

TWO MISSIONARY PRIESTS AT MACKINAC,

A LECTURE DELIVERED AT THE VILLAGE OF MACKINAC FOR THE BENEFIT OF ST. ANNE'S MISSION.
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TWO MISSIONARY PRIESTS AT MACKINAC.

MOST of us, I suppose, who come to Mackinac are induced to do so chiefly, and perhaps altogether, by its natural characteristics. The invigorating air, the extended and beautiful land and water view, the iron in these northern rills, the health that is borne upon the breeze, the pines, those "trees of healing," these are the things that draw us from the crowded market place or forum, from the cities' dust and cinders, and keep us lingering here delighted, until duty relentlessly calls us home again.

But for all that, I venture to think that there is hardly one of us who does not consciously or unconsciously feel the power of that human sympathy which—as Ruskin has in one of his papers beautifully set forth—glorifies the Alps and the Rhine and makes them to the traveler far surpassing in interest and attraction the Sierras and the Amazon. And here in Mackinac, to those who know and are touched by the interest of its history, we may and must feel keenly this sympathy. As I walk on the bluffs and look out on the beautiful panorama spread out before me, this fairy isle itself, and the whole fair country around about, once known as Michilimackinac, the winding shores and the heavy woods of the Northern and Southern Peninsulas, the silver straits between, and the low-

lying islands near, my thoughts fly back from the natural beauties around me to the distant past, and

“Visions of the days departed, shadowy phantoms fill my brain,
They who live in history only, seem to walk the earth again.”

For Michilimackinac was two hundred years ago the centre of human effort, as grand, as noble, and to my mind as interesting and romantic, too, as ever can be associated with Swiss mountain or German river.

It is not my purpose in this paper to enter into any general description or panegyric of the Jesuit missions in North America. I only want to remind you that even before the Mayflower entered Massachusetts Bay, the Priests of the Society had carried, not with a blare of trumpets but with the solemn tones of the Gregorian chant, the cross and the *fleur de lis* together into the wilderness of Maine and Canada. In all this great North Western country never a river nor an inland sea was explored, never a cape nor a headland turned or doubled but it was a black-gowned Jesuit father, in his birch canoe armed with his crucifix and his breviary, who led the way. In these later days, repairing the neglect of two hundred years, historians like Dr. Shea and Mr. Parkman have told this story so often and so well, that these men have received the honor so justly their due, and have obtained perchance what they never sought, an earthly immortality.

For although these priests were explorers, adventurers and discoverers, heroes in many a physical danger and many a hair-breadth escape, it was no earthly glory they coveted. They came, devoted, eager, intense, with but one great object before their hearts and eyes, to snatch from everlasting misery, the poor and ignorant and wicked; to set before those who

were in darkness a great light; to break to those who were in the shadow of death the bread of life eternal.

They received, so far as this world went, the reward of their virtual martyrdom in life, their actual martyrdom often, in their deaths, by seeing the foundations laid, as they believed, of a Christian Empire of the Huron and Algonquin peoples; by hearing hymns to the Virgin sung in tongues unknown to civilization; by bestowing upon the humblest savage neophyte in the sacred wafer, all that the Church could give to the mightiest kings of Europe.

Was not this bloodless crusade worthy all the adornments of historic art in literature or painting?

But it is not alone with the Jesuit Missions that the romance in the history of Michilimackinac is connected.

A little later it was from the neighborhood of this region here, as the centre in the north, as from Kaskaskia and old Fort Chartres, on the Mississippi, in the south, that the dominion of France in the New World radiated. It was from here that the great king was, by his viceroys and commanders, to sit in power and do justice and equity throughout this fair northern lake country.

There came a time when "bigots and lackeys and panders, the fortunes of France had undone," when this power, in the beginning so great, promising so much for the glory of France, nay, for civilization and humanity, was met, opposed and in the providence of God, overcome, by the less promising, the more material, the harder and less attractive English civilization from the eastern coast.

We most of us at least rejoice in the result, but we can none of us I think forbear sympathy with or withhold our interest from

the vanquished, nor can we fail to recognize that nobler minds and aims seemed to rule those who declared in the name of Louis XIV. that “ His majesty could annex no country to his crown, without making it his chief care to establish the Christian religion therein; ” than those who could with cold calculation, like some of the Governors of Massachusetts Bay and Virginia, declare themselves opposed to the civilization and education of the Indians on the ground that it might injure the trade and material interests of the colonies.

On June 14, 1671, at the Sault Saint Marie, from here not fifty miles to the north as the crow flies, while representatives of fourteen tribes of Indians looked on in wonder, and four Jesuit Fathers led the French men-at-arms in the singing of the *Vexilla Regis*, the Sieur de Saint Lusson, commanding in this region for the king, set up side by side a great wooden cross, and a pillar to which were attached the royal arms of France. Then drawing his sword and raising it towards Heaven, he exclaimed:

“ In the name of the Most High, Mighty and Redoubted Monarch, Louis, Fourteenth of that name, most Christian King of France and of Navarre, I take possession of this place Sainte Marie du Sault, as also of lakes Huron and Superior, the island of Manitoulin, and all the countries, rivers, lakes and streams contiguous and adjacent thereunto, both those which have been discovered, and those which may be discovered hereafter, in all their length and breadth, bounded on the one side by the seas of the north and west and on the others by the south sea, declaring to the natives thereof that from this time forth they are the vassals of his Majesty, bound to obey his laws and follow his customs, promising them on his part all succor

and protection against the intrusions and invasions of their enemies, declaring to all other potentates, princes, sovereigns, states and republics, to them and their subjects, that they cannot and are not to seize or settle upon any parts of the aforesaid countries save only under the good pleasure of His Most Christian Majesty and of him who will govern in his behalf, and this on pain of incurring the resentment and the efforts of his arms. Long live the King !”

These were high-sounding words indeed, but when spoken, they were no idle ones. Not only the power of the greatest kingdom on earth was pledged to make them effective, but the Holy Church herself, the Mother of Kings, seemed to stand behind them in blessing and confirmation.

We know what remains of it all. But it adds to the charm of life at Mackinac to me, that inevitably my thoughts are carried back to that June day and its pageant, two hundred years ago, when I hear upon the lips of some wandering half-breed, still lingering the accents of France; and when at the Mission of St. Anne the gospel is read in French as well as in English, and I am reminded that Holy Church has not forgotten her part of the duty then assumed, although performed now for so few of her lowliest children.

And even here does not end the charm of the historical association which hovers about Mackinac.

A half century and more after the dominion of France in this new world had waned, flickered and gone out, these Straits of Michilimackinac were still the scene of romantic and absorbing adventure. Hither thronged still the Indian tribes of the West, no longer untouched by the greed for gain or the vices of civilization, but from far and near, seeking at Michili-

mackinac to profitably exchange the products of the chase for the things that had become indispensable to their life, and hither came to meet them and barter with them, the fearless spirits of the frontier, skilled alike in woodcraft and in trade, but hardly less wild and hardy than their savage customers.

The place was busy, full of a restless activity and energy, which made it important and interesting when the site of the great metropolitan city which lies now 350 miles to the south was but the Chicago portage, an outpost of Michilimackinac.

I have lately examined with great interest the parish registers of the mission here—the Mission of St. Anne de Michilimackinac, and as I read with outward eye the mere record of baptisms and marriages and burials from 1695 to the present day, between the lines I seemed to see with mental vision, the whole strange story of the place, with its record of high aims and noble purposes, seemingly thwarted and failing, only to result in the end in success far beyond the early dreams of priest or soldier.

My mind was full of this, when my friend, the parish priest, appealed to me to prepare a paper for an entertainment to be given for the benefit of the mission, a request I was glad to accede to.

I determined for this paper then to attempt a brief sketch of two figures in the history of this mission, equally, it seems to me, worthy our regard and admiration: both, although more than a century apart—servants at the altar here; both Frenchmen of illustrious descent, and of the older and nobler school of thought and manners—one, the very founder of the mission here—the prototype in a line of earnest and devoted men of the earlier time, who carried on the work he gloriously be-

gan; the other at once the closing figure of that line, and the herald and pioneer in a new *régime* and a new order, a connecting link in other words, binding the church in the west, which was the companion and adjunct of French civilization and dominion, with the Catholic Church in America as it stands to-day, chiefly English speaking and English thinking, its altars served with loyal and patriotic lovers of American ideas and American institutions, a free church in a free state.

The first of these men whom I have described, you, of course, could name. It could be no other than the Jesuit, Jacques Marquette, to whom belongs the high honor of being the first explorer and discoverer (after De Soto) of the Mississippi river and valley, and of whose character and life, his zeal, his ability and his devotion there has been much written and said since the discovery and publication of his manuscript journals by that prince among American scholars, Dr. John Gilmary Shea.

The second one of whom I would speak is perhaps less known to most of you, but to my mind, as I have said, he is equally an interesting and admirable figure in the history of the American Church. It is the Sulpician priest, Gabriel Richard.

The life and labors of these two men then, I shall attempt briefly to sketch for you to-night.

Jacques Marquette was born in 1637, in the city of Laon, a fortified city of France, on the mountain side near the river Oise.

His family was distinguished and ancient, entitled to armo-

rial bearings, and furnishing most of the local officers of the crown in the city and the department around. A more interesting fact to us is that three of this same family from the same region of country served and died in the French army in America, during the Revolutionary war.

We are told that his mother was Rose de la Salle, and related to Jean Baptiste de la Salle, the founder of the Brothers of The Christian Schools, for centuries as it is to-day the greatest and most efficient institute in the world for the gratuitous instruction of the young. I do not know that any investigation has ever been made to determine whether or not he was in the same line related to that paladin of adventurous discovery, who with dauntless courage and miraculous endurance, pursued to the end the explorations which Marquette began, that "heart of oak and frame of iron," Robert Cavalier de la Salle, a native of the same part of France. It would be interesting to know.

At the age of seventeen Jacques Marquette entered the Society of Jesus. Filled with the most intense devotion to the Blessed Virgin, with his piety shaped in the ecstatic school of Loyola and his mind inflamed with the reports which the fathers on the various missions were sending to their superiors in France, his whole soul was bent even during his long novitiate upon some foreign mission, and in 1666, he eagerly sought and received the orders which sent him across an almost unknown ocean to labor among the Indians of North America.

Arriving in September of that year at Quebec, he applied himself immediately to the study of the Indian languages in use among the tribes under the especial care of the already

established missions. He seems to have had wonderful linguistic ability, and must also have had wonderful application, for of these most difficult savage dialects he had mastered six, so as to speak them with considerable fluency, when, in April, 1668, Father Dablon, the superior of the missions, ordered him to the Ottawa mission, established at the Sault Ste. Marie. After a voyage of great difficulty and hardship he arrived at this place, and there, afterward joined by Dablon himself, Marquette labored among the two thousand Indians of various tribes who, attracted by the excellent fishing, there frequently assembled, to separate from time to time for their periodical hunting parties through the wilderness. He found them docile and easily induced to accept his guidance. But his zeal and energy and his unusual linguistic ability, so necessary for a successful missionary, marked him out for a more difficult undertaking still, and from the Sault he was sent in August, 1669, to the mission of the Saint Esprit, at Lapointe, near the western end of Lake Superior. Here his task was more discouraging at first, for his knowledge of the dialect there most used was not so perfect, but he soon had acquired over his flock, composed partly of Ottawas and partly of Hurons, a great and growing influence.

And now through parties of Illinois and Sioux, who came from far to the westward, beyond the Mississippi river, Marquette began to hear of the Great River, broad, deep, beautiful, compared by these men who knew them both, to the St. Lawrence. They told him, also, of the many tribes which dwelt along its banks, and his mind was filled with a burning desire to preach to them the gospel they had never heard.

Always prudent, however, in his intrepidity, anxious, as he

himself says, that if his expedition already planned must be dangerous it should not be foolhardy, from this time on, Marquette, from every Indian who spoke to him of the Mississippi, begged all the information he could get, and from many took rude sketches of the river and its principal tributaries, so far as they were known to his informant.

Already the way of reaching this great river by the stream now called the Wisconsin was known to the Jesuit Fathers. From the Fox river running into Green Bay, to the headwaters of the Wisconsin running into the Mississippi, there is a comparatively easy portage near the place where now in Wisconsin stands the town of that name. Over this portage, Allouez, one of Marquette's fellow missionaries, in one of his tours had lately gone, finding in the Wisconsin a beautiful river, he says in his report, running south-west, and in the space of a six days' journey, as he was told, joining the great river of which he had heard so much.

But Marquette did not at first expect to take this route. His Illinois mission and the exploration of the Mississippi he intended to make by joining in the autumn a band of the Illinois, who from the west came each year by land to Lapointe, crossing the Mississippi in their journey. But these expectations were doomed to disappointment, for aroused to resentment by alleged injuries inflicted on them by the Ottawas and Hurons, the Sioux, always fierce and revengeful, broke into open war with the tribes who formed Father Marquette's flock at Lapointe. The Ottawas and Hurons were no more able to withstand the Sioux from the west, than they had been a quarter of a century before the Iroquois from the east, and they fled in dismay from Lapointe, separating as they went. The Ottawas took refuge in the Island of Manitoulin—the Hurons,

remembering that years before they had found temporary respite from Iroquois prosecution, and an abundance of game and fish, at and near the Island of Michilimackinac, came here for the second time to find refuge; and here in 1671 came with them their devoted priest and teacher, Jacques Marquette.

It is impossible to tell with absolute certainty even on the closest investigation, whether it was on the Island of Mackinac, or on the mainland known now as Point St. Ignace, that Father Marquette and his Indian flock first established themselves.

I am inclined to think that it was on the island that the first rendezvous was made, but that very shortly after, it was thought best to make the permanent settlement upon the mainland, and that there, in 1672, a chapel had been built surrounded by the cabins of the Indians, the whole village being enclosed within a stockade, for better protection against enemies.

Father Charlevoix, and following him evidently, later writers have expressed surprise at Father Marquette's selecting what they term so undesirable a place for his mission and the settlement of the Hurons. To justify their surprise they speak of the intense cold and the sterility of the soil.

Charlevoix says that Father Marquette determined the choice of the spot, but Father Marquette himself says that the Indians had previously signified their design to settle here, led by the abundance of game, the great quantity of fish and the adaptability of the soil for maize, the Indian's chief agricultural product.

But apart from the question whether Father Marquette located the Indians rather than the Indians Father Marquette, Charlevoix seems to me to speak with less sagacity than is usual in a Jesuit priest, in so expressing himself. If Father

Marquette *did* determine the place of settlement, it seems to me easy to understand.

These missionaries were men of cultivation, learning and refinement. Their sense of the beautiful and their love for it, we may be sure were strong. For the sake of their holy religion, and in their burning zeal, they had voluntarily exiled themselves from the world of art and artistic beauty. The rainbow light that falls through cathedral windows, the almost celestial music that trembles through the aisles, the painting and the architecture that aid to raise the enrapt soul from earth to heaven, they had left behind in Europe forever. They had doomed themselves to much that was hateful and disgusting, to sodden forests and smoky wigwags, to filthy food and unclean companions, but they preserved, as all their relations and all their history shows, their love of beauty; nature to them must take the place of art. Would it have been strange that Father Marquette should have been glad to settle where alternated the glories of a wonderfully beautiful winter landscape, with those no less grand of these shining summer seas? On the contrary, we may well imagine him, when first he gazed from the bluffs upon this country called Michilimackinac, exclaiming, as Scott makes King James, of Loch Katrina:

“ And what a scene were here, * * *
 For princely pomp or churchman’s pride!
 On this bold brow a lordly tower,
 In that soft vale a lady’s bower!
 On yonder meadow far away,
 The turrets of a cloister gray!
 How blithely might the bugle horn
 Chide on this Lake the lingering morn!
 And when the midnight moon should lave
 Her forehead in the silver wave,
 How solemn on the ear would come
 The holy matin’s distant hum!”

Until the 17th of May, 1673, Marquette labored at this mission with abundant and encouraging results, to judge from his letter to his superior in 1672. He says that he had almost five hundred Indians about him, who wished to be Christians, who listened with eagerness to his teaching, who brought their children to the chapel to be baptized, and came regularly to prayers. Be the wind or cold what it might, many Indians came twice a day to the chapel. When he was obliged to go to the Sault for a fortnight, they counted the days of his absence, repaired to the chapel for prayers as though he were present and welcomed him back with joy.

“The minds,” he writes, “of the Indians here are now more mild, tractable and better disposed to receive instruction than in any other part.”

But the Illinois mission that he had planned, and the Great River that he wished to explore and dedicate to Mary, were always in his thoughts, and it was with great joy that in the spring of 1673, he heard that he had been ordered by his superior to turn over the mission at Michilimackinac to a successor and himself accompany Louis Joliet, designated by the governor of Canada, in the exploration of the Mississippi.

On the 17th of May, 1673, he embarked from Michilimackinac with Joliet and five men, in two birch canoes, on his famous voyage. Its chief purpose was to learn of the tribes who dwelt along the banks of the great river, to map it, with its principal tributaries, to determine its general direction and to ascertain where it emptied, whether as some thought into the Atlantic Ocean or as more supposed into the Gulf of California. That it ran through 1,500 miles of country to empty itself into the Gulf of Mexico no one, it would seem, suspected.

I have not time as I would like to detail this first voyage down the Mississippi, but to all of you, if you have not read it, I commend the story of the voyage as you will find it in Parkman's *Discovery of the Great West*, or better still in the literal translation of Marquette's own report to be found in Shea's *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi*.

There you will read with pleasure, I know, how following the north shore of Lake Michigan where the wilderness in places is as wild now as then, they ascended Fox river from Green Bay, and made the portage to the headwaters of the Wisconsin, how there they bade adieu with brave hearts to the waters that connected them with Quebec and Europe, and kneeling to offer in a new devotion their lives and their labors, their discoveries and all their undertakings to the Blessed Virgin, launched themselves upon the stream that ran to the Mississippi and then they knew not where, to countries unknown and unnamed.

You will see how carefully they noted the physical characteristics of the river and the country and the social customs of the tribes they found, how intrepidly they met hostile savages and hideous wild beasts, how zealously they preached Christ and his Church to those who would hear, how they wondered at the pictured monsters on the cliffs near the mouth of the Missouri, (which the late Judge Breese of Illinois, in 1842, said were still the wonder of travelers, and which seem in 1850 to have been in some parts visible, but which Parkman declares in his time had given place to a mammoth advertisement of Plantation Bitters,) how then the Missouri with its turbid floods came near to swamping their frail boats, how finally they reached the mouth of the stream now called the

Arkansas, and having accomplished the object of their mission, and made sure of the further course of the river, and that its mouth was at the Gulf of Mexico, where, as they knew, the Spaniard had fortifications and settlements, turned back and paddled the weary length of the Mississippi again, to its junction with the Illinois. The journey too up the Illinois river, which the Indians told them was a nearer and easier route to Lake Michigan than the Wisconsin, and the villages of the Illinois which they found and preached to, and to which Marquette promised to return the following year, are most graphically described; described like the rest of the journey, tersely, simply and unpretendingly as by a scholar and a man of careful observation and practical sense. So, too, is told the portage through Mud Lake, from the Desplaines to the Chicago, from which, perhaps, the first white men who were ever on the site of Chicago, Marquette and his companions emerged on Lake Michigan and rowed along its western shore until they reached Green Bay and the mission of St. Francis Xavier.

This voyage was just four months long, and in it the travelers had paddled their frail barks over 2,700 miles.

One detail only of this voyage I would quote from Father Marquette's own account that I may call attention to how beautifully it has since been used in American literature.

On the arrival at the first village of Illinois, which they visited on their journey, Marquette had declared to them with the customary presents and symbolic language, that he came in peace, that he came to declare to them the greatness and goodness of the true God, and that the great chief of the French had subdued the Iroquois and spread peace everywhere.

“When I had finished my speech,” says Father Marquette, “the sachem arose and laying his hand on the head of a little slave whom he was about to give us, spoke thus: I thank thee, Black Gown, and thee, Frenchmen, for taking so much pains to come and visit us; never has the earth been so beautiful nor the sun so bright as to-day, never has our river been so calm nor so free from rocks, which your canoes have removed as they passed; never has our tobacco had so fine a flavor nor our corn appeared so beautiful as we behold it to-day. Here is my son, that I give thee, that thou mayst know my heart; I pray thee to take pity on me and all my nation. Thow knowest the Great Spirit who has made us all; thou speakest to him and hearest his word; ask him to give me life and health, and come and dwell with us that we may know him.”

Longfellow, recognizing the beauty of this historical speech, has paraphrased it, or indeed almost literally transcribed it, in *Hiawatha*. You will remember the visit of the Black Robe to Hiawatha and his people:

“O’er the water, floating, flying,
 Something in the hazy distance,
 Something in the mists of morning,
 Loomed and lifted from the water,
 Now seemed floating, now seemed flying,
 Coming nearer, nearer, nearer.
 Was it Shingebis, the diver,
 Or the pelican, the Shada,
 Or the heron, the Shuhshuh gah.
 Or the white goose, Wau-be-wawa,
 With the water dripping, flashing.
 From its glossy neck and feathers?
 It was neither goose nor diver,
 Neither pelican nor heron,
 O’er the water floating, flying,
 Through the shining mist of morning,
 But a birch canoe with paddles,

Rising, sinking on the water,
 Dripping, flashing in the sunshine;
 And within it came a people,
 From the distant land of Wabun,
 From the farthest realms of morning,
 Came the Black Robe chief, the Prophet,
 He, the Priest of Prayer, the Pale Face,
 With his guides and his companions.
 And the noble Hiawatha,
 With his hands aloft extended,
 Held aloft in sign of welcome,
 Waited, full of exultation,
 Till the birch canoe with paddles
 Grated on the shining pebbles,
 Stranded on the sandy margin.
 Till the Black Robe chief, the Pale Face,
 With the cross upon his bosom,
 Landed on the sandy margin.
 Then the joyous Hiawatha
 Cried aloud and spake in this wise:
 Beautiful is the sun, O strangers,
 When you come so far to see us;
 All our town in peace awaits you,
 All our doors stand open for you;
 You shall enter all our wigwams,
 For the heart's right hand we give you.
 Never bloomed the earth so gayly,
 Never shone the sun so brightly,
 As to-day they shine and blossom
 When you come so far to see us!
 Never was our lake so tranquil,
 Nor so free from rocks and sand-bars;
 For, your birch canoe in passing,
 Has removed both rock and sand-bar!
 Never before had our tobacco
 Such a sweet and pleasant flavor;
 Never the broad leaves of our corn fields
 Were so beautiful to look on
 As they seem to us this morning
 When you come so far to see us!
 And the Black Robe Chief made answer,
 Stammered in his speech a little,
 Speaking words yet unfamiliar;

Peace be with you Hiawatha,
 Peace be with you and your people;
 Peace of prayer and peace of pardon,
 Peace of Christ and joy of Mary!"

Marquette was attacked by dysentery on his homeward voyage, and day after day lay exhausted in his canoe, engaged in prayer and holy meditation. So exhausted and weakened was he by his toil and his disease, which for a year did not sensibly abate, that during the autumn and winter of 1673 and the spring and summer following, he was obliged to remain at the mission of St. Francis Xavier on Green Bay making no attempt to return to Michilimackinac, which he doubtless desired to visit. It was while he was here that he wrote to his superior his account of the voyage. This became of great importance when, as it unfortunately happened, Joliet's official report and map were lost by the overturning of his canoe in the Lachine Rapids just as he was approaching Montreal at the end of his long journey.

This relation of Marquette, together with his journal of the later voyage of which I am about to speak, and some notes concerning him by his superior, Father Dablon, had afterward a strange history. Although one copy of the account of the Mississippi voyage evidently found its way to France and was published in a mutilated form in 1681, another copy of this relation and the journal and notes spoken of, lay entirely unknown in the library of the Jesuit College at Quebec until about 1800. When Canada became an English dominion, the Jesuits as a religious order were condemned and the reception of new members forbidden. The last survivor of them, Father Cazot, before his death about 1800, took the papers and archives which lay in his hands and turned them over for safekeeping

until happier times, to the Gray Nuns of the Hotel Dieu, who were not under the ban of the government. These ladies joyfully gave up their charge to the Jesuit Fathers who in 1842 re-established the Society in Canada, and in 1852 Marquette's relation and journal and the notes of Father Dablon, were by Dr. Shea brought to light and published.

Father Marquette's health having been partially, to appearance at least, re-established, he received the orders which he solicited to establish the Illinois mission, and on the 25th of October, 1674, he started, accompanied by two Frenchmen ("Engages" as these assistants to the missionaries were called) and by a number of Indians, for the great village of the Illinois, which he had found on the previous year on the river of the Illinois, in his journey from the Mississippi to Lake Michigan. This time the journey was made down the western shore of Lake Michigan, and Father Marquette walked much of the way upon the shore, taking boat only when rivers or bays were to be crossed.

By the middle of November his malady returned and the winter began, too, to close in around the devoted wanderers. On the 4th of December, 1674, he reached the Chicago river, and about six miles from its mouth, unable on account of his increasing illness to go further, he and his companions built some kind of a rude cabin, and prepared to spend the winter. This was the first settlement upon the stream where now rise the towers of that imperial city, which before the century is over will number a million inhabitants. Jacques Marquette was undoubtedly the first resident of Chicago, a claim in itself, had he not other greater ones, to the remembrance of posterity. The record of that winter, as told by

himself, is a touching proof of the simple piety of this saintly man. In that forlorn and squalid cabin, in ice and snow, living on Indian corn and a very little chance game shot by his faithful French companions, or brought to him by two trappers, who were camping within fifty miles, (for he had sent his Indians away to their destination), stricken by a wasting and a mortal malady, he thanks God and the Blessed Virgin for their care of him, which had so comfortably housed him, he begins the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius, he confesses his two companions twice each week, he says the Holy Mass each day, and he regrets only, as he innocently remarks, that he was able to keep Lent only on Fridays and Saturdays. One would have thought that the austere idea of self sacrifice would have been perforce satisfied in this winter encampment.

In March, 1675, after a novena to the Blessed Virgin and in consequence of it as he at all events devoutly believed, he found himself able to travel and pushed forward for his proposed mission to the Illinois. By the Indians, at their village of Kaskaskia, he was received, as he says, like an angel from heaven, and during Holy Week he preached the Gospel to the thousands there assembled. Formally he opened a mission to be known as that of the Immaculate Conception, and promised that some black-robed priest should be sent to take charge of and prosecute his work.

But his strength was failing fast, he felt himself that his sickness was mortal, and he bade therefore his Indian friends a sad good-bye and started for his loved mission at Michilimackinac, there to make arrangements for his successor at the mission among the Illinois and then, as he hoped, to die in the arms of his brethren.

From information afforded him by the Indians whom he had visited he had come to know of another route to the north, a way, afterward the favorite one of LaSalle in his many journeys. It was by the way of the Kankakee branch of the Illinois, and a portage thence to the St. Joseph River, flowing into Lake Michigan on its eastern shore at the present site of the town of that name.

As the party, Marquette and his two faithful companions, made their way along this shore, the good Father's strength utterly failed. He lay in his boat, reciting his breviary, and his companions were obliged to lift him ashore when they made their nightly encampment. At last when they approached the promontory now known as The Sleeping Bear, where stands the present city of Ludington, he could go no farther. Carried ashore by his companions he confessed them both; in contrition and penitence he made his own confession in writing, begging that it should be taken to his brethren, and with the names of Jesus, Mary and Joseph upon his lips, thanking God that he was allowed to die a member of the Society of Jesus and a missionary of Christ, this sweet, heroic soul passed to its reward. His companions buried him on the spot where he died, and raised a cross above the grave and then kept on their saddened way to Michilimackinac.

But says the Jesuit relation of 1677:

“God did not choose to suffer so precious a deposit to remain unhonored and forgotten amid the woods. The Kiskakon Indians who for the last ten years have publicly professed Christianity, in which they were first instructed by Father Marquette, when stationed at La Pointe du Saint Esprit at the extremity of Lake Superior, were hunting last winter on the

banks of Lake Illinois. As they were returning early in spring, they resolved to pass by the tomb of their good Father, whom they tenderly loved, and God even gave them the thought of taking his remains and bringing them to our church at the mission of St. Ignatius, at Michilimackinac, where they reside."

"They accordingly repaired to the spot, and, after some deliberation, they resolved to proceed with their father, as they usually do with those whom they respect. They opened the grave, divested the body, and though the flesh and intestines were all dried up, they found it whole, the skin being in no way injured. This did not prevent their dissecting it, according to custom. They washed the bones and dried them in the sun. Then putting them neatly in a box of birch bark they set out to bear them to the house of St. Ignatius. The convoy consisted of nearly thirty canoes, in excellent order, including even a good number of Iroquois, who had joined our Algonquins, to honor the ceremony. As they approached our house, Father Nouvel, who is Superior, went to meet them with Father Pierson, accompanied by all the French and Indians of the place. Having caused the convoy to stop, he made the ordinary interrogations to verify the fact that the body which they bore was really Father Marquette's. Then, before landing, he intoned the 'De Profundis' in sight of the thirty canoes still on the water, and of all the people on the shores. After this the body was carried to the church, observing all that the ritual prescribes for such ceremonies. It remained exposed under a pall stretched as if over a coffin all that day, which was Pentecost Monday, the 8th of June, (1677). The next day, when all the funeral honors had been paid it, it was deposited in a little

vault in the middle of the church, where he reposes as the guardian angel of our Ottawa Missions. The Indians often come to pray on his tomb."

So, in the flower of his manhood, thirty-eight years old, died, and with such simple and yet touching ceremonies, was finally buried, Father Jacques Marquette. For a century afterwards the voyageurs on Lake Michigan, in storm and peril, besought what they believed to be his saintly intercession.

But the exact site of his grave was not known for nearly two hundred years, for when the mission was temporarily abandoned in 1706, the church where reposed his body was burned.

More than a hundred years later we have a glimpse of Father Richard looking for its site and the grave of a great priest, and, half a century later still, in 1877, Father Jacker, then the priest in charge of the church at Point St. Ignace, to the general satisfaction of the historical scholars who investigated the matter, identified not only this site, but found some relics of the sainted missionary, which now repose in the chapel of the Marquette College, at Milwaukee; while the grave at St. Ignace is marked by a plain but tasteful monument, to tell to all admirers of devotion and courage, and especially to all who are true sons and daughters of the church, who may journey thither, that beneath, for two centuries, lay all that was mortal of that most intrepid soldier of the cross, Jacques Marquette.

In the year 1792, perhaps led by the threatening condition of political and ecclesiastical affairs in France, the Superior General of the Sulpician Order, sent from that country to Bal-

timore in the United States a number of young ecclesiastics to report to the venerable Bishop Carroll and to receive his orders for the work of the Church in the United States.

The original intention seemed to be that these young men should found such a seminary as the Sulpicians the world over are noted for—for the theological training of priests. But the need was much more urgent, Bishop Carroll thought, for missionary priests, and most of these young men accepted with eagerness at the hands of the bishop the offer of such work. Among them was Gabriel Richard, a young man then of twenty-eight years, born in Santes in France in 1764. Like Father Marquette he came from a highly connected family, and in his case, too, his mother was from a family illustrious in the records of the church. At the age of twenty-five he had entered the Sulpician order.

By Bishop Carroll this young missionary was assigned a territorial jurisdiction of great extent. He was given as Vicar-General the pastoral charge of all the settlements in Illinois, and the missions especially that had been established by the French in that country during the century succeeding Father Marquette's first visit to it.

A few years ago, I had the pleasure of looking through the registers of the old parish churches at Fort Chartres and Kaskaskia on the Mississippi river, and found that many of the entries in the latter years of the century were made by Gabriel Richard.

When a few days ago, I looked through the registers here, I found again the same familiar hand in at least a hundred entries, reviving in my mind the interest I had long felt in this pioneer priest. For I recognized at once the importance

which here as there his duties had assumed in the history of the church in America. There as here he had been sent at once to continue the work of the line of French missions of the older time, in the many settlements and colonies of French and Canadians and half breeds and their descendants, who since the English occupation had fallen into sad need of regular pastoral care, and to whom that pastoral care to be effective for good, must be by one of their own race and language, and also as at least a no less important office, to begin in this western country the new development and to encourage the new growth of the Catholic Church from roots to strike more deeply than the old French missions could, into the newly born American life and national character.

In 1798, after a labor which became more and more fruitful as the years went on, Father Richard was withdrawn from Illinois, and sent to what seemed the still more important and promising field of Detroit, where the same condition of affairs as at Kaskaskia, but on a larger scale, called for the same kind of an ecclesiastical administrator.

From 1794, when he was but thirty-four years old, until 1832, when he died a true martyr's death at the age of sixty-eight, Father Richard's home and main work were at Detroit, where he nobly performed the singularly important functions he was called upon in the Providence of God to fulfill.

Not forsaking the French colonists, the descendants of those who accompanied Cadillac to Detroit in 1701 and of those who subsequently came from Canada, and who still formed by far the greater number of his parishoners at the old St. Anne's church, of which his main home work was the pastoral charge, nor forgetting either the Indian Christians, either around De-

troit or in the outlying missions far or near, he nevertheless thoroughly recognized, that after all in all this country the controlling tendency of the time was towards the ascendancy and increasing influence and importance of the great English speaking race that had come under God to possess the land; and wasting no time in vain regrets over the more congenial or romantic past, he set his face towards the rising sun, prophesying of and preparing the ground for the glorious destiny he saw for the American church of the future.

But like St. Paul, he was ready to be all things to all men, if haply he might save some, and in the midst of the very different work, to which I shall hereafter more particularly refer, he found time to be the devoted missionary and pastor of the almost abandoned Indians and half-breeds and French voyageurs and traders, who then lived at Michilimackinac.

In 1706, as I have said, the mission at Michilimackinac was temporarily abandoned. With sad hearts and reluctant hands the Jesuit Fathers, that their chapel might not be desecrated, had themselves burned it and their house, given up their loved labors at Michilimackinac and returned to Quebec. This was because the French commandant at Michilimackinac, Cadillac, had removed to and fortified the present site of Detroit and most of the Indians who had settled here, led by the material inducements held out by Cadillac, had followed him there. Some remained, however, and more returned, and the mission of Michilimackinac was soon re-established, this time, however on the other side of the straits, now known as Old Mackinaw. Hither had come the saintly Jesuit missionaries Marest, Lamorinie, De Jaunay and Le Franc, laboring zealously and efficiently among the Indians.

We catch glimpses of this mission in the pages of Charlevoix's history, but these parish registers here are the best evidence of the labors and success of these devoted men.

But in 1762 Choiseul drove the French Jesuits from their colleges, and surrendered the possessions of France in America to England, and without the magnificent power and energy of the Society of Jesus behind it, the mission at Michilimackinac languished, and although not abandoned, the faithful in its flock were obliged to depend on visits, more or less frequent, from various missionary priests.

Between 1762, when Du Jaunay left Arbe Croche (now Harbor Springs) and Michilimackinac, and 1799, when Richard visited the mission, Gibault, Payet, Ledru, Levadoux, all names illustrious among the post-Jesuit missionaries to the Indians, had, as these registers attest, been here at intervals, and when they came, there thronged here to meet them the Christian men and women, French and Indian, of the settlement, often to be married or to have their children baptized, more often for the supplemental ceremonies, and the blessing of the Church, on lay baptisms already administered or marriages already contracted before some civil magistrate.

These parish registers here contain some very curious records during these years, made by lay officials, of baptisms and marriages and sepultures.

In the matter of baptisms, especially, the people, well instructed in the efficacy of lay baptism, in the absence of a priest frequently applied to those best able to keep a record.

Thus, there is this one entry (in French, which I have translated):

“The thirtieth of August, 1781, was baptized Domitille,

legitimate daughter of Mr. Charles Gazelle and Madeleine Pascal, his legitimate wife, born the same day at noon.

“JOHN COATES,
“*Notary Public.*”

Immediately below this entry is another still more remarkable. It is in the same handwriting evidently, that of John Coates, the notary public. This entry is in English:

“I certify you that, according to the due and prescribed order of the Church, at noon, on this day, and at the above place, before divers witnesses, I baptized this child, Charlotte Cleaves.

“ (Signed) P. W. SINCLAIR,
“*Lt. Governor and Justice of the Peace.*

“Witnesses: William Grant, John McNamara, D. McRay, George Meldrum.

“JOHN COATES,
“*Notary Public.*”

This last entry, without date as it is, or the names of the parents, is hardly a sufficient baptismal register to give us much information for these later days, but it is evidently the record of a certificate, insisted upon by the parents and given to them by Major Sinclair, then commander of the post for the English Government.

In the memoirs of Augustus Grignon, published in the Wisconsin Historical Collections, is a passage relating how his mother, who was a daughter of Charles Langlade, who was born in Mackinac in 1729, came with her children all the way in a birch canoe, from Green Bay to Mackinac to have them baptized by Father Payet, who was making a visit here in

1787. These registers confirm this. Six children of Pierre Grignon, from four months to ten years old, were at that time baptized.

On one of these missionary visits, came to Michilimackinac, in 1799, the subject of this sketch, Father Richard. He found here, we are told, about 700 Christians, and spent, as this register shows, several weeks at least in ministering to their spiritual necessities. From here he went to Georgian Bay and to the Sault Ste. Marie, and then, after an absence of four months, returned to Detroit. The succeeding twenty years of Father Richard's life were marked by an exceedingly great activity; made Vicar-General of Detroit, and given a free hand, he enlarged and improved all the parochial and mission schools; he opened an academy of a very high class for the higher education of women. He also instituted and carried on a seminary for young men, and endeavored to obtain from among its pupils fit candidates for the priesthood, of which he had pressing need.

In 1805, in a fire which almost entirely destroyed the city, Father Richard's church and presbytery and schools were burned. But far from discouraging him, the calamity seems but to have reanimated his zeal, and he soon had rebuilt the church and re-established his school—supplying the latter with chemical and astronomical apparatus.

In 1807, believing that the time had fully come, he established a series of English sermons given every Sunday in the Council House of the then newly established Territory of Michigan.

In 1808 and '9 he visited his bishop at Baltimore, and went to other eastern cities, bringing back with him a printer, a

printing-press and a font of old type. This has been said to have been the first printing-press west of the Alleghanies. It certainly was the first in Michigan. On this press were printed some devotional books, an edition of the epistles and gospels in French and English, and various educational books. A copy of one of these small books for children called *Journal des Enfants*, printed in French and English on alternate pages, belongs to me, and is here and is subject to your inspection. I cannot say much for the typographical execution, but the matter seems to me useful and good. Father Vitali, the priest of this mission, owns and uses on all public services one of the edition of the epistles and gospel referred to, and this also is here.

In 1812 Father Richard imported from Europe, for his church, an organ, the first ever brought to the North-west.

In 1812 came the English war. Aided by the Indians the English took Detroit, and one of their first acts was to imprison Father Richard, on the ground that he was an instigator and exciter of anti-English feeling. Sent to a guard-house on the other side of the river he used his great influence and experience with the Indians to save the other prisoners from torture. On his return to Detroit at the close of the war, he found his flock threatened with famine. Sending away, he procured and distributed provision and seed; "continuing," as has been said by another, "as long as the scarcity lasted, to be the living Providence of the destitute."

In the meantime he had not forgotten the poor flock at Michilimackinac. He had sent them already once or twice his faithful assistant, Father Dilhet, and at last in 1821, being fifty-seven years old, he again himself braved the hardships of the wilderness to come and visit them.

He went to Arbre Croche also at this time and was conducted by the Indians at his request to the spot where Father Marquette was first buried. To honor the founder of Mackinac and the discoverer of the Mississippi he raised a wooden cross over the spot cutting with his knife upon it,

FR J MARQUETTE

Died here 1st May 1675.

On the following Sunday he celebrated mass on the spot and pronounced an elogium on the great missionary.

Probably he thought Marquette's remains still lay there, but perhaps not, for apart from the view gained of Richard's visit at this time from these registers, we catch a very interesting glimpse of him, in a letter written by Father Jacker in 1886.

He says that a very honest and intelligent Indian, then living, one Joseph Misatago, told him that in 1821 he met Father Richard lost in the woods back of the present site of St. Ignace where he had gone in search of any traces that might exist of a church where it was said a great priest was buried. Whether, however, Father Richard had associated this tradition with the final resting place of Marquette is doubtful.

In 1823 the most remarkable episode in the life of this zealous, energetic priest occurred. We have all of us known many Catholic priests who were school-teachers, many that were publishers and musicians, and all of them are in some sense missionaries, but except Father Richard I think no one is known who was a congressman. But in 1823 Gabriel Richard by a large majority was elected as a delegate from the territory of Michigan to the National House of Representatives. His appearance in Washington created some sen-

sation, but he was soon a favorite among his colleagues and in the society of the capital.

His appearance at this time has been described by one of his contemporaries: I have not by me the words in which it was done but I know that he is said to have been tall and spare, dignified and ascetic looking, with an intellectual head and piercing black eyes. He was of scrupulous neatness in attire and person.

While in Congress he made at least one important speech.

It was concerning a proposed appropriation for a military road from Detroit to Fort Dearborn and the mouth of the Chicago river, and true to his character as a builder for the future, the sagacious pioneer in the new order of things, as well as the faithful inheritor of the old, he prophesied the future greatness and importance of the settlement upon this location.

But I think we may be sure that of all the official documents which fell under his eye, he found none more interesting than the following petition sent to Congress:

“ We, the undersigned chiefs, heads of families and others of the tribe of Ottawas, residing at Arbre Croche, on the east bank of Lake Michigan, take this means to communicate to our father, the President of the United States, our requests and wants. We thank our father and Congress for all the efforts they have made to draw us to civilization and the knowledge of Jesus, redeemer of the red man and the white. Trusting in your paternal goodness we claim liberty of conscience, and beg you to grant us a master or minister of the gospel, belonging to the same society as the members of the Catholic Society of St. Ignatius, formerly established at Michilimackinac and Arbre Croche by Father Marquette, and

other missionaries of the order of Jesuits. They resided long years among us. They cultivated a field on our territory to teach us the principles of agriculture and Christianity.

Since that time we have always desired similar ministers. If you grant us them, we will invite them to live on the same ground formerly occupied by Father Du Jaunay, on the banks of Lake Michigan, near our village of Arbre Croche.

If you grant this humble request of your faithful children, they will be eternally grateful, and will pray the Great Spirit to pour forth his blessings on the whites.

In faith hereof, we have set our names this day, August 12, 1823.

HAWK,	CRANE,	BEAR.
FISH,	EAGLE,	STAG,
CATERPILLAR,		FLYING FISH."

After Father Richard's election to Congress he came for the third time to Michilimackinac. In August, 1823, as the register here shows, he was among the flock baptizing and marrying and doubtless exhorting, encouraging and confirming, and it is to be presumed, explaining to the inhabitants of this out-of-the-way frontier post, their duties as citizens of the comparatively new-born republic, as well as of the great kingdom not of this world.

With his return to Detroit from this visit his direct personal connection with the mission ends, but he sent thereafter his assistants, Father Badin and Father De Jean, for visitations to his spiritual children here, and since 1830 there has never failed for any considerable time to be a resident missionary priest at Michilimackinac, represented now both by the mission of St. Anne de Michilimackinac on the island itself and by the

parish church at Point St. Ignace. But it is the church here, removed from the mainland on the Southern Peninsula, that is technically and accurately in the true succession to the first established mission at Michilimackinac.

Father Richard was like Father Marquette, destined for the sublime honors of martyrdom, not technically so called, but it would seem as really and truly as though it were the tomahawk or the fagot instead of disease that wrought their death.

In 1832 the Asiatic cholera devastated Detroit. Night and day Father Richard devoted himself to the sick and the dying of his flock. Although almost seventy years old he gave himself no rest, and finally worn out, he succumbed to the dread disease. By his dying bed were the saintly Fenwick, his bishop, and his younger friend and disciple, Frederic Baraga, who became afterward the revered Bishop of Marquette.

He is buried beneath the altar of St. Anne's in Detroit. On the noble facade of the city hall in that city, with that of Father Marquette and of LaSalle and of Cadillac, his statue preserves for Detroit his memory.

It seems to me that it would be a graceful and appropriate thing for some lover of Mackinac, some day to place in the mission church of St. Anne de Michilimackinac, a plain memorial window, commemorating these two heroic figures connected with its history — Jacques Marquette and Gabriel Richard.

THE PARISH REGISTER AT MICHILIMACKINAC.

IT is a fair country which lies 350 miles to the north at the other end of Lake Michigan. The “fairy isle” of Mackinac and the country round about, all once known as Michilimackinac, with the winding shores and the heavy woods of the Northern and Southern peninsulas of Michigan, the silver straits between, and the picturesque islands all about—form a panorama to the charms of which no person is ever insensible.

And to one at all interested in the early history of America, the pleasure which he may derive from the natural advantages of Mackinac is intensified and heightened by the associations which cluster about the country. Human interest and human sympathy always glorify natural scenery, and Mackinac is certainly not wanting in these elements.

For some years past Mackinac Island has been the summer home of my family, and I have escaped from the city's dust andinders as often and as long as I could to enjoy it with them. One of the pleasantest things connected with my vacations has been the enjoyment of the associations which cluster about the little church of the parish of St. Anne de Michilimackinac, at which, of course, we are worshipers. I can never help remembering, as I kneel before its altars, that the mission was founded by that heroic and saintly priest, Mar-

quette; that it was the scene thereafter of the labors of his worthy successors among "the priests of the society" whom two continents have delighted to honor as the most devoted and glorious missionaries; that it was continued through dark and trying times to both church and state when French, and English, and Americans were, by turn, striving for the mastery of the country, and that all that time it has preserved an historic, ecclesiastical continuity. Within its sacristy is a set of heavy black vestments, elaborately worked with embroidery of the time of Louis XIV. In them mass was perhaps said at the mission when the eighteenth century had hardly begun. A ciborium, too, is used, which was made and sent from France during the reign of the grand monarch, and numerous small articles of church furniture and some rude pictures evidently of the same date can be seen there by the curious for the asking.

The first chapter in the history of Mackinac was but a short one, but it was the most interesting of all. It began when Jacques Marquette, in 1671, following his Huron converts, who were flying from the Western and the Southern shores of Lake Superior before the fierce revengeful wrath of the Sioux, settled with them at Point St. Ignace, as he named it, and built a chapel under which he was buried six years after. That chapter closed, to the great grief of Marquette's Jesuit successors who had been in charge of the mission and who had labored among the savage tribes with the most encouraging and satisfactory results, shortly after Cadillac, the commandant in charge, had removed the garrison to Detroit in 1701. He held out all possible inducements both to the Christianized and non-Christianized Indians about Mackinac to

follow him. But he had quarreled with the Jesuits and would have none but Recollet friars in his new settlement. So in 1706, with sad hearts, to prevent its desecration, the Jesuit fathers burnt their chapel at Pt. St. Ignace, and retired undoubtedly with all the archives of the mission to Quebec. What has become of the registers which they must have kept, I do not know. If they are in existence, I should think they would have been before this discovered, by some such scholar and investigator as Dr. Shea, who has done so much in bringing to light documents of this time and character.

The next chapter in the history of Mackinac begins when the Mission was re-established in 1712, probably by Father Marest, upon the other side of the straits, near the site of what is now known as Old Mackinac. This was contemporaneous with the re-establishment of the Fort by De Louvigny, sent for that purpose by the Governor General of Canada. It is stated, I know not upon what authority, by those who pretend to know, that a second and new church was built at this post in 1741. I think that this supposition is made principally because of the fact that the first parish register which has come to our times was evidently begun at that date. It may be, however, that there exists evidence of the building of a new church in 1741. I do not pretend to have made any thorough investigation of the matter. Be that as it may, there was *some* church for the Mission upon the south shore of the straits of Mackinac from 1712 until about 1785, when it seems to have been taken down and its material used in the construction of the mission church at the Island of Mackinac itself, whither the Fort had been by the English removed five years before. This second chapter in the history of Mackinac, as I

would divide its story, lasted until the American Fur Company had practically taken entire possession of the trading post, and it had ceased to be to any great extent the headquarters of the independent traders and of the old *coureurs de bois*, the *voyageurs* and their *engages*.

It was of all this period that I had hoped to find the ecclesiastical record. It was one of romantic interest, not because, as the previous chapter was, especially connected with the glorious missionary zeal and efforts of the Society of Jesus, but because full of a more worldly but hardly less adventurous spirit. Within this period occurred the great French and Indian wars, when, as Macauley says, "In order that Frederick the Great might rob a neighbor whom he had promised to defend, black men fought on the coast of Coramandel and red men scalped each other by the great lakes of North America." Then came the surrender and cession of Canada to the English, when "bigots and panders and lackeys the fortunes of France had undone," and after that began the revolt of the American colonies, the final possession of the colonies about Mackinac by the new government and the subsequent struggle with England in which it was again the coveted prize of contending forces. But the earliest register which exists was, as I have said, begun in 1741. It contains a short abridgment of entries from a former register, which is declared by it still to exist in the archives of the mission. but the abridgment is extremely short, and the original from which it is taken, can nowhere be found.

The first *contemporaneous* entry is the baptism of one Louis Joseph Chaboyer upon October 4, 1741, by Jean Baptiste Larmorinie, a missionary of the Society of Jesus, and its last is of a baptism performed by Father Gabriel Richard, in August, 1821.

It is a mere accident that the register ends just where it does. The space in the book was exhausted and a new one begun by Father Richard at this last date of August, 1821. The time, however, corresponds closely enough with the close of the second chapter in the history of Mackinac, which I have previously indicated. A transcription of this register, I have with me. It is of course in French.

Before we turn to the register itself, I will briefly advert to the character and condition of the settlement at the time this record begins. It was then still in the hands of the French, from which it passed in 1760, but its general character even after the cession, was not changed—English forces however taking the places of the French.

The settlement was of about sixty families, occupying as many houses, clustered about the fort and mission house, and all surrounded by a high wooden palisade. The houses, of picturesque shape and appearance, were roughly whitewashed and the village was not displeasing to the eye. It was in the midst of boundless and unlimited forests stretching in every direction. It was then by far the largest settlement in the northern lake region, and the headquarters and center of the trade between the French and the Indians of the West.

The inhabitants besides the few militia soldiers, with their officers and the missionaries, were the descendants of former garrisons and the fur traders with their engages and voyageurs. From Michilimackinac these latter used every autumn to go out with goods for the Indians to exchange for furs, to all parts of the western country where Indians were known to congregate. They went in batteaux or birch bark canoes, each boat or canoe with a crew or company of from four to ten. These

crews were under contract from the traders and received each from \$50 to \$150 a year and an outfit of a blanket, two suits of coarse clothes and some small articles necessary to the rudest toilet. They were a hardy, adventurous set of men, who could live on meagre fare, row their boats all day, or carry packs of 100 pounds on their backs through the rough trackless woods for weeks together and then spend the nights in music and dancing. In the winter they were generally at their various winter trading grounds; "hyvernements," these records call them, and in the spring they came back to Mackinac, very likely to spend in intemperance and dissolute idleness during three or four months the hardly earned wages of the rest of the year.

Through the result of their ancestors' intermarriages with the Indians and the less legal relations which were still more common, all classes, even including most of the officers, had more or less Indian blood. Some of the voyageurs were almost entirely Indian, others less so, but almost the entire population of every class in Mackinac in 1741, may safely be supposed to have been in some degree connected by birth or marriage with the savages.

Their morals, as these registers show, were none of the strictest; and "natural" children "by savage mothers," or, "of an unknown father" form perhaps the largest proportion of those whose baptisms are in this register recorded. Concubinage was a recognized institution, the obligations incurred by the temporary husband by contract with the parents of the half breed or Indian girl whom he undertook to make his mistress for some limited time were enforced sometimes even by the local jurisprudence, and at all times by the force of

public opinion. But chastity was not rated high. It is a tradition that at about the time this register ends, a local magistrate before whom a French voyageur was proven to have committed a felonious assault on an Indian girl, condemned the fellow to buy the girl a new frock, as he had torn hers in the scuffle, and to work one week in his (the Justice's) garden. It was more disheartening, undoubtedly, and difficult for the good priests to labor among these people, nominal Catholics, and in whom indeed in many cases, intelligent and instructed faith seems to have been strong, notwithstanding the dissoluteness of their morals, (for which in their better moments they undoubtedly felt remorseful) than it was even to preach to the uncorrupted but pagan Indians.

But they labored hopefully on, as this register shows, doing all they could and dividing their time and labors evidently between the little French and half-breed colony of Mackinac, which they treated as a mission parish, and the Indian villages of the Ottawas and Ojibways (half Christian and half pagan) near by.

This register beginning, as I have said, in 1741, and ending in 1821, purports to be a record of all ecclesiastical matters between those years in the parish of the mission at Mackinac. But it is certainly very far from complete. It is not continuous. For many years together at various times there was no priest residing at Mackinac, and although during these intervals, there are many curious records attested by laymen as will hereafter be seen, yet it is evident from the comparative number of them, that it was only the more careful and thoughtful who took pains to see during all these years that any record was made at all.

In 1741, when the first contemporaneous entries were made, Father Du Jaunay and Father de Lamorinie, both Jesuits, were evidently together at the post. In more than one instance one served as godfather while the other administered the baptism. In 1743 and 1744 their place was taken by Father Coquarz, another of the later Jesuit missionaries. But from 1744 until 1749, a period nearly contemporaneous with that part of the old French and Indian wars, known as "King George's war," there was evidently no priest in Mackinac. From 1749 to 1752 Father Du Jaunay was again in charge. In 1752 he was either relieved or visited by Father de Lamorinie and Father Lefranc, and Father Lefranc and Father Du Jaunay seem to have alternated in their charge of the mission from 1752 until 1761.

I suspect that they relieved each other by alternating between the settlement upon the St. Joseph river and the one at Mackinac. But from 1761 until 1765, during which time the British took possession of Mackinac and the massacre and capture of the fort in Pontiac's conspiracy took place, Father Du Jaunay was at the post. I shall allude hereafter to the part which he played during that time. From 1765 until 1768 there was evidently no priest at the mission. In 1768 Father Gibault, styling himself first "Grand Vicar of Louisiana" and again "Vicar General of Illinois," and who, as we know from other sources, held that title from the Bishop of Quebec, visited the post upon his way south to arrange, if possible, the question of jurisdiction concerning the lower Illinois mission with the Capuchins of New Orleans. In 1775 Father Gibault made another brief visit. From that time on until 1786, the period of the Revolutionary War, there was again no clergy-

man who even made a visit to the settlement. In 1776 and 1777, Father Payet was there for two months in the summer of each year. After that for seven years, no priest visits the church. Then for two or three months a Dominican named Ledru, styling himself "an apostolic missionary priest," performs marriages and celebrates baptisms for a period of two or three months. In 1796 Father Levadoux makes a visit to the mission, styling himself "Vicar general of Monsieur the Bishop of Baltimore." Up to this time, through the great delay purposely made by the British in carrying out the treaties of 1783 and 1794, the post at Michilimackinac had not been taken possession of by the Americans. In October, 1796, two companies of the United States army (of the 1st infantry) arrived and took possession, and in 1799, the man who, although a Frenchman by birth, may from his career, be called the first distinctively American priest, Father Gabriel Richard, in the course of an extended tour of the north-western missions, arrived at Mackinac, where he made a stay of about three months. In 1804 he sent from Detroit his assistant, Father Dilhet. In 1821 and as the subsequent register shows, again in 1823, (the last time just after his election as delegate to the American Congress from the Territory of Michigan) Father Richard was at Mackinac.

When, upon a careful examination of the register, it became apparent to me how scanty it really was, and for how many years together, during the most interesting periods, there were no entries at all to be found, and when I realized further that it was principally, after all, just what it purported to be, a mere record of baptisms, marriages and deaths, lacking many of the other and more interesting features, which, as I remember it,

are characteristic of the register at Kaskaskia. I was somewhat disappointed, and I feared it would be difficult to make the matter which appeared in it as interesting even to you as it was to me; but I have studied it, after all, with considerable care, and there are some observations to be made upon the register or record itself which may throw some light upon questions of interest, or at least suggest such questions for more careful investigation.

I have alluded to the conditions of licentiousness and dissoluteness, and the apparently unlimited indulgence in concubinage which the record of baptisms of illegitimate children shows; but it did not require this record, of course, to inform any of us of the loose morality of the *coureurs de bois* and the bushlopers of this frontier trading-post, and the insufficient influence of their nominal religious convictions upon them. I am afraid they would have been pointed out by the Puritans of New England as frightful examples of the effect of Catholic teaching. But of course nothing could have been more unjust. Their vices sprang from the peculiar circumstances of their location and their life, and from the natural temperament of one who has a union of French and Indian blood. Their character and morals undoubtedly made the work of the missionary hard, but it did not detract from its devotion.

By comparing the dates of entries of marriages and baptisms it is easy to see how often when the father or mother of illegitimate children brought them for baptism, or when the good priest had successfully sought them out for that purpose, he also succeeded in inducing the father and mother to take upon themselves the bonds of a sacramental marriage. Some instances of this occurred, I believe, during each year, when

priests were present at all, at the mission. I remember one fact which interested me because I know something of a startling incident in the life of the father of the children and the subsequent bridegroom. [✓]One Louis Hamline, who was a soldier, who followed Charles De Langlade through many campaigns (of Charles De Langlade I mean to say something hereafter), was in 1777 married by Father Payet to Josette La Sable, a savage woman, some children of theirs having just before that time been baptized. Some years before without being married he had brought other and older children by the same woman to be baptized. I am inclined to think that the exhortations of the good father in 1777 were supplemented by an awakening of conscience for which there was certainly opportunity—as this same Louis Hamline had in that year while setting trout lines through the ice, been carried off by a sudden wind, which detached the ice in a great floe from the land, as frequently happens in the straits of Mackinac. For nine days with great fortitude and endurance he had lived without food until a favorable wind arising, the ice was again blown to the shore.

Of course in speaking of these records as throwing light upon the dissolute character of the settlement, I am not referring to any of the acts which were happily numerous, where in the absence of the priest, marriages perfectly valid both under the civil and ecclesiastical law were contracted in the absence of the priest, the religious ceremony alone being supplied when the priest came to the settlement. In these unions there was of course nothing immoral or censurable, and I think it is hardly realized to-day how carefully the Catholic church teaches that the sacrament of marriage absolutely requires neither priest

nor witness. The essence of the sacrament is in the consent of parties. So teach all the theologians. But how perfectly this was understood by the instructed catholics at Mackinac, there are some curious entries to attest. One particular case from which I will hereafter quote, that of Charles Gauthier de Vierville, could have hardly been better expressed had it been drawn by a doctor of the Sorbonne. There is another matter to which I think the register bears interesting testimony. It has been a too common opinion, springing from prejudice against the Church, that the Catholic missionaries' apparent success among the Indians arose from their taking them into the church without sufficiently instructing them. I think Parkman even allows himself somewhere to speak of the Catholic missionary contenting himself with sprinkling a few drops of water upon the forehead of his savage proselyte, while the Protestants tried to win him from his barbarism and prepare his savage heart for the truths of christianity. There is absolutely no truth in this, and no evidence has ever been cited for it. And this register, like all the missionary registers, is affirmative proof of its falsity. There is hardly a case in which an Indian of adult age, or even above the age of reason is certified to have been baptized in this record, where special allusion is not made to his or her previous instruction. "Sufficiently instructed and ardently desiring baptism" is the certificate of these men who were not either in formal or in informal utterances, liars. Even in times of emergency and danger there is shown a great anxiety upon the part of the priests that improper and merely formal baptisms should not be made.

Thus the register shows that in October, 1757, there was an outbreak of small-pox, to which the Indian settlements were

always extremely liable, and that Father Lefranc was very active in baptizing the infants and small children, and those persons who were dangerously ill; but even under these circumstances he almost apologizes for the want of preparation of his catechumens. Thus, in speaking of two Indians who were dangerously ill, and who afterwards died, he says "they demanded baptism with great earnestness, and promised to be instructed and to live as Christians." In this outbreak of the small-pox there are certificates by Father Lefranc of the baptism of at least thirty children, many of them infants, whom he says he found "abandoned and dangerously sick with the small-pox." It is evident that there was a great panic among the natives at the visitation of this terrible scourge, and that Father Lefranc, like all the Jesuit missionaries in a like case, went from cabin to cabin in the Indian village, seeking out the sick and dying. Although it does not exactly appear (at least not to me, who cannot tell the difference between Ojibway and Ottawa names), I think it is probable that this pestilence occurred in the Indian village nearest the fort—that of the Ojibways, upon the Island of Mackinac.

As I have suggested before, the thoroughness of the instruction is evidenced by the character of many of the lay entries which were made during the long absence of the priests from the church. Here is a literal translation of the one most elaborate. It is of the marriage of a man of whom I shall have something more to say hereafter.

"In the year 1779, the first of January, before noon, we, the undersigned, on the part of Sieur Charles Gautier de Vierville, Lieutenant-Captain and interpreter of the King, son of Claude Germaine de Vierville and of Therese Villeneuve,

his father and mother, deceased, and of Magdeleine Chevalier, daughter of the late Pascal Chevalier and of Madeline Darch Eveque, her mother; in order to confirm the alliance which a virtuous love mutually leads them to contract together, and to crown the fires that mutual tenderness has lighted in their hearts, before our Mother, the Holy Church, of which they are members, and in the bosom of which they wish to live and die, have gone to the house of Sieur Louis Chevalier, uncle of the future bride, to remove every obstacle to their desires, and to assure them, so far as in us lies, of days full of sweetness and of repose. There, in the presence of the future husband and wife, of their relations and of their friends, we have placed upon them the following conditions, namely: The said future husband, in the dispositions required by the Holy Roman Church, and according to the order which she has imposed upon her children, promises to take for his wife and legitimate spouse Magdeleine Chevalier, who, upon her part, receives him for her husband and legitimate consort, having the full and entire consent of all their relatives. In virtue of this, the husband (taking the wife with all her rights for the future in that part of her heritage which is due to her, and which must be delivered to her at the first requisition, to be held in common), in order to increase the property of his bride, and to show by it the extreme tenderness which he has for her, settles upon her the sum of a thousand crowns, taken from the goods which they shall acquire together—in order to provide for the necessities which the accidents of life may perhaps cause to arise. The future spouses, to assure for the alliance which they are contracting—peace, repose and the sweets of well-being to the last moment of their lives—will

and consent, in order that they may taste without trouble the felicity that they look for, that their property should be possessed by a full and entire title by the survivor after the death of one or the other, to be given after the death of such survivor to their children, if Heaven, favorable to their desires, accords them these worthy fruits of their mutual love; but if the survivor wishes to contract a new alliance, in that case the contracting party must account to inheriting children, and divide with them. If Heaven, deaf to their voice, shall refuse them a legitimate heir, the last survivor may dispose of all the goods according to his or her will and pleasure, without being molested by the relatives either of one or of the other. This, they declare, is their will while waiting to approve and ratify it before a notary, and to supplement the ceremonies of marriage by a priest, when they shall have the power to do it."

The provisions here concerning property disposition are according to the "custom of Paris," so-called, which governed in matters of municipal law these Canadian colonies.

There are many other marriage records, not so elaborate, but not less sufficient to prove the validity of the act, despite the absence of the priest.

Of course, it was one of the first matters impressed by the priest, both upon those who were of Christian descent and upon converts, that lay baptism was not only permissible but desirable in cases of emergency or danger, and it is not surprising, therefore, to find that situated as these people were, the larger proportion of the baptisms of children, when they came to be performed by the priests, were conditional baptisms. That is, the priest supplied the *ceremonies* of baptism and baptized them on condition "that they had not already been baptized,"

as in a very great number of cases they undoubtedly had been by their parents or friends. No very sufficient register of the numerous lay baptisms made when there was no priest at the mission was kept, but of course there are some recorded. A good many of them were either made by the commandant at the post, by a justice of the peace, or by a notary public, and certified to under his title, by the person administering the rite. I have no idea that this was from any feeling upon the part of the parishioners, simple minded though they were, that these official gentlemen were any better qualified to administer the sacrament than others, but because they reasoned that if a record was to be made at all it had best be made under the name and signature of those best able both to make it and to secure its preservation. Some of them read a little curiously. There are a few in English which form the only exception to the almost universal French in the record.

Upon page 73 appears this in French: "On the 30th day of August, 1781, was baptized Domitille, the legitimate daughter of Sieur Charles Gautier and Madeline Pascal his legitimate wife, born the same day at noon. John Coates, Notary Public."

This is the child of the pair whose nuptials we noted above.

Then occurs this in English: "I certify you that according to the due and prescribed order of the church at noon on this day, and at the above place, before divers witnesses, I baptized this child Charlotte Cleves. Patrick Sinclair, Lieutenant Governor and Justice of the Peace. Witnesses: (Signed) William Grant, John McNamara, George Macbeth, D. McRay, George Meldrum."

I think, however, of the things shown by the record itself

that which interested me most is the light which it throws upon the question of slavery, both of Indians and of negroes, in these north-western posts, during the last century and the beginning of the present.

I have not had the time to carry on such an investigation as I would like to make concerning its incidents and its character, but one thing is certain, it must have been a firmly established and cherished institution despite the boast to the contrary that has sometimes been made. The negro slaves belonging to various persons in the community are frequently spoken of in the register. Sometimes it is a child of two negro slaves who is baptized, sometimes it is two negro slaves who are married. Thus, in 1744, Father Coquarz certifies to "baptizing the daughter of Boncoeur, a negro, and of Margaret, a negress, belonging to a trader named Boutin, obliged to winter at Mackinac on his way to the Illinois."

Frequently the word "esclave" is used where it is impossible to determine whether the slave spoken of is red or black. I was much puzzled for a long time by the use of the words "Panis" and "Panise," evidently intended from their connection to signify a male or a female servant of some kind, and as they were spoken of as "*belonging*" to various people, I inferred that they signified slaves. What sort of slaves I could not ascertain, for in no French dictionary, either of ancient or modern French, could I find any such word. The words did not seem to be used at all as the name of a tribe, or as a proper name, but rather as though they signified servants held as slaves under some different sort of tenure from that denoted by the word "esclave," and this I thought at first must be so. I discovered finally their real signification. They are corrupted or

alternative forms of "Pawnee," and are evidently used to signify "Indian" slaves as distinguished from "negro" slaves.

A note which I have found in the Wisconsin Historical Collections, purporting to be taken from the memoir of one Bougainville, published in France, concerning the state of Canada, says, that "the Panis" (evidently Pawnee) "tribe in America is in the same position as that of the negroes in Europe." "The Panis tribe," the author says, "is a savage nation situated on the Missouri, estimated at about twelve thousand men. Other nations make war upon them and sell us their slaves. It is the only savage nation that can be thus treated."

Most of the Indian slaves who are mentioned in the register, were, at the time of such mention, which is generally that of their baptism, quite young children. I think that they were in most cases given or sold to the French or half-breed traders and voyageurs, by the Ottawas who had captured or bought them. Whether they were all Pawnees or not, I think very doubtful. I am inclined to think that as the word "slave" became generic because so many "Slavs" were sold, the word "Panis" among the Ottawas and Ojibways was applied indiscriminately to any slave of any tribe because the majority of such slaves were Pawnees. However, this is all conjecture on my part.

There are two interesting entries in the register concerning slaves belonging to the church.

On page 29 of the baptismal register appears this certificate: "To-day, upon the 16th of April, the Feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin, in the year 1750, I have solemnly baptized in the Church of this Mission, Jean Francois Regis, a young slave of about seven years, given through gratitude to

this mission last summer by M. Le Chevalier, upon his safe return from the extreme West, the said infant being well instructed and asking baptism. His godfather was Sieur Etienne Chenier and his godmother Charlotte Parent. Done at Michilimackinac the day and year aforesaid. P. Du Jaunay."

Upon page 59 occurs the following: "To-day, Holy Saturday, the 10th day of April, in the year 1762, I have solemnly baptized a young negro about 20 years of age, belonging before yesterday to this mission; sufficiently instructed even to serve the Holy Mass. After which he made his first communion. In baptism the name of Pierre was given to him. His godfather was Jean Baptiste called Noyer, voyageur, and his godmother Mdle. Martha Cheboyer. Done at Michilimackinac the day and year aforesaid." This was signed by Father De Jaunay. It was a gracious act to give the poor negro his freedom before baptism.

A monograph upon the subject of slavery in these trading posts of Mackinac, Detroit, Green Bay, Prairie du Chien and Chicago, its origin, rise, decline and extinction, and its character and incidents, it seems to me would be extremely interesting.

One matter of which I would like to ascertain the date is that of the extinction of Indian slavery. The allusions to the Pawnee slaves become more and more infrequent, and finally before the close of the book cease altogether. Father Richard states of an Indian whom he baptized that he was "au service" of Charles de Langlade, but he never uses the word "slave."

Morgan L. Martin in a historical address at Madison some years ago said that he saw in 1827 a Pawnee woman at Green Bay, who within a few days of that time had been a slave, but that she then was free.

One other thing I think of, which as a suggestion springing from this register occurs to me might be worked up in an interesting manner, and that is, a discussion of the methods and course in which the administration of justice was continued from the French dominion through the English occupation into the time when the United States took possession of the country. I do not think that this register throws any particular light upon it, although there is one, Adhamer St. Martin, whose entries appear as a justice of the peace during all three of these periods. He subscribed himself as one of the "Justices of the Peace of his Majesty" in March, 1796, the American troops not having then arrived at the post, although it had been long before distinctly agreed that the United States should have jurisdiction over Mackinac. After that for a time he calls himself "Justice of the Peace of this district," and then, still later, in 1797, he says he is a "Justice of the Peace of the United States." It may very well be that he received a renewal of his commission, but the records and the traditions of Green Bay are very clear to the fact that there some at least of the officers commissioned by the English Government did not cease to exercise their functions, nor did the inhabitants care to question their jurisdiction although they received no accession of authority. It may have been so also at Mackinac.

So far as the mere contents of the register go, I will call your attention to but one other matter, and that is to two or three allusions which are contained in it to Chicago. It was not till after the close of the entries in this register that Chicago became any thing to the people of Michilimackinac, but an outpost known as the Chicago portage, but now that this great city is here, it naturally becomes interesting to find the refer-

ences to it in such a record as this. The first that I noticed is in the abridgment from the preceding record, with which this register opens.

For upon the 19th of April, 1735, it appears that there was baptized Louis, slave of Monsieur de Chignaucourt, aged twenty years. Beneath the entry, in bitterness of heart, the priest has written at another time, "*Rocamboles, presentement apostat et sauvagisé à Chikago*," which may be translated "a humbug, at present an apostate, and relapsed into savagery at Chicago." Thus it will be seen that at a very early time Chicago was getting a bad name at other places as the resort of the criminal classes.

In June, 1846, Father de Jaunay certifies that he baptized "Louis, the legitimate son of Amiot and of Marianne his wife of this post; the said infant having been born at the river Aux plains, near to Chikago, early in October last. The godfather was Mr. Louis de Lecorn, captain commanding for the king in this post. The godmother was Madame Marie Catherine de Laplante, wife of Monsieur Bourassa."

This was a white child; for Amiot appears to have been a French trader. Does it not settle the question as to the "first white native of Chicago"?

So far I have confined myself to the records themselves, that is, to what they by and in themselves may be considered to show or suggest. Pardon me if for a few moments I now consider them with reference to the interest which they have for us when viewed in the light of knowledge derived from other sources concerning the men who figure in this book, and whose handwriting again and again appears through it. So considered, there will be no lack of interest in them to

those to whom this sort of historical research affords pleasure. There is always something fascinating in contemporaneous records and signatures of persons who were pioneers in this western country, and whose names and deeds were part of our early history, and I think that this is especially the case where the records are those of their births, baptisms, marriages, and deaths.

It is not particularly to the priests who have signed the certificates in these registers, to whom I am referring, but yet before I speak of other names more interesting still, let me call your attention to something that may be said of them.

For instance, we know that Father de Lamorinie, who makes the first contemporaneous entry in this register in 1741, was afterwards at the mission on St. Joseph river and, being driven from there by the vicissitudes of the French and Indian war, went to minister to the settlers at the mission of St. Genevieve, not far from the present site of St. Louis.

By virtue of an infamous decree of the Superior Council of Louisiana, an insignificant body of provincial officers, who undertook in 1763, to condemn the Society of Jesus, and to suppress the order within Louisiana, he was seized, although upon British soil, and with other priests from Kaskaskia and Vincennes, taken to New Orleans, and sent from there to France, with orders to present himself to the Duc de Choiseul. This was his reward for the zeal and assiduity and devotion which he had manifested in his mission.

Father Lefranc and Father Du Jaunay were then left alone as the last Jesuit missionaries in this western country.

Father Du Jaunay was at Mackinac at the time of Pontiac's conspiracy. On the 2d of June, 1763, the Indians attacked

Fort Mackinac, massacring most of the garrison, and making prisoners of the officers, all of which is graphically described in Parkman's History of the Conspiracy of Pontiac. By Father du Jaunay, the captured Captain Etherington sent a letter shortly afterwards to Major Gladwyn, who was then besieged by Pontiac himself in the fort at Detroit, asking for assistance which, however, Gladwyn was powerless to give. Du Jaunay went, and of course through his influence with the Indians was enabled to carry the note into the fort. Captain Etherington says of him in his letter: "I have been very much obliged to the Jesuit for the many good offices he has done on this occasion. He seems inclined to go down to your post for a day or two, which I am very glad of, as he is a very good man, and has a great deal to say with the savages hereabout, who will believe everything he tells them on his return." He begs him to send the priest back as soon as possible, as they will be in great need of him. In a diary of the siege of Detroit, published in the Michigan historical collections, it appears that Father Du Jaunay left Detroit upon his return upon the 20th of June, 1763. The following is the entry in the diary: "This morning the commandant gave to the Jesuit a memorandum of what he should say to the Indians and French at Michilimackinac, as also to Captain Etherington, seeing that he did not choose to carry a letter, saying that if he did and were asked by the Indians if he had one, he should be obliged to say yes, as he had never told a lie in his life." After Father Du Jaunay left the mission at Mackinac, he became superior of the mission at St. Joseph, and remained in the west until 1774, and then returned to France to die.

In 1825 a missionary visiting the Indian congregation es-

tablished at Arbre Croche, remarked that the memory of Father Du Jaunay was religiously preserved among all the tribes, and the place was pointed out to him where the priest used to walk while saying his breviary.

In 1822 the chiefs of the Ottawas petitioned the Congress of the United States to send them Jesuit priests to take the place, they said, "of Father Du Jaunay, who lived with us in our village of Arbre Croche, and cultivated a field in our territory in order to teach us the principles of agriculture and Christianity."

Father Gibault, whose entries as vicar-general of Louisiana and Illinois I have referred to, was in Kaskaskia as a resident priest in 1778, and undertook then a mission to Vincennes on behalf of George Rogers Clark, and succeeded in inducing its inhabitants to declare for the Americans.

Gabriel Richard was a most remarkable man in very many ways. Coming from France, a Sulpician priest, in 1792, he was sent by Bishop Carroll of Baltimore, to the settlements in the Illinois for two purposes. First, that as being of the same race and language, he might give regular pastoral care to the French and Canadians and their half-breed descendants, who had, since the English occupation, fallen into such sad need of it; and, secondly, that he might develop and encourage in this western country a new growth of the Catholic Church from roots that should strike more deeply than the old French missions could into the newly-born American life and national character. In 1798, after labors which had become more and more fruitful as the years went on, he was withdrawn from Illinois, and went to Detroit, and at Detroit, from 1794 until 1832, his aim and main work lay. To-day his statue upon

the noble facade of the city hall of Detroit preserves for its inhabitants his memory as one of the first and most important pioneers of Michigan.

He found time as these records show to make pastoral visits to the almost abandoned Indians and half-breeds, French voyageurs and traders in all the Indian missions about. But, as I have said, his main work was at Detroit. He was there given a free hand. He enlarged and improved all the parochial and mission schools; he opened an academy of a very high class for the higher education of women; he instituted and carried on a theological seminary; he supplied his schools with chemical and astronomical apparatus, no easy task at the time in which he did it. In 1807, realizing that English and the English tongue were always to be in the ascendancy in America, he established a series of English sermons to be given every Sunday in the council house of the then newly established Territory of Michigan.

In 1802 he imported from Europe for his church in Detroit the first organ that was ever brought to the Northwest.

During the war and after the surrender of Detroit, the English imprisoned him upon the ground that he was instigator and exciter of anti-English feeling.

In 1821, as we have seen, he was at Mackinac and he also went to Green Bay. I do not *know*, but I cannot help conjecturing that he was a passenger in the second trip ever made by a steamboat upon Lake Michigan or Lake Huron. It is certain that the pioneer steamer, Walk-in-Water, left Detroit for Mackinac upon July 31, 1821, and that Father Richard appears to have reached Mackinac just about the time the steamer did, in the early days of August. It certainly would be

quite in accordance with his character to have the desire to make this trip. If he did, he had for a companion the Reverend Eleazer Williams, so well known in connection with his claim to be the son of Louis XVI. and the Dauphin of France.

In 1823 Father Richard was elected as a delegate to Congress from the territory of Michigan, the only instance in which a Catholic ecclesiastic has been offered or accepted such a position. While in Washington he became a great favorite amongst his colleagues and in the society of the capital. He made at least one important speech. It was concerning a proposed appropriation for a military road from Detroit to Fort Dearborn and the mouth of the Chicago River.

In 1832, in a visitation of the Asiatic cholera at Detroit, Father Richard, then almost seventy years old, devoted himself so constantly to the sick and dying, as to cause him finally, entirely worn out, to succumb to the dread disease. By his dying bed were the saintly Fenwick, his bishop, and his younger friend and disciple, Frederick Baraga, who afterwards became the bishop of Marquette, and was destined to revive in his own person the glories of the very greatest and earliest of the Indian missionaries.

Of the numerous laymen, soldiers, traders and voyageurs, whose names and signatures appear frequently in this register, and concerning whom history has more or less to say, perhaps the most striking and interesting figure is Charles Michel de Langlade. The record of his baptism appears in the abridgment of the old register preserved at the beginning of this, by which it appears that Charles Michel de Langlade, son of Monsieur de Langlade, was baptized upon the 9th of May, 1729.

Father Lefranc, in 1754, certifies "that upon the 12th day of August, 1754, he, a missionary priest of the company of Jesis, received the mutual consent to marriage of Le Sieur De Langlade and Charlotte Ambroisine Bourassa, both inhabitants of this post, in the presence of the undersigned witnesses." To this certificate are subscribed the names of the principal inhabitants of Mackinac at the time, including that of "Herbin," commanding at the post. Mademoiselle Bourassa was the daughter of an Indian trader of substance and standing, recently removed to Mackinac from Montreal. The register shows that he must have had a large family, and both Indian and negro slaves.

Following the marriage, occur at intervals, careful certificates of baptism of various children of Monsieur and of Madame de Langlade, and in the capacity of godfather and witness, Charles de Langlade has left his signature scores of times in this register.

I do not know whether any of you are familiar with his life but it is one of the most romantic and stirring of any of our pioneers in the West, and he is known among the inhabitants of a neighboring state as "the founder of Wisconsin." His father was Augustin Langlade, who was, at a very early period in the eighteenth century, a fur trader at Mackinac. Augustin Langlade married a sister of the principal chief of the Ottawas, and Charles de Langlade was therefore a true half-breed.

His early education in letters was undoubtedly one of the cares of Father Du Jaunay, but his early education in arms was, at the solicitation of his savage uncle, intrusted to him. In 1734, being then but five years old, he was allowed by his

father, under the entreaties of the Indians who had taken a fancy to him, to accompany a war expedition of his uncle against a tribe allied to the English, his father adjuring him upon sending him away, to show no fear. When he was sixteen years of age, his father and he established a trading post at Green Bay, Bay des Puants, as it was called in those days. And from that time the son resided alternately at Green Bay and at Mackinac, when he was not absent upon his numerous military expeditions.

Against the Sacs and Foxes, at the head of a band of Ottawas, Langlade made frequent expeditions after the establishment at Green Bay was made, to protect the new settlement or to revenge and punish depredations.

In 1755 there broke out the Seven Years War. The French government wisely undertook to secure, in order to aid the regular troops and the Canadian militia, a contingent of the savages and *coureurs de bois*, who were to be found about the different trading stations. The command was entrusted to Charles de Langlade. United to the savages by the ties of blood, by the similarity of habits, familiar with their language and with their modes of warfare, of proven courage and ability, Langlade was exactly the man for the situation. He organized a troop of at least 1,500 Indians and half-breeds, who rallied willingly under the French flag against the hated English. Among his followers is believed to have been the chieftain afterwards so famous, Pontiac, but this is by no means certain. This most effective body, Langlade led to Fort Du Quesne, and upon the 9th of July, 1755, about half of his force, with him at its head, together with 250 Frenchmen under Beaujeau, who commanded at Fort Du Quesne, marched out

from the post and surprised upon the Mononghela river, the army of Braddock, numbering at least 2,000 men. The terrible rout of the English army upon that day is too well known to need re-telling. George Washington, who was present, in command of the Virginia militia, could only say of it, "we are beaten, shamefully beaten, by a handful of savages and Frenchmen."

The share of De Langlade in this victory, the honor of which really entirely belongs to him, has not been sufficiently recognized by historical writers, who make Beaujeau its hero, but the contemporary accounts leave no doubt in my mind of his rightful claim to the distinction. General Burgoyne, in a letter to Lord George Germaine, in 1777, speaking of Indian allies whom he expected, says: "I am informed that the Ottawas and other Indian tribes, who are two days' march from us, are brave and faithful, and that they practice war, and not pillage. They are under the orders of Monsieur de Langlade, the very man who, with his troops, projected and executed Braddock's defeat."

In 1756 Langlade was put in charge of a detachment of French and Indians, and made numerous expeditions from Fort Du Quesne. In 1757 he came back from the west at the head of several hundred natives and joined Montcalm, and after that summer's campaign he received from the Governor of Canada (Vaudreuil) orders to report at the post in Mackinac as second in command to Monsieur Beaujeau, who was a brother of his old comrade at Fort Du Quesne.

In 1759 Langlade left Michilimackinac for Quebec at the head of a body of Indians, and joined the army of the Marquis de Montcalm. It is evident that there were times before the

fatal day above the Plains of Abraham on the 13th of September, 1759, when, had his advice been followed, the army of Wolfe might have been entirely destroyed, but he was not allowed the use of that discretion which had proved so valuable upon the Monongahela. He was at the battle on the 13th of September and had two brothers shot by his side. Six days afterwards Quebec surrendered. Langlade thought the capitulation cowardly, and retired in disgust to Mackinac, where he found awaiting him a lieutenant's commission in the French army signed by Louis XV. Again Langlade joined the army and was present at the last victory of the French and Canadians on the 28th of April, 1760, upon the same field where Montcalm had been previously defeated. But the end was approaching, and the hopelessness of the cause being recognized, Langlade was sent with his Indian troops back to the west, where shortly after he received the following letter from Vaudreuil:

“MONTREAL, Ninth of September, 1760.

“I inform you, sir, that I have to-day been obliged to capitulate to the army of General Amherst. This city is, as you know, without defenses. Our troops were considerably diminished, our means and resources exhausted. We were surrounded by three armies, amounting in all to twenty thousand men. General Amherst was, on the sixth of this month, in sight of the walls of this city, General Murray within reach of one of our suburbs and the army of Lake Champlain was at La Prairie Longueil.

“Under these circumstances, with nothing to hope from our efforts, nor even from the sacrifice of our troops, I have advisedly decided to capitulate to General Amherst upon condi-

tions very advantageous for the colonists, and particularly for the inhabitants of Michilimackinac. Indeed, they retain the free exercise of their religion; they are maintained in the possession of their goods, real and personal, and of their peltries. They have also free trade just the same as the proper subjects of the king of Great Britain.

“The same conditions are accorded to the military. They can appoint persons to act for them in their absence. They, and all citizens in general, can sell to the English or French their goods, sending the proceeds thereof to France, or taking them with them if they choose to return to that country after the peace. They retain their negroes and Pawnee Indian slaves, but will be obliged to restore those which have been taken from the English. The English General has declared that the Canadians have become the subjects of His Brittannic Majesty, and consequently the people will not continue to be governed as heretofore by the French code.

“In regard to the troops, the condition has been imposed upon them not to serve during the present war and to lay down their arms before being sent back to France. You will therefore, sir, assemble all the officers and soldiers who are at your post. You will cause them to lay down their arms, and you will proceed with them to such seaport as you think best, to pass from thence to France. The citizens and inhabitants of Michilimackinac will consequently be under the command of the officer whom General Amherst shall appoint to that post.

“You will forward a copy of my letter to St. Joseph and to the neighboring posts, in order that if any soldiers remain there they and the inhabitants may conform thereto.

“I count upon the pleasure of seeing you in France with all your officers.

"I have the honor to be very sincerely, Monsieur, your very humble and very obedient servant,

" VAUDREUIL."

In 1761 the English arrived at Fort Mackinac. The English officer, Etherington, invited Langlade to reside as before at the fort, and conferred with him upon all questions of local administration, a precaution which proved thereafter of great service. In 1763, in the conspiracy of Pontiac, Fort Mackinac was surprised by the Indians and the English massacred. But before that event Langlade had occasion to warn Etherington in vain. He was present in the fort at the time of the massacre but could do nothing to arrest it. Immediately afterwards, however, learning that Etherington and his second in command were prisoners and about to be burned at some distance from the fort, he organized a little band of Ottawas, loyal to himself, and rescued the prisoners, defying the drunken victors to oppose him.

Etherington while a prisoner delegated his authority at the fort to Langlade.

When the Revolutionary war broke out Charles Langlade, then almost fifty years of age, was induced by the English, his old enemies, to attempt to secure, in the interest of the English, all the Western Indians and to raise an auxiliary force of Indians for use in the war. He joined Burgoyne's army in July, 1777. Burgoyne afterwards complained of the conduct not of Langlade, but of the savages he led—but Langlade and his comrade St. Luc declared that the fault lay not with the savages but with Burgoyne and his want of tact and justice.

In 1778, Langlade raised an expedition to reinforce Lieutenant Governor Hamilton, who was marching upon Colonel George

Rogers Clark, after the latter had taken possession of the region of the Illinois. Langlade secured the assistance even of the Indians whom the English commandant at Fort Mackinac, De Peyster, called that "horrid refractory set of Indians at Milwaukee." But the expedition was disbanded upon its arrival at St. Joseph, on the reception of news that Hamilton had surrendered to Clark.

For his services in the Revolutionary War, Langlade was given a pension by the English Government. He remained superintendent of the Indians until his death, holding thus an office which, as I understand it, came from the United States Government, as well as a pension from England.

He died in Green Bay in 1800, at the age of seventy-one years. He could enumerate ninety-nine battles and skirmishes in which during his life he had taken part, and expressed in his later years regret that he could not have rounded the even century.

In the course of this paper I have quoted in full the marriage certificate of Charles Gautier de Vierville. He was the nephew of Langlade, and almost equally as distinguished. I shall not have time to sketch his life for you, but it is sufficient to say that he fought with his uncle upon the Plains of Abraham, that he was constantly employed during the Revolutionary War in keeping the Northwestern Indians in line with the English interest, that for his services in war and Indian diplomacy he was given a commission as captain by the English government, and that after the Revolutionary War and before the cession of Mackinac to the Americans he was the interpreter for the Indians at the post. In 1798 he went amongst the earliest settlers to Prairie du Chien, and there his descendants married

and lived, and to day are its leading citizens in influence and position.

Langlade's second daughter married Pierre Grignon, and he, too, figures in this register in many different characters. He was an Indian trader, who also became one of the very early settlers at Green Bay, where one of his sons was living a respected citizen in 1860 or thereabouts. There are many interesting things that could be said of him, but want of time forbids. One thing, however, related by his son, Augustine de Grignon, a few years before his death, finds confirmation in this register. In 1787 you may remember, Father Payet, as I have said, made a visit to Mackinac. Pierre Grignon was then at Mackinac, and he deemed it, as a good Catholic, a satisfactory opportunity to have his children baptized by a priest, and his own marriage with M^{lle} De Langlade confirmed and ratified by the same authority. He therefore sent a messenger to Green Bay and Madame Grignon and six small children, varying in ages from six months to ten years, were conveyed to Mackinac in a birch bark canoe, a distance of almost two hundred and fifty miles. When they arrived there they were duly baptized "under condition" (for in all probability the ceremony had been properly enough performed by lay hands), and, as the register sets forth, Father Payet conferred upon the father and mother the sacrament of marriage after (I quote) "having received the mutual consent that they had already given in the presence of witnesses while awaiting an opportunity to ratify their alliance before an approved priest and several witnesses, according to the custom and as it is ordered by our Mother, the Holy Church."

Pierre Grignon was evidently a thorough-going man, for a

few days after this marriage and baptismal ceremony he hunted up and brought to the priest a natural son of his by a savage mother, and had him also baptized. The boy was then thirteen years of age.

Upon the twenty-third day of May, 1763, two children were baptized by Father Du Jaunay, and he certifies in the entry that one was the son of a woman named Chopin, formerly a slave of Monsieur Le Chevalier, but since sold to an English merchant ("commercant") named "Henneri," "which woman, although not yet baptized, has protested, in presenting her child for holy baptism, that she had never had any other faith than that of the Holy Church, Catholic, Apostolic and Roman, and that her new master had promised not to constrain her on the subject of religion." Ten days after this baptism, occurred the frightful massacre at Fort Mackinac, and this English merchant, called "Henneri," had a hard time of it. He has left a little book from which Parkman, in his conspiracy of Pontiac, has drawn his entire account of the massacre. It is entitled "Alexander Henry's Travels." He was the only English trader who escaped, and he, only after almost incredible sufferings and dangers, and through the assistance of a friendly Indian. He was concealed at first in the house of Langlade. It would seem from Henry's account that although Langlade protected him, he was none too well disposed toward him, but Langlade's conduct was praised by Etherington and Leslie, and the prejudice which Henry shows, I think must have sprung from seeing Langlade so cool and unconcerned regarding his own safety while he (Henry) was in such desperate peril. In his book he gives an account of one moment during the massacre which vividly impresses my imagination.

The Indians in the fort were furiously cutting down and scalping, while yet living, every Englishman they could find. Langlade was standing at his window calmly gazing at the scene. Henry managed, by climbing a fence, to secure an entrance to Langlade's house, and in despair rushed to him begging for protection. Langlade turned to him for a moment, and then again directing his gaze from the window, calmly answered "And what do you think I can do?" To Henry this seemed a piece of cruel heartlessness, but after all Henry was concealed in Langlade's house and afterwards saved, and I think it more probable that Langlade's question arose not so much from a want of sympathy and compassion as from that invincible coolness which had braved death too many times to consider it for any one the worst thing that could befall him.

There are many mentions and signatures in this record of Jean Baptiste Beaubien, afterwards one of the settlers at Milwaukee and Chicago, and of Alexis La Framboise, who, I think, was afterwards buried under the church at Mackinac Island. La Framboise was, long before Juneau, a settler at the present site of Milwaukee. I would like to speak of him further, but have not time.

I will close this paper, already too long, with two or three stories about another old pioneer in this western country, whose name appears in the latter part of these registers.

Under the direction of Father Richard, in 1821, an election was held, according to the Canadian custom, of marguilliers, (a sort of wardens), for the parish church at Mackinac. Among those first elected, it was certified, was Joseph Rollet, whose name also appears in the register as a witness to several

acts of marriage and of baptism. He declined to act. I suspect that he did not care to incur the possible necessity of pecuniary contribution which the office would impose upon him. Joseph Rollet was one of the earliest, if not the very earliest, pioneer at Prairie du Chien. He was a very noted Indian trader in this north-western country. His operations extended from St. Louis and Prairie du Chien to the Red River settlements. He brought his goods directly from Montreal through the lakes to Green Bay (of course stopping at Mackinac), and thence through the Fox river and down the Wisconsin in a fleet of Mackinac boats, rowed by French Canadians. He became finally such a great power in the country that he was called "King Rollet," while the Indians named him "The Pheasant," on account of his fast traveling. He may, indeed, have declined the position of marguillier because he was only intermittently at Mackinac, although in 1821, at the time he was elected, he had changed his headquarters, which had formerly been at Prairie du Chien, to Mackinac, by accepting an offer from John Jacob Astor to join him in the American Fur Company, and take charge of the trade of that powerful monopoly in the Northwest. He afterwards again, however, changed his residence to Prairie du Chien, where, in 1827, Governor Cass appointed him chief justice of the county. He is said to have introduced the first swine and the first sheep into Wisconsin, and was always a pushing, energetic and enterprising man. In 1814, being thoroughly in sympathy with the English in the existing war against the Americans, he raised a company of militia, and in connection with one or two other officers, secured the surrender of the garrison at the American fort at Prairie du Chien and took them to Mackinac.

His reputation however suffered from his alleged over-keenness in trading with the Indians. Among other stories it is related, that he persuaded some simple minded Indians (who held to the belief for a long time), that the weight of his foot placed in the scale—on the other side of which were piled furs—was exactly one pound. Among other Indians he secured the name of “five more” because they said, let them throw off what number of skins they might, in bartering for an article, his terms were always “five more.”

Mrs. Kinzie in her book called “Waubun,” tells a capital story of him. A lady remarked to him one day, she says: “I would not be engaged in the Indian trade. It seems to me a system of cheating the poor Indians.” “Let me tell you, Madam,” replied he, with great earnestness, “it is not so easy a thing to cheat the Indians as you imagine. I have been trying it these twenty years, and I have never succeeded.”

One more story of him which accounts for my suggestion of his reason for declining the appointment of marguillier, and I have done.

One day he was crossing the river, it is said, at Prairie du Chien, and the ice ran very heavily and very swiftly. He became so alarmed for his safety that he solemnly vowed, that if spared, he would devote a thousand dollars to the construction of a Catholic church at Prairie du Chien. After hard work, he and his companion (La Framboise) succeeded in getting through the ice and making a landing. One foot was yet in the boat when Rollet exclaimed, “Collect it if you can. You haven’t got my note.”