly five years after Brébeuf's comment, Father Le Jeune wrote that "Father Paul Ragueneau and the sieur Nicolet – both well versed in the Huron language, which is related to the Hiroquois language..." meaning that the Jesuits were aware by this point, one generation after Sagard's

¹²⁷ There are several possible explanations for the Jesuits recording the usage of Wxndat across so many other nations. They may have seen similarities in these languages and grouped them in a *family* which they named after the Wxndat. They may have viewed Wxndat as some sort of parent language for the rest. All of these nations may have had important trade relationships with the Wxndat and had learned to do business fluently in the language to facilitate that trade. Or, because one of the Jesuits' strongest relationships was with the Wxndat, they may have purposefully over-expressed their influence on other nations in order to garner more financial support for their endeavor; if their endeavor appeared worthy because of the great influence of their partners the Wxndat, then the Jesuits' projects appeared an even better investment to funders back in France. None of this necessarily excludes a prevailing influence of the Wxndat in their region.

¹²⁸ JR 8:115, and then JR 8:131.

¹²⁹ See the section on Jesuit Pierre Potier in Chapter 2.

remark about Wxndat not being related to any other language, that the languages of the *Hodinᑭhsᑎih* were in fact different than Wxndat, yet somehow related.¹³⁰

It would be nice to know details about the Wxndat informants who helped the Jesuits learn the language. However, the *hatitsihęstatsih* were not in the habit of naming specific informants or recording those informants' specific contributions for posterity. The Jesuits were certainly talented linguists. As a larger organization who had placed *hatitsihęstatsih* throughout the Americas, they had developed methods for learning Indigenous languages. However, this would have still required on-the-ground help from the Native speakers themselves. These Wxndat language informants remain nameless, yet should be counted as contributing authors to the Jesuits' language documents.

Conversion of Indigenous peoples to Catholicism was one of the major components of French colonialism in Canada. Missionaries or *hatitsihęstatsih* focused their initial endeavors on the Wxndat due to their linguistic hegemony in the region and their prominence in trade networks. The Récollet and Jesuit writings are some of the largest and most cited sources on the Wxndat language(s) today. Researchers' interest in these sources is not only about the volume of text supplied, but its proximity to the moment of contact. This contact and the increased presence of Europeans within Indigenous spaces led to depopulation and ultimately a dispersal of the Wxndat, due to European diseases, rising tensions in the area, and ultimately, violence and dispossession of land. There was no record of European diseases among the Wxndat prior to the 1634 epidemic, and by 1640 after several more epidemics swept through Wendake Eᑎen, the

¹³⁰ JR 21:39. Salvucci, ed., *American Languages in New France*, 127.

Wxndat were left with only about 12,000 survivors, a 60% depopulation rate.¹³¹ They were now more vulnerable than ever to attack.

The Dispersal

In 1649, the Wxndat were forced to relocate from their homeland in Wendake Ẽhen. Depleted population numbers due to European diseases caused the Wxndat to fight with the *Hodinohsqnih*, in an effort to replenish their population with war captives. These “mourning wars” sparked a major retaliation by the *Hodinohsqnih* beginning in 1648, who burned entire villages and corn fields, leaving the Wxndat destitute.¹³² Different Wxndat groups made the decision to disperse in different directions, leading to the split between the Wendat and Wyandot(te) groups today. After the dispersal, Europeans documented the Wendat language in Québec far more than any of the other Wxndat communities for a period of almost one hundred years.¹³³ A Wendat contingent headed east with Father Chaumonot, eventually landing in Québec City (the former Laurentian village of Stadacona). There, French Jesuit *hatitsihęstatsih* continued their language work, albeit more on French terms than on Wendat terms, as the Wendat had moved to be closer to the French, whereas before the French had moved to be closer to the Wxndat. This began to shift the balance of power not only politically, but linguistically. The contingent who would eventually be called the Wyandot ultimately headed west, and

¹³¹ Warrick, “European Infectious Disease,” 262-263.

¹³² Labelle, *Dispersed but Not Destroyed*, 11, 29, 45-67.

¹³³ The appendix chronology illustrates how in this 100 year period, the majority of European documentation of the Wxndat languages was with the Wendat in Québec, moreso than any potential Waⁿdat studies with the western group.

language documentation for them is sparse until a Jesuit *hatitsihęstatsih* named Pierre Potier arrived in the Wxndat/Wyandot community near Detroit in the 1740s.¹³⁴

CONCLUSION

Power differentials in Canada in the early contact period had a significant impact on why Europeans felt forced to learn Wxndat. Learning Wxndat allowed them to conduct missionary work and create successful trade partnerships. The unintended result of this power differential was that Europeans, through their own writing system, ended up preserving Wxndat language in a way that the Wxndat were not able to do at the time. This will become important hundreds of years after these events take place when disease, diaspora, and assimilation put the languages to sleep, making the European written records one of the only tools to rebuild them. The irony of this is that the very people who fought to destroy Wxndat inadvertently kept the embers of the language alive.

The historical narrative of the Wxndat language in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is one of Wxndat peoples evaluating, accommodating, and negotiating with French *hędi:hęahs* (explorers) and *hatitsihęstatsih* (missionaries). It includes episodes of Wxndat individuals providing language translation assistance to these French interlopers, sometimes strategically and on their own terms, such as when the Wxndat allowed French *hędi:hęahs* and *hatitsihęstatsih* to live in their villages, and other times through coercion or force, such as when Cartier kidnapped Stadaconans. The documents from this era, such as word lists and dictionaries, mostly ascribed to French authorship, could not have been created without *significant* assistance

¹³⁴ Baron de Lahontan also contributed language sources from his voyage around the turn of the eighteenth century that might be Wxndat or Waⁿdat in nature, published between 1701-1741. Both Potier and Lahontan will be introduced in Chapter 2. Pilling, *Bibliography of the Iroquoian languages*, 191-192.

by Wxndat peoples. These anonymous Wxndats should be acknowledged co-authors, the way we would treat an oral history interview today. These linguistic and cultural collaborations between the Wxndat and the French produced one of the largest collections of Indigenous language documentation in the history of North America. Much of this is contained in the Jesuit Relations throughout its 73 volumes, but it is concentrated in the accounts from 1636-1640. This robust set of language studies across two centuries is one of the most valuable collections for Wxndat language revitalization today. In the Wxndat language alone, *hędí:hšahs* and *hatitsihęstatsih* produced over two dozen major studies in the language during this period in the form of grammars, dictionaries, prayers, discussions, and doctrinal writings.¹³⁵ Shifting into the era of “Huⁿdatrižuh nęh Hatizato?” (the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries), a new term will emerge in European records: *Wyandot*, but the terms *Huron* and *Wendat* will continue to be used by Europeans, albeit in slightly new ways.

¹³⁵ Pilling, *Bibliography of the Iroquoian languages*, 191.

CHAPTER 2

Huⁿdatrižuh neḥ Hatīžatō? : Wxndat Languages in Transition: 1649—1920/1970¹³⁶

In the history of the Wxndat languages, the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were a time when linguistic skill was highly valued in war, and when language speakers were recording their presence on treaties and giving speeches (though not always recorded in their language). Settler colonialism imposed acutely increased challenges on language retention. In this period, Wxndat language preservers began self-documenting their presence through writing and painting. While the nineteenth century has often been identified as the time when the languages began to fall asleep (or became moribund in linguistic terms), there is strong evidence that shows the Wendat and Wyandot actively held onto their language, stories, and cultural practices.¹³⁷ *Hudatrižuh* means “they fight” while *hatīžatō?* means “they write.” These terms capture this period of Wxndat language history, when not only were they involved in multiple large-scale wars, but also, they were fighting to preserve their culture and languages against settler encroachment into their lands and trade networks. Furthermore, this era is where we begin to see sources authored by Wxndats which speak to the importance of language and culture. The rates of language loss were situational among the different Wxndat communities and occurred at different speeds. Proximity to European settler populations was the biggest determiner on the speed of language loss. The Wendat community in Québec was embedded within a large European settler city and was intertwined economically earlier and on a larger scale. They lost

¹³⁶ *Hudatrižuh* means “they fight” while *hatīžatō?* means “they write.”

¹³⁷ While it is becoming increasingly common for Wyandot people to call themselves “Waⁿdat,” (and this is due to the interest in language revival), I will continue to use “Waⁿdat” for the language but “Wyandot(te)” for the people for two main reasons. First, that it reflects the official names of those three nations. Second, because some of the linguistic arguments made about the names of the peoples will be more understandable within the context of how those names were spelled in each era. Sometimes, the spellings of names in historical documents alone provide the necessary evidence and tell their own story. The evolution of the name “Wyandot” has its own story to tell.

their language earlier than the Wyandot communities who remained separate longer, though eventually, forced removals by the U.S. government separated the communities further and resulted in language loss.

In the wake of the dispersal, the Wxndats who moved east to Québec City arrived as refugees. This group, who will now be referred to as the Wendat, were increasingly dependent on the French. By the close of the seventeenth century, most Wendat could speak French, but retained their native tongue as well. By the 1750s, there is evidence of French military operatives needing to learn Wendat because it was still the dominant language. By the 1760s and 1770s, however, French and German visitors to Lorette commented on a blend of Wendat and French being used, but that the Wendat spoke French poorly. Over the course of the nineteenth century, European accounts varied as to the amount of Wendat the community was speaking versus French, but by the last thirty years, accounts show that the people themselves were mostly speaking French but knew the meaning of some Wendat words and phrases. They still honored pieces of Wendat language carried through naming practices and in church services.

The term “Wyandot” and all of its many spelling variations appears in the eighteenth century. This is a major feature in the biography of the Wxndat languages and is a defining mark of the era of *hudatrižuh* and *hatižatq?*. The people named Wyandot were those who went west during the dispersal, and ended up in places like Detroit (where they still use “Anderdon” as part of their name), Ohio, Kansas, and Oklahoma. Following the division of the Wxndat into two terms, this chapter will be divided into three main parts: the Wendat story through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Wyandot story through the early twentieth century, and ending with the twentieth century documentation of the last living speakers by American and Canadian anthropologists.

Settler accounts are difficult to use to judge Wxndat language loss because settlers often lacked a full understanding of how language was situated within culture. The largest volume of sources written in the languages was created in the earliest period, when settlers were still new enough to the languages that they may not have heard subtle differences between dialects. Additionally, settlers did not necessarily utilize a wide enough sample set of speakers to constitute a complete data set of all available dialects/languages between various Wxndat towns.

Over the course of these two centuries, the Wxndat nations faced the challenges of settler colonialism, which manifested as encroachment into Indigenous territory, entanglement in European wars and affairs, and dividing the community. In the case of the Wyandot, multiple relocations challenged language retention, but westward movement allowed them to stay separate from the settlers for longer. The Wendat in Québec worked to maintain their relationship to their language as French culture enclosed them on all sides. With their depleted numbers after the attacks of 1648-1649, the Wendat who went east as refugees were dependant on French food, shelter, and charity.¹³⁸ They attended French schools and converted to Catholicism, a survival tactic that gave them the “ability to influence commodity production and exchange,” ultimately leading them to great economic success in the nineteenth century. But this active participation in a blended society challenged language retention.¹³⁹ By the latter half of the nineteenth century, both languages were beginning to fall asleep, but there were already individuals working to preserve them. In the case of Wendat there was Zacharie Vincent, Prosper Vincent, and Paul Tsawenhohi Picard. In the case of Waⁿdat, there was BNO Walker, Matthew Mudeater, and the Wyandot Nation of Kansas, which enforced a rule that anyone elected chief

¹³⁸ Labelle, *Dispersed but Not Destroyed*, 101, 104.

¹³⁹ Labelle, *Dispersed but Not Destroyed*, 99.

must be able to speak the language. Additionally, a landmark moment in the chronology of Wxndat language documentation was reached when Jesuit Father Pierre Potier recorded both the Wendat and likely also Waⁿdat languages.

NAMES

One way that language is consistently carried from one generation to the next is in naming practices. The Wendat have maintained a tradition of carrying oral history through the lineage of naming. Names have particular historical power in Wendat society, based on people who carried these names in the past and the notable events of their lives, which get passed down from generation to generation. Labelle stated that:

By transposing past names onto living individuals, the Wendat retained a tangible reference and reminder of people...Unlike material culture or geographic fixtures, names were easily transportable throughout the diaspora. They were not easily lost along the road or left behind, yet in terms of cultural baggage they were heavy. Names designated more than just the people who use to represent them; they functioned as maps to family lineages, symbols of ethnicity, and also communicated traditional Wendat [Wxndat] ideals of bravery, leadership, and behaviour to future generations.¹⁴⁰

The lineage of names is sometimes based on clan (i.e. hereditary association) and sometimes based on a position held in Wendat society (i.e. chief).¹⁴¹ A few anecdotes demonstrate the power of names in Wxndat culture. Louis-Armand de Lom d'Arce, Baron de Lahontan (1666-1716), was a French traveler to Canada in the early eighteenth century. He recorded ethnographic information about the Wxndat, including an analysis of their language, and notably penned a dialogue between himself and a Wxndat friend whom he calls *Adario*, who was likely based on his friend, the Wxndat headman, Kondiaronk. In 1703, Lahontan recorded

¹⁴⁰ Labelle, *Dispersed but Not Destroyed*, 156.

¹⁴¹ Labelle, *Dispersed But Not Destroyed*, 155.

his Wxndat friends telling him that the name Sastaretsi dated back seven or eight hundred years.¹⁴² And in 1872, Detroit Wyandot Joseph White told ethnographer Horatio Hale about the power of the Sastaretsi name, and how it lived on into legend.¹⁴³ The Sastaretsi name will be discussed further in the section on Kondiaronk. This shows through the oral history tradition how important it is to the Wxndat to carry names through the generations.

There is an anecdote in Charles Marshall's *The Canadian Dominion* in 1871 where Charles and his friend accompanying him were both given Wendat names by the people in Lorette where they were visiting.¹⁴⁴ Marshall states that his friends in Wendake gave him a name in the Wendat language, "Alonhiawasti Chialontarati," which he doesn't translate, and gave his friend Mr. Chauveau the name "Hodilonrawasti," which they translated as "Le bel esprit."¹⁴⁵ This shows that the Wendat were still speaking some of their own language at this point. They understood it well enough to translate a certain quality into the Wendat language. *Even if* "the people all speak French" *too*, it was not their only language because they were naming newcomer friends in their Wendat language.¹⁴⁶ It also shows that late into the 19th century, Wendats still knew the meaning of certain words in their language, and were happy to use them, again showing that names are sometimes like a canoe, portaging the language through generations. As the Wendat community blended more with the surrounding French and English population, this challenged language retention. However, the example of continuing to name

¹⁴² Labelle, *Dispersed But Not Destroyed*, 156.

¹⁴³ Labelle, *Dispersed But Not Destroyed*, 156.

¹⁴⁴ Lorette is the place where the Wendat still live today in Québec City, only now it is called Wendake.

¹⁴⁵ Taking a look at these names, Koprís said that Alonhiawasti Chialontarati looks like "good sky, beyond the lake," and that Hodilonrawasti would be Ho'ndiyonrawahstih in modern Wendat spelling, "his mind is good". Personal communication, June 6, 2023. Marshall, *The Canadian Dominion*, (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1871), 18-19.

¹⁴⁶ Charles Marshall, *The Canadian Dominion*, 18-19.

people in the language shows how *huⁿdatrižuh*, the Wendat fought to keep it around in whatever way possible.

THE WENDAT

Aside from names, the early 1700s includes other evidence that speaks to a continuation of the language among the Wxndat who relocated near Quebec City, in a town known as Lorette or Wendake today. This community will now be referred to as *the Wendat*. The Jesuit *hatitsihęstatsih* continued to produce documents in the Wendat language in this period. The longest document ever produced in the Wendat language was called *De Religione*.

De Religione was written down between 1669-1673, and according to John Steckley, was likely authored by Belgian Father Philippe Pierson.¹⁴⁷ The text's purpose was to use the Wendat language to explain Christian theological concepts to the *Hodinęhsęnih*, showing the ongoing prominence of the Wendat language. The author attempts to explain the European Christian concept of their Holy Spirit using Wendat words. Brébeuf had worked through this concept earlier on, struggling to "express with verbs what he normally expected to express with nouns."¹⁴⁸ Steckley translates *De Religione*'s passage about the Holy Spirit in the figure below.

¹⁴⁷ Burner, "Healing Through Language," 17; John L. Steckley, *De Religione*, 6.

¹⁴⁸ Steckley, *De Religione*, 24.

“Holy Spirit” concept translated into Wendat

Steckley’s translation into English

Aierih8ost ichien aiaienrhon s’aatat ha8endio
st’aionnhe di8 haatsi.

Those who would make the matter great, [who
would] be believers, should think that the
Great Voice in our lives, he who is called
God, is one body.

Oten de di8 haatataie achink ihennon skat ichien
ondaie de sat[e]n otē de skat honaen
d’achink atonθa hoki daat hoatatoθeti aat.

However, God is three together: one is he who has
them as children; one is he whom they
have as child; the third is he who is a very
true spirit.

Stan achink te hennon d’ha8endio ti tionnhe skat
ichien ha8endio atiaondi.

He is not three gathered together. The Great Voice
in our lives is one completely.

A.9: The Jesuit document *De Religione* attempting to translate the concept of the Christian “Holy Spirit” into the Wendat language, and John Steckley’s modern translation of that Wendat into English.¹⁴⁹

The Jesuits continued to bring their missionary zeal to other Indigenous communities in New France, while an order of Ursuline nuns ran a school in the heart of Québec City.¹⁵⁰ This school aimed to pluck Wendat girls from their communities, Christianize them, francize them, and incorporate them into a French religious life.

Wendat children were frequenting francophone schools throughout this era, but this cultural accommodation was not exactly as the *hatitsihęstatsih* (missionaries) and French authorities envisioned it. In *Histoire de la langue française des origines à 1900*, Ferdinand Brunot said that “the girls who learned to read and write [at these schools]...once they became adults, preferred to “return to their freedom.” This shows that when Wendat girls learned to read and write, they still opted to return to their community rather than pursue a religious or francized

¹⁴⁹ Steckley, *De Religione*, 48-49.

¹⁵⁰ Marie de l’Incarnation (1599-1672), was the first mother superior of this convent, and one of the first female *hatitsihęstatsih* in Canada.

life.¹⁵¹ By the end of the 1600s, French had begun to be used in the Wendat community at Lorette for religious ceremonies, but that linguistic turn had not yet reached all the way back to the Wendat home life. However, this demonstrates a coercive push by the French priests to force more of their language on the Wendat.¹⁵² Not only did *hatizato?* (they write), but these young Wendat women *huⁿdatrižuh* (fought) to retain their cultural (and likely also linguistic) freedom by returning to their community, despite settler colonial pressure to fully integrate into French ways of life.

Many Wendats knew the French language by the close of the seventeenth century, but still spoke Wendat. In fact, the mid-eighteenth century was a major marker in the timeline of Wendat language shift. Even by that point, however, they appear to have spoken both Wendat and French.¹⁵³ In 1758 during the Seven Years War, the Marquis de Montcalm visited the Lorette village and his secretary noted that the Wendat language was “difficult to learn,” and that there were four mother tongues in the Americas: Huron, Iroquois, Abenaki, and Algonquin (or

¹⁵¹ Ferdinand Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française des origines à 1900*, t. 5, (Paris: Armand Colin, 1917), 106. Mathieu-Joffre Lainé, “La disparition de la langue huronne: Vers une réévaluation historique.” *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec*, vol. 41, n° 1, 2011, 28. This was a common assumption by Europeans, that once Indigenous children attended their schools they thought they would want to stay in European society. This was also a common response from Indigenous children, to want to go back home to their own society of birth. This example holds true for the Brafferton Indian School in Williamsburg, Virginia. The Virginia governing body thought the Brafferton School students would return to their home communities and convert everyone to the Anglican faith, and that they would see an influx of Indigenous labor in European trades, but this was not the case. Brafferton students used their British education to help their own communities after returning home, and we don’t see any evidence of those Indigenous students moving fully into British society with British jobs. Fallon Burner, “Indigenous Students Beyond the Brafferton,” Colonial Williamsburg Staff & Interpreter Winter Training, February 2023; Danielle Moretti-Langholtz, and Buck Woodard, eds, *Building the Brafferton: The Founding, Funding and Legacy of America’s Indian School*, (Williamsburg: Muscarelle Museum of Art, William & Mary, 2019).

¹⁵² This tactic to force French culture on the Wxndat through religious methods stems back to 1632, when Champlain made the establishment of a Jesuit mission in Wendake Ehen a requirement for the Wxndat to be able to conduct trade with the French. Within the next decade, the trade companies encouraged and then attempted to force Wxndat conversion to Christianity: “The Christian W[x]ndat enjoyed lower prices for merchandise than their traditionalist counterparts; Christians also received guns and could enter French forts. By 1642, the governor gave gifts only to converted Natives during trade and diplomatic negotiations.” Labelle, *Dispersed but Not Destroyed*, 101.

¹⁵³ Lainé, “La disparition de la langue huronne,” 28.

“Outaouais”). This demonstrates that Wendat was still the predominant language in Lorette at this point, despite the challenge that the missionary school presented to the language.¹⁵⁴

The Wendat, while able to utilize French, were still mostly Wendat speakers. In the wake of the Wendat signing the Treaty of Oswegatchie, British General Murray provided a written report about the government of Québec, newly under British control.¹⁵⁵ In this report of 5 June, 1762, he observes that within the Wendat Nation, “some elders remained so attached to their language, that they barely speak a few French words, but almost all the young people speak the French language quite well”¹⁵⁶ In 1776, Valentine Melsheimer, a chaplain with a German mercenary regiment of the British Army, traveled through Lorette and recorded that there were 120 Wendat families and that, “in addition to the French, they also speak among themselves the Old Huron language, a tongue which, as the priest himself assured us, is so difficult that no one, unless born and brought up among them, can ever learn it perfectly.”¹⁵⁷ Also in 1776, August Wilhelm du Roi, a British officer serving in the American Revolution, observed of the Wendat that “among themselves they use their savage language, but constant intercourse with the nearby city has brought it about that most of them speak French, though poorly, and in a form as mixed

¹⁵⁴ Lainé, “La disparition de la langue huronne,” 29.

¹⁵⁵ It should be noted that this transferred the Wendat’s European alliance from the French to the English, and opened their territory to British settlement. The Wendat were members of the Seven Fires Confederacy, who signed the Treaty of Oswagatche in 1760 with the British, during the Seven Years War.

¹⁵⁶ Murray calls the Wendat “the most civilized of all the savages from this part of the world,” and mentions they’re Roman Catholics. Adam Shortt, and Arthur G. Doughty, eds., *Documents relatifs à l’histoire constitutionnelle du Canada, 1759-1791*, imprimé par ordre du parlement, 2e éd. / rév. par le Bureau de publication des documents historiques, Volume 1 d’une série de 2 volumes, (Ottawa: Thomas Mulvey, 1921), 58. Delâge, Denys. “La Tradition De Commerce Chez Les Hurons De Lorette-Wendake.” *Recherches Amérindiennes Au Québec* 30, no. 3 (2000): 41. Lainé, “La disparition de la langue huronne,” 29.

¹⁵⁷ Melsheimer’s journal included anthropological observations as well as anecdotal interviews where he asked the Huron-Wendat about their ancestors and their history. Frederick Valentine Melsheimer, *Journal of the voyage of the Brunswick auxiliaries from Wolfenbüttel to Quebec*, (Quebec: “Morning Chronicle” Steam Printing Establishment, 1891 [1776]), 165.

Lainé, “La disparition de la langue huronne,” 29.

as their customs, manners, and clothing.”¹⁵⁸ Du Roi acknowledges that the Wendat’s proximity to the French city of Québec has made it so that they have to know some French language. It is clear, however, that a higher percentage of Wendats were more fluent in Wendat than French and that Wendat was still their preferred language.

This mixed data in European accounts about the state of the language ultimately proves that the Wendat language was still a prominent feature within the community throughout the eighteenth century, and the example of Wendat naming in the language into the late nineteenth century also displays a commitment to language preservation by Wendats. The fact that Montcalm’s secretary was learning the Wendat language demonstrates that it held strategic value for the French in the 1750s.

While the eighteenth century demonstrated that the French were still committed to learning the Wendat language because of its strategic importance, the nineteenth century showed a shift to more casual curiosity language learning by Europeans. Another hallmark of the nineteenth century was the Wendat’s efforts to *hu^odatrižuh* (fight) for and preserve the Wendat language, sometimes through *hatizato^o* (writing it down). Despite these efforts, the century concluded with language loss. Historian Brian Gettler says that in the nineteenth century, “visitors to Jeune-Lorette often remarked on the perceived lack of Indigeneity among the village’s inhabitants.”¹⁵⁹ Alexis de Tocqueville traveled through Lorette in 1831 and recorded that the Wendat were speaking French.¹⁶⁰ But in the 1850s when German academic Georg Kohl visited, “he was surprised that Native people of mixed blood, as he describes the teacher and many of the

¹⁵⁸ August Wilhelm du Roi, and Charlotte S.J. Epping, trans., *Journal of Du Roi the Elder: Lieutenant and Adjutant, in the Service of the Duke of Brunswick, 1776-1778*, (New York: D. Appleton & Co. and University of Pennsylvania, 1911), 45-46. Lainé, “La disparition de la langue huronne,” 29.

¹⁵⁹ Brian Gettler, “Economic Activity and Class Formation in Wendake, 1800-1950,” 144.

¹⁶⁰ Lainé, “La disparition de la langue huronne,” 29; Alexis de Tocqueville, *Tocqueville au Bas-Canada. Présentation de Jacques Vallée*, (Montréal: Éditions du Jour, 1973 [1831]), 54.

children, identified with their Indigenous rather than European heritage.”¹⁶¹ Despite the perception of outsiders, Wendat cultural ties remained strong.

In *The Canadian Dominion* in 1871, visitor to Lorette Charles Marshall stated, “the people all speak French,” and when he attended the Catholic service in their chapel where some of the service was conducted in Wendat he noted, “but not a soul in the congregation, I was assured, understood a word.”¹⁶² But who assured him – was this one person’s perception, or a generally accepted fact? Additionally, if the Catholic church was still conducting *some* of the service in Wendat, then clearly it was still important to use the Wendat language to reach the congregants. This implies that the Wendat community still had a tie to it because the church could have more easily used French. It also implies that the Wendat must have understood some of the meaning behind the Wendat words, because if language meaning wasn’t liturgically essential, they could have used Latin.

Remember, Marshall and Chauveau had been given the names *Alonhiawasti* *Chialontarati* and *Hodilonrawasti*, so clearly the Wendat were still using some of the language and understood how to translate it. The Wendat may not have understood the church prayers if it was an outdated dialect, much like children today have to learn Shakespearean English because it has fallen out of usage. Or for an even more recent example, many English speakers still need help to understand eighteenth-century English spoken here, such as the founding documents of the United States.¹⁶³ None of the priests were Wendat at this time, but the French priests would have been utilizing the Wendat language for the past 250 years, and so would have been adept at

¹⁶¹ Annette de Stecher, “Wendat Arts of Diplomacy: Negotiating Change in the Nineteenth Century,” in Thomas Peace and Kathryn Magee Labelle, eds., *From Huronia to Wendakes: Adversity, Migrations and Resilience 1650-1900*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2016), 201.

¹⁶² Charles Marshall, *The Canadian Dominion*, (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1871), 18-19.

¹⁶³ For more on how English language meanings change in historical documents over time, see: Cathleen Hellier, *Eighteenth-Century English as a Second Language*, (Williamsburg, Virginia: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 2011).

speaking these materials in the language. In other words, their pronunciation would not have been the issue. It is possible that some of the elders in the congregation understood while younger generations did not. The prayers may have been written in a different nation's dialect from within the confederacy, as John Steckley states, "During the 1640s the Jesuits shifted the dialect they wrote from Bear to Rock, as their mission expanded."¹⁶⁴ If this prayer they were using in 1871 was written in a particular dialect, and the Wendats listening to the prayer were not speakers of that dialect, coupled with the lapse of two centuries of language shift and neologisms, the prayer might have been harder for them to understand. The Kohl and Marshall accounts both take place during language keeper Zacharie Vincent's lifetime, which goes to show that one – or even two – sources do not form a complete data pool on language keepers. Another Wendat language keeper, Paul Tsawenhohi Picard (1845-1905), owned a manuscript French-Huron dictionary, which appeared in a source from the 1880s.¹⁶⁵ The fact that it was counted as valuable certainly shows the reverence placed on the ancestral language. For Paul Tsawenhohi Picard, a Wendat dictionary was a precious treasure, and *huⁿdatrižuh neḥ hatižatq?*, he fought to keep the language and he wrote in the language to his friend, Prosper Vincent (covered later in this chapter).

In nineteenth century Lorette, the Catholic church and Wendats' own participation in a more global economy serving non-Wendat speakers challenged Wendat language retention. By the 1890s, the Klondike gold rush brought a surge of demand for snowshoes and moccasins, and just before the turn of the century, Wendat entrepreneurs with last names such as Bastien and Vincent were producing more than 7,000 pairs of snowshoes and almost 150,000 pairs of

¹⁶⁴ John Steckley, "The First Huron-French Dictionary?" *Arch Notes* 91-3, May/June 1991, Willowdale: Ontario Archaeological Society Inc., 17-23.

¹⁶⁵ Brian Gettler, "Economic Activity and Class Formation in Wendake, 1800-1950," 162.

moccasins annually.¹⁶⁶ Despite the economic pressure to assimilate to the French language, Wxndat remained in various forms to be carried to the next generation, through proper names and prayers, and a few individual language keepers working to preserve it.

In 1900, a priest at the Jeune Lorette parish, Father Lionel Saint-George Lindsay, argued that the Wendat language was starting to fall asleep by 1850. He noted that: “at the end of the 18th century, the Huron language was the only one in usage within the Lorette tribe.”¹⁶⁷ By 1850, when a Wendat orator delivered a speech to Archbishop Turgeon of Quebec inside the Huron chapel, much had changed:

Our race is still diminishing, and our language is almost extinct. We are sorry, we young people, that our fathers did not show it to us, and also that we had no missionaries who could have learned it and taught it to us in their turn. It was necessary to study in French, the prayers and the catechism, it helped to lose it.¹⁶⁸

This is the only extant reference to that quote about the Wendat language dying out in 1850. However, it has been cited by La Nation huronne-wendat’s current Tribal Linguist, Megan Lukaniec, as the approximate date when the language went moribund.¹⁶⁹ The author of the original source, (Lindsay), however, is citing something that sounds more like hearsay than a verifiable source. *Who* was the orator who was speaking, and what gave him the authority to speak for his nation? More context may be needed to make this a credible source. It is interesting that the speaker says that the necessity of studying the prayers and catechism in French precipitated language loss, when Charles Marshall stated twenty years later that he attended a Wendat church where parts of the service were said in Wendat.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁶ Gettler, “Economic Activity and Class Formation in Wendake, 1800-1950,” 154-155.

¹⁶⁷ Father Lionel Saint-George Lindsay, *Notre-Dame De La Jeune-Lorette En La Nouvelle-France; Etude Historique*, (Montréal: La Cie De Publication De La Revue Canadienne, 1900), p. 249.

¹⁶⁸ A translation from the original French. Father Lionel Saint-George Lindsay, *Notre-Dame De La Jeune-Lorette*, 249.

¹⁶⁹ Lindsay, *Notre-Dame De La Jeune-Lorette*, 249. Lukaniec, Megan. “The Form, Function and Semantics of Middle Voice in Wendat,” Master’s Thesis. Université Laval Québec, 2010, 42.

¹⁷⁰ See section about Charles Marshall. Charles Marshall, *The Canadian Dominion*, 18-19.

Four prominent Wendat scholars cited Lindsay's Wendat orator source as evidence of the language's moribundity date: Marguerite Vincent Tehariolina, Mathieu-Joffre Lainé, tribal linguist Megan Lukaniec, and Linda Sioui.¹⁷¹ However, in the page text above that footnote, Father Lindsay himself said:

An in-depth and scientific study of the Huron language obviously does not fall within the scope of this work. There is, in fact, no methodical grammar of the language, nor a proper Huron-French dictionary, because some incomplete vocabularies and root-word lists cannot be regarded as such. Of all the major native languages of America, that of the Hurons has been the least studied in modern times. The reason is easy to find: it is that this language, for more than a century, is truly a dead language.¹⁷²

Lindsay's statement calls into question the validity of his oft-cited footnote, a story with already questionable credibility as there is no citation information in Lindsay's footnote about where this story of the orator came from or who the orator is. Marguerite Vincent Tehariolina in her 1984 *La Nation Huronne* states that the speaker is François-Xavier Picard Tahourenché, but she does not provide any details as to how she knows this, and only cites the page from Lindsay.¹⁷³ In Ernest Myrand's *Noëls Anciens De La Nouvelle-France* (published 1913), he attributes

¹⁷¹ Lindsay, *Notre-Dame De La Jeune-Lorette*, 249. Vincent Tehariolina, *La Nation Huronne*, 391. Mathieu-Joffre Lainé, "La disparition de la langue huronne," 29. Lukaniec, "The Form, Function and Semantics of Middle Voice in Wendat," 42. Linda Sioui, "Is There a Future for the Huron Language?" in *Quebec's Aboriginal Languages: History, Planning and Development*, Maurais, Jacques [Ed], Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters Ltd, 1996, p. 6.

¹⁷² Translation from the original French. Lindsay, *Notre-Dame De La Jeune-Lorette*, 249. This is worth further detailed analysis. First, Lindsay admits that his focus is not a study of the language, that it is in fact outside of the scope of his work. Second, he asserts that there is no "methodical" grammar or "proper" Huron-French dictionary by 1900, only "incomplete vocabularies and root-word lists." While different people may have different criteria for what constitutes a "proper" dictionary or a "methodical" grammar, most would agree that the contribution of language-learning materials made by various Jesuits in the seventeenth century, and more recently Father Potier in the 1740s, Bruté de Rémur in 1800, and Daniel Wilkie's 1831 translation of Father Chaumonot's *Grammatica Huronica*, were significant contributions. Third, his remark about the lack of "modern" study on the Wendat language begs closer examination. While the definition of "modern" shifts over time, an examination of only the previous 100 years before Lindsay's publication show that there had been periodic examination of the Wendat language: in addition to the sources mentioned above, in 1819 Heckewelder shifted the name of the language family from "Huron" to "Iroquoian," and in 1836 Gallatin made that same shift. But he may be correct here, other languages, including Wa'dat, had more formal studies during this time period.

¹⁷³ François-Xavier Picard Tahourenché is the father of Paul Tsawenhohi Picard (1845-1905). Ernest Myrand, *Noëls Anciens De La Nouvelle-France*, 3 éd., (Montréal: Librairie Beauchemin, limitée, 1913 [1899]), 70. Vincent Tehariolina, *La Nation Huronne*, 391.

Tahourenché as the speaker, but again his footnote citation connects to the exact same page of the Lindsay text, with no other context as to how he knew that.¹⁷⁴ Lindsay's assertion that Wendat became a "dead language" a century ago (in 1800) is patently false. There were still documented speakers who will be discussed further in this chapter. Starting in Lindsay's time and working backwards, while it is debatable how much language knowledge Prosper Vincent and Paul Tsawenhohi Picard had, the fact that they knew some language is not really up for debate, as they are cited as having written letters to one another in Wendat. Before them was Prosper's uncle, the painter Zacharie Vincent, and before him his father Gabriel Vincent was also a speaker. Then there is the anecdotal evidence from travelers through Wendake in the nineteenth century cited above who attest to a range of extant language, from fluent speakers to bits and pieces.

Two centuries of settler encroachment around the Wendat created an environment where it was a struggle to preserve the Wendat language; it was becoming easier to adopt the French language. While evidence of Wendat language still in use in some capacity means that it wasn't fully put away and sleeping, the evidence from various visitors to Lorette show the progression of the struggle for language preservation over time. One notable Wendat who was keeping the language alive was Zacharie Vincent (1815-1886). Purported by some as the last fluent speaker of Wendat, he may have been lost to the record if it hadn't been for his famous paintings. Zacharie's paintings were an expression of traditional Wendat culture, and through them, we see what a language keeper looks like.

¹⁷⁴ However, Tehariolina only cited Lindsay, not Myrand. The phrasing and word choice of her introduction to the quote is close to Myrand's. Tehariolina's is: "...en 1850 par le Chef François-Xavier Picard Tahourenché, haranguant Monseigneur Turgeon, Archevêque de Québec, au nom de la Nation huronne de Lorette." While Myrand's is: "En 1850 par le Chef François-Xavier Picard Tahourenché, haranguant Monseigneur Turgeon, archevêque de Québec, au nom de la tribu..." Ernest Myrand, *Noëls Anciens De La Nouvelle-France*, 3 éd., (Montréal: Librairie Beauchemin, limitée, 1913 [1899]), 72. Vincent Tehariolina, *La Nation Huronne*, 391.

Zacharie Vincent

A painting called *The Last of the Hurons* debuted in 1838, yet the subject of the painting was anything but what its title suggests. It features an Indigenous man with long black hair which has a bit of a curl or wave to it, his arms crossed in front of him, eyes and chin cast upward as if longing for something that was no longer there. He's dressed in what looks like a blanket coat with a finger-woven sash belt, two of the most iconic garments of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in the Eastern Woodlands.¹⁷⁵ The subject's one visible ear is pierced and has an earring in it, and around his neck he wears a silver wheel, maybe three inches in diameter, under which he has a European-style collared shirt with light blue stripes, and from his waist hangs a dagger in a leather sheath.



A.10: *The Last of the Hurons* by Antoine Plamondon, 1838. The subject is Wendat language keeper Zacharie Vincent *Telariolin*, often referred to as the last person who could speak Wendat fluently.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁵ Michael Ramsey, "Adopted and Adapted: The Cross-Cultural Appropriation of the Eighteenth-Century Blanket Coat in North America," *The Journal of Dress History*, Volume 2, Issue 1, Spring 2018, 121-134.

¹⁷⁶ Antoine Plamondon, *The Last of the Hurons (Zacharie Vincent)*, 1838, oil on canvas, 114.7 x 97 cm. Gift of the Schaeffer family, Thornhill, Ontario, 2018. National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa. Photo: NGC. <https://www.gallery.ca/magazine/your-collection/at-the-ngc/the-last-of-the-hurons-by-antoine-plamondon>

This painting's purpose and the atmosphere surrounding its composition was one akin to salvage anthropology. The artist, Antoine Plamondon, created this painting as a submission for a competition put on by the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, a group whose stated mission was to "gather and preserve documents relating to the country's early history and that of its Indigenous peoples, whose very existence seemed threatened."¹⁷⁷ Additionally, as one of their oldest allies, the French Canadians saw the Wxndat as the emblem of genuine and original French Canadian culture, a culture which felt under attack and at the risk of vanishing after their defeat in the Rebellion of Lower Canada just the year before in 1837.¹⁷⁸

Wendat culture was also undergoing a tying back to roots to reaffirm connections to traditional culture during this time period. Over the course of the eighteenth century, the Wendat had to increase their interaction with French society and economy, which began to blend cultural identities. This Wendat cultural identity crisis created a need for a leader like Zacharie Vincent *Telariolin*, which according to the Dictionary of Canadian Biography, "translates as 'not divided' or 'unmixed'."¹⁷⁹

Zacharie Vincent's life (1815-1886) spanned the nineteenth century, and as such his biography embodies both a time of linguistic shift and stubborn cultural resilience. Vincent's father was Chief Gabriel Vincent. Various accounts of this era state that either Zacharie or his father Gabriel were "the last pure-blooded Huron."¹⁸⁰ Gabriel Vincent's Wendat name was

¹⁷⁷ René Villeneuve, "'The Last of the Hurons' by Antoine Plamondon," *National Gallery of Canada Magazine*, (October 4, 2019), <https://www.gallery.ca/magazine/your-collection/at-the-ngc/the-last-of-the-hurons-by-antoine-plamondon>.

¹⁷⁸ Louise Vigneault, "Biography," in *Zacharie Vincent: Life & Work*, (Toronto: Art Canada Institute, 2014), p. 5.

¹⁷⁹ David Karel, Marie-Dominic Labelle, and Sylvie Thivierge, "Vincent, Zacharie," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 11, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed December 28, 2022, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/vincent_zacharie_11E.html.

¹⁸⁰ The Dictionary of Canadian Biography also says, "But the fact that the paternal side of the family included the name of Bergevin and the maternal that of Otis, both European names, suggests that neither Gabriel Vincent nor his son were pure-blooded Hurons." See: Karel, et al, "Vincent, Zacharie." Louise Vigneault, "Biography," 4.

Ouenouadahronhé. He was a traditionalist who worked actively to keep the Wendat culture vital, practicing traditional lifeways and raising his children to be speakers of the language, at a time when the younger generation in Lorette was using French almost exclusively.¹⁸¹ Growing up, Zacharie would have been one of the few people of his generation who was able to speak the language. He certainly had a traditional Wendat education, but it is difficult to know whether he had a European-style education, as none of his works are signed and “education did not become compulsory in Lorette until 1830, when he was a teenager.”¹⁸² He was elected War Chief in 1845.

At the time when Vincent sat for his portrait with Plamondon, he was a young man of twenty-three, and it set a tone for his future. In seeing himself recorded for posterity as a bastion of a fading culture, it must have struck Vincent that paintings themselves were an important way to record culture for future generations. Painters picked up the torch and carried that culture into the future. Vincent began painting, depicting Wendat culture and life as he saw it through landscapes, portraits, and a series of ten self-portraits. He preserved what he, a Wendat man and speaker of his language, looked like at various life stages. He also included his son Cyprien in one of his self-portraits, whom he likely taught the language to.¹⁸³

¹⁸¹ Karel, et al, “Vincent, Zacharie.”.

¹⁸² Vigneault, "Zacharie Vincent."

¹⁸³ Zacharie was known for his commitment to the Wendat language and culture. It is known that he passed down 60 traditional Wendat songs to his nephew, Prosper Vincent, so it seems likely that Zacharie would have taught his son Cyprien the language.



A.11: Three self-portraits by Wendat speaker Zacharie Vincent Telariolin. The one on the left includes his son, Cyprien.¹⁸⁴

The Wendat may not have been required to attend school until Vincent was a teenager, but Wendat children were already participating in European-style schooling as far back as the seventeenth century with Marie de l'Incarnation. Wendat youths started to attend English-speaking schools after the conclusion of the Seven Years War in 1763.¹⁸⁵ The Wendat post-1763 attended Moor's Indian Charity School in Connecticut and Dartmouth College in New Hampshire, the third oldest British Indian school in what is now the U.S.¹⁸⁶ In fact, the first Indigenous person in Canada to earn a college degree was a Wendat, Louis Vincent Sawatanen.¹⁸⁷ Having come from a family of chiefs, his education abroad was strategic and upon graduating in 1781 he spoke Wendat, French, English, and Mohawk.¹⁸⁸ His skill as both a

¹⁸⁴ Zacharie Vincent, *Zacharie Vincent and His Son Cyprien*, 1851, oil on canvas, 48.5 x 41.2 cm, Musée national des beaux-arts du Québec; Zacharie Vincent, *Self-Portrait*, n.d., oil on paper, 62.5 x 53 cm, Musée de la civilisation, Québec City; Zacharie Vincent, *Zacharie Vincent Telari-o-lin, Huron Chief and Painter*, c. 1875-78, oil and graphite on paper, 92.7 x 70.8 cm, Château Ramezay, Montréal.

¹⁸⁵ Annette de Stecher, "Wendat Arts of Diplomacy: Negotiating Change in the Nineteenth Century," in Thomas Peace and Kathryn Magee Labelle, eds., *From Huronia to Wendakes: Adversity, Migrations and Resilience 1650-1900*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2016), 200-201.

¹⁸⁶ Harvard's Indian School and the Brafferton Indian School in Williamsburg, Virginia were formed within several decades of one another, and Dartmouth followed much later.

¹⁸⁷ De Stecher, "Wendat Arts of Diplomacy," 200-201.

¹⁸⁸ De Stecher, "Wendat Arts of Diplomacy," 200-201.

translator and teacher allowed him to work for the Wendat community in two important ways. He began processing land claims, navigating Canada's legal system, and he set up a school in 1794 "outside the influence of the Jesuit priests," effectively establishing the home-grown Wendake education system which still exists today, teaching the Wendat language at the elementary school level.¹⁸⁹

Wendat language presence was still strong in the eighteenth century, despite French missionaries sending young Wendat girls to their French schools, and despite Sawatanen attending Dartmouth, an English-speaking school. The language continued to be preserved by Wendats and Europeans such as General Montcalm's secretary in the Seven Years War, who was learning Wendat in the 1750s. But by the 1760s and 1770s, there were mixed reports about how many Wendat speakers used French more than used Wendat. Settler travel reports from the nineteenth century show an increased struggle to retain the Wendat language, but also that the language still existed in the mouths of many Wendat people, whether through names or prayers. One language keeper in particular, Zacharie Vincent, fought to preserve the language, demonstrating that he was not "the last Huron." Zacharie Vincent's life, which nearly reached the end of the nineteenth century, represented a staunch preservation of language and culture, through an era of European-style schooling and a shift in European language from French to English, still he retained his Wendat heritage. He was by no means "the last Huron," culturally or otherwise. In fact, he passed some of the traditional culture to his nephew, Prosper Vincent, in the form of sixty traditional Wendat songs. There is evidence that Prosper wrote letters in Wendat to his friend, Tsawenhohi, so it is likely that he learned the language from his uncle Zacharie as well.

¹⁸⁹ De Stecher, "Wendat Arts of Diplomacy," 200-201.

Prosper & Tsawenhohi

Prosper Vincent (1842-1915) and Paul Tsawenhohi Picard (1845-1905) played a role in the Wxndat *hudatrižuh* (fight) for language survival in the nineteenth century, and they continued their language advocacy into the 20th century. Picard and Vincent were likely the last two significant Wendat language keepers before the language fell asleep. While there is anecdotal evidence that they practiced having conversations back and forth in the language, it is not clear whether they should be counted as speakers.¹⁹⁰ Tsawenhohi, son of the Grand Chief (Paul) François-Xavier Picard Tahourenché (1810-1883), translated Brébeuf's "Huron Carol" from the original Wxndat, and it was included in Ernest Myrand's 1899 *Noëls anciens de la Nouvelle-France; étude historique*.¹⁹¹ Myrand introduced Tsawenhohi, calling him "celui-là qui ressuscite une langue morte" or "he who resurrects a dead language."¹⁹² Myrand recounts that while floating down the Saint-Charles in Tsawenhohi's canoe, Tsawenhohi said to him with sadness, "There are only two of us, my cousin Father Prosper Vincent and I, who know Huron. With this exception, no one in the village understands our national language, let alone can speak it fluently."¹⁹³ At a time when the Wendat language was not being used to conduct daily life, Prosper Vincent and Paul Tsawenhohi Picard fought to preserve the language, and to keep it from *uta?wahsta?* (sleeping).¹⁹⁴

¹⁹⁰ Tsawenhohi relates this to Ernest Myrand. Myrand, *Noëls Anciens De La Nouvelle-France*, 71-72.

¹⁹¹ Ernest Myrand, *Noëls Anciens De La Nouvelle-France*, 3 éd., (Montréal: Librairie Beauchemin, limitée, 1913 [1899]), 70. John Steckley, "Huron Carol: a Canadian cultural chameleon," *British Journal of Canadian Studies* 27, no. 1 (2014): 55-74.

¹⁹² Myrand, *Noëls Anciens De La Nouvelle-France*, 71.

¹⁹³ Translated from the original French. Myrand, *Noëls Anciens De La Nouvelle-France*, 71-72.

¹⁹⁴ *Uta?wahsta?* is the singular form of *u?dita?wahsta?*.



A.12: Tahourenché (François Xavier Picard), *Great Chief of the Lorette Hurons*, 1863; a wallpocket made from a moose leg, owned by François Xavier Picard Tahourenché.¹⁹⁵

We're going to leave the Wendat here, at the turn of the twentieth century, until Chapter 3. Next we will look at the Wyandot(te) in Detroit, Ohio, Kansas, and Oklahoma, from 1700-1970, as their Waⁿdat language decreased in use and eventually fell asleep.

THE WYANDOT

As we move into the eighteenth century of the Waⁿdat language historical narrative, it is relevant to investigate the term “Wyandot.” This term describes the group who went west during the dispersal, and who ended up in the Detroit area (known as the Anderdon community), Ohio, Kansas, and Oklahoma. In 1843, due to the U.S. government’s forced removals of many

¹⁹⁵ George William Ellisson, *Tahourenché (François Xavier Picard), Great Chief of the Lorette Hurons*, 1863, 1863, photograph, albumen silver print, 9.3 x 5.8 cm, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa; Wallpocket owned by Chief Paul Tahourenche (François-Xavier Picard Tahourenché), n.d. mid-19th century, Deerhide/deerskin, wool cloth, moose hoof/hooves, glass bead/beads, moosehair, metal cones, dye/dyes, Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian, Washington, D.C.

Indigenous groups, the Ohio and Anderdon Wyandots were removed first to Kansas, and then to Indian Territory (now known as Oklahoma) in 1867. Although with each move, some individuals elected to stay behind. For example, there are still Wyandots in the Detroit/Ontario area who are descendants of those who never left their Anderdon reserve lands, and the Wyandot Nation of Kansas is comprised of those whose ancestors did not follow the removal to Oklahoma. Throughout these movements, the spelling of the Wyandot(te) name changed many times.

There are so many different spellings of all of the Wxndat terms across the past 500 years; please see Appendix A for all of the different versions of Wendat and Wyandot encountered during the research of this thesis. By far, “Wyandot” has the highest number of variations in spelling. These terms themselves are a reflection of the language and how its pronunciation is being heard by Europeans and Americans, and so that is why it is important to the biography of the Wxndat languages. There are more occurrences of the various spellings of “Wyandot” in the eighteenth century than there are occurrences of individual studies on the language. So, the recorded terms being a reflection of perceived pronunciation, they contribute significant data to the study of the language and how it is being used. Since the name of the Wyandot is a word in the Waⁿdat language, every instance of the Wyandot being named in a source *is* the language being recorded. And since these were almost always recorded by settlers, it adds to our understanding of how settlers were often inadvertently preserving parts of the language.

It is not until the eighteenth century that various spellings suggesting the “Wyandot” pronunciation become visible in the historical record.¹⁹⁶ In *Petun to Wyandot*, anthropologist Charles Garrad asserted that the people who were once referred to as the Petun

¹⁹⁶ Specifically, it shows up in British documents starting in 1754.

(Tionnontaté/Tobacco) were called Wyandot in the eighteenth century.¹⁹⁷ He attributes the first recorded usage of the word “Petun” to Champlain in January 1616, but asserts that there were no large fields of *petun* (tobacco) in the area at that time.¹⁹⁸ Further, Garrad says that the Petun spoke “ouendat (wendat, Wyandot),” meaning that he believed they were all still speaking the parent language Wxndat in the early seventeenth century, and not that there were two separate languages.¹⁹⁹ He calls these Petun/Wyandots the “Western Wyandot,” while calling the Huron-Wendat in Quebec the “Eastern Wyandot”; however, there is no evidence that the Wendat who reside in Quebec were ever referred to as “Wyandot” prior to the late twentieth century.²⁰⁰ In Garrad’s book, everyone is “Wyandot,” whether they are Wendat, Wyandot, Huron, Petun, Neutral, or Wenro.²⁰¹ That homogenization is confusing because it favors the term that shows up later in the historical record, unless you are of the opinion that “ouendat” is actually pronounced more like “wine-dot”, which is sometimes cited as a pronunciation for Waⁿdat.²⁰² If so, then perhaps both pronunciations were hiding there all along in plain sight under one written term

¹⁹⁷ I will use “Petun” here, even though it is an exonym, because Garrad selected it for the title and uses it throughout the book. However, their endonym is Tionnontaté, which is an abbreviation of Tionnontatehronnons, with the parent Wxndat (Huron) term being *Etionnontateronnon*. Garrad argued that this term and its variants were more of a description for anyone living near mountains than a name for a specific group, so “the fact that the name Tionontati was not exclusive to the Petun justifies our continued use of the term ‘Petun.’” Petun translates into English as “tobacco.” However, Garrad also acknowledges that “as a name [Petun] is as inappropriate a reflection of reality as the term ‘Indians.’” Charles Garrad, *Petun to Wyandot: The Ontario Petun from the Sixteenth Century*, (University of Ottawa Press and the Canadian Museum of History, 2014), 1, 2-3, 18, 34.

¹⁹⁸ Garrad, *Petun to Wyandot*, 4, 16.

¹⁹⁹ *Petun* is not even a French word; it originated with one of the South American Indigenous languages, was adopted by the Portuguese and then imported into French from there. Garrad, *Petun to Wyandot*, 8.

²⁰⁰ With the revitalization of traditional culture and recognition of a shared history and lineage, such as in the signing of the document which re-constituted the Wendat Confederacy, both terms, Wyandot and Wendat, were passed back and forth across the U.S.-Canada border. Garrad, *Petun to Wyandot*, 54.

²⁰¹ Garrad, *Petun to Wyandot*, 4, 54.

²⁰² Another pronunciation that comes close to this is *Wane-dote*, which was used by L.H. Morgan in 1871 where he also spells it “Wyandote.” Lewis Henry Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family*, Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge 17, (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian, 1871), 283.

with spelling variations. Additionally confusing, Garrad also states that the Petun “would have called themselves ouendat (8endat, wendat, Wyandot).”²⁰³

“Waⁿdat” or even something like “Wεⁿdat” may have been the original pronunciation, and every one of these nations may have been allied under that name.²⁰⁴ If that is so, then it was either spelled different ways because Europeans were new to the language and hearing different things, *or* because there were in fact different accents within the confederacy, causing different pronunciation that eventually became more pronounced and separate through the process of dispersal. It should be noted that in terms of carrying the exonym, Huron was historically used interchangeably with Wyandot for the Wxndats in the Windsor/Detroit area, who now identify as the Wyandot of Anderdon Nation. However, for those who moved into Ohio, the term Huron is rarely referenced in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, with “Wyandot” prevailing.

It is important to track the use of terminology over time as the terms for the people and the languages are in and of themselves pieces of the language, and like other proper nouns such as personal names, the terms for the language and the people carry the story of the language forward from generation to generation. In looking at how they are spelled, we get a sense for how they might have been pronounced. Additionally, every example throughout the centuries of non-Wxndat scholars studying the languages shows the relevance of those languages, and these records are their own form of preservation. The irony is that as the communities themselves were in the process of losing their languages, non-Wxndat anthropologists were increasingly interested

²⁰³ Garrad tends to not capitalize “Wendat” or “Oendat,” which are proper nouns, whereas he always capitalizes “Wyandot.” It is possible that he is aligning with Quebecois capitalization conventions, where not every proper noun gets capitalized. Charles Garrad, *Petun to Wyandot*, 2.

²⁰⁴ I purposefully use the nasal ε here for “Wεⁿdat,” as that sounds closer to “wine-dot” or “Wyandot” or “juan-dot” and it makes sense to me how that could be heard in slightly different ways by observers and pronounced in slightly different ways based on regional accents, thus strengthening the argument of a single unifying term existing in the past. In 1871, Lewis Henry Morgan wrote that the Wxndat adopted the name *wane-dote*’, given to them by the Iroquois, and that it translates as “calf-muscle/meat,” relating to “their manner of stringing buffalo-meat.” This is considered a fringe theory. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family*, 283.

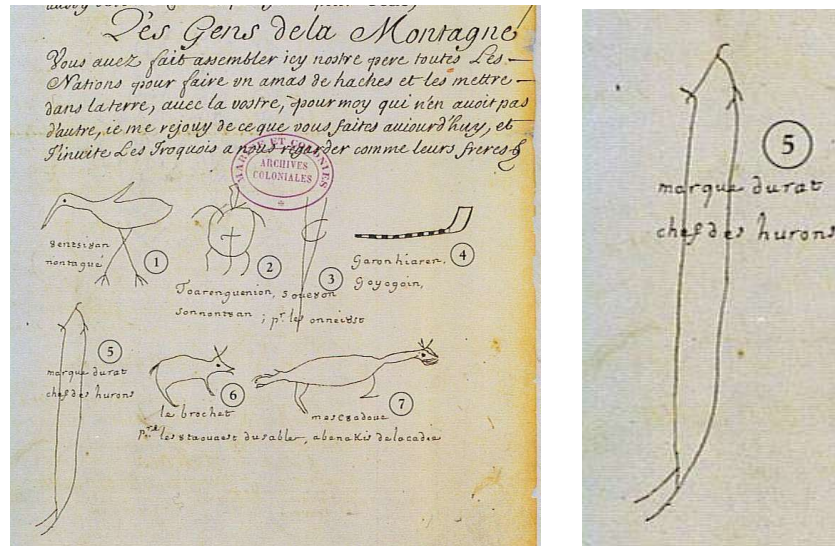
in studying it, which ended up preserving more evidence to be uncovered by later language revivers.²⁰⁵

Kondiaronk

At the Great Peace of Montreal in 1701, Wyandot diplomat Kondiaronk (c. 1649–2 August 1701), signed the treaty with his characteristic animal image.²⁰⁶ The words written over his signature say, “marque du rat chef des hurons,” which marks a definitive choice by the scribe of the treaty to call Kondiaronk’s people *Huron*. Kondiaronk is documented as having delivered a great speech to the other signatories present. While no record of the Waⁿdat words that Kondiaronk used survives, there was a translator present at these proceedings, showing that the words Kondiaronk used to deliver this speech would have been his own Waⁿdat language. Additionally, Kondiaronk is still a fully Waⁿdat name. Even though he had chosen his symbol as a rat, and that was described in French on the document, it was a nickname and no European words were part of his proper name. This shows a retention of prominence of the Waⁿdat language for Wyandot people in the early eighteenth century.

²⁰⁵ I want to point out that I’m not letting salvage anthropologists off the hook; if they had spent those same resources and time on revitalization efforts instead of just documenting, the languages would have had a better change of survival and longevity. However, salvage anthropology was the prevailing technique of the era.

²⁰⁶ According to one Wyandot Elder, the purpose of this treaty was because the Europeans wanted to dismantle the hegemony the Wxndat had over the fur trade; the Europeans were trying to take control over the fur trade for themselves. Michael Odette, Wyandot of Anderdon, Second Chief, personal communication on Wyndot history and culture, 28 July 2023.



A.13: Left: a page from the 1701 Great Peace of Montreal, right: Wyandot headman Kondiaronk's signature on the treaty.²⁰⁷

Kondiaronk had taken a great risk coming to sign this treaty, stating that he and his delegation had heard there was sickness in Montreal but came anyways. In his speech he said that when they passed the bodies of those who had succumbed to the contagion on the road to Montreal, “we made a bridge of all those bodies, on which we walked with determination.”²⁰⁸ Kondiaronk *huⁿdatrižuh* (fought) for peace with his words in the Waⁿdat language, and *hatižatq?* (he wrote) his mark on the treaty, preserving his Waⁿdat name through European records. Baron de Lahontan recorded in 1703 that Kodiaronk retained the Waⁿdat chief name of Sastaretsi, but John Steckley argues, “scholars have conflated Sastaretsi and Kandiaronk into one person. This is wrong as the latter was only acting as orator for the figurehead name Sastaretsi,” and was recorded as speaking “under the name of *Sa[s]teretsi*,” because Sastaretsi at the time was the

²⁰⁷ Gilles Havard, *The Great Peace of Montreal of 1701: French-Native Diplomacy in the Seventeenth Century*, Phyllis Aronoff and Howard Scott, trans., (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001), 116.

²⁰⁸ Havard refers to Kodiaronk's nation as the “Huron-Petun.” Gilles Havard, *The Great Peace of Montreal of 1701: French-Native Diplomacy in the Seventeenth Century*, Phyllis Aronoff and Howard Scott, trans., (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001), 130-132; Claude-Charles Le Roy, dit Bacqueville de La Potherie, *Histoire De L'Amerique Septentrionale*, vol. 4, (France: Chez Jean-Luc Nion ... Et François Didot, 1722), 201-202.

name of the Wyandot Grand Chief who was from the Deer Clan.²⁰⁹ Nonetheless, Kondiaronk, whether a Sastaretsi or not, represents a clear case of the language persisting within the Wyandot dispersal in 1701. During this decade, while the Wendat in Québec had been living in close proximity with the French for half a century, the Wyandot who moved west were in more sparsely populated areas with less European settlers. So while the French were pressuring the Wendat to go to French schools and to participate in Catholic life, the Wyandot in 1701 were more free to continue living a traditional Wyandot lifestyle. This included less pressure to function in any language other than Wa^adat.

Pierre Potier

One of the last French Jesuits to have written in the Wyandot language was Belgian Father Pierre Potier (1708 – 16 July 1781). The Jesuits had arrived in Canada in the 1620s and over a century composed writings on its Indigenous inhabitants. However, by 1764 their order was being suppressed by the King in France, who stopped sending Jesuit missionaries to New France shortly after.²¹⁰ Father Potier arrived in Quebec in October 1743 and studied *hatitsihęstatsih* documents in the Wendat (and possibly also Wxndat) language in Lorette (modern-day Wendake, Québec).²¹¹ Many of the valuable resources he compiled for his research survive and were published in 1920, including the text of *De Religione*, the longest surviving text

²⁰⁹ John Steckley, *The Eighteenth-Century Wyandot: A Clan-Based Study*, (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2014), 56-57.

²¹⁰ John W. O'Malley, *The Jesuits: A History from Ignatius to the Present*. (Lanham, Boulder, New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014), 78.

²¹¹ Which is different from the Wendake Ehen of the previous chapter. Wendake Ehen is by the Georgian Bay and Lake Simcoe; modern-day Wendake is just outside of Québec City.

in the Wendat language, discussed above.²¹² Eleven months later he joined a Wyndot mission near Detroit, which was under the direction of Armand de La Richardie. Within his first year at the Wyndot Detroit mission, Potier had composed what would become one of the most important eighteenth-century records of the Wxndat: the *Elementa Grammaticae Huronicae*.²¹³ The *Elementa* was a grammar of the Wxndat language, and possibly languages, but also contained Potier's 1745 census of the Detroit Wyandot mission, a handful of French phrases for instruction, and it ends with a section on Wxndat kinship terms. He also completed a collection of homilies, sermons, and other religious writings in Wxndat over the course of 1746-1747.

What is most interesting to wonder about Potier's works in Detroit is: how much of it is Wendat language from the Québec mission, or Wxndat language from the pre-dispersal mission, and how much of it is truly Waⁿdat? In 1743 and 1744, when he was still at the mission in Québec, he completed two *Radices Linguae Huronicae*, covering word roots. These works are in the Wendat language. Then, he moved to the Wxndat mission near Detroit, what is now the homelands of the Wyandot of Anderdon Nation, before completing *Elementae*. It was a common Jesuit missionary practice to copy existing language texts as a means to learn the language, adding in their own personal notes to mark the differences between what they were hearing in the spoken language versus what was written in the document they had copied. Potier's annotations on the documents from the Detroit-area may actually be in Waⁿdat, not Wendat.²¹⁴

²¹² Pierre Potier, *Fifteenth Report of the Bureau of Archives for the Province of Ontario*, (Toronto: Clarkson W. James, 1920); Burner, "Healing Through Language," 16-18; John L. Steckley, *De Religione: Telling the Seventeenth-Century Jesuit Story in Huron to the Iroquois*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004), 3-4.

²¹³ Potier, Pierre, *Elementa Grammaticae Huronicae*, In Fraser (1920), 1745, 1-157.

²¹⁴ Potier was likely hearing either a language in the process of shifting (if both Waⁿdat and Wendat moved away from Wxndat post-dispersal), or he was noticing a different language, Waⁿdat, that had existed all along but had never been accurately recorded before. Potier continued to call the language he was working with "Huron." Thanks to Dr. Craig Kopris for the extensive chat on his argument here. Kopris, "A Grammar and Dictionary of Wyandot," 375-376. Barbeau writes, "The most likely presumption is that Potier's work is largely, if not exclusively, that of a

A.14: Potier inserting little g's and d's in superscript, possibly to denote differences that he was hearing in the Waⁿdat language in Detroit as compared to the documents he had learned from in the Wendat language in Québec.²¹⁵

Potier's writings are the most significant mid-eighteenth century body of linguistic and ethnographic work in any of the Wxndat languages. His demographic data and annotations on linguistic variations are the most significant contribution to our understanding of the Detroit Waⁿdat-speaker community in this period. Most importantly, his writings in the language(s) preserve the mid-eighteenth century moment where either the Wxndat language was transitioning into Waⁿdat, or conversely, a European may have been noticing the distinctions between Wendat and Waⁿdat for the first time.

Henry Bawbee

Just as Wendat youths attended English-speaking schools after the conclusion of the Seven Years War in 1763, so too did one Wyandot youth from Ohio.²¹⁶ Henry Bawbee (ca. 1760 – ca. 1781) attended the Brafferton Indian School in Williamsburg, Virginia from 1775-1778.

compiler writing up and classifying the materials of his predecessors, which were available at the Lorette Huron mission. Thus as an American residing in England might retain his native accent, Potier quite possibly may, at Detroit, have persevered in the notions acquired while in training at Lorette, and worked upon Lorette manuscripts without seriously attempting to fit them to his Detroit environment." Marius Barbeau, Review of *Fifteenth Report of the Bureau of Archives for the Province of Ontario*, by Alexander Fraser, *The Canadian Historical Review* 2, no. 3 (1921): 304. muse.jhu.edu/article/626777.

²¹⁵ Potier, Pierre, *Radices Huronicae*, In Fraser (1920), 1751, 306n49.

²¹⁶ De Stecher, "Wendat Arts of Diplomacy: Negotiating Change in the Nineteenth Century," 200-201.

His nation's purpose in sending him was to learn English and to collect intelligence on the British and Americans in order to determine whom they might want as their new allies.²¹⁷ In recounting events at Sandusky, Ohio in 1782, Historian Consul Wilshire Butterfield said that, "Of all the savage [*sic.*] allies of Great Britain in the West, the Wyandots were the most powerful. This arose not so much from the number of their warriors, as from their superior intelligence."²¹⁸ The Wyandot were one of the major players controlling the Ohio territory during the mid-to late-eighteenth century, so the British were keen to court their alliance, and on the eve of revolution, so too were the newly minted Americans. Translation skills between the Waⁿdat and English languages would be essential going forward.²¹⁹

Bawbee is not a typical name for a Wyandot person. There is no "b" sound in the Waⁿdat language, so this is a clue that the name itself originated outside of the community.²²⁰ Bawbee's name and the emphasis on learning English are both evidence of the Wyandot beginning to mix more with settlers, and this language accommodation began to erode Wyandot language retention. However, at this point, language loss was not a foregone conclusion.

The Brafferton Indian school, unlike the more famous nineteenth century American boarding schools, did not want their Indigenous students to forget their language while they were learning English. The school was part of the British strategy to cultivate their own cultural

²¹⁷ The Wxndat peoples had been allied with the French for the past 150 years, but in the outcome of the Seven Years' War, they had to form new relationships with the British.

²¹⁸ Consul Willshire Butterfield, *An Historical Account of the Expedition against Sandusky under Col. William Crawford in 1782; with Biographical Sketches, Personal Reminiscences, and Descriptions of Interesting Localities; Including, Also, Details of the Disastrous Retreat, the Barbarities of the Savages, and the Awful Death of Crawford by Torture. By C.W. Butterfield*, (Ohio: R. Clarke &, 1873), pp. 163-164.

²¹⁹ The Wyandot, many of whom had moved into Ohio Country in the late eighteenth century, had been traditional allies of the French since the beginning of the seventeenth century, dating back before the Dispersal from Wendake Ehen.

²²⁰ There are two likely origins: either the family descended from the Detroit French trader Jacques Baby de Ranville, or it was taken as an honorific from the Logstown and Detroit merchant and Indian agent, Jacques Duperon Bâby. Buck Woodard, "Students of the Brafferton Indian School," in *Building the Brafferton: The Founding, Funding and Legacy of America's Indian School*, ed. Danielle Moretti-Langholtz and Buck Woodard (Williamsburg: Muscarelle Museum of Art, William & Mary, 2019), 136.

intermediaries and translators, to facilitate interactions with Indigenous peoples and their nations. It was strategic for Indigenous nations like the Wyandot to send boys to the school because it was located in Williamsburg, which was the capitol of Virginia at the time, the most powerful state.

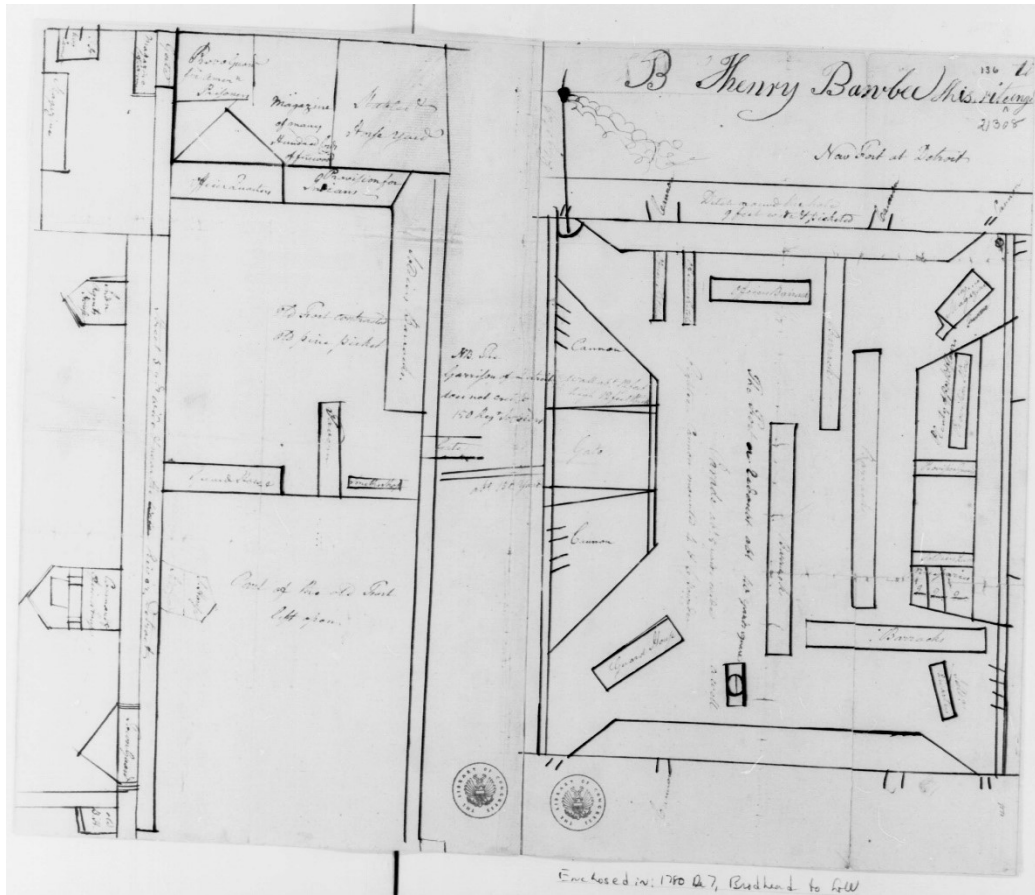
Bawbee left Williamsburg in 1778, probably in the fall, and returned to the Ohio country where he engaged in rogue espionage on behalf of the Wyandot, between the British and the Americans, and was caught and brought to Col. Daniel Broadhead at Ft. Pitt and imprisoned.²²¹ From his imprisonment, Bawbee offered Colonel Broadhead a schematic of the British military fort at Detroit, bearing his signature. Broadhead forwarded this diagram on to General George Washington, and today it remains in George Washington's official papers in the Library of Congress.²²²

In the eighteenth-century Eastern Woodlands, being a speaker of an Indigenous language was a skill valued by European governments and militaries. Bawbee was a Waⁿdat speaker, and possession of his language made him a suitable candidate to attend the Brafferton Indian School and to become an intermediary between the Wyandot and the English. Bawbee fought for his peoples' interest during the American Revolution using his language translation skills and connecting to the theme of *huⁿdatrižuh* for this chapter. In writing his name in English, he preserved his story, the story of a Waⁿdat speaker in the late eighteenth century, and his name for future generations. Connecting to the other chapter theme of *hatižatq?* through written

²²¹ This was a common Native American tactic during this period, to negotiate with both sides and leverage diplomatic skills to secure the safety and prosperity of the nation and its people. Given the shifting political dynamics of the late eighteenth century, this was a savvy path to walk.

²²² *George Washington Papers, Series 4, General Correspondence: Henry Bawbee to George Washington, December 7, with Sketch of Fort at Detroit*. December 7, 1780. Manuscript/Mixed Material. <https://www.loc.gov/item/mgw426367/>.

preservation, stories like Bawbee's provide evidence of the health of the Waⁿdat language in this period.



A.15: Bawbee's sketch of Fort Detroit, bearing his signature.²²³

Tarhe

The signature of another prominent Waⁿdat speaker, Chief Tarhe, (1735-1818), pulls the evidence of the health of Waⁿdat into the next twenty years. His signature, like Bawbee's, connects to the wider story of Waⁿdat language use, even though quotations of him speaking or writing in the language don't exist. After the Americans won the Revolution, the Wyandot agreed on terms with them at the Treaty of Greenville in 1795. Tarhe, whose Waⁿdat name was

²²³ George Washington Papers, Series 4, General Correspondence: *Henry Bawbee to George Washington, December 7, with Sketch of Fort at Detroit*. December 7, 1780, Library of Congress.

(E)tárho? meaning “Tree Standing There,” was known to the English as “the Crane,” (which was a translation from his French nickname).²²⁴ He was the head of a confederation of fifteen fires (or First Nations) and as a result was the first to sign the treaty with General “Mad” Anthony Wayne. The Treaty of Greenville in 1795 concluded the hostilities in the Ohio territory after the Battle of Fallen Timbers, bringing a temporary peace and establishing Indian lands. Sometimes all we have of the Wxndat languages at any given historical moment are the names of various Wxndat people – like the signatures on the Treaty of Greenville.²²⁵ These cases are special not only because they are recorded language, but because they are self-authored, in the sense that, even if it was being written by a scribe, these Waⁿdat speakers were allowing their names to be recorded. The Wyandots who signed the treaty were still speaking the Waⁿdat language, and they required at least one Waⁿdat interpreter for the proceedings, Isaac Zane, but we don’t have a record of how they expressed this moment in their own language in the historical account. What we do have is a copy of the Wyandot chief Tarhe’s speech, translated into English. In it, he is recorded as having said, “We are all of one mind, who are here assembled,” but this was likely said in Waⁿdat as, *qmaⁿdiyóra?*, *qmakyehsti?*, as that is a common phrase in Waⁿdat speeches.²²⁶ So while we don’t know which Waⁿdat words Tarhe used to fight for peace, his speech and the presence of Isaac Zane as a translator is concrete evidence that Waⁿdat was still Tarhe’s first

²²⁴ Thank you to Craig Koprís for the Waⁿdat translation of Tarhe’s name.

²²⁵ Ratified Indian Treaty 23: Wyandot, Delaware, Shawnee, Ottawa, Chippewa, Potawatomi, Eel River, Wea, Kickapoo, Piankashaw, and Kaskaskia - Greenville, August 3, 1795 (Treaty of Greenville) [digital scan of original treaty]; Series: Indian Treaties; Record Group 11: General Records of the United States Government; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

²²⁶ Which is how “we are all of one mind, we gather together” would be said in Waⁿdat. “Treaty of Greenville,” *American State Papers*, 2, *Indian Affairs*, 1: 571. Another example of this phrase being used (in the Waⁿdat language) is from the Thanksgiving Address. See: Richard Zane Smith, Dr. Craig Koprís, transl., *Daughters, Sisters, Mothers and Wives: A Waⁿdat (Wyandot) Language Workbook*, (Ontario: Turtle’s Back Publishing, 2019), 4.

At least eight other Wyandots are signatories to the document (listed as they appear on the treaty): J. Williams Intr., Tey-yagh-taw, Ha-ro-en-you (or half king's son), Te-haaw-to-rens (possibly Tehaaʔtureʔs, “he finds her”), Aw-me-yee-ray, Staye-tah (possibly Stayehtah), Sha-tey-ya-ron-yah (or leather lips, Šaʔteyarɔnyaʔ), Daugh-shut-tay-ah (Dahšateyɛʔ), and Sha-aw-run-the.²²⁹ The Indigenous signatories left their marks in the form of animals and other drawings next to the English written form of their names. The Wyandots were then “entrusted with the Indian copy of the treaty.”²³⁰



A.17: Chief Tarhe (Wyandot) is an ancestor of Language Keeper Richard Zane Smith.²³¹

Tarhe provides an example of language preservation in the late eighteenth century, through speeches in the language, insisting on a translator, recording proper names in Waⁿdat on

²²⁹ Ratified Indian Treaty 23: Wyandot, Delaware, Shawnee, Ottawa, Chippewa, Potawatomi, Eel River, Wea, Kickapoo, Piankashaw, and Kaskaskia, 3. Thank you to Craig Koprís for offering some potential Waⁿdat names matching these historical figures.

²³⁰ “Address of Tarhe, Grand Sachem of the Wyandot Nation to the assemblage at the Treaty of Greenville,” Wyandot Nation of Kansas website, accessed 6 June 2023, http://www.wyandot.org/wn_tarhe.htm.

²³¹ From an 1817 print, author unknown. Found in this book: William Alexander Taylor, *Centennial history of Columbus and Franklin County, Ohio*, 1, (Chicago: S J Clarke Publishing Company, 1909), p. 71.

a document, and the adoption of outsiders. Even if a name is all we have to document the language at a given point on the chronological chart, it is valuable and legitimate evidence and contributes to the overall data, allowing us to get a clearer picture of the language's presence and prominence in the overall trajectory of Wxndat history. Connecting to this chapter's themes, *huⁿdatrižuh* Tarhe fought for his people's rights and in insisting on a translator he fought to keep the Waⁿdat language distinct. In connecting to *hatižatq?*, he and the other Wyandot signatories to this document had their names in the Waⁿdat language preserved on a document. In connecting to one of the major themes throughout this entire work, Tarhe's adoption of Isaac Zane and Zane's subsequent language learning is another example of a Wyandot choosing to preserve the language through creating another speaker.²³²

New Homelands

At the turn of the nineteenth century, the Waⁿdat language was still in use in Ohio. In an account recorded by the Reverend Thomas Hughes, the Wyandots at the Sandusky mission were still in need of an interpreter to communicate with American religious leaders.²³³ The event recorded occurred in 1801 when a Wyandot woman requested for her child to be baptized. The fact that she needed a translator to convey her wishes is a strong sign she spoke Waⁿdat, not English, indicating that the language was still in everyday use.

Also in Ohio, an Indian agent by the name of Colonel John Johnston, who had been assigned to the Wyandot and Shawnee for roughly half a century, recorded a list of 145 Waⁿdat

²³² While American-born, Zane was adopted by the Wyandot and was therefore Wyandot himself when he learned the Waⁿdat language, so he cannot necessarily be counted as an example of a non-Wxndat learning the language.

²³³ Michael Leonard Cox, "Wendats, Presbyterians, and the Origins of Protestant Christianity on the Sandusky River," in *From Huronia to Wendakes: Adversity, Migrations and Resilience 1650-1900*, Thomas Peace and Kathryn Magee Labelle, eds., (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2016) 116.

words in 1819.²³⁴ Johnston's focus on the Waⁿdat language and desire to have his documentation published shows the prominence of Waⁿdat in American politics, and that there were multiple interested parties in having this information recorded, both Johnston and the publishers, meaning that there was an audience for this. A 2003 reprint edition of Johnston's word list edited by Claudio Salvucci also includes a smaller list of forty Waⁿdat words that Benjamin Smith Barton collected in the late eighteenth century, and a list of Waⁿdat numbers collected by Conrad Weiser (in 1755), William Walker (in 1851), and Samuel Haldeman (in 1847).²³⁵

Since the dispersal, the lands on either side of the Detroit River have been the homelands of the Anderdon Wyandots, centering on Detroit itself and Windsor, Ontario.²³⁶ Today, the Wyandot of Anderdon offices are located in Michigan. The Anderdon Reserve in Ontario was created in 1790, and by 1816 one hundred Wyandots who had sided with the British in the War of 1812 moved there. By 1836, the reserve lands were drastically reduced, which Garrad said, "effectively removed from the Ohio and Michigan Wyandots the option of moving to Canada to avoid removal west."²³⁷ And when it became clear that the U.S. government was going to insist on their removal, thirty (now Canadian) Wyandots, in a desire to keep the tribe together, joined the removal to Kansas Indian Territory in 1842.²³⁸ Next was enfranchisement and termination of the reserve, a process which began in the 1880s when the U.S. federal government terminated these Wyandots' Indian status. By 1914, all formal legal ties to a Wyandot identity had been

²³⁴ John Johnston, "Account of the present state of the Indian tribes inhabiting Ohio" in *Archaeologia Americana: Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society*, vol. 1, (Worcester, MA: American Antiquarian Society, 1820), pp. 269-299.

²³⁵ Claudio R. Salvucci, ed., *A Vocabulary of Wyandot: John Johnston*. American Language Reprints, 30, (Merchantville, NJ: Evolution Publishing, 2003).

²³⁶ For more on the Anderdon Wyandots, see: Mckelvey Kelly, "Seven Generations: Emotion Work, Wyandot Women, and the Anderdon Wyandot Cemetery, 1790-1914," (MA Thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 2019); Laurie Leclair, "The Huron-Wyandottes of Anderdon Township, 1701-1914," (MA Thesis, University of Windsor, 1988).

²³⁷ Garrad, *Petun to Wyandot*, 515.

²³⁸ Garrad, *Petun to Wyandot*, 515.

severed. Garrad and Laurie Leclair assert that this is the period where the Anderdon Wyandots lost their language.²³⁹



Map reprinted from "The Other Trail of Tears: The Removal of the Ohio Indians" by Mary Stockwell (Westholme Publishing, 2015)

A.18: Wyandot removals map (citation within image).

Matthew Mudeater

On August 10, 1876, nine years after the forced removal to the new Indian Territory in Oklahoma, the Wyandots who remained behind in Kansas made a decision which revealed both the state of their language and divisions within the community that were tied to cultural heritage. "The newly elected Wyandot Tribal Council ruled that only those who spoke the Wyandot language could hold council seats."²⁴⁰ The fact that this rule was passed is evidence that the

²³⁹ Garrad, *Petun to Wyandot*, 516. Laurie Leclair, "The Huron-Wyandottes of Anderdon Township, 1701-1914."

²⁴⁰ Larry Hancks, "The Emigrant Tribes: Wyandot, Delaware, and Shawnee Todo Link: A Chronology," Wyandot Nation of Kansas website, <https://www.wyandot.org/wyandotKS/the-emigrant-tribes-wyandot-delaware-shawnee-todo/> (accessed December 28, 2022).

Waⁿdat language was falling out of use with the general community. This is a clear indication that this was a moment of linguistic transition within the Wyandot community in Kansas, and also shows the council's commitment to the preservation of the Waⁿdat language. Matthew Mudeater (1813-1878), who had just been re-elected Head Chief of the Wyandot Nation that past April, then went to Washington, D.C. on business for the nation.²⁴¹ He was in his early sixties when he took on this role, which may suggest that it was only elders who were still fluent in the language. Matthew was the son of Kussa Mudeater, his maternal grandfather, who was white, had been taken and adopted into Wyandot society. His obituary states that "the name Mudeater was a translation of [Matthew's] father's Indian name, which came to be used for the patronymic of the family," which also shows that this traditionally matrilineal society had adopted the patrilineal European custom of giving a child the surname of their father.²⁴² Tu?taráhs is the Waⁿdat word for "mudeater."²⁴³ He was born in Canada near Detroit and when he was young, emigrated with his family to Upper Sandusky in Ohio where he attended the mission school.²⁴⁴ It is highly likely that Matthew Mudeater was a speaker of the Waⁿdat language, given the rule that the Council passed after he was re-elected as Head Chief. If this was the case, then he also demonstrates the Wyandots' commitment to preserving and fighting for the language, as well as suggesting that they still had multiple speakers to choose from who could be selected chief.

²⁴¹ "Matthew Mudeater Obituary," *Wyandotte Gazette*, Kansas City, Kansas, August 30, 1878. <https://www.newspapers.com/clip/9965185/matthew-mudeater-obituary/>.

²⁴² "Matthew Mudeater Obituary."

²⁴³ Thank you to Craig Koprís for verifying this translation.

²⁴⁴ "Matthew Mudeater Obituary."



A.19: Albumen silver print photograph of Matthew Mudeater, before 1877.²⁴⁵

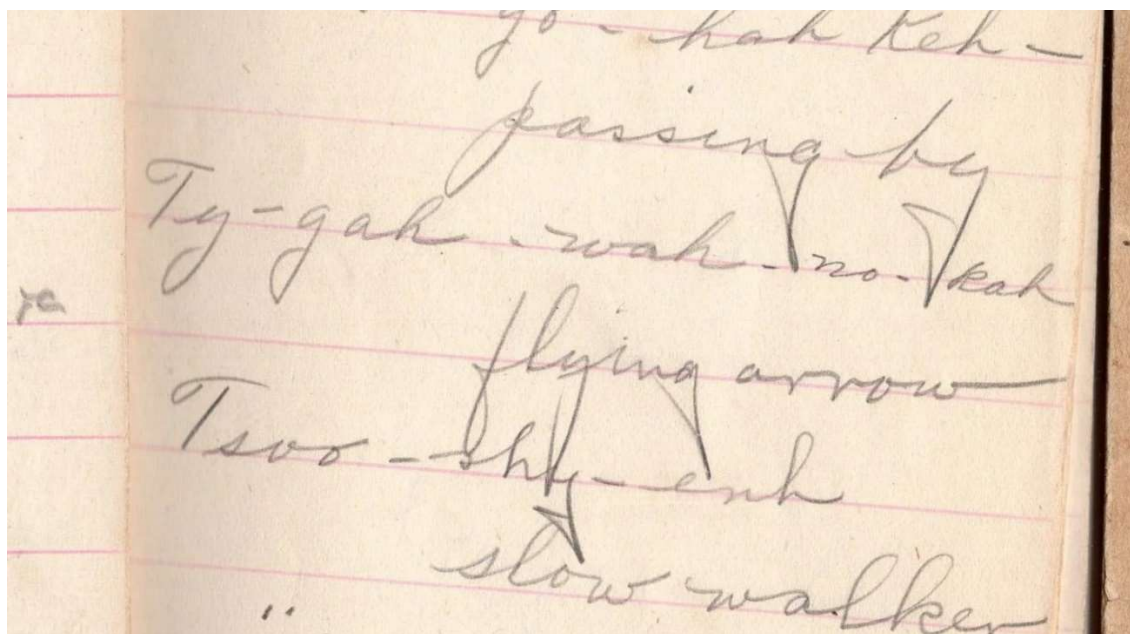
B.N.O. Walker

Bertrand Nicholas Oliver Walker *Hen-Toh*, more commonly referred to as B.N.O. Walker (1870 – 1927), was working in the Waⁿdat language at the turn of the twentieth century.²⁴⁶ He represents another example of someone who fought to preserve the language, and left behind a “substantial archive of unpublished writings, including stories, poems, and a Wyandot glossary.”²⁴⁷ Walker was an Oklahoma Wyandotte from the Big Turtle Clan, but his career took him to many places before he returned to Oklahoma.

²⁴⁵ William Henry Jackson, photographer, “Mathew Mudeater,” Photograph, Albumen Silver Print, Before 1877, Amon Carter Museum of American Art, Fort Worth, Texas: *Bureau of American Ethnology Collection*. <https://www.cartermuseum.org/collection/mathew-mudeater-p19672891> (accessed January 8, 2023).

²⁴⁶ *Hen-Toh* means “he leads.” It was not the first Waⁿdat name that Walker was given, but he chose this one himself, which had belonged to his relative, Chief John W. Greyeyes (1820-1881). “Literary Archive of Wyandotte Author Bernard N.O. Walker (Hen-toh),” *Carpe Librum*, <https://www.carpealbumbooks.com/newly-discovered-manuscripts-by-wyandot-author-b-n-o-walker-hen-toh>.

²⁴⁷ “Literary Archive of Wyandotte Author Bernard N.O. Walker (Hen-toh),” *Carpe Librum*.



A.20: Excerpt of B.N.O. Walker's unpublished Wa'dat glossary.²⁴⁸



A.21: B.N.O. Walker (Hen-toh).²⁴⁹

²⁴⁸ "Literary Archive of Wyandotte Author Bernard N.O. Walker (Hen-toh)," *Carpe Librum*.

²⁴⁹ Left: George B. Cornish, *Hen-Tah, Wyandot Chief* (Portrait of B. N. O. Waker), 1909, photograph, "Literary Archive of Wyandotte Author Bernard N.O. Walker (Hen-toh)," *Carpe Librum*; Right: B. N. O. Walker (*Oklahoma Historical Society*), "Literary Archive of Wyandotte Author Bernard N.O. Walker (Hen-toh)," *Carpe Librum*.

Walker, like several other prominent Wxndat language figures, attended a non-Indigenous school.²⁵⁰ This one was later renamed the Seneca Indian School, and it was part of the federal boarding schools system.²⁵¹ It was run by Quakers and is located on the Wyandotte reservation in Oklahoma today. Walker worked the latter part of his life in the Indian Service, first as a teacher from 1890-1901, then as a clerk in Kansas, Oklahoma, California, and Arizona between 1901 and his death in 1927. He focused on writing, some of which was learning and recording the Waⁿdat language, mostly between 1918 and 1923.²⁵²

Walker was an informant for Canadian anthropologist Marius Barbeau who recorded the Waⁿdat language in multiple communities from 1911-1912. Barbeau thanked Walker specifically for not only contributing stories, but for “facilitation work with other informants, by whom he is deservedly esteemed.”²⁵³ Walker was also an ethnographer himself, collecting stories from Kansas Wyandot Catherine “Kitty” Greyeyes (1822-1885), who was the wife of John W. Greyeyes.²⁵⁴ Because he spent quality time with Elders, Walker was familiar with their accents and cadence of speech, and he described the speech of his own writing as, “the broken dialect peculiar alone to the 'old time Indian.’”²⁵⁵ At this point, the level of Waⁿdat language retention in the Kansas and Oklahoma communities was very similar. Walker published two books in 1919 and 1924 under his Waⁿdat name, Hen-Toh.²⁵⁶ Because he both fought to preserve the Waⁿdat

²⁵⁰ “Literary Archive of Wyandotte Author Bernard N.O. Walker (Hen-toh),” *Carpe Librum*.

²⁵¹ For more on the U.S. federal boarding schools system, see: Bryan Newland, Assistant Secretary Indian Affairs, “Federal Boarding School Initiative Investigative Report,” Bureau of Indian Affairs, (Washington, D.C.: Department of the Interior, May 2022), <https://www.bia.gov/service/federal-indian-boarding-school-initiative>. For more on the Seneca Indian School in Wyandotte, Oklahoma, see “Combined Appendix A and Appendix B Indian Schools,” pages 21 and 308, and “Appendix C Federal Indian Boarding School Maps,” page 39.

²⁵² “Literary Archive of Wyandotte Author Bernard N.O. Walker (Hen-toh),” *Carpe Librum*.

²⁵³ Marius Barbeau, *Huron and Wyandot Mythology, With an Appendix Containing Earlier Published Records*, (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1915), xii.

²⁵⁴ “Literary Archive of Wyandotte Author Bernard N.O. Walker (Hen-toh),” *Carpe Librum*.

²⁵⁵ “Literary Archive of Wyandotte Author Bernard N.O. Walker (Hen-toh),” *Carpe Librum*.

²⁵⁶ “Literary Archive of Wyandotte Author Bernard N.O. Walker (Hen-toh),” *Carpe Librum*.

language and wrote it down himself, B.N.O. Walker is the personification of the chapter title, “Huⁿdatrižuh neḥ Hatizato?” In an era where William Elsey Connelley observed that the Wyandot were mixing more with settler society and it was becoming harder to hold onto the language, Walker met the challenge head-on.²⁵⁷

SALVAGING WHAT’S LEFT

William Elsey Connelley

William Elsey Connelley (1855-1930) worked in Wyandotte, Kansas in the 1880s among the Wyandot people and became interested in the culture, publishing his *Wyandot Folk-Lore* in 1899.²⁵⁸ Having worked closely with the Wyandot communities for many years, Connelley recorded some of the language, clan names, and personal names of the Wyandot.²⁵⁹ He also translated the Lord’s Prayer into Waⁿdat.²⁶⁰ He claimed to be adopted into the Deer clan, “raised up to fill the position of Sahr’-stahr-rah’-tseh, the famous chief of the Wyandots known to history as the Half-King.”²⁶¹ In his 1899 *Wyandot Folk-Lore*, Connelley made ethnographic observations such as “it is known that Wyandots were even at that time [the 1870s] more than one-half white blood. There is not so much as a half-blood Wyandot now living. The last full-blood Wyandot died in Canada in 1820,” and that the “Wyandots are now more white than Indian.”²⁶² He states that when he began recording Wyandot folklore in the 1870s, many elders still knew their history and folklore, but that a generation later, not only did none of them

²⁵⁷ William Elsey Connelley, *Wyandot Folk-Lore*, (Topeka, Kansas: Crane & Company, 1899), 8-9, 24.

²⁵⁸ William Elsey Connelley, *Wyandot Folk-Lore*, (Topeka, Kansas: Crane & Company, 1899).

²⁵⁹ Connelley, *Wyandot Folk-Lore*, 35-36.

²⁶⁰ William Elsey Connelley, translator. “The Lord’s Prayer,” <https://www.wyandot.org/lordpra.htm>.

²⁶¹ This is likely the same Sastarétsh name referenced earlier, and that Kondiaronk bore as well, a name which carries a great deal of importance for the Wxndat. It sounds like Connelley gave this name to himself, which is confusing given stature of this name that was around a thousand years old by Connelley’s time. Connelley, *Wyandot Folk-Lore*, 9.

²⁶² Connelley, *Wyandot Folk-Lore*, 9, 24.

remember how to tell the stories, but “few of them speak their language. Not half a dozen of them can speak the pure Wyandot.”²⁶³ One of these six speakers may have been the “Last Speaker of Wyandot” whom William W. Pulte went to Oklahoma to track down in the 1960s (more on this later in the chapter). This speaker would have been incredibly young when Connelley met him. In terms of the brief number of stories that Connelley was able to provide, he states “what is given is necessarily divested of much of its force and beauty because of the omission of all Wyandot language in expressing Wyandot terms.”²⁶⁴

Connelley observed firsthand the challenges of settler colonialism on language retention, as he observed the mixing of Wyandot with settler culture. He is also an example of the language being preserved by an interested non-Wxndat party. While his Wyandot informants were not writing the language down themselves in this account, they were giving it to Connelley to write down *hatīzatq?*, therefore *hu^odatrižuh* (they fought) to preserve it for future generations.

Marius Barbeau

Language has always been a core component for anthropologists/ethnologists to record in their fieldwork, as one of the best representations of culture. The French-Canadian ethnographer Marius Barbeau (1883-1969), who documented the Wxndat languages in the 1910s, was part of this tradition as well. Marius Barbeau visited all four Wxndat nations between 1911-1912, collecting stories in the language and recordings on wax cylinders. Like Cartier, Champlain and the missionaries, Barbeau is an example of settler interest in preserving the language during this era of both preservation and more importantly revival.

²⁶³ Connelley, *Wyandot Folk-Lore*, 8.

²⁶⁴ Connelley, *Wyandot Folk-Lore*, 9.

Barbeau was from a French-speaking Canadian family, and this fostered in him a cherished love for folklore and preserving culture. After studying law at the University of Laval in Quebec, he redirected his studies to anthropology. Winning a Rhodes Scholarship, he chose an Oxford education, which improved his English-language skills.²⁶⁵ This would make him well situated to conduct ethnographic research in the Wxndat nations, as the Lorette community was primarily French speakers, whereas the Wyandot communities were speakers of both Waⁿdat and English.

Barbeau's work with the Wxndat fit into a larger project of the Division of Anthropology, which included nine other anthropologists working with Eastern Woodlands groups, with the eventual goal of comparing "Huron-Wyandot" with the languages on the Six Nations Reserve, and, illustrating relationships within the Nadowek language family. He spent three years on Wxndat fieldwork from 1911-1914, working within the community during the warmer season and using the winter to analyze materials and fix budgets for the following year. He began his fieldwork in the Lorette/Wendake community in Quebec in 1911. He often worked seven days a week "recording genealogies, music and mythology, and learning Huron crafts," and was also tasked with acquiring artifacts for Canada's museums.²⁶⁶ This continued to be the format of his work for the duration of the project in the Wyandot communities as well.

In Lorette/Wendake, he focused his ethnographic work on Abbé Prosper Vincent, the nephew of painter Zacharie Vincent, recording sixty songs onto wax cylinder that Prosper had learned from his uncle and memorized. However, these songs did not contain any of the language as Barbeau had hoped. It is likely that Zacharie taught Prosper some of the language as

²⁶⁵ Andrew Nurse, "Tradition and Modernity: The Cultural Work of Marius Barbeau," Dissertation, Queen's University, Ontario, September 1997, 79.

²⁶⁶ Nurse, "Tradition and Modernity," 229.

well, but Prosper apparently couldn't remember any translations by 1911. Prosper was born in Lorette in 1842. His father was at one point Grand Chief. The Vincent family was politically prominent. Prosper went around to school assemblies performing traditional Wendat music and dance. As a child, Barbeau had met Prosper at a school assembly.²⁶⁷ Prosper was the first Wendat to become a Catholic priest when he was ordained in 1870.²⁶⁸ Barbeau later upheld Prosper as the perfectly traditional, culture-bearing Wendat man, while simultaneously arguing that the Wendat's Catholicism was evidence that they had no authentic culture anymore and were assimilated. Barbeau attempted to overcome this inconsistency (Catholic + tradition) by arguing that Prosper was not really a good Catholic priest *because of* his authenticity as a Wendat. He believed that Prosper's shortcomings had led the bishop to refuse to ordain any more of "the red breed." Despite disparaging Prosper's capacity as a priest, Barbeau still considered Prosper "talented, friendly and beloved and quite handsome."²⁶⁹

In April 1911 after he recorded these songs, Barbeau wrote back to his supervisor, Edward Sapir, that "the Huron oral tradition has not been broken; and that a good deal of information will be secured from this source."²⁷⁰ According to Kopris, the recordings of Prosper's songs by Barbeau don't contain any Wendat words, they are essentially just vocables.²⁷¹ However, Marguerite Vincent Tehariolina, a Wendat language reviver stated in 1984 that Prosper was a Wendat speaker: "this mother tongue which he spoke, according to tradition, with rare elegance. His pronunciation in particular, it is still said in the Village, retransmitted

²⁶⁷ Nurse, "Tradition and Modernity," 245.

²⁶⁸ Nurse, "Tradition and Modernity," 243.

²⁶⁹ Nurse, "Tradition and Modernity," 247.

²⁷⁰ Nurse, "Tradition and Modernity," 233.

²⁷¹ He is citing personal correspondence with Kopris. Lainé, "La disparition de la langue huronne," 28.

quite the typical accent of the Ancestors.”²⁷² Given the fact that her lifespan overlapped with his, did she know something about Prosper’s language skill which didn’t get recorded by Barbeau, something the community knew but which wasn’t written down? This also brings up the question, how do we define what is meant by a speaker of the language? Taken at face value, it sounds like Tehariolina not only considered Prosper Vincent a speaker, but that his pronunciation was still being mimicked in Wendake at the time of her writing in the early 1980s. This example shows a continuation of language on some level, which is being transmitted generationally if not through full mastery and comprehension, at least through oral memorization and pronunciation. Like Tehariolina herself, Prosper had compiled numerous documents on not only the Wendat language but other Indigenous languages, and was keenly interested in how linguistics tied into culture.²⁷³



A.22: Abbé Prosper Vincent: Huron priest from Lorette (1842-1915).

²⁷² “Cette langue maternelle qu’il parlait, selon la tradition, avec une rare élégance. Sa prononciation en particulier, dit-on encore au Village retransmettait tout à fait le typique accent des Ancêtres.” Translation by author. Marguerite Vincent Tehariolina, *La Nation Huronne: Son Histoire, Sa Culture, Son Esprit*, in collaboration with Pierre H. Savignac, (Québec: Éditions du Pélican, 1984), p. 420.

²⁷³ Tehariolina talks about Prosper having composed a Wendat dictionary, but Wendake’s linguist, Megan Lukaniec said, “Despite this citation, the dictionary can no longer be found today.” Vincent Tehariolina, *La Nation Huronne* 420. Nurse, “Tradition and Modernity,” 249. Lukaniec, “The Form, Function and Semantics of Middle Voice in Wendat,” 42.

After Barbeau finished his work in Quebec, in 1911, he travelled to the Wyandot of Anderdon Nation to work with Wyandot Mary McKee. Barbeau learned about her through his contact at the Quapaw agency in Oklahoma, the Wyandot man named B.N.O. Walker.²⁷⁴ McKee then “in turn, referred Barbeau to her relatives in Oklahoma.”²⁷⁵ Other informants that Barbeau worked with included: Smith Nichols (OK), Catherine Johnson (OK), Isaac Peacock (OK), John Kayrahoo (OK), Star Young (OK), Allen Johnson (OK), Eldredge Brown (Interpreter, OK), Kate Armstrong (OK), Mary Kelley (Interpreter, OK), Henry Stand (OK). Since McKee was the only viable speaker at Anderdon, that suggests that they lost the language first. This likely had to do with the threat to land and culture loss brought about from the fall out of the War of 1812, the Indian Removal Act of 1830, the reduction of Anderdon Reserve lands in 1836, the Act of Enfranchisement in 1857, and the sale of land to settlers for the rest of the century, resulting in the Anderdon Wyandots deciding to terminate their status in 1892.²⁷⁶ Kansas and Oklahoma, however, seemed similar in their level of language retention at this point, given the amount of language that Connelley was able to learn from the Kansas community, and the amount of stories in the language that Barbeau was able to collect in Oklahoma.

²⁷⁴ Nurse, “Tradition and Modernity,” 230.

²⁷⁵ Nurse, “Tradition and Modernity,” 230.

²⁷⁶ Mckelvey Kelly, “Seven Generations: Emotion Work, Wyandot Women, and the Anderdon Wyandot Cemetery, 1790-1914,” MA Thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 2019, 70-71.



A.23: Mary McKee (1838-1922) at the Anderdon reserve near Amherstburg Ontario, 1912.²⁷⁷

Several years after conducting his fieldwork, Barbeau stated that “Huron customs and language have long ago disappeared and only scattered remnants of the past may be detected by a careful observer.”²⁷⁸ But how can we reconcile this with the fact that Prosper Vincent was writing letters in the language with Paul Tsawenhohi Picard, and Tehariolina’s assertion that Prosper spoke the language with the same pronunciation as the Ancestors? Barbeau contradicted the notion of Wxndat peoples as a “vanishing race” while he was conducting his fieldwork, but before the close of the decade, he was already changing his stance on Wxndat cultural vitality,

²⁷⁷ Marius Barbeau, *Huron-Wyandot Traditional Narratives In Translations and Native Texts*, National Museum of Canada, Bulletin 165, Anthropological Series No. 47, (Canada: Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, 1960), 325-326.

²⁷⁸ Nurse, “Tradition and Modernity,” 272.

postulating that nothing remained of pre-contact Wxndat culture.²⁷⁹ The “Huron-Wyandot” culture that Barbeau had so much appreciation for was effectively a fabrication of his own imagination, and he seemed to disappoint himself.²⁸⁰ Later in 1954, Barbeau called the people of Lorette/Wendake “a few hundred Catholic half-breeds...[who] had forsaken their customs and language and used only French...”²⁸¹ He said in an interview with Laurence Nowry, “I expected to see real Indians...they were not...not one of them spoke Huron.”²⁸² So again we’re seeing this pattern of tying “real Indianness” (authentic Indigenous culture) with language retention, specifically the ability to still speak and use one’s language in everyday life.²⁸³

But more Wyandot speakers lived into the 1960s. Wyandotte Elder Sarah Dushane was interviewed twice in Oklahoma, by different researchers, resulting in two recordings twenty minutes in duration. In 1962, Wallace L. Chafe recorded Dushane speaking Wa^adat, but noted that she also spoke Shawnee and English. In 1966, Ives Goddard recorded Dushane speaking Wa^adat in Miami, Oklahoma, but noted that she was more fluent in Cayuga.²⁸⁴ A Smithsonian linguist, Chafe wrote to Barbeau in 1961, stating that he had “found that at least two of his Wyandot informants still knew the language and there were indications that others knew it too.”²⁸⁵ In Chafe’s field recordings from 1958, “Seneca Language,” he found that one of the

²⁷⁹ Nurse, “Tradition and Modernity,” 238-240.

²⁸⁰ Nurse, “Tradition and Modernity,” 239.

²⁸¹ Nurse, “Tradition and Modernity,” 241.

²⁸² Nurse, “Tradition and Modernity,” 242.

²⁸³ Many Indigenous community members see language as an essential part of culture as well.

²⁸⁴ National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, “Smithsonian Learning Lab Resource: Ives Goddard Sound Recordings 1965-1972,” Smithsonian Learning Lab, “(tape 2) Wyandot language recording, Miami, OK 1967: Sarah Dushane.” June 6, 2016. Washington, D.C. Anthony P. Grant, and David J. Costa, “Some Observations on John P. Harrington’s Peoria Vocabulary,” *Anthropological Linguistics* 33, no. 4 (1991): 427. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30028220>. Megan Lukaniec, “The elaboration of verbal structure: Wendat (Huron) verb morphology,” 31.

²⁸⁵ Nurse says that this is 1961, likely because the correspondence he is citing between Chafe and Barbeau is from that date, but the informants being referenced were likely those Chafe spoke to in 1958. Nurse, “Tradition and Modernity,” 551.

speakers he was working with knew some numbers in Wyandot.²⁸⁶ At the 18:28 mark in this recording, Chafe says, “the Wyandot language in which you heard a man counting up to five a little while ago is no longer used by anyone, and only a couple people like that man remember it at all. He hasn’t spoken with anyone in this language since about 1930.”²⁸⁷ Barbeau’s response to Chafe’s discovery of living Wyandot speakers is interesting:

‘Whether or not a few people still know Wyandot (but do not speak it for lack of a response),’ he told Chafe, ‘is of interest as a curiosity. But it cannot affect the record.’ The record of which Barbeau spoke was his, and others’, claims that he had preserved the last written records which could be made of a now extinct language.²⁸⁸

While Barbeau stated that he wasn’t able to collect any of the Wendat language, he did record many traditional songs with vocables from language keeper Prosper Vincent, who was also actively working to preserve the language throughout his lifetime. Some notable Waⁿdat language keepers who participated were Sarah Dushane and Smith Nichols, whose recordings continue to be used by those who are *uⁿdakye:wat* reviving the Waⁿdat language today.²⁸⁹ While Barbeau was part of the trend of salvage anthropology, this does not discount the work that community members put into Barbeau’s work, nor does it preclude his work from being used to revive the language today.

William W. Pulte

In 1999, William W. Pulte published an article in *Algonquian and Iroquoian Linguistics* entitled, “The Last Speaker of Wyandot.”²⁹⁰ Contrary to Barbeau’s assertion that Wyandot had

²⁸⁶ Wallace L. Chafe, “The Seneca Language,” 1958, audio recording (sound, oratory, language description), running time 19:37.

²⁸⁷ Wallace L. Chafe, “The Seneca Language,” 18:28-18:44.

²⁸⁸ Nurse, “Tradition and Modernity,” 551.

²⁸⁹ And some of the Waⁿdat language keepers whom Barbeau spoke with were likely part of the “half a dozen” speakers that Connelley had mentioned were left in 1899; William Elsey Connelley, *Wyandot Folk-Lore*, 8.

²⁹⁰ William W. Pulte, “The Last Speaker of Wyandot,” *Algonquian and Iroquoian Linguistics* Vol. 24 (4), 1999, 43-44.

ceased to be spoken shortly after he conducted his fieldwork in the communities, and after Chafe and Goddard's interviews with Dushane in 1962 and 1967, Pulte asserted that he visited the Oklahoma Wyandotte community in 1972 and discovered an elderly speaker there. A man named Bill Cook had heard from Chafe that there might still be one or two Wyandot speakers in Oklahoma.²⁹¹ Upon hearing this from Cook, Pulte decided to make his trip out there. He met with Chief Leonard Cotter, who told him about the last two fluent speakers that he knew of:

- 1) ...A woman who had moved to California in 1939, at the age of sixty-two. Chief Cotter had lost contact with her, and assumed that she was no longer living.
- 2)a second proficient speaker, a man who suffered from alcoholism, who had died during the 1960s.²⁹²

Chief Cotter did know of one man who had spoken Wyandot as a child and still lived nearby, but said that the man was seriously ill. Pulte went to visit this man, referring to him by a pseudonym, Frank Wilson. When he got there, Wilson's son answered the door and said his father was too ill to speak, but that he would go ask him about the Wyandot language. He learned that Wilson had spoken Wyandot until the age of seven, when he was "taken from his grandparents' home, learned English, and did not speak Wyandot again."²⁹³

Pulte's discovery of a living Waⁿdat speaker in Oklahoma in the 1960s pushes the *uⁿdita?wahsta?* sleeping date past Barbeau's claim of the early twentieth century and places it instead in the mid-twentieth century. It also demonstrates the ongoing settler interest in preserving the Waⁿdat language.

²⁹¹ This man is likely Iroquoianist William Hinton Cook who wrote a root-based dictionary of the Cherokee language. William Hinton Cook, "A Grammar of North Carolina," Order No. 7925637, Yale University, 1979.

²⁹² Pulte, "The Last Speaker of Wyandot," 43.

²⁹³ Pulte, "The Last Speaker of Wyandot," 43.

CONCLUSION

The Wxndat languages were fading during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as the communities came into more frequent contact with Europeans and Americans. The transition was slow. In the eighteenth century, the Wendat and Wyandot created new speakers within their communities as well as among government workers, soldiers (Moncalm's secretary and John Johnston), and captives (Isaac Zane). The biographies of Kondiaronk, Bawbee, and Tarhe show how important the Waⁿdat language was to the French, the English, and the Americans. Across the entire eighteenth century, Waⁿdat was a key language for trade and appeared in treaty events and orations. The biographies of Zacharie Vincent, Prosper Vincent, and Paul Tsawenhohi Picard show how vitally important the Wendat language was to community members in the nineteenth century, as does the biography of B.N.O. Walker for the Waⁿdat language.

By the turn of the twentieth century, only a few Wxndat speakers remained. Colonialism had taken its toll. The Wendat continued to use their language in naming and prayer, but its use in day-to-day life had dwindled. Canadian and American anthropologists such as Marius Barbeau, Wallace L. Chafe, Ives Goddard, and William W. Pulte attempted to gather what remained of each language by speaking with the few remaining elders with knowledge of the language. The geographic interest of these anthropologists has shaped what remains. Anthropologists focused their collection around the Waⁿdat language because there were more remaining speakers who were fluent. Only Barbeau showed interest in collecting Wendat speech. This has created additional hurdles for the reconstruction of the Wendat language, as there are fewer recent (nineteenth and twentieth century) resources today to rebuild it from, leaving the Wendat revivalists with much older (primarily seventeenth and early eighteenth century) documentation.

Despite persistent efforts by each community to retain their languages, Waⁿdat and Wendat uⁿditaʔwahstaʔ *fell asleep* between the 1910s (Wendat) and early 1970s (Waⁿdat). These declines were not foregone conclusions. For more than two centuries, the Wxndat had huⁿdatrižuh nəh hatižatʔ, *they fought* to retain their languages and to have settler polities respect their languages. *They wrote* in their languages to keep them vital. Nor did they take the uⁿditaʔwahstaʔ *falling asleep* of their languages lightly. Starting in the mid-twentieth century and carrying into the twenty-first century, language keepers worked tirelessly to bring each language to a place where uⁿdakye:wat (they will keep themselves awake).

CHAPTER 3

Uⁿdita?wahsta? nəh Uⁿdakye:wat :Wxndat Language Revivals, 1920-2023²⁹⁴

The Wxndat languages *uⁿdita?wahsta?* (fell asleep) during different parts of the twentieth century, Wendat in Québec around the turn of the century, and Waⁿdat in Oklahoma in the 1960s.²⁹⁵ While the sleeping dates staggered, language preservation and *uⁿdakye:wat* revival shared similar struggles in the face of settler colonialism. This chapter argues that the twentieth and twenty-first centuries are characterized by multiple revitalization movements. It was a period of activism, hope, and renewal. Individual agents played a role, among whom were Prosper Marguerite Vincent Tehariolina, Linda Sioui, and Richard Zane Smith. Community-led projects were also essential, such as the “Rediscovery and Regeneration of the Huron Language” in the 1980s, the Linguistic Orientation Committee in the 1990s, the Yawenda Project in the mid-2000s, and the Wyandotte Nation’s language initiatives in the 2020s. During this era, both languages fell asleep, *uⁿdita?wahsta?*, leaving a time where there were no speakers left to learn from. This meant that Wxndats had the challenge of revitalizing the languages, *uⁿdakye:wat*, primarily from written documentation, with the exception of the audio recordings available in Waⁿdat, some of which had been provided by language keepers Sarah Dushane and Smith Nichols, actively preserving the language. *Huⁿdatrižuh*, Wxndats fought and still fight for this revitalization just as they did for language preservation in the previous era. Additionally, just like *heđi:hšahs*, *hatitsihęstatsih*, and other settlers preserved the language(s) in previous eras, non-Wxndat linguists and allies, such as Craig Koprís, Marius Barbeau, Bruce Pearson, and John

²⁹⁴ *Uⁿdita?wahsta?* means “they fell asleep,” and *uⁿdakye:wat* means “they have kept themselves awake.” Thank you to Dr. Koprís for updated translations of these.

²⁹⁵ The author is not yet aware of any exact sleeping dates for the Anderdon or Kansas communities, but they were prior to 1970 as well.

Steckley showed interest in the languages allowing them to aid in the revitalization movements today.

Bringing a language back into use from mostly non-audio documentation is an immense challenge, because there are no speakers with whom to communicate. There are no opportunities for learners to truly immerse themselves in the language. To add to the complexity, Wxndat revitalizers are coming from both English-language *and* French-language perspectives. The largest collection of sources that they share is from the early seventeenth century and originally written in French, which can be an extra challenge for those whose first language was English.

As *uⁿdita?wahsta?* means “they fell asleep,” and *uⁿdakye:wat* means “they have kept themselves awake,” so Chapter Three discusses the data around the sleeping dates of both the Wendat and Waⁿdat languages, as well as the revival process to wake them both back up. This chapter is divided into two major sections: Wendat Revivals and Waⁿdat Revivals. This division highlights the unique path each revival has taken as well as the divided geographies they applied to.

The Wxndat languages history of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries brings into focus language revitalization efforts across the continent and across multiple language divides. For a long time, both the Wendat and Waⁿdat languages were stated to be “dead.” Wendake linguist Megan Lukaniec called Wendat “dormant” in 2011, and in 2016 V.K. Preston called Wendat “slumbering.”²⁹⁶ “Sleeping” is a term for a language that has no more living speakers. It

²⁹⁶ Megan Lukaniec, “The Form, Function and Semantics of Middle Voice in Wendat,” Master’s Thesis. Université Laval Québec, 2010, 2, 43; V K Preston, “A Dictionary in the Archives: Translating and transcribing silenced histories in French and Wendat,” *Performance Research* 21, no. 5 (2016): 85-88. Some of the sources that refer to the language as “dead” include: Ernest Myrand, *Noëls Anciens De La Nouvelle-France*, 3 éd., (Montréal: Librairie Beauchemin, limitée, 1913 [1899]), p. 71; Father Lionel Saint-George Lindsay, *Notre-Dame De La Jeune-Lorette En La Nouvelle-France; Etude Historique*, (Montréal: La Cie De Publication De La Revue Canadienne, 1900), p. 249; Arthur Edward Jones, *“8endake Ehen” Or, Old Huronia*. Edited by Alexander Fraser, Fifth Report of the Bureau of Archives for the Province of Ontario, (Toronto: L.K. Cameron, 1908), p. 169.

has been popularized by language revitalizers and disseminated through academic works by Leanne Hinton and others.²⁹⁷ Wendat and Waⁿdat are both classified as sleeping or dormant languages, so some of the methods championed by language revitalizers such as immersion schools, language nests, and the Master-Apprentice model are incompatible and unreachable for sleeping languages.²⁹⁸ There have, however, been successful language *uⁿdakye:wat* (awakenings) such as with Myaamia and Wampanoag.²⁹⁹ Like Wendat and Waⁿdat, Myaamia and Wampanoag didn't have any living speakers and had to be reclaimed from mostly documentation.

At the turn of the twentieth century, the Wendat language was falling asleep, while the Waⁿdat language would still be around for a couple more generations before reaching that state.³⁰⁰ This was a century where concerted, highly organized language revitalization movements began for both language communities. For Waⁿdat, Richard Zane Smith of the Wyandot Nation of Kansas worked on reviving the language independently for many years in the 1990s and early 2000s before a movement formalized, building on his work. From La Nation huronne-wendat, Marguerite Vincent Tehariolina and Linda Sioui (along with the Linguistic

²⁹⁷ Leanne Hinton, "Sleeping Languages: Can They Be Awakened?" in *The Green Book of Language Revitalization in Practice*, Leanne Hinton and Ken Hale, eds., (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013), 411-417.

²⁹⁸ Leanne Hinton, "Small Languages and Small Language Communities: Survival of Endangered Languages: The California Master-apprentice Program," *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 123, no. 1 (1997): 177-91; Leanne Hinton, *Bringing Our Languages Home: Language Revitalization for Families*, (Berkeley, CA: Heyday, 2013). Leanne Hinton, and Ken Hale, eds., *The Green Book of Language Revitalization in Practice*, (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013).

²⁹⁹ For Myaamia language revitalization, see: George Ironstrack, and Bobbe Burke, "neepwaantiinki (Partners in Learning): The Miami Tribe of Oklahoma, Miami University, and the Myaamia Center," in *Replanting Cultures: Community-Engaged Scholarship in Indian Country*, Chief Benjamin J. Barnes, and Stephen Warren, eds., (Albany: SUNY Press, 2022), 111-142; Daryl, Karen, Jessie, and Jarrod Baldwin, "myaamiaataweenki oowaaha: 'Miami Spoken Here,'" in *Bringing Our Languages Home* 3-18. For Wampanoag language revitalization, see: jessie little doe baird, "How Did This Happen to my Language?" in *Bringing Our Languages Home*, 19-32; Wôpanâak Language Reclamation Project. "Wôpanâak Language Reclamation Project: Bringing back our language one student at a time." The Wampanoag Nation, <https://www.wlrp.org/>.

³⁰⁰ Wendat and Yawenda Project scholar Mathieu-Joffre Lainé states (translated from the original French): "At the beginning of the 20th century, Huron elders knew only a few disjointed words of the language of their ancestors." Lainé is referring here to Prosper Vincent and Paul Tsawenhohi Picard (1845-1905). Mathieu-Joffre Lainé, "La disparition de la langue huronne," 29. See also: John Steckley, "Huron Carol: a Canadian cultural chameleon," *British Journal of Canadian Studies* 27, no. 1 (2014): 55-74. muse.jhu.edu/article/539886.

Orientation Committee) had the backing of their nation in their efforts to revitalize Wendat, and laid the ground work for a time when a critical mass of community members could support the movement. It took the multi-million dollar Yawenda Project and the hiring of official linguists by the two nations with federal recognition, La Nation huronne-wendat and the Wyandotte Nation (in Oklahoma), to have enough support from the Wxndat community to create a sustainable movement. The work of these heroes to carry the language to the next generation bore fruit. The turn of the twenty-first century began a period where the nations, their citizens, descendants, and allies enthusiastically took charge of the language revitalization movements.

WENDAT REVIVALS

Marguerite Vincent Tehariolina

Marguerite Vincent Tehariolina (1909-1994) was a Huron-Wendat woman who ran the first major language revival movement for La Nation huronne-wendat. Tehariolina's life overlapped with that of Prosper Vincent by 6 years.³⁰¹ She was also alive, albeit extremely young, when Barbeau came to interview Prosper Vincent in 1911. The lifetime of Tehariolina, who would become a major Wendat language revival figure, was not that far removed from the life and work of someone who had fought to preserve the Wendat language, showing a continuity of care for the language with individual community members.

³⁰¹ Thank you to Wendake Archivist, Stéphane Picard, for Tehariolina's life dates, 1909-1994.



A.24: L to R: Tehariolina in her regalia; her regalia on display at the Musée huron-wendat; Tehariolina.³⁰²

According to Louis-Jacques Dorais in “Wendat Ethnophilology,” Tehariolina began her research on the Wendat language in 1970.³⁰³ Tehariolina states herself that her 1984 book, *La Nation Huronne*, was the culmination of more than thirty years of dedicated work, which would mean she started working on aspects of culture – and arguably language was part of that – in the mid-1950s.³⁰⁴ This fed into a traditionalist movement to “revive ancestral Wendat spirituality,” and in 1989, these traditionalists “established a Long House in Wendake, under the guidance of members of the Kahnawake Long House Movement.”³⁰⁵ The language itself was seen as a core tool to communicate ancestral spirituality. Thus, the desire for revitalization grew. Dorais said: “the whole process of linguistic shift and revitalization cannot be understood without looking at the events that led to the hibernation of the language and, more importantly, at the reading—and its practical consequences—the Wendat themselves made of these events, which played an

³⁰² Thank you to Wendake Archivist, Stéphane Picard, for the two photos of Tehariolina. The third photo was posted to the museum’s Facebook group on May 31, 2023.

³⁰³ Louis-Jacques Dorais, “Wendat Ethnophilology: How A Canadian Indigenous Nation is Reviving its Language,” *Philology: An International Journal on the Evolution of Languages, Cultures and Texts* 2 (2016), 36-37.

³⁰⁴ Vincent Tehariolina, *La Nation Huronne*, 21.

³⁰⁵ Dorais, “Wendat Ethnophilology,” 36-37.

important part in defining their identity.”³⁰⁶ This is exactly why a more comprehensive longue durée history of the Wendat and Waⁿdat languages is essential.

In assigning a sleeping date for the language, Tehariolina followed Jesuit Father Arthur Edward Jones, who in his 1908 *Wendake Ehen* said, “The difficulties of the language are innumerable, as Huron became practically a dead language a score of years ago, and without a living master might I not add these difficulties are well-nigh insurmountable?”³⁰⁷ Tehariolina, publishing in the mid-1980s, asserted that “effectively, for all practical purposes, no one has spoken Huron [Wendat] fluently for a hundred years,” assigning the sleeping date at circa 1888.³⁰⁸ She said that no one in the village of Lorette had spoken Wendat fluently since that time, and that “the last Hurons to speak it in abundance were undoubtedly: the Grand Chief Nicolas Vincent, Paul Picard (father), Zacharie Vincent, Thomas Sioui, and those who could last read and write it were Francois Xavier Picard, Paul Picard (son), and Father Prosper Vincent.”³⁰⁹ Additionally, A.E. Jones cited the recently deceased (recent to Jones’s writing) Chief Bastien as one of the last speakers as well. Jones wrote that “works on the Huron Language are exceedingly rare, and there are none in print, I believe.”³¹⁰

Tehariolina embarked on a Wendat language revival project with the backing of La Nation huronne-wendat in the mid-1980s, in order to wake the sleeping language, demonstrating a continuity of care for the language by the community. Linda Sioui, a language revival advocate in the 1990s shared in her oral history interview with the author in 2019 that Tehariolina gave

³⁰⁶ Dorais, “Wendat Ethnophilology,” 26.

³⁰⁷ Arthur Edward Jones, “*Wendake Ehen*” Or, *Old Huronia*, 169.

³⁰⁸ 1888 was likely in line with Jones’ “a score of years ago.” Vincent Tehariolina, *La Nation Huronne*, 383.

³⁰⁹ Vincent Tehariolina, *La Nation Huronne*, 383.

³¹⁰ However, John Wilkie’s English translation of Chaumonot’s grammar was published in 1831. Pierre Joseph Marie Chaumonot, “Grammar of the Huron language, By a Missionary of the Village of Huron Indians at Lorette, Near Quebec,” translated by John Wilkie, in *Transactions of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec*, (Quebec: Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, 1830–1831), 94–198. Arthur Edward Jones, “*Wendake Ehen*” Or, *Old Huronia*, 171.

her a Wendat name when she was a teenager going out for Wendake's Powwow Princess role in the mid-1970s.³¹¹ Sioui states that it was common practice at the time, that anyone on the reserve who wanted a name in the Wendat language went to Tehariolina to obtain it, because she was in possession of a copy of the Potier dictionary. Again, here we see the importance of names carrying not just culture and history, but also language, even when the language itself is sleeping or dormant.

In the 1980s, Pierre H. Savignac and a group of volunteers assisted Marguerite Vincent Tehariolina in carrying out a language revitalization project called "Rediscovery and Regeneration of the Huron Language."³¹² This project, nicknamed "Projet Langue Huronne," was sponsored by the Band Council of La Nation Huronne-Wendat. The project lasted three years, from 1982-1985.³¹³ Phase I, which spanned the years 1982 and 1983, focused on gathering all documentation relating to the language, analysis on the documentation, and laying out their goals for the rest of the project. Phase II took place over the course of 1984.

On March 6, 1985, a final report was submitted on behalf of "Mademoiselle Marguerite Vincent." Compiled in section III of the 1982-1983 Phase I report, "other concrete achievements and productions of research in 1982 and 1983," are brief descriptions of the team's accomplishments for those years, including: writing the chapter "La langue huronne" for *La Nation huronne*; writing a research journal on the Wxndat language, "where I record over the days the finds, the discoveries, the references, the ideas, quotes, dates, plans, etc. relating to the Huron language"; a phonetics table for the language; a study on Wxndat word roots; a

³¹¹ Linda was born in 1961, so this would have been in the mid-1970s. Linda Sioui, Oral history interview by author, Wendake, Québec, July 14, 2019, p. 2.

³¹² Wendake Archives, Fonds Marguerite Vincent, "Projet Langue Huronne Marguerite Vincent" 8531-03.

³¹³ Though there is a document in the fond dated December 19, 1981 that appears to be a proposal to the Band Council for the project. Wendake Archives, Fonds Marguerite Vincent, "Projet Langue Huronne Marguerite Vincent" 8531-03, (193-207/503 of my machine copy).

bibliography of the Wxndat language; an “International Americana Bibliography” on index cards of which she says as of February 1984 “already exceeded 3000 titles, but our goal, during phase II of research, is to reach 10,000 titles, in order to have the first catalog quite exhaustive of Native American sources and references”; translating Chaumonot’s *Grammatica Huronica* from the version Wilkie translated in 1831 (because Wilkie made “numerous errors or approximations”); translating Elisabeth Tooker’s *An Ethnography of the Huron Indians* into French; translating a couple of chapters of the A.E. Jones text that feature the language into French; conceptual sketches for future publications from the project; rigorous research and analysis of the sources and manuscripts, to include filling in any any missing information such as dates; collecting visual documentation such as photographs; and collecting any audio documentation such as recordings of interviews and music.³¹⁴ The documents from the language project are housed in the Wendake Archives on the reserve in Québec.

Over the course of 1982-1985, Tehariolina managed a language revival project to *wⁿdakye:wat* wake up the Wendat language from its sleeping state. Working with a team of multiple people, she uncovered a bounty of documentation on the language, and began to set up revival projects that the community could accomplish if they had enough interested community members to do the work. The work on the language project by Tehariolina and her team helped set up the two language revival movements to follow: the Linguistic Orientation Committee, and Yawenda.

³¹⁴ Wendake Archives, Fonds Marguerite Vincent, “Projet Langue Huronne Marguerite Vincent” 8531-03, “PHS - Projet “LANGUE HURONNE” - Dos 181 - Doc XV – 6 mars 1985,” pp. 15-24 (44/503-53/503 of my machine copy).

Linda Sioui & The Linguistic Orientation Committee

Carrying the torch from Tehariolina's revival movement in the mid-1980s, La Nation huronne-wendat decided to launch another language revival in the 1990s, steered by a Linguistic Orientation Committee.³¹⁵ The nation asked Linda Sioui (b. 1961) to head up this committee, which "began in 1991 by repatriating all archival documents and establishing a language committee; this first year culminated with an ethnolinguistic workshop with Dr. John Steckley."³¹⁶ Financed by the education sector of the nation, it began with an initial contribution of \$10,000.³¹⁷ Reports were filed in the Wendake Archives at the nation's office in Québec for the years 1993-1995. The language projects of Tehariolina and the Linguistic Orientation Committee coincided with the beginnings of a cultural revival where the endonym, Wendat, came back into use, and the Lorette reserve outside of Québec City increasingly became known as Wendake.³¹⁸

Linda Sioui, a citizen of La Nation huronne-wendat, has a Master's Degree in Anthropology from Laval University, where she published her thesis work entitled, "La Réaffirmation de l'Identité Wendate / Wyandotte à l'heure de la Mondialisation" In 2011.³¹⁹ In addition to her involvement with language revival and the Linguistic Orientation Committee, Sioui remains active in cultural revitalization and the continuance of Huron-Wendat traditions today. She was part of the Weⁿdat/Waⁿdat Women's Advisory Council, which worked with

³¹⁵ For more on the Linguistic Orientation Committee, see: Linguistic Orientation Committee documents, file 0559, Wendake Archives, Québec City, Canada; Language committee formation folder, Education B1222 "CAGL Projet développement langue huron," Wendake Archives, Québec City, Canada; Fallon Burner, "Healing Through Language: Revitalization and Renewal in the Wendat Confederacy," Honors Thesis, (University of California, Berkeley: American Cultures Center, 2020), 55.

³¹⁶ Burner, "Healing Through Language," 55.

³¹⁷ Burner, "Healing Through Language," 56.

³¹⁸ *Wendake* comes from the language, as in *Wendake Ehen*, the name for the ancestral homelands by the Georgian Bay.

³¹⁹ Linda Sioui, "La Réaffirmation de l'Identité Wendate / Wyandotte à l'heure de la Mondialisation," Master's thesis, Université Laval, 2011.

Kathryn Magee Labelle on *Daughters of Aataentsic : Life Stories from Seven Generations* from 2013-2021.

In her 1996 article, “Is There a Future for the Huron Language?” Sioui uses historical language data to point to the prominence of the Wxndat in the early seventeenth century Indigenous trade partnerships, quoting Sagard as saying that many other Indigenous nations were learning the Wxndat language, while the Wxndat did not “learn any language other than their own, whether from negligence, or because they have less business with their neighbours than their neighbours have with them.”³²⁰ Sioui writes that, despite how well documented Wxndat had been up through the turn of the twentieth century, “gradually, the Huron language became a ‘church language’ up to the beginning of this century,” meaning it was mostly only heard in church services.³²¹ She gives the sleeping date for Wendat as “the end of the 19th or the start of the 20th century,” which may be a nod to the difference in dates between the passing of Zacharie Vincent or Chief Bastien and Prosper Vincent.³²² In proposing a successful path forward for Wendat language revitalization, Sioui says, “the Huron language, to be reborn, requires collective goodwill, or at least a core of devoted persons, for languages do not exist without speakers. The creation of a ‘Huron language board’ could be envisaged... The success of reborn languages such as Hebrew has come in part from the fact that no pressure was exerted on the people, given that at the beginning the matter only concerned a core of interested individuals.”³²³ The desired “collective goodwill” and “core of devoted persons” manifested in the mid-2000s with the arrival of *Yawenda*.

³²⁰ Sioui, "Is There a Future for the Huron Language?" 4. She is citing Lindsay (1990: 253) who is in turn citing Sagard.

³²¹ Sioui, "Is There a Future for the Huron Language?" 5.

³²² Sioui, "Is There a Future for the Huron Language?" 6.

³²³ Sioui, "Is There a Future for the Huron Language?" 7-8.

The Yawenda Project

The Yawenda language revitalization project was a partnership between La Nation huronne-wendat and Université Laval that lasted from 2007-2013 and was funded by La Nation Huronne-Wendat and the Canadian government. One of the goals of this project was to produce a tribal linguist who was a citizen of the nation, and this person was Megan Lukaniec, who completed her master's thesis during the course of the project in 2010, and went on to obtain a PhD in 2018. There were more than fifty participants producing reports, published materials, lectures, workshops, and teaching classes. Linda Sioui, Craig Kopriss, John Steckley, and Marcel Godbout were all participants, as was Huron-Wendat citizen Mathieu-Joffre Lainé.

In one of the Yawenda publications, “La disparition de la langue huronne: Vers une réévaluation historique,” Mathieu-Joffre Lainé cites sociologist Léon Gérin as placing the disappearance of the Wendat language between 1829 and 1849. Gérin cites a 1750 testimony from Franquet that “a century after their establishment in the vicinity of Quebec, the Hurons began to speak French and began to marry French Canadians.... In 1856, according to the report of the official commissioners, the Huron language had fallen into disuse in the village.”³²⁴ Frank Speck corroborated with Gérin: “Practically nothing distinctively Huron...appears to have remained with these people; not even the language.”³²⁵ Lainé maps out the objective of his article: “...our interest here is not to explain or identify the causes of the disappearance of the Huron language, but to provide a good chronological review of this disappearance.”³²⁶

Interestingly, Lainé quotes a source from (Blair et Fredeen 1995) which compares the withering away of a language to *etiolation*, when a green plant is slowly whitened by denying it

³²⁴ Mathieu-Joffre Lainé, “La disparition de la langue huronne,” 25.

³²⁵ Frank G. Speck, “Notes on the Material Culture of the Huron,” *American Anthropologist* 13, no. 2 (1911): 209.

³²⁶ Lainé, “La disparition de la langue huronne,” 25.

sunlight.³²⁷ This metaphor is apt, descriptive, and depressing. Lainé says the language did not just suddenly disappear, it withered away, finally falling totally asleep somewhere between 1829 and 1849.³²⁸ He found evidence that in 1856, a published government report confirmed that “the Huron language has been obliterated.”³²⁹

Yawenda added significantly to the historiography of the Wendat language, as well as built a community-wide revival movement, crucially producing a national linguist, Megan Lukaniec, and demonstrating a continuity of care from the community for the language throughout the twentieth century and into the twenty-first. The language revival movement is currently housed within La Nation huronne-wendat’s CDFM (Centre de développement de la formation et de la main-d’œuvre or the Training and Workforce Development Center), which is overseen by Marcel Godbout.³³⁰

WAⁿDAT REVIVALS

Bruce Pearson

Linguist Bruce L. Pearson (April 30, 1932 - July 14, 2021) began working with the Wyandotte Nation in Oklahoma on Waⁿdat language revival in 1994, demonstrating settler interest in the Waⁿdat language carrying into the late twentieth century, and interest in *uⁿdita?wahsta?* waking the language up. He had a “chance meeting” with Jim Bland, then the second chief of the Wyandotte Nation at a conference on the Historic Tribes of Tuscarawas

³²⁷ Lainé, “La disparition de la langue huronne,” 28.

³²⁸ Lainé, “La disparition de la langue huronne,” 28.

³²⁹ Lainé, “La disparition de la langue huronne,” 29.

³³⁰ Marcel Godbout, oral history interview by author, Wendake, Québec, July 12, 2019.

County, Ohio.³³¹ Chief Bland asked him to help gather existing language materials for the community. By 1996, he had written a draft handbook and Waⁿdat dictionary and circulated them among tribal officials, many of whom were “involved in archives and culture preservation,” and thus provided him with feedback on what kinds of “transcription practices” would work best for the community.³³² He acknowledged the awkwardness of an outsider teaching a community their own ancestral language, but since “Wyandotte” (as he called it) had experienced interrupted transmission, “there is something of a feeling that we are all learning together.”³³³ In 2001, Pearson edited and re-translated the *Huron-Wyandotte traditional narratives* that Barbeau had published, which had been told to Barbeau by Catherine Johnson, Smith Nichols, John Kayraahoo, Star Young, and Mary McKee.³³⁴ Pearson represents a continuation of non-Wxndat interest in preserving the language, as well as an example of language revival and waking up the Waⁿdat language.

Richard Zane Smith

Richard Zane Smith (b. 1955) is a citizen of the Wyandot Nation of Kansas, and currently lives in Wyandotte, Oklahoma. He is a renowned potter who studied traditional methods and has made a living from his pottery. Some of his pieces have appeared in museums.³³⁵ For decades

³³¹ James Rementer and Bruce L. Pearson, “Language Preservation in Three Native American Communities,” *Papers of the Mid-America Linguistics Conference*, (Lawrence, Kansas: University of Kansas, 1996), 582-584. <http://hdl.handle.net/1808/23051>. “In Loving Memory of Bruce Pearson April 30, 1932 – July 14, 2021,” obituary, Funeral Innovations website. <https://funeralinnovations.com/obituaries/view/595707/2/>.

³³² Rementer and Pearson, “Language Preservation in Three Native American Communities,” 582-584.

³³³ James Rementer and Bruce L. Pearson, “Language Preservation in Three Native American Communities,” 582-584.

³³⁴ Bruce L. Pearson, ed. & trans. *Huron-Wyandotte traditional narratives // told by Catherine Johnson, [S]mith Nichols, John Kayraahoo, Star Young, Mary McKee ; collected by Marius Barbeau ; edited and translated by Bruce L. Pearson*, Columbia, SC : Yorkshire Press : Published for the Wyandotte Tribe of Oklahoma, c2001.

³³⁵ One example of this is his pot at the Muscarelle Museum in Williamsburg, Virginia which was part of an exhibit about the Brafferton Indian School and the modern communities it is connected to. For photographs of Richard’s pot

now, he has been the primary Waⁿdat language keeper, though no one else could have conversations with him in Waⁿdat. In an era where the Waⁿdat language was sleeping *uⁿdita?wahsta?*, Richard has worked consistently to keep it awake *uⁿdakye:wat*.

When asked what kind of role he felt the language was playing in the Oklahoma and Kansas communities in 2019, Smith answered:

Well, I don't like to be negative about it, but it doesn't play a whole lot of role right now. I think people, for the most part, tribal people want to be able to introduce themselves. They want to be able to have maybe just a little casual conversation if possible. How are you? You know, and this kind of thing...they want be able to say some basic things. But it really has not progressed like I'd really hoped it would. There seems to be a satisfaction with just the very basics. And it's kind of sad to me cuz I've been here for fifteen years now and my idea moving here was really to help, you know, really kickstart a language revival and see [the language] just coming back.³³⁶

Concerning language programs and supports that the Wyandotte Nation had been providing up through 2019, Smith commented that an annual focus on the language was not enough, and that the nation needed something more robust and year-round.

...the Wyandotte Nation of Oklahoma holds a Culture Days and they bring down an anthropology professor to teach some of the Wyandot language [at this time it was John Steckley]. And so they get a little practice maybe two hours a day, maybe not even that much. And then it's gone for the next year or so. There's really no Wyandot language program yet. That's like other tribes are getting like the Chickasaw that put out \$500,000 at least a year to recover their language or the Cherokee are putting out over a million every year for language recovery. So there just hasn't been that passion for the language. It's just not there. It's more like a little sprinkling on...you know, to be able to say a few words in the language. And that's been disappointing. It's a little frustrating, especially when I see these kids growing up and they don't have it.³³⁷

One person who answered Richard's call was Craig Kopriv, and with him, the Wyandotte Nation itself.

in this exhibit, see: Danielle Moretti-Langholtz, and Buck Woodard, eds, *Building the Brafferton: The Founding, Funding and Legacy of America's Indian School*, (Williamsburg: Muscarelle Museum of Art, William & Mary, 2019).

³³⁶ Richard Zane Smith, oral history interview by author, Wyandotte, Oklahoma, June 19, 2019, 16:49-17:54.

³³⁷ Richard Zane Smith, oral history interview by author, Wyandotte, Oklahoma, June 19, 2019, 17:54.

Craig Koprís

Dr. Craig Koprís *Hamędaehťa?* (b. 1967) is the current tribal linguist for the Wyandotte Nation in Oklahoma. Koprís was the official tribal linguist for the Wyandotte Nation from 2011-2015, and again from 2020 to the present. He began community-engaged work with language keepers Richard Zane Smith and Darren English, both of the Wyandot Nation of Kansas, in the 1990s. He began his work with the Waⁿdat language in 1991, began compiling his databases of language research in 1997, and first attended the Wyandotte Nation (then Wyandotte Nation of Oklahoma)'s annual Culture Days.³³⁸ He completed his dissertation, "A Grammar and Dictionary of Wyandot" in 2001.³³⁹ Koprís has been integral to the Waⁿdat language revival movements of all three nations, as well as to the Wendat movement. His language partnership with Richard Zane Smith contributed to the volume of work in the language that Zane Smith has been able to produce over the past few decades.

Koprís created a massive original database on computer software, compiling all relevant information pertaining to Waⁿdat that he came across in his research, in order to run the most thorough linguistic analysis possible using historical data. He spent two years solely on data entry in order to reach a critical mass of data for this analysis.³⁴⁰ He had to learn coding as well, in order to be able to create a functional database powerful enough to hold all of the data collected, and still have the functionality to be searchable.³⁴¹ Part of the coding process was creating eligible fonts for the language, so that the computer software could read the orthography, and so that eventually, community members could also type in the language in

³³⁸ Katie Klass, "Waⁿdat Language Presentation for Qmakyehsti?," Wyandotte Nation of Oklahoma Culture Days, September 2014, Microsoft PowerPoint presentation, slide 9.

³³⁹ Koprís, Craig. "A Grammar and Dictionary of Wyandot," PhD diss. State University of New York at Buffalo, 2001.

³⁴⁰ Personal communication with Craig Koprís, 12 June 2023.

³⁴¹ Personal communication with Craig Koprís, 12 June 2023.

electronic formats (such as the one utilized throughout this thesis). Additionally, the sources Koprís cites utilize a variety of different orthographies, so he has had to reconcile that within the program coding.³⁴² As of June 2023, Koprís's database contains 38,741 vocabulary entries and over 1,400 stems (core parts of words), and 23,637 lines of text files (narratives, hymns, sentences collected, and other miscellany).³⁴³ This data can be compared with 2014 when Koprís had 31,935 vocabulary entries, 1,147 roots or stems, and 48 preserved texts.³⁴⁴ While his dissertation work centered around Barbeau, for the language revitalization work that Koprís currently provides for the community, his data cross-references 70 additional non-Barbeau sources.³⁴⁵ And the work is ongoing, as he finds new data, they are added to the database, and as computer functionality evolves, he must update his system to keep pace with technological shifts.

Dr. Koprís was the first prominent advocate for calling Wendat and Waⁿdat “sister” languages. Previously, it was commonly assumed that Waⁿdat evolved as a dialect of Wendat, instead of both languages evolving separately from a parent language, as Koprís argues.³⁴⁶ While some words from both languages are mutually intelligible to the other, there are certain words where their differences are more pronounced. Koprís uses the example of *tobacco*: “There are examples where more common Wendat and Wyandot terms are not cognate, but less common

³⁴² Personal communication with Craig Koprís, 12 June 2023.

³⁴³ Personal communication with Craig Koprís, 12 June 2023.

³⁴⁴ Klass, “Waⁿdat Language Presentation for Qmakyehti?” 9.

³⁴⁵ Personal communication with Craig Koprís, 12 June 2023.

³⁴⁶ Koprís’s dissertation presents a synchronic, rather than diachronic approach to the Waⁿdat language. In linguistics, a diachronic approach looks at the evolution of a language over time, while a synchronic approach looks at an isolated moment in time. According to Koprís, “Almost all the previous analytical work was diachronic in nature, blending all Wxndat together with the purpose of using the result to further knowledge of the proto-language. Language examples were presented in underlying, reconstructed, or otherwise very abstract forms, undoing all sound changes.” Koprís focused mainly on the work of Barbeau and the state of the Waⁿdat language in the years 1911-1912. While his approach was deeply informed by the history of the Waⁿdat language, and rooted in those developments, he focused on the modern living language.

Personal communication with the author, June 2023. Koprís, “A Grammar and Dictionary of Wyandot.”

ones are. The Wendat root -tsar- and the Wyandot root -Yę?w-, both meaning ‘tobacco,’ are not cognate...”³⁴⁷ Another example would be the words for *eagle*. In Wendat, the word is *sondakwa*, while in Waⁿdat it is *tsamęhihi?*. Dr. Koprís’s orthography is the current accepted one by the Wyandotte Nation, and he has constructed an online class called “Šaróka? Waⁿdat ?” which language groups of Wxndat community members are currently using to learn and teach the Waⁿdat language. Craig also facilitated language studies for the Wyandot *uⁿdatrihqot* (faithkeepers) who conduct ceremonies using the language, including naming ceremonies.

In 2012, Koprís, Zane Smith, and Sioui all participated in the first Wendat and Wyandot Studies Conference in Wendake, Québec. Papers from this conference were published in *Wendat and Wyandot Then and Now*, translated into Wendat as *Eonywa’ndiyonhratehkwih chia’ ekwäa’tatehkwih*, where Koprís contributed “Marius Barbeau and the Study of the Wyandot Language” and Zane Smith contributed “Recovery of a Wyandot/Wendat Life-way.” The joint inclusion and participation in the conference by those who work with both the Wendat and Waⁿdat languages shows the important link that these two revival movements share today.

Koprís and Richrd Zane Smith have done the most to keep the *uⁿdita?wahsta?* sleeping Waⁿdat language *uⁿdakye:wat* awake in recent decades, showing that a viable revival movement requires whoever will remain steadfastly dedicated to it over time, whether community members or settler allies. Their patience is being rewarded now as the Wyandotte Nation has recently launched a year-round full-time language revival movement in Oklahoma and online.

Wyandotte Nation’s Language Revival Movement

Kim Gray Garcia, the Cultural Preservation Officer for Wyandotte Nation, oversees the department which runs cultural events such as the annual powwow, Culture Days, and Little

³⁴⁷ Koprís, “A Grammar and Dictionary of Wyandot,” 375.

Turtles summer camp for kids, and now also language revitalization. In 2020, the nation hired Beci Wright as the Cultural Researcher *Inyômarihú?te? Iwihšas*. After some preliminary research, Wright, who is a Wyandotte citizen, worked with Koprís to set up the initial pilot language group.³⁴⁸ The COVID-19 pandemic made it more accessible to connect everyone from Koprís who lives on the east coast to community members who live outside of Oklahoma. With multiple community members now running their own classes, the community as a whole is able to be more invested in the revival movement, and with the volume of language students increasing, this revival has a bright future.

CONCLUSION

During the twentieth twenty-first centuries, Wendat and Waⁿdat community members worked hard to wake their sleeping languages. Individuals, such as Prosper Vincent and Paul Tsawenhohi Picard, passionately held onto whatever language they could to preserve it. Others played integral parts in nation-supported revival movements. Marguerite Vincent Tehariolina, for example, propelled the “Rediscovery and Regeneration of the Huron Language” of the 1980s. Linda Sioui served as the head of the Linguistic Orientation Committee in the 1990s, and Megan Lukaniec, now the nation’s tribal linguist, worked on the Yawenda project in the 2010s. For Waⁿdat, language keepers such as Sarah Dushane and Smith Nichols worked to preserve the language by speaking with Barbeau before the language *uⁿdita?wahsta?* fell asleep. Their recordings are used in the modern revival movements. Settlers have also had a role to play. Settler linguists such as Bruce Pearson and Craig Koprís, have worked with community members

³⁴⁸ Wright invited the author to participate in this group which consisted of four other participants and lasted several months, meeting weekly. This group provided feedback in real time to help refine the class materials and structure.

including Richard Zane Smith, as well as with the Wyandotte Nation to revitalize Waⁿdat. It takes a *kanata* or *yaⁿdata?* (village) to take a language from *uⁿdita?wahsta?* (asleep) to *uⁿdakye:wat* (awake).³⁴⁹

³⁴⁹ *Yaⁿdata?* is “village” in Waⁿdat, while *kanata* is “village” in Laurentian.

Conclusion: *Takéhsq?*³⁵⁰

Proper names continue to tell the history of the Wxndat languages from generation to generation. Naming patterns point to the long term impact of colonialism and the ways the physical relocation was used to retain language and culture longer in the face of assimilative pressures. The transition between Wendat names to European style names (a first and last name), for example, occurred more quickly within the Wendat community, which was located in close proximity to the French since the seventeenth century. This is demonstrated through the names of key figures like: Zacharie Vincent *Telariolin*, Paul *Tsawenhohi* Picard, Prosper Vincent, and Marguerite Vincent *Tehariolina*.

In Waⁿdat communities who relocated west, the change occurred more slowly. The transition from Waⁿdat to fully European names coinciding with their proximity to European lifeways and the structures of settler colonialism. This is demonstrated in the eighteenth century through Kondiaronk “the rat,” whose nickname, while in English/French, is actually just a translation of his Waⁿdat name, and Tarhe “the crane,” who, while he bears a European nickname, was recognized officially by his Waⁿdat name.³⁵¹ By the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, however, names of Wyandot people looked more European: Matthew Mudeater (though still a translation of a Waⁿdat name!), B.N.O. Walker, and Sarah Dushane. Today, in connection with the language revival movements, many community members, whether born in or adopted in, utilize their names in the languages, often given in a ceremony by an *Uⁿdatrihqt* (Faithkeeper): Catherine *Taqmę[?]šre[?]* Tàmmaro, Richard Zane Smith *Sqhahiyqh*, Judith (Zane-

³⁵⁰ *Takéhsq?* means “to link together, to join” in the Waⁿdat language.

³⁵¹ Steckley states that “the rat” is a translation of Kondiaronk. Steckley, *The Eighteenth-Century Wyandot*, 56.

Yunghans) Manthe *Trɔnyəḡhks*, Louisa Libby *Yarɔnyewáʔe*, John Steckley *Hechon*, Kathryn Magee Labelle *Ontidesonk Yari:memaʔ*, and Craig Kopris *Hamədaehtaʔ*.

The history of the Wxndat languages can be characterized by three major eras: (1) *Hədi:hšahs nəh Hatitsihəstatsih*, a time when the Wxndat language(s) was/were flourishing and European explorers and missionaries *and* other Indigenous groups were learning it, throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; (2) *Huⁿdatřižuh nəh Hatizəʔ*, when Wendat and Wyandot people fought for and began writing in their languages in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; and (3) *Uⁿditaʔwahstaʔ nəh Uⁿdakye:wat*, the languages falling asleep and being awakened by revival movements in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Throughout all three eras, individual Wxndat community members maintained interest in keeping their language vital. Likewise, over the course of these 500 years, non-Wxndats have always been interested in learning the languages, demonstrating a constant interest over time that has never waned.

A language that is growing and changing is a sign of a healthy language. We have to let go of the notion that a language will remain frozen in time forever. In English-speaking North America, we don't sound like *Beowulf* – we don't even speak like Shakespeare! So we have to be comfortable hearing Indigenous languages that don't match exactly those documented by people outside of the community hundreds of years ago.

Something we still lack in the historical narrative is a more precise documentation of how Wxndat evolved into Wendat and Waⁿdat. *When? How? And at what rate? What were the changes like, and what can they tell us about the Wxndat peoples themselves and the times that they were living through?* These are questions that will hopefully be answered by future scholarship.

Publicly available information on sites like Wikipedia spread misinformation that creates misunderstandings of Wxndat history. If you go to the Wikipedia page for “Wyandot” today, you will likely leave with the impression that “Wyandot” is just an American way of saying “Wendat.” Improving the historical narrative surrounding the Wxndat languages will help the public to understand that this is a heterogenous group of many tribes, historically aligned and bound by kinship, but still four sovereign nations today.

The language revival movements are linked to one another, and they speak to renewed cultural alliances based on shared history.

Nęh ayemędihša?ih³⁵²

³⁵² In Waⁿdat, “now my words are finished.”

Appendix A

Spelling Variations of Terms

The following is a selection of spelling variations of important terms and phrases used in my research. It is by no means complete.

Wendat:

Hoüandate³⁵³
Houandater³⁵⁴
Ouendat, 8endat³⁵⁵
Weⁿdat³⁵⁶
Wendat
Wendot³⁵⁷
Wendót³⁵⁸

Wyandot:

Guyandot³⁵⁹
Guyandotte³⁶⁰
Houandater³⁶¹
Hoüandate³⁶²

³⁵³ Sagard's dictionary, under the heading "Nations, de quelle nation." Gabriel Sagard, *Histoire du Canada et Voyages*, (Paris: Claude Sonnius, Rue St. Jacques, 1636).

³⁵⁴ "...but for the Hurons or Houandater, their language is so particular and different from all the others that it does not derive from any." This is from Sagard's dictionary, first page. Sagard, *Histoire du Canada et Voyages*.

³⁵⁵ JR 5: 278n17.

³⁵⁶ This comes from the Weⁿdat/Waⁿdat Women's Council for *Daughters of Aataentsic*, but there is some debate on the use of the small ⁿ for this word.

³⁵⁷ JR 2: 303n58. Charles Garrad, *Petun to Wyandot: The Ontario Petun from the Sixteenth Century*, (University of Ottawa Press and the Canadian Museum of History, 2014), 562.

³⁵⁸ Gatschet's notes, Oct 1880.

³⁵⁹ John R. Swanton, "The Indian Tribes of North America," *Bulletin 145*, (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, 1952), 233; Charles Garrad, *Petun to Wyandot: The Ontario Petun from the Sixteenth Century*, (University of Ottawa Press and the Canadian Museum of History, 2014), 556.

³⁶⁰ Also the Guyandotte River in SW West Virginia, which is a tributary of the Ohio River. John N.B. Hewitt, "Huron," in *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, Part 1, edited by Frederick Webb Hodge, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 30, (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1907), 585; Garrad, *Petun to Wyandot*, 556.

³⁶¹ "...but for the Hurons or Houandater, their language is so particular and different from all the others that it does not derive from any." This is from Sagard's dictionary, first page. Sagard, *Histoire du Canada et Voyages*.

³⁶² Sagard's dictionary, under the heading "Nations, de quelle nation." Sagard, *Histoire du Canada et Voyages*.

Hundots³⁶³
 Junúndat³⁶⁴
 Junundat / Junandot³⁶⁵
 Waindott³⁶⁶
 Waⁿdat
 Wăndat³⁶⁷
 Wandót³⁶⁸
 Wanat³⁶⁹
 Wanats³⁷⁰
 Wănat³⁷¹
 Wane-dote³⁷²
 Wennat³⁷³
 Wiandot³⁷⁴
 Wiondatoo³⁷⁵
 Wyandot
 Wyandote³⁷⁶
 Wyandott
 Wyandotte

³⁶³ John W. Greyeyes in Hubbard 1975. Jeremiah Hubbard, *Forty Years Among the Indians. Back Creek Monthly Meeting of Friends*, (Jonesboro, Indiana, 1975), 114; Charles Garrad, *Petun to Wyandot: The Ontario Petun from the Sixteenth Century*, (University of Ottawa Press and the Canadian Museum of History, 2014), 556.

³⁶⁴ Craig Kopris, Šaróka? Waⁿdat?, Wyandotte Nation of Oklahoma, 2022, Introduction, Lesson 0.1.

³⁶⁵ This spelling comes from the name of the town created by Wyandot Chief Nicolas Orontony around 1739 when he broke away from the Fort Detroit area. Charles A. Hanna, *The Wilderness Trail*, Vol. 1, (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1911), 320, 321fn1. Paul R. Misencik and Sally E. Misencik, *American Indians of the Ohio Country in the 18th Century*, (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2020), 189.

³⁶⁶ From a trade list account from 1772-73. James F. O'Neil, compiler and editor, *Their bearing is noble and proud: a collection of narratives regarding the appearance of Native Americans from 1740-1815*, Vol. 1, (Big Rapids: J.T.G.S. Publishing, 1995), 42.

³⁶⁷ Horatio Hale, "A Huron Historical Legend." *Magazine of American History* (December 1883): 476.

³⁶⁸ Gatschet's notes, Oct 1880. Kopris, Šaróka? Waⁿdat?, Introduction, Lesson 0.1.

³⁶⁹ Kopris, Šaróka? Waⁿdat?, Introduction, Lesson 0.1.

³⁷⁰ Conrad Weiser, "Names of numbers in the Languages of several Indian Nations," *Gentleman's Magazine*, 26:386, 1756, 386.

³⁷¹ This is a Haudenosaunee pronunciation, according to Hale. Horatio Hale, "A Huron Historical Legend," *Magazine of American History* (December 1883): 476.

³⁷² Morgan says this is what they call themselves, and that it means "calf of the leg," and is a reference to how they string up buffalo meat...and that it was given to them by the Iroquois and they adopted it for their name. Lewis Henry Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family*, Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge 17, (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian, 1871), 283.

³⁷³ This is also a Haudenosaunee pronunciation, according to Hale. Horatio Hale, "A Huron Historical Legend," 476.

³⁷⁴ From the 1785 Treaty of Fort McIntosh. This is also how Governor Patrick Henry spells it in his papers, so this might have been a particular Virginia spelling. Ratified Indian Treaty 10: Wyandot, Delaware, Chippewa and Ottawa - Fort McIntosh, January 21, 1785 (Treaty of Fort McIntosh) [digital scan of original treaty]; Series: Indian Treaties; Record Group 11: General Records of the United States Government, NAID: 170281455; National Archives at Washington, D.C.

³⁷⁵ James F. O'Neil, compiler and editor, *Their bearing is noble and proud*, Vol. 1, 52.

³⁷⁶ Refers to it as the "Wyandote Reservation, Kansas." Lewis Henry Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family*, Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge 17, (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian, 1871), 283.

Wyendot³⁷⁷
Wyondat³⁷⁸
Wyondatts³⁷⁹
Wyondotts³⁸⁰

Tionnontaté / Petun / Tobacco:

Dionondadies³⁸¹
Etionontates³⁸²
Khionontaterrhonons³⁸³
Quieunontatéronons³⁸⁴
Tionnontates³⁸⁵
Tuinontatek³⁸⁶

Huron:

Huron
Huronne

³⁷⁷ In Washington's 1754 diary on the Ohio expedition. That "e" in there might be evidence of the French editor, as it comes from "The version of GW's diary found among Contrecoeur's papers" (FN 38). "Expedition to the Ohio, 1754: Narrative," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/01-01-02-0004-0002>. [Original source: *The Diaries of George Washington*, vol. 1, 11 March 1748–13 November 1765, ed. Donald Jackson. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1976, pp. 174–210.] Thank you to Daniel Cross for pointing me to this source.

³⁷⁸ "To George Washington from Colonel Daniel Brodhead, 14 May 1779," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/03-20-02-0419>. [Original source: *The Papers of George Washington*, Revolutionary War Series, vol. 20, 8 April–31 May 1779, ed. Edward G. Lengel. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2010, pp. 485–488.]

³⁷⁹ At a conference in Detroit in November 1765. Garrad, *Petun to Wyandot*, 25.

³⁸⁰ This spelling is found throughout many of George Washington's letters located in the *Founders Online* archive. Misencik and Misencik, *American Indians of the Ohio Country in the 18th Century*, 46.

³⁸¹ Connelley, *Wyandot Folk-Lore*, 17.

³⁸² Connelley, *Wyandot Folk-Lore*, 17.

³⁸³ Connelley, *Wyandot Folk-Lore*, 17.

³⁸⁴ Garrad, *Petun to Wyandot*, 26; Sagard's dictionary is not paginated, but these terms are listed under the heading "Nations, de quelle nation." Gabriel Sagard. *Le Grand Voyage du Pays des Hurons* (Paris: Denys Moreau, Rue St. Jacques, 1632).

³⁸⁵ Connelley, *Wyandot Folk-Lore*, 17.

³⁸⁶ Connelley, *Wyandot Folk-Lore*, 17.

Bawbee, Henry (Brafferton Student + Elder Bawbee):

Babie
Bâby
Baubee
Bauby
Bawbee

Iroquois & Haudenosaunee:

Hiroquois³⁸⁷
Hodenosaunee³⁸⁸
Iroquese³⁸⁹

³⁸⁷ Throughout the earlier volumes of the Jesuit Relations.

³⁸⁸ Huron-Wendat historian Georges Sioui spells it this way throughout his works; this also seems to be a common spelling by Canadian authors.

³⁸⁹ Lahontan, *New Voyages to North-America*, edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites, Volume 2, (Chicago: A.C. McClurg & Co., 1905) [original source published 1703], 555.

Appendix B

Chronology of the Wxndat Languages

- 1534 Explorer Jacques Cartier takes his first French expedition to Canada. While at Stadacona, he captures two sons of Chief Donaconna, whose names were Dom Agaya and Taignoagny, taking them to France and eventually returning them to Canada. Cartier also leaves behind French language words carved into a cross: “Vive le Roy de France,” (“Long Live the King of France”). Roughly 50 Laurentian words are recorded from the first voyage.
- 1535-1536 Cartier’s second voyage. He captures Donaconna and re-captures Dom Agaya and Taignoagny, among others, taking them back to France. A list of roughly 150 words was likely produced with the assistance of these captives from Stadacona and the surrounding area.
- 1541 Cartier’s third voyage. Not very much significant ethnographic data was recorded during this voyage.
- 1603 Samuel de Champlain used the word “Canada” to describe where he was exploring. This is from the Laurentian language *kanata* meaning village, recorded in the vocabulary in Cartier’s *Voyages*.
- 1607 French traveller Marc Lescarbot starts “the story that it was the Iroquois who had destroyed Hochelaga near the start of the century,” which Canadian ethnohistorian Bruce G. Trigger posits he may have heard from Champlain.³⁹⁰

³⁹⁰ Bruce G. Trigger, "Who Were The “Laurentian Iroquois”?" The Canadian Review of Sociology 3, no. 4 (1966): 205. For Lescarbot’s travel account, see: W.L. Grant, *The History of New France, by Marc Lescarbot*, 3 volumes, (Toronto, 1907 [1607?]), III, 114, 117, 267-8.

ca. 1610	Étienne Brûlé, a teenager, was sent by Champlain to live among the Hurons/Wxndats and began learning the language. ³⁹¹
1615	The Recollects began work on the Wxndat (Huron) language, “beginning with a Huron dictionary undertaken by Joseph le Caron in 1616 but now lost...The only work of the Recollects that survives is a dictionary and phrase book by Gabriel Sagard-Theodat (1632, 1865), which may incorporate the earlier work of others.” ³⁹²
1615	Père Joseph Le Caron spends the winter among the Wxndat. ³⁹³
1615-1616	Champlain visits Huronia, the ancestral lands of the Wxndat in the Great Lakes region, ranging from the Georgian Bay to Lake Simcoe. ³⁹⁴
1616	Champlain records the term for the Petun Nation, which translates into English as the Tobacco Nation, and is the Tionontaté. ³⁹⁵
1616-1623	The Récollets were in Canada doing missionary work. ³⁹⁶
1622-1623	Brûlé goes back to France. ³⁹⁷

³⁹¹ Olga Jurgens, “BRÛLÉ, ÉTIENNE,” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, accessed 23 Dec, 2022, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/brule_etienne_1E.html.

³⁹² Ives Goddard, ed., *Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 17: Languages*, William C. Sturtevant, General Editor, (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1996), p. 21; Chrétien Le Clercq, *First Establishment of the Faith in New France*, John Gilmary Shea, trans. and ed., Vol. 1, (New York: John G. Shea, 1881) [1691], 248; Pilling, James Constantine. *Bibliography of the Iroquoian languages*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1888, 106.

³⁹³ Samuel de Champlain, *Voyages of Samuel De Champlain*. Volume 3. Project Gutenberg, n.d., , fn #195, <https://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/6825/pg6825.html>.

³⁹⁴ “Champlain and Huronia, 1615,” *Ontario Heritage Trust*, Building Alliances with Aboriginal Peoples, 1609-10, accessed 23 Dec 2022. <https://www.heritagetrust.on.ca/pages/our-stories/exhibits/samuel-de-champlain/history/champlain-and-huronia-1615>.

³⁹⁵ Garrad, *Petun to Wyandot*, 4, 16.

³⁹⁶ Lucien Campeau. *La Mission de Jésuites chez les Hurons, 1634–1650*. (Montréal: Éditions Bellarmin), 1987, p. 113.

³⁹⁷ Danièle Caloz, “Étienne Brûlé: A Wealthy Parisian Trader?” *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, last edited 29 June 2015, accessed 23 Dec 2022, <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/etienne-brule-a-wealthy-parisian-trader>.

1623-1624	Recollect Brother Gabriel Sagard working with the Wxndat in Wendake Ehen, gathering notes on the language. ³⁹⁸
1625	The Jesuits began to replace the Recollects in New France. ³⁹⁹
1626-1628	Brûlé returned to France and was married. This was the last time he saw his home country. ⁴⁰⁰
1626-1629	Father Jean de Brébeuf learning the Huron/Wxndat language in the Wxndat village of Ihonatiria near Toanché, Québec. ⁴⁰¹ He writes a catechism in Wxndat shortly after in 1630. ⁴⁰²
1629	Champlain surrenders Québec to English privateer Sir David Kirk during the Anglo-French War (1627-1629) within the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648). Québec was returned to France in 1632. ⁴⁰³
1632	The Jesuits reenter Québec. ⁴⁰⁴
1632	Récollet lay brother Gabriel Sagard publishes a Huron/Wxndat dictionary as an addendum to his <i>Long Voyage du Pays des Hurons</i> . Étienne Brûlé helped him when he was first learning the language. ⁴⁰⁵
1630s-1670s	Wxndat words appear in the Jesuit Relations.

³⁹⁸ John Steckley, "Wendat Dialects and the Development of the Huron Alliance," *Northeast Anthropology* No. 54, 1997, 24.

³⁹⁹ Ives Goddard, ed., *Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 17: Languages*, William C. Sturtevant, General Editor, (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1996), p. 21.

⁴⁰⁰ Danièle Caloz, "Étienne Brûlé: A Wealthy Parisian Trader?" *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, last edited 29 June 2015, accessed 23 Dec 2022, <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/etienne-brule-a-wealthy-parisian-trader>.

⁴⁰¹ Lucien Campeau, *La Mission de Jésuites chez les Hurons, 1634–1650*. (Montréal : Éditions Bellarmin), 1987, p. 114.

⁴⁰² John Steckley, "Wendat Dialects and the Development of the Huron Alliance," *Northeast Anthropology* No. 54, 1997, 24.

⁴⁰³ Campeau, *La Mission de Jésuites chez les Hurons*, 114.

⁴⁰⁴ Campeau, *La Mission de Jésuites chez les Hurons*, 114.

⁴⁰⁵ Jurgens, "BRÛLÉ, ÉTIENNE."

1632 or 1633	Étienne Brûlé dies at the hands of the Wxndat. Not much is known about this episode, and some sources say he was executed while Québec was still under English control, and that Champlain just didn't hear about it until about June 1633.
1634, Aug 5	Jesuit Father Jean de Brébeuf arrives back in Wendake Ehen (Huronie) at the village of <i>Teandeouiata</i> (Toanché) after about 30 days of traveling.
1634	A major epidemic broke out among the Wxndat. ⁴⁰⁶ This is the first of the epidemics between 1634-1640.
1634-1640	Major infectious disease epidemics among the Wxndat. Gary Warrick said, "There is no evidence in Wendat-Tionontate archaeological settlement remains or large burial populations for any significant outbreak of European disease prior to AD 1634." ⁴⁰⁷
1636	Brébeuf's description of the Wxndat language published in the Jesuit Relations. ⁴⁰⁸
1637	Pierre Martin appears in the JR documents as a Huron/Wxndat interpreter in Trois-Rivières. ⁴⁰⁹
1640	Jesuit Father Pierre Joseph Marie Chaumonot arrives in Wendake Ehen. Some point after, he begins to write his <i>French-Huron Dictionary and Vocabulary</i> .
1640-1641	Jesuit priest Jérôme Lalement includes a Huron prayer with translation in the Jesuit Relation for this year. ⁴¹⁰

⁴⁰⁶ Campeau, *La Mission de Jésuites chez les Hurons*, 115.

⁴⁰⁷ Gary Warrick, "European Infectious Disease and Depopulation of the Wendat-Tionontate (Huron-Petun)." *World Archaeology* 35, no. 2 (2003): 258. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3560226>.

⁴⁰⁸ JR 10:116-122. Goddard, *Handbook*, 21.

⁴⁰⁹ Campeau, *La Mission de Jésuites chez les Hurons*, 114.

⁴¹⁰ Goddard, *Handbook*, 21.

- 1649 Beginning of The Dispersal. The Haudenosaunee undertake a series of devastating targeted attacks on Wxndat villages, burning them to the ground, including corn fields. This causes a major movement of peoples in different directions. Roughly 300 survivors head east toward Québec City with Chaumonot and will later establish the Lorette communities. Others head west towards Detroit and join up with other Nadowekian (Iroquoian) nations such as the Tionontati (Petun/Tobacco), the Neutral, the Wenro, and the Erie. Several others even moved in with the western nations of the Haudenosaunee.
- Before 1656 The earliest surviving Jesuit Wendat dictionary is produced as a French-Wendat dictionary with some Onondaga entries. Steckley posits that it may have been used by Jesuit Fathers Pierre Chaumonot and Claude Dablon when they stayed with the Onondaga in 1655-56.⁴¹¹
- 1666-1700 Father Etienne de Carheil compiles a list of Wendat noun and verb roots. According to Wendake's linguist Megan Lukaniec, "the missionary worked on a two-volume dictionary *Racines huronnes* of 260 and 302 pages each. This dictionary supposedly gave verb roots with derivations along with their classifications according to verb conjugation. However, this two-volume dictionary is now lost. Despite this loss, it is said that Père Pierre Potier copied Carheil's dictionary, which then came to be Potier's *Radices huronicae*, also a two-volume work."⁴¹² Huron-Wendat anthropologist Linda Sioui says it was 970 verbal roots.⁴¹³ Steckley asserted that Carheil's compilation likely "formed the basis for three seventeenth-century Wendat-French dictionaries...as well as Potier's copy, in which a few Wyandot forms were added."⁴¹⁴
- 1680 The Great Library of Montreal holds a manuscript dictionary entitled, *Dictionnaire Iroquois, 1680*, which Huron-Wendat scholars Michel Gros-Louis and Benoit Jacques argued in 2018 first that it resembled the Huron-Wendat language *and* Mohawk, resolving ultimately that it is in fact in the

⁴¹¹ Steckley, "Wendat Dialects and the Development of the Huron Alliance," 2.

⁴¹² Steckley, "Wendat Dialects and the Development of the Huron Alliance," 24; Lukaniec, "The Form, Function and Semantics of Middle Voice in Wendat," Master's Thesis, Université Laval Québec, 2010, 41.

⁴¹³ Linda Sioui, "Is There a Future for the Huron Language?" in *Quebec's Aboriginal Languages: History, Planning and Development*, Maurais, Jacques [Ed], Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters Ltd, 1996, 5.

⁴¹⁴ John L. Steckley, *De Religione: Telling the Seventeenth-Century Jesuit Story in Huron to the Iroquois*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004), 14.

language of the Petuns, who had lived at the Fort de la Montagne near the end of the 17th century.⁴¹⁵

- 1688 Father Chaumonot began to write his autobiography in Quebec, at the request of Father Claude Dablon.⁴¹⁶
- 1701, 23 July-7 Aug The Great Peace of Montreal. The signature of western Wxndat headman, Kondiaronk “le rat” appears on this document. Kondiaronk died on August 2, 1701 in the middle of the peace conference. On August 3, “shortly after Kondiaronk’s burial, the treaty was ratified by the main delegates present.”⁴¹⁷
- 1703 Baron Lahontan’s *New Voyages to North-America* was published in English for the first time, and featured a lengthy dialogue with his friend *Adario* who was likely the headman Kondiaronk. Lahontan uses the word *Huron* to describe the family of languages that we would now classify as Northern Iroquoian.⁴¹⁸ His account includes “A short dictionary of the most universal language of the savages.”⁴¹⁹
- 1708 Jesuit Father Pierre Potier was born in the province of Hainaut, Belgium.
- 1730s Many of the Wyandot establish themselves at Upper Sandusky, Ohio. (Some are still back at Anderdon in the Detroit area).
- 1739 Wyandot Chief Nicolas Orontony breaks away from the Fort Detroit area and forms a new town named *Junundot* or *Junandot* “to distance

⁴¹⁵ Michel Gros-Louis, and Benoît Jacques, *Les Hurons-Wendats: Regards Nouveaux*, (Québec: Les Éditions GID, 2018), 126-132.

⁴¹⁶ André Surprenant, “CHAUMONOT (Calmonotius, Calvonotti, Chomonot), PIERRE-JOSEPH-MARIE,” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, accessed 23 Dec 2022, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/chaumonot_pierre_joseph_marie_1E.html.

⁴¹⁷ Gilles Havard, *The Great Peace of Montreal of 1701: French-Native Diplomacy in the Seventeenth Century*, Phyllis Aronoff and Howard Scott, trans., (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2001), 3-4.

⁴¹⁸ Goddard, *Handbook of North American Indians*, 292.

⁴¹⁹ The John Carpenter Brown Library, Indian Languages Database, https://www.brown.edu/Facilities/John_Carter_Brown_Library/exhibitions/ildb/details.php?id=216. This chapter can be found at the end of Lahontan’s account in Baron de Lahontan, *New Voyages to North-America*, Edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites, Volume II, (Chicago: A.C. McClurg & Co., 1905) (original source published 1703), 732-748.

themselves from the aggressively belligerent Ottawa and other Three Fires Confederacy tribes in the area; however, their move was viewed by the French as a Wyandot defection to the English.”⁴²⁰

- 1742 Wyandot Chief Tarhe was born in Detroit (lives until 1818 when he died in Ohio).

- 1743, Oct Jesuit Father Pierre Potier arrives in Quebec.⁴²¹

- 1743, Dec 22 Potier completes *Radices Linguae Huronicae I*.

- 1744, Feb 18 Potier completes *Radices Linguae Huronicae II*.

- 1744, Sept 25 Potier joins the Huron mission of Father Armand de La Richardie at l’Île aux Bois-Blancs, near Detroit.⁴²²

- 1745, May 21 Potier (1708-1781) completes *Elementa Grammaticae Huronicae*, a 109-page Wyandot grammar, along with a census of the Wyandot population of his mission near Detroit.⁴²³

- 1746-1747 Potier completes a collection of sermons, homilies, etc. in the language (July 2 – April 1).

- 1747 Wyandot Porcupine clan leader Nicholas Orontondi’s resistance to the French⁴²⁴; he led a Huron war party to destroy the Detroit mission (where Potier was) in May of that year.⁴²⁵

⁴²⁰ Misencik and Misencik, *American Indians of the Ohio Country in the 18th Century*, 189.

⁴²¹ Zanna Van Loon, “Pierre-Philippe Potier’s *Elementa Grammaticae Huronicae* (1745),” *History and Philosophy of the Language Sciences* (blog), 28 Nov 2018, accessed 15 Dec 2022, <https://hiphilangsci.net/2018/11/28/pierre-philippe-potier/>.

⁴²² Van Loon, “Pierre-Philippe Potier’s *Elementa Grammaticae Huronicae* (1745).”

⁴²³ Van Loon, “Pierre-Philippe Potier’s *Elementa Grammaticae Huronicae* (1745).”

⁴²⁴ Steckley, *The Eighteenth-Century Wyandot*, 12.

⁴²⁵ Robert Toupin, “POTIER, PIERRE-PHILIPPE,” in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 4 (1771-1800), University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed April 26, 2023.

1751, Sept 20	Potier completes <i>Radices Huronicae</i> .
1753	The French begin a military occupation of the Ohio Country, constructing forts and driving out the British, even though the British also claimed the Ohio Country at this point.
1755/6	Conrad Weiser publishes some W ^a ndat words under “Names of numbers in the Languages of several Indian Nations” in <i>Gentleman’s Magazine</i> . ⁴²⁶
ca. 1760	Henry Bawbee (Wyandot), who was the last student at the Brafferton Indian School in Williamsburg, Virginia, was born.
1764	The King of France suppresses Jesuit activity; as a result, the Jesuits stop sending new staff to their missions in New France.
1767	The parish of Notre-Dame-de-l’Assomption was founded, and from that year until his death in 1781 Jesuit Father Pierre Potier carried on his ministry to the Hurons and French as priest of this parish, the oldest in Ontario. ⁴²⁷
1775-1778	Henry Bawbee attended the Brafferton Indian School in Williamsburg, Virginia. He learned the English language and politics and was given an allowance by Patrick Henry.
1776	Friedrich Valentin Melsheimer’s account in Wendake with the Huron-Wendat was published. Melsheimer was a chaplain with a German mercenary regiment of the British Army. His journal included anthropological observations as well as anecdotal interviews where he asked the Huron-Wendat about their ancestors and their history.

⁴²⁶ Claudio R. Salvucci, ed., *A Vocabulary of Wyandot: John Johnston*, American Language Reprints, 30, (Merchantville, NJ: Evolution Publishing, 2003), p. 10.

⁴²⁷ Toupin, “POTIER, PIERRE-PHILIPPE.”

- 1776, Aug 2 August Wilhelm du Roi, a British officer serving in the American Revolution, observed of the Wendat that “Among themselves they use their savage language, but constant intercourse with the nearby city has brought it about that most of them speak French, though poorly, and in a form as mixed as their customs, manners, and clothing.”⁴²⁸
- 1778 1778, Moravian missionary David Zeisberger wrote, “The language of the Cherokees is a mixture of other languages. It has a little of the Shawanose, the Mingoes and a great deal of the Wiondats.”⁴²⁹
- 1780 Henry Bawbee’s alleged espionage.
- 1781 The last record of Henry Bawbee; it’s possible he didn’t live past this year.
- 1781 Death of Potier, at Notre-Dame-de-l’Assomption in Ontario; (born 1708).
- 1785 Treaty of Forth McIntosh. A large portion of current Ohio was ceded by the Wyandot, Delaware, Chippewa, and Ottawa to the U.S. Notably, they are spelled “Wiandot” in this document.⁴³⁰ The Wyandot signatories for this document were “Daunghquat” (Dunquat, the Half King), Abraham Kuhn, and Ottawerreri.
- 1790 The Wyandot of Anderdon Reserve was created in Ontario, as a result of the McKee Treaty.
- 1795 Treaty of Greenville concludes the hostilities in the Ohio territory after the Battle of Fallen Timbers. Tarhe and ten other Wyandots are signatories to the document, as is General “Mad” Anthony Wayne. The Wyandots left

⁴²⁸ August Wilhelm du Roi, and Charlotte S.J. Epping, trans., *Journal of Du Roi the Elder: Lieutenant and Adjutant, in the Service of the Duke of Brunswick, 1776-1778*, (New York: D. Appleton & Co. and University of Pennsylvania, 1911), 45-46. Lainé, “La disparition de la langue huronne,” 29.

⁴²⁹ David Zeisberger, *David Zeisberger's History of the Northern American Indians*, (Ohio: Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, [pref. 1910]), 142; Goddard, Ives, ed. *Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 17: Languages*. William C. Sturtevant, General Editor. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1996, p. 292.

⁴³⁰ Ratified Indian Treaty 10: Wyandot, Delaware, Chippewa and Ottawa - Fort McIntosh, January 21, 1785 (Treaty of Fort McIntosh) [digital scan of original treaty]; Series: Indian Treaties; Record Group 11: General Records of the United States Government, NAID: 170281455; National Archives at Washington, D.C.

their marks in the form of animals and other drawings next to the English written form of their names.

- 1797 & 1798 Benjamin Smith Barton publishes *New Views of the Origins of the Tribes and Nations of America*.⁴³¹ Barton had collected about forty Wyandot words.⁴³²
- 1800 Bruté de Rémur creates manuscript *Dictionnaire Huron Portatif*.
- 1810 Birth of Grand Chief (Paul) François-Xavier Picard Tahourenché (1810-1883). Ernest Myrand attributes him as the orator in 1850 who said that the language was dying, as cited in Lionel Lindsay's work of 1900.⁴³³
- 1813 Birth of Matthew Mudeater in Canada, who was later Head Chief of the Wyandot Nation in Kansas, and likely also a speaker of the language.
- 1816 Anderdon Reserve gets 100 new residents: the Wyandots who had fought on the side of the British in the War of 1812, (serving under Chief Splitlog).⁴³⁴
- 1819 *The shift from calling the language family "Huron" to calling it "Iroquoian":* Heckewelder uses the term *Iroquois* to denote the family of languages that we would now classify as Iroquoian. This is a shift from previous French sources who used Huron as the name of this language family.⁴³⁵

⁴³¹ Claudio R. Salvucci, ed., *A Vocabulary of Wyandot*, 8.

⁴³² Barton, Benjamin Smith. *New Views of the Origin of the Tribes and Nations of America By Benjamin Smith Barton, M.D. Correspondent-Member of the Society of the Antiquaries of Scotland; Member of the American Philosophical Society; Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences of Boston; Corresponding Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and Professor of Materia Medica, Natural History and Botany, in the University of Pennsylvania*. The second edition, corrected and greatly enlarged. Philadelphia: Printed, for the author, by John Bioren, 1798.

⁴³³ Ernest Myrand, *Noëls Anciens De La Nouvelle-France*, 3 éd., (Montréal: Librairie Beauchemin, limitée, 1913 [1899]), 72; Father Lionel Saint-George Lindsay, *Notre-Dame De La Jeune-Lorette En La Nouvelle-France; Etude Historique*, (Montréal: La Cie De Publication De La Revue Canadienne, 1900), 249.

⁴³⁴ Garrad, *Petun to Wyandot*, 515.

⁴³⁵ Goddard, ed., *Handbook of North American Indians*, 292.

- 1819 Col. John Johnston collected 145 words of the Waⁿdat (Wyandot) language (originally published in 1858).
- 1819 Huron-Wendat Chief Nicolas Vincent Tsawenhohi (1769-1844) testified before the House of Assembly of Lower Canada.⁴³⁶
- 1824 Huron-Wendat Chief Nicolas Vincent Tsawenhohi (1769-1844) testified again before the House of Assembly of Lower Canada.⁴³⁷
- 1829 Some Chippewas, Odawas, and Pottawatomies made a claim to the Anderdon Reserve. This was on the basis of joint treaties that were made in their names in 1790 and 1800. It was decided in favor of the Wyandots.⁴³⁸
- 1831 Alexis de Tocqueville visits North America and comments on his travels to Lorette that the Indigenous people there are speaking French.⁴³⁹
- 1831 Daniel Wilkie (1771-1851) translates Chaumonot's *Grammatica Huronica* into English. He found the original manuscript among the papers of the Lorette Mission in Quebec City, the mission which was founded by Chaumonot in 1673.⁴⁴⁰

⁴³⁶ Jean-François Richard, "Territorial Precedence in Huron-Wendat Oral Tradition," in *Ontario Archaeology Journal: Multidisciplinary Investigations into Huron-Wendat and St. Lawrence Iroquoian Connections*, Neha Gupta and Louis Lesage, eds. No. 96, (2016), 29-30. Nicolas Vincent Tsawenhohi, [Second part of the testimony of Nicolas Vincent Tsawenhohi before the House of Assembly of Lower-Canada concerning the claim to Sillery, January 29, 1824], In *Appendix to the XXVIIIrd Volume of the Journals of the House of Assembly of the Province of Lower-Canada*, Appendix R, edited by the Legislative Assembly of Lower Canada, King's Printer, Quebec. Horatio Hale, "A Huron Historical Legend," *Magazine of American History* (December 1883): 475-83.

⁴³⁷ Richard, "Territorial Precedence in Huron-Wendat Oral Tradition," 29-30. Nicolas Vincent Tsawenhohi, [Second part of the testimony of Nicolas Vincent Tsawenhohi before the House of Assembly of Lower-Canada concerning the claim to Sillery, January 29, 1824], In *Appendix to the XXVIIIrd Volume of the Journals of the House of Assembly of the Province of Lower-Canada*, Appendix R, edited by the Legislative Assembly of Lower Canada, King's Printer, Quebec. Horatio Hale, "A Huron Historical Legend," *Magazine of American History* (December 1883): 475-83.

⁴³⁸ Garrad, *Petun to Wyandot*, 515.

⁴³⁹ Mathieu-Joffre Lainé, "La disparition de la langue huronne," 29; Alexis de Tocqueville, *Tocqueville au Bas-Canada. Présentation de Jacques Vallée*, (Montréal: Éditions du Jour, 1973 [1831]), 54.

⁴⁴⁰ Craig Kopris, "A Grammar and Dictionary of Wyandot," PhD Dissertation, State University of New York at Buffalo, 2001, 7.

- 1834-1836 Methodist missionary Benjamin Slight at the Anderdon Wyandot Reserve.⁴⁴¹
- 1836 *The shift from calling the language family “Huron” to calling it “Iroquoian”*: Gallatin uses the term *Iroquois* to denote the family of languages that we would now classify as Iroquoian. This is a shift from previous French sources, who used Huron as the name of this language family.⁴⁴²
- 1836 Reduction of the Anderdon Reserve (in Ontario) to 7,700 acres.⁴⁴³
- 1837 Wyandot of Anderdon Chiefs Oriwahento (Charlo), Onhatotunyoh (Round Head Junior), and Tyerenyoh (Thomas Clark) with interpreter George C. Martin, were interviewed at Detroit by Henry Rowe Schoolcraft.⁴⁴⁴
- 1838 The portrait of Zacharie Vincent entitled, *The Last of the Hurons*, by Antoine Plamondon debuted.
- 1840 Rev. James B. Finley of the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Wyandot mission and school at Upper Sandusky, Ohio, pens “a brief outline of the history of the Wyandott nation...”⁴⁴⁵
- 1842 Abbé Prosper Vincent (1842-1915) was born in Lorette/Wendake. He was the nephew of painter Zacharie Vincent, who taught him at least 60 traditional Wendat songs (and likely some of the language), which he memorized and performed for school groups. He recorded these for Marius Barbeau in 1911 on wax cylinder. He was one of the last recognized language keepers before the language fell asleep in the early 20th century.

⁴⁴¹ Garrad, *From Petun to Wyandot*, 109.

⁴⁴² Goddard, *Handbook of North American Indians*, 292.

⁴⁴³ Garrad, *Petun to Wyandot*, 515.

⁴⁴⁴ Garrad, *From Petun to Wyandot*, 110.

⁴⁴⁵ Garrad, *From Petun to Wyandot*, 111.

- 1843 Wyandot Removal to Kansas, based on a treaty signed the previous year. A contingent of thirty Canadian Anderdon Wyandots who wished the tribe to remain together moved to Ohio to join their Ohio and Michigan kin in their removal to Kansas Indian Territory in 1843.⁴⁴⁶
- 1845 The birth of Wendat notary Paul Tsawenhohi Picard (1845-1905), one of the last language keepers before Wendat fell asleep in the early twentieth century.
- 1847 Samuel Stehman Haldeman collects Waⁿdat numerals.⁴⁴⁷
- 1850 The moribundity date assigned to the Wendat language by Father Lionel Lindsay in 1900, and cited by Ernest Myrand, Marguerite Vincent Tehariolina, Mathieu-Joffre Lainé, and Megan Lukaniec.⁴⁴⁸
- 1851 William Walker collected Wyandot numerals.⁴⁴⁹
- 1852-1857 Henry R. Schoolcraft publishes “Wyandot Legends” without crediting any other author, though according to Anthropologist Charles Garrad, the basis for these may have been his interviews with Oriwahento (Charlo) et al. in 1837.⁴⁵⁰

⁴⁴⁶ Garrad, *Petun to Wyandot*, 515.

⁴⁴⁷ James Constantine Pilling, *Bibliography of the Iroquoian languages*, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1888), 199.

⁴⁴⁸ Ernest Myrand, *Noëls Anciens De La Nouvelle-France*, 3 éd., (Montréal: Librairie Beauchemin, limitée, 1913 [1899]), p. 72. Father Lionel Saint-George Lindsay, *Notre-Dame De La Jeune-Lorette En La Nouvelle-France; Etude Historique*, (Montréal: La Cie De Publication De La Revue Canadienne, 1900), 249. Marguerite Vincent Tehariolina, *La Nation Huronne: Son Histoire, Sa Culture, Son Esprit*, in collaboration with Pierre H. Savignac, (Québec: Éditions du Pélican, 1984), 391. Mathieu-Joffre Lainé, “La disparition de la langue huronne,” 29. Megan Lukaniec, “The Form, Function and Semantics of Middle Voice in Wendat,” Master’s Thesis. Université Laval Québec, 2010, 42.

⁴⁴⁹ Published in Schoolcraft. Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, *Information Respecting the History, Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States*, (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Company, 1851-1857); Claudio R. Salvucci, ed., *A Vocabulary of Wyandot*, 6.

⁴⁵⁰ Garrad, *From Petun to Wyandot*, 110. Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, *Information Respecting the History, Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States*.

- 1855 The Treaty of 1855 terminated the Wyandot tribe, making them Kansas citizens.
- 1857 Some Wyandots who did not wish to become Kansas citizens relocated to Indian Territory in modern-day Oklahoma.⁴⁵¹
- 1857 The Canadian legislation of the “enfranchisement” process. John Steckley describes this as, “Through this process, individual people of official Indian status could sign away their treaty and Aboriginal rights and, in return, they could own land as individuals, vote federally and provincially (if they were male and owned land), go to university and become lawyers, and drink alcohol legally, things they could not do as card-carrying ‘Indians,’ as created by the Indian Act of 1876.”⁴⁵²
- 1858 Col. John Johnston’s Wyandot Vocabulary from 1819 is published.⁴⁵³
- 1860 In a piece called “Nanook of the North,” an anonymous author notes that “few, if any, of the older people of Lorette speak English – Huron and French being the only languages at their command.”⁴⁵⁴
- 1867 Removal to Oklahoma, wherein the spelling “Wyandotte” was officially adopted.
- 1870 Peter Dooenyate Clarke (Wyandot) publishes his history, entitled *Origin and Traditional History of the Wyandotts: and Sketches of Other Indian Tribes of North America, True Traditional Stories of Tecumseh and His League, In the Years 1811 and 1812*.

⁴⁵¹ Andrew Nurse, “Tradition and Modernity: The Cultural Work of Marius Barbeau,” Dissertation, Queen’s University, Ontario, September 1997, 234-235; Lloyd Divine, “Our Journey,” Culture, History, Wyandotte Nation website, <https://wyandotte-nation.org/culture/our-history/>.

⁴⁵² Steckley, *The Eighteenth-Century Wyandot*, 13.

⁴⁵³ John Johnston, “Account of the present state of the Indian tribes inhabiting Ohio,” In *Archaeologia Americana: Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society*, vol. 1, 269-299. Worcester, MA: American Antiquarian Society, 1858), [1820].

⁴⁵⁴ There is no pagination or author in this digital copy of the primary source, but it is page 96 in my copy. “A Nook of the North,” *Atlantic Monthly*, Volume 07, No. 41, March 1861. <https://archive.org/details/theatlanticmonth11134gut>.

- 1871 Charles Marshall, an English-speaking visitor to Lorette, mentions that he and his friend, Mr. Chauveau were given names in the language by their Wendat friends: “Alonhiawasti Chialontarati,” which he doesn’t translate, and “Hodilonrawasti,” which they translated as “Le bel esprit.”⁴⁵⁵
- 1872 & 1874 Horatio Hale interviews several community members during his visit to a Wyandot reservation near Detroit (Anderdon).⁴⁵⁶
- 1876, Aug 10 “...the newly elected Wyandot Tribal Council ruled that only those who spoke the Wyandot language could hold council seats – a clear indication of both a declining heritage and continuing divisions among tribal members.”⁴⁵⁷
- 1878 “the remaining Wyandots at Anderdon applied for enfranchisement in Canada, which, under the Indian Act, meant their status as “Indians” and Wyandots was terminated (action which took place in 1880-1881 and applied to all 41 remaining heads of families on the reserve).⁴⁵⁸
- 1879 Artist Eugène Hamel draws a portrait of Zacharie Vincent and titles it *Telari-o-lin, the Last of the Hurons of Lorette*.
- 1880s Cherokee gets separated out of the Iroquoian language family into a new classification, Southern Iroquoian, in the work of Hale (1883) and Samuel Albert Gatschet (1886).⁴⁵⁹

⁴⁵⁵ Taking a look at these names, Kopriv said that Alonhiawasti Chialontarati looks like “good sky, beyond the lake,” and that Hodilonrawasti would be Ho'ndiyonrawahstih in modern Wendat spelling, “his mind is good”. Personal communication, June 6, 2023. Marshall, *The Canadian Dominion*, (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1871), 18-19.

⁴⁵⁶ Labelle, *Dispersed*, 156. Nurse, “Tradition and Modernity: The Cultural Work of Marius Barbeau,” 125.

⁴⁵⁷ Larry Hancks, “The Emigrant Tribes: Wyandot, Delaware, & Shawnee Todo Link: A Chronology,” Kansas: Wyandot Nation of Kansas website, 1998, <https://www.wyandot.org/wyandotKS/the-emigrant-tribes-wyandot-delaware-shawnee-todo/>.

⁴⁵⁸ Garrad, *Petun to Wyandot*, p. 515-516.

⁴⁵⁹ Though Barton had “unambiguously suggested” it before that. Goddard, Ives, ed. *Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 17: Languages*. William C. Sturtevant, General Editor. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1996, p. 292. Horatio Hale, “Indian Migrations, as Evidenced by Language, Part 1: The Huron-Cherokee Stock,” in *The American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal* 5(1):26-28; Gatschet, Albert S. “On the Affinity between the Cherokee

- 1880s A sales agreement enumerating valuable possessions showed that Paul Picard owned a manuscript French-Huron dictionary.⁴⁶⁰
- 1881 (8 Jan, 7 Feb, 15 March) – Albert S. Gatschet records some Wyandot language from John W. Grey-Eyes (Ha'to) at the reserve in Indian Territory (Oklahoma).⁴⁶¹
- 1883 Horatio Hale publishes “A Huron Historical Legend,” based on his Wyandot interviews near Detroit.⁴⁶² Hale believed that “Huron was the most archaic form of Iroquoian speech.”⁴⁶³
- 1884 A census titled “Wyandotts of Anderdon” which was taken in the spring listed 34 heads of families. Additionally, the Canadian government began their payments for the land, a process completed by 1914, which meant that the Anderdon Wyandots were fully terminated of their legal status.⁴⁶⁴
- 1885 Albert S. Gatschet compiles “The Affinity between the Cherokee language and the Huron, Tuskarora, and Iroquois Dialects” in June. It is 23 handwritten pages in length.⁴⁶⁵
- 1886 Zacharie Vincent walks on.

language and the Huron, Tuskarora, and Iroquois Dialects.” In *Proceedings of the Seventeenth Annual Session*, New Haven. *Transactions of the American Philological Association* [for] 1885, vol. 16. Cambridge, Mass., 1886; Benjamin Smith Barton, *New Views of the Origin of the Tribes and Nations of America*. (Philadelphia: John Bioren, for The Author, 1797), [Reprinted: University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, 1968], xlv, lxxvii-lxxviii.

⁴⁶⁰ This is likely Paul Tsawenhohi Picard (1845-1905). Brian Gettler, “Economic Activity and Class Formation in Wendake, 1800-1950,” in *From Huronia To Wendakes*, edited by Thomas Peace and Kathryn Magee Labelle, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2016), p. 162.

⁴⁶¹ National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, “MS 1549 Wyandot Vocabulary,” National Anthropological Archives, autograph document, Albert Samuel Gatschet, Washington, D.C. <https://www.si.edu/object/archives/sova-naa-ms1549>.

⁴⁶² Hale, “A Huron Historical Legend,” 475-83.

⁴⁶³ Nurse “Tradition and Modernity: The Cultural Work of Marius Barbeau.” 125.

⁴⁶⁴ Garrad, *Petun to Wyandot*, 516.

⁴⁶⁵ National Museum of Natural History, 1885, Smithsonian Institution, “MS 391 The Affinity between the Cherokee language and the Huron, Tuskarora, and Iroquois Dialects,” National Anthropological Archives, autograph document, Albert Samuel Gatschet, Washington, D.C. <https://sova.si.edu/record/NAA.MS391>.

- ca. 1888 The sleeping date for the Wendat language assigned by Jesuit Arthur Edward Jones in 1908 and cited by Tehariolina in 1984.⁴⁶⁶
- 1888 James Constantine Pilling (1846-1895) publishes his *Bibliography of the Iroquoian languages*, which includes a chronology and description of Wxndat language sources.⁴⁶⁷
- ca. 1890 Horatio Hale visits Anderdon and observed that approximately 70 Wyandots clung to their homes on the former reservation lands.⁴⁶⁸
- 1892 The Wyandot of Anderdon elected to terminate their band and Indian status under hief Joseph White.⁴⁶⁹
- 1896 William Elsey Connelley publishes *Huron Place: The Burial Ground of the Wyandot Nation in Wyandotte County, Kansas, Copy of Inscriptions on the Monuments standing in said burying Ground in March, 1896 also A Description of the Monuments themselves, Together with an approximate location of the Graves and Monuments*.
- 1899 Two ethnographic pieces on the Wyandot by Connelley are published, *Wyandot Folk-Lore* and an article in the *Journal of American Folklore* entitled, "Notes on the Folk-Lore of the Wyandots. I. Religion."
- 1899, March 2 "The tribal council of the Wyandotte Tribe in Indian Territory [Oklahoma] gave William E. Connelly a Power of Attorney to have the graves moved and make a sale of the old Huron Indian Cemetery [in Kansas]."⁴⁷⁰ The "Wyandot Tribal Council in Oklahoma began an effort to sell the Huron Indian Cemetery in Huron Place to commercial developers, with the

⁴⁶⁶ Arthur Edward Jones, *"8endake Ehen" Or, Old Huronia*. Edited by Alexander Fraser, Fifth Report of the Bureau of Archives for the Province of Ontario, (Toronto: L.K. Cameron, 1908), p. 169. Marguerite Vincent Tehariolina, *La Nation Huronne: Son Histoire, Sa Culture, Son Esprit*, in collaboration with Pierre H. Savignac, (Québec: Éditions du Pélican, 1984), p. 383.

⁴⁶⁷ James Constantine Pilling, *Bibliography of the Iroquoian languages*, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1888). Start with sections beginning on pages: 88 & 191, but he also has individual entries by author name.

⁴⁶⁸ Garrad, *Petun to Wyandot*, p. 516.

⁴⁶⁹ Garrad, *Petun to Wyandot*, p. 516.

⁴⁷⁰ Janith English, "Huron Indian Cemetery Chronology," (Kansas, Wyandot Nation of Kansas), <https://www.wyandot.org/wyandotKS/huron-indian-cemetery-chronology/>.

erstwhile champion of the cemetery, William E. Connelley, as their paid agent.”⁴⁷¹

- 1899 Ernest Myrand publishes *Noëls Anciens De La Nouvelle-France*, which includes a translation of Brébeuf’s “Huron Carol” by Paul Tsawenhohi Picard from the original Wxndat.
- 1900 Father Lionel Saint-George Lindsay, priest of the Jeune Lorette parish, publishes *Notre-Dame De La Jeune-Lorette En La Nouvelle-France; Etude Historique*, citing that an anonymous Wendat orator speaking for the nation in 1850 said that their language was already dying out, leading Lukaniec to cite it as the approximate date when it went moribund. Tehariolina uses it as chronological evidence as well, as does Matthieu-Joffre Lainé.⁴⁷² Lindsay also alluded that the Laurentian words recorded from Cartier’s voyage might be from the “Wyandot (or Wendat) languages.”⁴⁷³
- 1908 Jesuit Father Arthur Edward Jones publishes *8endake Ehen or Old Huronia*, and assigned c. 1888 as the sleeping date for the Wendat language.⁴⁷⁴ He also states that “The last Indian who could speak the language, Chief Bastien, died some years ago at Lorette,” and that it was difficult to find any works on the Wendat language, that none are currently in print.⁴⁷⁵
- 1909 The birth of Marguerite Vincent Tehariolina.⁴⁷⁶
- 1911 American anthropologist Frank G. Speck publishes “Notes on the Material Culture of the Huron,” wherein he states that there are no more “full

⁴⁷¹ Larry Hancks, “The Emigrant Tribes: Wyandot, Delaware, & Shawnee Todo Link: A Chronology,” (Kansas, Wyandot Nation of Kansas), <https://www.wyandot.org/wyandotKS/?s=william+e.+connelley>.

⁴⁷² Father Lionel Saint-George Lindsay, *Notre-Dame De La Jeune-Lorette En La Nouvelle-France; Etude Historique*, (Montréal: La Cie De Publication De La Revue Canadienne, 1900), p. 249. Marguerite Vincent Tehariolina, *La Nation Huronne* 391. Lukaniec, “The Form, Function and Semantics of Middle Voice in Wendat,” 42.

⁴⁷³ Lindsay, *Notre-Dame De La Jeune-Lorette En La Nouvelle-France*, 252.

⁴⁷⁴ Arthur Edward Jones, “8endake Ehen” Or, *Old Huronia*. Edited by Alexander Fraser, Fifth Report of the Bureau of Archives for the Province of Ontario, (Toronto: L.K. Cameron, 1908), p. 169.

⁴⁷⁵ Arthur Edward Jones, “8endake Ehen” 171.

⁴⁷⁶ Thank you to Wendake Archivist, Stéphane Picard, for Tehariolina’s life dates, 1909-1994.

bloods” among the Wendat, and that their “distinctly Huron” culture has vanished, that they do not even have their language anymore.⁴⁷⁷

- 1911-1912 Canadian Ethnologist, C. Marius Barbeau, collects interviews with Wxndat Elders in the Wendat and Waⁿdat languages, in both Canada and the U.S. He also compiles traditional narratives in the Wyandot language.
- 1915 Wendat Father Prosper Vincent, born in 1842, walks on in this year, 6 years after the birth of Marguerite Vincent Tehariolina.
- 1917 Ferdinand Brunot publishes his account, *Histoire de la langue française des origines à 1900*, stating that Wendat girls who attended the French school and learned to read and write were returning home to live among their community, instead of starting new lives within French society.⁴⁷⁸
- 1920 Father Pierre Potier’s censuses, including details on the Longhouses of the Petit Village (PV) and Grand Village (GV), were published in Ontario as an archive report.⁴⁷⁹
- 1922 William E. Connelley publishes “Religious Conceptions of the Modern Hurons” in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*.
- 1948 Percy J. Robinson is the first person to argue a very close link between Cartier’s Laurentian vocabularies and the Huron (Wxndat) and Wyandot languages.⁴⁸⁰
- 1948 Anthony F. C. Wallace begins his work with the Tuscarora.

⁴⁷⁷ Frank G. Speck, “Notes on the Material Culture of the Huron,” *American Anthropologist* 13, no. 2 (1911): 208-209.

⁴⁷⁸ Chapter 2 of this thesis. Ferdinand Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française des origines à 1900*, t. 5, (Paris: Armand Colin, 1917), 106. Mathieu-Joffre Lainé, “La disparition de la langue huronne,” 28.

⁴⁷⁹ Pierre Potier, *Fifteenth Report of the Bureau of Archives for the Province of Ontario*, (Toronto: C.W. James, 1920). John Steckley, *The Eighteenth-Century Wyandot*, p. 13.

⁴⁸⁰ Percy J. Robinson, “The Huron Equivalents of Cartier’s Second Vocabulary,” *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, XLII, Series Three, Sec. ii (Ottawa, 1948), 127-46.

- 1955 Waⁿdat language keeper Richard Zane Smith was born.⁴⁸¹
- 1956 Wallace Chafe begins fieldwork on the Seneca language.⁴⁸² (Chafe passed away in February 2019).
- 1961 “In 1961 Smithsonian anthropologist Wallace Chafe found that at least two of his Wyandot informants still knew the language and there were indications that others knew it too.”⁴⁸³
- 1961 Barbeau argues that the Cartier Laurentian vocabularies closely resemble both Mohawk and Huron (Wxndat), but that far more Wxndat words appear.⁴⁸⁴
- 1961 Wendat language revitalizer and anthropologist Linda Sioui was born.
- 1960s Two of the last speakers of Waⁿdat, a man and a woman reported by Chief Cotter in 1972, passed away.
- 1962 Sarah Dushane was interviewed by Wallace Chafe in Oklahoma, recording sentences and more in the Wyandot language.⁴⁸⁵

⁴⁸¹ Fallon Burner, “Healing Through Language: Revitalization and Renewal in the Wendat Confederacy,” Honors Thesis, (University of California, Berkeley: American Cultures Center, 2020), 46.

⁴⁸² “Wallace Chafe (In Memoriam),” Department of Linguistics, University of California, Santa Barbara, <https://www.linguistics.ucsb.edu/people/wallace-chafe-memoriam>.

⁴⁸³ Nurse, “Tradition and Modernity: The Cultural Work of Marius Barbeau,” 551.

⁴⁸⁴ Marius Barbeau, “The Language of Canada in the Voyages of Jacques Cartier (1534-1538),” *Contributions to Anthropology*, 1959, National Museum of Canada, Bulletin 173 (Ottawa, 1961), 108-229.

⁴⁸⁵ Megan Lukaniec, “The elaboration of verbal structure: Wendat (Huron) verb morphology,” PhD diss., University of California Santa Barbara, 2018, 31.

- 1966/7 Sarah Dushane was interviewed in Miami, Oklahoma by Ives Goddard, recording the Wyandot language. Supposedly, she was more fluent in Cayuga than Wyandot.⁴⁸⁶ She was also fluent in Shawnee and English.⁴⁸⁷
- 1972 Pulte's conversation with the son of "The Last Speaker of Wyandot" in Wyandotte, Oklahoma, who was still living at the time but too ill to speak to Pulte. This elderly speaker was listed under a pseudonym, Frank Wilson.
- 1979 Marianne Mithun's "Iroquoian" chapter in *The Languages of Native America*.
- 1980 *Le Verbe Huron: Etude Morphologique D'Après Une Description Grammaticale de la Seconde Moitié du XVIIe Siècle* by Pierrette L. Lagarde was published.
- 1981, Dec 19 Marguerite Vincent Tehariolina submitted a proposal to the Huron-Wendat Band Council for her language revitalization project, "Rediscovery and Regeneration of the Huron Language," which she co-directed with Pierre H. Savignac.⁴⁸⁸
- 1982 Marianne Mithun publishes "The Mystery of the Vanished Laurentians," arguing that the Laurentian language recorded on Carter's expedition looks like it is part of several different Northern Iroquoian languages.⁴⁸⁹
- 1982-1983 Phase I of Marguerite Vincent Tehariolina's language revitalization project in Wendake, Quebec.

⁴⁸⁶ Grant, Anthony P., and David J. Costa. "Some Observations on John P. Harrington's Peoria Vocabulary." *Anthropological Linguistics* 33, no. 4 (1991): p. 427. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30028220>.

⁴⁸⁷ Megan Lukaniec, "The elaboration of verbal structure: Wendat (Huron) verb morphology," PhD diss., University of California Santa Barbara, 2018, 31.

⁴⁸⁸ Wendake Archives, Fonds Marguerite Vincent, "Projet Langue Huronne Marguerite Vincent" 8531-03, (193-207/503 of my machine copy).

⁴⁸⁹ Goddard, *Handbook of North American Indians*, 17.

- 1984 Phase II of Marguerite Vincent Tehariolina's language revitalization project in Wendake, Quebec.
- 1984 Marguerite Vincent Tehariolina's *La Nation Huronne* book is published.
- 1991 The community's revitalization project, which Linda Sioui was hired to coordinate, began in 1991 by repatriating all archival documents and establishing the Linguistic Orientation Committee, and ended with an ethnolinguistic workshop with Dr. John Steckley.⁴⁹⁰
- 1993 The beginning of Wendake's "Projet de Développement Langue Huronne-Wendat" under the coordination of Linda Sioui and the Linguistic Orientation Committee.
- 1994 Linguist Bruce L. Pearson started working on language with the Wyandotte Nation in Oklahoma. Using the stories Barbeau collected, Pearson compiled a Waⁿdat handbook and dictionary and re-translated the 40 stories.⁴⁹¹
- 1996 Bruce Pearson co-presented a paper with James Rementer at the Mid-America Linguistics Conference entitled, "Language Preservation in Three Native American Communities."⁴⁹²
- 1999 William Pulte's article asserts that "The Last Speaker of Wyandot" was a man who lived near Wyandotte, Oklahoma in 1972, but was too ill to speak to him directly, and hadn't spoken it since he was a child. He shares that he had a conversation with Chief Cotter who told him that the other last two speakers had died by the 1960s.

⁴⁹⁰ Fallon Burner, "Healing Through Language" 53.

⁴⁹¹ James Rementer, and Bruce L. Pearson, "Language Preservation in Three Native American Communities." *Papers of the Mid-America Linguistics Conference*, (Lawrence, Kansas: University of Kansas, 1996), 575-584. <http://hdl.handle.net/1808/23051>; Klass, Katie. "Waⁿdat Language Presentation for Qmakyehsti?." Wyandotte Nation of Oklahoma Culture Days, September 2014. Microsoft PowerPoint presentation.

⁴⁹² James Rementer, and Bruce L. Pearson, "Language Preservation in Three Native American Communities." 575-584.

- 2001 Craig Koprís's dissertation, "A Grammar and Dictionary of Wyandot."
- 2001 Bruce Pearson edited and translated the *Huron-Wyandotte traditional narratives* collected by Marius Barbeau – told by Catherine Johnson, Smith Nichols, John Kayrahoó, Star Young, Mary McKee.⁴⁹³
- 2007-2013 The Yawenda language revitalization project, a collaboration between La Nation huronne-wendat and the Université Laval, with funding from La Nation huronne-wendat at the government of Canada.
- 2011-2015 The Wyandotte Nation in Oklahoma hires Craig Koprís as their Tribal Linguist.
- 2016 The Wyandotte Nation in Oklahoma hires John Steckley as their Tribal Linguist.
- 2018 Huron-Wendats Michel Gros-Louis and Benoît Jacques publish *Les Hurons-Wendats, Regards Nouveaux: Tho nionwentsu'ten, mon peuple, ma langue, mon territoire*.
- 2019 Author conducted 4 oral history interviews with Wxndat Language Keepers: Richard Zane Smith (Wyandot of Kansas), Linda Sioui (Huron-Wendat), Catherine Tàmmaro (Wyandot of Anderdon), and Marcel Godbout (Huron-Wendat).
- 2020 The Wyandotte Nation in Oklahoma brings Craig Koprís back as their Tribal Linguist.

⁴⁹³ Smithsonian's "local note" on this is that it was a gift from Blair Rudes. The title in the entry is missing a "S" – just says "mith Nichols." The publisher information is listed as: Columbia, SC : Yorkshire Press : Published for the Wyandotte Tribe of Oklahoma, c2001. Smithsonian Libraries library catalogue listing for it here: <https://sirsi-libraries.si.edu/ipac20/ipac.jsp?&profile=liball&source=~!silibraries&uri=full=3100001~!945432~!0>. Bruce L. Pearson, ed. & trans. *Huron-Wyandotte traditional narratives // told by Catherine Johnson, [S]mith Nichols, John Kayrahoó, Star Young, Mary McKee; collected by Marius Barbeau; edited and translated by Bruce L. Pearson*, Columbia, SC: Yorkshire Press: Published for the Wyandotte Tribe of Oklahoma, c2001.

2021-2022

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