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REPORT
of
COMMITTEE ON EXAMINATION

This is to certify that we the undersigned, as a Committee of the Graduate School, have given Sister Mary Aquinas Norton final oral examination for the degree of Master of Arts. We recommend that the degree of Master of Arts be conferred upon the candidate.

Minneapolis, Minnesota

~~April~~ June 1, 1918

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THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
GRADUATE SCHOOL

Report
of
Committee on Thesis

The undersigned, acting as a Committee
of the Graduate School, have read the accompanying
thesis submitted by Sister Mary Aquinas Norton
for the degree of Master of Arts.
They approve it as a thesis meeting the require-
ments of the Graduate School of the University of
Minnesota, and recommend that it be accepted in
partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of Master of Arts.

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April 1918.

Jesuit Missions of the Northwest

1640 - 1740

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A Thesis submitted to the
Faculty of the Graduate School of the
University of Minnesota

by

Sister Mary Aquinas Norton

In partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Master of Arts

June

1918



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JESUIT MISSIONS OF THE NORTHWEST

1640 - 1740

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The term Northwest has been applied to various parts of this country at different stages of its development. Just as the frontier line moved westward, so the western confine of the northwest gradually pushed toward the Pacific coast but more rapidly than the frontier line.

The Northwest designated herein as the field of the Jesuit labors has for its boundaries Lake Superior and the Rainy River on the north, the Illinois River on the south, Lake Michigan on the east, and the Mississippi River from its conflux with the Illinois to its broadening out into Lake Pepin on the west. At this point, the west boundary of this Northwest is extended to include two mission attempts on what is now known as Minnesota soil, one on the west bank of Lake Pepin and the other on the southwest shore of the Lake of the Woods.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, this region was occupied by various tribes of Indians of Algonquian and Siouan Stock. At Sault Sainte Marie, the Ojibways or Chippewas made their home; around Lake Superior, the Beavers, Cree, Ottawas and Refugee Hurons; the Pottawatomies, Sacks, Winnebagoes, Menominees, Foxes, Mascoutens, Kickapoos and Miamis dwelt to the west of Lake Michigan; the Illinois and in particular the Kaskaskias and Peorias on the banks

of the Illinois; and the Sioux near the Mississippi River
 and to the west of it.¹

As far as it is positively known, Jean Nicolet²
 was the first white man to penetrate this unknown country
 west of Lake Michigan. He left Quebec July 1, 1634, with
 seven savage Hurons as boatmen, journeying westward and
 northward to Saint Mary's River. Thence by way of Lake
 Michigan and Green Bay, he was soon on what is now Wisconsin
 soil where he found the Winnebagoes of Siouan Stock and the
 Pottawatomies of Algonquian. Leaving the Bay he traversed
 the Fox River to the village of the Mascoutens. Returning
 by the same route, he reached Quebec in 1635. His exploration
 of the west was made under Champlain's orders for the pur-
 pose of finding a westward passage to China, of learning more
 of the Indian tribes west of Lake Huron, of extending the
 fur trade, and of finding out what the large bodies of water
 spoken of by the Indians really were.³ The results of his

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1. Thomas, The Indians of North America in Historic Times, 283, 287; Shea, "The Jesuits, Recollects and the Indians," in Winsor, Narrative and Critical History of America, 4:267-268; Thwaites, Father Marquette, 48.
 2. Jean Nicolet, a protege of Champlain, came to America in 1618. His first years here were spent among the Algonquins and the Nipissings learning the Indian language, customs, and a knowledge of the country. In 1627, when the Company of New France was founded, he was given the rank of official interpreter, which position he held until his death in 1640.
 3. Jesuit Relations, 8:295 note 29; 18:231, 233; Moore, The Northwest under Three Flags, 4-5; Thomas, The Indians of North America in Historic Times, 283, 287, 295.

explorations were two: First, he concluded a peace¹ with the Indians and second, he was firmly convinced that the sea was within three days' journey of where he was while in the west. This "sea," as was afterwards discovered, proved to be the Mississippi River.

For a number of years after this, no more traders appeared west of Lake Michigan. But on August 6, 1654, two Frenchmen, in the company of some Ottawas, with the permission of the Governor of Canada left Montreal for the west, on a journey of more than five hundred leagues. Just two years later, they returned accompanied by fifty canoes paddled by two hundred and twenty-five Indians and laden with furs. The chiefs immediately paid their respects to the Governor and asked two favors of him: First, that some Frenchmen pass the winter in the Ottawa country; and second, that some Jesuit Fathers be given them to care for the salvation of the Indians. Both requests were granted.

The two Frenchmen who returned with them were without a doubt Radisson and Groseilliers. Their information of the west was to this effect: that the Huron language was in use five hundred leagues toward the south and the Ottawa over five hundred to the north; that the northern region abounded in lakes that might be called fresh water seas. The Illinois Indians comprised about sixty villages;

1. Jesuit Relations, 23:275-279

the Sioux, forty; the Peorias, thirty; the Cree, a large number; and the Winnebagoes were settled around Lake Michigan.¹

Radisson and Groseilliers made two trips to the west. On the second they entered Lake Superior and coasted along until they found a good landing place on Chequamegon Bay. This was an excellent location for a fort which was built in the course of two days. The winter was spent in this fort, but with the coming of spring, Radisson and Groseilliers, true to the nature of the trader,² were again upon their way, this time to Montreal.

These early traders might, in truth, be called the forerunners of or the pathfinders for the missionaries; for Jean Nicolet was in the west before Fathers Jogues and Raymbault, and Radisson and Groseilliers had made two journeys to the west before Father Menard had begun his missionary labors on Lake Superior. From this time on, the influence of the trader was always felt, - an influence that seldom brought about the right advancement in the path of civilization.³ This was counteracted to a certain extent by the missionaries who were invited into the region by the Indians.

1. Ibid., 42:219-225

2. "Radisson and Groseilliers in Wisconsin," in Wisconsin Historical Society, Collections, 11:71-96; Folwell, Minnesota, 11

3. The brandy traffic which was carried on by the traders resulted in drunkenness, disease, licentiousness and crime.

CHAPTER II.

EARLY ATTEMPTS AT MISSIONARY LABORS IN THE NORTHWEST

It was due to an old Indian custom that the Jesuits first came in contact with the Indians of the Northwest. Among the customs of the Indians most widely observed, there was none that brought about such a concourse of nations as the "Feast of the Dead."² When the summer neared its end, the Indians set about collecting the bones of their dead and erecting a sepulchre for them.³ The Indians in whose village the feast was to be celebrated provided themselves with grain, meat, furs and other articles. Then deputies were sent to all the neighboring villages within a hundred leagues and more to invite them to the feast. Immediately upon receiving this invitation, a great many people from the invited villages started in canoes, having first made a small collection of goods in order to present them in common to the village acting as host. In the meantime, that village erected a large cabin for the reception of its guests, making it strong and well covered in order that all might be lodged.

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1. This custom was observed by the Iroquois, the Hurons, the tribes of the northern Pacific coast and the Indians of the Plains.
 2. Jesuit Relations, 23:209-223; Verwyst, Missionary Labors of Fathers Marquette, Menard and Alloues, 205-207
 3. The bones of all members of the Ottawa tribe who had died within a year were collected.

On the arrival of the visitors all gathered in the cabin grouped according to their tribes. Here they offered their presents, at the same time saying that they had been invited to pay homage to the dead of the village. This done, they began to dance to the sound of the drum and the gourd. They danced from one end of the cabin to the other in single file, moving around three trees planted there. While this was going on, others were busy preparing the feast,¹ which was served as soon as the dance ended. At this time, all the presents given by the guests were removed. The hosts gave in return gifts of greater value than those presented by the guests, who, in all probability, brought with them green hides, head-dress,² new blankets or paints.

The dancing continued for three days after all the invited villages had arrived. During this time donation feasts of kettles, hatchets and other articles were held in individual cabins. At the end of three days, the people of the village were reduced to extreme poverty; for the intention in making the donations was to render the souls of the departed more contented and honored in their happy hunting ground.

During the first part of September, 1641, such a feast was held at Huronia. Some Jesuit Fathers who were present won the good will of the chiefs and were invited by the Ottawas, who lived over a hundred leagues to the west.

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1. The flesh of dogs boiled with other meats was the principal dish served at this feast.
 2. As each village arrived, this dancing, feasting and gift-giving was repeated.

to visit them. Father Charles Raymbault was appointed to undertake the journey with the Ottawas. Father Isaac Jogues, whose care was to be the Hurons, since he understood their language, was to be his companion. They set out before the end of the month and in seventeen days arrived at the Sault,¹ where they, the first missionaries to venture so far to the westward, were awaited by about two thousand souls. The Jesuits, invited by the chiefs of the nation to make a home among them, told them this might be done provided they were willing to receive instructions. A council was held at which it was decided to receive the missionaries as brothers and to profit by their words.² Father Jogues then addressed them in their own language and promised to establish a mission there as soon as he could report to his superiors. He erected a cross facing the Sioux country which was a journey of eighteen days distant and of which he had heard from the Indians around the Sault.

With the opening of winter Fathers Jogues and Raymbault returned. They gave the name of Saint Mary to the place³ of their western sojourn as well as to the falls and river. Neither one ever saw Lake Superior again. Father Raymbault died shortly after his return to the Hudson country, and Father Jogues spent his remaining years of missionary labors

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1. Although the Jesuit Fathers were not the first missionary order to labor in America, they were, however, the first to be invited to penetrate the region of the Northwest and the first to accept the invitation.
 2. Jesuit Relations, 23:223-227
 3. Moore, The Northwest under Three Flags, 8.

among the tribes of the east. The location at the Sault was too advantageous to be neglected permanently and later missionaries were directed to the spot.

Upon Radisson and Grosilliers' return to Quebec in 1656 with two hundred and fifty Indians in fifty canoes, thirty Frenchmen at once began to make preparation to journey westward when these traders and Indians should go back. Fathers Leonard Garreau and Gabriel Bruilletes, both versed in the Huron and Ottawa tongues, were to accompany them.¹ Louis Le Boeame, a Brother of the Society, was also to be one of their number, as were three other Frenchmen who joined as assistants to the Jesuits. These thirty-six Frenchmen met the Indians on the day of departure and all embarked in canoes and set out. At the end of a day's canoeing when of the five hundred leagues journey only twenty-eight leagues had been accomplished, they were warned to be on the alert for the Iroquois who were lying in ambuscade. The thirty Frenchmen awoke to a realization that their canoes were faulty; that they had not sufficient provisions for the journey, and that, in case of an attack by the Iroquois, they were ill prepared to resist; and so they determined to postpone their journey until the following spring.

The two Fathers, the Brother, and the three Frenchmen who had joined as assistants continued on their way with the two hundred and fifty Indians, all Ottawas except a few Hurons. At first they succeeded in passing the Iroquois.

1. Jesuit Relations, 42:225-233

The latter, nevertheless, followed them; and, finally, out-running them, they took up an advantageous position on the Saint Lawrence. Here they erected a fort. The Ottawas were trapped; Father Garreau was wounded by a musket-shot, and many were killed or wounded on both sides. The Ottawas then constructed a fort for shelter near that of the Iroquois. Negotiations were carried on between the two nations but without results. Finally by means of stratagem,¹ the Ottawas eluded the Iroquois, but left Father Druillettes with his companion and the three Frenchmen behind since the Indians, one and all, refused to take them in their canoes. Father Garreau was carried to Montreal where he died from the effects of his wounds. Just what became of Father Druillettes at this time except that he was forced to return is not known; for the Jesuits do not appear to have left any record of his whereabouts or labors for the next two years.

In 1660, sixty canoes of these same Ottawas again appeared at Quebec. Two Fathers joined them to return with them, but one went no farther than Montreal; the other, Father Rene Menard, continued on the journey. He realized the danger and the difficulties he was facing. On the night of his embarking at Three Rivers, he wrote to one of his friends: "In three or four months, you may include me in the Memento for the dead, in view of the kind of life led by

1. They gave the Iroquois the impression that they were strengthening their fortifications, and under a noise like trees being felled by hatchets, embarked.

these peoples, of my age, and of my delicate constitution."¹
 His companion was John Guerin, a "donne"² although there were
 seven other Frenchmen in the party, one of whom was Groseilliers.³

For some time nothing was heard from them until a canoe arrived at Quebec bearing the news that the missionary was in good health and would return in the spring. Father Menard sent letters in which he spoke of the field as being too large for two laborers. He had reached the country of the Ottawas and landed on a large bay on the south side of Lake Superior on October fifteenth after a journey full of hardships and inhuman treatment from the Indians. To this bay he gave the name, Baye de Sainte Terese.⁴ Owing to his age and physical weakness, the Father had scarcely been able to drag himself along to the cabin where he was to lodge with a very proud and vicious Indian, Le Brochet.⁵ This Indian had treated Father Menard cruelly; and in the end had compelled him to leave the cabin and build a hut of fir branches, a miserable lodging, in which to withstand the almost unbearable rigors of the winters of that locality.

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1. Jesuit Relations, 46:81
 2. "Donne" was the French term applied to lay brothers of the Society of Jesus.
 3. Campbell, Pioneer Priests of North America, 3:165-166
 4. Keweenaw Bay; Jesuit Relations, 48:277
 5. Le Brochet translated is "the Pike."

Father Menard celebrated mass daily and began a church among the natives. He baptized a number of infants and a few adults; but on the whole owing to their brutality and polygamy he met with a great opposition to the faith among these barbarians. Some Hurons, who had been converted to Christianity before they were driven west by the Iroquois, came to him and begged eagerly that he would visit their country situated about one hundred leagues to the south. The Father promised to do so, and sent the three Frenchmen to reconnoitre and give presents to the chiefs together with the assurance that he would be with them to instruct them as soon as they would send him an escort. The messengers found the nation in a pitiful condition, in its death agony as it were, and for this reason deemed it inexpedient to deliver the presents, since they thought it useless for Father Menard to visit them unless he chose to die of hunger. Nevertheless, they transacted their business as quickly as possible, promising that the Father would make every effort to instruct the Indians. They spent two weeks on their return journey and then tried to persuade the missionary to give up all thought of going to the Hurons. Undaunted, he replied that he must go.

On June 13, 1661, Father Menard with his companion, John Guerin, and some Hurons set out. Owing to the lack of food, the Hurons soon deserted them, giving as an excuse that

1. Jesuit Relations, 48:131

they would hasten to their village and send strong men to carry Father Menard. For two weeks, the two waited in vain for the return of the Indians, but, finally, embarked alone. About August 10, Father Menard became separated from his companion who searched in vain for him. Then John Guerin went to the Huron village for help, which he was unable to obtain. The body of this missionary was never found although his bag and chapel furnishings were found in the possession of the Indians. Whether he was killed by the Indians, or whether he died from exposure, is not known.¹

In 1664, another Father prepared to go to take Father Menard's place, but never set out because the Ottawas arrived at Montreal earlier than usual and the Father was not ready to return with them. Records left by the Jesuits show that provisions were soon made to take care of the work so well begun by Father Menard.²

1. Ibid., 48:115-143

2. Ibid., 48:277

CHAPTER III.

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THE FIRST SUCCESSFUL ATTEMPTS AT MISSIONARY LABORS
IN THE NORTHWEST

The Journal of the Jesuit Fathers for the year 1665 contains this entry for the month of May: "On the 14th, father Alloues left for his mission among the Outawats, accompanied by two of our servants La Tour and Nicolas." ¹; and again for August: "On this same day," (August 6, 1665), "news came of the arrival at three rivers, on the 3rd, of more than 400 Outawak, well loaded with Furs. They left on their return, with Father Alloues, on the 7th." ²

In these three simple sentences are recorded the beginnings of a century of uninterrupted missionary labors in the west. Father Alloues prepared a journal in which he gives a history of his journey.

When he embarked at Three Rivers, there were with him six Frenchmen and more than four hundred Indians from different nations of the west. The Indians were inclined to be hostile, and evinced their enmity when Father Alloues's canoe broke. They did not offer their assistance or wait for the canoe to be repaired, but kept on their homeward journey.

1. Jesuit Relations, 49:161
2. Ibid., 49:163

By the aid of the Frenchmen the canoe was again restored to usefulness, the journey resumed, and the Indians overtaken in a short time. But, as with all canoes, the service of this canoe, once broken, was of short duration. Father Allouez, aware of this, begged the Indians to take him and the Frenchmen into their canoes, distributing them in such a manner that no canoe would be overburdened. An agreement to this effect was reached, the Frenchmen stepped into the canoes, but when the missionary was in the act of getting into the place assigned him, he was told to wait until all were ready to embark. He did this, only to be informed that there was no room for him. The Indians began to paddle as rapidly as possible and left the Jesuit on the shore without any prospect of human succor. He was rescued, however, when three of the Frenchmen reappeared on the scene, and taking him with them, finally succeeded in overtaking the Indians. But here the same opposition was met; the Indians were again willing to receive the Frenchmen into their canoes, but at first refused to receive the missionary. When this resistance was overcome, the Father embarked with them and for the remainder of the journey he was made "the object of their contempt and the butt of their jokes." He was forced to paddle all day long and most of the night. His wardrobe was stolen from him and he found himself suffering from hunger. About the first of September they reached the Sault, the rapids of the river which unites Lakes Huron and Superior. On the second of the

month, they entered Lake Superior and gave to it the name of Lake Tracy as a mark of honor to Monsieur de Tracy, who was Lieutenant-governor in America for France. In describing the lake Father Allouez writes: "The form of this Lake is nearly that of a bow, the Southern shore being much curved, and the Northern nearly straight. Fish are abundant there and of excellent quality; while the water is so clear and pure that objects at the bottom can be seen to the depth of six brasses." The Indians offered sacrifices to the lake regarding it as sacred, because of its size and its supply of fish. Pieces of copper weighing from ten to twenty pounds were found at the bottom of the lake. And a tale was current to the effect that some time before there had been an immense rock of copper projecting from the water. It had since disappeared. Nations from the north, south, and west, twelve or fifteen in all, resorted to this place to fish and to trade with one another.

During the month of September, Father Allouez and the Frenchmen coasted along the southern shore of Lake Superior finally crossing Sainte Terese's Baye, the scene of Father Menard's labors. Here the missionary found two Indian women who had been instructed and baptised by Father Menard. From this place, on October 1, the party entered Chequamegon Bay, at the head of which was a large Indian village of seven nations numbering about eight hundred warriors. Because of its large population the place was selected by the Father as a suitable location for the erection of a bark chapel and for

1. Ibid., 50:265

the establishment of the Mission of Sainte Esprit, or the Mission of the Holy Ghost.¹

Upon the arrival of Father Allouez, a general council of ten or twelve neighboring nations was called to discuss the question of waging war upon the Sioux. Asked to address the assembly, the Father,² in the name of the king, commanded peace, promised to make commerce safe between the French and Ottawas, succeeded in averting the rising storm, and, at the same time, planted the first seeds of faith in their hearts. From this time, the Indians were attracted to the chapel by the pictures hung on its walls, by the chanting of prayers, and by the instructions given them in their own tongue. In 1666, the chapel was transferred to the middle of the village about three quarters of a league from its first location; but because of the mistreatment of the missionaries by the Indians, who broke into the chapel and stole the Father's possessions, it was thought feasible to return it to the former site. Some time was spent among the Hurons of the Tobacco Nation who lived at the head of Lake Superior. Among the other nations who came to the mission and received instructions were the Ottawas, the Kiskakons, the Sinagos, the Foxes, the Pottawatomies, the Sioux, the Cree, the Chip-

1. Opinions differ as to whether Vanderverter's Creek or Whittlesey's Creek on Shore Landing is the exact spot of the location of this mission.

2. Jesuit Relations, 50:249-311.

pewas, and the Illinois. More was accomplished with the Illinois than with the others and with less work, since they were more affable and humane.¹

On May 6, 1667, with two Indians as guides, Father Allouez embarked in a canoe bound for Lake Nipigon. Here he spent some time in instructing the natives, and then he continued on his way to Quebec, disembarking there on the third day of August. The purpose of his visit was to ask for help in his labors, and so successful was he that two days later he re-embarked and took four men as his companions on the journey. At Montreal he was joined by Father Louis Nicolas² who was to be his co-worker. Just how long Father Nicolas remained at the Mission of Pointe du Sainte Esprit is not known. When next heard of, he had been assigned in 1670 to the Iroquois mission at Quebec.³

Father Allouez cared for the sick, taught the children to sing the simple hymns of the church, and instructed the squaws and the braves. He baptized over four hundred infants and adults of the Huron village alone, yet the hearts of the Indians as a whole could not be subdued or softened to any great degree. It was partly on this account that Father Allouez resolved to leave La Pointe not to return. Besides,⁴

1. Ibid., 51:21-61

2. Ibid., 51:71-73; 50:213

3. Ibid., 53:239

4. The names La Pointe, La Pointe du Sainte Esprit, the Mission of Sainte Esprit, and the Mission of the Holy Ghost are used indiscriminately.

he wished to bring about his long cherished plan of founding a mission more to the south. To accomplish this, he made a second journey to Quebec in 1669. He took with him several Iroquois prisoners whom he had ransomed from the Ottawas. He asked for aid for the western missions and was successful in obtaining Father Claude Dablon to accompany him as superior to the upper missions. Churches had been built at the Sault and at Pointe du Sainte Esprit, and now Father Allouez was to go to the Baye des Puans¹ to establish the mission. The opening was very auspicious but the missionaries were too few. The Fathers stopped at the Sault, from which place Father Allouez embarked on November 3. He was conducted by two canoes filled with Pottawatomies who had come to beg him to go to their country to curb some Frenchmen, who were mistreating them. On the fifth day of the journey, they found themselves covered with snow and the canoes covered with ice, a circumstance which did not tend to increase the pleasure of the journey. At another time, while taking their rest, the wind carried away the canoe, but an opportune wind blowing from the other direction brought it back again. They met with two Indian tribes, the Pottawatomies and the Menominees, with whom they spent a short time.

The journey was completed on December 2, 1669 when they reached the habitation of the French. Most of the Indi-

1. Green Bay

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 ans of this place had gone into winter quarters. A village composed of Sacs, Pottawatomies, Foxes, and Winnebagoes, six hundred in all, was found in the immediate vicinity. The others were at a distance of from one and a half to eight leagues. The larger nations of Foxes, Miamis, and Mascoutens, were at a much greater distance.

During the winter Father Allouez went to the village of both the Sacs and the Pottawatomies to instruct them. The winter was long and severe, a fact which kept the missionary from visiting the other nations.² With the first signs of spring he set out to begin a mission for the Foxes.³ Eight days were taken for the journey. Three days were spent with the Foxes and here an opening was found for a large mission, which Father Allouez established and called Saint Mark.⁴ This mission never flourished; from 1670 to 1678, frequent visits were made to it by the missionary but with little results. In

1. This spot was on the Oconto River, but its exact location is not known. It was probably at the rapids two miles above where the city of Oconto, Wisconsin, now stands. A cabin was built here and served as headquarters for the winter of 1669-70. Neville, "Some Historic Sites on Green Bay," in Wisconsin Historical Society, Proceedings 1905, 150-151.

2. Jesuit Relations, 54:197-215

3. While on this journey, Father Allouez saw the construction of a "Mitihikan" by the Sac Indians. This was in the form of a barricade from one bank of the river to the other. Large stakes were driven into two brasses (63.9 inches) of water to make a bridge over the stream for fishermen to catch fish which this dam stopped, although the water flowed between the stakes. - Ibid., 54:217

4. Ibid., 54:215-227

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 1673, a cabin was erected at this place for the missionary and part of it set aside as a chapel. Christianity made no impression upon the greater part of the tribe; they could not be induced to give up their primitive vices and superstitions.²

From the village of the Foxes Father Allouez visited the village of the Mascoutens³ where, on April 30, 1670, the Mission of Saint James was begun. The Miamis were due at the Mascouten village in sixteen days, but Father Allouez was called to the Sault and could not wait for them. They lived within a six days voyage of the "Messi-Sipi" River. The Mascoutens, as a whole, welcomed the missionary as a "Manitou,"⁴ and before his departure exhorted him to visit them again and care for them.⁵

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1. The Mission of Saint Mark was probably located near Lake Shawano in Wisconsin on the Wolf River. - Thwaites, Wisconsin, 50.
 2. Jesuit Relations, 58:43-59
 3. "The Mascouten village was about a league from the Fox River and probably near Berlin in Green Lake County." (Wisconsin) "It was in a large prairie." - Wisconsin in Three Centuries, 1:90; The village of the Mascoutens was situated about on the line joining the present villages of Ripon and Berlin, Wisconsin, and about three miles from the latter. - Jones, "The site of the Mascouten," in Wisconsin Historical Society, Proceedings 1906, 176
 4. The Ottawas believed in a mysterious property which pervaded nature. When this property became identified with objects in nature, such as persons, animals, rivers or lakes, the object was looked upon as a Manitou, that is as a habitation of a spirit, good or bad, which was none other than an Indian god or devil.
 5. Jesuit Relations, 54:227-235.

Father Allouez next proceeded to visit the Menominees, a people few in number, owing to their great loss of life in wars. Here but three Indians spoke the Ottawa language and these imperfectly. To this mission was given the name of Saint Michael.¹

On May 20, 1670, with a Frenchman and an Indian, Father Allouez embarked for the Sault. Father Druillette, the missionary, who in 1656 with Father Garreau, had attempted to come west, was this year assigned to the mission of Sainte Marie du Sault. It was in Father Druillette's care that Father Dablon left the mission when the latter returned in September to the Baye des Puans with Father Allouez. Here, they found matters in a bad state. The Indians, who had become incensed against the French, were maltreating and robbing them in retaliation for what they had suffered at the hands of their traders. The Jesuits checked the disturbances, then called together the four nations of the Baye. During the council, the Indians tried to conduct themselves as they had seen the whites do. About forty of their young men had been formed into a company of soldiers, and these made it their duty to imitate the French soldiers. They shouldered their muskets and wore their war-batahete at their belt, instead of the sword and paced to and fro as sentries before the cabin door with their musket now on one shoulder and now on the other

1. This was located on the Menominee River. - Ibid., 54:308 note 14.

striking the most astonishing attitude, and making themselves the more ridiculous the more they tried to comport themselves seriously." ¹ The Fathers told these assembled nations that their purpose in calling them together was to preach the gospel to them. ²

Fathers Dablon and Allouez left the Baye des Puans for the Mascouten or Fire Nation. ³ They went up the Fox River to the De Pere Rapids where they found an idol to which the Indians were accustomed to offer sacrifices in passing. This the Fathers caused to be carried away and to be thrown to the bottom of the river. Leaving these rapids, the missionaries followed the river which flowed through an open prairie. On the fifteenth they arrived at the Fire Nation whose country Father Dablon called an earthly paradise, for its beauty, "the fairest land possible to behold," consisting of broad prairies cut by a river with here and there an oak or an elm tree growing. Apple trees, plum trees and vines were to be found; even the banks of the river abounded in wild oats. The rich pasture lands were dotted with buffaloes.

The chief of the visiting Illinois invited the missionary to his cabin. Of all nations the Illinois seemed

1. Ibid., 55:189

2. Ibid., 55:185-187

3. The word Mascouten means People of the Prairie. The name "Fire Nation" was given them by an incorrect translation of the Ottawa term "mashcode." In the Chippewa language, "mashcode" means prairie. In the Chippewa dialect, "ishkote" means fire. The probabilities are that the latter was substituted for the former. - Hodge, Handbook of American Indians, 1:810

most eager for the faith. Even the twelve or fifteen who came directly from the Illinois village, visited the Fathers in a body, commended their homeward journey to the missionaries, offered a good opening for a mission, and assured the Jesuits that the Illinois would tell other nations of what they had seen and heard.¹

Meanwhile, the mission of Sainte Marie du Sault had become flourishing. The church built there had been so adorned and beautified that all who visited it were surprised to see this building on the frontier far from the center of civilization. Father Gabriel Druilletes, who was assigned to the mission, spent some time in combatting a grievous disease that broke out among the Indians. Owing to the wonderful cures brought about through his agency, the Indians gave him their confidence and came in great numbers to be instructed and baptized.²

A year before, Monsieur Talon, the French Intendant in Canada, received orders from the king of France to proclaim his sovereignty over all these nations. Nicholas Perrot, who from boyhood had been accustomed to frontier life, was selected by Talon to act as guide and interpreter to his deputy, Simon Francois Daumont, the Sieur Saint Lussou. Perrot and Saint Lussou left Montreal in October, travelling together to Manitoulin Island where Saint Lussou spent the winter.

1. Jesuit Relations, 55:191 - 219

2. Ibid., 55:117-131; -56:107-113

while Perrot continued on his way to Green Bay to begin his work of summoning the western Indians to a great concourse at Sault Sainte Marie.

On May 5, 1671, Perrot, accompanied by the chiefs of the Sacs, Menominees, Pottawatomies, and Winnebagoes, met Saint Lussou at Sault Sainte Marie. Delegates from the tribes of the Chippewas, the "Malamechs," the Hoquets from Sainte Marie du Sault, the "Makomiteks," the Illinois, the Mascoutens, the Foxes, the Christinos, the Assiniboins, the "Aumoussonites," the Ottawas, the "Bouscouttons,"¹ the "Niscals," and the Maskegon were present. On June 4, the ceremonies began. First, a cross was erected after which the "Vexilla" was sung; then the king's standard was raised and the "Exaudiat" sung. Monsieur de Saint Lussou then took possession of these regions, his commission being interpreted by Nicholas Perrot. After this Father Claude Allouez paid an eulogy to the king in the metaphoric language of the Indians, so that they might the better understand the power and strength of the French Sovereign. This speech ended, Saint Lussou gave his reasons for summoning them; first, to take possession of the region; second, to receive the Indians under the protection of the king of France; third, to make one land of their territories and those of the French. The ceremony closed with the lighting of a large bonfire around which the "Te Deum" was sung in thanksgiving. This act was performed in the presence of the Jesuit Fathers

1. The Bouscouttons and the Christinos were Cree tribes.

Claude Dablon, Gabriel Druillettes, Claude Allouez, Andre,
¹
 and about fifteen Frenchmen.

The Sault became daily more and more beautiful and more comfortable. Fish were caught in abundance and the Indians became interested in the planting of Indian corn. As a rule, most of the cabins were moved near the church. The Indians preferred to live there rather than at the fort owing to their fear of the Sioux. Over one hundred were baptized
²
 at the Sault during the year.

The chapel was burned in 1671, but a new one more beautiful than the first was erected. Its need was felt by the number of peoples settling and visiting at the Sault.

Father Nouvel, in 1673, reported the Indians as never appearing more disposed to embrace Christianity owing to the good treatment they had received of late from the French, although the English and the Iroquois had been making every effort to bring about peace. This was true not only of the Mission of Sault Sainte Marie but also of that of Saint Francis Xavier at the Baye des Puans.
³
 The church at the latter place had been moved in the fall of 1670 to
⁴
 the east side of the Baye near Point Sable.

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1. "French Domination," in Wisconsin Historical Society, Collections, 11:26-29; Jesuit Relations, 55:105-115
 2. Ibid., 57:207-237
 3. Ibid., 57:21-24
 4. Neville, "Some Historic Sites on Green Bay," in Wisconsin Historical Society, Proceedings, 1905, 155

Father Dablon had returned to the Sault and thence to Quebec, leaving as his successor at the Sault Father Henry Nouvel, Superior of the Upper Missions. Father Andre, in 1671, was assigned as Father Allouez's assistant and the location of the mission of Saint Francis Xavier again changed. The Fathers moved it to De Pere Rapids; for this place afforded ¹ greater advantages as a mission site than any yet tried. A small chapel and a cabin of bark were erected. By the end of 1673 a more substantial church had been built, and palisades erected around the mission. Dwellings, workshops, and storehouses, were within the enclosure. This became the rendezvous of the traders as well as a center from which spiritual life was radiated among the Indians of what is now Wisconsin; ² for it was located in the midst of ten nations and could furnish over fifteen hundred souls for instruction.

Fathers Allouez and Andre had divided the work, one devoting himself to the more remote nations in the forest and the other to those gathered on the shore of the Baye des Puans. The Indians of this Baye had many superstitions which gave the missionary trouble in his attempts to convert them. Such was the experience of Father Andre. During the summer and winter he assailed them vigorously on account of their vices. His days were spent in visiting the cabins and teaching the children to sing spiritual songs to French airs. The

1. Ibid., 156

2. Wisconsin in Three Centuries, 1:157

Indians were so well pleased with this that the missionary was thus able to explain the mysteries of faith and combat superstition and vice.¹ Father Andre had charge of the "Chouskouabika"² and "Oussonamigoung"³ missions also. At the latter mission a cabin had been erected for him by the elders who wanted him to pray for their success in fishing. He did this after exacting a promise from them to give up their feasts to "Mississippi."⁴

Father Allouez planted a large cross at the end of the chapel on the plateau on the shore of the lake between the villages of the Pottawatomies and that of the Puants. He had spent much time also in caring for the welfare of the Illinois Indians and the Indians from beyond the Great River⁵ who had come to dwell with the Mascoutens.

Father Andre had met with success among the Menominees and the "Ouassatinoun." They had begun to show more affection for Christianity and gradually gave up their blackened faces, dreams, superstitions, and magic. Baptisms⁶ were many for the size of the nation.

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1. Jesuit Relations, 56:125-135
 2. "Chouskouabika" mission was probably on one of the rivers flowing into Green Bay, the Oconto. - Ibid., 57:319 note 13
 3. "Oussougamigoung; now corrupted with Suamico, a name applied to two small rivers flowing into Green Bay from the west." - Ibid.
 4. Mississippi was one of the Indian divinities.
 5. Jesuit Relations, 58:39-65
 6. Ibid., 58:273-289

In the meantime, Father Marquette¹ had been assigned to the west.² His post was to be the mission of Pointe du Sainte Esprit. On his way, however, he must have stopped at Sault Sainte Marie and spent some time there; for he wrote from there to call attention to the great need of missionaries at the Sault. On September 13, 1669, after a month's journey, he arrived at La Pointe to take Father Allouez's place. His first act was to visit the Indians who were divided among five villages. He found the Hurons still preserved a little Christianity. A council of elders was called who welcomed the missionary. When he told them that he understood their language imperfectly, that Father Allouez would no longer return to them, since they took little interest in prayer, and that no other missionary would come, they acknowledged their lack of interest and resolved to do better.

Father Marquette found the Sinagoo Ottawas attached to indecencies, sacrifices, and magic. The "Keinouche"³ were unwilling to receive the faith; even the Ottawas, superstitious in their feasts and magical incantations, were hardened against his teachings. The Kiskakons were Christians

1. Father Jacques Marquette was a native of Laon, France, about seventy-five miles from Paris. His family was among the most distinguished in the place. At the age of seventeen, he entered the Jesuit Novitiate and twelve years later came to America. Here, he spent the usual length of time with the Algonquins at Quebec learning their language. - Campbell, Pioneer Priests of North America, 3:169

2. Jesuit Relations, 51:261

3. The "Keinouche" were an Ottawa tribe.

owing to their conversion by Father Allouez the year before. The Illinois, the Sioux, who were the Iroquois of the region, the Assiniboins and the Cree all visited the mission and from them much was learned of the rivers to the south.¹

Much time was spent by Father Marquette in learning the language of the Illinois from an Illinois captive. From him as well as from the Sioux, he heard of a great river whose course was southward and he determined to make a voyage of discovery and to ascertain for himself the direction of the river, and to learn of the Indian tribes who dwelt near it. His plans were broken up by the threats of the Sioux to make desolate the region of La Pointe. Up to this time, the Ottawas and Hurons at La Pointe had kept a form of peace with them, but because of some murders committed on both sides during the winter, the Indians at the mission thought it expedient for them to desert the place. The Ottawas were the first to leave, going to Manitoulin Island in Lake Huron. Father Marquette felt obliged to leave his post at the mission of Sainte Esprit, and go with the Hurons to Michillimackinac. Here they had dwelt at first before they came west driven by the Iroquois. This spot was famous for its excellent soil and for its fishing opportunities, as almost any species of fish might be caught here. For this reason, Indians were attracted hither, and this in turn gave rise to

1. Jesuit Relations, 54:169-195

plans for the establishment of a mission. Father Marquette had a chapel erected to take care of the Hurons and of any other Indians who might be passing. The Indians enclosed their cabins by erecting a fort near the chapel. They were most assiduous in attending the chapel and in receiving instructions in the faith. A great number were baptized and the mission became a successful one, because visiting Indians from various tribes came in contact with it and a number of them were converted. Father Marquette in writing to his Superior to await his orders for the journey of exploration planned at La Pointe, spoke of the Indians at Saint Ignace, Michillimackinac, as men whose minds were more gentle, more tractable, and better disposed to receive the instructions that were given them than were the tribes at any other place.

When Father Marquette was at the point of abandoning all hope of carrying out his long cherished desire of discovering the great river to the south, the wished-for opportunity was given him. On December 8, 1672, Sieur Louis Joliet⁴ arrived at the mission of Saint Ignace, Michillimack-

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1. Ibid., 55:57-179
 2. The mission at Michillimackinac was given the name of Saint Ignace.
 3. Jesuit Relations, 56:113-119; 57:249-263.
 4. Sieur Louis Joliet, a native of Canada, was well fitted for the work. He was versed in the Ottawa language, had had a course in engineering and also in hydrography, was familiar to a great extent with much of the region, having explored the copper mines of Lake Superior. He possessed tact, courage and prudence—three very desirable assets for the journey.—Ibid. 58:94; 59:89; Campbell, Pioneer Priests of North America

inac, with an appointment from Count De Frontenac, Governor of Canada, and Monsieur Talon, Intendant, to undertake a journey of discovery to the South Sea. Father Marquette, who during the four years spent in the west had gained a knowledge of the Indian language and character as well as of the great river which was now to be discovered, was to accompany him.¹

They spent the winter in getting all possible information from the Indians about the country through which they were to pass. They traced maps of the courses of rivers upon birch-bark, and wrote down the names of the tribes and the nations along the banks of the great river and of the villages they should visit, and in particular of the direction to be followed on the Mississippi River.² Preparations were made for the voyage without any knowledge of the amount of time that would be spent in making it. On May 17, 1673, in two bark canoes, Father Marquette, Joliet, and five men embarked from Saint Ignace, Michillimackinac, on what proved to be a memorable voyage. Paddling on Lakes Huron, Michigan and on Green

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1. The material for the voyages of Father Marquette has been gathered from: Jesuit Relations, 58:93-109, "Marquette's Journal of his Mississippi exploration;" 59:87-211, "Marquette's last Journal;" Campbell, Pioneer Priests of North America, 3:170-181; Walker, "Father Marquette and the Early Jesuits in Michigan," in Pioneer Society of the State of Michigan, Pioneer Collections, 8:379-383; Shea, Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley, xli-lxxx, 3-66.
 2. Walker, "Father Marquette and the Early Jesuits in Michigan," in Pioneer Society of the State of Michigan, Pioneer Collections, 8:381; Jesuit Relations, 59:91-93

Bay, they came to the nation of the "Folle Avoine"¹ or Menominees, among whom were a number of Christians. When apprised of Father Marquette's intention to discover and teach the remote nations, they tried to persuade him to give up the undertaking. At the same time they recounted the dangers to which he would be subjected at the hands of strange Indians and of the demon who dwelt in the Mississippi River. Undaunted, the explorers continued on their way and arrived at the village of the Mascoutens or Fire Nation on the seventh of June. Here they found the Miamis, Mascoutens, and the Kickapoos,² whom they assembled and told that they had been sent to discover new countries and spread the gospel.

On June 10, they were again on their way with two Miamis as guides over the portage to the Wisconsin River. Seven days after the departure from the Mascouten village, they paddled from the Wisconsin into the Mississippi at a latitude of 42° 30'. From the time they entered the Mississippi until June 25, not a trace was to be found of a human being; but on the latter date, the tracks of men and a narrow path were seen along the bank. Father Marquette and Joliet followed the path which opened out into three villages, where they made their presence known by shooting. Four old

1. The Menominees were called the nation of "Folle Avoine" because wild oats grew abundantly in their country.

2. The Mascoutens and the Kickapoos were ruder and seemed like peasants in comparison with the Miamis who were civil and liberal. - Jesuit Relations.
59:101-103

Indians bearing peace calumets¹ came to meet them. They were received at the door of their host's cabin with all customary ceremony. The old Indian who met them at the cabin door addressed them thus: "How beautiful the sun is, O frenchmen, when thou comest to visit us! All our village awaits thee, and thou shalt enter all our cabins in peace."² When the Indians, who were a tribe of Illinois, had assembled, presents were exchanged with the two voyagers. Father Marquette then addressed them and told them the object of his voyage, but the Illinois, like the Menominees, tried to dissuade the explorers from continuing their journey, though to no avail. They embarked after being escorted back to their canoes by about six hundred Indians. Within a few days, they were convinced that the Mississippi emptied into the Gulf of Mexico and not into the Gulf of California.

When latitude 33° 40' was reached, Father Marquette and Joliet held a council whether to proceed to the mouth of the river or return. They determined, since they were certain that the Mississippi discharged into the Gulf of Mexico, to return rather than run the risk of being killed by the Spaniards or their savage allies, and of not being

1. The Illinois Indians used two calumets; one for war and one for peace, distinguished by the color of the feathers with which they were adorned. Father Marquette was given a peace calumet to assure him a safe reception with any Indians he might meet. - Ibid., 59:131

2. Ibid., 59:117

able to give an account of all they had seen.

On July 17, they left the village of the Arkansas on their more difficult journey homeward, being obliged to paddle against swift currents. At 38° latitude, they left the Mississippi River to ascend a river to the east. On this river they found a village of seventy-four cabins of Illinois Indians called the Kaskaskias, who welcomed the travelers and escorted them to Lake Michigan, first exacting a promise that a mission would be established in their village. The Peoria Indians whom they met were also given a few instructions. The two explorers then went to the mission of Saint Francis Xavier at Green Bay ¹ where the missionary remained. His companion, Louis Joliet, proceeded to Quebec.

Father Marquette wrote a journal of his travels which he transmitted to his Superior, Father Dablon, Joliet also wrote an account but lost his papers on the way to Quebec when his boat capsized. In a letter written August 1, 1674, by Father Dablon to his Superior at Quebec, the utility of this discovery was summed up as follows: first, a great field for preaching the faith had been opened up; second, it had been found that the outlet of the Mississippi was toward the Gulf of Mexico; third, this discovery should not put an

1. The distance covered by Father Marquette and Joliet on this journey with Green Bay as a starting point and destination has been estimated as two thousand five hundred and forty-nine miles. - Sparks, "Life of Father Marquette," in The Library of American Biography, first series, 10:290, note.

end to the search for the western sea by way of the Mississippi; fourth, if a canal be cut through one-half league of prairie between Lake Michigan and the Illinois River, Florida could be reached by easy navigation; fifth, to establish colonies in the newly discovered territories would be of great advantage since ploughing could be done immediately and grain sown, there being no forests to be cut down.¹ Meanwhile, Father Marquette at Green Bay was detained from setting to establish his mission among the Kaskaskias, owing to illness contracted from the hardships of his long voyage. In November, 1674, with two men, he left the Baye des Puans for the Illinois country. For a month all went well, but, when the snow covered the ground, he suffered another attack of illness which prevented him from proceeding any farther that winter.

With the opening of navigation, March 29, 1675, he again set out and in eleven days was at the village of the Kaskaskias. Here, a great council was held, at which he instructed the Indians. After this he took possession of the land and gave to the mission the name of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin.² After this he promised them that either he or another Jesuit Father would carry on

1. Jesuit Relations, 58:101-108.

2. This mission was established to the north of the Illinois River, near the site of the present village of Utica, Illinois.

the work of the mission. He then took leave of them. They escorted him about thirty leagues on his way, after which he proceeded to Lake Michigan, along whose southern and eastern shores he coasted, until, realizing that his end was near, he prevailed upon his companions to put him upon the bank of a river on the east shore of Lake Michigan where he wished to be buried. On Saturday, May 18, 1675, he expired. His companions prepared him for burial and interred his body according to his own directions. The Kiskakons, who had been Christians for nearly ten years, removed his bones to the mission of Saint Ignace at Michillimackinac, where Father Nouvel, the Superior, and Father Pierson gave him a second burial.¹

True to the promise made by Father Marquette to the Indians at the mission of the Immaculate Conception, a missionary was soon named to take up his labors in this new field.

1. O'Gorman, History of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States, 177-178

CHAPTER IV.

GROWTH AND DECLINE OF THE MISSIONS

1674 - 1728

Peace among hostile Indians seemed an impossibility for any length of time. Whenever the Sioux came in contact with other nations, blood shed was inevitably the result. In the spring of 1674, the Sioux were surprised by a band of warriors from Sault Sainte Marie. Eighty Sioux were taken prisoners. The only course open to them was to ask for peace. Ten of the most daring of their number were sent to the Sault for this purpose where they were received with joy by all the tribes except the Kilistinons and the Missisquis, who were intent on preventing the conclusion of peace. To carry out their design, the Kilistinons resolved to kill the ten ambassadors. Father Druillettes took advantage of the fact that they had been placed in his house for safety and instructed them. Here the Indians gathered to conclude the proposed peace. Everything was done to prevent those who entered the house from carrying arms. But owing to the crowd, five or six with their knives concealed, managed to elude the watchful eye of the guard. One of these, a Kilistinon, began the disturbance. Knife in hand, he approached a Sioux, threatened him and said: "Thou art Afraid." Haughtily the Sioux replied: "If thou Thinkest that I tremble, strike straight at the

heart." After being stabbed, he cried: "They are killing us
my brothers."¹

Immediately the Sioux rose up and struck at all the Indians without distinction causing a great carnage in a short time. The missionaries' house was burned, and the chapel, which was the second which had been built, was in great danger of being burned also. The ten Sioux ambassadors and forty Indians at the Sault were killed.

The Indians at the Sault, fearing that the Sioux would come to take vengeance, withdrew leaving Father Nouvel and Father Druillettes in danger of being massacred. This step on the part of the Indians arrested the growth and suc-²cess of the mission for a short time.

In 1675, Father Peter Bailloquet joined Fathers Nouvel and Druillettes at the Sault. Their time was devoted both to the instruction of the Ottawas at the Sault and also of those at some distance.³ Indians came here from all directions during the summer. Every effort was made to induce the Indians to give up their habit of wandering. The missionaries caused the soil at the Sault to be tilled. The Indians, who seemed to have neglected the raising of Indian corn, began to imitate this and in a short time many were practicing agricul-

1. Jesuit Relations, 58:259
2. Ibid., 58:255-263
3. Ibid., 59:217

ture under the supervision of the Fathers.¹ The missionaries saw a little fruit of their labors in the increased number of baptisms and in the renouncing of superstitions by several of the medicine men.

At this time, the French were carrying on a very lucrative and peaceable trade with the Indians. This gave the latter a desire to continue their intercourse with the traders.²

Father Druillettes remained at this mission until 1679, when he returned to Quebec after spending nine years in the west full of hardships.³ His co-worker, Father Bailloquet, carried on "flying" missions to the various tribes residing in the Lake Huron country and also that of the Nipissings.⁴ He spent most of his time with the Ottawas in this section but returned to Sault Sainte Marie from time to time.⁵ His stay at the Sault as Father Nouvel's assistant could not have been of longer duration than two years, for in 1677, he was stationed at Michillimackinac.⁶ He wrote from the mission of Saint Ignace to say that he led the life of an itinerant missionary, ministering to the Indians at

1. Ibid., 57:207
2. Ibid., 57:21-23. Letter of Father Nouvel.
3. Father Druillettes died in 1681 probably at the age of ninety years.
4. Jesuit Relations, 60:211
5. Ibid., 59:71. Letter of Father Dablon
6. Ibid., 61:193. Letter of Father Bailloquet.

the upper end of Lake Huron, travelling in a canoe in summer and over the ice in winter. During the same year, 1677, Father Nouvel went to take charge of the Kiskakons at Mich-
¹illimackinac. While at the Sault, Father Nouvel nearly met his death at the hands of a medicine man. The Indian's hatchet was raised three times to strike and each time dropped without inflicting the fatal blow. On two other occasions, the Jesuit nearly perished in the water.

Father Charles Albanel, who succeeded Father Bailloquet, had entire charge of the mission of Sault Sainte Marie after Father Druillettes' return to Quebec and Father Nouvel's transfer to the Kiskakons. Although Father Albanel suffered greatly from infirmities of the body, he spent his time in the instruction of the Saulteurs, the Kilistinons,
²and some Indians who lived to the north of Lake Superior. The greatest difficulty experienced in converting the Saulteurs during the first years of missionary life at the Sault was the "Manitou." The squaws were the worst victims of this superstition, but this had been overcome gradually during Father Druillettes' stay and now Father Albanel found it one of the minor obstacles in the way of christianizing the Indians. Most likely Father Albanel spent the

1. Ibid., 61:97

2. Ibid., 62:193

remaining years of his life at Sault Sainte Marie; since he died at this place in January, 1696.¹

After 1683, the accounts of the mission of Sault Sainte Marie are meagre. It is probable that Father Joseph Marest was at the Sault during the first years of the eighteenth century before he was stationed at Michillimackinac.² Charlevoix, in his Journal written in 1721, made no mention of the mission. No record appears to have been left giving its history from 1683 to 1740; but it is evident that the founding of the mission of Saint Ignace at Michillimackinac tended to weaken the mission at the Sault, since the former was a better center for the concourse of Indian tribes and French traders.

Father Allouez, who had been at the mission of Saint Francis Xavier, was assigned to succeed Father Marquette at the mission of the Immaculate Conception among the Kaskaskias.³ While making preparations for departure from the mission of Saint Francis Xavier, he visited the Indians in the vicinity of Green Bay. When all was in readiness, he set out in a canoe with two men about the end of October, 1676. They had gone but a short distance when winter set in,

1. Ibid., 71:148

2. "French Regime in Wisconsin," in Wisconsin Historical Society, Collections, 14:232 note 2.

3. The material for Father Allouez's work among the Kaskaskias has been taken from Jesuit Relations, 60:149-167

and they were compelled to go into camp¹ where they remained until February. Their mode of navigation during this month differed from what it had been in October. Attaching a sail to the canoe, they placed it upon the ice and let the wind drive it. "When the wind failed us," Father Allouez wrote, "in place of paddles we used Ropes to draw it along, as horses draw carriages."² This was a rather ingenious ice-boat and it served its purpose. On the way they visited a village of Pottawatomies. The missionary and his companions were just in time to witness a peculiar custom. A young man of the village had been killed by a bear in attempting to shoot it. As a result of this, the Pottawatomies were having a war on the bears and had killed over five hundred of them. When Father Allouez and his companions left this village, they entered a deep bay twelve leagues from it. From this bay they were forced to carry their canoes over a portage a league and a half in length to reach Lake Michigan. Here they embarked March 29 and continued their journey over the ice. Even after the rivers began to open, they risked the dangers of floating ice and after a journey of seventy-six leagues entered the Illinois River. Eighty Indians from the Illinois country met them here. The chief, carrying a fire-brand in one hand and a calumet in the other, advanced thirty steps to meet Father Allouez. All smoked the pipe of peace

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1. They spent the winter on the shores of Green Bay.
 2. Jesuit Relations, 60:151

and then the Indians conducted the Father into the cabin of the chief.

Setting out again, they arrived at the village of the Kaskaskias, April 27. Here they were met in like manner by the Indians with the peace calumet. They smoked this and then Father Allouez was escorted to his cabin which was none other than the one in which Father Marquette had lodged. The entire population assembled to hear the missionary tell why he had come.

The village had increased in number since Father Marquette's day. At that time, the Kaskaskias were the only nation residing in it; but at their invitation eight other tribes who had lived in the vicinity of the Mississippi River had come to take up their abode here. Three hundred and fifty-one cabins, mostly situated on the banks of the river, made up the village which was located between a long stretch of prairie on the one side and a great number of swamps on the other - a location which made it easy for the Indians to espy the approach of their enemies. The Indians here were high-spirited, valorous, daring; and carried on war with seven or eight different nations. When they were not engaged in war or the chase, they spent their time in sports or feasting or dancing. Their principal weapons were the club and the bow and arrow. Though the Illinois carried guns, they used them only to frighten other nations who were unaccustomed to such noise; they thought them too slow and cumbersome as a weapon. They carried also a large shield

made of the skin of wild bison, arrow-proof and covering the whole body.

Father Allouez expected to remain here but a short time for his chief purpose in coming was to obtain the information necessary for the establishment of a complete mission. He began to instruct the eight tribes and prepared a small altar in the cabin of the chief of the nation. On May 3, a cross, thirty-five feet high, was erected in the village. Shortly after this, the missionary left.¹ The Indians made an urgent plea for him to return. He, in turn, was quite willing to do so for he saw "the mission quite ready and very promising."

The next year, 1678, he returned to them to spend the remainder of his life, excepting only the short intervals caused by the war-like incursions of the Five Nations and the approach of La Salle² who was unfriendly to him.³ In 1678, Father Dablon wrote to say that the Illinois had defeated the Iroquois and this victory of the Illinois over the Iroquois would go far to excite continued warfare between the nations. If a stop were not put to these hostilities within a short

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1. Father Allouez probably spent the time between his first and second visits to the Illinois at the mission of Saint Francis Xavier.
 2. Mason, "Kaskaskias," in Michigan Pioneer Society, Collections, 5:94.
 3. La Salle was unfriendly to Father Allouez because he believed that the Jesuit was plotting to make the Indians hostile toward him.

time, the mission might suffer serious losses.¹ Shortly before the close of Father Allouez's life, he left the Kaskaskias to go to the mission among the Miamis on the Saint Joseph River. Here he became ill and died in August, 1689.²

Father Sebastian Rale³ was Father Allouez's successor at the mission of the Immaculate Conception. For two years he had been learning the Indian languages, and when his assignment to the Illinois mission came, he began the study of that language. On August 13, 1691, he left Quebec for the west.⁴ Upon his arrival at Michillimackinac he found it too late in the season to continue his journey to the Kaskaskias so he spent the winter at Saint Ignace. He found the Ottawas with whom he came in contact very superstitious and greatly attached to the magic of their medicine men. A study of their beliefs and superstitions⁵ gave him as

1. Jesuit Relations, 60:167
2. Father Allouez is said to have instructed 100,000 natives during his missionary life and to have baptised 12,000 of them. - Campbell, Pioneer Priests of North America, 3:164
3. Father Sebastian Rale was born in France in 1657, entered the Jesuit novitiate when eighteen years of age and came to America in 1689. He was a gifted linguist. - Ibid., 3:367
4. A letter written by Father Rale to his brother is the source for this account of his journey and of his experience in the west. This letter is to be found in Kip, Early Jesuit Missions in North America, 30-42
5. The following was one of the beliefs of the Ottawas: They claimed to be derived from three families: first, the family of Michabou or the Great Hare, a man of prodigious size who could spread nets in water eighteen fathoms deep. During the deluge he had sent out a beaver who had returned with a lit-

well as the other missionaries a clearer insight into their character.

In the spring of 1692, Father Rale left Michillimackinac to proceed on his way to the Kaskaskias. The Mascoutens, the Sacs, and the Foxes were met on the way. After a journey of forty days, he entered the Illinois River, followed its course for fifty leagues, and came upon the Kaskaskia village composed of three hundred cabins each having four or five fires. One fire sufficed for two families.

Father Rale found the Illinois quite susceptible to Christianity owing to the influence exerted upon them by

the earth covered with foam. The Great Hare then went to that part of the lake from which the land had been brought and found there a little island. He walked around it and it became extraordinarily large, because of which, the Indians attributed to him the creation of land. He had ordered the bodies of his descendants to be burned after their death and the ashes thrown to the wind. In case of a failure to do this, the snow would continue to cover the earth, and the lakes and rivers would remain frozen; and as a result, the people would die, being unable to catch fish or obtain any other food. The second family was that of the Hamepich or Carp; the Carp deposited its eggs on the border of a river and the sun darted its rays upon them and they were formed into a woman from whom the second family was descended. The third was the family of the Machora or Bear; this tribe offered no explanation as to its derivation from a bear or paw of a bear. When they killed a bear, they addressed it in these words: "Do not have any ill will against us because we have killed you. You have sense - you see that our children are suffering with hunger - they love you - they wish to make you enter into their bodies. And is it not a glorious thing for you to be eaten by the children of the chief?" - Kip. Early Jesuit Missions in North America, 32-34

Father Allouez. In writing of the advantages of their location, he said: "It is a blessing to the Illinois that they are so far distant from Quebec, because it renders it impossible to transport to them the 'fire-water,' as it is carried to others. This drink is among the Indians the greatest obstacle to Christianity, and the source of an infinite number of their most shocking crimes." The missionary found polygamy the greatest drawback to Christian marriage. For two years Father Rale remained with the Illinois and then returned to the east to take up missionary labors among the Abenakis.

Father Jacques Gravier, who had been at the mission of the Immaculate Conception during one of Father Allouez's absences, succeeded Father Rale. One of his first acts was the building of a new chapel for the greater convenience of the Indians. This chapel was dedicated and a large cross erected. At this time the Illinois nation or confederacy was composed of five tribes, the Kaskaskias, the Peorias, the Cahokias, the Tamarocas, and the Mitchigamias. Father Gravier's work was carried on principally among the Kaskaskias. He spent some time with the Peorias and visited several smaller villages. Sickness prevailed among the tribes at this time. In seven months two hundred and six Indians

1. Ibid., 42

2. Shea, The Catholic Church in Colonial Days, 536

received baptism. While at the mission of the Immaculate Conception, Father Rale availed himself of the opportunity to study the Illinois language. He investigated its principles and reduced them to grammatical rules.

In 1696, Father Gravier was joined by Father Julian Bineteau who remained at the Kaskaskia village. Father Pinet was also assigned to the mission as the co-worker of Father Bineteau and to take the place of Father Gravier who, in 1698, was recalled to Montreal. In the course of the same year Father Gabriel Marest came to aid the two missionaries.¹ He was interested in the language of the Kaskaskias and succeeded in compiling a catechism in that tongue. Father Bineteau followed one of the tribes to its hunting ground on the upland plains of the Mississippi and died on the prairie in 1699.

In 1700 the mission of the Immaculate Conception² was moved under the guidance of Father Gabriel Marest, who was then in charge, from the Illinois to the Mississippi River at its junction with the Kaskaskia River. Father Gravier came upon the scene too late to prevent the change, although he believed that the Kaskaskias would not have

1. Mason, "Kaskaskia," in Michigan Pioneer Society, Collections, 5:95.

2. "It was in view of joining the French in Louisiana that they set out, but Gravier's influence induced a halt, which proved a lasting one."-Shea, Early Voyages up and down the Mississippi, 117.

separated from the Peorias if he had arrived sooner.¹

With this change of location, the Kaskaskia mission was beyond the bounds of the region under consideration and its chronicle after 1700 does not belong to this history of the "Jesuit Missions of the Northwest."

When Father Marquette left the mission of Saint Ignace at Michillimackinac to begin his journey of discovery, Father Pierson was given charge of the Hurons. From the time of the founding of this mission, the place was a resort for the fur traders of Quebec and Montreal and a point of competition with the English located on the shores of Hudson Bay.² In 1674 the medicine men promised the missionary to give up their superstitions. They kept their word but other vices still prevailed. Two years later the Father wrote that the church was increasing in number and growing strong in the faith which was becoming well established.³ The Hurons and Ottawas were beginning to profess the faith in considerable numbers. Many were living in a Christian manner. During the winter of 1675-76, some Iroquois visited

1. "Journal of the Voyage of Father Gravier of the Society of Jesus, in 1700, from the Country of the Illinois to the mouth of the Mississippi, addressed to Father de Lamberville, and sent from the Port of the Mississippi, 17 Leagues from its mouth in the Gulf or Sea of Mexico, Feb. 16, 1701," in Shea, Early Voyages up and down the Mississippi, 115

2. Cooley, Michigan, 14

3. Jesuit Relations, 60:209-211. Letter of Father Pierson.

Michillimackinac and gave very valuable presents to the Hurons under the pretext of wishing to form an alliance with them against the Sioux, so that both nations might overcome the Sioux in war. Father Pierson looked upon this as merely a plan to lure the Hurons to the Iroquois country. If they had obtained their end, the mission of Saint Ignace might have had to be deserted.¹

While La Salle was on his journey to the west in 1679, he stopped at Michillimackinac where he found the Indians civilized to the extent of being able to use fire arms, which they had secured from the French.² At this time there were two missions at Michillimackinac three quarters of a league apart; the Huron of Saint Ignace, established by Father Marquette and attended by Father Pierson, and the Ottawa mission of Saint Francis Borgia served by Father Nouvel. Father Enjalran aided the two. In all there were about eighteen hundred souls in the two missions.

Father Nouvel, at the close of November, 1677, had lodged in a small bark cabin at the mission of Saint Francis Borgia. Eight or ten days later, Father Enjalran joined him. Together they erected a small bark church near the cabin. This edifice was filled from early morning until night by the Indians of the mission who were very fervent. Before with-

1. Ibid., 60:211

2. Hennepin, New Discovery, 1:116.

drawing to return to Saint Ignace, Father Neuvel erected a cross in the village of the Kiskakons who had been converted to Christianity by Father Marquette.¹ In 1681, Father Neuvel was appointed to the mission of Saint Francis Xavier. Before his departure he visited the Ottawa tribes along Lake Huron.²

Two years later, Father Pierson was relieved of his charge and Father Nicolas Potier assigned to his place at the Huron mission. His sojourn here was of a few years duration, since he returned to Quebec in 1689 during the course of which year he died.³ Father Enjalran had been appointed superior of the Ottawa mission in 1681 to succeed Father Neuvel, who in turn went to the mission of Saint Francis Xavier; and he and Father Bailloquet both labored among the Ottawa at the Saint Francis Borgia mission and also with the French who went there in large numbers to trade. Part of the tribes here had embraced Christianity and a great many others were doing away with their superstitions owing to the influence of the Jesuits. The Fathers had charge also of the Michillimackinac Indians who had no other missionary among them.⁴ Father Enjalran left the mission in 1688 after having

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1. Jesuit Relations, 61:103-133
 2. Ibid., 62:201
 3. Ibid., 61:273 note 18; 71:155.
 4. Ibid., 62:193-201

been superior for seven years, and returned to France.¹
 Father Bailloquet died at the Ottawa mission in 1692.² The
 labors of the missionaries in the west were becoming more
 difficult day by day owing to the increasing hostilities of
 the Indians. The mission at Michillimackinac was no excep-
 tion. Here Louvigny, in 1691, thought it necessary to sur-
 round the church and the residence of the Fathers with a
 palisade for better protection.³

In the fall of 1698, Father Jacques Gravier, who
 had been with the Illinois in 1694, wrote to Bishop Laval
 from Michillimackinac that he and Father de Carheil were
 laboring at Saint Ignace.⁴ Two years later Father Gravier
 left Michillimackinac to revisit the Illinois country and
 to journey down the Mississippi. The mission of Saint Ig-
 nace was then in charge of Father de Carheil. At this time
 Michillimackinac was both a military and trading post. The
 Hurons and Ottawas of the place had but little mutual in-
 tercourse. The greater part of the Hurons were Christians,
 the Ottawas, pagans.

August 30, 1702, Father Etienne de Carheil reported
 to Governor de Callieres that the missions were in such a

1. Ibid., 60:318 note 14
2. Ibid., 71:147
3. Shea, The Catholic Church in Colonial Days, 619
4. Jesuit Relations, 65:59. - Letter of Father Gravier.
5. Ibid., 65:189 - 227. Letter of Father de Carheil.

condition that it would be impossible to maintain them in the face of innumerable evil acts and vices resulting from the trade in brandy. "In our despair," he said, "there is no other step to take than to leave our mission and abandon them to the brandy traders, so that they may establish there-¹ in the domain of their trade of drunkenness and immorality." Father de Carheil asked Governor to remove the commandants and garrisons since all the misfortunes of the mission could be laid at their door. He thought it better for the Indians to go to Montreal to trade than that the French come among them. He advised that more stringent rules be made for regulating trade with the Indians.² La Motte Cadillac, one of the commandants, was removed on account of the complaints of the missionary who charged him with being too lax in enforcing discipline.

A mission had been founded in Detroit in 1701 served by the Recollects. Cadillac, who had been at Michillimackinac, was appointed commander at the Detroit post. Due to the treatment received at the hand of Father de Carheil, he was never friendly to the members of the Society of Jesus. He ordered the missionaries at Michillimackinac³ to come to Detroit but they did not comply. His plans were

1. Ibid., 65:191

2. Ibid., 65:189-227

3. Shea, The Catholic Church in Colonial Days, 621.

to collect the Indians that lived around Lakes Superior, Michigan, and Huron, to establish Detroit as a center, and to bring about intermarriage between the French and the Indians. The Jesuits realized that this would in a short time cause the desertion of the missions at Michillimackinac and the Sault. They had striven from the first to allow the Indian to come in contact with the whiteman as little as possible owing to the influence brought to bear upon the redman¹ by the traffic in brandy.

Cadillac met with success in gathering the Indians at Detroit; for in June, 1703, he wrote to Count Pontchartrain to inform him that the Hurons, with the exception of twenty-five, had come to his post from Michillimackinac.² Father de Carheil remained at the mission of Saint Ignace where he was joined by Father Aveneau who had had charge of the mission to the Miami on the Saint Joseph River until it was deserted by the Indians setting out for Detroit. In 1708, the two missionaries burned their chapel, and with Father Jacques J. Marest left their mission which was practically without parishioners and went to Quebec.³ The French government censured the action of the missionaries in deserting

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1. O'Gorman, A History of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States, 158-159
 2. Moore, The Northwest under Three Flags, 46
 3. O'Gorman, A History of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States, 159; Shea, The Catholic Church in Colonial Days, 62E

the mission and requested that they return to Michillimackinac and rebuild their chapel.¹ Accordingly Father Marest returned to Michillimackinac in 1711 to look after the spiritual welfare of the Indians and the traders.² He compared the Indians to the climate. Snow covered the ground from the first of November to May. The Indians were harsh and indocile and religion did not take a deep root.³ At this time Michillimackinac was a general resort of the Frenchmen and the Indians. It appears to have been a rendezvous for the Jesuits also. Father Charbon, who was obliged to leave the mission of Saint Francis Xavier because of the hostility of the Indians, was here in 1711 with Father Jacques J. Marest. The next year Father Gabriel Marest spent two months here with his brother conferring with him relative to the missionary affairs in the west.⁴ In 1714 the mission was moved across the straits and with this change passed beyond the boundaries of the "Northwest" as herein designated.⁵

Around the Baye des Puans, Father Andre, who had been stationed here since 1671, was employed in 1678 in subduing the minds of the Indians and converting them. At this

1. Ibid., 622.

2. Jesuit Relations, 66:207

3. "Letter of Father Marest to Father Gerson," in Exp. Early Jesuit Missions in North America, 222-223

4. Jesuit Relations, 68:207, 267.

5. Cooley, Michigan, 14.

time there were six tribes at the fort and along the two sides of the Baye from ten to fifteen leagues apart. This compelled Father Andre to be continually in the field instructing them, travelling by canoe in summer and over the ice in winter. There were about four hundred and fifty¹ Christians at the Baye.

Father Allouez, assisted by Father Silvy, who had come west from Quebec for this purpose had charge of the Foxes, the Mascoutens, the Kickapoos, and the Miamis. Father Silvy found that the mission of Saint James to the Mascoutens which became his special charge showed the least advancement probably because the missionary could not go there at the proper time since there was no one to take him. The Indians of this mission were of two different nations and spoke two languages. In order to bring about the best results, Father Allouez thought two missionaries were needed. The Indians themselves appeared greatly inclined to Christianity.² The Mascouten village was made up of six tribes of Miamis and the Mascoutens, with five or six other tribes. Father Silvy took up his labors among them immediately upon his arrival. Within a short time, a great concourse of people gathered daily around the chapel. The infidels came out of curiosity, the believers, to pray.³ A peculiar kind

1. Jesuit Relations, 60:201. Letter of Father Andre.

2. Ibid., 59:219-225

3. Ibid., 60:207. Letter of Father Silvy.

of idolatry existed among the Indians of the Mascouten village. They invoked not only the head of the wild ox with its horns which they kept in their cabins, but also bear-skins. They left the head, eyes and nose, painted green, on the skin. This they raised on a pole in the middle of their cabins, letting the remainder of the skin hang along the pole to the ground. They invoked this bear-skin in sickness,¹ wars, and other calamities.

Father Allouez was able to give only "flying" missions among the tribes so that all might receive an equal amount of instructions and attention.² In 1676, he was assigned to succeed Father Marquette at the mission of the Immaculate Conception among the Kaskaskias. Father Albanel arrived at the Baye as Father Allouez's successor. He found the Foxes enduring many trials at the hands of the Illinois and the Sioux. The Sioux had put many to death and the Illinois had made frequent raids. Another source of suffering for them was the loss of their supply of corn. Most of it had been frozen, and the little that they succeeded in harvesting rotted in the place where it was concealed. Disease had also carried off a number of the tribes.³ Father Andre continued his labors among the six tribes at the Baye des Puans until 1681. The four or five hundred Christians at the

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1. Ibid., 59:23. Letter of Father Allouez.
 2. Ibid., 60:197. Letter of Father Allouez
 3. Ibid., 60:199. Letter of Father Allouez

Baye treated him kindly. Those who did not embrace Christianity were a source of torture to him. At one time his house near the Menominee village was burned by an Indian. Father Andre had baptized the two children of the Indian one of whom died, and the Indian tried to allay his grief by burning the missionary's house. The Father spent about sixteen days of the year with the Menominee Indians and another three weeks with the "Otiasawatenon."¹

In 1677, Father Charles Albanel reported the missionaries around Saint Francis Xavier mission very successful in their labors. Many had been baptized by himself, Father Andre and Father Silvy; and the mission of Saint Francis Xavier was proving to be a center for Indians gathering there from all quarters.² Father Albenel must have gone to Sault Sainte Marie this year to succeed Father Bailloquet who in turn had been sent to Michillimackinac.³ A year later Father Silvy left to go to the mission of Tadoussac and Father Andre Bonnault arrived to take his place.⁴ His stay was not long for he returned to France in 1679.⁵

Father Nouvel, who had been succeeded by Father Enjalran as Superior of the Ottawa missions, came to the

1. Ibid., 60:129, 199, 201-207.

2. Ibid., 61:71

3. Ibid., 61:71. Letter of Father Bailloquet.

4. Ibid., 61:157

5. Ibid., 71:154

Green Bay mission from Michillimackinac in 1681.¹ Shortly after his arrival, the Iroquois who had long been planning an attack upon the Ottawa countries descended upon the Indians around the Bay and war began in 1683.² This was a hard period for the Jesuits. Their servants were murdered at the Bay. The guilty Indians, however, went to the mission to make atonement.³ The missionaries' house and chapel were burned in 1687 by the Fox Indians who were incensed at the French. All the furs, valued at forty thousand francs,⁴ which had been stored here, were destroyed by fire. At this time this mission station was a rich market for furs and Indian corn; for traders passing to and from the Mississippi River stopped here to buy of the Sacs, Pottawatomies, and the Mascoutens. Father Jean Enjalran, who was stationed at the Bay as Father Albanel's successor, was absent at this time. Upon his return new buildings were erected.

But little is known of the history of the other missions around Green Bay after the time of Father Andre Bonnault. The mission to the Foxes begun by Father Allouez

1. Ibid., 62:201

2. Ibid., 62:91, 95, 151, 189.

3. "French Regime in Wisconsin, 1634-1727," in Wisconsin Historical Society, Collections, 16:99, 104

4. Thwaites, Wisconsin, 91; Neville, "Some Historic Sites on Green Bay," in Wisconsin Historical Society, Proceedings 1905, 155; Wisconsin in Three Centuries, 1:175.

in 1670, was abandoned some time after 1678. The Foxes had formed an alliance with the Sioux and the whole fabric of French power in the west was threatened by them. They numbered about fourteen hundred souls with four hundred warriors among them. They had never at any time shown a very great desire to embrace Christianity and this together with the enmity they bore the French helped to put an end to Saint Mark's mission.

Father Sebastian Rale stopped at the Mascouten mission of Saint James in 1692 and found it without a permanent missionary and, as heretofore, dependent upon the mission of Saint Francis Xavier. With this report from Father Rale all accounts of the mission seem to have ceased. Just what year the mission was abandoned is not known. The reason for its discontinuance was most probably the hostility of the Indians toward the French.

The mission of Saint Michael among the Menominees fared better. It increased in numbers until 1712, when the breaking out of the Fox war put an end to it.

Father Jean B. Chardon went to the Bay in 1701 to assist Father nouvel, who at that time was eighty years old, ill and infirm. The mission at the Bay was the only

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1. Ibid., 1:281, 286.
 2. Thomas, Indians of North America in Historic Times, 298
 3. Mooney, "Mascouten Indians," in Catholic Encyclopedia, 9:769.
 4. Mooney, "Menominee Indians," in Catholic Encyclopedia, 10:193.

one of those founded before 1700 that retained a sufficient number of Indians to maintain a mission with a permanent missionary. When Father Chardon arrived after having made a stop at Michillimackinac, he found Father Nouvel engaged in a mission to the tribes near the Bay. The following year Father Nouvel died at Green Bay, leaving Father Chardon a solitary missionary there. He remained there with the exception of a few years, probably between 1703-1711,¹ the mission being deserted during that time. In 1721, Charlevoix, on his journey through the west, found Father Chardon living near the fort at the Bay. As yet the missionary had not learned the language of the Winnebagoes, but hoped that he would find more docility among them when he had mastered their tongue.²

On June 7, 1726, Father Chardon, a French officer, M. de Lignery, and the commandant at Green Bay held a grand council at the Bay with the Sacs, Foxes, and Winnebagoes. This resulted in some form of a truce. But a lasting peace was impossible. Each tribe nourished feelings too bitter for a permanent compromise.³

Two years later seems to have marked the end of this mission, for after that date no information was given

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1. Jesuit Relations, 66:347 note 43; "French Regime in Wisconsin," in Wisconsin Historical Society, Collections, 16:206.
 2. Charlevoix, Journal, 2:62
 3. Wisconsin in Three Centuries, 1:288

of it. Father Chardon probably remained here until the
end. Fifteen years from this time he died at Quebec.¹

Of necessity the history of the missions after 1672 when the last Relation was written is meagre, obscure, and on the whole far from satisfactory. No connected series of events is traceable. A statement presents itself here and there to form the mere skeleton for the history of the missions.

1. Jesuit Relations, 71:161

CHAPTER V.

MISSIONS ON MINNESOTA SOIL

When Charlevoix returned to France after his journey to North America, he advised the French government to found an establishment in the Sioux country that would serve as a center of trade and of mission work. A truce had been formed with the hostile Sacs and Foxes which in a short time resulted in plans for an expedition.¹ The French government, in carrying out the design, made an appropriation for the support of two Jesuit Fathers.

On June 16, 1727, the expedition to the Sioux country, undertaken by Sieur la Perriere, his brother, and other relatives, Fathers De Gonor and Michael Guignas, both Jesuits, left Montreal Island for the west. July 22, they reached Michillimackinac where the remainder of the month was spent in the expectation of receiving news from Montreal and in preparation for their journey through the country of the Foxes.

On August 1, they again set out, and on the eighth were

1. Folwell, Minnesota, 26

2. The following account so far as it relates to the journey to the west, the building of the fort, and to the beginning of the mission of Saint Michael the Archangel is taken from the "Letter of Father Guignas to Governor Beauharnois," in Shea, Early Voyages up and down the Mississippi, 167-175

at Green Bay where they spent two days before going through the country of the Foxes. The Winnebagoes, whom they met, presented them with peace calumets and held a great demonstration in their honor. They were treated in the same manner when they arrived at the cabins of the Foxes. With the aid of Father Chardon, who at this time was stationed at Green Bay, a general council was convened. Here an attempt was made to ascertain what designs and ideas the Foxes might have regarding the establishment of a post among the Sioux. The attitude of both sides was friendly. Leaving the Foxes, they again set out but found navigation slow and their course uncertain. As Father Guignas said: "No one knew it, and we got astray every moment on water and on land for want of a guide and pilots."¹

At noon, September 17, 1727, they reached Lake Pepin where they chose a low spot about the middle of the north shore for their post. Axes were immediately brought into use and the fort was completed within four days. It was one hundred feet square, surrounded by twelve-foot pickets with two bastions. The buildings were large and not crowded together, one, twenty-five, another, thirty, and the third, thirty-eight feet in length and each, sixteen feet in width. All the houses were finished and furnished before the end of October. On the completion of this work, the party began to explore the neighboring hills and rivers.

1. Ibid., 169

November 4 was General Beauharnois' birthday, but the celebration planned for the day was postponed until November 14. Rockets were then set off and the air was made to resound with shouts of "Vive le Roi" and "Vive Charles de Beauharnois." The Indians became frightened when they saw the display in the air; they thought the stars were falling from heaven; the women and children took to flight, and the men begged the French "to stop the surprising play of that wonderful medicine."

The Indians to the number of ninety-five cabins assembled around the fort as soon as the French arrived. In February, sixty men of the Sioux of the Prairies arrived. Father Guignas characterized the Sioux as being more intelligent than the other Indians he had met with, gayer, and apparently more open, and far more dexterous thieves, great dancers and great medicine men. The fort was given the name of Fort Beauharnois in honor of the governor of Canada, and the mission that of Saint Michael the Archangel.

In the summer of 1728 Father De Genor returned to Canada from Lake Pepin by way of Michillimackinac; and in October of the same year, Father Guignas was obliged to abandon the mission because of trouble with the Foxes. He set out for the Illinois, but on the fifteenth of the month, was captured by the Kickapoos and Mascoutens who held him captive and mistreated him for five months. He would have been burned alive had not an old Indian adopted him and procured his liberty. The Mascoutens and Kickapoos then

took him to the Illinois where he succeeded in bringing about a truce. Some seven or eight months later, the Mascoutens and Kickapoos came again to the Illinois country and took Father Guignas back with them to spend the winter.¹

Father Guignas must have returned to Lake Pepin, for in a letter from Father Nau to Father Bonin, October 2, 1735, the Father said: " Father Guignas is in the Sioux country, at a little french fort with but six men with Him. Scarcely a month ago The marquis de Beauharnois, governor-general of new france, sent twenty-two men in four canoes with supplies of which he stood absolutely in need, for the Sioux refused to provide for Him. It is not at all certain that the relief party will reach him without molestation, their route lying close to the country of the renards."²

The French were, in the end, compelled to burn and evacuate the post on Lake Pepin owing to a war that broke out between the Sioux on one side and the Chippewas and Winnebagoes on the other.³ Thus the mission of Saint Michael the Archangel had to be abandoned, after the two attempts to accomplish some good among the Sioux. Father Guignas remained in the west until 1739, dividing his labors between the mission at Michillimackinac and the Sioux Indians.⁴

1. Jesuit Relations, 68:207-209

2. Ibid., 68:281. Capitalization as found in the Jesuit Relations is given in the above quotation.

3. Wisconsin in Three Centuries, 1:308

4. Jesuit Relations, 68:329 note 27.

Charlevoix, on his return to France, also recommended that explorations to the west of the Mississippi River be made in search of a passage to the Pacific Ocean. The government never acted upon this plan and it remained for Pierre Gaultier de Varenne, Sieur de la Verendrye, to begin the trans-Mississippi exploration in earnest. In 1728, he was stationed at Lake Nipigon as an agent for the fur trade. Here Ochagach, an Assineboin Indian, brought him a crude map of the country of the Great Lakes. On this was located the canoe route between Lake Superior, Lake of the Woods, Lake Winnipeg, and the Saskatchewan River.

Verendrye had met Father De Gonor at Michillimackinac on his return from Lake Pepin and together they made plans about the west. Father De Gonor took Verendrye's plan to Quebec and later to France. Verendrye took the map brought him by the Indian to Governor Beauharnois. Permission was given to do the exploring but no money was available. To be able to meet expenses, Verendrye was given a post at Winnepegon with permission to sell furs and thus obtain funds.

On May 19, 1731, with sixty men and Father Mesaiger, he started for Michillimackinac and spent the following winter at Kaministigoya.¹ From here they went to Rainy Lake and thence to the Lake of the Woods. In 1732 a fort was built on the southwest shore of the Lake of the Woods and

1. Kaministigoya is located about twenty-five miles northwest of Fort William, Ontario, Canada.

named Fort Saint Charles¹ to honor the chaplain, Father Charles MESAIGER. Fort Saint Charles itself was an enclosure of four rows of posts, twelve to fifteen feet high, in the form of a rectangle. A few rough cabins of logs and clay covered with bark² were within the enclosure.

Owing to the strain of his labors, Father MESAIGER was compelled to give up his work and return to Quebec. Father AULNEAU was appointed to succeed him although he was not familiar with the language of the tribes around Fort Saint Charles. In a letter written to Father BONIN from Fort Saint Charles, April 30, 1736, he gave an account of his journey. On June 21, he left the Iroquois mission of Sault Saint Louis, stopped at Michillimackinac to visit Father SAINT PE, and retraced his steps fifteen leagues in order to take the Lake Superior route. After leaving Lake Superior, he traveled in a west and southwest direction among a great number of lakes. From the end of Lake Superior to Fort Saint Charles, a distance of three hundred leagues, most of the road led through fire and stifling smoke, which prevented him from seeing the light of the sun. The Indians had set fire to the forest

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1. Fort Saint Charles was on Minnesota soil. - Campbell, Pioneer Priests of North America, 3:364
 2. A "Letter of Father Aulneau to Father Bonin, Fort Saint Charles, April 30, 1736," in Jesuit Relations, 68:287-299, furnished the material for Father Aulneau's journey to Fort Saint Charles, a description of the fort, the character of the Indians around the fort, and of Father Aulneau's labors in the west up to April 30, 1736.

in hunting, and it had resulted in a great conflagration. The journey was monotonous; nothing was to be seen except lakes, rocks, immense forests, Indians, and a few wild animals.

The Indians at Fort Saint Charles had no fixed abode but wandered around. Father Aulneau doubted if they could ever be persuaded to embrace Christianity. They had acquired a taste for brandy from both the English at Hudson Bay and the French and this had added drunkenness to their other vices. Of this, Father Aulneau said: "This, my Reverend father, constitutes one of the greatest crosses which the missionaries have to endure here; it has brought about the destruction of several flourishing missions, and has induced many a savage to cast aside every semblance of religion."¹

Father Aulneau undertook to systematize the Cree language, but was unable to do much with it because most of the Cree were away from the fort at war with the Prairie Sioux. The Cree, although fewer in number than the Assiniboins, were more fierce and cruel. Massacres within the Cree tribe were of frequent occurrence. One killed another on any trivial pretext. They did not like to teach their language to strangers so Father Aulneau had to pick up what little he could in spite of them.

Before bringing his letter to Father Bonin to a close, he spoke of the missionary who was promised to him as

1. Ibid., 66:295

a co-worker and also suggested that the field was vast enough for five or six missionaries, for with this number there would be a greater chance of converting the Indians.

During the spring of 1736 a lack of provisions was felt at the fort, and, in order to remedy this, three canoes with men were sent to Michillimackinac. Among the number were Father Aulneau, Verendrye's son and nineteen other men. At this time the Sioux were at war with the Cree who were allies of the French. When about eighteen miles from the fort the party was attacked by a band of Sioux and not one lived to tell the tale. This occurred on June 8. News of it was brought to Verendrye by a party of voyagers with thirty Cree Indians. Again on July 29 the same message was delivered by four other men. Verendrye then sent a canoe with eight men to verify the facts. The bodies of the massacred men with heads severed were found.¹ The skulls were wrapped in beaver skins and carried together with some of the bodies to the fort where they were buried. In 1737 Verendrye left Fort Saint Charles for the west and the place was deserted.²

1. The spot where these bodies were found came to be known as Massacre Island and is located on the Canadian side of the boundary line. - Campbell, Pioneer Priests of North America, 3:264

2. Ibid., 3:253-264: Prud'homme, "Pierre Gaultier De Varennes, Sieur de la Verendrye," in Historical Society of Saint Boniface, Bulletin, 1916, vol. 5, part 2, pp. 64-85

Thus the history of the early Jesuit missions on Minnesota soil began and ended within a period of eight years. They could not be called successful, for the missionaries were unable to accomplish what they had set out to do, because of the hostilities of the Indians and of the continued warfare in which they were engaged.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

The labors of the Jesuits in North America covered a vast field from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific Ocean, and from the Gulf of Mexico to Hudson Bay. They were discoverers, explorers, and pioneers in the great work of civilization. In some instances they were the forerunners of the trader and the voyager, and, almost without exception, preceded the soldier, the farmer, the mechanic, and the merchant. They made their way to places almost inaccessible, and there established missions, forts and trading posts which in time gave way to the farm, the town, or the city.

It was from the Jesuits that the Indians of the Northwest received their first lessons in civilization. From them some of the tribes learned how to till the soil, how to raise crops,¹ how to plant fruit trees, and how to provide for the future. By nature the Indians, with the exception of the squaws, who carried the burdens and performed all labors, spent their lives in leisure. Their idea of a future life was entirely materialistic. Contact with the missionaries caused a few changes. They were brought to a partial realization that

1. Jesuit Relations, 57:207; Thwaites, Father Marquette, 65; Day, "The Jesuits in Michigan," in Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, Collections, 32:409

their life must be one of work and not one of leisure, that the squaw must not be looked upon as a beast of burden, but must be paid the respect due to womanhood, that the future life meant more than a "happy-hunting-ground," and that the companionship of a gun and of a dog was not a phase of it. They were also taught that they must be governed by the law of the land.

The lay brothers who accompanied the Jesuits were usually skilful as smiths and as workers in metal. This proved a valuable aid in winning the good-will and confidence of the Indians who brought them utensils, guns, and other weapons to repair.

In the face of all this, though the missions cannot be called a complete success the results are not to be depreciated. The lot of the missionaries like that of the traders was full of hardships. The country they penetrated was as a rule unexplored. They met with danger from floods, from wild beasts, from furious river rapids, from wandering Indians, from total separation from companions in the wilderness resulting in death by starvation, by freezing, or by being scalped by the Indians. Often the sufferings endured by the missionaries were greater than those encountered by the traders; for, on the one hand, the Jesuits many times inflamed the wrath of the Indian with his superstitions and magical incantations, while on the other hand, the fur traders were welcomed by the Indian whom he had won by an appeal to his cupidity, to his attachment to ornaments, to his love of display, and to his

thirst for brandy. But the Indian in a nobler sense gained nothing by his contact with the trader or the trader in his relation with the Indian. As a rule, the Indian learned new vices from the trader while the trader only too often became almost a savage.

Brandy in the hands of traders proved a great obstacle to the missionary, for the Indians were willing to sacrifice anything to obtain it, and when under its influence they were more savage than ever. Bitter foes to the trade in brandy, the Jesuits, before the close of the seventeenth century, were instrumental in obtaining the first prohibition law of the "Northwest" in the form of an ordinance given by Louis XIV. in 1695, ordering that traffic¹ in brandy be no longer allowed.

The work of the missionaries and the missions of the "Northwest" did not attain the end desired in the degree that the missions and the missionaries did in other parts of this country.² This was due to several circumstances. The "Northwest" was far from the center of civilization at that time, access to it was difficult, its territory was unexplored, and its climate very severe in winter.

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1. Walker, "Pather Marquette and the Early Jesuits of Michigan," in Michigan Pioneer Society Collections, 8:389; Crossman, "Early French Occupation of Michigan," in Michigan Pioneer Society Collections, 14:659; Moore, The Northwest under Three Flags, 47
 2. O'Gorman, A History of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States, 23-258

The missions along the Atlantic coast and in the southern and southwestern parts of this country were founded and fostered under different conditions. Missionaries along the coast were never at any time far from the settlements of the colonists. Those in the southern and southwestern parts did not have to contend with the keen, cold, cutting climate so prevalent in the "Northwest" and they usually¹ were preceded or accompanied by groups of settlers.

At no other time was missionary work so fully abandoned in any other section as in that of the "Northwest." At the withdrawal of the Jesuits in America in 1773, the work ceased for the time being. In other sections, any work begun by them was generally continued by members of other orders.

More credit cannot be given to one Order than to another for they were all zealous workers in the common cause. The spirit of the Orders in this respect was identical. That one Order appeared more successful than another must be accounted for not only by a difference in conditions, such as climate or surroundings in the locality in which they worked, but also by variations in the support which was given to the different Orders by their home government.

The Jesuits, scholarly men, made notes of everything of importance that they saw or heard. They first explored regions and then scientifically described them. These accounts were sent to their Superior in Quebec and thence were generally transmitted to France. Here they were

1. Ibid., 23-258

published and given to the world so that all might know what was happening in the wilderness. This stimulated many to penetrate into the heart of the "Northwest" to make discoveries and explorations.

The Jesuit records, so faithfully kept and given to mankind in the form of letters, journals, and relations, are one of the most valuable sources of information and authority in regard to the life, customs, habits, and character of the native Americans.

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