

## CLAUDE JEAN ALLOUEZ.

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If men must be judged by their works rather than by the results achieved, if motive and circumstance are an additional measure by which to gauge the worth of their deeds, then truly do the descendants of the Indian tribes of the Northwest, and the citizens of Wisconsin especially, owe a debt of gratitude to the memory of Claude Jean Allouez, "the Apostle of the Ottawas," and the builder of Wisconsin's first Indian missions.

"Father Claude Jean Allouez has imperishably connected his name with the progress of discovery in the West," says Bancroft, duly recognizing the worth of Allouez from a secular standpoint. But this remarkable man's work is that of a great missionary rather than that of a daring explorer, and his real worth is not realized by the superficial student of our early history. Studying the life of this "Apostle of the Ottawas,"<sup>1</sup> the old well-known lines of the *Psalm of Life* often came to my mind, and profoundly edified by the lessons of apostolic zeal and heroic perseverance contained in his long career of unremitting self-sacrifice, very different from that of early explorers and traders, I deemed it a pleasure and a duty to my native State to survey the life of this remarkable man, and to trace, even though it be with unskilled eye, "the footprints he has left behind him on the sands of time."

Claude Jean Allouez was born in the village of St. Didier (dans le Velay), which is situated southwest of Lyons, in the

<sup>1</sup> The word "Ottawa" was indiscriminately applied to the *Upper Lake Indians* who went down the St. Lawrence River to trade with the French in Canada. At Chequamegon Bay there was, however, one tribe which had come thither with the Hurons from Lake Huron. This was the Ottawa tribe proper.

See *Relations des Jésuites*, 1687, chap. viii., p. 17. (Quebec edition, 1858.)

rocky and mountainous country known as Haute Loire in France. His name "Allouez" seems to point to a Spanish ancestry; however, no reliable records exist to support this supposition. We find the name written Allouetz and Aloez. Marie de l'Incarnation, who knew Allouez well, and wrote of him in her *Lettres Historiques*, spells the name Dallois.<sup>2</sup>

The time and place of Allouez's birth seem to have been unknown to American historians of the early missions. Bancroft, Dr. Shea<sup>3</sup> and others said they were unknown. Even the modern French historian, Margry, in his *Decouvertes et établissements*, published in 1879, mistakes the date, placing it in the year 1613. Father Camille de Rochemonteix, himself a Jesuit, published in 1896 his three-volume work on the Jesuit missions in New France. He had access to all the sources available, and on the authority of the genealogical catalogues and archives of the Society of Jesus in France, he definitely fixes the date of Allouez's birth as June 6, 1622.

Regarding the early boyhood days of the later celebrated missionary, very little is on record. We are informed, however, that, as a wide-awake boy, he attended the religious instructions of "Blessed" Francis Regis, who, between the years 1625 and 1634, achieved great renown as instructor and preacher at Puy, the capital city of the district in which Allouez's parents lived.

When, in 1632, the Jesuit missions in New France (Canada) were reopened by Father Le Jeune, S. J.,<sup>4</sup> Francis Regis forthwith volunteered to go to Canada to devote his life to the

<sup>2</sup> Rochemonteix, *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle France*, vol. II., p. 353, note.

<sup>3</sup> Bancroft, *History of the United States*, vol. II., p. 803; old edition, vol. III., p. 149.

Dr. Shea, *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley*, p. 67.

The chapter on Allouez by Dr. Shea in the work quoted contains several more serious mistakes regarding Fathers Garreau, Drullletes and Ménard.

<sup>4</sup> In 1632, by the Treaty of St. Germain, Canada was restored to France by England, and very soon after Cardinal Richelieu requested the Jesuits to take charge of the Indian missions there. See *Narrative and Critical History of America*, vol. IV., p. 265.

Indians. He was one of those ardent souls so numerous at that time in Catholic France, who, like St. Paul, yearned "to give testimony for the faith that was in them." Incidental to his instructions to the young men of Puy, he, no doubt, often made the foreign missions the theme of conversation. Regis wrote to his general, Mutius Vitelleski, for permission to join Father Le Jeune in the Canada missions. The answer to Regis was not favorable, and Puy was to remain his field of labor. In the meantime Regis' zeal had kindled a holy flame in young Allouez, and the soul of the noble-spirited tutor seemed as if poured into that of the docile pupil. What Francis Regis was prevented from doing his pupil and friend was called to undertake. At any rate, from this time on, Allouez prepared himself to become a priest, a Jesuit and a missionary.<sup>5</sup> Having passed his examinations in the College of Puy, a bright and vigorous youth of seventeen years, he in 1639, on the 25th of September, was allowed to enter the novitiate of the Jesuit order. If Allouez aimed at becoming an apostle to the foreign missions, for which, we are assured, he even then felt himself called, the means he chose to qualify himself for such an undertaking prove the genuineness of his zeal. A work so great as he had laid out for his life needed due preparation. However trying such probation may have seemed to his ardent nature, he patiently bided his time, in happy anticipation of the moment when his superior-general would bid him go. All of eighteen years were thus to pass before the desired summons would launch him into the realization of his noble project.

Allouez's novitiate of three years proved his true worth, and he was advanced to his higher studies. Four years are devoted by him to rhetoric and philosophy, then for three years he is employed as a teacher of belles-lettres, grammar and the humanities at the city of Billom, after which the now ripened

<sup>5</sup> Rochemonteix, vol. II., p. 353.

scholar and efficient scholastic is advanced to his course of theology at Toulouse, which studies last four years. About the year 1655 he received priestly orders, and after one year more of meditation and "study of self," was engaged as preacher at the Jesuit church of Rhodéz, France. While thus active in practical theology, he reached the thirty-fifth year of his life. He had almost despaired of realizing his long-felt desire, and his zeal had stood a long and severe test. "Obedience is better than sacrifice," he concluded, and trusted in Divine Providence.

At last a letter arrives from his superior at Toulouse (Père Rocette, S. J.), dated March 3, 1657. Eagerly he reads, and calmly laying the letter aside, and moved to the depth of his heart, exclaims in holy joy: "It is the Lord who grants me this grace. By a stroke of His right hand has He exalted me to this most sublime of all vocations. *Seigneur, je suis a vous!* Lord Jesus, I am thine!"\*

The permission to become a missionary in New France and to sail for Quebec at an early date was granted. A career of missionary activity is opened which was to last over thirty-five years, and the results of which are wrapt up in innumerable acts of self-sacrifice and unflinching charity.

The young Jesuit who was soon to leave for the Far West seemed especially fitted by Providence for his arduous mission. A note, preserved in the Jesuit archives of France, and which, apparently, was written by Allouez's superior about the time of his departure, says in terse language of the prospective missionary:

"He is possessed of a vigorous constitution, of a fine mind and disposition, of good judgment and great prudence. He is

\* Words quoted from Allouez's letters in Margry, *Decouvertes*, etc., vol. I., p. 65.



firm in purpose, proficient in literature and theology, and eminently fitted for missionary work."<sup>7</sup>

Here, then, is a Frenchman of the mountainous Loire country type, a man of middle stature, of vigorous frame, yet graceful deportment; a man who is inured to exposure and toil, as he is trained in the science of spiritual perfection; capable of living contented in the huts of barbarians as well as moving with due tact in the salons of refined French society. Such a man it is whom we presently see embarking on a project which, as Bancroft says, "has imperishably connected his name with the progress of discovery in the West,"<sup>8</sup> and which made him THE<sup>9</sup> apostle of the Wisconsin and Upper Lake Indians.

Monsieur D'Argenson had shortly before been appointed governor of New France, and Father Allouez was invited to sail with him to America. Two lay brothers joined the party, and after a long and stormy voyage, Allouez landed at Quebec July 11, 1658. Without delay, Allouez entered upon a second apprenticeship for his life among the savages. At Quebec and Three Rivers, whither the Ottawas came from the Upper Lakes to trade with the French, he studied the Huron and Algonquin languages, and easily familiarized himself with their habits and manners. He had made no false forecast of the field which he solicited. "To convert our Indians," he wrote not long after his arrival at Quebec, "we need work no miracle except that of

<sup>7</sup> "Vires firmæ, ingenium bonum, iudicium bonum, prudentia multa; tenax in propositis, profectus in litteris et in theologia magnus, talentum ad missiones eximium."—*Catal. 2us Prov. Franciæ in Archives General, S. J.* Quoted by Father Rochemonteix, vol. ii., p. 354.

Dr. Shea's opinion that the learning and refinement of Father Allouez were inferior to those of a number of his fellow missionaries of that period, seems unwarranted either by the records left of him or by the contents and style of his writings. Father Allouez was, to all appearances, a practical missionary, and all his writings are of that nature, but everywhere they disclose the refined observer and good linguist.

<sup>8</sup> Bancroft, *History of the United States*, edition 1844, vol. iii., p. 151.

<sup>9</sup> The noble and intrepid Father René Ménard had visited Lake Superior and died most probably on Wisconsin ground, 1661, but he established no mission. Allouez, if not the first on the ground, was the real organizer of the missions, and labored among our Indians for about thirty-five years.

doing them good and suffering without complaint, except to God, regarding ourselves as useless servants."

And again, on another occasion, he tells us in his letters: "The four elements of an apostleship in New France are: Condescension and humility, prudent perseverance and heroic magnanimity."<sup>10</sup>

Appointed to the so-called Ottawa mission, he awaited a favorable opportunity to make the journey to his distant goal in the forests and prairies of the unknown West. How discouraging were not the reports that came to him from that country! Father Leonard Garreau had died<sup>11</sup> as a martyr while bound for the western country, and the story of his terrible fate was still the common theme of conversation at the missionary stations when the no less disheartening news was brought by a returning party of "voyageurs" from Lake Superior that Father Ménard, too, was dead. Allouez had seen the aged but fearless missionary depart in 1660 from Three Rivers for the Lake Superior country, only to hear now that on the 10th of August, 1661, this dear friend of his, like another Xavier, almost in reach of his long-sought destination, had died, abandoned amid rocks and forests in Northern Wisconsin.<sup>12</sup> Nothing daunted, Allouez longed to follow in the footsteps of Ménard, there in the darkness, again to raise aloft the torch of faith which had fallen from the dying hand of his heroic friend.

#### HIS DEPARTURE FOR THE WEST.

On the 14th of May, 1665, Allouez left Quebec to meet the Indians who, about this time, were arriving in large flotillas to

<sup>10</sup> Margry, vol. i., p. 72.

<sup>11</sup> Father Leonard Garreau died in 1656 at the hands of the Iroquois. Dr. Shea's reference to him in his *Discoveries and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley*, p. 68, is incorrect. The *Jesuit Relations*, Quebec edition, 1858 (*Relation* 1656, pp. 41-42), tell of his death as occurring in the year 1656, while Shea places it in the year 1659 or 1660.

<sup>12</sup> An excellent monograph on Father Ménard and his fate has lately appeared among the Parkman Club publications. It is written by Henry Colin Campbell, of Milwaukee, who shows conclusively that Ménard met

do their trading with the French at Three Rivers. He hailed them as the "angels of the Upper Algonquins," but they, as he soon found, were uncouth and savage, and brutal beyond description. The flotilla of Indians was soon to turn homeward. At his repeated request to allow him and his French companions, six in number, to embark with them on their return voyage, the Indians remained stolidly indifferent and their apathy seemed ominous. They had heard of former missionaries. These, they said, had baptized some of the Indian children, but the children died, and the missionaries' ceremony of baptism was by them looked upon as the cause of death.<sup>13</sup>

After long explanations and reassurances of friendly purpose on the part of himself and his companions, he at last, on August 8th, 1665, was permitted to accompany them. He and his six Frenchmen departed from Three Rivers separated from one another, it seems, and scattered among 400 savages in canoes. "Seigneur, je suis a vous!" we feign to hear Allouez whispering, as he with beating heart sets his foot into the frail boat that headed for his goal, a thousand and more miles away.

The route then followed by the trafficking Ottawas from the Sault Ste. Marie to Quebec was by Georgian Bay, French River, to Lake Nipissing, by portage to the Mattawan River, thence into the Ottawa River, and down the Ottawa River to the St. Lawrence. This, reversed, was the route by which Allouez came West. To enter into many of the details of this eventful voyage of about one thousand miles in frail bark canoes, would lead beyond the scope of this paper. A voyage to-day, over the same lakes and rivers, on magnificently

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his sad death not in the neighborhood of the Menominee River (as Dr. Shea and others have vaguely asserted), but at Bill Cross Rapids, on the Wisconsin River, not far from the headwaters of the Black River, where the Huron village, which Ménard tried to reach, was located.

<sup>13</sup> It was the practice of missionaries to baptize, at once, such of the Indian children as were found by them in a dying condition. Others, especially adults, were admitted to baptism only when they had received sufficient instruction and given signs of perseverance. Abundant evidence in support of this statement is found in the *Jesuit Relations*.

equipped steamers, along most enchanting scenery, is a much coveted pleasure, enhanced as it may be by such agreeable diversion as crossing a portage on a *train de luxe*. Still more varied than such a modern trip was that of our missionary.

From a bird's-eye view we may here and there catch a glimpse of Father Allouez, moving along, with his savage companions, now over the placid river surface, then bearing heavy packages across portages, and again paddling along the rocky and stormy shores of lakes, often exhausted almost to death. But he gladly bore the natural difficulties incident to such a journey. What taxed his patience most was the inhuman treatment to which he was exposed. Hardly had he bid his last adieu to friends on the shore, and the flotilla disappeared towards the West, when he was made to feel how uncertain was his life in the hands of these ever fitful barbarians. Although frightened by serious threats of some of the chief savages, saying they would abandon him upon one of the deserted islands, he succeeded in making his way with them—suffering from hunger, exposure and over-exertion, which resulted from unremitting paddling, until, somewhere near the mouth of the Ottawa River, his canoe broke. The Indians, seeing the danger in which he was, passed by him all the more swiftly, not stirring a hand to assist him in repairing his little craft. It was of serious consequence to Allouez and his one or two companions to keep up with the flotilla, for losing track of the Indians might mean failure to his enterprise. The canoe being hurriedly repaired, they paddled with increased force until they reached the Long Sault, where the flotilla fortunately was detained. But the mended canoe was no longer safe for use, which placed Allouez in another quandary. By an earnest harangue to the Indians, while they were squatting about on the shore near by, he stirred their sense of humanity to the extent that one of them asked him to come with him. As they prepared to re-embark, Allouez stepped into the water to get into the boat of his pretended

friend. "Suddenly they pushed me back," he writes in his journal,<sup>14</sup> "saying they had no place for me, and immediately they began to paddle strongly, leaving me alone without a sign of any human help."

The canoes bearing his French and Indian companions passed out of sight, and he, the missionary, stood alone on this solitary shore, abandoned apparently by God and men. "I prayed to God," the journal of Allouez continued, "that He might pardon them for their barbarity; but in that my prayer was not heard, for the Indians that were to take me with them suffered shipwreck soon after, and God thus saved my life."

While so deserted on a desolate spot, Allouez surely thought of the fate of the fearless and lamented Ménard. Prepared, like him, to die in the forest, if God so willed, he prayed to the Mother of Mercy, under whose protection he had placed his journey. "While thus praying," he continues, "I perceived, contrary to all hope, a few canoes at a distance, which lagged behind for some reason, and which contained three of our Frenchmen. I hailed them, and, the old canoe being repaired once more, I joined my rescuers.<sup>15</sup> Paddling with all our might, and fatigued to death, we again caught up to the ill-humored Indians." Father Allouez's determination astonished them and softened their hearts. An Ottawa chief now actually took him into his canoe, and they interrupted his course no more.

His pilot, the Ottawa chief, took advantage of his presence, and promptly handed him the paddle. "I imagined myself a malefactor condemned to the galleys," writes Allouez; "and, although I was wholly tired out, God gave me the strength necessary to paddle all day and often a good part of the night."

<sup>14</sup> *Relation de Nouvelle France, en l'année 1667*, pp. 4-5 (Quebec edition, 1858).

<sup>15</sup> The text of Allouez's journal says that he was saved by three Frenchmen on a canoe which, owing to some misfortune, had considerably lagged behind. Rochemonteix in this matter erroneously interprets the text of Allouez's journal. See Rochemonteix, vol. II, p. 356, and *Relation*, 1667, p. 5.

Though naturally indolent, the Indian knows no fatigue when propelling a boat, carrying packages or pursuing game. Threats, scorn and other ill treatment accordingly followed whenever Allouez showed signs of weakness. The wide-brimmed hat which sheltered his face from the burning sun was taken from him to grace the tawny brow of his almost naked companion, who, too, upon landing at night time, made a pillow for himself of the only blanket which Allouez had to cover his weary body. Often the priest had nothing to cover himself with at night other than shrubs and leaves. How often, indeed, was his pillow of stones like that where Jacob felt the presence of God! "Call a child to carry him and his packages!" they would say whenever he sank in fatigue under his load while crossing portages, or when he had to go over hills and rocks, through swamps and forests. Complaint, under the circumstances, only increased his misery. Thus suffering from the rudeness of the barbarians and from exposure to the weather, his strength was almost spent. Besides, there was no substantial food to nourish the body. Allouez soon learned to relish the "soup of moss," so frequently mentioned by explorers of that time, "which," as he says, "serves rather to keep death away than to impart life." On one occasion, when almost famished, they found a deer which had been dead four or five days. Although he shuddered at the sight of the carcass, hunger compelled him to partake of the nauseating flesh. "For a long time afterwards," he says, "I had an offensive odor in my mouth."

These are only a few of the incidents recorded in the journal of Allouez regarding the journey. They are related as matters of little importance, and he bore these "trifling discomforts as a welcome means to do penance for his own sins." A holy flame within quickened his ardor and sweetened his very sufferings. This man, animated by supernatural hope, feared neither



hunger nor cold, neither fatigue nor exposure, by day or by night.<sup>16</sup>

Toward the beginning of the month of September, the flotilla arrived at the Sault Ste. Marie. This spot, hallowed by early missionary history, was visited only *en passant*, the Indians little regarding the wishes of their French companions, who would have tarried here among the few white inhabitants.

During all the rest of that month Allouez and his party, bound for the western end of Lake Tracy (as the French called Lake Superior, in honor of Monsieur Tracy), coursed along the southern shores of that lake. The magnificent and rugged scenery filled his soul with cheer. He saw the lofty ridge of naked sand which stretches along the shore, and sailed by the cliffs of pictured rock which, for twelve miles, rise 300 feet in height like towering walls with fretted arches and bastions, witnesses of ages gone by. He passed Keweenaw (St. Theresa) Bay, where Ménard had preached to the Ottawa Indians, and whence the latter set out for his fatal missionary tour to the headwaters of the Black River in Wisconsin. Two Christian Huron women Allouez found here—women “who,” as he says, “shone like two brilliant stars in this darkness of paganism.” No doubt he also said Mass at this spot, consecrated by his saintly brother missionary. On he went, still westward. He was now on what was to white men territory comparatively unexplored. His tone of correspondence becomes that of a keen observer. Game and fish are more abundant, and the quality, he tells us, is excellent. His attention is called to the presence of copper mines by the color of the water and the frequent discovery of copper ore in pieces of ten and twenty pounds at the bottom of the water.

The Indians by this time seem to have improved; their treatment of Allouez is much better. A box in which he had put a

<sup>16</sup> Bancroft, *History of United States*, vol. II., p. 803; old edition, vol. III., p. 149.

number of devotional and other articles, and which his Indian companions had stolen from him, was now restored to him. They henceforth regarded the missionary and his books as manitous, dangerous to touch. In a tone of evident cheer he continues to describe the scenes about him on "the lake that is so stormy and yet so beautiful, so rich in delicious fish and shining metal," that he did not wonder the barbarians worshiped it as a divinity and offered it sacrifice. This would, he rightly judged, prove a magnificent field for his own noble mission.

The voyagers had now traveled over 500 leagues, which at the rate of 2.52 miles per league, amounted to about 1,250 miles,<sup>17</sup> and were approaching their destination. The Indians shouted in savage glee, when, in the distance, they perceived a tongue of land jutting out far into the stormy bay, situated at the southwestern end of the lake. It was the sandspit so familiar to the Lake Superior Indians, famed in their early myths and later history as Chequamegon Point.

Allouez landed with the flotilla at the head of Chequamegon Bay on October 1, 1665. The Indians soon dispersed, leaving him to his own contemplations. "Here, then, I am, at last. Here is my new field of labor; here is my flock!" Allouez may truthfully have said, as he stepped from his canoe and drew it to shore. When he looked upon the somber pine-clad shore and in the direction of the neighboring rocky islands and sandstone cliffs, did he realize that God had sent him to one of the oldest spots of the earth; to a point which perhaps first arose from the ancient ocean,<sup>18</sup> and which certainly was and is now the natural gateway and key-point to the entire Northwest? Providence led him hither that the earth, once cursed by the

<sup>17</sup> Allouez figures the distance he traveled to be about 500 leagues. A direct voyage would be only somewhere about 1,000 miles, but he likely figures out a longer distance on account of the numerous detours made.

<sup>18</sup> Geologists of recognized authority are of the opinion that the sandstone cliffs of Lake Superior were among the first Laurentinian Islands to arise from the ancient ocean.

Creator for the sin of man, might here, at its very threshold, so to speak, be reconsecrated by the blood of the Redeemer.

The ever varying scenes of the voyages were over. The time of the sowing had come, and the sower was prepared for the work.

## ALLOUEZ AT CHEQUAMEGON BAY.

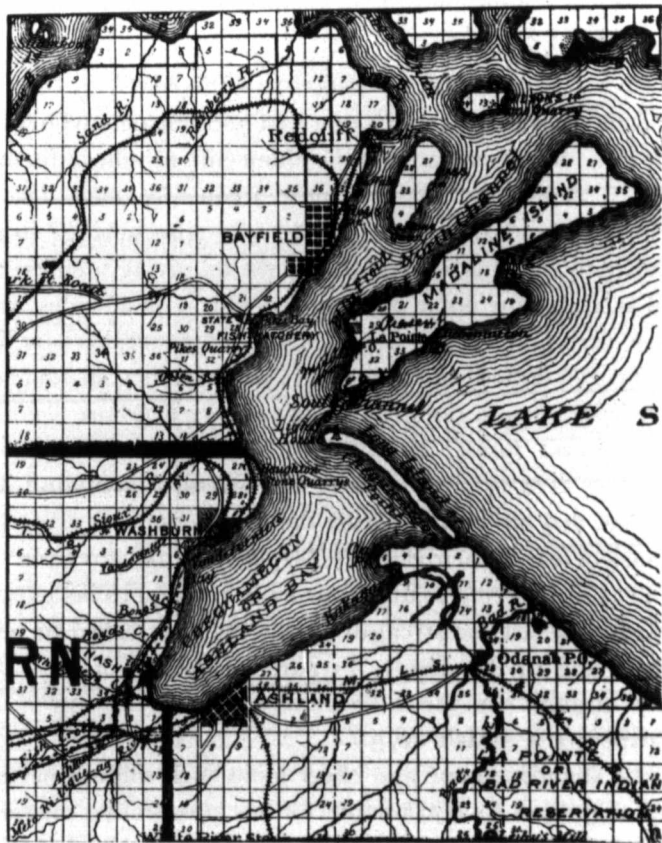
Thus placed in the midst of a vast and trackless wilderness, with little or no sympathetic life about him to relieve the melancholy monotony, Allouez must frequently have felt depressed in mind and soul. Winter was approaching; storms peculiar to the season and locality set in, giving a sullen and wild aspect to the noble bay, around which, on all sides, arose dense, dark pine forests, threaded only here and there by little streams and dotted with swamps. Now and then, at some distance, could he see clouds of smoke arising from the depths of the primeval forest, indicating to him the habitations of starveling savages of the Huron and several Algonquin tribes, who had fled hither and hardly dared approach the open lake because of fear of their irrepressible enemies, the Iroquois.

Yet this supreme solitude was an inspiration to his buoyant soul, and he felt the strength of one that was called to be "a voice crying in the desert: Prepare ye the way of the Lord; make straight in the wilderness the paths of our God." (Matthew, 3, 3; Isaiah, 40, 3.)

His abundant hope and cheer amid such solitude seem to have suggested to him a name for his prospective mission.<sup>19</sup> Not the particular spot on which he later built his chapel and temporary residence, but the sandspit jutting out far into the

<sup>19</sup> The opinion of Mr. Reuben G. Thwaites (*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vol. xiii., p. 405), holding that "not the particular plot of ground on which his chapel lay, but the neighboring sandy point (the sandspit jutting out into the bay a little distance from present Ashland) was the topographical feature in which Allouez had a poetic interest, and which prompted the name La Pointe," seems to be very reasonable. The name *Chequamegon*, sometimes written "Shagawaumikong," or "Jagawamika," was derived (as Father Verwyst, O. S. F., explains in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vol. xiii., p. 428), from "jalagawamikag," which means "where there are long breakers," and originally was applied only to the sandy point referred to above.

## MAP OF CHEQUAMEGON BAY.



## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

The Ottawa village was located near the confluence of Fish and Metabikitiwigwaig Creeks, a short distance inland from the head of the bay.

The site of the Huron village was a little south of Boyd's Creek.

The site of the old Mission du Saint Esprit was at or near Whittlesey's Creek, between the Ottawa and Huron villages.

bay at the head of which he stood, is what must have suggested to him the now familiar name *La Pointe*. Why he called his mission *the Mission of the Holy Ghost* may easily be understood. Is it improbable that his scientifically trained mind, studying the nature of the country about him, surmised rightly that he was standing on one of the oldest spots of the earth? Did he not feel in his deeply religious soul that he was a messenger of the Divine Spirit sent to reconsecrate this threshold of the New Continent and a center of barbarism and of moral chaos? Instinctively, we feel the propriety of christening his mission in honor of Him who "moved over the primeval waters, bringing order out of chaos and renewing the face of the earth," and calling the entire surrounding country *La Pointe du Saint Esprit*.

#### LOCATION OF THE MISSION.

Of late years, extraordinary interest has centered in the exact locations of the early missions. Even in our materialistic age, the student of history stops to examine carefully the records relating to those hallowed sites over which floats the aroma of centuries of historic association. With similar purpose, I defer, for the present, narrating the minutiae of Allouez's missionary work, in order first to locate, as nearly as possible, the missions established by him.

The chapels and mission houses, as well as the Indian villages described by Father Allouez in his reports to Quebec under the heading, *Relation of the Mission of the Holy Ghost on Lake Tracy*, have long since vanished. It seems impossible to locate with absolute certainty those interesting sites. The *Jesuit Relations* are the only original source of information, and even these do not always furnish sufficient data to remove every doubt as to the exact location of all the missions. Supplemented by knowledge of topography, and by tradition, however, the *Relations* serve to narrow the ground in question so

much as to satisfy us that we have come at least very near the exact facts in regard to the sites of the first missions of Chequamegon Bay.

In the *Relation* of the year 1667, Allouez gives us some information as to the site chosen by him for the mission. He says: "We arrived on the 1st day of October, 1665, at Chequamegon. \* \* \* It is a beautiful bay, *at the head* of which is located the great village of the savages who there plant their fields of Indian corn.<sup>20</sup> \* \* \* They are there collected from seven different nations who live peacefully with one another." In this passage Father Allouez refers to the habitations of the Indians (Algonquins and Hurons) in general, or he refers to the largest of the villages there, which the later narrative proves to be that of the Ottawas; in either case, the site of the village, or collection of villages, is *at the head of the bay*.

Continuing the same narrative, Allouez says: "This great collection of people caused us to prefer this place before all others at which to fix our ordinary abode and to erect a chapel and commence the functions of Christianity."<sup>21</sup>

Having built the chapel (the first one built here) in the neighborhood of the "*grand bourg des sauvages*" (the great village of the savages), which was *at the head of the bay*, Allouez tells us a little later in the same *Relation*, Chapter VI., page 13, that their abode and chapel was located *between two great villages*, one that of the Hurons, the other that of the Ottawas.<sup>22</sup> "The quarter of the lake where we have put up our

<sup>20</sup> See text of *Relations des Jésuites*, Quebec edition, 1858.

*Relation* 1666-1667, chap. iii., page 9, reads thus: "Nous arrivames le premier jour d'October a Chequamegon. \* \* \* C'est une belle anse, dans le fond de laquelle est placé le grand bourg des Sauvages, qui y font des champs de bled d'Indes." The term *le fond* de l'anse here evidently means *the head of the bay*, which is nowhere else than a little to the west of the present city of Ashland. See accompanying map.

<sup>21</sup> Ce grand monde nous a fait préférer ce lieu a tous les autres, pour y faire notre demeure ordinaire et y dresser une chapelle.—*Ibid.*, chap. iii., p. 9.

<sup>22</sup> Ce quartier du Lac ou nous nous sommes arrêtés, est entre deux grands bourgs. \* \* \* Nous y avons dressé une petite chapelle d'ecorces, ou toute mon occupation est d'y recevoir les Chrétiens Algonquins (Ottawas) et Hurons \* \* \* et y admettre les infidèles.—*Relation* 1667, chap. vi., p. 13.



abode is situated between two large villages, the center, as it were, of all the nations of this country. We have here erected a small chapel of bark, where my sole occupation is to receive the Algonquin and Huron<sup>23</sup> Christians and the 'infidels' who come here out of mere curiosity."

\*Again, speaking of the Hurons in Chapter VII. of the same *Relation*, page 16, Allouez tells us that the village of the Hurons was located *so near his abode (assez proche de notre demeure)* that he could attend to *them much better (avec plus d'assiduite)* than to the others farther removed. Among the *others* certainly must have been included the Ottawa village, because that is the one he constantly refers to when he speaks of villages besides the Huron.<sup>24</sup>

Furthermore, in the same *Relation*, Chapter VI., Allouez narrates that, after having established Christianity among the Hurons, and having baptized many children, he, some time in 1666, transported his birch bark chapel to the "grand bourg," the great village which he mentions at the beginning of this *Relation*, as being located at the head of the bay. Let us here note well that Allouez clearly says *this "grand bourg" was three-quarters of a league distant from his ordinary abode.*<sup>25</sup>

The father's chapel did not remain at the grand bourg, for soon after it was almost destroyed by barbarous Ottawas, and he returned to his former (ordinary) residence, which was near the Huron village.

From the above carefully examined passages we gather, at least, the following facts:

<sup>23</sup> The Hurons spoke a language differing from the Algonquin. Some of the Hurons met at Chequamegon by Father Allouez had been Christianized by Father Garnier, while they yet lived on the borders of Lake Huron.—*Relation* 1667, chap. vii., p. 15.

<sup>24</sup> Ils (the Hurons) ont leur bourgades *assez proche de notre demeure*, ce que m'a donné moyen d'entreprendre cette mission *avec plus d'assiduité, que les autres plus éloignées.*—*Relation* 1667, chap. vi., p. 15.

<sup>25</sup> Je jugé, qu'il était temps de transporter notre petite chapelle au milieu du grand bourg, *éloigné de notre demeure de trois quarts de lieuë.*—*Relation* 1667, chap. vi., p. 14. The distance of three-quarters of a French league amounts to one and seven-eighths miles, a league being equivalent to 2.52 miles.

1. The bark chapel and mission house were located *near the head of the bay*.

2. Though nearer to the Huron village, the mission and ordinary abode were only three-quarters of a league (one and seven-eighths miles) distant from the Ottawa village.

If, now, we can fix the site of the Ottawa village, we can almost with certainty place the mission.

In the beginning of the *Relation* of 1667, we were told, the site chosen by the missionary was near the "grand bourg" (which it is evident was that known as the Ottawa village), at the head of the bay, "where they plant their fields of Indian corn." Again, in the *Relation* of 1670,<sup>26</sup> the writer casually refers to *the site* where the Ottawas planted and hid their Indian corn, and where, too, their village must have been. He says that the Indian women at Chequamegon Bay often found large pieces of copper *at the place where* the Ottawas raised Indian corn, and that this place was *a half league from the border of the water* (lake). Now, one and one-fourth miles (half a league) inland from *the head of the bay*, would lead us up Fish Creek, about half way to Ashland Junction. Here, on either side of *Fish Creek*, are signs of ancient clearings. Here, very old inhabitants of the neighborhood said to the writer himself, when he was visiting the locality last summer, that even in their day there was an Indian village. On the east side of *Fish Creek*, about one and a quarter miles from its mouth, Father Chrysostom Verwyst, O. S. F.,<sup>27</sup> claims to have found evident signs of ancient clearings upon which Indian corn could be raised. The Indians living near the bay would

<sup>26</sup> *Relation* 1670, chap. xi., p. 85. After Père Allouez had left the Chequamegon mission, 1669, Père Marquette and Père Nicolas had charge of it. Father Dablon, then head of all the western missions, writes in the course of his narrative a note valuable in this connection, in the *Relation* of 1670, page 85: "Il est vray, qu'en Terre-ferme, au lieu ou les Outaouaks font du bled d'Inde, à demie-lieue du bord de l'eau, les femmes ont trouvé des morceaux de cuivre."

<sup>27</sup> Rev. Chrysostom Verwyst, O. S. F., has written upon this subject in the *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, and has published a little work on the labors of the early missionaries of the Northwest. He is regarded as a careful observer and well versed in local Indian history.

naturally choose flowing streams as the places of their abodes. Tradition, topography, the *Relations*, all converge towards the conclusion that the Ottawa village lay somewhere near the confluence of Metabikitiweiag Creek and Fish Creek, about one and one-fourth miles southwest of the city of Ashland.<sup>28</sup>

Assuming, therefore, what seems to be established as a fact, that the Ottawa village was located at or near a point on Fish Creek mentioned above, we can more readily fix the site of the mission. According to Father Allouez, the ordinary residence and mission chapel were about three-fourths of a league distant from the Ottawa village. According to the same authority, the Huron village was still nearer to the mission, which was placed *between* the two villages. Upon personal examination of the ground, the writer can say with absolute certainty *that neither the mission nor the Huron village can have been so far north as Vanderwenter's Creek*, which is at Washburn,<sup>29</sup> as that creek is not at the head of the bay, nor near enough to the head of the bay to answer to the descriptions in the *Relations*. It is not possible to designate the exact spot, but, taking the general tradition of Indians for granted that the earliest villages and the missions lay near the *western shore* of Chequamegon Bay, the

<sup>28</sup> L'an passé, l'on donna au public la carte des Lacs et des Terres, sur les quelles ces missions sont placées. \* \* \* *Relation* 1672, chap. i., p. 31.

The Jesuit map of Lake Superior, here mentioned, published in 1671, places the name of the mission considerably to the West, nearer to Duluth. But this is evidently an inaccuracy. *La Pointe du Saint Esprit*, which, of course, refers to the mission, is placed very near the *head of the bay*. In Charlevoix's *History of New France*, published in 1743, mention is also made of the great Ottawa village at the head of the bay. At the time Charlevoix visited the missions in New France (about 1721), the chapel and mission house at Chequamegon Bay seem to have been destroyed.

At the junction of the two streams mentioned above, on the east bank of Fish Creek, there was once a large and populous village of Ottawas: it is pointed out on N. Bellin's map in Charlevoix's *New France*, 1744, with the remark: "Ici était une bourgade considerable" (Here was a considerable village). The soil along Fish Creek is rich, the annual overflow of its waters leaving behind a deposit of rich, sandy loam. There is a growth of young timber along the right bank \* \* \* and the grass growing underneath the trees shows that it was once a cultivated clearing. It was from this place that the trail left the bay, leading to the Chippewa River country.—*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vol. xiii., p. 430.

<sup>29</sup> Vanderwenter's Creek is about seven miles distant from Fish Creek. In *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vol. xiii., p. 405, note, Thwaites followed a former opinion of Verwyst, placing the mission (erroneously, if the theory developed in this paper is correct) at Vanderwenter's Creek. In *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vol. xiii., p. 440, Verwyst fixed upon Whittlesey's Creek as the probable site of the mission.

Huron village can have been very little, if any, farther north than *Boyd's Creek*, and the mission was, most probably, at or near *Whittlesey's Creek* or *Shore's Landing*.<sup>30</sup>

A temporary chapel and a tent-like house constructed of birch bark being built at or very near the site indicated, Father Allouez at once improved the opportunity presented by the curiosity of the natives, most of whom had never seen a European, and who now impetuously thronged about him to gaze upon his white face and upon the various articles he had brought with him. In his chapel, the records inform us, he showed them pictures of a religious nature, among them some of the Last Judgment and of Hell, thereby impressing them with the fear of sin, which, if not atoned, leads to the dreadful pains of the condemned. Means common with missionaries when among savages were employed to gain their good will and to turn to good use their child-like curiosity. He assisted the sick, often curing dying children and adults who had vainly tried all the superstitious cures of medicine men and sorcerers. But he firmly maintains that it was the efficacy of divine grace that operated through the holy sacraments, in a most wonderful manner in the case of most of the sick whom he attended and baptized. The first great obstacle to their conversion was thus removed. They no longer looked upon baptism as a cause of death. Soon he had taught the playful, tawny little girls and the future Indian braves to raise their hands to Heaven and to chant in melancholy but sweet tones the *Pater* and the *Ave*. From morning dawn to sunset the braves and the squaws, in great number, came to visit the "black robe," to be taught by him how to pray to the "Great

<sup>30</sup> Mr. Day, an old resident farmer at Whittlesey's Creek, once a surveyor in that country, assured the writer that there was a clearing near the mouth of Whittlesey's Creek many decades ago. He found it there thirty or forty years ago, and says that Mr. Whittlesey himself, who first surveyed the country about there, and after whom the creek was named, had pronounced it an ancient rendezvous of the Indians. The whole aspect of the plot he calls the "old clearing" is that of a place that has been under cultivation long, long since. In that particular it differs from all the country immediately surrounding it.

Father." The example of the children soon had its effect upon the older Indians. The debauchery so common even among the children was now relieved by most edifying examples of purity. "A little girl of ten or twelve years," Father Allouez incidentally relates, "came to me one day, asking me to teach her how to pray to God. 'My little sister,' I said to her, 'you do not deserve it; you know what was said of you only a few months ago.' 'It is true,' she replied, 'that I was not good at that time, and that I did not know that what I did was bad; but since I prayed and you taught us that my act was wicked, I have not done it.'" Similar evidence of astonishing virtue, in the face of abominable surroundings, were frequently given the missionary by young Christian men and women.<sup>31</sup>

The father evidently was first active at the Hûron village,<sup>32</sup> where he made a good and lasting impression, all the more so since some of these Hurons had received the first seeds of Christianity before they had fled hither from Georgian Bay and Lake Huron, where Père Charles Garnier had instructed them, and had died a martyr's death. Besides the little children baptized on New Year's Day, 1666, whom the mothers brought to the father as "a gift to the little Jesus," he baptized more than 400 infants and adults of the Huron tribe during his sojourn at Chequamegon Bay. The Hurons, although treacherous and fitful, as all other Indians in their barbaric state, were nevertheless more docile than their neighbors of the great Ottawa village, which, in 1666, Allouez made a special effort to convert by transplanting his birch bark chapel and cabin right into the midst of their wigwams.

The condition of things found in the Ottawa village must have brought to his mind a picture of Pandemonium. In the

<sup>31</sup> *Relation of 1667*, chap. vi., p. 14, and chap. vii., p. 16.

The reader, to convince himself of the most consoling moral results achieved by Allouez and his brother missionaries among the savages, should endeavor to read the simple narrative of the missionaries in the *Relations des Jésuites*, of which work an excellent version in English is now being published, edited by Mr. Reuben Gold Thwaites of Madison, Wisconsin.

<sup>32</sup> *Relation of 1667*, chap. vi., p. 15, and chap. vii., pp. 15-16.



description of no other village or tribe of Indians does the cool-headed and practical Allouez employ terms so expressive of abhorrence as he does in picturing the moral condition of the Ottawas at Chequamegon Bay. They recognized no sovereign master of heaven and earth; they worshipped the sun, the moon, the lakes and rivers, wild beasts and the elements. Devil worship of the rudest kind had its home with them. He calls their village a "Babylon of libertinism and abomination." "These people are very little disposed to receive the faith; because they are, more than all others, addicted to idolatry, superstitions, myths, polygamy, instability in marriages and to every sort of licentiousness which makes them cast aside all natural shame."<sup>23</sup> These severe strictures seem, however, to apply only to the majority of that motley gathering of God-forsaken savages, who, just at the time when Allouez first met them, had with savage wantonness abandoned themselves to their horrible revelries. His later descriptions of them are more hopeful, and of some other tribes he found represented here, such as the Pottawatamies, the Outagamies and the Illinois, who came here annually during the fishing season from Wisconsin and Illinois territory, he speaks in terms of praise and endearment.

The abundance of choice fish attracted many Indians from more Southern regions to Chequamegon Bay. "Great quantities of whitefish, trout and herring are caught here," writes Allouez. "This manna begins in November and continues after the ice has set in; the colder it grows the more do they fish." Among those who came to the father at Chequamegon, the Pottawatamies and Illinois seemed to him the most promis-

<sup>23</sup> *Relation* of 1667, chap. viii, p. 17. Speaking of the Ottawas in this chapter, Allouez does not take that term in its general meaning as applied to all the Algonquin tribes that descended the St. Lawrence River to the French trading posts. He here means the Ottawas proper. These were originally at home in the Huron country, east and southeast of Lake Huron, whence they were driven by the Iroquois. When the Tobacco Hurons fled westward, they were accompanied by the Ottawas; the two tribes parted company in the Black River country, but later were reunited at Chequamegon Bay, where Allouez found them. The Ottawa village proper included, according to Allouez's description in this chapter, three tribes who spoke the same dialect of the Algonquin. The three Ottawa tribes are here called "Outaouacs, Kiskakoumac and Outaouasinagouc."



ing candidates for Christianity. Of the former he says in the *Relation* of 1667, page 18: "They are the *most docile* and the most affectionate to our Frenchmen. \* \* \* Their women are more modest than those of other nations. They possess among themselves and display before strangers a kind of civility which is very rarely found among savages." The Illinois, too, awakened his special interest. They were, he says, a hospitable race that lived many leagues to the South. "They have no forests, but instead vast prairies, where herds of deer and buffalo and other animals graze on the tall grasses. They are unaccustomed to canoes, and use no weapon but the bow and arrow."

Father Allouez here mentions the *calumet* and the *calumet dance*, and his is the first written account given of the "pipe of peace" and its manifold usage among the Indians. (*Relation* of 1667, Chapter XI., page 22.) The weird scene of masqueraded Indians dancing around a large *calumet* is described by the father, and, to all appearances, it had little of the hideous character of the dances indulged in by the Ottawas. Among all the Manitous to whom they offered sacrifice, special worship was paid to one, because it was he who made all things. They had an intense desire to see this greatest of all Manitous.

"Their country," writes Allouez, "is a most beautiful field for the Gospel, and if I had had leisure and convenience, I would have gone to their distant homes to see with my own eyes all the good that was told me of them." Their desire to see the "black gown" at their homes in Illinois and near the Mississippi was soon to be fulfilled. Among this hospitable people Allouez was to spend the evening of his fruitful life.

The Sacs and Foxes, too, were met by the missionary. They came on foot from their country, which abounded in wild cats, beaver, deer and buffalo. Of the Sacs (Ousakies), Allouez has little else to say except that *they were* "the most savage of all the savages."

While Allouez was with these Indians, who strictly did not belong to the Ottawa village, he baptized in all from one hundred to two hundred, who, faithful to their promises, prepared, on their return to Green Bay and Southern Wisconsin, the way for the missionary who, on his part, promised to go to them. How refreshing to his wearied soul must have been the thought of having spread the cheering light of truth amidst this utter darkness; how encouraging to him to find even here, "within the walls of this Babylon," sympathetic souls that listened to the voice of their prophet announcing redemption in the Messiah.

Yet, for the present, the outlook for his noble mission among the Ottawas proper was not encouraging. Day and night he instructed the children that were attracted by little presents to his chapel. He visited cabin after cabin to console the sick, and the wandering warriors he actually hunted in the woods, on the streams and on the lake, becoming, in a manner, "a savage in order to save the savages."

During the first few years of his mission among them, he baptized nearly a hundred children and a few adults. These he fondly hoped would, living or dead, assist him in rescuing from barbarism that most apathetic and benighted people. Years were to pass before the young tree planted by him in sorrow in this barren soil, and watered by his tears, was to bear the expected fruit. The brutalities he suffered came to a climax one day when he visited "the most celebrated of all the sorcerers" of the Ottawa town, who was at the same time the chief opponent of the missionary. "I visited this veteran sorcerer," he narrates, "who lives in his cabin with six wives, and one can imagine the disorder prevalent in such company. I found in the cabin a little army of children. I tried to perform my ministerial office (preaching and instructing), but to no avail.<sup>84</sup> \* \* \* Not only would they not listen, but they scoffed at all religion, particularly at the doctrine of the resur-

<sup>84</sup> *Relation of 1667*, p. 15.

rection of the dead and the punishment of sin in hell." He was insulted even by the children, who, together with their lecherous mothers, seemed to have been possessed of an evil spirit. The conduct of this "little army" of frenzied women and children was forthwith imitated throughout the savage community. "They broke down my chapel," he writes, "and began to rob me of all I had with me. Such was the hatred shown to the Word of God, that I felt obliged to leave this post and to retire to our ordinary residence. I left with the consolation of having announced in public and to each savage in particular the word of Jesus Christ."<sup>85</sup>

VISIT TO THE SIOUX COUNTRY.

At the Chequamegon mission, Indians often spoke to Allouez of their enemies that lived towards the West. His courage was not weakened by the many hardships suffered. Onward he desired to go, still farther toward the setting sun, where, too, he fondly hoped to behold with his own eyes the *great river of which the Indians said that it was the father of waters and was called "Messipi."*<sup>86</sup> The exact time when he made the voyage on the lake to its most western point is not recorded. It probably was the fall of 1666. He met the Sioux ("Nadoüessiouek" he calls them) "at the extremity of the Lake."<sup>87</sup> He describes them as "wild, impassive warriors, who dwelt in a land of prairies with wild rice for food (Allouez calls it "seigle de marais"), which they collected at the end of

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 1667, p. 15.

<sup>86</sup> *Relation* of 1667, chap. xii., p. 23. This is the first mention of the "Mississippi" in any written document. It reads: "Ce sont peuples qui habitent au Couchant d'icy, vers la grande riviere, nommé Messipi."

<sup>87</sup> "T'etals a l'extremité du Lac Tracy, ou je les (Nadouessiouek) vis."—*Relation* of 1667, p. 23. Some local archaeologists of West Superior claim the villages visited by Allouez were on Wisconsin Point, north of West Superior. Others claim that they were either on Minnesota Point, directly west from the former, or near the extremity of St. Louis Bay. Verwyst claims that Father Allouez went out some fifteen miles west of Duluth. There used to be a village of Chippewa Indians on Wisconsin Point, and the old cemetery there indicates the presence of Indians more than a century ago. The Sioux often came from the prairies of Dakota to make incursions on their neighbors in present Minnesota and Wisconsin. Whether or not Allouez baptized Chippewa Indians at this point, is not certain. It is likely that he here met the tribe known as Christinoes.

summer on little lakes round about them, and from which they prepared a very palatable dish. They lived in huts covered with skins of deer, instead of with bark. They spoke a language entirely different from that of the Indians known to him. Of this nation he baptized *one child*, "which soon was taken to Paradise, as the first fruit of the Sioux mission, to intercede for the race of its fathers." Allouez thus becomes in a manner also the apostle of the proud and irrepressible Sioux, who up to our own days have remained the unconquered lords of the vast prairies of the Wild West. Concluding his remarks on this mission, Allouez glories with the psalmist, exclaiming, "From the rising of the sun to the setting thereof the name of the Lord is praised."

VISIT TO THE NIPISSIRIENS ON LAKE NEPIGON.

A most daring and almost incredible undertaking was the missionary expedition of Allouez across a part of Lake Superior.<sup>38</sup> He coursed along the northern rocky shore for hundreds of miles, passed many rapids and carried his canoe over swampy portages up to Lake Nepigon and back, making therefore another journey of about 500 leagues in all. This perilous journey was made in May and June of 1667, in a bark canoe, with two Indians as his companions. A less zealous missionary of our day would probably call unwise and ungodly the faith that prompted such hazardous deeds; but missionaries of the stamp of Allouez kept the highest models before them, such as Francis Xavier and St. Paul, and the winning of one soul for Heaven was to their stout hearts sufficient compensation for any sacrifice.

At Lake Nepigon he was received with open arms. Some of the Nipissings had been baptized about twenty years before

<sup>38</sup> "Le dixseptième, continuants notre voyage, nous traversons une partie de notre grand lac, nageants bendant douze heures sans quitter l'aviron de la main."—*Relation of 1667*, chap. xv., pp. 24-25.

Sand Island is possibly the point from which Allouez crossed the lake to the nearest part of the north shore.

in their former homes among the Hurons. He revived the dormant faith in the happy village, and repeatedly said Holy Mass for them during his visit of fifteen days. "The joyous, sincere devotion of these poor people," he writes on this occasion, "gave me the sweetest refreshment and consoled me abundantly for all past hardships."<sup>39</sup>

## RETURN TO QUEBEC.

The field had become too great for one missionary. The harvest was ripening fast and help was needed. Accordingly, in the year 1667, Father Allouez returned to Quebec, where he arrived on the 3d of August. His purpose in returning to that center of missionary work was to urge the establishment of permanent missions at Chequamegon and other points in Wisconsin, and possibly to procure men and means to do his work more effectively. Such was his fervor that he asked for no rest after his long journey, but in two days he was ready again to depart with the flotilla. He had procured a number of necessary articles for his person and mission, while, to his great joy, Father Nicolas and one *donné* and several French mechanics volunteered to go with him. But, again, the ever-vacillating minds of the Indians showed their brutal disposition. They refused to take with them anybody except Allouez himself, one *donné* and Father Nicolas. All the provisions and equipments for his chapel had to be left behind. This renewed display of ingratitude and provoking apathy filled the soul of the missionary with deep grief. In this unnatural indifference to their own welfare the Indians give the observing historian a clue to the partial, if not total, failure of so many missions. The work of years was often rendered entirely fruitless by a momentary whim; a gust of anger often

<sup>39</sup> The writer is of the opinion that either the distance covered in this journey is overestimated by mistake, or the dates are by the copyist falsely given. It seems impossible that Allouez should have made the trip here mentioned as taking place in May and June and in the same year, on August 3, arrive at Quebec.

blasted the fairest hopes entertained and the noblest efforts made in their behalf. In the face of such facts, none but an adamant heart could be entirely free of gloomy forebodings.

If Allouez had undertaken his work only for the establishment of French dominion, or for personal renown, as some missionary agents of France, England and other countries have done, he had no need of returning to the faraway field, for, indeed, "he had imperishably connected his name with the progress of Discovery." The "Fleur de lis" seemed safely planted in the Farthest West, the pirate canoes were brushed from the rivers, and a great alliance was being formed against the Iroquois. While a true Frenchman and subject of Louis XIV., he left this feature of French policy to the governors of New France and their immediate agents. Allouez returned to his barbarous and fitful children of the forest to spend among them about thirty-two years more in what might be called the uninteresting routine work of a priest in the wilderness, which was diversified only by the consolations of Heaven and the charms of Nature that lay in its virgin beauty about him.

Father Nicolas, the companion of Allouez, was well fitted for the mission; he was, as the *Relations* describe him, "a strong, practical, 'every-day' man, and a tireless worker."

The *Relation* of 1668 does not enter into many details of the missionaries' successes and reverses, but says enough to justify the conclusion that progress was extremely slow, and that the "fathers had to live a life more austere than that of the greatest penitents of the Thebais."<sup>40</sup>

However apathetic the Ottawas seemed to be during Allouez's sojourn among them up to the year 1669, they loved him dearly, and showed it at least on some occasions. More or less despondent; he one day informed them that he had received a call from the Indians at Sault Ste. Marie, who had promised to become Christians at once. He announced that he had

<sup>40</sup> *Relation* of 1668, chap. vi, p. 21.



resolved to go away that same hour. He took off his shoes in the presence of the assembled council men and of many Indians of the village, shook the dust from them, saying he did not want to take even that with him, and actually walked away. They instantly followed him, begging pardon for their indifference, and promising their nation's early conversion.<sup>41</sup>

This moment must have been one of extraordinary grace for the whole tribe; for, as Allouez continues to tell us, they now actually made a serious effort to abolish polygamy and their idolatrous sacrifices and ridiculous superstitions. "*In a word, they now showed a fervor similar to that of the first Christians in the primitive church.*"

Such is the final result of Father Allouez's work at Chequamegon Bay. From 500 to 1,000 Indians had received baptism, and most of the others were promising candidates for the holy sacrament. What is certain is that a decided change was here effected, and Allouez could leave Chequamegon Bay, assured that the God of Nations had heard his voice crying in the wilderness, and that the Hand of the Almighty rested in benediction upon himself and his children.

Allouez returned to Sault Ste. Marie in 1669, and Father Marquette took his place at Chequamegon Bay.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>41</sup> *Relation of 1669*, chap. vi., pp. 17-19.

<sup>42</sup>What became of the Chequamegon mission? Marquette found the mission in what he called "a very prosperous" condition. But his bright hopes were soon blasted. The Ottawas became involved in war with the Sioux, the result of which was that both Ottawas and Hurons were scattered to the four winds. The post had to be given up. Compelled by the circumstances, Marquette left Chequamegon Bay, and the Hurons following him, he established and founded the mission of St. Ignace at Michilimackinac, in 1671.

Mass was not again said at La Pointe du St. Esprit until 1835, when Frederic Baraga (later Bishop of Upper Michigan) established a mission on Madelaine Island. The chapel shown to present visitors to the island dates from that time.

Since 1877 the Franciscan Fathers of Ashland and Bayfield have been attending to the mission on Madelaine Island, continuing in the spirit of Allouez, to "preach the Gospel to the poor and to raise the broken reed and to announce to the scattered and impoverished Indians the great day of reconciliation."

#### JOSEPH STEPHEN LABOULE.

NOTE.—In a later paper the writer will deal with Father Allouez's work in the Lake Michigan country, his relations with La Salle, the results of his labors, and his death.