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Baptism and Humanity: Native American-Jesuit Relationships in New France

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BAPTISM AND HUMANITY:

NATIVE AMERICAN-JESUIT RELATIONSHIPS IN NEW FRANCE

By

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PREFACE

The goal of this thesis is to test the utility of certain theoretical approaches. It blends psychological and socio-cultural methodologies with newer theories of religious studies that note the importance of emotions in religious experience and the prevalent influence of healing within religion. It draws from European documents, anthropological and archaeological findings, ethno-linguistics analyses and an ethnographic sensitivity to the veiled nature of personal, and especially historical, experiences. However, it does not seek to fully encapsulate the experiences and inner world of Native Americans of the Great Lakes region. This thesis is an exploration of the possibilities in handling Native American history. It posits a possible approach that seeks to balance the ethno-historian's concern for agency and the modern reader's desire to identify with the actors in historical works with the social scientist's need for a rigorous analysis of unconscious motivations and the impact of cultural collectivity. As such, it points to a greater usefulness of sources to provide information for a richer study of Native Americans of New France. This work is but a step along the way and does not claim to define the full history of Native American-Jesuit interaction. It tests through a historical example a possible theoretical approach and invites subsequent scholars to apply this or similar views towards their historical endeavors.

ABBREVIATIONS

Jesuit Relations	Thwaites, Reuben Gold, trans. *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, *1610-1791*, 73 vols. Cleveland: Burrows Brothers Company, 1896-1901. [available online] http://puffin.creighton.edu/jesuit/relations/; Internet.

ABSTRACT

Jesuit Missionaries and Native Americans lived in the New France region, perpetuated violence against one another, and participated in the healing ritual of baptism. Native Americans shared a nuanced cultural borderland with the Jesuit missionaries and this interaction contextualized the emotional performance of baptism to heal the illnesses of the Indians. An examination of the interaction between Jesuits and Indians in the Great Lakes region, including the Huron, Iroquois, Algonquin and related nations, from 1610 to 1790 challenges the historiographical tendency to treat Native American subjects as more or less rational, autonomous or important than their European counterparts. By analyzing the role of baptism in Jesuit-Indian encounters, historical accounts can better preserve the humanity of Native Americans. Regardless of what other constituent parts the category of human may include, two defining characteristics of humanity are emotion, expressed here in hateful repulsion and the feeling of cross-culture attraction, and will, expressed through agency. Both Jesuits and Indians constructed identities that alienated and demonized the other. Each expressed this hate in both physical and non-direct forms. Both Jesuits and Indians understood baptism as a healing ritual. Each group sought to use the ritual for both physical and spiritual healing. Native Americans and Jesuit missionaries shared a relationship characterized by dependence and repulsion. Through the ritual of baptism and the resulting emergence of the more inclusive Christian identity, Native Americans and Jesuits regulated and accommodated mutual hatred and the desire for healing. In New France, the ritual of baptism functioned to temper the rift of cultural tension between and reveal the humanity of Native Americans and French Jesuits.

INTRODUCTION: JESUITS AND INDIANS IN NEW FRANCE

Historians, in their quest to express the insider perspectives of subaltern groups, have only begun to investigate the significance of religious appeal and affective motivations within Jesuit-Indian relations.[1] The scholars who have tried to understand this historical relationship have frequently observed the interest that baptism evoked, but have ignored how the construction of baptism as a healing performance influenced attitudes and behavior. Historians of Native American and Jesuit relationships have given little consideration to the role of emotion in their relationship beyond the effects of fear or altruistic love in favor of a focus on the influence of the rational evaluation of religious beliefs and intentional political and economic considerations. Consequently, the scholarship of the Native American-Jesuit relationship in New France is wooden and inhumane.

An examination and review of scholarship on Native Americans in the Great Lakes region may expose the flaws and merits of current models of historical understanding. Interest in the Native American perspective saturates the endeavors of modern historians of Colonial America. Although the interest in Native Americans of the Great Lakes Region is as old as the first accounts of Indian-European interaction, the interest in Indian perspectives is a relatively new development. Throughout the history of the interpretation of the past, there has been an emerging concern with understanding and preserving Native American agency. This emergence however is contested by an entrenched historiographic tendency to diminish the humanity of Indians, resulting from a failure to recognize the humanity of Native Americans. By participating in this tendency, historians evoke alienation and prejudice against Native Americans, an act that is ethically equivalent to the accounts of cultural bias and violent acts that they study. In order to not precipitate such violence, scholars must recognize Indians as fully human, i.e. as equally capable/responsible for their actions as more familiar, European, actors. However in the search to excavate the agency of the Native American, the tendency among scholars is to inaccurately construct Indian-European relations by portraying Indians as either supine primitives or preter-rational actors. By mediating between these

extremes, historians progress further towards the objective of realizing the humanity of the Native Americans.

Through the view of Native Americans as agents and emotional actors, historians can further develop and humanize future Indian narratives. Agency is the capacity of individuals to volitionally exert their will and achieve a desired end. It encourages the realization of the subject of historical analysis as a human actor with a will and not merely an object. Therefore agency is necessary in order to convey an insider perspective or the imaginative reconstruction that seeks to understand the actor's point of view. There is a long thinking trend that links emotion and will. Such investigations draw on Enlightenment, especially Common Sense philosophy, notions of emotion and explicitly link emotion as a motivating factor to action.[2] Emotion provides a judgment that helps move the will. Historian of religion, John Corrigan noted that, according to this intellectual trend, "Reason pointed out the possible physical consequences of actions, and the will provided volition, but it was emotion that provided the motive for action."[3] Agency and emotion then are two constituent characteristics of humanity and two key elements in Native Americans' human relationships with Jesuits.

Historians must be wary of constructing Indians within an *exotic* category of human activity. Although Indian voices are often veiled in the dearth of primary documents and eclipsed by their inherent cultural bias, historians should use what data may be gleaned from sources and construct the context so as to familiarize the scandalous and transmute the exotic into the mundane.[4] Imagining Indians as either less culturally or biologically developed or as purely rational and cognitively more complex than their European counterparts alienates the perceived identity of Native Americans from the recognized attributes of humanity and human expression.

The historiography of this recognition and of the Native Americans in the Great Lakes Region began before the excavation of extant historical texts for the experiences of Indians. Early histories relied almost exclusively on European accounts of contact with the Indians and Indian behavior. These histories interpreted text such as the *Jesuit Relations* as the true, unbiased account of events from New France. Historians of this era wrote hagiographic literature praising the virtues of the European settlers and missionaries or noting with satisfaction the effect of the Jesuit educational system on the

indigenous population. Hagiography dominated interpretations of the history of Indians in New France until the mid-twentieth century.

Native Americans during the hagiographic stage of historiographical development were present only as a facet of the savage frontier landscape or, at best, as foil antagonists for European heroes. Hagiographies of the Great Lakes Region touted the actions of the Jesuit missionaries that settled and evangelized there and characterized their actions as an altruistic struggle against the savage infidels. Indians were often faceless aggressors who lacked the rationality to recognize the beneficence of the missionaries. They entered the scope of the literature only as the object to be conquered by a superior spiritual truth. When they inflicted violence upon the Jesuits, it was because of the wickedness or sorrowful underdevelopment of Indian society. Rarely did these accounts question the motives of either Jesuits or Indians and Indian agency was virtually non-existent. Hagiographers did not morally or intellectually equate Europeans and Jesuits and rarely recognized their common categorization as human.

Francis Xavier Talbot wrote a more modern example of the historiographic trend towards hagiography. In *Saint Among the Hurons*, Talbot crafted a hagiographically influenced narrative of the experiences of Jean de Brebeuf as he lived among and evangelized the Huron Indians. Jesuits "communicated to all who were capable of following…a supreme love for God and raised them to spiritual heights where they were absorbed by God."[5] In his analysis of de Brebeuf, Talbot ultimately concluded that the missionary surmounted the pinnacle of human endurance and at the moment of his martyrdom at the hands of the Huron-Iroquois his "sinless soul" was judged worthy and "entered its eternal happiness with God."[6] Indians, by contrast, were often unpredictable, duplicitous, lewd, frenzied and simple. When confronted by frustration the Huron Indians that would grow frenzied and perform fits of anger or despair. The overwhelming power of the smallpox and frustration at the obstinance of Jesuit courage would send the "savages" into frenzied emotional states.[7] These simple savages had difficulty understanding the significance of honesty in trade dealings with the newly arrived Jesuits and displayed Bacchaean lewdness and licentiousness in their religious dances.[8] The Hurons were given little to no motivation for their apparently blatant, immoral behavior unless it was a degenerative ignorance of Christian European culture.

John A. O'Brien continued Talbot's hagiographic work in *The American Martyrs*. As he narrates the martyrdom of eight of the European missionaries to New France, he remained somewhat more blatant about his hagiographic agenda. O'Brien continued the historiographical trend that denied Indian agency but was less antagonistic towards Indian cultures. O'Brien's task was to praise the "missionaries whose heroic zeal was to win for them the imperishable crown of martyrdom" whose arrival in New France was likened unto the coming of dawn.[9] As such European actors were the heroes and focus of his study and Indians provided the context for their virtuous actions and their chief opposition. Europeans, i.e. French Jesuits, brought the "good tidings of the Gospel" and culture from "the most civilized country in Europe" to the wilderness. The author lauded the commitment, altruism, humility, and heroism of the European missionaries but constructed the Indians as savage, superstitious, and living in squalor.[10] This continued the bias that failed to recognize Indians as equals to Europeans. The text, which understands the Huron tribe to be a descendant and subsidiary of the Iroquois, characterized the Iroquois and related nations as vicious cannibals that attacked without provocation. The narrative was riddled with alternating relations of the spiritual conquest of the supply-minded "savages", the desire for human flesh and the appeasement of their imagined deities.[11]

Native American agency fared little better in John LaFarge's *Report on the American Jesuits*. LaFarge examined the origins and activities of the Jesuit mission in North America with special attention to roots and effects of the Jesuit theory of education. Though part of the text examined the shape of the modern Jesuit educational system in the United States, LaFarge's early interest in Jesuit missionary origins was colored by the attitudes and perception of Native Americans that were commonly held during this time. His portrayal did not suffer from the antagonistic tone of earlier texts. However, Indians were no more human and still suffered a portrayal as easily impressionable children. The Indians were shown torturing and living in harmony with European settlers with little to motivate the drastic change in attitude other than the superior spiritual power of the Gospel message.[12] Indian agency was unfathomable and mysterious, veiled by the scarcity of historical documents. The extant cannon, here limited to European transcripts, enabled a depiction of the Indians as easily evangelized

fodder that could just as easily turn violent without any provocation or explanation. In such a depiction, Native Americans do not qualify as actors, much less human subjects. By ignoring motives and drives for Indian actions and attitudes, LaFarge portrayed Indians as natural forces or an aspect of the natural landscape that effect the endeavors of spiritually motivated European Jesuits and settlers in New France and the English colonies.

The next major category, Cultural Darwinism, overlapped the hagiographical trend temporally and even shared some of the same texts. Historians influenced by the post-Enlightenment tradition ushered in interpretations of the history of Native Americans that claimed objective rationalism and espoused an agenda of Western superiority veiled behind a narrative of cultural conquest. These histories included the Enlightenment prejudice regarding the centrality and importance of a certain cognitive rationality and the nearly racist devaluation of Indian culture.

Native Americans entered this perspective as actors, or more particularly reactors, to European culture. They were elevated above the savage status they endured in hagiographies but only to the level of impressionable primitives. Indians were generally depicted as less developed culturally, technologically and mentally. These histories depict a "necessitarian tragedy"[13] that characterized Indian culture as a doomed organization destined to be overrun by the intellectually more advanced Europeans.

Lewis Henry Morgan has been praised for his work in *League of the Haudenosaunee, or Iroquois* and lauded as a "pioneer ethnologist who is regarded as the 'father' of American anthropology."[14] Although he established an anthropological tone that helped found the modern discipline, he ultimately presented what he perceived as "a fatal deficiency in Indian society…the non-existence of a progressive spirit."[15] Morgan erroneously imagined that the Iroquois Confederacy was being conquered by European culture and dying out. His reliance on technologically oriented Marxist analysis through the lens of social Darwinism ultimately condemned the Iroquois into a taxonomic position as barbarians and inhibits Morgan from developing Indian agency. To pigeon-hole the Iroquois into the role of underdeveloped primitives is to ignore Native American experiences, understandings and self-perceptions.

In *The Jesuits in North America,* Francis Parkman crafted a narrative that uniquely imagined the Native American past within the contextual framework of both a hagiography and cultural Darwinism. Parkman both praised the altruistic endeavors of European Jesuits and blatantly depicted the conquest of civilization over primitive peoples. He revealed his sense of this glorified tragic destiny of the Indians when he wrote:

> Ascending the St. Lawrence, it was seldom that the sight of a human form gave relief to the loneliness, until, at Quebec, the roar of Champlain's cannon from the verge of the cliff announced that the savage prologue of the American drama was drawing to a close, and that the civilization of Europe was advancing on the scene.[16]

For Parkman, Indians acted but motivation was attributed to the fate of cultural conquest by the more advanced and superior Europeans. Indians acted in similar ways to Europeans but all of their actions were contextualized by the seemingly obvious fate of culture death.

During the 1940s to early 1960s, the historiography of Great Lakes region became oriented towards archaeology and material culture. With the excavation of New France sites like Sainte-Marie-aux-Hurons, Marxist-inflected archaeological analyses emerged that examined the influence of missionaries on the material culture and social structures of Native American cultures. Indians became the central topic but little effort is given to understand their experiences, religious motivations or non-hierarchical relationships. The institutional methodology and analysis prominently employed during this era analyzed power structures and daily material rituals but ultimately lost focus of Native Americans as subjects of study and thus still denied Indian agency. Excavations of archaeological sites provided clues that could be contextualized and imagined as the hidden transcript of Native American voices. However, during this phase of the historiography those voices emerged as a possibility but remained silent.

In 1954, Wilfrid Jury and Elsie McLeod Jury in *Sainte-Marie Among the Hurons* challenged the historiographic construction of the New France Great Lakes region as wilderness. As archaeological evidence indicates, the missionary settlement was far from primitive and transient. The authors detailed the excavation of Sainte-Marie-aux-Hurons and provided rich descriptions of the material and cultural influences on the inhabitants.

Jury and Jury note the construction process and details of the mission settlement. The authors extrapolated the Huron economic system from material evidence and noted the breadth and distance between Huron trade partners. Indians fared quite well under the analysis of Jury and Jury. As the focus of the text was not on assigning motivations to actions, no agency was readily apparent among their subjects. However, in their interactions with Europeans, Indians were portrayed as very humane and comprehensible. Hurons were characterized as barely primitive. Instead they were good-natured, able-bodied and industrious.

Fifteen years later, John F. Hayes attempted to describe the New France colonial environment in *Wilderness Mission: The Story of Sainte-Marie-Among-the–Hurons.* He addressed many of the same topics and data as Jury and Jury had explored a few years earlier. However, Hayes contextualized his account within descriptions of Huron Feasts, religious practices, food preparation practices and inter-tribal politics.[17] This approach wonderfully humanized the Indians but no agency can be found in Hayes' rather blatant and thin analysis of Indians' interaction with the Europeans. The most individually relevant motivations that Hayes recognized were fear and rage but these were reactionary attitudes and so did little to assist the emergence of Indian agency.[18]

The 1960s and 1970s marked the advent of the ethnographic method in Native American studies. Histories from these years attempted to discover the insider perspective. "Some Native Americans had long envisioned their own stories as subaltern romance rather than assimilationist tragedy and shifts in ethnographic fashion reflect this."[19] Ethnography, with its concern for understanding the insider perspective emerged to answer the need to express a group's self-perception as an oppressed or historiographically marginalized people. Historians engaged in ethnography, also called ethnohistory, in order to shed their own cultural assumptions and biases and present a more objective account of historical facts. The goal of the American Society for Ethnohistory (ASE) was defined in 1967 as "general culture history and process, and the specific history of all peoples on all levels of socio-cultural organization, emphasizing that of primitives and peasantries."[20] However, these investigations generally neglected the possibility of emotion as a potential motivating factor in Indian behavior.

Within the genre of ethnography, there have been two major categories of interpretations. Each type responds by taking an extreme position along a spectrum. On one side are those who depict Native Americans as preter-rational, i.e. always able to "play" Europeans or craft the perception that others receive of them during interactions and use it to maximize desire satisfaction. The other side depicts Indians as easily influenced primitives. Ethnographers characterize the Indian-Jesuit relationship as either Jesuits converting easily susceptible natives or, more recently, as Indians manipulating conversion encounters to rationally satisfy their economic/political needs. These histories attribute the motivating factor of the Jesuit-Indian relationship to either Catholicism's cognitive appeal[21] or the potential socio-economic benefits.[22] Historians of Native Americans in New France have not attempted to synthesize these views nor include the importance of psycho-emotional drives on behavior. Although these text cover a broad range of topics within the history of Native Americans, the ongoing dialogue as to the reality of religious influence is a well-developed theme in which agency may be highlighted and their accounts compared.

G. Elmore Reaman took issue with the characterization of Indians as a "lesser breed without the law."[23] He rejected the common view of Native Americans as a less-than-human race without the virtues of legal civilization. In his text, *The Trail of the Iroquois Indians*, Reaman attempted to give agency to the Iroquois community and asserted that the Iroquois influenced the construction of the Constitution of the United States. Although ultimately unconvincing, it did encourage the tendency to appreciate Indian identities and consider cultural accommodation in ways no longer hostile to the history of Indians. This text was largely devoid of religious influence and similarly devoid of any acts of Indian agency

In 1976, Bruce Trigger wrote perhaps the most pivotal and influential book on Native Americans of the Great Lakes Region. In *Children of Aataentsic,* he focused on the Huron people and narrated the gradual decline of their tribal identity as they were scattered and subsumed by the Iroquois. Trigger took care to construct the beliefs and cultural attitudes as they would appear to an insider perspective. Trigger grew out of the Enlightenment atmosphere of the cultural Darwinism phase of historiographical development and chose to describe his approach as rationalistic and his primary goal to

"demonstrate that native behaviour was based on the rational pursuit of desired ends at least to the same extent as that of Europeans."[24] However, Trigger transgressed the boundaries of his intent and endowed the Huron subject with an excessive capacity of rationality. The Indians engineered social perspectives, respond unemotionally to even the harshest of circumstances and were not swayed by the healing power of other religions. All texts that have followed since the publication of the *Children* have had to address it in some way. Religion was a key realm of cultural exchange for Trigger but ultimately did not appeal to his preter-rational actors. As such, his text denied the mundane humanity of Indians.

Two years later, Calvin Martin argued in *Keepers of the Game* that major epidemics sufficiently weakened Native American tribes as to allow a spiritual conquest and conversion. Martin also articulated an ill-fated argument that claims that Indian engagement in the Fur trade was due to Indian beliefs that animal spirits were responsible for the plague epidemics. This was a commendable attempt to discover the Indian ways of thinking but was regrettably inconsistent with European and Indian extant records. However, he was among the first ethnographers to recognize that religion was both a key motivating factor and able to provide the impetus to motivate cultural interaction and individual commitment to a new economic partnership.

James Axtell followed Martin and responded to Trigger with his own ethnography, *The Invasion Within: the Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America*. He argued that most Indian experiences of conversion to Christianity were genuine and that most converts kept the new faith. These were "bona fide conversions." In the example of Axtell's treatment of conversions, one can see how he attempted to utilize intellectual motivations for conversions rather than social factors and thus assert individual Indian agency. However he attributed success to the intellectual and spiritual preparedness of the Jesuits over the Indians. In such a depiction, Indians were once again relegated to the role of supine primitives. Axtell's account was also too rationalistic. Conversions like many other life decisions are not objectively weighed by the intellect devoid of feeling. One's emotional, passional nature can influence a decision and deserves a hand in agency as well.

Native American historiography has been intrigued by the blood-soaked history of interaction with Europeans. However, some historians fail to recognize that they continue to perpetuate violence on their Native American subjects by denying their agency in historical events. By treating Indians as somehow more or less rational, autonomous or important than their European counterparts, historians encourage the continuation of the alienation of a prejudice towards the Indian identity. The historiographical search for Indian agency enables scholars to distance themselves from the violent acts against Native Americans and the violence of perpetuating this biased perspective. The only way to end the violence or hatred is to acknowledge the prejudice in historiographical accounts and recognize Native Americans as equally capable/responsible for their actions as more familiar, European, actors. The emergence and recognition of Native American and Jesuit agency bound these disparate endeavors of the community of historians into historiography. This major theme runs throughout the historiography of Native Americans in New France.

The next step to realize the emergence of Indian agency must surely be the synthesis of the polarities of European cultural conquest and Native American hyper-rationalism. This synthesis would recognize the agency of both Europeans and Native Americans and allow both subjects to be influence by the intellect and emotions. By recognizing the presence of the will, via agency, as motivated by emotions, historians express a more complete, more developed humanity in their historical subjects. It is important to note when thinking about humanity to recall the link between will and emotion. The addition of feelings or affections, such as a genuine inner appeal of Christianity and the capacity to be emotionally motivated, enables a new level of agency of the Indian. This synthesis and the inclusion of emotion would construct an understanding of Native Americans as intelligent and clever but lacking omniscient foresight, as capable of rationality as Europeans but also just as easily be influenced by his/her feelings. It imbues the collective and by extrapolation the individual or person with a sense of agency and, more importantly, develops a thicker understanding of the humanity of a historical subject.

This thesis will challenge the misconception that Indians constructed a rationally motivated duplicitous relationship towards the Jesuits missionaries and thus will establish

that Native Americans maintained an emotionally rich relationship of both dependence and mutual hatred between the two groups. The analysis will help to realize this next step in Native American history and the study of American religious history. It challenges historians of colonial Native Americans to reconsider the influence of religion on Native American and Jesuit behavior. Although it incorporated mundane factors, religion motivated and regulated the interactions between Jesuits and Indians. It enlivened emotions. Such an emotionally and religiously rich colonial environment regulated Native American and Jesuit encounters in seventeenth and eighteenth century New France despite historiographic notions that Indian-Jesuit relations were completely benign or governed by rational reflection on politico-economic needs. The perspective of this thesis disagrees with the early hagiographic claims that Jesuits were selflessly motivated and later ethnographic claims that Indians were unconcerned with religious factors. Though couched in ethnocentrism and a propagandistic agenda, the Jesuits recorded and preserved their relationship of mutual dependence and disdain in the *Jesuit Relations*. This thesis uses this historical source and other non-traditional sources[25] to demonstrate to historians of religion that religious hatred and healing are important and related themes for understanding cultural interaction and friction. Through the ritual of baptism, Native Americans and Jesuits regulated and accommodated mutual hatred and the desire for healing.

Chapter One, *A Relationship of Hatred,* sets the stage for examining cultural interaction between Jesuits and Native Americans. It demonstrates that Jesuit missionaries and Native Americans were engaged in a mutual relationship of hatred. Hatred is defined as the antagonistic or destructive orientation of one group or individual towards another group or individual. To be classified as hatred, the hateful group must also be closely bound to the object of hatred in a relationship of dependence, love or attraction. The interconnectedness between the hateful subject and the object of hatred is well documented in the literature on religious hatred and violence. Anthropologist Rene Girard noted in his discussion of sacrificial victims, that for hatred or violence to be manifested against the victim there could not be "'too little' or 'too much' contact between the victim and those whom the victim represents [i.e. those inflicting the violence]."[26] The dependency between hater and hate object is especially evident relative to the construction of identity. Regina

M. Schwartz, scholar of religion and literature, maintained that "on the one hand, the activity of people defining themselves as a group is negative, they *are* by virtue of who they are not. On the other hand, those outsiders—so needed for the very self-definition of those inside the group—are also regarded as a threat to them."[27] The self-definition of a group requires an "other" which consequently exists in opposition to that group.[28] Jesuits imposed a religious identity upon Indians that cemented the "savage infidel" perspective and merged with Catholicism's hatred of sin and opposition to evil.[29] Once this imposed identity became racialized and literally demonized, violence and hatred against Indian individuals and communities became hidden behind a veil of paternalistic moral duty. Jesuits promoted violence within Indian cultures, employed the fear of hell as mental abuse, and used martial threats to enforce religious attendance and support missionaries.[30] Indians expressed their hatred towards Jesuits by physically tormenting the missionaries, demonizing their activities as evil sorceries and attacking and alienating converts.[31] Furthermore, the Jesuits' drive to martyrdom, the concern for Indian souls, the Indians' dependence on the French and the appeal of Catholicism counterbalanced the violent repulsion between the two cultures and thus established the relationship of hatred.

Chapter Two, *Baptism and Healing,* describes how baptism became a healing ritual for Indians and Jesuits. Healing had been a common element in both Native American religions and Christianity.[32] Indians understood the baptismal ritual as physically curative.[33] Both cultures employed baptism as a means to heal Indians from the destiny of hell and transform them into a more complete spiritual state.[34] Confession in many ways functioned to name the illness and enabled the Jesuits to heal Indians of the disease of sin.[35] Baptism served, for Jesuit understandings, as a ritual of death and rebirth that removed Indians from their previous, hated identity.[36] Baptism also reinforced the Jesuits' identity and reconciled missionaries to their ideal fate as martyrs.

Chapter Three, *Baptism and Hatred,* proposes that the ritual of baptism served to regulate and temper the relationship of hate between Jesuits and Indians. The symbolic death of the Indians may be an act of violence and the rebirth an expression of healing, but taken together the baptismal rite created a person and an identity that bled away social divisions and served as an intermediary between missionaries and Indians.[37] Accommodation and hybridity in Jesuit and Indian worldviews weakened the identity

barriers and allowed efficacious healings of Indians. The hybridity expressed in ritual baptism and the beliefs of Indian converts drew these cultures closer together.[38] Baptism ritually recreated the social dynamics of New France, reinforcing old identities, while at the same time promoting the recognition of the baptismal ritual participants' shared humanity. The ritual of baptism created the new identity for a Christian community that was defined against non-believers.[39] To lessen the dissonance from these two identities, the repulsion aspect of hate lessens but does not disappear. Although neither Jesuits nor Indians forgot their cultural distinctions, they began to interact through this shared identity that was more inclusive and hybridized.[40]

An examination of the Native Americans in New France exposes some of the inadequacies of Native American history. Historians of Colonial Native American history—Trigger, Axtell, and Bitterli—have often excluded religion feeling as a genuine influence for Indians or omitted emotion in the contextualization of European encounters. This trend lost the humanity of the Native American for three main reasons. First, early historians dismissed the Native American perspective due to the dearth of primary sources and the absence of Indian perspectives in the highly biased European documents that remained. Second, historians have often slighted Native American perspectives because of a historiographically entrenched perspective that evaluates Native American society and Native Americans based on European-biased, technological criteria. The technological differences between Europeans and Indians are used to classify Native Americans as a less developed, primitive society. Third, ethnographic historians, reacting to prejudice in earlier texts, engaged in hyperbolic polemics to prove that Native Americans were not primitive and thus capable of non-reactionary action. Regrettably, in their effort to present a narrative that asserts the agency of Native American subjects, European actors may seem reactionary or manipulatively duped by Indians. The study of Native American-Jesuit relations serves as a foil to the three major misconceptions of early Native American historiography. By preserving agency for both sides during such an analysis, the common humanity of both groups can be expressed in the same narrative. It should be noted that the category of "humanity" is to a certain extent a culturally constructed one and as such an analysis must be sensitive the historical/cultural context for any conception of human. Although this analysis does rely on a notion of agency that

is of more concern to a modern reader than the original historical actors, it does not assume or seek to impose a fully universalistic conception of humanity upon Jesuits and Indians. Rather it takes into consideration how Jesuits of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries would have imagined a human to be, and how Native Americans, in as much as scholars may know something of their thought-worlds and about their adoption of Western ideas, might have imagined "human-ness."

CHAPTER ONE: A RELATIONSHIP OF HATRED

A mutual relationship of hatred characterized cross-cultural encounters between Jesuit Missionaries and Native Americans in the New France. Hatred will be defined as the antagonistic or destructive orientation of one group or individual towards another group or individual. To be classified as hatred the hateful group must also be closely bound to the object of hatred in a relationship of dependence or attraction. Religious hatred then is any hatred that is motivated by or expressed through religious orientation or religious rituals. As such, it is an essential to an understanding of religion.

Hateful Saints

Jesuit missionaries arrived on the shores of New France hating Indians. The process of creating hate towards Native Americans began, metaphorically, on the boat ride across the Atlantic Ocean. Prospective French Jesuits were immersed in accounts of Cartier's exploration of the virgin American landscape, the success of Champlain's founding of Port Royal, tales of the Franciscan Recollet fathers' seventeenth century mission into the interior of Canada,[41] and later the passion narratives of missionary martyrs in the *Jesuit Relations*.[42] With the decision to enlist among the august fellowship of The Society of Jesus, aspiring missionaries began to construct an identity for themselves, defined in opposition to the simultaneously crafted perception of Indian identity. The Jesuit identity restructured the Jesuit candidates' assumptive world and self-perception. During the novitiate, a probationary status lasting two years before ordination and another year afterwards, the Jesuit candidate was socialized into the Jesuit community and surrounded by tales that venerate the ongoing mission activities in New France.

French men became Jesuits and allowed their previous identities to be subsumed into a more comprehensive identity as God's missionaries to the savages. Though inspired by religious texts and traditional interpretations of their moral mandate to evangelize, the missionary identity was primarily understood inversely relative to European understanding of Indians as savage infidels. The crafting of this distinction

attributes the foil of each chief virtue of the missionary identity to the understood Indian identity. Whereas missionaries were faithful, virtuous, and civilized; Indians were heretical, violent, and primitive. Historian of religion, Sudhir Kakar, noted that, in cases where identity constructions are rigid, "the self-assertion of 'We are,' with its potential for confrontation with the 'We are' of other groups, is *inherently* a carrier of aggression, together with the consequent fears of persecution, and is thus always attended by a sense of risk and potential for violence."[43] The Jesuit identity community, bolstered by religious texts and officially circumscribed from other groups by a ritual oath of inclusion, was rigidly defined. This rigidity was expressed in the definition of the Jesuit missionary identity against or in opposition to other religious groups, rather than by inclusive criteria alone. Thus, the act of constructing the missionary identity was itself an act of violence towards and alienation of Native Americans.[44]

Collective identity was also influenced by cultural factors that weighed heavily on European collective memory. Religious persecutions and religious wars had recently ravaged Europe and were fresh in the French collective memory.[45] The Jesuits missionary identity could not appease the cognitive dissonance created by the approval of religious violence on another front. European Jesuits could not allow religion to motivate violence against the Native Americans and precipitate the carnage that the Catholic-Protestant wars had effected in Europe. Therefore, all violence and hatred towards Native Americans had to be obscured, cognitively transformed and expressed through more acceptable venues. The generation of an antagonistic orientation towards Indian savages was hidden by forgetting the reality of cross-categorical similarities between Indians and missionaries.[46] This amnesic violence is forgotten along with the common humanity of the Indian out group.

The forgetting of the common humanity between Indians and Jesuits helped assuage Jesuit hatred of themselves. The universal inclusiveness of the rhetoric of sin may have devaluated individual self-esteem. More importantly however, it allowed Jesuits to identify with Indians during the formative stages of induction into the Jesuit identity. The cognitive dissonance between the perception of Jesuit behavioral norms as hateful and the participation in the missionary identity had to be addressed. The mental angst was sublimated and transformed into the drive for martyrdom which veils hateful

acts within the rhetoric of justification and love. The self-hate of the missionaries thus fueled the hate of others by hiding it.

At the heart of Christianity has been the use of religion to overcome evil.[47] Combined with the traditional ethical mandate to "hate sin but love the sinner," this foundational ideological framework ultimately legitimated any hateful acts towards the Native Americans. The formation of the missionaries' collective identity necessitated the projection of the moral delinquencies that were antithetical to its own virtues upon the Indians. Thus, these moral failings or sins were intrinsic to the European understanding of Indians. The sins were literally the essence of the Native American identity, as it was perceived by European missionaries. Father Gabriel Marest described the Indians of the Illinois tribes near the village of Cascaskias in a letter to Father Germon, a Jesuit priest in Europe.

> As they are absolute masters of themselves without being subjected to any Law, the independence in which they live enslaves them to the most brutal passions …From this independence springs every sort of vice that rules them. They are indolent, traitorous, fickle, and inconstant; deceitful, and naturally thievish, — so much so, as to boast of their skill in stealing; brutal, and without honor; taciturn; capable of doing everything when you are liberal toward them, but at the same time thankless and ungrateful…Gluttony and the love of pleasure are, above all, the vices most dominant among our Savages; they are habituated to the most indecent acts before they are even old enough to know all the shame that is connected with them.[48]

According to Marest, Native Americans were savages who were ruled by behaviors and passions deemed sinful according to Catholic Christianity, and as such were not fully men until the Jesuits could convert them. The intrinsic characteristic of sin lent the impetus to equate the Indian identity with evil. Indians were accordingly perceived as evil though rarely consciously. Sin was so essential to the perceived Indian identity that the distinctions between the two were easily blurred.

Father Le Jenne reflected on the primitive practices of Indian societies and hypothesized that Native Americans are "descended from Cain."[49] Effectually this served to blur the distinction between the Indian and the sin by locating primeval sin

within Indian heredity. Sin became embodied in Native American society and physical anatomy giving a quasi-racial status to the antagonistic orientation. In 1634-35, Father Julïen Perrault, of the Society of Jesus, wrote a letter to his Provincial, in France in which he described the bodies of the Indians near the Island of Cape Breton:

> As to the people, there is nothing anomalous in their physical appearance; you see well-formed men, good-looking, of fine figures, strong and powerful. Their skin is naturally white, for the little children show it thus; but the heat of the Sun, and the rubbing with Seal oil and Moose fat, make them very swarthy, the more so as they grow older.[50]

Perrault described the Indians as biologically normal and physically pleasing while conversing with a fellow Jesuit. As though this statement would be surprising, he listed the physical virtues of Native Americans with close attention to the natural whiteness of their bodies. Perrault adhered to a minority opinion, that the true form of Indians was white, but understood well the negative, derogatory evaluation of Indians based on concepts of race. In many of the writings by other missionaries, including Le Jenne, the natural state of Native Americans was both non-white and sinful. Elimination of their sin must then equate with the destruction of either their physical bodies or cultural identity. Thus, Native Americans were imagined as a force to be overcome and could be justifiably hated.

The collective consciousness of missionary society demonized Native American identity and literally demonized Native Americans. The first part of the demonization was the act of projecting anti-virtue and sin. The second, more blatant phase of demonization included the actual associating and equating Native Americans with demons.[51] Jean de Brebeuf observed the greater frequency of satanic possession among the Huron in comparison to European peoples. Jesuit hagiographer, Francis Xavier Talbot, noted that de Brebeuf believed that it was the Indians' "'lewdness and licentiousness [that] hinder them from finding God…it is very easy for the devil to insinuate himself and to offer them his services.' Again, he observed: 'there is, therefore some foundation for the belief that the devil sometimes guides their hands.'"[52] Father Druillettes equated Native American beliefs in manitous or spirits to demon worship and declared medicine-men subject to guidance by their demon masters.[53] Father Ragueneau referenced a local magician who worshiped a demon and "vomited a thousand

blasphemies against God" and was very popular and prominent among Indian society.[54] The treatment of this Native American shaman provided an example of Jesuit perceptions of the positive valuation of demons, here possession and blasphemy, by Indian society. Jesuits perceived the religion of Native Americans to be the essential orienting and structuring institution of Native American society and identity. Thus, when Jesuits understood Indian religion as centered around the worship of demons, Indian society and identity could be understood as centered around demons.

Jesuit missionaries inflicted more direct forms of violence and hatred upon the Native Americans, including mental and physical abuse. Father Ragueneau described and commended the efficacy of using ideas and pictures of hell to inspire fear of God and convert the natives. He recounted with satisfaction how Indians so motivated by the "fires of hell" journeyed days to the mission in order to receive baptism, flagellate themselves to extremes or "apply burning coals to their bodies, asking themselves, 'How couldst thou, wretched man, bear an eternal fire, if thou canst not accustom thyself to this?'"[55] The doctrine of hell that Jesuits encouraged among Native Americans encouraged the Indians to this overwhelming state of fear and these physical mutilations.

However, it should be noted that Jesuits often recounted less masochistic responses to the doctrine of Hell. Father Jerome Lalemant recounted the "remarkable" conversion of "one of those dissolute girls." The Indian girl that Lalemant spoke of inquired of a young, Christian girl "if she really believed that there was a Hell; and how she could be sure that the French, who came to instruct them, did not tell them lies."[56] The Christian girl reportedly answered that she did believe and that the idea of Hell was terrifying but, even if no such realm existed, it did not hurt anything to believe. The Indian girl, struck by this answer, journeyed to Father Lalemant and stated "that at least it might well be the case that there was in Hell a fire prepared for the infidels; and that, in such case, she would be eternally wretched."[57] She promptly requested baptism and began observing the behavioral regulations prescribed by the Jesuits for believers. In 1635, Father Brebeuf wrote to Father le Jeune of Quebec describing the fearful conversion of an elderly Huron man.

> On the twenty-seventh of November, Martin *Tsicok*, already a very old man and of a very gentle disposition, was baptized. This good man did not cease to invoke Jesus and Mary from his baptism until the 15th of December, when he died. I

> began to instruct him with this truth, that our souls after death all go to Hell or to Paradise; that Paradise is a place full of delights and contentment, and on the contrary that Hell is a place of fires, of pains, and eternal torments; that, besides, he should think, while he was yet in life, to which of these places he desired to go and dwell forever. Then this good old man, turning to his wife, said to her, "My wife, is it not indeed, better to go to Heaven? I am afraid of those horrible fires of hell." His wife was of the same opinion, and thus he willingly listened to the instructions we gave him.[58]

The Jesuits missionaries, including Lalemant, Brebeuf and Ragueneau, knowingly used the doctrine of Hell to scare Native Americans into conversions. The doctrine of hell became the motivation most often accredited by Jesuits for the conversion of Indians. Thus, the infliction of fear became an essential component of the Jesuit-Indian religious relationship.

Other Indians were torn between their traditional understanding that situated their deceased ancestors and kin within a universally accessible spiritual realm and the Jesuits' condemnation and assertion that they would go to either heaven or hell. Native Americans generally understood death as "a vague dream; life is palpable reality, the subject of all care and all hopes."[59] In Indian religion there was little reason to fear the afterlife or one's place in it. The spirit was believed to journey to a far away land in which it lived for the rest of eternity with all of the tribe's ancestors. The idea of being spiritually cut off from one's heritage and condemned to Hell for eternity understandably caused some distress and frustration. These individuals were anguished at the thought of eternal separation from their loved ones due to the activities of the Jesuits.[60]

These anxieties and fears were often expressed through syncretic experiences and cross-cultural interaction. Native Americans who were influenced by Catholicism expressed their mental tensions through their accommodating worldview that maintained aspects of Indian religion and Christianity in an attempt to diminish the psychological trauma. Father Lalemant related in the annual progress report of 1646 the attempts to "sap the foundations of our faith" that the "infidels" engaged in.[61] Infidel, though pejorative, could be applied to non-converts and recently converted Indians who did not relinquish belief in their native worldview. Among the various tribes, Indians wary of Jesuit teachings circulated a story that:

> some Algonquins have recently returned from a very distant journey, — in which, having gone astray in countries till then unknown, they have found very populous cities, inhabited only by the souls which formerly had lived a life similar to ours.

> They say that there they have heard wonders, — that they have been assured that these things which are said of Paradise and of Hell are fables; that it is true that souls are immortal, but that, upon exit from the first bodies which they had, they see themselves at liberty, and gain entirely new bodies, more vigorous than the first, and a more blissful country; and that thus our souls, at death, leave their bodies in the manner of those who abandon a cabin and an exhausted soil, in order to seek one newer and more productive.[62]

This tale enabled some Indians to maintain the Christian conception of soul even while denying the reality of Hell and its alienation. Another tale that circulated among the various tribes relates the death of a Huron Christian woman who, upon death, ascended to heaven and was welcomed by Jesuits but in the manner of war captive. This tale synthesized the Christian and Native American religious traditions and implied that the Jesuits were intentionally deceiving the Native Americans by preaching the evils of Hell, positing that the Jesuit Heaven is "nothing but fire" while infidel Hurons congregated in a pastoral paradise known as Hell.[63] The hybridized tale of the Huron Christian woman shows that even detractors of Christianity would utilize Jesuit rhetoric to accommodate aspects of their assumptive world.

Jesuit religious interaction also brought with it the threat of military force. Missionaries were often accompanied on their expeditions by armed guards from the New France settlements.[64] The documented appointment of Simon Piescaret and Bernard d'Agmangwy to keep the peace between the French and Indians and to enforce religious attendance at services further evidences the violence of Jesuit religious policy.[65] Simon Piescaret in addition to maintaining the peace between Indian and French and between Huron and Algonquin was endowed by the newly converted elders of an Algonquin tribe "to punish the delinquents, and especially those who committed any fault against Religion. It is wonderful how faithfully he discharged his office."[66] Piescaret, a European and Christian, was given permission to punish religious delinquency. Although he was commissioned by the Christian Native Americans, this act was done near Port Royal, which housed a garrison of French soldiers, after an Indian denounced the Christian religion and attempted to inflict violence upon a missionary stationed with them. The imminent threat of French military action and the death of the Indian perpetrator by a mysterious illness certainly contributed and even mandated a conciliatory act by the Algonquin.

Using Niezan's concept of the interconnectedness of Christianity and civilization,[67] the evangelical activities of Jesuits in themselves constituted acts of violence. The expressed purpose of evangelism is to alter the religious identity of the target audience and often does so by the devaluation and destruction of existing identities and communities. Therefore, the destruction of Indian community by Catholicism or French European civilization would be synonymous with violence upon Indian religion. Jesuits denounced Native American religious practices and encouraged neophytes to create social divisions and alienate themselves from the non-converted.[68] These converts were charged with the task of continuing the Jesuits' violence by segregating Indian society by religion and denouncing the non-Christian. Native Americans were also inundated by European goods and material culture. Taken to the logical extension, this material-economic crisis would be imbedded with an insidiously Christian agenda. Muskets, hatchets, tobacco, salt, and the demand for furs altered the socio-economic context of the Indian communities. These goods carried a latent understanding of European Christianity and thus their subsequent influences on traditional, Indian communities must also be intertwined with and attributed to religion.

The performance of baptism was a ritual contextualized and motivated by sublimated hatred. The missionaries ritually performed violence against Native Americans in baptism's symbolic death of the convert.[69] In the ritual, the potential Indian convert was often submerged in water or required to bow before the missionary priest. This performance was symbolic of drowning the Indian or bringing him/her into a submissive state in which similar violence could be enacted. During the religiously fueled, emotionally vibrant common experience of baptism, Jesuit and Indian recognized their common humanity. The neophyte emerged from the water with a Christian name and a new Christian identity that was no longer antithetical to the missionary identity. Native Americans "might have been expected to interpret [the reception of a Christian name] as symbolizing the assumption of new duties and a new role in society." [70] The Christian neophyte suspended his/her kinship bonds and relative political position in the tribe and reentered society within the context of Christian—Non-Christian relations. It must be noted that the Indian identity was not totally consumed. At some level the Indian

Christian remained Indian. This created an identity that could negotiate Jesuits' hatred but was still, although to a less degree, subject to their inhumane treatment.

Jesuit missionaries' acts of violence became mixed with and veiled by a paternalistic love for the childlike Indians and an evangelical concern for their souls. Unable to tolerate the sanctioning of violence or acknowledge a shared humanity with Native Americans, Jesuits forgot the commonality and veiled their violent acts in the doctrinal rhetoric of altruistic love or even tough love. Missionaries were grounded in the paternalism of Catholic Christianity. The bigoted devaluation of Indian intellects that accompanies European colonization imagined Indians as primitive and childlike in their development. This inducted Indians into the realm of paternalistically protect-able peoples. These unfortunates were perceived as needing protection or ministrations which they were incapable of providing for themselves and which missionaries were obligated to tend to. When Jesuits combined this with even a partial concern for the eternal well-being of others, they had all the justification necessary for the cultural colonization of a technologically less developed people.

Human Savages

Native Americans hated the Jesuit missionaries. Although several historical and hagiographical documents referenced the acts and attitude of hatred by the Indians towards the Jesuits, few can reveal any notion of Indian self-perception prior to regular interaction with Europeans. Ethnolinguistic[71] and mythological examinations[72] reveal the foundational structures and cognitive construction of scattered elements of various pre-Colonial Indian identities. Ethnographic and anthropological research further revealed the diverse and multivalent variation of collective identities among Native Americans in the Great Lakes region of New France. However, Indians apparently participated in similar acts of identity alienation, racialization, demonization, and physical violence towards Jesuits.

Historians may pragmatically attribute a similar process of oppositional identity formation to the Indians' re-construction of their group identity. Historical evidence depicts the Indian perception of Jesuit identity as including characterizations of weakness, malevolence towards Indians communities, and impracticality. Historians may

extrapolate that collective Indian identities were often characterized by bravery, beneficence towards related Indian communities, and reliance upon traditional wisdom. Native Americans may have associated the Jesuit characterizations with white people in general.[73] The Jesuit hand in the record of Indian transcripts make such European centric terms questionably authentic. However, if true, this likely allowed the religious based identity of Jesuits to be associated with the physically distinguishable features that further distanced the two groups and the devaluation of the non-Indian features.

Indians demonized Jesuit missionaries by equating their actions and religion with evil sorceries. Native Americans blamed the Jesuits for sending the plagues that decimated indigenous populations. Shamans proclaimed to their tribes that the Jesuits sent the plagues because they wanted the Indians dead.[74] Disillusioned potential converts condemned the missionaries' spiritual powers as malicious witchcraft used to assist the European conquest of Indians.[75] The Jesuits' efforts to engineer the replacement of shamans in Indian culture by intentionally associating themselves with traditional shamanic roles enabled unforeseen consequences and left Jesuits vulnerable to accusations of witchcraft. The Jesuits' shamanic healing reputation often shifted to dangerous liability when Indians accused them of spitefully diminishing the effectiveness of Indian healing rituals[76] or ignoring traditional Native American spirits. At times such charges led to threats of violence or murder to purge the community from this danger. However, such threats were rarely actualized. Fathers Lalemant and Ragueneau record that critics among the Abenakis and Huron believed that the spiritual teachings of the Jesuits were either misguided or deliberately tempting Indians into a hellish fate in the afterlife.[77]

In this construction of Jesuit identity, the missionaries were belligerent and intentionally and irrationally malicious towards Indian peoples. The centrality of the desire for violence and rule of emotion in this construct would allow a comparison to Huron religious understandings of possession by the emotive/war soul, a spiritual influence contrasted by the rational soul. The war soul was the Huron understanding of the root of bravery, anger and violence. Hurons believed in *oki*, a term that could be understood as personal spiritual power, supernatural spiritual beings such as demons or devils that are capable of possessing or influencing individuals, or Huron healers. Sin

which would be perceived as a deficiency in an individual's spiritual power or state could easily be constructed as an attribute of a possessing spirit. A spiritually powerful person or shaman ruled by the war soul would be effectually equivalent to the negative interpretation of an oki. There are several possible interpretations of oki from Huron healer to a state of supernatural possession.[78] However, here, because of the dominance of the war soul, it took on the connotation of devil.[79]

Indians expressed their hatred of the Jesuits primarily by capturing and physically torturing missionaries. The Jesuits recorded the violence afflicted upon the missionary martyrs of New France.[80] In the relation of the torture of Isaac Jogues, Jean de Brebeuf and Antoine Daniel, the violence of the acts remain unquestionable and the hatred apparent in the taunts of the Indians regardless of the hagiographic exaggeration or ethnocentric interpretations that undoubtedly colors the accounts. The tribulations of Father Brebeuf clearly evidenced the religious overtones of these bodily mutilation rituals. On March 16, 1649, Iroquois attacked the Huron village that Brebeuf was visiting. They seized him, his Jesuit companion, and the Indian Christian converts. The Iroquois stripped the Jesuits naked and tethered them to post, binding their hands and removing their finger and toe nails. They beat Brebeuf with cudgels across his body. Reportedly, Brebeuf only replied by instructing the neophytes to suffer well and remember Paradise and their Holy Baptism. An Iroquois captive, a former student of Brebeuf, responded:

> "Echon," that is Father de Brebœuf's name in Huron,' thou sayest that Baptism and the sufferings of this life lead straight to Paradise; thou wilt go soon, for I am going to baptize thee, and to make thee suffer well, in order to go the sooner to thy Paradise." The barbarian, having said that, took a kettle full of boiling water, which he poured over his body three different times, in derision of Holy baptism. And, each time that he baptized him in this manner, the barbarian said to him, with bitter sarcasm, "Go to Heaven, for thou art well baptized."[81]

The religious derision and disdain is obvious in the appropriation of baptism as a hateful act and the religious satire that the Iroquois employed. Brebeuf then endured poking, slicing, burning, roasting, blinding, facial mutilation, tongue detachment, scalping and witnessed the beginning of his own cannibalization. These torments, while not the rule of Jesuit-Indian interaction, were not an isolated incident. Indians expressed their violent

hatred for Jesuits through the deaths of Isaac Jogues, Rene Goupil, Jean de Lalande, Jean de Brebeuf, Gabriel Lalemant, Antoine Daniel, Charles Garnier and Noel Chabanel.[82]

Indians alienated and persecuted Native American converts to Christianity. These Indians, once part of the community, were segregated lest the identity contagion of the Jesuits spread further. Converts were often forced to live at Sainte-Marie-aux-Hurons and other missions with the Jesuits who still physically segregated their living quarters from these Indians but alienated the neophytes less than the non-converts.[83] Converts also suffered torture and martyrdom at the hands of the Iroquois.[84] The *Jesuit Relations* and subsequent hagiographies record that Jean de Brebeuf and Gabriel Lalemant as they were being tortured and physically mutilated called out words of encouragement and hope to the Indian converts bound behind them waiting their turn for the ministrations of the Iroquois. Though Jesuit recorders seemed less interested in the plight of these converts when compared to their saintly peers, it is logical to conclude that the Native Americans were at least tortured even if they did not receive a killing coup de grace. Some converts, including the Indian missionary Chihwatenha, were victims of premeditated murder justified by rumors that they were conspiring with the Jesuits to destroy their own people. In the example of Chihwatenha's death, his niece was later heard saying that "even if 'they' massacred the whole family, she would never cease to be a Christian."[85] These conspiratorial murders were similar to more familiar religiously motivated nativist movements and hate groups, such as the Ku Klux Klan.

Violence and hatred are rarely solitary motivations or the only interpretation of a destructive act. The moment of death for Isaac Jogues and Jean de Brebeuf was a hate-inspired martyrdom but simultaneously the moment of acceptance and veneration of these missionaries by Indian communities.[86] After Brebeuf bravely endured the torments inflicted upon him, an Iroquois saw that Brebeuf was near death, he:

> made an opening in the upper part of his chest, and tore out his heart, which he roasted and ate. Others came to drink his blood, still warm, which they drank with both hands,—saying that Father de Brebcœuf had been very courageous to endure so much pain as they had given him, and that, by drinking his blood, they would become courageous like him. [87]

This final act of violence against Brebeuf, his murder and cannibalization, was correspondingly the moment of his acceptance as a respected member into the Iroquois

community. In this act he was both venerated Father and hated enemy for the Iroquois who ingest him. The final death and cannibalization of these Jesuits was culturally motivated by respect for their responses to the torturous test of character. The cannibalization was a symbolic and literal ingestion of part of the Jesuits into the community of Iroquois.[88] Indeed the relationship of religious hatred was often nuanced and frequently influenced by motivations that were not strictly religious, i.e. cultural practices, and political and economic interests.

To maintain a stable relationship of hatred, the hating subject must be vitally engaged with the object of hatred. The object of hatred must be relevant to the continuing stability of the subject's identity.[89] In order to settle the experienced anger, disgust or repulsion into an antagonistic or destructive orientation, the subject must be engaged or motivated into a commitment to maintain this destructive orientation.[90] Without this attraction or investment, the subject would have neither need nor reason to continue hating and would soon loose interest or destroy the object completely.

There were several motivations that served as the attracting polarity in the hatred relationship between Native Americans and Jesuits. The Jesuit missionaries were religiously motivated to achieve the ideal of martyrdom, as in the case of Father Christopher Lalemant and Father Jean de Brebeuf. John A. O'Brien, a hagiographic historian, noted that "Gabriel confided to Brebeuf that he had sought two favors from God: to be a Jesuit an, if possible, to die for Christ. The first had been granted him and he hoped fervently that the second would not be denied him."[91] This martyrdom ideal was not merely a fancy of young men. Brebeuf, a veteran several years Lalemant's senior, confided in turn "that he too had offered himself to God, body and soul, and had begged of God the opportunity of shedding his blood to further the spiritual conquest of the Indians."[92] Brebeuf's desire for martyrdom, i.e. his sublimated self-hatred, was here oriented towards conquest, a sustained destructive orientation.

The missionary identity, as well as the self-valuation and pride that accompanied it, required the presence of an infidel class to be converted. The self-identity of Jesuit missionaries in New France was defined in opposition to Native Americans and depended on the presence of Indians to reinforce itself. Without the savage Indians, the cohesiveness of the Jesuit community and the individual pride from

belonging[93] would deteriorate. Without the existence of an infidel category the sense of purpose and self of these colonial missionaries would diminish. The drives for identification, community and self-worth reinforced the missionary agenda and concretized the Jesuit commitment to coexist, not necessarily peacefully, with the Native Americans.

Indians recognized that they could use the Jesuits to facilitate political maneuverings between tribes and between tribes and French settlements. The favored trade status of converted/Christianized tribes lent economic impetus to religious interactions. Several historians have prefered to attribute solely political or economic considerations as the motivating factor behind Indian-Jesuit interaction.[94] Concern for the continuation of the fur trade or the influx of martial technology may well have influenced Indian behavior. It would be naïve and culturally insensitive to believe that it could not. The Abenaki and Huron relied on their relationship with the French to provide protection against the Iroquois should they need it. New France Indian cultures quickly adapted and included European tools and goods that soon became necessities. Jesuits helped mediate conflicts between local tribal groups and could influence the intensity of Port Royal's military presence. However, it would be a mistake to deny Indians of New France the capacity to respond affectively or with genuine appeal to religion. Catholicism with its motivating fear, promise of salvation, omnipotent god and capacity to navigate turbulent social conditions motivated some Native Americans to maintain respectful and open dialogue with Jesuit missionaries.

Jesuit missionaries and Native Americans constructed religiously defined identities in mutual opposition to one another. They each racialized and demonized the identity they constructed for the other. Jesuits perpetuated cultural, identity, mental, and symbolic physical violence against the Indian tribes through religious practices and rituals. Indians committed acts of "identity violence," that is the devaluation of and disdain towards the Jesuit identity. Native Americans also inflicted physical hostility upon the Jesuit missionaries. These hateful acts were often veiled by either paternalistic altruism or cultural rituals that obscured the reality or significance of the violence. Both Jesuits and Indians had religious and mundane motivations that counterbalanced these acts of violence and repulsion and stabilized a mutual relationship of religious hatred.

CHAPTER TWO: BAPTISM AND HEALING

Native Americans and Jesuit missionaries constructed baptism as a healing ritual. Healing is the transformation of an individual or community from a less favored or diminished state to a more ideal one. As such, it is an essential to an understanding of religion. The appeal of Catholicism's baptismal healing was neither an illusion encouraged by Indians for political manipulation nor a secondary motivation for economic interests. Baptism was a religiously appealing healing ritual for both Jesuit missionaries and Native Americans living in New France. [95]

Healing is a common element of many if not all religions. Anthropologist David Kinsley stated that "health, sickness, and healing are inextricably related to religious or moral concerns, themes, and practices in almost all cultures."[96] The nearly universal interconnectedness of healing and religion lead Kinsley to conclude, "Healing is a central concern for most religions."[97] The motivation behind this link includes the belief that physical health is an expression of spiritual health and morality. The attribution of illness to supernatural causes "stretches back to furthest antiquity" and across the educational spectrum.[98] This belief is found in most cultures and is not a symptom of a primitive, rationally less developed culture. The centrality of healing may be related to the importance of life and health to many religions and cultures. Life "represented a supreme value to Native North Americans."[99] The construction of life as a matter of ultimate concern generated the "thought [that] health and medicine are part of the religious interpretation of the human situation."[100] The human condition further bolstered the concern for health. Severe illness necessitates the consideration of the importance and meaning of human life. These musings on human life express an existential concern that, according to Anthropologist Ake Hultktantz, may, by definition, be religious.[101]

Healing is an intrinsic element of religion. Healing is here defined as the transformation of an individual or community from a less favored or diminished state to a more ideal one. This definition of healing is for academic purposes and thus attempts the difficult task of objectively defining a perspective and action based on an analysis and

judgment of the state of reality that is often grounded in a metaphysical cosmology. Although such a definition of healing may be criticized as too broad, its breadth is necessary to convey the nuance and flexibility needed to define the many forms of and situation for healing. Historically, religion has established criteria that define the ideal state of both the community and the individual.[102] If religion establishes the ideal states, then religion has a hand in evaluating whether or not the existing state of the community or individual is in line with the ideal. When the present state of an individual or community is deemed not in line with the ideal form, the present state may be considered less favored and there is motivation for change to realign the subject with the ideal. Some worldviews, however, maintain that individual or community was previously aligned with the ideal. Therefore if an individual or community achieved the ideal, such assumptive worlds would understand the achievement as a return to the ideal state. Correspondingly, any state or condition that is other than the ideal would be contextualized as a diminished state relative to the ideal.

Healing played an important role in both Native American and Christian religion. The role of the medicine man or shaman was crucial and esteemed in Native American societies. He, or she, was a person endowed with supernatural gifts by higher powers. The shaman's curative capabilities were an expression of this spiritual endowment. Healing and religion were here coterminous. The shaman supervised or facilitated the religious transaction of healing.[103] Indians also believed in the correlation between health and spiritual wellbeing. "If a person suffers from bad health, if he or she falls critically ill, it is provided for by his or her relations with the supernatural world."[104] The Jesuit missionaries documented scores of ritualized healings by native shamans, called magicians or jugglers by the Europeans. Father Gabriel Marest recorded one such ritual healing among the Illinois tribes in a letter to a Jesuit colleague. He wrote

> The charlatans like-wise have recourse to their *Manitous* when they compose their medicine, or when they treat the sick. They accompany these invocations with chants, dances, and frightful contortions in order to make it believed that they are shaken by their *Manitous*; and, at the same time, they shake their patients, in such a way that they often cause their death. In these various agitations, the charlatan names sometimes one wild beast, and sometimes another; then he begins to suck the part of the body in which the patient feels pain; after having sucked it for some time he suddenly rises, and drops upon the sick man the tooth of a bear or of some other animal, which. He had held concealed in his mouth. "Dear friend," he

> exclaims, "thou wilt live, this is what was killing thee;" after which he says, applauding himself: "Who can resist my *Manitou*? Is it not he who is the master of life?"… If the sick man recover his health, then it is that the charlatan is esteemed; that he himself is looked upon as a *Manitou*; and that, after having been well paid for his trouble, they also bring to him all that is best in the Village, in order to regale him[105]

Though this account is loaded with the skepticism and derision of the Jesuit priests, it accurately captured the longstanding, stable role of traditional shamans in Native American culture.

These general statements of Native American beliefs must be nuanced. Medical systems, religious world views and social status of shamans varied greatly among Native American communities. Also, blanket expressions of the religious tenets of a society may overlook the reality of religious practice. Although Indians would have generally agreed with the supernatural causation of illness, less severe wounds or diseases might have been seen as independent of or irrelevant to a religious context.[106]

Healing was an important aspect of and prevalent activity in Christianity.[107] Throughout the history of Christianity, charismatic persons have performed healings by "means of spiritual energy of power."[108] These leaders varied in social status and profession and followed the archetype of Jesus, performing exorcisms, healing the sick and caring for the injured. "Healing is also common in the Christian tradition (more so in some denominations than others) in what we might call a routine, ritual context."[109] Ritualized expressions of healing existed in most regions and eras in which Christianity was practiced. Father Gravier wrote to Father de Lamberville while in the region of the Illinois and documented his belief in the efficacy of a ritual involving a reliquary to heal the diseases of his French parishioners.

> I have found an excellent remedy for curing our French of their fever. I promised God, jointly with Pierre de bonne, — who had a violent tertian fever for a long time, — to recite for 9 days some prayers in honor of Father François Regis, whose relics I have. These I applied to him at His Strongest paroxysm, which suddenly ceased, and he has had none since. After the novena, I took back my reliquary which I hung on the neck of Louis du Hemme, of Riviere du Loup…It again attacked du Hemme — who, when he saw himself cured, had told me that I took care not to be sick, for I always had the Reliquary hung on my neck; and, as soon as I took it from him, the fever attacked him again and left him only after the novena. La Pointe was likewise cured, on the very 1st day when I hung my Reliquary on his neck... A small piece of Father François Regis's hat, which one

> of our servants gave me, is the most infallible remedy that I know of for curing all kinds of fever.[110]

This account listed several other people, locations and times for and at which this ritual worked. It was apparently included in his regular but infrequent correspondence in order to inform de Lamberville of the efficacy of this particular ritual for utilitarian purposes. The belief and performance of Christian healing rituals was both wide-spread and accepted. The commonality of concern for healing and the performance of healing rituals allows an efficacious cross cultural analysis of interactions between Native Americans and Christians, here Jesuit Catholics.

Indians were attracted to the Christian religion for its remarkable orientation towards healing and its ability to navigate social change and catastrophe. Healing is a common, cross-cultural element of most religions and had been a common element in both Native American religions and Christianity.[111] However even within the global context of demand for religious healings, "Christians have time and again disseminated their religion as a means to healing and eternal good health. Christianity's success as a world religion has much to do with its attractiveness in this regard, and with its effectiveness in promoting a whole range of salutary benefits and behaviors."[112] Christianity is particularly geared to not only heal illness but to bring meaningful context[113] to illnesses whether the patients are healed or not. In times of social turmoil, Christianity was applied to bring meaningful context to the cultural disruption. These functions of religion would have been familiar to Native Americans from their indigenous traditions and interpreted as a possibly efficacious means to effect transformation via the supernatural.

Baptism as Cure: Physical Illness and Healing

The ritual of baptism was contextualized as a physically curative rite by both Native Americans and Jesuit missionaries. Indians were accustomed to relying on educated societies of men (or women). "Many such medicine societies existed, each with its own distinctive regalia, songs, ritual maneuvers, associated, spirit entities, and myths or legends bearing on its specific origins."[114] The European Jesuits certainly brought with them a religious history and ritual culture that fulfilled the requirement to be

perceived as such a society. Within the Native American's, somewhat pragmatic, cultural understanding, a plurality of religious visions of realities could coexist on the condition that their rituals proved efficacious. Interestingly, induction to one such society, the False-Face Society, coincided with a successful healing of the potential inductee.[115] Whoever was healed became a de facto member of the society. Baptism served as an induction ritual into the Christian community, a segment of society that could engage more freely with the Jesuits. When this fact combined with the Jesuit interest in baptizing those near death, the ill and elderly, it is no wonder that baptism was perceived as a healing ritual. Bruce Trigger noted that "the good health of the French and the reputation that the priests had already acquired as shamans convinced many Hurons that they possessed the power to cure the current illness. Baptism was thus interpreted as a healing rite."[116] A number of Arendarhonon, a nationality within the Huron tribe or language group, and many Abenaki recovered from serious illness after receiving the Jesuits' baptism. This bolstered the Jesuits' reputation as healers and shamans.[117]

The Jesuit noted the correlation between Indian healings and baptism in the *Jesuit Relations*. Father Le Jeune recorded in the *Relations* that:

> A young man,—one of the greatest hunters and warriors in the country, and one of the best connected in all this village,—was brought so low by the disease that they wholly despaired of him; he was instructed and baptized by one of our Fathers, who made a journey thither toward the end of the month of September. Shortly after, he returns to health, contrary to all hope.[118]

The Jesuit chroniclers have also evidenced a less tentative connection between baptism and physical healing. In one *Relation,* Father Lalemant noted how one Huron woman implored him to baptize her because it would "'increase my [i.e. her] strength.'"[119] Father Jean de Brebeuf devoted the majority of one of his *Relations* to the topic of perceptions of baptism as healing. He studied the Indians with which he lived and stated:

> They seek Baptism almost entirely as an aid to health. We try to purify this intention, and to lead them to receive from the hand of God alike sickness and health, death and life; and teach them that the life-giving waters of Holy Baptism principally impart life to the soul, and not to the body. However, they have the opinion so deeply rooted that the baptized, especially the children, are no longer sickly, that soon they will have spread it abroad and published it everywhere. The result is that they are now bringing us children to baptize from two, three, yes, even seven leagues away.[120]

He continued and narrated how Native Americans ascribed to baptism such benefits as: enabling a child to walk at six months of age, the general preservation of health in infants who were baptized, and the occasional recovery of the elderly. Indians from across the stratum of Native American society, varying in both age and gender appealed to Jesuit missionaries, including Brebeuf, to perform baptism to heal present illnesses and diseases or as a preventative of future illness.

Jesuits, despite Brebeuf's protests to the contrary, accepted and even promoted the understanding of baptism as physically curative. Missionaries applied Christian beliefs and practices to Native American contexts in order to fulfill Indian expectations and needs normally met by their traditional reliance on shamans. In order to depose shamans from their reverential social status and facilitate conversions among the Native peoples of North America, Jesuit missionaries often presented Christianity as a religion capable of effecting the same physically manifest-able results that Indian religions claimed.[121] Father Le Jeune recorded an incident in which an elder of the Montagnes Indians praised the moral virtues, intelligence and spiritual powers of Father Buteux. The elder, apparently accustomed to displays of the missionary's abilities, asked for a repeat performance so that his tribesmen should properly respect the priest.

> "Take thy *Massinatrigan*," he said to the Father,—that is to say, "thy Book or thy Tablets," — "write what I shall say." He repeated to him the names of twelve or thirteen little Nations which are towards the North, and begged him to pronounce them aloud. The Father obeyed him. When these Strangers heard him name these Nations, they were astonished to see so many Tribes enclosed in a little piece of bark,—it is thus they call the leaves of his Tablets. Thereupon the Father took occasion to tell them that God, through the medium of his book, had made us know about the blessings of Heaven, and the torments of Hell.[122]

Here the act of writing and reading was perceived as a supernatural phenomenon. Buteux reportedly used the respect and attention that such spectacles generated to further his mission of conversion. By actively encouraging this association with shamans, Jesuits thought to supplant the shamans' claim to the allegiance of the Indian tribes.

The practice of baptism led to an unconscious acculturation that blended Native American understandings of healing rituals with European Jesuit context. Jesuit missionaries performed rituals and practiced their religion in a way that hybridized Indian and Jesuit assumptive worldviews. Jesuits in Europe rarely utilized ritual performances

for the evocation of supernatural forces to aid agricultural endeavors or performed baptism with the expectation of a miraculous healing of the body. However, in New France, Father Brebeuf, a European missionary, when caught in a drought and famine that stretched from Easter to the middle of June, instructed the Indians in regards to the drought. He stated that “inasmuch as it was a matter of causing the crops to grow, they should each bring a dish of corn to make an offering to our Lord, and that what they gave should afterwards be distributed to the poor of the village.”[123] This ritual was purported to rectify the Indians’ relationship with the God of Christianity and enable a transformation in the landscape and community. Brebeuf commented on Indian use of baptism as a holy ritual but claims that:

> the divine Goodness which acts in us according to the measure of our Faith, has thus far preserved these little ones in good health; so that the death of those who have passed away has been attributed to incurable and hopeless maladies contracted beforehand; and, if another has occasionally suffered from some trifling ailment, the parents, although still unbelieving, have attributed it to the neglect and irreverence they have shown toward the service of God.[124]

Here Indians and Jesuits attributed illness and health to the presence and influence of the Jesuit God. In a later *Relation*, Brebeuf recorded that when a tribesman named Ihongwaha went mad after being rebuked for mocking the Commandments of God, “they attributed his madness to divine punishment,”[125] a sentiment with which Brebeuf later agreed. Baptism however was specifically correlated as a healing related act. Father La Jeune did not elaborate on the necessity of baptism for healing but evidences this clear correlation when he wrote:

> The favors of God do not stop there. A little girl of his[126] fell sick, and into danger of death, from a certain carbuncle which was consuming her even to the bone; he begs them to baptize her—they cannot refuse him; after her baptism she finds herself entirely cured to the poor of the village.[127]

Baptism was contextualized as a physically healing ritual by both Native Americans and Jesuits. In the *Relations,* the Jesuit practitioner performed the ritual with this understanding, even if he believed the primary end of baptism was the winning of savages to God.[128]

The ability to be esteemed and accepted as the spiritual and social equivalent of traditional shamans was a major contributing factor in conversions and the success of

Catholicism among the Native Americans.[129] However, this equation created a perception that, like native shamans, Jesuits were personally powerful persons.[130] This view is evidenced in the words of a tribal elder to an Indian who had recently been baptized and healed by the Jesuits. The elder stated that:

> "[Y]ou ought to admire his power and love his goodness, which has rendered your cure so easy, without commanding you—as do your demons, who nevertheless are impotent—the sacrifice of stags, dogs, and bears. Know, then, that if he has so much power to do you good, he will not have less power to chastise you if you do not serve him according to your promise." [131]

Although such a locus of agency in the healing rituals would later rationalize the accusation of malicious witchcraft that detractors of Christianity leveled against the Jesuits, it also enabled the legitimating of ritual performances within the context of the Indian worldview.

The use of the rhetoric of transformation strengthened the legitimation of the Jesuit ability to perform healing rituals. Cultural anthropologist, Thomas J. Csordas, concluded that "the rhetoric of transformation achieves its therapeutic purpose by creating a disposition to be healed, evoking experiences of the sacred, elaborating previously unrecognized alternatives and actualizing change in incremental steps."[132] The Jesuits relied on notions of salvation and transformation in their instructions to the Native Americans prior to baptism. Prior to each baptism, the missionaries would lecture on the importance of being transformed from one's present, sinful nature to something more spiritual pure and preferential. This use of language authorized the expectation of change and created a "disposition to be healed." It is important to note that the Jesuit use of rhetoric of transformation may have been intentional and designed to foster the conception of baptism in terms familiar to the Native Americans. According to Csordas' definition of the rhetoric of transformation and his understanding of its necessity for the experience of healing rituals, from historical documents evidencing that Native Americans did understand baptism as effectually curative, one could conclude that Indians experienced the sacred through the ritual. This insight supports the idea that Native Americans were truly attracted to the Catholicism of the Jesuit missionaries.

Baptism as Spiritual Transformation: The Role of Sin and Hell

The impact of baptism as a healing ritual may have been more essential to the Jesuit-Indian relationship than either side fully realized. Defined as the transformation of an individual or community from a less favored or diminished state to a more ideal one, healing is an effective lens through which one may interpret and analyze interactions between cultures or religions. This category helps to focus the historian's perspective on the role of religion in Indian-Jesuit cultural and ideological negotiations. An analysis of healing refines the discussion of motivations, impact and within the context of an aspect of religion and religious life that is important and comprehensible to both Jesuit missionary and Native American cultures.

Baptism functioned as a ritual to heal Indians from sin. The performance of baptism transformed Native Americans from a state of sin to a spiritually purer state. Sin was understood as a spiritual illness that reflected "its origins in a disturbed relationship with the supernatural."[133] Traditional Christianity contained an idea which correlates sin with illness.[134] Illness is often associated with "lifestyle", a term with moral overtones, which sets illness in a moral or theological cosmology[135]. Improper moral and spiritual existence is sin. Illness and disease, according to the above definition of healing, is any unfavorable condition or state of the individual or community. Therefore, sin may be functionally refereed to as an illness or diseased state.

Baptism as the ritualized removal of a spiritualized illness, or exorcism, appealed to a tradition of exorcism in Christianity and Indian religions. Christianity has a history of exorcism performance that extends to the activities of Jesus of Nazareth. Jesus is not only remembered as an individual who could perform exorcisms. However, "[a]mong all the activities ascribed to Jesus in the New Testament gospels—teaching, prophesying, miraculous displays of power, overcoming death—exorcism and healing are among the most prominent."[136] The tradition of performing exorcisms and healings in the name of Jesus never ceased to be an important element of Christianity. French Jesuit missionaries of this time would not have perceived the ritual of baptism in terms of exorcism. However Jesuits identified the Indians' natural state as one of susceptibility to demon-influence. After baptisms, as one would expect after exorcisms, Jesuits reported a diminished influence of demonic powers over Christian converts and the subsequent shift in the neophytes' behavior towards Christian virtues. These beliefs and observations

testify that Indian baptism experiences resemble traditional accounts of exorcism, even if they are not recognized as such by the Jesuits.

The healing of spiritualized illness through performances of ritualized healing was indigenous to the native peoples of North America as well. Spiritual illness stemmed from such notions as the Huron belief in oki and the two varieties of souls that everyone is influence by in varying degrees. Again the term, *oki*, can be understood as personal spiritual power, supernatural spiritual beings such as demons or devils that are capable of possessing or influencing individuals, or Huron healers. Sin which would be perceived as a deficiency in an individual's spiritual power or state could easily be constructed as an attribute of a possessing spirit. The Huron had a great variation of spirit retrieval or spirit healing ceremonies, including the exorcism of afflicting oki. The Huron also understood soul in a variety of typology and meaning. Among the variations of soul concepts are the distinct rational and emotive souls, either of which could be said to possess an individual and influence his/her behavior. The emotive soul was associated with the war soul and was responsible for anger and violence. The notion that an individual's soul may itself control that person to detrimental effects was not a new idea for the Great Lakes region Indians. Huron often performed rituals to lessen the brash nature of the emotive soul including spirit sharing ceremonies that were attributed with the collectivizing the spirits/souls of a tribe so that the tribe would be of one mind and thus diminish the impact of the war soul.[137] The correlation of illness with moral wellbeing, it should be reiterated, was present in Native American society. The ideological bridge between the spiritual, moral aspect of illness and the performance of exorcisms provided a foundation for understandings of sin and baptism. Native Americans participated in baptism to heal sin when motivated by physical illness or the fear of hell.

The prelude to the ritual of baptism was the act of confession. This act was necessary from a Jesuit perspective to screen the motivations and sincerity of potential Christian initiates. The act of confession signaled the commencement of the baptism ritual. As such it was important to frame the neophytes' expectations of efficacy and healing.[138] Kinsley noted that "Framing illness in a meaningful context may involve little more on the part of the healer than naming the illness...Naming and illness puts painful

symptoms, fears, and feelings of disorientation of patients in a context that is manageable by healers in their cultural context."[139] In the context of baptism and the healing of sin, confession named the sins of the patient and eliminates much of the mystery around the illness and subsequent sense of isolation of the patient. Confession transformed the thoughts and deeds of the sinner/patient to be more acceptable in the sight of the community and amenable to treatment. This act expunged the sins or illness out of the patient where they could be "dealt with by the healer or the community."[140] However, unlike Kinsley's model, the Native American, i.e. the patient, initiated the ritual and named the sin, albeit within the context of his/her understanding of the Jesuit Catholic worldview.

Native American converts retained their agency in the engagement of baptism for they had to request the ritual and initiate the healing process through confession. Indians entered the ritual volitionally and motivated by religious concerns for healing and affective anxieties. Although Native Americans were motivated by and responded to these concerns, Indian engagement in baptism need not be understood as a reactionary activity. Ritualization is "a way of acting that sees itself as *responding* to a place, event, force, problem, or tradition. It tends to see itself as the natural or appropriate thing to do in the circumstances to which it is responding."[141] Ritual is a way of acting that by definition understands itself as reacting to a stimulus. However, the behavior is not mandated, but rather a choice to seek a potential solution. The act of confession complicated considerations of agency. The "linking of sickness with morality and curing with confession (often public confession)—has a strong effect on social control and everyday moral behavior and thought."[142] This public expression of an Indian's private life that the Jesuit ritual causes Native Americans to perform, in some ways, may have strengthened the Jesuit power in society. However, there is little evidence that Jesuits intentionally exercised such power. This social power did enable Jesuits to give instruction among the converts and, generally, receive overall hospitality from the neophytes and enabled the manifestation of the desired results of their mission work, in the form of missionary-approved moral behavior. If confession facilitated social control, it did not mandate such control among the Indians. Indians remain rational and emotive actors influenced by the gambit of social and religious factors. However, the act of

confession and the naming of the illness by Indians transferred agency to Jesuits enabling the missionaries to heal their illnesses within a Jesuit-influenced Native American assumptive world. However in the hybridization of the Native American assumptive world it is evident that this performance did not eliminate Indian agency. They were not overwhelmed by Jesuit ideologies nor were they submissive primitives that wilted before Jesuit missionary authority. This hybridization merely allowed the cooperative coexistence of agency between Native Americans and Jesuits.

Healing of sin was often motivated by the concern for saving Native Americans from the destiny of Hell. That is to say, much of the motivation behind baptism was the desire to transform one's fate from eternity in Hell to the preferred state of eternal existence. To elicit a desire for healing, Jesuits often resorted to heuristic tactics that bordered on psychological abuse. Father Ragueneau described and commended the efficacy of using ideas and pictures of hell to inspire fear of God and convert the natives. He recounted with satisfaction how Indians so motivated by the "fires of hell" journeyed days to the mission in order to receive baptism, flagellated themselves to extremes or "appl[ied] burning coals to their bodies, asking themselves, 'How couldst thou, wretched man, bear an eternal fire, if thou canst not accustom thyself to this?'"[143] Jesuit Missionaries felt that any cost was acceptable when weighed against the importance of saving the Indian soul from the fires of Hell, i.e. healing the Native American soul and destiny. Jesuit Catholic doctrine and the missionary identity were informed by a view of the importance of the afterlife and one's fate therein. Their doctrine dictated that for a soul to not experience the fate of Hell it must be baptized. Missionaries defined their purpose in life as saving souls from Hell and, thus, at least partially, the baptism of those sick with sin. Father Le Jeune reflected on the suffering that was justified by the importance of concern for the soul's eternal fate:

> In eternity we shall see to whom the spoils belong which we conquer here from the powers of hell…He is, it would seem, gently compelled,—this great God,—not to refuse to so powerful an effort of prayers, a number of souls. Who knows whether—seeing that these peoples would not have profited in health by the words of their salvation—he has not permitted all these diseases in order to draw to himself in this way those whom he had chosen? Is it not reasonable to believe that 450 children, who have died after baptism, have been snatched from this world for fear that mischief should alter the whiteness of their innocence? And why shall we not think that strange tribes, among whom we have never set foot,—

> who this year have come to die in our hands, being driven from their country by famine,—have been led, without their thinking of it, by the holy Ghost, who has wished by this means to furnish and complete that number of souls which he was destined to put in heaven by virtue of all these prayers?[144]

The death of children or tribes could be part of the healing of souls from the destiny of Hell, a process of which baptism is the central part. Jesuits felt this task to be divinely mandated and guided.

The centrality of the heal-souls-from-their-fate motivation may also be evidenced in the Jesuits' concern with primarily baptizing the ill and elderly. The Jesuits missionaries decided that their primary aim "should be to convert older men and especially the heads of stable families."[145] Experiences with neighboring tribes, especially the Chihwatenha, suggested that once the heads of households and leaders in a community converted and were baptized other would follow their example. Also the elderly and older men were the closest to death and thus needed to be attended to first. However, by attending the ill, Jesuit missionaries "risked their reputations by trying to baptize all those who were in danger of dying."[146] Though it might have meant a loss of their reputation as effective healers, missionaries attended the refugee remnant of the Wenroronon, at Ossossane, a Huron settlement. So great was the importance of the proximity of these afflicted Indians to death that ministrations to these refugees supplanted the Jesuits' missionary routine.

Some Indians were torn between their traditional understanding that situated their deceased relatives in a universally accessible spiritual realm and the Jesuits' condemnation to a fate of either heaven or hell. Several Native Americans responded by requesting the Jesuits' baptism to free them from the inevitability of such an existence. However, it should be reiterated that Jesuits sometimes encountered more antagonistic responses to the notion of Hell. These anxieties and fears were often expressed through hybridized religious experiences. A tale of religious hybridity discussed earlier related the death of a Huron Christian woman who died, journeyed to heaven and was welcomed by Jesuits but in the manner of war captive. This tale implied that the Jesuits were intentionally deceiving the Native Americans by preaching the evils of Hell, positing that the Jesuit Heaven is "nothing but fire" while infidel Hurons congregated in a pastoral paradise known as Hell.[147] This woman was an example of the Indians who did not

eagerly proclaim a desire for conversion and submit to baptism. The tale of the Huron Christian woman shows that even detractors of Christianity were influenced by their rhetoric and assumptive world. Such accommodation further evidences the belief that Native Americans perceived Jesuits as genuine spiritually powerful beings. Although the tale portrayed the Jesuit missionaries as disingenuous, it did accredit them with a connection to the spiritual powers of the afterlife.

Even in the denial of Jesuit truths, the hybridization present in the rebukes allowed the inclusion of Jesuits in Indian healing ritualization, i.e. requests for and attempts by Jesuits to heal Native Americans near death or condemned to hell. Jesuit participation in such rituals began to temper the divide between Jesuit and Indian by framing the missionaries within the Indian assumptive world. Belief in the spiritual powers of priests in harmony with the Indian worldview allowed the potential for efficacious healing. The fear of Hell and alienation from one's community of ancestors may equate with the affective discomfort and motivation that psychotherapist Jerome Frank attributed to demoralization, the sense of helplessness that psychotherapy seeks to alleviate.[148] If this comparison may be maintained, baptism, as a healing ritual, assuaged the fear and alienation of the Native American individuals and communities.

Healing is a common if not essential element to most religions. Religion contributed to understandings of collective identity and thus self-conceptions of what it means to be human. Thus, motivation from concerns for healing may be an essentially religious and essentially human phenomenon. If one could attribute Indian behavior to such motivations they would become incrementally more humane and less exotic subjects. By allowing the Native Americans of New France to act out of a genuine attraction to baptism one acknowledges a genuine attraction to Christianity. Such an attraction would preserve the humanity of these Native Americans and endow them with agency through collective and individual desires for healing. Jesuits and Indians understood baptism as a ritual to enact physical healing. Baptism was also understood by both Native Americans and missionaries as a ritual healing of spiritual illnesses, sin and the fate of Hell. Through the use of healing as a psychotherapeutic and culturally contextualized ritual, one can examine the cultural interactions between Jesuits and Native Americans in ways that retain the agency of both. The attraction of healing was

found in both a collective appeal and an interpersonal desire. This agency is complicated but not contradicted in the cooperative ritual of baptism.

CHAPTER THREE: BAPTISM AND HATRED

The creation of the Jesuit missionary identity created a rift of alienation that baptism helped to negotiate. The ritual of baptism created a new identity. This new identity served to bridge the ethnically reinforced identities of Jesuit missionary and Native American. The new identity, Christian believer, created a group that allowed mutual identification between Native Americans and Jesuits. Christian believers included Jesuits and Native Americans who underwent baptism. This diminished, but did not eliminate, the tension between the antagonistic orientations between Jesuits and some Indians. Thus the identity dichotomy, the alienation of the opposing identity, was healed, i.e. transformed to a more preferential state. This new group was defined by the initiation ritual, the healing ritual of baptism.

The key to understanding how baptism tempered the hateful relationship begins with the divergent world views of Native Americans and Jesuit missionaries. Baptism was not purely a performance in which one's world view was publicly and ritually shifted to fit a new model. The alteration began through cultural encounters and interchanges. Through economic, social and religious exchanges between the two identity groups, accommodation and hybridization commenced. The similarities in assumptive worlds, especially those regarding ritual healings, presented an opening by which the antagonistically other began to blend into known worldview. Similar uses of religion for physical and spiritual healings and even the use of baptism as hateful torture, as in the case of Father Brebeuf, began to integrate Indian and Jesuit cultures together.

In time a hybridized tradition formed that allowed the efficacious healing of Native Americans by Jesuits. Within this early form of religious hybridity, Jesuits were recognized as spiritually powerful persons, fully capable of effecting healing. The Jesuits employed language of transformation to describe and prepare Indians for baptism. The growth of the new, Christian identity group and the ability of Native Americans to share part of an assumptive world with European missionaries enabled a sense of alliance between the patient/potential convert and the missionary/healer. "The success of all

techniques depends on the patient's sense of alliance with an actual or symbolic healer."[149] For a patient to experience healing and shift his/her worldview, he or she must participate in a conceptual framework that enumerates a relationship between healer and patient. This framework included the efficacy of the healer and the patient's ability to relate to the healer as the key elements to a successful healing. This hybrid religious framework contextualized the performance of baptism.

The ritual of baptism recreated the social tensions and conflicts that it sought to resolve.[150] According to ritual theorist Catherine Bell's theory of misrecognition, Native Americans did not realize the cultural identity tension between Jesuits and themselves. "Ritual practices are produced with an intent to order, rectify, or transform a particular situation. Ritualized agents would see these purposes. They would not see what they are actually doing in ritually ordering, rectifying, or transforming the situation."[151] Participants in a ritual do not recognize the full social or cognitive impact of the performance. The performance of baptism validated and internalized the conflicts in the social body for the individual.

The ritual includes a preservation of the contending antagonisms through expressions of mutual independence and unconscious perceptions of forced subjugation of the other. Missionaries held the power to choose at will who they would baptize or, contextually, who would be spared the fate of illness or hell. Missionaries latently exerted force over Indians by withholding healing in order to coerce confession, a public airing of grievances that gave Jesuits a foothold in that society. Missionaries forced Indians into an act of submission, i.e. submersion or bowing, during which hate could be symbolically or potentially expressed by violence. Native Americans volitionally entered the ritual of baptism. The neophytes latently expressed force over the Jesuits by maneuvering the priests into the ceremony.[152] The *Jesuit Relations* bear testimony to Native Americans' constant pleas, guilt trips and diligent recital of the catechism to effect the desired baptism. By following the rather formulaic steps of candidacy for baptism, Indians unconsciously forced the Jesuits, and thus the French, to treat them preferentially. Thus, Native Americans and Jesuits expressed their aggressive antagonism through the latent context of the baptismal ritual.

Contemporaneously, baptism expressed the dual agency present in Jesuit-Indian relationships. Both Jesuits and Native Americans expressed a unique form of agency through their choice to submit to baptism and the will of the other group while under no direct physical coercion to do so. Through Indians volitional submission to the Jesuit ritual and the Jesuits decision to heed Indian requests for baptism, the participants shared a moment in which they identified with a shared humanity through a common experience. This moment of recognition of, and identification with, humanity pierced the veil between Jesuit missionary and Native American. It created an opening in which the shared experience of identification was contextualized by the shared assumptive world of both participants. That is to say that the identity of Christian believer bridged the gap opened by that human moment.

Baptism recreated a microcosm of New France colonial society within the ritual participant. Christian acculturation was ritually acknowledged and internalized in the accommodation of the neophyte's assumptive world. Tension between the Missionary and Indian identities was internalized as the participant began to partially share the Missionary identity without relinquishing the Indian identity. This tension stemmed from the Indian converts' acceptance of the Christian identity that was inclusive of the dichotomized cultural groups.

The Christian identity strengthened the attraction aspect of the hatred dynamic and thus tempers the hatred relationship itself. By sharing an identity, it was not necessary for Jesuits and Indians to essentially define their identities in opposition to the other. Through the mutuality of Christian identification, the oppositional identity for each was, in part, a component of their new identity. This generated accord between the two groups and thus the discordant repulsion must diminish to prevent cognitive dissonance. This dynamic of hateful engagement and attractive engagement created more than a cognitively dissonant gridlock. They were of the same cloth, i.e. two interrelated affective dynamics. Hatred inherently necessitated a component of attachment to the hate object.[153] The new, shared identity lessened the intensity of hatred between Jesuits and Indians and creates a border identity that could traverse between both groups.

Baptism allowed Native Americans converts to reengage society through altered relations with both their kinsmen and the missionaries. "It is not enough for the

individual to overcome feelings of helplessness and despair with respect to illness; it is important for the individual to feel connected to the collective organism of society itself."[154] After baptism, the neophyte emerged from the ritual with a Christian name and a new Christian identity that was no longer antithetical to the missionary identity. Native Americans "might have been expected to interpret [the reception of a Christian name] as symbolizing the assumption of new duties and a new role in society." [155] The Christian neophyte suspended his/her kinship bonds and relative political position in the tribe and reenters society within the context of Christian—Non-Christian relations. With the new name and social responsibilities,[156] Native Americans entered an inclusive community that shared the collective history of healing from the illness of sin, the destiny of Hell and the identity of Indian as constructed by the Jesuits.

Native Americans who underwent baptism and were ritually transformed into Christian believers experienced altered relationships with the European missionaries. Historian of Native Americans Bruce Trigger noted that Indian Converts received a variety of economic and social benefits as a result of religion. "Money was set aside so that additional presents could be given to Christian Indians who came to trade, as evidence of the love that the French had for those who shared their religion. It was also general policy to give converts places of honour in all the councils that were held at Three Rivers and Quebec."[157] Trigger also documented that the Attignawantan converts were supplied with iron arrowheads and promised that if the Iroquois attacked, French soldiers "would defend the threatened village with their muskets."[158] The favorable disposition in which Indian converts esteemed Jesuits further evidenced the alteration of relationships between missionaries and neophytes.[159] Indians who once rejected the Christian religion embraced both Christianity and Jesuits post-baptism.[160]

The transformative act of baptism redefined the Jesuit perception of the Indian participants from demons and beasts to humans. Jesuit missionaries still treated the neophytes as childlike. However, Christians garnered a level of the Jesuits' respect and affection above and beyond that bestowed upon the unconverted Indians. Father Le Jenne described in one Relation an episode involving Fathers Chastellain and Buteux and a newly baptized, terminally ill Native American. Father Chastellain had cared for and employed French Surgeons to tend to the health of this Indian, named Joseph by the

French. When Joseph left Chastellain's care, he took letters from Chastellain to Father Buteux that testified to his baptism and life of Christian virtue.

> The Father, learning through these letters that he was a Christian and godson of Monsieur the Governor**,** embraced him warmly and promised him all assistance. His relations who had come to see him, wondered at these caresses and evidences of charity, which are not seen among them… He finally died on the thirtieth of June, after having passed a few days at three Rivers, as he had predicted; and his body was given to us for burial, not without making entreaty for it in an assembly which these Barbarians had purposely called together.[161]

The priests identified with Joseph through a shared Christianity. As a result, they engaged him as a peer and not as a hated other. The Jesuit petition to acquire Joseph's body and bury it as a fellow Christian was a display of respect that highlighted the inclusivity of their relationship.

Baptism blurred the importance of race in Jesuit perceptions of Indian Christians. Jesuit missionaries seldom condemned marriages between their European parishioners and Native American neophytes. Father Marest recorded the relationships between several Native American tribes and the local missionaries and colonists. He noted that:

> To return to our Illinois: they are very different from these Savages, and from what they themselves were formerly. Christianity, as I have already said, has softened their fierce habits, and they are now distinguished for certain gentle and polite manners that have led the Frenchmen to take their daughters in marriage. Moreover, we find in them docility and ardor in the practice of Christian virtues.[162]

By all accounts, this Illinois tribe embraced Christianity and was baptized. As a result they are noted as behaving less ferociously, more politely and, in short, more civilized. The Illinois people were no longer what they themselves were formerly. They were elevated in the missionary's eyes from bestial savages to civilized humans. The recognition of a common humanity and identification with one another began to soften the cultural and identity barriers that alienated the bodies of the other. Christians were human and capable of more fully participating in the culture and life of the Europeans, including the sacrament of marriage and sexual encounters. The tolerance or lack of condemnation of sexual liaisons between Christians evidences a growing acceptance of the bodies of Native Americans. The sanction for Christian marriage, an act that could be framed in the Jesuit assumptive world as a union of an Indian and European in the sight

of God, shows the importance of Christian believer as a border identity that mediated between Native American and Jesuit missionary identities.

Although the Christian believer category transcended the identities of missionaries and Indians, it did not eliminate them. Native Americans converted, received baptism and were recognized as a Christian. However, this did not make them immune to the lingering effects of the relationship of hatred among their former identities. The identity of Christian permeated both missionary and Indian. In other words, Indian Christians were still at some level Indians and Jesuit Christians were still Jesuits. This maintained tension may be seen in the suspicion with which many missionaries viewed their converts. Jesuits suspected that some of the Indian conversions could be false. These priests praised the moral virtues of the new Christians while maintaining the belief that these same Indians were often immoral and duplicitous. Native Americans did not dissolve their hatred of the European missionaries. The dreams and hybridized tales that served as anti-Jesuit propaganda reveal the preservation of the Indian antagonism towards Jesuit missionaries. The new commonality of Christian belief increased the trust and lessened the otherness of each group. It did not, however, absolve either group for past incidents, diminish the potential power for violence or eliminate the subsequent fear that each side possessed.

CONCLUSION

Jesuit Missionaries and Native Americans lived in the New France region, perpetuated violence against one another, and participated in the healing ritual of baptism. Native Americans shared a nuanced cultural borderland with the Jesuit missionaries and this interaction contextualized the emotional performance of baptism to heal the illnesses of the Indians. An examination of Jesuit-Indian interaction in the Great Lakes region challenges the historiographical tendency to treat Native American subjects as more or less rational, autonomous or important than their European counterparts.

Both Jesuits and Indians constructed identities that alienated and demonized the other. Each expressed this hate in both physical and non-direct forms. Both Jesuits and Indians understood baptism as a healing ritual. Each group sought to use the ritual for both physical and spiritual healing. Native Americans and Jesuit missionaries shared a relationship characterized by dependence and repulsion. Through the ritual of baptism and the resulting emergence of the more inclusive Christian identity, Native Americans and Jesuits regulated and accommodated mutual hatred and the desire for healing. In New France, the ritual of baptism functioned to temper the rift of cultural tension between Native Americans and French Jesuits

Jesuit missionaries and Native Americans were engaged in a reciprocal relationship of hatred. Hatred, defined as the antagonistic or destructive orientation of one group or individual towards another group or individual, reveals the conscious and unconscious affective framework of Jesuit-Indian interaction. To be classified as hatred, the hateful group must also be closely bound to the object of hatred in a relationship of dependence, love or attraction. Jesuits imposed a religious identity upon Indians that cemented the perspective identity as savage infidel. This idea merged with Catholicism's hatred of sin and opposition to evil making an antagonistic orientation towards Indians easier to maintain. Once this imposed identity became racialized and literally demonized, violence and hatred against Indian individuals and communities became hidden behind a veil of paternalistic moral duty. Jesuits promoted violence within Indian cultures,

employed the fear of hell as mental abuse, and used martial threats to enforce religious attendance and support missionaries. Indians expressed their hatred towards Jesuits by physically tormenting the missionaries, demonizing their activities as evil sorceries and attacking and alienating converts. Furthermore, the Jesuits' drive to martyrdom, the concern for Indian souls, the Indians' economic and political dependence on the French and the appeal of Catholicism counterbalanced the violent repulsion between the two cultures and thus established the relationship of hatred.

Baptism became a healing ritual for Indians and Jesuits. Healing had been an essential component of both Native American religions and Christianity.[163] Indians understood the baptismal ritual as physically curative. Jesuits similarly expected miraculous recovery to accompany baptism. Both cultures employed baptism as a means to heal Indians from the fearful destiny of hell and transform them into a more complete spiritual state. Confession named the illness, i.e. specified the sin, and enabled the Jesuits to heal Indians of the disease of sin. Baptism served as a ritual of death and rebirth that removed Indians from their previous identity. Baptism also reinforced the Jesuits' identity and reconciled missionaries to their ideal fate as martyrs.

The ritual of baptism served to regulate and temper the relationship of hate between Jesuits and Indians. The symbolic death of the Indians may be an act of violence and the rebirth an expression of healing, but taken together the baptismal rite created individuals and an identity that bleed away social divisions and served as an intermediary between missionaries and Indians. Accommodation and hybridity in Jesuit and Indian worldviews weakened the identity barriers and permitted the belief that Jesuits could heal Native Americans. The hybridity expressed in the ritual of baptism and the assumptive framework of Native American converts drew these cultures closer together. Baptism ritually and symbolically recreated the social reality of New France, simultaneously reinforcing the Jesuit and Indian identities, while at the same time promoting the recognition of the baptismal ritual participants' similarities, i.e. humanity, through the highly emotionally charged shared experience. The ritual of baptism created the new identity for a Christian community that was defined against non-believers.[164] To decrease the cognitive dissonance from these seemingly conflicting identities, the repulsion aspect of hate diminished but did not disappear. Although neither Jesuits nor Indians forgot their cultural

distinctions, they began to interact through this shared identity that was more inclusive and hybridized. In this way, baptism tempered the hatred of the Jesuit-Indian relationship.

The methodology and perspectives of this thesis allow the Native American subjects to retain their agency and their humanity in the narrative. However, Native American agency could also be expressed through a strictly economic or political analysis. Through the ritual of baptism, the affective motivations of the will, hate and attraction, and thus a more developed human description may be expressed. An analysis of baptism enables the articulation of agency and emotion together in the emotional encounters between Jesuits and Indians.

Although it incorporated mundane factors, religion motivated and regulated the interactions between Jesuits and Indians. This emotionally and religiously rich colonial context regulated and framed Native American and Jesuit encounters in seventeenth and eighteenth century New France despite historiographic notions that these cross-cultural relations were benign or governed by rational reflection on politico-economic needs. While few academic scholars today would claim that the Indian-Jesuit relations were completely benign, Church sanctioned hagiographies still record that Jesuit missionaries were essentially motivated by altruism and selflessness. The perspective of this thesis disagrees with the early hagiographic claims that Jesuits were selflessly motivated and later ethnographic claims that Indians were unconcerned with religious factors. Jesuits were influenced by the emotion of hate and baptism, with its accompanying Catholicism, appealed to Native Americans. In this analysis, Native Americans were not supine primitives. They hated, inflicted violence upon their colonizers, and employed a hybrid assumptive world to voice opposition against or acceptance of the Jesuits. Neither were Native Americans meta-rational actors. They were influenced by economic and political considerations but also hatred, kindness, and religious experiences. Both Native Americans and Jesuits remained free to act volitionally and not just react to imposed stimuli. Each identity group was the instrument of realizing its own power upon the cross-cultural frontier. The mutual exertion of force seen in the dual subjugation and dual submission of ritual baptism demonstrates the possibility of multivalent agency—simultaneous agency for both Jesuits and Indians. By analyzing the role of healing through ritual of baptism in New France, Jesuits and Native Americans may maintain

their agency, the capacity to feel as well as think, and to respond to religious appeal. These components present aspect of the human condition often historiographicaly omitted. Therefore, through the analysis of hatred and the role of cross-cultural healing rituals, i.e. baptism, the subjects are presented as more fully human.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

[1] The search for this insider perspective is the struggle to articulate an emic, or insider, analysis versus an etic, or outsider, perspective. Clifford Geertz clearly discussed early anthropological attempts to express this perspective. Geertz asserted that "Understanding a people's culture exposes their normalness without reducing their particularity. It renders them accessibly: setting them in the frame of their own banality, it dissolves their opacity…This maneuver, [is] usually referred to as 'seeing things form the actor's point of view,'…or too technically as 'emic analysis (14).'" He cautioned that such an endeavor produces a created description and not the pure social reality. However, Geertz noted, historical and anthropological accounts must seek to expand the horizon of human discourse while measured against "the power of the scientific imagination to bring us into touch with the lives of strangers (16)." Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 14-16.
[2] Common Sense philosophers, Adam Smith, Thomas Reid and Thomas Brown recognized emotion as a motivating factor for action. Historian of religion, John Corrigan, noted that "In the Scottish system moral action was conjoined with feeling, and the emotions, true to their Latin root (*emovere*: 'to move'), animated the person, moving him or her to moral action." John Corrigan, "'Habits from the Heart': The American Enlightenment and Religious Ideas about Emotion and Habit." *The Journal of Religion* 73, no. 2 (April 1993): 189
[3] *Ibid.*.
[4] Jonathan Z. Smith, *Imagining Religion: From Babylon to Jonestown* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1982), xiii.
[5] Francis Xavier Talbot, *Saint Among the Hurons: The Life of Jean de Brebeuf* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1949), 87.
[6] *Ibid.*, 300-301.
[7] *Ibid.*, 206, 297-301.
[8] *Ibid.*, 110-12; 134-35.
[9] John A. O'Brien, *The American Martyrs: The Story of the Eight Jesuit Martyrs of North America* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1953), 20.
[10] *Ibid.*, Introduction, 67-70, 196; 69-70; 167.
[11] *Ibid.*, 69-70, 196; 69-70; 166-8.
[12] John LaFarge, *A Report on the American Jesuits* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1956), 42-46.
[13] Kerwin Lee Klein, *Frontiers of Historical Imagination: Narrating the European Conquest of Native America, 1890-1990* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 198.
[14] Bruce Elliott Johansen and Barbara Alice Mann, *Encyclopedia of the Haudenosaunee(Iroquois Confederacy)* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2000), 211.
[15] *Ibid.,* viii. Johansen and Mann cited Lewis Henry Morgan, *League of the Haudenosaunee, or Iroquois* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1901), 142
[16] Francis Parkman, *The Jesuits in North America* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1963), 8.
[17] John F. Hayes, *Wilderness Mission: the Story of Sainte- Marie-Among-The-Hurons* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1969), 12-13, 94.
[18] *Ibid.*, 94-5.
[19] Klein, *Frontiers,* 197.
[20] Johansen and Mann, *Encyclopedia*, xi. Johansen and Mann cited James Axtell, "The Ethnohistory of Native America," Donald L. Fixico, ed., *Rethinking American Indian History* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997), 12.
[21] James Axtell, Kenneth Morrison, Robert Conkling, and John Webster Grant generally ally themselves with this perspective.
[22] Arthur Ray, Donald Freeman, George Hunt, Harold Innis, Robert Hefner, and Bruce Trigger fall within this category.

[23] Johansen and Mann, *Encyclopedia*, x.

[24] Bruce G Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660* (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987), xx.

[25] In addition to the breadth of monographic histories, the Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, a collection of firsthand experiences of Jesuit Missionaries that were compiled and transcribed by the missionaries' superiors in France and published in a 75 volume set, are archived at the FSU library and accessible through other institutions online. These collected letters and papers comprise the primary source for historically relevant primary source documents related to Jesuit Native American encounter. Secondary sources include archaeological and linguistic studies of the New France Indians. These texts present new primary sources and a reasonably clear understanding of the Huron and Jesuit way of life. The ethno-linguistic methodology of Michael Pomedli and archaeological reconstruction of Native American religions will provide insight into the self-identity of Indian communities. Pomedli examined the Huron linguistic roots that refer to various manifestations of the soul and then uses archaeological contest to extrapolate a Huron understanding of souls, tribal identity, healing and death. He also examines the rhetoric of the missionaries in the Relations to expose Jesuit understanding on native beliefs and evaluate the capacity of Hurons to understand and accept Catholic doctrines. These texts present new primary sources, diversify the perspectives on Native Americans presented in this analysis and blend well with the otherwise historical methodology of the thesis.

[26] Rene Girard, *Violence and the Sacred*, Patrick Gregory, trans. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977), 39

[27] Regina M. Swartz, *The Curse of Cain: The Violent Legacy of Monotheism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 5.

[28] Sudhir Kakar also noted the necessity of a hated group, called reservoirs, as the targets of childhood projections of bad representations of self and parent. Sudhir Kakar, *The Colors of Violence* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 189.

[29] For examples of Jesuit missionaries referring to Native Americans as Savages and Infidels, read the encounters and conversion accounts listed in *Relations* 10, 30, 31, and 34; Trigger also captured the prejudice of the Jesuits in his text. Trigger, *Children*, 504.

[30] See the actions of Father Druillettes towards the Abenakii and the appointment of Bernard d'Agmangwy as the enforcer of religious attendance. *Jesuit Relations,* 31.

[31] See the mutilation of Father Bressani, martyrdom of Father Brebeuf and Father Jogues, and anti-Jesuit propaganda *Jesuit Relations* 30:4, 34: 64.

[32] For arguments on and examples of the presence of healing in Native American and Christian religions, see David Kinsley, *Health, Healing and Religion: A Cross-Cultural Perspective*, (Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1996), 3-5, 85; Michael M. Pomedli, *Ethnophilosophical and Ethnolinguistic Perspectives on the Huron Indian Soul*, (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1991), 76-80; Amanda Porterfield, *Healing in the History of Christianity* (Forthcoming from Oxford), 1.

[33] *Jesuit Relations,* 10: 13, 67, 69, 73, 83; 31.

[34] Porterfield, *Christianity; Jesuit Relations* 10, 30; Parkman, *Jesuits,* 153.

[35] Jerome D. Frank and Julia B. Frank, *Persuasion & Healing: A Comparative Study of Psychotherapy,* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), 89-90; Kinsley, *Health,* 71, 79.

[36] For a similar argument regarding ritual as violence see Catherine Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 197,204, 216.

[37] Trigger, *Children,* 505; *Jesuit Relations* 50:117.

[38] Nicholas Griffiths and Fernando Cervantes, ed. *Spiritual Encounters: Interactions between Christianity and native religions in colonial America* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), 11.

[39] For housing distinctions: Hayes, *Wilderness,* 85-7; For the political implications: *Relations* 67:192.

[40] Hayes notes that the housing within the Sainte-Marie-aux-Hurons mission for baptized Indians that was physically separated from general Indian housing outside the town by a fortified wall of wood. Hayes, *Wilderness,* 85-7.

CHAPTER ONE: A RELATIONSHIP OF HATRED

[41] O'Brien, *Martyrs*, 5-7.

[42] *Jesuit Relations,* 30:4, 34:64.

[43] Kakar further concluded "The psychological processes initiated by an awareness of 'We are,' I suggest, also provide an explanation for the experimental findings of cognitive psychologists that the mere perception of two different groups is sufficient to trigger a positive evaluation of one's own group and a negative stereotyping of the other." The existence of two identities or group is naturally succeeded by a devaluation or repulsion from one another. Such out groups function as a pre-selected "reservoirs" upon which negative characteristics and perceptions may be projected (Kakar, *Colors,* 189).
[44] According to Schwartz, "Violence is the very construction of the Other… [or, in other words,] acts of identity formation are themselves acts of violence." Schwartz, *Cain*, 5.
[45] Ronald Niezen, *Spirit Wars: Native North American religions in the age of nation building* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 2000).
[46] Schwartz correctly observed that collective memory constructs collective identity. "Because communities are forged by their collective memories of the past, forgetting should pose a threat to them, but…memory and community depend upon forgetting…Ironically, communities only survive because their stories are forgotten so that they must be remembered (or misremembered), that is recreated in the present." Schwartz, *Cain,* 159-62. By selectively forgetting the common humanity between them and Indians, Jesuits could forget and veil the violence of defining their identity in opposition to Native Americans.
[47] Porterfield posits the possible roots of such a use in the historical Jesus. Porterfield, *Healing*, 22.
[48] *Jesuit Relations,* 66: 187.
[49] *Ibid.,* 11:24.
[50] *Ibid.*, 8: 210.
[51] Trigger, *Children,* 503.
[52] Talbot, *Saint,* 135.
[53] For examples of how, Father Druillettes correlated Native American manitous beliefs and demon worship and expressed a perception of medicine-men as subject to the guidance of their demon masters, see *Jesuit Relations,* 31: 9, "Of the Mission of the Assumption in the Country of the Abanaquiois"
[54] I*bid.*, 30.2.3.
[55] *Ibid.*, 30.2.
[56] *Ibid.*
[57] *Ibid.*
[58] *Ibid.,* 8:137.
[59] Ake Hultkrantz, *Shamanic Healing and Ritual Drama: Health and Medicine in Native North American Religious Traditions* (New York: Crossroad, 1992)*,* 17.
[60] Native Americans often railed against the reality of such claims of the afterlife and expressed their dissatisfaction through hybridized experiences in dreaming. Other Indians wept or expressed fear or anger at the eternal separation from their kin, requesting on these grounds to receive baptism. Some of these accounts may be found in *Jesuit Relations*, 30.2.2, 55.16; Trigger, *Children*, 506, 508.
[61] *Ibid.*, 30.4.
[62] *Ibid.,* 30:4.
[63] *Ibid.*
[64] *Ibid.,* 67:194.
[65] *Ibid.*, 31:9.
[66] *Ibid.*
[67] Niezan, *Spirit*, 135-6.
[68] Examples of this new social tension may be found in *Jesuit Relations,* 27, 31.2.
[69] Trigger, *Children,* 505.
[70] *Ibid.*
[71] Pomedli, *Ethnophilosophical*, 39, 60-71.
[72] Trigger, *Children*, 77-8. 570.
[73] See for example, encounter accounts in which Native Americans praised these virtues among themselves or Jesuits who showed such virtue. *Jesuit Relations,* 69: 7, "Memoir by Father Claude Godefroi Coquart upon the Posts of the King's Domain"; 11: 29, "Relation of What Occurred in New France in 1637."
[74] The Jesuits documented this slander as opposition by the demonic force amongst the Native Americans in *Jesuit Relations,* 30; Trigger similarly recorded incidents of shamans accrediting Jesuits with the plagues. Trigger, *Children,* 500-5.
[75] Trigger, *Children,* 537.

[76] *Ibid.*, 509.
[77] *Jesuit Relations,* 55, 30-2.
[78] Pomedli, *Ethnophilosophical,* 62-4, 74.
[79] For the use of *oki* as "devil" of one "possessed by a devil" see Pomedli, *Ethnophilosophical*, 74 (definitions one and two respetively).
[80] Ibid 24, 25, 34; O'Brien, *Martyrs*; Talbot, *Saint*, 297.
[81] *Jesuit Relations*, 34: 69.
[82] O'Brien, *Martyrs*, xi.
[83] Hayes, *Mission,* 87.
[84] Talbot, *Saint*, 297.
[85] Such accounts are contained in Trigger, *Children*, 600; *Jesuit Relations* 23:195.
[86] See for example the accounts in *Jesuit Relations,* 25, 34.
[87] *Ibid*., 38: 64.
[88]Talbot, *Saint,* 296-300.
[89] Anthropologist Rene Girard noted the necessity of the sacrificial object to be neither too integral nor too distant from the identity of violence-inflicting group. Rene Girard, *Violence and the Sacred*, Patrick Gregory, trans. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977), 39
[90] For a similar argument, see historian of religion Jenny Franchot's discussion of Protestant repulsion and longing, fear of corruption by and hunger for communion with Catholicism. Jenny Franchot, *Roads to Rome: the antebellum Protestant encounter with Catholicism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 280;
[91] O'Brien, *Martyrs*, 188.
[92] *Ibid.*
[93] William James, *Essays on Faith and Morals,* ed. Ralph Barton Perry (Cleveland: Meridian, 1962)*,* 326.
[94] For the more articulate of these arguments see Bruce Trigger, Conrad Heidenreich, Toby Morantz, or Robert Hefner.

CHAPTER TWO: BAPTISM AND HEALING

[95] Examples of baptism as a healing ritual according to both Jesuits and Native Americans may be found in *Jesuit Relations* 10:1, 30:4, 27:4, 22:2. These views will be discussed in more length below.
[96] Kinsley, *Health,* 1.
[97] *Ibid.*, 2.
[98] Frank and Frank, *Persuasion*, 88.
[99] Hultkrantz, *Shamanic*, 17.
[100] *Ibid.*, 15.
[101] *Ibid.*, 4-5.
[102] The Hebrew covenant community is one example of a religion's idealized community. St. Ignatius of Loyola's concept of the Society of Jesus and the Church provide another. The moral regulations present in the Deuteronomic texts, Paul's Letter to the Romans, and St. Ignatius' *Spiritual Exercise* are a few examples of religiously-defined, idealized individual behavior.
[103] Kinsley, *Health* , 1.
[104] *Ibid.*, 11.
[105] *Jesuit Relations*, 66: 187.
[106] Kinsley, *Health*, 1.
[107] For a more complete historical analysis of the role of healing in the history of Christianity see Amanda Porterfield's book, *Healing in the History of Christianity*
[108] Kinsley, *Health,* 96.
[109] *Ibid.*
[110] *Jesuit Relations.* 65: 175.
[111] Kinsley, *Health*, 3-5, 85; Pomedli, *Ethnophilosophical*, 76-80; Porterfield, *Christianity*, 1.
[112] Porterfield, *Christianity,* 6.
[113] Kinsley, *Health*, 80,156.

[114] John James Collins, *Native American Religions: A Geographical Survey* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1991), 307.
[115] *Ibid.*, 309.
[116] Trigger, *Childre*n, 505.
[117] *Ibid.*, 593.
[118] *Jesuit Relations*, 10: 1.
[118] *Ibid.,* 20: 4.
[119] *Ibid.*, 30: 4.
[120] *Ibid.*, 10: 1.
[121] Trigger, *Children,* 246.
[122] *Jesuit Relations,* 9.11.
[123] *Ibid.,* 10: 2.
[124] *Ibid.*, 10: 5.
[125] *Ibid.*, 10: 5.
[126] This pronoun, "his", refers to an Indian who was baptized and healed, but still did not believe the Jesuits' teachings.
[127] *Jesuit Relations*, 20: 25.
[128] *Ibid.* 9: 4.
[129] James Axtell, *The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985*)*, 91.
[130] *Ibid.*, 17, 77.
[131] *Jesuit Relations,* 20:33.
[132] Thomas J. Csordas, "Imaginal Performance and Memory in Ritual Healing" in Carol Laderman and Marina Roseman, ed., *The Performance of Healing* (New York: Routledge, 1996)*,* 94.
[133] Hultkrantz, *Shamanic*, 1.
[134] Kinsley presents cross-cultural perspective on healing rituals in Traditional, Christian and Modern Cultures. He examines the tendency in each culture, including Christianity to correlate sickness or illness with sin or moral failing. Kinsley, *Health,* 2, 105.
[135] *Ibid.*, 195.
[136] Porterfield, *Healing*, 30.
[137] Pomedli, *Ethnophilosophical,* 62
[138] Frank and Frank, *Persuasion,* 298.
[139] Kinsley, *Health,* 80.
[140] *Ibid.*, 71.
[141] Bell, *Ritual*, 109.
[142] Kinsley, *Health,* 73.
[143] *Jesuit Relations,* 30: 2.
[144] *Ibid.*, 20: 10.
[145] *Jesuit Relations,* 17:33 in Trigger, *Children*, 558.
[146] Trigger, *Children,* 562 (from *Jesuit Relations,* 17: 25-31, 15: 159-61)
[147] *Ibid.*
[148] Frank and Frank, *Persuasion,* xiv.

CHAPTER THREE: BAPTISM AND HATRED

[149] Frank and Frank, *Persuasion,* xv.
[150] According to Catherine Bell, "[Ritualization] temporarily structures a space-time environment through a series of physical movements…, thereby producing an arena which, by its molding of the actors, both validates and extends the schemes they are internalizing." That is to say, through a series of actions, ritual creates a context in which it can recreate or "generate" the individual or social context to which it is responding and then "reorder and reinterperet the circumstances" to create a preferential state. Bell, *Ritual*, 109-10.
[151] Bell continued and acknowledged that "Foulcault implies a similar principle when he notes that people know what they do and they know why they do what they do, but they do not know what what they are

doing does…For our purposes, it is a strategic 'miscrecognition' of the relationship of one's ends and means." In other words, a ritual agent's selective blindness regarding the actual ends of a ritual is what Bell calls misrecognition. Bell, *Ritual,* 108.

[152] Although not his original intent, historian Bruce Trigger described the conversion and baptism of Aenons, a Huron headman, in such a way as to highlight the Indian's efforts to persuade the Jesuits to baptize him. "[H]e consistently urged his people not to harm the Jesuits, listened to the priests and approved of what they said…Knowing he was about to die, he offered a present to the French governor and urged him to treat well the Huron who were coming to trade…Asked whether he wished to become a Christian, he stated that since he had been invited to visit the French, it was well that he should die firmly allied to the." Though previously branded an apostate, here the Native American performed every necessary moral behavior to satisfy the Jesuits. Then, while on his deathbed, he reminded the French missionaries of the close ties between his people and the French (a relationship that was strengthed by a good relation to the headman) and the importance to maintain strong relations with the force of Hurons currently on their way to the French settlement. Naturally, the Jesuits then offered him baptism. Trigger, *Children*, 549. Father Vimont recorded the pleas of another Indian, Oueratchenon. "He is of a bold and forward nature, which has caused his Baptism to be deferred a considerable time; but the great entreaties that he made for it, have opened the door to him, — indeed, one would find it hard to believe all that he has done in order to attain his object." *Jesuit Relations,* 24: 4, "Of the coming of Some Atticameges and of their Baptism." For a more develop argument of Native Americans manipulating or "playing" Europeans and using such tools as flattery to enact a desired situation see Gananath Obeyesekere, *The Apotheosis of Captain Cook: European Mythmaking in the Pacific* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992).

[153] Again, Girard, Swartz and Kakar have discussed the necessity for an attachment between hated object and the hating subject. Girard, *Violence and the Sacred*, 39; Schwartz, *Cain,* 5, Kakar, *Colors,* 189.

[154] Frank and Frank, *Persuasion*, xi.

[155] *Ibid.*

[156] Trigger identified the possibility of altered social responsibilities as a result of a neophyte's new name. Trigger, *Children,* 505.

[157] *Ibid*., 547. Trigger cited *Jesuit Relations* 16: 33, 12: 257, 9:287, 12: 243.

[158] *Ibid*., 513.

[159] Historian of New France John F. Hayes described that after the murder of Jacques Douart, a young *donne,* by two non-Christian Hurons, a council was called among the Huron to determine the future of their relationship with the Jesuits. Hayes noted that "The Christians remained loyal to the Jesuits, the non-believers desired to do away with the Jesuits and French whom they blamed for the evils that were befalling them." Hayes, *Wilderness,* 84.

[160] Father Le Jenne noted the remarkable change in attitude of one apostate. "Here is an act of the mercy of God. One of the greatest enemies of the faith in the Mission of Saint Ignace, chancing to be near death, feels himself influenced from Heaven, at the first sight of the Father who was going to speak to him of his salvation. "Alas!" said he to the Father, "how good is God, even to the impious, since he brings thee hither in order to grant me at death a favor of which I had rendered myself unworthy!...Hasten to baptize me; for, if I have lived as an impious man, I wish to die as a good Christian." The Father is astonished, but happily; and, the sickness urging him, he can no longer postpone the Baptism, after which the patient soon fell, as it were, into a death-agony. An hour before he gave up his soul, the infidels having gained the advantage over the Father, and trying to drive him out, — that Dying man all at once returns to himself, recovers speech, and takes up the Father's cause." Here, the Indian not only expresses positive valuations of Jesuits but defends their place in the village. *Jesuit Relations*, 30: 7: "Of the Mission of the Holy Ghost."

[161] *Jesuit Relations,* 9: 4.

[162] *Ibid.,* 66: 187.

CONCLUSION

[163] Kinsley, *Health*, 3-5, 85; Pomedli, *Ethnophilosophical*, 76-80; Porterfield, *Christianity*, 1.

[164] For housing distinctions: Hayes, *Wilderness,* 85-7; For an example of the political implications: *Jesuit Relations* 67:192.

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