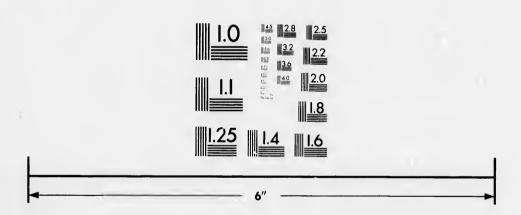


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Père René Ménard

THE PREDECESSOR OF ALLOUEZ AND MARQUETTE IN THE LAKE SUPERIOR REGION

HENRY COLIN CAMPBELL

Printed for the Parkman Club by Edward Keogh.

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PÈRE RENÉ MÉNARD

THE PREDECESSOR OF ALLOUEZ AND MARQUETTE IN THE LAKE SUPERIOR REGION.

René Ménard [1], a native of the gay capital of France, at that time the metropolis of the world, was one of the men, not a few in number, who in the seventeenth century added lustre to the Roman Catholic priesthood, particularly to the Order of the Jesuits, by the devotion and the heroism which they displayed in bearing the cross to the most distant parts of North America—beyond the country of the Great Lakes, down the Mississippi River, and even to the frozen, desolate region of Hudson Bay.

Five years before Claude Allouez first saw the greatest of fresh water seas, Ménard had preached upon the shore of Lake Superior, and for nearly five years before Marquette set foot upon American soil, the bones of Ménard had been whitening in a Wisconsin forest, where his ashes lie now, in a nameless, undiscoverable grave.

Ménard was born at Paris on September 7th, 1605. [2] His youth was devoted to learning, for we know that on November 7th, 1624, when he entered the Jesuit Order, he had already completed his classical studies. His novitiate, covering a period of two years, was spent in his native city of Paris.

^[1] Mesnard is the way the name is generally spelled in old histories. Ménard himself sometimes used the Latin form, Renatus, of his baptismal name.

^[2] For authentic data about the early life of Ménard, data now published in English for the first time, I am indebted to the Rev. Camille de Rochemonteix, superior of the Jesuits at Versailles, France, and to the Rev. irthur E. Jones, S. J., of Montreal, Canada. In a work entitled "Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle-France," written by Rochemonteix, and recently published in three volumes at Paris, there is much hitherto unpublished information about Ménard and the other Jesuit missionaries to New France in the seventeenth century.

In the month of October, 1626, he was sent to the college which Henry IV. had founded in 1607 at La Flèche, an institution which at that time was conducted by the Jesnits, but which to-day is a government military school for the sons of French officers. At La Flèche, Ménard spent three years, studying philosophy and the sciences. In the month of October, 1629, his superiors sent him to teach Latin at the Jesuit College of Orleans, an institution now used by the government as a lyceum. From the city of Orleans he was sent in October, 1632, to the Jesuit University established at Bourges. This building has since served as barracks for cavalry horses, and it is now a government academy. At Bourges Ménard devoted four years to the study of theology. It is an interesting fact that Ménard not only distinguished himself in theology and in philosophy, but that he stood high in literature. His course in theology completed, he taught belles lettres for one year and rhetoric for two years, at the college of Moulins. Then came the concluding year of prayer and retreat, which he spent at Rouen in a house of probation conducted by his Order,

Ménard, after taking the final vows of the Order, soon bade farewell forever to his native land. Late in the month of March, 1640, in company with another Jesuit father, Joseph Duperron by name, and two lay brothers of the Order, two Sisters of Mercy and two Ursuline nuns, Ménard, in obedience to orders, took passage at Dieppe for Quebec. His vessel, named "l'Espérance," was detained in the roadstead off Dieppe from March 26th to April 28th by storms which raged with great fury. After narrowly escaping shipwreck on that coast, as well as capture by English frigates which were hovering in those waters, "l'Espérance" had a pleasant voyage across the Atlantic, and cast anchor at Tadoussac, on the lower St. Lawrence River, on June 30th. Ménard and Dominique Scot, one of the Jesuit brothers, embarked in a long boat to carry the news of the fleet's arrival—there were two vessels besides

"l'Espérance"—to the few hundred people who at that time dwelt upon the heights of Quebec. They reached Quebec ou July 8th, and the safe-coming of the fleet was the occasion of a *Te Deum* in the church which had been built in the midst of the log cabins comprising the frontier town.

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After spending a year in the study of the Algonquin language, Ménard, accompanied by Paul Ragueneau, another Jesuit father, and by six canoes filled with Indians, started for the country of the Hurons, who lived between Georgian Bay and Lake Simcoe. The priests had not gone far upon their journey to the Hurons when they met some Indians who warned them that the dreaded Iroquois lay in wait along their route—the Ottawa, Mattawan and French Rivers—and the priests returned to Quebec for reinforcements, which were not readily furnished. They were on the point of making an attempt to reach the Huron country, regardless of the danger involved, when news came that the Iroquois had dispersed. Upon hearing this, the priests reëntered their canoes and reached their destination in safety.

It was during this year (1641) that Jogues and Raymbault, two noted members of the Jesuit Order, went as far west as what is now known as Sault Ste. Marie. Raymbault had no sooner returned from this voyage than he, with Ménard, started from the Huron mission to instruct the Nipissing Indians, whose country lay between the Ottawa River and Georgian Bay, but a tempest which swept Georgian Bay forced the priests to return to their starting point, and ice which soon formed prevented a second attempt that year to reach the Nipissings. A short time afterward Raymbault fell sick and the next year he died. In April, 1642, Ménard finally reached the country of the Nipissings, Father Claude Pijart accompanying him.

In the Jesuit "Relation" of 1644 we read that some Algonquins, persecuted by the Iroquois, had formed a village near the Huron mission of St. Jean-Baptiste, of which Father Autoine Daniel had charge. Ménard, who had a fair command of both the Huron and Algonquin languages, was assigned to this Algonquin mission, which was called Ste. Elizabeth. seems to have been very successful in this field, for we are informed that some of the Algonquins followed him from cabin to cabin in order to hear his discourses. One of the neophytes, upon being baptized, took Ménard's Christian name. With these Algonquins there were probably some Nipissings, for in the "Relation" of 1644 it is stated that Pijart and Ménard followed the homeless Nipissings into the woods, down the rivers, into the rocks and over the lakes, a rough stone serving them as seat, table and bed, while a cave would be at once bed-room, kitchen, store-room and chapel. The two priests remained with the Nipissings from April, 1643, to September, 1643.

Little is known of the next twelve years of Ménard's life. He continued to labor in connection with the Huron mission, however, until the fierce storm of Iroquois wrath burst, and, in 1649, swept most of the Hurons, together with some of their missionaries, including the heroic Brébeuf, out of existence. Ménard, although in a dangerous position at the time [3], was one of the priests who returned in safety to the French settlements. He took up his abode at Three Rivers, where, it appears, he spent the next few years.

In 1656 Ménard, still at Three Rivers, was assigned to the Iroquois mission. During May of that year, in company with Fathers le Mercier, Fremin and Dablon, the last of whom was returning to that dangerous field of labor, Ménard set out for Onondaga, which he reached in July. With them were Capt.

^[3] A letter from Father Charles Garnier, preserved in the Archives of the Province of Lyons, describes the death of Brébeuf and Lalemant, and adds: "The Fathers Mercier, Chastelain, Mesnard, Pijart and Raguencau commend themselves particularly to your prayers." This letter was dated at the Jesuit residence at Sie. Marie, in the Huron country, April 27th, 1649. The writer of it was killed by the Iroquois at the mission of St. Jean, among the Petuns, or Tobacco Hurons, in the following December.

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Dupuis and his French colonists. Soon the Cayugas asked for a missionary, and Ménard, with two Frenchmen, was sent to their capital. Father Chaumonot accompanied them to that place and went still farther westward to the Senecas, to found another mission.

Among the Cayugas Ménard was in constant danger. In 1657 he wrote to his superior: "We walk with our heads uplifted in the midst of dangers, through insults, hootings and calumnies. Brandishing hatchets and knives, the savages often run after us to put us to death. Almost daily we are on the point of being massacred." He added that it was a common thing for him to see men burned and devoured by the Cayugas. But he labored on, undaunted and hopeful. From the scene of danger he wrote to encourage his superior, informing him that he alone, since the last year, had baptized more than 400 of the captives who were held at the Cayuga village.

Late in 1657 came the discovery of the Iroquois plot to murder the French missionaries and colonists. The story of the Frenchmen's wonderful escape at night, in boats that had been secretly made for the purpose, need not be re-toht here. Suffice to say that Ménard was among the party which early in the spring of 1658 reached Montreal in safety. He became superior of the Jesuit residence at Three Rivers.

THE AGED PRIEST SENT TO LAKE SUPERIOR.

Suddenly and unexpectedly a momentous summons reached him. On the 19th of August, 1660, there arrived at Montreal an Ottawa flotilla of sixty canoes, which bore, besides their Indian owners, two Frenchmen named Pierre-Esprit Radisson and Médard Chouart des Groseilliers, who, on a voyage which had lasted a year [4], had explored the

^[4] Radisson asserts in his "Voyages" that during this same journey he and Chouart went to Hudson Bay. This claim can hardly be credited. For critical accounts of the careers of these two pioneer explorers, see "American Historical Review" for January, 1896; Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin for 1895, and Parkman Club Publication No. 2.

south shore of Lake Superior, as well as much of what is now Northwestern Wisconsin and part of what is now Northeastern Minnesota. It was quickly decided that two missionaries should return with these Indians, and Ménard was one of those chosen. The other priest selected was Charles Albanel, who, however, was destined to go overland to Hudson Bay before seeing any part of the West.

Ménard was now fifty-five years of age. Hardship and excessive work had left their marks upon him. His attenuated form was bent as with great age, his hair was white, and it is said [5] that his face bore the scars of wounds which he had received at the hands of the Cayuga children. But old and decrepit as he was, he possessed a lofty soul and a stout heart. In a letter to a reverend friend, penned at Three Rivers at 2 o'clock in the morning of August 27th, 1660, just a few hours before his departure for Lake Superior, Ménard, among other things, said:

"I write you probably the last word and I desire it to be the seal of our friendship unto eternity. * * * In three or four months you may put me into the Memento of the dead, considering the manner of living of these people, and my age and weak constitution. Notwithstanding all this, I have felt such a powerful attraction and have seen so little of nature in this undertaking, that I can not doubt that I would have had eternal remorse had I missed this opportunity.

"We were taken a little by surprise, so that we were unable to provide ourselves with clothing and other necessary things. But He who feeds the little birds and clothes the lilies of the fields will take care of His servants. Should we happen to die

of misery, that would be for us a great happiness."

Ménard left Three Rivers on August 28th. Besides Albanel, Jean Guérin, a donné [6] of the Jesuit Order, and seven other Frenchmen started with him. While ascending the St. Lawrence, between Three Rivers and Montreal,

^[5] John Gilmary Shea, in "Catholic Missions."

^[6] Donnés were plous laymen who gave their services to the work of the Jesult missions. The most noted donnés were Réne Goupil, Jean Guérin and Guillaume Couture. The institution was peculiar to New France.

Ménard met Laval, vicar apostolic of New France, afterward the first bishop of Quebec. It was an interesting scene, that meeting between the ascetic, high-minded Montmorency and the brave old missionary.

"Father," said Laval, "every consideration seems to demand your staying here; but God, who is stronger than all, wants you in those parts," pointing towards the West. [7]

This farewell greeting was a great consolation to Ménard. "How often," he wrote afterward, as he sat in a rude shelter on the shore of Keweenaw Bay, "have I revolved those words in my mind, amidst the torrent's roar and in the solitude of our great forests."

The flotilla ascended the Ottawa and Mattawan Rivers, crossed Lake Nipissing and descended French River to Georgian Bay. Thence the course lay west. They passed Sault Ste. Marie and coasted the southern shore of Lake Superior. To the aged missionary the journey was one of unparalleled hardship. The Indians, who near Montreal had forced Albanel to go ashore and return to the settlements, made Ménard carry heavy packs over portages and compelled him to paddle nearly all the time. They even, from superstitious fear, threw away his breviary, but in his baggage he afterwards found another one. Once, after they had obliged him to disembark, he had to make his way over frightful rocks and precipices in order to overtake them. He hurt his feet and leg, which remained swollen and sore during the rest of the voyage, especially as he had to jump into the cold water many times in order to lighten the canoe. Food became very scarce. Those were deemed well-fed who found a certain

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^[7] On October 29th, 1660, Laval wrote us follows to Pope Alexander VIF: "This summer a priest of the Society of Jesus left for a mission more than 500 leagues from Quebee. That country is inhabited by innumerable nations, who have never even heard of the Catholic fulth. Seven Frenchmen joined this aposite; they to buy castors, he to conquer souls. He will surely have to suffer a great deal, and has everything to fear from cold, hunger, disease and the savages. But the love of Jesus Christ and the zeal for souls conquer all."—Archives of the Propaganda, vol. 256, p. 24.

moss (tripe de roche), which grew on rocks and of which they made a black, sticky broth. Such as had moose-skins stealthily ate them, to appease their hunger.

THE WINTER OF 1660-61 ON LAKE SUPERIOR.

After they had reached Lake Superior, the canoe in which the priest traveled was broken by a falling tree, and he and three Indians were abandoned on the shore of the lake. For six days, so Ménard wrote afterward [8], they lived on filthy offal, which they scratched up around an abandoned lodge; they made some of bones which they pounded fine, and even picked up earth saturated with the blood of animals that had been killed some time before. One of them constantly watched the shore to beg food of Indians passing in canoes, and Ménard says that they would have perished had they not got some slices of dried meat from one of these parties of wild boatmen. At last some Indians, more kind than the others, carried them to the place of rendezvous, a large bay on the south shore of Lake Superior, a hundred leagues from Sault Ste. Marie. All authorities agree that this was Keweenaw [9] Bay. In the first place, it is approximately a hundred leagues from the Sault to Keweenaw Bay, meandering the little bays and capes along the shore. In the second place, Allouez has recorded that in 1665, while he was on his way to Chequamegon [10] Bay, which is the only other large bay on the south shore of Lake Superior, he passed the bay where Ménard had wintered. It was on St. Theresa's Day, therefore October 15th, that Ménard arrived at Keweenaw Bay. The exact

^{[8] &}quot;Relation" of 1664, p. 3, Quebec edition. A very complete narrative, translated into English from the "Relations," of Ménard's experiences in the Lake Superior region is contained in Rev. Chryostom Verwyst's "Missionary Labors of Fathers Marquette, Ménard and Allouez."

^[9] Corruption of "kakiweonan, a Chippewa word meaning "I cross a point of and by boat."

^[10] A corruption of jagawamikong, a Chippewa word meaning a long, narrow strip of land running out into the water.

place where he spent the winter is probably Old Village Point [11], seven miles north of the present town of L'Anse.

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A dreary winter it proved to be. Treated harshly by a chief whom the French called Le Brochet [12]. Ménard took up his abode in a hut of fir-tree branches, his sole refuge from the rigors of a Lake Superior winter. Privation continued to be his lot. He ate the remains of fish, and also the pulverized bark of birch and whitewood, either boiled in water in which a fish had been cooked or else mixed with fish-oil. Acorns were devoured with relish by him and his companions. In the face of all this bodily discomfort, Ménard ceased not to labor for his church. He baptized a number of dying infants and converted fifty adult Indians.

Some time before this the Tobacco Hurons, after fleeing, from the wrath of the Iroquois, first to Mackinac, thence to the islands of Green Bay and later to Lake Pepin, on the Mississippi River, had reached the headwaters of the Black River in Wisconsin. Among those poor Indians were some who had been baptized in their native country and these now implored Ménard to visit them, assuring him that their countrymen would embrace his faith if he would go to them. [13] Ménard, who had previously become discouraged by the vice and obduracy of the Indians at Keweenaw Bay, gladly embraced this new opportunity to do good. He took the precaution, however, to send three young Frenchmen to the village of these Hurons, with directions to report to him concerning their condition. These young Frenchmen returned to Keweenaw Bay about the middle of June, 1661. They had found the Hurons in a starving condition and they endeavored, but in vain, to dissuade the missionary from attempting the

^[11] This was the opinion of the late Rev. Edward Jacker, the learned antiquarian who discovered what are supposed to be the bones of Marquette, relies that for the most part now repose in Marquette College, Milwaukee.

^[12] The French synonym for "kinoje," the Chippewa word for pike or pickerel.

^{[13] &}quot;Relation" 1663, p. 21, Quebec edition, et seq.

journey, which they pronounced perilous. Ménard chose a French armorer, or blacksmith, to accompany him, and with some Hurons who had visited the bay to trade with the Ottawas, on July 13th he set out for the Huron village. [14]

The details of his last voyage, derived principally from the "Relation" of 1663, are meager. The Hurons soon abandoned the Frenchmen, and, nearly a month after the date when he left Keweenaw Bay, Ménard got lost while walking around a rapid and was seen no more of men. His companion, after trying in vain to find him, proceeded to the Huron village, and engaged a Huron to go in search of the priest, but the young Indian had not been gone more than two hours when he returned with the exciting news that he had met "the enemy," probably meaning the Sioux. In the uproar that followed, the search for the missionary was abandoned. A short time afterward an Indian found the priest's bag, but perhaps fearing that he might be accused of murder if he admitted having seen the body, he denied all knowledge of where the priest had died. The "Relation" of 1663 also states that vestments belonging to Ménard were afterward seen in an Indian cabin. Perrot says that Ménard's companion, while searching for the priest, met a Sac Indian who was carrying a kettle which the priest had taken out of the canoe previous to the portage; that the Sac Indian told the Frenchman that he had seen the priest's footprints, but had not seen the priest, and that he had seen other tracks going in the direction of the Sioux country. Perrot also says that some of Ménard's vestments were afterward found in the possession of Sioux Indians.

Not a little interest attaches to the identity of Ménard's

^[14] The "Relation" of 1663, p. 21, says that Ménard started on June 13th, but this is clearly a misprint for July 13th, as the three young Frenchmen had hardly returned from the Huron village by June 13th, and as Ménard's last letter, which bears the date of July 2nd, was written at Kewemaw Bay. See "Relation" of 1664, p. 6. Besides, the "Relation" of 1663, immediately after giving this wrong date, says that Ménard left Kewemaw Bay nine months after his arrival at that place. He arrived at the Bay October 15th, 1669; by leaving for the Huron village July 13th, he would have spent just nine months at the Bay.

devoted companion during this toilsome and ill-fated journey into Wisconsin. John Gilmary Shea, Edward D. Neill and other historians have repeatedly stated that the priest's solitary French escort was Jean Guérin, the donné, who was accidentally killed the following year, and the statement has become accepted as history. Nevertheless it is clearly an error. Gnérin was with Ménard at Keweenaw, where he remained after Ménard's departure for the village of the fugitive Hurons, it being a French armorer, or blacksmith—which is probably all that we shall ever know of him-who went forth on that dangerous mission with Ménard. The only original authority on this question, it should be remembered, is the Jesuit "Relation" of 1663, which states plainly that Guérin was left in charge of the Ottawa church at Keweenaw Bay—a very desirable arrangement under the circumstances, as he would be able to perform many of the duties which Ménard had been accustomed to discharge. Moreover, we find in the same "Relation" a statement that when Guérin heard of the priest's death, he desired to go in search of the body. Some time had thus elapsed between the priest's death and the time when Guérin heard of it. Ménard's companion, on the other hand, became aware of the father's loss at the very time when it occurred, and he tried to find the living priest, not his dead body. The same authority also informs us that Guérin did not even carry out his plan to go in search of the body; instead, and in consequence of Ménard's death, he became established as chief missionary at Keweenaw Bay. Moreover, there is an explicit statement in the "Relation" of 1663 (p. 22) that Ménard's companion could not speak the Huron language, and had to resort to gestures to make the priest's dire peril known to the Hurons, whereas, as is explicitly stated in the same "Relation" (p. 23), Guérin had served in the original Huron mission, in Canada, where he must necessarily have learned the Huron language, at least sufficiently well to enable

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or left d at i, he him to make himself understood in relating so simple a fact as his companion's getting lost in the forest. [15]

LOCATION OF THE HURON VILLAGE.

Ménard and his companions started from the neighborhood of L'Anse. On this point there is no dispute. There should be no reasonable doubt as to the place whither they were bound. Ménard's avowed object was to seek the fugitive Hurons. Nicholas Perrot, who soon afterward spent many years in the territory which is now Wisconsin, says that the Hurons had ascended the Black River to its source in order to

^[15] The portion of the "Relation" of 1663 (pp. 23 and 24) which deals with this question reads as follows in the original:

[&]quot;C'estoit un homme de Dieu, d'une eminente vertu, et d'un zele tresardent pour le salut des âmes, il s'estoit donné à nous afin de coöperer par ses services à la conversion des Sauvages. De fait après avoir accompagné nos Pères presque dans tous les quartiers du Canadas et dans toutes nos Missions, soit aux froquois, soit aux Hurons, aux Abnaquiois, et aux Algonquins, dans de grands dangers et de grandes fatigues donnant partout des marques d'une sainctefé très-rare; enfin ayant esté donné pour compagnon au Père Ménard en ce dernier voyage, il est mort dans ce glorieux employ, suivant son bon Père dans le Ciel, après l'avoir suivy sy loing sur la terre; car il n'eut pas plus tost appris son mort, qu'il ne songea plus qu'à quitter les Outaoiiak, parmy lesquels il avoit-esté laissé, pour aller chercher le corps du Père.

[&]quot;Mais Dieu avoit-d'autres dessiens sur luy; il l'establit comme Missionaire en chef de cette pauvre Eglise qui navoit pas pu jouir de son Pasteur; ce fût par le Baptesme qu'il y confera à plus de deux cents efans qu'il envoya bientost après dans le Ciel, pour y couronner le Père, d'un beau diademe de ces petits predestinez, au salut et à la récherche desquels il éstoit mort.

[&]quot;Après qu'il eut ainsi bien emploié un Hyver, comme il faisoit un voyage avec quelques François, la pluye les obligeant de mettre à terre, et faire une maison de leur canot, le renversant sur eux; lors qu'ils estoient dessoubs, un d'eux remüant un fusil, le declin lascha, et alla droit donner dans le costé gauche de ce bon Frère, qui, pour lors, éstoit-en contemplation de la Passion de Nostre Seigneur. Ce sont les paroles de ces François qui en ont fait le rapport, et qui le nommoient Frère à cause qu'il c'estoit consacré à notre service; et puis ils adjoustent, que c'estoit son ordinaire d'estre tousjours absorbé dans Dieu.

[&]quot;Il tomba rolde mort du coup, sans rich dire que le nom de Jesus, ayec lequel il expira."

In "Le Journal des Jésuites," under August, 1663, is this entry, which shows what became of the other members of Ménard's party: "The 5th, returned those who had been three years among the Ottawas; nine Frenchmen went, and seven returned. Father Ménar and his man, Jean Guérin, one of our donnés, had died; Father Ménar the 7th or 8th of August, 1661, and Jean Guérin in September, 1862." Ménard's companion on the journey to the Black River country, therefore, returned to the French settlement on the St. Lawrence two years after the priest's death.

escape from the Sioux. [16] The Ottawas pushed farther onward toward Lake Superior and appear to have stopped for some time at Courtes Oreilles. The Hurons, who were cabin builders, speedily established a village at the headwaters of the Black River, where they remained several years.

It was from this point that the Hurons sent for Ménard. The evidence to this effect is conclusive. It is stated in the Jesuit "Relation" of 1660 (p. 12) that the two nameless explorers who spent part of the winter of 1659-60 in Northern Wisconsin found the Hurous at six days' journey from Lake Superior, meaning Chequamegon Bay. In the same "Relation" (p. 27) it is stated that the distance from Lake Superior to the Huron village was sixty leagues. French leagues are of course meant and hence the "Relation's" estimate is a trifle more than 150 miles as we measure distance. The distance from Ashland to the headwaters of the Black River is only about 100 miles, as the crow flies, but by Indian trail the distance would be nearly 150 miles—a little more perhaps if the Courtes Oreilles route were taken. [17] It should be borne

^{[16] &}quot;Ils avouent en connolssance d'une rivière qu'on nomme la Rivière Noire; ils entrèrent dedans et, estant arrivé là ou elle prend sa source les Hurons y trouvèrent un lieu propre pour s'y fortilier et y establir leur village. Les Outaouas poussèrent plus loin, et marchèrent jusqu'au lac Supérieur et fixèrent leur demeure à Chagouamikon."—Perrot, "Moeurs et Coutumes," Talihan's Edition, p. 87.

Perrot, 'Moetrs et Coutumes,' Tallhan's Edition, p. 87.

[17] In early days there were two trails leading from the headwaters of the Black River to the vicinity of Chequamegon Bay. E. L. Urquhart, of Medford, Wis., informs me that a half-breed named Charles Corro once told him of a trail which led from the vicinity of Chelsea to Ogema, and thence went in a northeasterly direction to the Lae du Flambeau Reservation. Rev. Chrysostom Verwyst, O. S. F., states that from Lae du Flambeau a trail formerly led to Lake Superior, at the mouth of the Montreal River. Mr. Urquhart states that another trail led from the headwaters of the Black River, near Chelsea, northwesterly to the Jump River; down the north bank of the Jump River about four miles; thence northwesterly again, crossing the Chippewa River at the mouth of the Flambeau River, and thence running north to Courtes Oreilles. Rev. Chrysostom Verwyst informs me that a trail led from Courtes Oreilles, where he is at present serving as missionary, to Chequamegon Bay, passing Round Lake and Long Lake. The Courtes Oreilles route is undoubtedly the one which Radisson and his companion took. This route might account for the use of the term "southwest" by the author of the "Relator" of 1650 in altempting to indicate the direction of the Huron village from Chequamegon Bay. Courtes Oreilles is probably the lake "some eight leagues in circuit" which Radisson mentions, and where he stopped for some time. This is called Ottawa Lake by the Indians, and there is ground for belleving that it was the home of the Ottawas between the time that they left the Hurons at the headwaters of the Black River and the time that they left the Hurons at the headwaters of the Black River and the time that they left the Hurons at the headwaters of the Black River and the

in mind that Indian trails were generally laid out to avoid obstacles to travel and to pass good camping places, places where the hunting or the fishing, or both, could be depended upon. And it should also be borne in mind that in those days distance was not computed as surveyors or cartographers compute it, but by the actual ground covered. In a canoe men could travel a certain number of miles on a lake, up a river or down a river; and they could walk so many miles a day through a forest country, their progress varying according to the strength and direction of the wind on the lake, to the character of the stream and of the woods. Each mode of traveling had a standard, just as we today deem four miles a good hour's walk for an ordinary man. [18] In those early days a day's journey was the basis upon which they computed distance. Therefore, in the "Relation," "six days' journey" and "sixty leagues" are really interchangeable phrases. Divide the distance by trail from Ashland to the headwaters of the Black River—it is 150 miles as those travelers of the seventeenth

afterward rejoined them. Radisson found Hurons at this lake, but it was apparently not their place of abode, for Radisson says that it was without pallsades, whereas Perrot (p. S) states that their village at the head waters of the Black River, where Ménard's scouts found them after Radisson had returned to Three Rivers, was fortified. Moreover, the Huron village was sixty leagues from Lake Superior, while Courtes Oreilles is hardly half that distance. The Hurons whom Radisson found at Courtes Orellles were perhaps a hunting party.

[18] "Our means of estimating distances," says Schoolcraft in his appendix to the narrative of the expedition of 1832 to Itasca Lake, "was by time, corrected by reference to the rapidity of water and the strength of wind, compared with our known velocity of traveling in calm weather on the laker."

on the lakes."

Instances that the early travelers estimated the actual distance traveled, not the distance by air line, are legion. The Jesuit "Relation" of 1663 speaks of Ménard's dying alone in the forest 500 leagues from Quebec. The "Relation" of 1667 speaks of Alonez's having traveled 500 leagues from Quebec to Chequamegon Bay. The "Relation" of 1670 speaks of a mountain chain which extends from the St. Lawrence Gulf to the head of Lake Superior, a "distance of more than 600 leagues."

These estimates are approximately correct so far as actual travelling is concerned—Father Allonez, for instance, did travel about 1,250 miles, which is the equivalent of 500 French leagues, in order to reach Chequamegon Bay from Quebec, but according to the map the distance is not nearly so great.

Say from Quebec, but according to the map says that he was a hundren reagues, or 250 miles, from Sault Ste. Marie, which is fairly correct when the contour of the lake shore is followed, but an air line between the two points would be only about 195 miles long. In the "Relation" of 1667 Allouez estimates the distance from Sault Ste. Marie to Chequamegon Bay at 180 leagues, or 450 miles. The map scale shows that the distance is about 355 miles. about 325 miles.

century figured it—by six days, the number that it took to make the journey, and an average daily progress of twenty-five miles is called for. This was probably the average rate of travel through our forests in those early times; and moreover, men familiar with the country say that it would be a fair rate of travel between Ashland and the headwaters of the Black River. [19]

There is more evidence of this kind. We now know that the two Frenchmen already mentioned were Radisson and Chouart. [20] Radisson, in his "Voyages," says, after speaking of his arrival at Chequamegon Bay: "The men (Hurons) told us that wee had 5 great dayes' journey before we should arrive where their wives weare," [21] To cover the distance in five days would require an average daily progress of thirty miles, which could be made without great difficulty.

Thus the estimates of the distance between Chequamegon Bay and the Huron village agree perfectly with the actual distance by trail between Chequamegon Bay and the headwaters of the Black River, while the estimates contained in the "Relation" and in Radisson's "Voyages" as to the time required for the journey from Chequamegon Bay to the Huron village agree perfectly with the estimate of modern woodsmen of the time that it would take to go by Indian trail from Chequamegon Bay to the headwaters of the Black River.

But this is not all. An estimate in the "Relation" of 1663 (p. 20) of the length of Ménard's journey, Keweenaw Bay being the starting point in this case, is identical, as we shall see more in detail later on, with the actual distance from

^[19] Upon this point I have obtained the opinions of Rev. Chrysostom Verwyst, O. S. F.; ex-Lieutenant-Governor S. S. Fifield, and J. Scott Ellis, all of Ashland, and they substantially agree.

^[26] See articles by the author in "American Historical Review" for January, 1896, pp. 227-229; in Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin for 1895, pp. 101-106; Parkman Club Publication No. 2, pp. 21-23.

^[21] Wis. Hist. Coll., vol. xl, p. 72.

Keweenaw Bay, by the easiest and most direct route, to the source of the Black River, which is near Chelsea.

MENARD'S ROUTE TO THE HURON VILLAGE.

The valley of the upper Wisconsin River is historic ground. Twelve years before Joliet and Marquette descended the lower part of the Wisconsin River on their voyage to and down the Mississippi River. Ménard, aged as he was, entered the Wisconsin River at its very source and rode upon its waters for many miles. Where now resounds the buzz of the lumbermen's machinery were heard, in those far-away days, the solemn tones of the pioneer priest as he said mass each morning. In that same forest-valley Ménard drew his last breath.

The proofs in support of this position are conclusive. They are as follows:

1. It was the easiest and most direct route for Ménard to take. In Indian times there was constant communication between Keweenaw Bay and Lac Vieux Désert [22], on the line that divides Wisconsin and Northern Michigan. In this lake the Wisconsin River rises. In the first half of the present century, when the Lac Vieux Désert Indians went to see Baraga, the noted Catholic missionary, it was to Keweenaw Bay that they directed their steps. Early white settlers found on the north shore of Lac Vieux Désert a trail that led to Keweenaw Bay. This route was the common one between those two points. It was easier traveling over the trail than it was to take either one of two very roundabout canoe-and-

^[22] This name means Lake of the Old Clearing. It is derived from the Chippewa name of the lake, which is Gete Kitigan. "Gete" means old and "Kitigan" means a piece of ground under cultivation. The origin of the name was a clearing on the large island in the lake. John C. Curran of Rhinelander writes me that when he first visited the lake, in 1857, he found on the island a clearing which even at that time appeared to be very old.

Lac Vieux Désert possesses much historic interest because in close proximity to it, if not upon its shores, services of the Christian Church were first held in Wisconsin.

portage routes that might have been selected; besides, it took less time. [23]

- 2. The "Relation" of 1663 states that the Hurons who started from Keweenaw Bay with the priest and his French companion soon abandoned them, their excuse being lack of They promised, however, to send some strong men to help the Frenchmen to continue their journey. That the Hurons abandoned them during the first stage of the journey, that between Kewcenaw Bay and Lac Vieux Désert, is indicated by the use of the word "soon," by the fact that the priest and his companion waited fifteen days at a lake for Hurons who never came, and then found at that lake a small canoe in which they continued their journey. It is plain that it was at Lac Vieux Désert that they waited and it was in the Wisconsin River, which rises out of that lake, that they launched their canoe.
- 3. The "Relation" of 1663 describes Ménard's journey as one of a hundred leagues, being 252 miles as we measure distance. From L'Anse to Lac Vieux Désert by trail is seventy miles, from Lac Vieux Désert down the Wisconsin River to the natural crossing place to the headwaters of the Black River, where the Hurons were, is 165 miles; and along this crossing place to the headwaters of the Black River is twenty-five miles, making a total of 260 miles for the entire

"The trail between Lac Vieux Désert and L'Anse," writes Mr. Long-year, "was a very old one. It was used by the Indians in passing to and from their settlements at Lac Vieux Désert and L'Anse."

^[23] J. M. Longyear of Marquette, Mich., writes me from Athens, Greece, under date of February 9th, 1897, that twenty-three years ago, when he traversed the trail, he found at the L'Anse end burnt plne plains, which might well have been pine forest in Ménard's time. The surface which might well have been pine forest in Ménard's time. The surface region of Sturgeon River there were heavy forests of maple, birch, hem-lock, cedar, fir and pine, while there were many steep clay banks and yleux besert, the surface becoming less broken in that direction. A few miles of burnt plains, which were probably part of the forest in Ménard's Line, next intervence, and then began a timber belt which extended to Lae Vieux Désert. There was less of soft wood in this belt than in the lett near the Sturgeon River, and in many places the forest looked like large, well-kept parks. This forest surrounded the east half of Lac Vieux Désert, the west half being surrounded with pine plains.

"The trail between Lac Vieux Désert and L'Anse," writes Mr. Long-

journey, which corresponds as closely as could be expected to the "Relation's" estimate of the length of Ménard's journey.

- 4. The "Relation" of 1663 states that the three young Frenchmen whom Ménard sent to the Huron village before undertaking the trip himself, discovered, after they had started back, that their canoe had been stolen; that they thereupon spent a day in making themselves a rough-bark canoe, such as the Iroquois used in those days; and that they were fifteen days in returning from the Huron village to Keweenaw Bay, as they were "obliged to go up the river in returning, whereas they had gone down stream in going to the Huron village." It is thus apparent that the major part of their journey either way was by river. By the Wisconsin River route nearly two-thirds of the journey would be by river, down stream in going, and up stream in returning. No other route to the Black River headwaters corresponds to this description. Moreover, after allowing one day for the journey by land from the headwaters of the Black River back to the Wisconsin River, another day for making the canoe, and three days for the journey from Lac Vieux Désert to L'Anse, there would remain, out of the fifteen days, just ten days, which is the time that it would take them, in their comparatively clumsy canoe and with the high water incident to early June, to ascend the Wisconsin River to its source, starting at the crossing place to the Black River.
- 5. The same authority states that the young Frenchmen tried to dissuade Ménard from undertaking the journey from which they had just returned, they urging "the difficulties of the way by land and water; the number of rapids and waterfalls, the long portages, the precipices to be passed, the rocks over which one must drag himself; the dry and sterile lands, where nothing could be found to eat." Even in these days, when the requirements of the lumbering interests have resulted in a material improvement of the navigability of the upper part

of the Wisconsin River, experienced boatmen, descending the stream, have to make six portages if their canoe carries a light load and nine portages if their canoe be heavily laden. [24]

- 6. Ménard, who left Keweenaw Bay July 13th, got lost about August 10th. The total number of days to account for is therefore twenty-nine. Active men could easily walk from L'Anse to Lac Vieux Désert in three days, but the journey took Ménard four or five days. Ménard's inability to walk as fast as they could is very likely what caused the Hurons to abandon him and his French companion. Five days required for the journey over the trail between Keweenaw Bay and Lac Vieux Désert and the fifteen days which Ménard spent at Lac Vieux Désert leaves nine days for the voyage down the Wisconsin River to the point where he lost his life, near the place of crossing to the headwaters of the Black River. This distance is 165 miles and to make it in nine days would require an average daily progress of eighteen miles. Under the circumstances, Ménard and his companion could not possibly have descended the river at a rate of more than twenty miles a day. In mid-summer the current of the river is sluggish as far down as Rhinelander. The Frenchman had to do most of the paddling. Ménard stopped each morning to say mass. Both he and the Frenchman kept watch for the places where the Hurons who had deserted them had begun to portage. Their progress, therefore, was necessarily slow.
- 7. The theft some time before of the three young Frenchmen's canoe and the fact that they stopped a day to make a new canoe show that they had left their canoe some distance from the Huron village and had proceeded to that place by

^[24] The rapids and the falls which one meets in descending the Wisconsin River from Lac Vieux Désert to Merrill are in order as follows: Otter Rapids, Just below Eagle River: Rainbow Rapids, Just below Tomahawk Lake: Pelican Rapids, now the sile of a dam at Rhinelander; Hat Rapids and Ten-Mile Rapids, the latter including Whirlpool Rapids, between Rhinelander and the town of Tomahawk: Grandmother Bull Falls, and Grandfather Bull Falls and Bill Cross Rapids, between Tomahawk and Merrill. The longest portage is around Grandfather Bull Falls, nearly two miles.

land; for if they had taken their canoe to the Huron village, which they of course would have done if they had been able to paddle all the way to that place, they could and would have bought another canoe with some of the trinkets which they had with them, thus saving themselves considerable time and trouble. The young Frenchmen must have left their canoe on or near the Wisconsin River, whence they went by land to the Huron village. These facts possess especial significance when considered in connection with the circumstance that the route which the young Frenchmen took in going to the Huron village was the one that Ménard was following when he became lost in the forest.

8. Similarly significant are the movements of Ménard's companion after it had become apparent that the priest had gone astray. After searching for the priest, after firing his gun as a signal, all in vain, the Frenchman proceeded to the Huron village for help. But he himself went astray, which would not have happened had he not left the river; and he went beyond the Huron village, which he would not have done had he been descending a river upon which that village was located. Moreover, the fact that an Indian whom he accidentally met led him back to the Huron village [25] also shows that he was traveling by land. All these experiences undoubtedly befell the Frenchman while he was walking from the Wisconsin River to the headwaters of the Black River. This is one day's journey, but he had spent some time trying to find Ménard, he had gone astray himself and he had passed beyond

^[25] In a letter to me under date of February 12th, 1897, E. L. Urquhart, a resident of Taylor County for thirty years, makes this statement: "About one-half mile northwest from the village of Chelsea is a lake of about a hundred acres. It empties into the Jump River, but the headwaters of the Black River pass within eighty rods of it. When I first saw this lake in the summer of 1870, it was surrounded with hardwood timber, and I thought then that it had been the site of an Indian village at some early day. I imagined that the ground resembled a corn-field, I could distinctly see the appearance of hills where the corn had grown. * * * * I have at different times seen such places in the woods in this northern country, where the corn-hills would show quite plainly, though the timber would be well grown." This evidence tends to show that in days long since gone Indians cultivated corn—we know that the Hurons did—near Chelsea. It is impossible, of course, to locate the exact site of the Huron village.

the Huron village, which facts account for his not reaching his destination until the second day after the disappearance of his aged companion.

THE LOCALITY OF MENARD'S DEATH.

It is clear that the portage on the Wisconsin River at which Ménard got lost was near a trail leading from that river to the headwaters of the Black River. Diligent inquiry has resulted in the discovery that early in the present century a trail left the Wisconsin River at a point near the mouth of the Copper River, which empties into the Wisconsin where the Wisconsin approaches so closely to the headwaters of the Black River. and that this trail extended to a point near Chelsea, and at this point it crossed the head waters of the Black River. When white settlers first visited that region during the present century, this trail was still being used by the Indians. It was the best crossing place between the two rivers that could be found. It was really a portage trail, and Indian portage trails were always as direct as possible. It was not unreasonable, under the circumstances, to suppose that this was the trail which in the seventeenth century led from the Wisconsin River to the Huron village at the headwaters of the Black River. [26]

If this be true, it was not far up the Wisconsin River from the place where the trail to the Huron village began that Ménard wandered off into the woods. The fact that the Frenchman, after hunting for Ménard, after getting astray himself and after going beyond his destination, nevertheless reached the Huron village the second day after the priest had disappeared, is conclusive upon this point.

^[26] That this trail was very old is certain. John C. Curran of Rhine-lander informs me that he was recently told by an Indian living at Lac du Flambeau, who is \$5 years old, that he remembers when a boy of hearing the old men of his tribe talk of going over to Black River from a point on the Wisconsin River a little above Merrill. This evidence alone tends to show that the trail was in use previous to the beginning of the present century.

Show that the trail was in the properties of which pine in the creek century.

The country traversed by the trail was timbered with pine in the creek bottoms and on the other low lands, and with basswood, eim, oak, birch and hemloek on the ridges. The proportion of swamp was very small.

It is just as clear that it was at a rapid, not at a fall, that Ménard got lost. The "Relation" of 1663 (p. 21), speaking of the journey made to the Huron village by the three young Frenchmen whom Ménard had sent ahead to reconnoitre, makes a clear distinction between rapids and waterfalls. On the same page, in speaking of the priest's death, it is explicitly stated that his companion missed him "at the end of a portage around a rapid."

The statement in the same "Relation" that the rapid was "difficult" and the fact that the two men became separated indicate that only the priest took the portage trail and that the Frenchman "ran" the rapids. On this point Perrot (p. 91) is more explicit. He says: "One day he [the Frenchman] found himself in a rapid, which carried him along in his canoe. To help him, the father took some of his baggage out of the canoe, and did not take the right path to get to him. He got upon a trail made by animals, and in endeavoring to get back to the right path, he got entangled in a labyrinth of trees and went astray. The Frenchman, having passed the rapids with great difficulty, awaited the good father, and as the latter did not come, he determined to go in search of him."

The statement that the Frenchman found himself in a rapid which carried him along in his canoe shows that they were still descending the Wisconsin River. It is also made clear by this passage from Perrot that the rapid in question was one that could be "run," though with difficulty; it was a rapid where a landing could be effected before the most dangerous part of the descent was reached, and it was a rapid with a portage trail around it. These clues, indefinite as they may seem at first thought, nevertheless point with convincing clearness to the place where Ménard lost his life.

In itself no one of the three characteristics of the rapid described by Perrot is particularly noteworthy, but, taken together, they form a most significant combination. In a large measure Whirlpool Rapids, thirty-six miles north of Merrill, answer to Perrot's description, but the Frenchman, after searching for Ménard and after getting lost himself, could not very well from Whirlpool Rapids have reached the Huron village at the headwaters of the Black River the second day after Ménard had gone astray.

Below Whirlpool Rapids, which are above any possible crossing place to the headwaters of the Black River, and above Mosinee, too far below any possible crossing place to the headwaters of the Black River, there is only one rapid, as distinguished from a fall, and that one rapid is in close proximity to the natural crossing place to the headwaters of the Black River; it is only a short distance above the old Indian trail leading to the west, and it minutely corresponds to the rapid described by Perrot. Its name is Bill Cross Rapids and it is situated five or six miles above the mouth of the Copper River, where the trail to the headwaters of the Black River left the Wisconsin River. [27]

The portage trail around Bill Cross Rapids is about twenty-five rods long. The trail runs now, as it probably did during the seventeenth century, along the west bank of the river, this bank being somewhat low. The east bank is high. Old residents of that region state that when they first saw Bill Cross Rapids, the surrounding country was heavily timbered with pine and hemlock. [28] In such a place a few steps in the wrong direction, steps which it is always easy to take, and one is literally swallowed up in the forest. Such undoubtedly was the fate of Ménard. He probably heard the shots fired by his companion, but being without a gun himself, he could not

^[27] Bill Cross, whose name these rapids bear, was the son of a Chippewa woman by a French father, and he lived for many years on an old Indian camping ground at the mouth of the New Wood River, less than a mile below the rapids. It is said that he was educated by the Jesuits at Green Bay. At last accounts he was an inmate of an insane asylum in Northern Wisconsin.

^[28] The timber has since been cut, the banks burned over and second-growth timber has appeared.

answer the signals. Moreover, in thick woods it is easy to mistake the place from which a shot is fired, and those well-meant signals may simply have increased the priest's bewilderment.

Ménard became separated from his companion about August 10th. He probably survived some time—perhaps five days—as he had in his possession a piece of smoked meat about the size of a man's hand.

As a rule, people lost in the woods soon become crazed unless they find their way out or are rescued, but it is difficult to imagine such a termination to Ménard's noble life. He had undertaken that journey with a feeling that it would result in his death, and the end probably found him ready, willing, even eager, to obey the final summons.

Such was the life, such the death, of this gentle hero—the predecessor of Allouez and Marquette in the Lake Superior region, the pioneer missionary to what is now Wisconsin.

HENRY COLIN CAMPBELL.

Milwaukee, Wisconsin, February 10th, 1897.

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An Index to the Club's publications during 1896 will soon be issued.

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