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IN A WORLD OF THEIR OWN:
ISOLATION AND THE JESUIT MISSION TO THE HURON, 1632-1650

A Thesis
Presented to
The Faculty of Graduate Studies
of
The University of Guelph

by

DONALD R. BENNIE

In partial fulfillment of requirements
for the degree of
Master of Arts
August, 2004

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ABSTRACT

IN A WORLD OF THEIR OWN:

ISOLATION AND THE JESUIT MISSION TO THE HURON, 1632-1650

Donald R. Bennie
University of Guelph, 2004

Advisor:
Professor Peter A. Goddard

This thesis is an investigation of isolation, geographic, social and cultural, as well as mental and spiritual isolation, in the Jesuit mission to the Huron and how the missionaries used it as a tool of evangelization. It argues that isolation was an integral tool of the programme of conversion, both in the Jesuits' collective evangelization, as well as in their individual endeavours that focused on spiritual development. Isolation, as an idea, is evident in the Judeo-Christian tradition from both Biblical testaments, the ascetic examples of the Desert Fathers, and the missionaries' spiritual influences. Isolation was a practical necessity in order to separate the Huron from their traditional practices, made more crucial by the Huron inclination to discourage isolating its members. Furthermore, the individual spiritual programmes of these missionaries encouraged various manifestations of isolation that they believed would assist their evangelization.

Acknowledgements

The completion of this thesis and the work that preceded it would not have been possible without the assistance, direction, encouragement, patience, and support of innumerable people.

I would first like to thank my adviser, Dr. Peter Goddard, who with the rest of my committee, Drs. Cassidy and Lorimer, provided the scholarly guidance that has allowed me to grow immensely over the past two years of research and writing. At some points it astounds me how much my writing and scholastic development have changed over this period.

For their assistance in gathering and using various graphic resources, I would like to thank Sainte-Marie-among-the-Hurons and the Queen's Printers for Ontario.

I would like to thank my colleagues for their support and encouragement. With my professional life, I would also like to thank my students for the impressions that they gave of this endeavour and their ability to keep it in perspective for me. I hope the sacrifices that may have been made in the pursuit of this goal will translate into as many benefits for you as they have for me.

A special word of thanks must be given to those who have encouraged me, either directly or indirectly, into the academic fields into which I have been drawn – the study of History and of Religion. This includes those within academics, such as Richard Moll, and those outside such as Rev. Charles Dechert.

The advice that many of my friends and classmates have provided has been invaluable, particularly Jayson and Shawn. The encouragement of those who I have

shared this experience with has been very much needed and made completing it much easier. Thanks to my ON Γ guys, Conan, Lapin, and Ill. AOM

I would like to thank my family for willingly going along with 11 years in pursuit of my academic endeavours. Your encouragement, advice, love, and support has made getting this far possible. I will take a break, I just don't know for how long.

Last, but not least, I would like to thank my wife for putting up with an endeavour that sucked away many a summer day, kept me locked inside an unknown number of books, stacks of which were brought into the house which found residence on the floors, tables, and shelves of more than a few rooms, and yet still continued to be encouraging, patient and picked up the slack whenever I seemed to not notice it needing to be picked up. Thank you for your understanding and support.

Thank you!

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Chapter 1: Introduction

At the dawn of the seventeenth century, New France was a cornucopia of three resources that seemingly only needed to be tapped: cod, pelts, and souls. The vast numbers of fishing vessels that left western European ports each year for the Grand Banks pursued the cod. Pelts were the quest of the *coureurs de bois* and the merchant societies who tried to obtain and maintain a monopoly on whichever routes and trade partners they could manage. Souls were mission of the religious, male and female, secular and regular, grey-robed and black. This included the Franciscan order of *Recollets* and the Society of Jesus, who held monopolies at various points to mine sections of the hinterland of French North America for converts. The cod fishery was sufficiently large in terms of resource supply that virtually every fishing vessel that had the finances and technical knowledge to engage in the trade did so. For the other two endeavours it was crucial to exclude potential competition by whatever means was deemed necessary.

The importance of maintaining proprietary advantages to ensure such monopolies was of obvious economic and business importance to the practitioners of the fur trade since it kept competition out of the markets being exploited. The importance of isolating potential converts, like the Huron, from those whom the Jesuits were in competition with for the souls of the Huron, such as the traditional Huron community, other religious orders for example, is less clear. Was isolation a crucial factor in the conversion process? Did isolation assist the objectives of missionaries like the Jesuits, both their collective and individual goals, and subsequently influence the tactics that they used? What impact did isolation have on the Huron whom the Jesuits sought to convert? An examination of how isolation served and affected the mission to the Huron that the Jesuits conducted is

the focus of discussion hereafter. This study will also include discussion of the effects, both latent and intentional, of isolation on both the missionaries and their host society.

The word isolation, due to its potentially broad range of meanings, requires delineation of its use in the following discussion to allow a more concrete understanding of this potentially fluid concept. Isolation denotes a sense of separateness. Conceptually, there are three specific types of isolation that will be used in this discussion, geographical, social or cultural, and spiritual or mental. The first, geographical isolation, connotes the separation as a physical reality, particularly in terms of geography. This type, which relates to geographic location, is expressed in a number of the planning details surrounding the construction of Sainte-Marie including its relatively remote location and its design that encourages segregation. Geographical isolation is also evident in such as aspects of the mission as the location of the Huron country and the degree to which it is physically separate from France.

The physical separation of geography, can also instil other senses of isolation. The use of geographic or physical isolation also introduces, and in some cases influences, the second way in which isolation will be used – as an expression of social or cultural separateness and exclusion. This expression of isolation was articulated in the Jesuit treatment of their Huron converts and the restrictions on how converts interacted both with traditional Huron and with their former culture and ways of life. This included restrictions such as those on the marriages of Christian Huron and the degree to which converts were able to participate in social, economic, and cultural practices like feasts. This form of isolation, however, does not necessitate any geographic isolation for the Christian Huron from that which they were socially or culturally isolated. It occurred

while they were in the midst of and interacted with those from whom they were socially or culturally isolated. The experience of social or cultural isolation was a result of geographic isolation in some instances. This is illustrated in the movement of the Jesuits thousands of miles from the Europe to New France, and from the centers of French civilization in North America to the *sauvage* Huron country. In addition to having constituted a physical barrier, this travel brought with it a social and cultural isolation as the Jesuits removed themselves to increasing degrees from their prior cultural comforts.

In using geographical as well as social and cultural isolation, the Jesuit missionaries in the Huron country drew their inspiration from two distinct, but equally necessary origins. On a practical level, the Jesuits needed to use both of these forms of isolation described in order to marginalize their converts from their traditional society. Terry A. Veling suggests the need to do this in his work on intentional communities.¹ In Veling's framework, the Jesuits needed to develop a critical view of traditional Huron religious practices among members of this community. By doing so, those who adopted this view intentionally sought out religious experiences to meet their needs and thereby moved towards the margins of the Huron traditional community. This need is even more important, and difficult, with the realization that Huron society actively resisted isolating its members and made its community as inclusive as possible. As marginalized Huron developed greater liminality from their former community, the Jesuits' task then became to incorporate Christian practices and beliefs into the marginalized Huron community – the indoctrination of catechism. This intentional community of Christian converts could be very small and be one or two converts. By being converted and baptized these Huron

¹ Terry A. Veling, *Living in the Margins: Intentional Communities and the Art of Interpretation* (New York: The Crossroad Publishing Company, 1996), 3-20.

bore an attachment to mainstream Roman Catholicism; however, their location and practices continued to place them on the margins of Catholicism because their members were not privy to all of the benefits of Catholic baptism. These privileges included dwelling within the inner walls of Sainte-Marie when they visited the mission center or receiving the sacrament of holy orders. In the process of moving Huron from a community that espouses traditional Huron beliefs and practices to a Christian one, the Jesuits needed to marginalize their converts by isolating them socially and culturally from traditional Huron ways as much as they were able. In some situations, the Jesuits found it difficult to marginalize the Huron. This challenge then resulted in attempts to marginalization of the belief system surrounding the activities, such as a Huron feasts, being targeted and the attachment of a more Christian set of beliefs to the activity. This process also utilized geographic isolation in order to instil social and cultural separateness, a phenomenon seen in how the missionaries designed Sainte-Marie.

In addition to the practical need for, and use of, isolation to separate Huron from their traditional religious ways in order to make them Christians, the Jesuits used isolation because of Scriptural influences. The influence of Scripture, primarily seen in the example of Jesus, who also influenced the first Christian desert hermits Paulus of Thebes and Antony of Alexandria, affected how the missionaries used the Huron mission for individual spiritual development which they believed helped them to be more successful in their evangelistic endeavours. The wilderness of New France paralleled the function that the wilderness of both Palestine and Egypt played in assisting the spiritual development of the ancient Hebrews, Jesus, Paulus, and Antony as well as developing the union between each of these groups or people and God.

The development of physical and social or cultural barriers and the resultant isolation highlights two important caveats to the interpretation of isolation. The first caveat is that isolation can, and is, relative and therefore is experienced in varying degrees. Thus, the Jesuits' experience of travelling to New France from France was isolating to a different degree than the journey from New France to the Huron country. Furthermore, the articulation of the isolation of Sainte-Marie in Huron country was also relative to the reference points of the articulator, whether these points of reference were Quebec, or France or a nearby missionary village like Saint-Louis or Saint-Ignace. Thus, different locales within the Huron country embodied different degrees of isolation for the missionary which were conditioned by his situation at that moment. As a result, the missionary was able to feel more or less geographically isolated while in one single area of Sainte-Marie due to differences in physical barriers or based on whom they were interacting with. For example, the geographic isolation that the Jesuits experienced changed when they attempted to close their facilities to the Huron on a daily basis to undergo their own devotional activities.

As a result, the Jesuits pursued varying levels of isolation, not all necessarily equal in their effect or effectiveness. The Jesuits did attempt to segregate, or isolate,² the Huron from their traditional religious practices and beliefs that, due to the relationship between the structures of Huron society, affected Huron social, cultural, political, and economic practices. Some aspects of the imposed Jesuit program required very strict separation of converts from their former ways, such as Huron practices concerning

² "Segregate", v. *Oxford English Dictionary*, Ed. J. A. Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner. 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989. *OED Online*. Oxford University Press. 4 Apr. 2000. <http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/00218516>.

marriage and sexual relations.³ In others, however, such as participation in feasts, the Jesuits allowed restricted participation, but in doing so tried to change the meaning that the Huron attached to such practices that thereby eroded and separated the connection of Huron converts from their traditional ways of thinking.⁴

Their practices at Sainte-Marie also demanded variety in terms of degrees of geographic isolation. It was at Sainte-Marie, after it was constructed, that the Jesuits conducted their Spiritual Exercises under the guidance of their superior. The use of Sainte-Marie, based on its design, allowed exercitants to separate themselves, with their director, from others at Sainte-Marie to the extent that the Spiritual Exercises required. In an extreme sense, if Jesuit exercitants sought out the extent of isolation that the example of desert hermits exemplified they would have been entirely alone. This however would prevent proper completion of the Exercises. As such, the Jesuit missionaries to the Huron isolated themselves to the extent they were able and allowed, with the predecessors like Paulus forming the traditional ideal. In a similar vein, the missionaries' practice of dismissing the Huron at certain times of the day so that they could perform their own devotions did not allow them the perfect isolation that might have created a more ideal environment for their spiritual work. This less than ideal environment was due to the fact that some Huron were permitted to remain and the Jesuits continued to evangelize them and sometimes shared meals with them. By doing so, the Jesuits' isolation increased, as it excluded traditional Huron, but not did not reach the idealized level of complete isolation. This reflects the concessions that the Jesuits needed to make, for practical reasons, in order to find a balance between their life of interior spiritual development and

³ *The Jesuit relations and allied documents : travels and explorations of the Jesuit missionaries in New France, 1610-1791*, translated by Ruben Gold Thwaites (Cleveland: Burrows Brothers, 1898), 16: 83-85.

⁴ *JR* 16: 47.

their life of evangelistic activity. These concessions were made easier by the influence of spiritual writers like Thomas à Kempis, or Jean Gerson as the Jesuits engaged in this mission would have argued,⁵ and Father Louis Lallement. Thus, it needs to be recognized that the isolation that the Jesuits employed occurred in a variety of degrees; however, the intent was the greatest degree possible within the constraints of practicality and vocation.

In addition to the social or cultural and geographic manifestations of isolation, the activity of these missionaries also demonstrated the use of psychological or mental spiritual isolation. This type of isolation includes the conscious decisions on the part of Jesuits who sought greater expressions of self-abnegation through the renunciation of the physical world. This renunciation exemplified the psychological and spiritual aspect of this form of isolation in that the Jesuits were temporal and could not physically escape their temporality. This expression of isolation was most applicable to the experience of the Jesuits themselves as they sought their spiritual perfection and union with God. To a significant extent, this mode of isolation became manifest in the Jesuits' activities in their attempt to emulate the examples of Jesus, Paulus, and Antony as they developed mentally and spiritually and separated themselves from their physical and temporal desires in order to become more aware of God and God's will. This was necessary so that they might better achieve the three-pronged goals of personal salvation, the conversion and subsequent salvation of others, and ultimately the glorification of God, all of which these Jesuits had been influenced to believe were possible through the mental and spiritual withdrawal from physical concerns. These were ideas that they received from such

⁵ At the start of the seventeenth century a significant debate over the authorship of *The Imitation of Christ* erupted in which the claim of the Flemish Kempis penning the text was challenged principally by claims for it being the work of Frenchman Jean de Charlier de Gerson. "Thomas à Kempis" *Catholic Encyclopedia* <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/14661a.htm> (Accessed July 20, 2004). "Jean de Charlier de Gerson" *Catholic Encyclopedia* <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/06530c.htm> (Accessed July 20, 2004).

sources as Kempis, Lallement, and Loyola. As such, this mode of articulating isolation will be most relevant to those sections pertaining to the use of isolation by Jesuits individually.

In addition to the potential implications of using terminology such as isolation, the issue of how isolation was manifested in a place like the Huron country that had a known population must be addressed, as well as identifying this geography as a wilderness. In Chapter 3, the importance of the wilderness to the concept of isolation will be examined in the Pentateuch. In this context, the deserts and mountains of Judea, the Sinai, and the Nile Valley are synonymous with the wilderness.⁶ The French Jesuits who carried out the evangelization of the Huron country however did not have a term *en français* that was directly parallel with wilderness. This lack of parallel expressions however should not prevent a discussion of wilderness in the context of a French milieu. The concept of the wilderness did have Biblical contexts. As a result, the French religious would have been compelled to translate the Biblical concept of wilderness into something that the French could have recognized and connected with. This need was realized in the first of the Jesuit Relations to be sent from Canada by Father Juvency, where he clearly equates the Canadian mission with Isaiah's prophecy that the "wilderness and the dry land shall be glad, the desert shall rejoice and blossom."⁷ It is obvious that Acadia was neither a desert in the sense of being an arid and desolate place, nor a dry land. Therefore, for Juvency to therefore be able to make such a connection between the Canadian missions and this prophecy, French readers at this time must have been able to mentally

⁶ As with the discussion of isolation in this work, William Stegner clearly admits that even the word "wilderness" lacks simple meaning as it has a multitude of connotations and implications embedded within it. William Richard Stegner, "Wilderness and Testing in the Scrolls and in Matthew 4:1-11" *Biblical Research*, v.12 (1967), 18.

⁷ JR 1: 205. Isaiah 35:1.

understand desert in a metaphorical manner that would have included such geography as was described later in that *Relation*.⁸ When the Jesuits referred to the hinterland of New France and the geography of the Huron country, they used phrases like *le bois*, for instance. Clearly, in the mind of those first Jesuit missionaries to Canada, who preceded those who took part in the mission to the Huron, the forested lands of New France had to bear some mental congruence to wilderness. A key to link the French concept of *le bois* to the idea of the wilderness that was so important to the Judeo-Christian tradition, and the first monastics as well, is to discuss the concepts of *sauvage*, *le bois* and *désert*.⁹

Les sauvages was a common appellation used for the native populations with whom the European colonizers, traders, and missionaries came into contact. The term *les sauvages* refers to a people who are not civilized, in terms of social, cultural, and technological development and are thus much closer to the primitive state of humanity than the more civilized people, as the seventeenth century French would have considered themselves. As such, it led to the much later development of such concepts as “the noble savage,” the good and pure person from outside of the civilized world, generally North America, who has not been corrupted by modern vices and temptations. This however does not make the connection to *le bois*, the wilderness, and *le désert* sufficiently. To do so, a more detailed interpretation of *sauvage* is necessary.

Sauvage also implies meanings that broaden its use and connotation. One connotation is a state of nature untouched or changed by the activity of humans. As it reinforces its use as a descriptor for the North American Indian by the seventeenth

⁸ *JR* 1: 243-297.

⁹ Carol Blackburn makes a similar argument, though with differences in emphases in *Harvest of Souls: The Jesuit Missions and Colonialism in North America 1632-1650* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000), 42-69.

century missionary, it reinforces the idea that other people, cultures, and society did not corrupt these aboriginals. Thus, they were much closer to the state in which God created them, as are all other non-human forms of life on the planet. They had not been “domesticated” as it were, as the “civilized” French may have considered themselves.¹⁰

Also implied by *sauvage* are the geographical meanings of *désert* and *inhabité*.¹¹ In this sense, *sauvage* refers to a land or territory that is relatively inaccessible, adverse to habitation, and potentially frightening and unwelcoming. It reinforces the conception of *sauvage* as it is applied to people, in that the reasons they have not been corrupted by civilized society is the inaccessibility of the lands in which they live. This idea is especially notable with the Huron who lived in a land that required weeks of canoeing through remote forests away from the nearest semblances of European civilization in order to be reached.¹² Furthermore, regions like seventeenth century Canada’s hinterland were, relatively urban backgrounds from which French Jesuits came,¹³ uninhabited, with a population density in much of the Huron country that was approximate to rural France,¹⁴ the areas to which the Jesuits did not actively send their members.¹⁵ To expand this

¹⁰ Peter A. Goddard, “The Devil in New France: Jesuit Demonology, 1611-50” *Canadian Historical Review*, v. 78(1), 1997, 42.

¹¹ “Sauvage”, *Le Nouveau Petit Robert: dictionnaire alphabétique et analogique de la langue française*. Directeur générale Pierre Varrod. Paris: Dictionnaires Le Robert, 2002.

¹² A similar notion had developed in France at this time in regards to the rural, mountainous country-side which the sixteenth and seventeenth century Jesuit regarded as both inhospitable and hostile, and in which the Jesuit missionary in these regions felt alienated. A. Lynn Martin, “Jesuit Encounters with Rural France in the Sixteenth Century” *Australian Journal of French Studies*, v.18(3), 1981, 205-206.

¹³ A. Lynn Martin, “Jesuit Encounters with rural France in the Sixteenth Century” , 203.

¹⁴ This is based on the realization that most of France had a population density of about 50/km². “Carte n°13 La population française vers 1700” *L’atlas historique & généalogique*. <http://www.histoire-genealogie.com>. Accessed June 22, 2004. The Huron country’s population density would have been between about 30 Huron/km² based on a population of 30,000 (an average of the estimates of 18,000 to 40,000 Huron at the start of the seventeenth century) and Trigger’s delineation of the Huron country as up to 35 miles east to west and 20 miles north to south. Bruce Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660*, (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1987), 30-32. Conrad Heidenreich delineates the Huron territory as 833 km², *Huronica: A History and Geography of the Huron*

idea and consider an Amerindian population density for all of New France, the degree to which *le bois* was inhabited drops considerably. As such, despite the fact that there were in fact people to whom the Jesuits were intending to conduct a mission to, the land was largely, for all intents and purposes, relatively uninhabited, especially when compared to northern France around Paris, Rouen, Nantes, and Tours. From this perspective, the Huron country was *sauvage et désert*. In addition, even if it is considered that the Huron did cultivate their land around their villages for the purposes of declaring it not to be *désert*, their villages are comparable to some Pachomian monasteries in the Egyptian wilderness whose environment was considered to be a place of withdrawal despite the fact that some had developed into fortified towns.¹⁶

To make these connections complete and to return to the original concept of the Huron country as *un bois*, as a forest or woodland, it was in *le bois* that the Jesuits sought out *le sauvage* as the target of their conversion efforts. Based on the prior discussion of the implications of *le sauvage*, similar inferences are possible for *le bois*. Since the Jesuits viewed the Huron, *le sauvage*, as being relatively untouched and corrupted by civilization, so too would the places where they could be found, *le bois*.¹⁷ Furthermore, due to the low degree of habitation and hospitality implied by *sauvage*, this implication can then transfer to the Jesuit use of *le bois* in their correspondence. Since civilized peoples did not inhabit the forests and wilderness, only *les sauvages*, to venture into and live in the forests, as the Jesuits who went to conduct the mission to the Huron intended,

Indians 1600-1650 (Canada: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1971), 95. The population density drops to about 25/ km² if Heidenreich's population of 21,000 on page 103 is also used rather than the higher 30,000.

¹⁵ Martin, "Jesuit Encounters with rural France in the Sixteenth Century", 203.

¹⁶ James E. Goehring, "Withdrawing from the Desert: Pachomius and the Development of Village Monasticism in Upper Egypt" *Harvard Theological Review* 89:3 (1996), 269.

¹⁷ Monique Taylor, "'This Our Dwelling': The landscape Experience of the Jesuit Missionaries to the Huron, 1626-1650" *Journal of Canadian Studies* 33(2) 1998, 85-96.

was to venture out into relatively inaccessible, and relatively uninhabited lands of *le sauvage*. In doing so, despite the physical geographic differences between the wilderness written about in the Biblical and patristic periods and those of the forests of the hinterland of New France, these regions were connected in a psychological, cultural, and intellectual sense. Thus, the Huron country became a land in which the Jesuits were physically isolated much as the Hebrew people were isolated during the Exodus, or the Pachomian monastics that Antony inspired were isolated.

It is also important to understand how *le bois*, the wilderness of New France, functioned as a semantic parallel to the wilderness of the Biblical tradition, despite the fact that the Biblical wilderness usually refers to what the French would have called *le désert*. The wilderness is a common motif used throughout the Bible. It is where God sent Cain as punishment; it is where the Exodus takes place; it is where, according to Isaiah 40:3, the messiah will come from; it is where Jesus was tried and tempted before he began his ministry. In the Old and New Testaments the words used to denote the geographic location imply the dual meaning of both wilderness and desert. For example, in the accounts of Jesus' temptation over 40 days and 40 nights in the deserted wilderness west of the Jordan River, the word used by the author of Mark's gospel is *ἐρημος* (*heremos*) which means both wilderness and desert.¹⁸ Similarly, and even more striking, is the Old Testament example of the parallel between the desert and the wilderness that is encapsulated in Isaiah's prophecy in 40:3. Here the author of the verse writes:

A voice cries out:
"In the wilderness prepare the way of the LORD,
make straight in the desert a highway for our God."¹⁹

¹⁸ Mark 1:4.

¹⁹ Isaiah 40:3.

The most obvious indicator of the degree to which wilderness and desert were synonymous in the Old Testament is the use of both wilderness and desert terminology for poetic reasons. In the first half of the verse the term wilderness is echoed in its message by the second half of the verse which uses the term desert. Here the change in terms from wilderness to desert serves a poetic function while preserving the meaning of each half of the verse. This parallel is strengthened by the recognition that in the original text the Hebrew word used is *midbar*. This word has an extremely broad range of possible meanings. *Midbar* can mean either desert or wilderness and allows for a very pliable interpretation. Interpreting it as meaning wilderness gains strength by considering the possible options that the author chose not to use, but which would have connoted a desert more specifically. These possible words include “*arabah*” (meaning to be arid) or “*horbah*” (to lie waste) or “*jeshimon*” (to be desolate).²⁰ Furthermore, Jerome also used the Latin terms synonymously in the Vulgate translation. In this version, the first instance of *midbar* became *deserto*, meaning desert or wilderness. The root is also the same word that Jerome uses when translating Exodus 3:1, the place where Moses encountered the burning bush, and the Markan account of Jesus’ temptation before his ministry. The second *midbar* in Isaiah 40:3 became *solitudine*, whose meanings include solitude, wilderness, and a reference to uninhabited places. Jerome also uses the same two root words in his translation of Isaiah’s prophecy cited in that first *Relation*.

From the examples above it is clear that the geography described as a wilderness in the Biblical cases also happened to be desert. In Hebrew and Greek, the choice of words to denote the desert also denoted wilderness. Similarly, due to the lack of a word or phrase to denote wilderness in seventeenth century French, terms like *le bois*, and

²⁰ “Desert” *Catholic Encyclopedia* <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/> (Accessed July 20, 2004).

sauvage conjure up the imagery of the wilderness. As a consequence, since the French lacked comparable terms for concepts like the wilderness, particularly when envisioning ideas like those in Isaiah 35:1 and 40:3, the imagery of *le bois* and *sauvage* would have formed the nearest parallel to the Biblical terms for a French reader while still upholding the breadth of meaning that the original diction implied. In turn, for the seventeenth century Jesuit, the forested wilderness of New France was an acceptable substitute for the Old Testament *midbar* or the New Testament *heremos* since New France lacked geographic features that were explicitly the same as the lands of the Bible.

With the bases described above, the following study will demonstrate that the isolation was a tool used to save Huron. It was a crucial tool for the practical programme of converting the Huron from their traditional religion and culture to a form of Christianity dictated and moulded by the Jesuits who evangelized them. The pursuit and maintenance of an isolation that resulted in minimal unwanted secular influences assisted the conversion of the Huron. These secular influences extended not only to European non-Roman Catholic influences, such as the vast majority of European laity in New France, but also the *coureurs de bois* who were geographically isolated and non-Christian natives who were socially and culturally isolated from as well as geographically isolated when possible from the new converts. The geographic isolation of the Huron country also served the personal interests of the Jesuits as an outlet for their piety, influenced by the Biblical examples and the examples of Paulus and Antony. It provided a locale in which the Jesuits were able to sever themselves from the comforts of Europe to a greater degree, and thereby endure the crosses that they had heard that the Canadian mission held in

bounteous numbers.²¹ In doing so, the spirituality of many of the Jesuits who undertook this mission promoted that this isolation would allow them to retreat more fully into an interior life, as guided by the mysticism of Thomas à Kempis, Father Louis Lallement, and their participation in the Spiritual Exercises developed by Ignatius Loyola. This spiritual development, greater union with God, demonstrating the sole dependence on God, as well as endurance of trials and crosses, in turn made the task of converting the Huron easier, which helped more Huron to enter the economy of salvation.²²

In a general sense, these conceptualizations of isolation have yet to be dealt with in context of the seventeenth century Canadian Jesuit missions. This work therefore will complement and enhance the understanding of the religious interaction between the Jesuit and Huron cultures and the meaning of this interaction for both sides of the engagement. Prior work that has provided a better comprehension of the amount of opposition that the Huron offered the Jesuits,²³ in combination with this work will, help ascertain the reasons for the effectiveness of acts of opposition that various parties of Huron mounted to the marginalization of members of their community.

Through the lens of isolation, a more thorough or complex understanding of the mission, its evangelists, those who were the target of the proselytization, and how they related to each other is possible. This study does not attempt to portray the experience of isolation and its use as something that is necessarily unique to Jesuits, Jesuit missionaries, or even more specifically the Jesuit missionaries in New France. Rather, since the

²¹ Father Pierre Champion, S.J., *The Spiritual Doctrine of Father Louis Lallement of the Society of Jesus, Preceded by an Account of his Life*, edited by Alan G. McDougall (Westminster, Maryland: The Newman Bookshop, 1946), 8.

²² Champion, 47-48.

²³ C. Heidenreich, *The Huron: A Brief Ethnography*, Department of Geography, York University Discussion Papers No. 6 (Toronto: York University, 1972), 21-25.

mission to the Huron was monopolized by the Jesuit order for the vast majority of its existence, these missionaries provide an easily limitable group for study. Research in this vein will provide a better understanding of this mission, of those who were involved with the mission directly and indirectly, and the complexity of the effects of contact between these two groups on each other.

As part of this contribution to the literature on this mission, the intent is to pursue these objectives from a dual set of perspectives. As the study revolves around the missionary activity that was directly related to the objective of conversion, the strategies used, and the necessary relations between the Jesuit missionaries and the Huron from whom conversions were sought, the argument centers on issues of politics and economics. In the political sense, this does not imply only a study of governments, but rather the means of gaining and controlling power and the choices that individuals make. By studying how the power is controlled, distributed and transferred within the societies under examination, a better understanding of how they relate to each other is possible. In the economic sense, the study will not merely refer to the exchange of goods and services, but also the decision-making processes by which the players involved sought out their security, both in this life and in the next. Seeking these ends requires making choices, particularly when there are two conflicting options available, as the Huron received from the missionaries, but the decisions made imply recognition of the matrices of power that shift with each decision made.

On the other side of the argument, the study deals with very individual concerns, most notably spiritual progress and the economy of salvation for both the Huron and the Jesuits. In this sense, this is a study of how particular groups of people – seventeenth

century Jesuit missionaries from northern France in New France most obviously, but also pre-dispersal Huron to a limited extent – sought out to ensure the preservation of their souls in the afterlife. From this perspective, this becomes a micro-historical study of religion and religious practice.

This refrains from implying that isolation as a conversion tool or the results of its use bear any notion of having improved the condition of either, or both, the Jesuits or the Huron. The experience affected the structures of life for all of those involved and it did so in identifiable ways. The Huron were faced with a new and radically different alternative worldview. With this alternative worldview came possibilities that they had not previously encountered. In this, however, they seem to have dealt with it, at least initially, as they had with other changes such as the movement from nomadic hunting and gathering to the proto-agricultural lifestyle that they had developed by the 1600s.²⁴ They absorbed that which seemed to work, like using the Jesuits as shaman to bring rain. They rejected that which they did not feel would help the group, such as the denial of their *oki* and reliance on the interpretation of dreams. In the process, the Huron tried to refrain from excluding elements of the community that would subsequently harm the community's survival.

The conclusions that this argument will present are based on an additional reading of the few relatively comprehensive sources available, the *Jesuit Relations and Allied documents* as translated under the editorship of R.G. Thwaites. Despite lacking the depth of multiple perspectives in the account, the *Jesuit Relations*, either Thwaites' edition or Lucien Campeau's edition more recent the *Monumenta Novae Franciae*, provide more

²⁴ Lucien Campeau, *The Jesuit Mission to the Hurons 1634-1650*, translated by William Lonc, S.J. and George Topps, S.J. (Hamilton, Ontario: William Lonc, 2000), 116.

usable information than any other source or set of sources. Thus, with careful and critical reading, the letters of the Jesuits from New France are an invaluable and indispensable resource for studying this mission. From the basis of the *Relations*, this study is also indebted to the systematic ethno-historical work of Elizabeth Tooker and Bruce Trigger on the Huron. Building on the *Relations*, this study will be infused insights gathered from sources less commonly cited when studying this mission, such as Thomas à Kempis' *Imitation of Christ*, the spiritual teaching of Jesuit Father Louis Lallement, and the founding documents of the Society of Jesus, as well as Ignatius Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises*.

To fulfill these objectives, the argument is structured by first describing Huron society and the role that isolation plays within it. This will demonstrate that the Huron actively discouraged isolating members of their community for the sake of community survival, with the exception of when not excluding people or ideas posed a significant threat to their society. Having established the importance of isolation in the target society of the Jesuit mission in New France, the historical importance of isolation in Christian tradition will be established. This requires a brief examination of the isolation early in Judeo-Christianity including a brief discussion of its presence and use in the Old Testament, the example of Jesus in the Synoptic Gospels, and in the example of the first Christian hermits Paulus and Antony. This will establish that isolation is indeed a concept with an important tradition in Christianity, and particularly to those who share the heritage of religious orders. It will also help establish historical continuity by extending the motif throughout the life of the Church.

To solidify this continuity it is necessary to examine the significant influences on those Jesuits who undertook the mission to the Huron. This examination focuses on the writings of the Jesuits' founder Ignatius Loyola, as well as Thomas à Kempis and Father Louis Lallement. This will clarify a line of continuity begun more than a millennia before the mission to the Huron through to the first arrivals of Jesuits in New France. In doing so, it is clear that for the salvation of themselves and others, these Jesuits attempted to isolate that which might hinder the Huron country from becoming the Christian territory they desired.

Chapter 2: Isolation in Huron Culture

But admire, if you please, the love these barbarians have for each other. These new guests were not asked why they came upon our boundaries, if they were not well aware that we were in as great straits as they were, and that they were coming to take the morsel out of our mouths. On the contrary, they were received, not with words, but with deeds; without exterior ceremony, for of this the Savages have none, but not without charity.

- Paul LeJeune, 1634

So much of Huron culture and the functioning of this society were alien from the society and culture from which the Jesuit missionaries came. It was a proto-agricultural society that moved its villages every 10 to 12 years as the environment became less able to sustain the community and was still fairly dependent on the hunt for its sustenance. Roman Catholic Europe on the other hand was extremely sedentary, with many cities, towns, and villages hundreds of years old and a population that mostly lived their lives within a small radius of where they were born. The Huron were relatively religiously fluid and politically adaptable, a form of proto-democracy. In contrast, the society from which the Jesuits departed can be characterized by its responses to those outside of the Church – the Crusades, the *reconquista*, the Inquisition, and the Reformation, and its well-entrenched aristocracy in both the secular and religious spheres. Technologically, the Huron were users of simple, but effective, technology that was utterly foreign to the Fathers who arrived there first in the 1620s and then, in the minds of those first missionaries, permanently in 1633-34. In contrast, the Fathers had access to the mechanical and technological marvels that they demonstrated for the Huron such as writing, clocks, and firearms.

Beyond the obvious differences that Jesuits saw embodied in the Huron, when compared to what the Jesuits knew and were familiar with, Huron society bore another

important difference from the European-Roman Catholic way of life that was not as obvious but tightly intertwined into much of Huron life. This important difference was the exceptionally small role that isolation, particularly social and cultural isolation, played in Huron society. Isolation played such a small role that most of the important institutions and vehicles that allowed Huron society to function actively minimized or deterred individual Huron from isolating themselves from the rest of the community. This does not mean, however, that the Huron did not encourage isolation in any situations, but rather that the instances of this are few in number. However, it was those significant parts of Huron society that were discouraged isolation that were directly challenged by the incoming Jesuits and the proselytization tactics that the Fathers used.

A. Huron Isolation

There were very few instances when the Huron encouraged or required members of its society to be isolated or seek isolation. There are a couple of common instances in which isolation and self-separation was required. Two of these instances involved the lives of women. The most regular instances were Huron proscriptions on menstruating women. During this period, two primary restrictions separated these women from others. The first was that the menstruating woman could not leave her house or village, a physical isolation that bears social ramifications as it limits the female contacts within the community. Interestingly, this practice was strikingly different from their nomadic Algonquian neighbours who had no such exclusion. The second restriction imposed on women regarded the use of cooking utensils and dishes and even the food made from these tools. Menstruating women were required to separate small pots for cooking and no

one else could share in the food that they made in these separate pots.¹ This requirement made the activity of eating, an activity that symbolized the unity of those eating together, an activity that demonstrated exclusion and social isolation for the specific women at these times.

The restrictions on menstruating women bear striking resemblance to the practices of urbanized religions, such as those of the Judeo-Christian tradition. In the Judaic tradition virtually anything that a menstruating woman sat or laid on rendered the object ritually unclean and with it anyone who then came in direct contact with those items.² The difference in practices between the Huron and their nomadic neighbours makes it likely that this aspect of Huron culture was an innovation of their transition toward becoming more sedentary society in which the matrilineal clans, and the households that they were composed of, were in more frequent and continual contact. Their neighbours, who spent a substantial part of the year travelling in small groups, had not developed this innovation. It is likely that isolating practices such as the Huron used would have placed a significant burden on at least the family, and possibly the larger clan. This was particularly true in those times of the year when supplies and resources were scarce and the exclusion of one or two members of the group posed additional hardship on the others and endanger their survival. Thus, it is likely that the Huron only developed this practice of isolating menstruating women after they had become more sedentary, as they were by the seventeenth century, since a sedentary lifestyle allowed them sufficient material and human resources to offset the limitations that would have resulted from this imposition on their women.

¹ Elizabeth Tooker, *An Ethnography of the Huron Indians, 1615-1649*. Syracuse University Press Edition. USA: Syracuse University Press, 1991, 125.

² Leviticus 15:19-24

The other restriction placed on Huron women surrounded their conduct upon the death of a spouse. In the mourning practices of the Huron, women were required to refrain from remarriage for at least one year. The consequence for not following this dictum was subtle public shunning, or being “talked about”.³ This practice usually ensured that the widowed woman was not with child when her spouse died, or that if she was pregnant it gave a clearer indication of the child’s paternity. Clear indications of paternity then gave direction as to who was responsible for the child in the case that the mother died as well.⁴ Improving the clarity of paternal lines also helped to demonstrate a child’s bloodlines and helped prevent improper unions later.⁵ Thus, in order to stabilize their society through clear familial links and therefore allow their social and political institutions to function more effectively, widowed Huron women were required to isolate themselves in a limited manner.

Closely associated with a woman’s isolation during her first year of widowhood was a second mourning practice that affected both Huron men and women. Both genders, after the death of a spouse, underwent a ten-day mourning period in which the widowed spouse cut himself or herself off from the world. This included refraining from some of the most central activities in Huron social life such as feasts. The widowed spouse did not move about the village, except at night, did not eat warm meals, and spent days lying on a mat, facedown and only briefly spoke to visitors. Women extended these practices to

³ Tooker, 133.

⁴ As Tooker notes, in cases of divorce sons *usually* went with the father and girls with the mother though there was no hard and fast rule about this. Tooker, 125-126.

⁵ The importance of bloodlines can be seen in the discussions that have arisen around Huron power structures and the role of lineage and relationships between family members and inherited positions. Examples of such discussion are Robert Dannin, “Forms of Huron Kinship and Marriage” *Ethnology* 21(2) 1982. 101-110; Wallis M. Smith, “A Re-Appraisal of the Huron Kinship System” *Anthropologica* 12(1) 1970. 191-206; and John L. Steckley, “Huron Kinship Terminology” *Ontario Archaeology* no. 55 1993. 35-59.

include daybreak wailing and extended silences for weeks on end and did not visit others for the following year. A widowed Huron woman also refrained from bathing, or greasing her hair, and she blackened her face for the year.⁶

None of this placed a significant burden on the physical well-being of the community; however, it strongly suggests the importance that the Huron placed on death and funerary arrangements and the perceived effects of these arrangements on the social, political, and economic life of the entire Huron confederacy.⁷ To illustrate this importance, the individual Huron men stopped fishing after the death of a friend on the basis that the fish did not like death and therefore going fishing would drive the fish away for everyone else.⁸ This, as will be discussed more fully later, indicates the importance of the larger community to the Huron and the importance of working together to ensure that individuals did nothing to make the lives of others more difficult. If one did continue to fish after his friend had died, he risked placing parts of the village food supply in jeopardy and harming the whole community – thus it was better to let others fish and have everyone receive slightly less food than for no one to fish successfully and everyone be hungry.

The second major area of Huron life where isolation was required parallels the experience of the Christian missionaries with whom they lived during the early seventeenth century was the religious preparation of a shaman. According to Huron practice, those who felt the desire to undertake this position in society were required to assume a strict regime of self-deprivation. This regime included dwelling away from all

⁶ Tooker, 133.

⁷ Peter G. Ramsden “Rich Man, Poor Man, Dead Man, Thief: The Dispersal of Wealth in 17th Century Huron Society” *Ontario Archaeology*, no. 35 (1981). 35-40. These funerary arrangements could last up to 10 or 12 years depending on when the person died in relation to the timing of the Feast of the Dead.

⁸ Tooker, 133.

others in a separate house where they were required to fast for a month. During this time, the potential shaman's only contact with others was with the one person who was also fasting with him and who brought wood for the fires in the house. In addition, all of the potential shaman's possessions were taken away. One other requirement was the dictum that the individual who sought to become a shaman was barred from having sexual relations with women.⁹ This would have been a difficult trial because the Huron, as the Jesuits reported, were rather promiscuous before marriage; however, this trial was made easier by their seclusion with limited interpersonal communication. This promiscuity also connoted a major point of separation between the two cultures in contact based on some of the difficulties the Jesuits had in converting the Huron.¹⁰

As with the restrictions placed on women, the restrictions on the Huron shaman did not significantly strain the community that used their services. The separation was only of a single individual and for a limited period. Furthermore, from the perspective of the Huron religion, these allowances provided them with an additional source of guidance from spirits, whom they were bound to obey. These spirits, the Huron believed, assisted them in times of difficulties such as drought, sickness, or a dearth of game. In addition, the shaman's renunciation of his personal wealth and belongings fit quite well into the Huron wealth re-distribution systems, which Peter Ramsden outlines well.¹¹ The function of the redistribution of the shaman's wealth fits well into the structure and functioning of Huron social, political, and economic systems as the shaman later acquired more belongings through feasts and gifts because of his work.¹² As a result, the actions

⁹ Tooker, 97.

¹⁰ René Latourelle, *Jean de Brébeuf*, translated by William Lonc, S.J. (Toronto: Guerin, 2001), 145.

¹¹ Ramsden, 35-40.

¹² *JR* 8:123-125, 13:31-33.

associated with the transition from layman to shaman in Huron society brought with it a series of requirements that were socially isolating in the short-term but in the long-term unified the community. Furthermore, it did not necessarily bring with it any assurances that the Huron would accept all remedies and commandments of the spirits simply because one had endured the ritual to become a shaman. Rather the success of the shaman in allaying problems depended on acceptance of the shaman by the community.¹³ This conditional aspect of their power prevented them from having the coercive influence and power that the Jesuits had with faithful Christian Huron.

B. Huron Community Orientation

In contrast to these few significant examples of isolation in Huron society, much its culture and social structures focused on minimizing isolation and reinforcing community integration. This objective is evident in virtually every aspect of the political, economic, social, and religious life of the Huron.

Huron Religion

The religion of the Huron outwardly focused itself on a few primary points: curing disease or illness, soliciting good fortune, and alleviating or preventing ill fortunes. A system of charms and rituals accomplished these three tasks and included performing dances, feasts, and ceremonies such as curing ceremonies,¹⁴ which a shaman, who used the interpretation of dreams, oversaw and regulated.¹⁵ For example, the Huron had charms for hunting that were inspired by dreams.¹⁶ In the case of an illness, if natural medicinal options were not successful, people sometimes turned to the village council to

¹³ *JR* 7:57.

¹⁴ Tooker, 72.

¹⁵ Bruce Trigger, *The Huron Farmers of the North* (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969), 115-120.

¹⁶ Trigger, *Children*, 79.

solicit help in curing the infirmity. On the council's recommendation feasts that included dances and gift giving were options to assuage the demands of the spirit that it was believed had afflicted the sick individual.¹⁷ The feasts could take numerous forms and the nature of the feasts was dictated by patient, the council, a curing fraternity, or a shaman, assisted by dreams.¹⁸

The first glimmers of the community orientation that was so dominant among the Huron begins to surface when looking at how they dealt with illness. The first stage of curing focussed on using natural remedies, like herbs, roots, or sweats, as prescribed and administered by the medicine man. There is no implication that the treatment of simple ailments did not occur in a religious manner since the medicine men did not act as apothecaries, but rather accompanied medicines with religious rituals. If the afflicted, or those around this person, believed the illness was incurable by normal simple means, a supernatural origin was prescribed to the illness. At this point, others in the village were required to become involved in the healing process through feasts, curing ceremonies, and dances.¹⁹ In some cases, particularly the illness of a prominent member of the village or if there was a large outbreak of disease or sickness throughout whole families or the clan, the remedy became a large-scale affair. The whole village, whoever was sufficiently healthy and was deemed necessary by the medicine man, became part of the healing process. The requirement of full community involvement indicates an awareness of communal responsibility for the alleviation of spiritual problems that brought illness to the community. Furthermore, it recognized that wrongs that brought the ire of the spirits and inflicted the illness were a result of community negligence rather than caused by a

¹⁷ Tooker, 101-102.

¹⁸ Tooker, 103.

¹⁹ Tooker, 83-86.

single individual. More importantly, not acting as a community to rectify the problems, therefore non-responsiveness to the demands of the spirits who are working through dreams and the medicine man, was believed to cause the community more grief and endangered their existence as the illness grew. The alternative was blaming the ailment on the individual and, in the extreme, to outcasting the individual to prevent the stricken person from infecting the rest of the community with the physical or spiritual problem. That this was alternative was not congruent with the belief systems that the Huron adhered to is seen in how the few in number were the instances in which individuals were excluded or isolated from the larger Huron society.

The only significant time the Huron consistently pushed individuals away for religious reasons, was for the practice of witchcraft.²⁰ In Huron society, those accused of sorcery or witchcraft risked death without trial provided there were clear assurances that the alleged sorcerer's family would not avenge the death. The families of the accused who accepted charges of sorcery on their family member did so because the potential negative effects of the individual in question on their community and the family would have exceeded the economic losses of that alleged sorcerer's potential contributions. This explains why, when on the occasions in which some Huron accused the Jesuits of being sorcerers, the accusers did not immediately kill the Jesuits. This hesitancy was due to their fear of the French to such a murder, as the Huron reaction to rumours of the French response to Etienne Brûle's murder illustrated.²¹ This example the Huron treatment of sorcerers, in contrast to their treatment of those afflicted by supernatural illnesses, also

²⁰ Witchcraft, as the Huron defined it, was the infliction of disease or death on individuals through magic. The Huron has specific shaman, *ontesans* or *aretsan*, to treat diseases caused by the practitioners of witchcraft, *oki ontatechiata*. Trigger, *Huron Farmers*, 87.

²¹ Trigger, *Children*, 479.

illustrates the importance of the community and the repugnance held towards those who set themselves apart from the rest to harm the larger group.

When an illness was believed to be supernatural in origin, including charms enacted by an alleged sorcerer, the community came together once it was clear that the illness was of a significant magnitude. In these situations, the Huron sensed the threat that the illness posed to their collective well-being and existence and used whatever means possible or recommended to remedy the situation. This community action exemplifies the lengths to which the Huron were willing to go to affect a cure. The response sometimes included providing a specific number of presents based on what the sick man had seen in a dream. If the village did not come up with the requisite allotment of gifts, the village leaders circled the town calling for more knowing that each person knew that if he or she did not contribute gifts and the afflicted person died then the non-contributing person(s) were held accountable for the death. In addition, if the initial cures did not work, the curing process might be repeated a few times in some cases, provided the patient survived that long.²² Thus, Huron took personal responsibility for ensuring the community's well-being, even if it meant giving up what few precious items were in their possession. This also prevented the community from viewing an individual as an opposing force to the collective welfare, which is how sorcerers were regarded.

These examples demonstrate that when the Huron took part in religious ceremonies, such as feasts or dances, or the medicine man's arrival coming with a remedy of roots for the ill, their participation was not to directly make them individually appear better in the view of the divinities that caused the ailment. Rather their purpose was to alleviate potential problems for the community and ensure the community's

²² Tooker, 101-102.

survival by removing the ire of the spirits. Participation in the feasts, gift-giving, or curing ceremonies did not ensure freedom from the actions of angered spirits. Instead, those who refused to participate received the blame for future evils befalling the entire community.²³ This also helped reinforce community economic structures by redistributing wealth through the feasts. The wealthiest in the community ensured this redistribution since the Huron expected that they gave what they could, especially if insufficient gifts were gathered initially.

The response to illness reinforces why the isolation of individuals was contrary to the beliefs that the Huron held. As noted, communal benefit was the driving force behind religious practice of the Huron. Therefore, the encouragement of the separation of individuals in the community, except when those individuals apparently act in a manner that is obviously detrimental to the long-term stability of the larger group, would not easily foster a way of thinking within the community that they should act in the community's interest. Rather, as individuals were separated, they became much more in tune with their own wants and needs. If the Huron encouraged isolation they would have developed a drive amongst individuals within the community to seek personal good graces and well-being in relation to the divinities that brought ill effects when the wishes of spirits were not followed. Thus, in order to meet its religious needs, it was in the best interests of the Huron to discourage isolation and separation of individuals from the larger whole.

The Huron orientation towards community integration also extended into other aspects of their religious life. Charms that bore some attachment to the world of the supernatural were extremely pervasive and important parts of Huron life. Charms, whose

²³ Trigger, *Children*, 85.

powers ranged from extremely all-encompassing to being limited to very specific situations, were commonly associated with good luck in the pursuit of game, securing favourable trade results, or success in the many forms of gambling that the Huron pursued. Usually the owner of a particular charm received knowledge of the charm's use through a dream.²⁴

An initial look at these uses for charms appears to indicate that the use of these charms was for personal gain and the pursuit of individual fortune. However, placing the charms and their uses in the grand scheme of economic life in the Huron country the immediate benefits of the charms are clearer. Briefly, a charm's user hoped it would ensure better economic gains for the individual. The rest of the village then received the benefits of these charms through the various feasts and festivals, particularly those held during the leaner winter months. Thus, by ensuring better individual returns, the whole village gained and their corporate survival was more likely. The use of charms appears to be highly individual since each person owned and developed their own familiars. This apparent individuality of the charms, however, becomes less tenable when it is recognized that the Huron obtained the charm *onniont* from the Algonquin through trade.²⁵ Thus, some charms were replicated and redistributed. There was also a clear willingness to make these charms as widely available as possible by the Algonquin, apparently based to some extent on the supply of the charm.²⁶ By making an apparently

²⁴ Tooker, 120-121.

²⁵ Tooker, 122. *Onniont* was a charm that came from a creature by the same name.

²⁶ The issue of multiplicity of charms makes for an interesting study of supply, demand and efficacy. Those charms that were unique were all achieved with no financial output, only the reception of a dream and the location of the supernatural source such as a very difficult to kill deer or bear. Thus, if the charm was highly effective, there could only be one of that charm and in all likelihood it would only be considered effective for that person as its use was dictated in that person's dream though some charms were inherited. In contrast, the charms for which the quantity was relatively plentiful and generally believed to hold great power, had its economic demand reduced due to the high price demanded by the Algonquin for it. This

plentiful and well-regarded charm, which the Huron regarded as a religious item, available to the population, it served to ensure that the society is better able to continue into the future.

Huron Economic Life

The Huron country, by the seventeenth century, was a subsistence economy. They made production and consumption decisions in an economically traditional manner. The only members of Huron society who could possibly claim to be producing at a level that was beyond subsistence would be the village shaman. However, the role of the shaman in remedying illness, as well as the community's interest in its remediation because of the potential long-term effects of the ailment on the entire community, meant that the shaman was at least psychologically intrinsic to the subsistence of the community.

Since the community functioned at a subsistence level, the contribution of all members was crucial. Thus, the effective remediation of disease allowed the afflicted to return to active contribution to the economic well-being of the village. It also meant that every able person was included in the production process for his or her various needs and the number who were not was as limited as possible. Women worked until they gave birth and returned to work right afterwards.²⁷ As soon as it was possible, children were educated in the skills necessary for productive work. Boys learned to shoot bows so they could hunt as soon as they were able to walk. In a similar manner, once girls acquired the motor skills necessary to grind corn they learned to perform this task.²⁸

tactic of giving the charm a high price ensures that there are only a small minority who have and use the charm. If everyone had easy access to the charm, its generally accepted efficacy may be tarnished as everyone would then be in expectation of the good luck that the charm is thought to provide.

²⁷ Tooker, 122-123.

²⁸ Tooker, 124-125.

Huron economic life was divided by gender into the tasks that were most crucial for the survival of the community. Women were responsible for many of the tasks focussed on agriculture, cooking, and sewing.²⁹ Men were primarily responsible for wild game food acquisition, trade, and construction.³⁰ For the Jesuit observer this bore some similarity to life in rural France with its connections to the cyclical flow of the seasons, its division of labour based on gender in which both genders placed crucial roles in the subsistence of the family, and the transmission of labour skills between generations. At the same time however, the lack of highly delineated Huron social and economic strata, or of a defined legalism in the conduct of Huron economic duties, was foreign to the Jesuit missionaries. Highly successful fishing or hunting resulted in more feasts and celebrations and, as a result, the good fortune of individual households was experienced among the rest of the community. This was illustrated by the proliferation of certain charms discussed earlier such as the *onniont* that the Algonquians would sell to their neighbours. In addition, the Huron viewed with disdain those who were very well off and did not use their wealth to enrich others, an act that feasts usually accomplished.³¹ This demonstrates the community orientation that shaped the Huron mindset since the individually wealthy felt a sufficient need that their fortune be spread to the others within the community to insure that as many as possible had what was needed for survival and thereby promoted community stability. The fact that formal legal requirements did not induce this behaviour reinforces the degree to which this idea was ingrained into Huron culture. Rather the compulsion to do so came from moral suasion by the rest of the community and knowledge that this was the right thing to do.

²⁹ Tooker, 58.

³⁰ Tooker, 59.

³¹ Trigger, *Huron Farmers*, 40-41.

This community orientation extended into other areas of the economic life of the Huron. One such area was the way by which the means of production expanded through the development of agricultural lands or new trapping and trade routes. In terms of agricultural development, households that cleared and planted a plot of land received proprietary rights to that land in perpetuity. Those who cultivated the land received these rights as long as they continued to plant crops there each year. If they neglected to do so this cropland reverted to its original status, which was the equivalent of wooded land, and until someone used it for agriculture it continued to be community land.³² This practice created an incentive towards entrepreneurship and innovation within the community because it encouraged the cultivation of new lands and ensured some form of property rights for the household that cleared the land and put it to use. It also provided economic incentives to increase base production levels. The resultant extra production was then traded and other goods necessary to assist enhancing their community's survival were able to be acquired. By extension, these innovations enhanced the ability of the community as a whole to procure sufficient resources so they could continue to practice the various religious events, like feasts, that helped ensure the whole community had sufficient supplies.

A second area into which this community orientation extended was to the expansion of the means of production by the development of trade routes. When a family, in this case the men who did the travelling to trade and who acquired furs through trapping or trading, discovered a new route to acquire the goods they sought, the family held informal monopoly rights on the use of the routes. In order to use these routes, other

³² Tooker, 60.

traders provided a form of user fee to the family.³³ As with the clearing of new agricultural lands, this stimulated the exploration and development of new and potentially more efficient, or at least effective routes and trade patterns, depending on the situation, such as when the Iroquois disrupted routes that the Huron traditionally used. Parallel with the previous example, the wealth that these developments created were worked back to the community through the religious mechanisms of feasts and the concurrent redistribution of wealth. Thus, despite the entrepreneurial incentives that this provided, ultimately the whole community received the material benefits of these innovations since individual rewards were tools to curry favour, prominence and influence.

Politics and Law

The influence and prominence garnered through the public redistribution of wealth highlights the third aspect of Huron society in which the orientation towards the community was prominent, the political sphere. Broadly and within a certain amount of leeway, the elders of the village gave orders and the community followed them.³⁴ The right to have one's voice heard was a function of a few characteristics: intellect, eloquence, and experience, which was largely due to age. Decisions were subject to the deliberations of chiefs whose positions were allocated according to familial relations, though in some cases it would be due to intellect, eloquence, bravery, or wealth that was demonstrated through its redistribution. The powers of a chief did not provide unlimited authority. Rather, authority rested on the extent to which he was able to continue to manifest the traits that initially garnered him the role. Thus, only as long as the community viewed a chief as an eloquent and intelligent speaker did people respect his

³³ Trigger, *Children*, 65.

³⁴ Tooker, 42.

proclamations and views. Consequently, the village function largely as an informally democratic one since any power a leader had would be subject to the changing views of the village. Consequently, despite the individual power and prestige that came with Huron chieftainship, in order to retain authority, leaders continually had to focus on making decisions based on consensus.

The focus on community interests is evident in the arrangement of the Huron legal system. Three basic crimes were identified: treason, thievery, and murder. Murder was subdivided to include the infractions of injury and wounding of others.³⁵ Treason brought the extreme punishment of death as soon as possible. This made treason similar to the religious offence of sorcery. The Huron considered both treason and sorcery to be acts that deliberately isolated the accused from the rest of the community. As discussed earlier, the isolation of individuals from the community, particularly in a manner that directly attempts to destroy or at least destabilize the community, ran counter to virtually all aspects of their social institutions. Due to the extent this went against the structures of their society, it is little wonder that these were the only crimes warranting bodily punishments exacted on the accused.³⁶

Committing theft resulted in the smallest of long-term repercussions, though there were significant deterrents. The basic punishment, should guilt be provable, was the opportunity for the victim of the theft, with their family, to take what they could carry from the perpetrator's longhouse. This created a significant social deterrent to the potentially light-fingered not to ask for permission to take specific goods, as one's

³⁵ Tooker, 52. Trigger, *Children*, 59

³⁶ Tooker, 56.

immediate and matrilineal extended family, who dwelled with them in the same longhouse, suffered the consequences.

This response to theft highlights a number of aspects of Huron community integration. The lack of a weighting of punishment based on the magnitude of the infraction in terms of the value, demonstrates immense social cohesion and agreement. It demonstrates this because judgements that the Huron accepted would appear unjust to more individualistic societies since the theft of a single small item was punished with the loss of a large number of family possessions. It does however highlight the economic communalism and integration of this society. The infraction was not an act of one individual against another but rather against a whole group because the theft of possessions jeopardized the livelihood of an entire family through both the act of theft and its punishment. Additionally, the definition of theft, forcible removal or removal of items in question from another's longhouse without permission, encouraged a degree of communal co-operation between the members of this society. It implied the promotion of sharing of items that may not be immediately necessary to one group between familial units and identifying items outside the confines of the longhouse as the possession of the community if they were not in use. This paralleled Huron beliefs about land ownership and promoted many of the same benefits for society and group preservation. It also echoed the practices of wealth distribution since it created a practical manifestation of the dictum that wealth and having more than individually necessary, such as a tool that is not in present use, must be available for the use of whole of society and should be used to contribute to its greater well-being. Thus, the whole set of social structures that the Huron

developed around the issue of theft and its punishment encouraged a focus away from the individual and towards the community and its preservation.

The crime of murder paralleled the ideology that informed the Huron response to theft on a much larger scale. There were two basic responses to murders. The first signified the magnitude of seriousness for this offence since the family of the slain were obliged to seek retribution upon the family of the murderer for the crime. Thus, the act of murder was not merely a crime against an individual and the punishment a deterrent to protect individuals; it was a crime against the social unit of the family, or the clan, depending on who the victim was and who committed the crime. The responses to such acts of retribution held the potential for significant strings of bloodshed as killing in the name of retribution spawned further responses from those related to the original murderer. This series of acts demonstrates how significant the loss of members of society was to the well-being of the community, such that it warranted an equal response on those surrounding the perpetrator of the murder.

The hardship that a loss of life within the community created was also demonstrated by how the community, as well as their neighbours, dealt with the death of tribesmen in warfare and the treatment of prisoners of war. In the event that captured prisoners were brought back to the village, there were a couple of options reserved for how to deal with their captured enemies. One option was the torture and execution of the prisoner. This was the most common option taken by the Huron. The other option, as also happened to Jogues, was for a family in the tribe to adopt the prisoner as one of their own. Trigger and Tooker suggest that it was women and children who experienced this

fate.³⁷ The presence of an adopted Oneida among the Huron at Quebec in 1658 gives the appearance that this also happened to male captives in some situations.³⁸ The allocation of adoptable prisoners did not promote and reward individual valour and bravery by allocating these prisoners to the families of deserving warriors. Rather families that had suffered the most significant losses in terms of labour had these spoils of warfare offered to them. If a prisoner's life was to be spared by their adoptive family, the prisoner became a replacement family member, adopted by both the family and the tribe, to fill those holes made by the loss of life in warfare.³⁹ This insured that those families who suffered the greatest sacrifices for the defence of their society did not suffer more by not being able to support themselves adequately in the seasons and years to come and did not become a burden to others. Thus, the Huron response to losses in warfare emphasized the importance laid on the continued survival and well-being of the whole community over the achievements of individuals.

The other option that was available in the event of murder and which dealt with the need to resolve the issue of retribution was the provision of presents to the family of the slain. This option provided a means of preventing long running and potentially costly or politically destabilizing blood feuds. The basis for the value of gifts was a tradition that accorded different values to certain members of the community based on their function. The value of these presents did not drop below 30 beaver robes. The family or clan of the slain received the gifts rather than be presented to an individual closely related to the victim. This distribution provides a further indication of the extent that the economic effects of such acts were felt. Emotional recompense was not the purpose, but

³⁷ Tooker, 31. Trigger, *Children*, 72.

³⁸ Trigger, *Children*, 816. Tooker, 31.

³⁹ Trigger, *Children* 72.

rather insurance that the family could regain what the slain family member would have contributed to their well-being.

The manner in which the family of the victim collected the presents further emphasizes this. As expected in a society that demotes the prominence of the individual, the person responsible for the violation did not supply the presents. Nor were their families the ones who supported the majority of the burden resulting from the punishment. Rather it was their clan or village. The community did this as an act of public solidarity. If the community did not do this, then the family of the victim would have faced the possibility of economic ruin. The result of such ruin would be that the family became a significant burden on the rest of the community during those parts of the year when scarcity was more prevalent as the family would not have sufficient resources through which they could trade for goods they lacked. This community act had the effect of spreading out the burden and better ensured that the whole community would be self-sufficient and contribute future bounties to the well-being of the whole society. It became the responsibility of the family to verbally reprimand the murderer and ensure that this type of action did not recur and erode the economic stability of the community in the future. They were also responsible for insuring that the murderer was aware that repetitions of actions like this jeopardized the whole community's well-being. Furthermore, the family was responsible for making the perpetrator aware that repetitions of this behaviour might bring about their future exclusion from the community. This would have been tantamount to a death sentence.⁴⁰ Thus, the legal responses to murder came with no significant strictures that were imposed on individual violators of social and cultural norms but rather the duty to make corrections and compensation was the

⁴⁰ Trigger, *Children*, 58-59. *JR* 7:167.

responsibility of the whole of this society. This was partially resultant from the lack of a formal and legalistic political system that could impose reprimands that would affect individuals specifically. It does, however, speak volumes of how important the well-being of the group was to the Huron as well as their perception of the degree to which the ability to maintain self-sustenance could be put in peril by seeking retribution from only the individual or their family.

The Huron clearly encouraged communal integration of its members and thereby discouraged activities that separated individuals from the community. These institutional foci are evident not just in one aspect of Huron life; rather it is in all aspects including the religious, economic, and political and legal facets of this culture and society. The institutions of their society have clearly done this in order to encourage the stability and sustenance of the community in the long term. The Huron did this by encouraging structures that shifted the emphasis of activities from individual members who acted in order to secure their own personal well-being to actions for the community's well-being as a means of insuring its existence.

The Huron accomplished this task by minimizing the extent that activities that encouraged isolation were required within the life of their society. As a result, the instances in which the Huron valued isolation and activities that would isolate individual members were limited to a small selection of activities and institutions such as the development of shamans or a limited number of points when women were required to separate themselves from others. The converse was that they developed an intricate set of institutions that limited the importance of individuals and thus the desire of individuals to be isolated from society was reduced.

The Huron focus on communal integration significantly influenced their interaction with the Jesuits. While the Jesuits encouraged isolation, as a tool of conversion and personal soteriological reasons, the Huron task of resisting Jesuit incursions became quite difficult. Eventually it created much conflict between the two groups, particularly as the minority Jesuits gained greater power and influence within the Huron community, and as a result the traditionalist Huron community became increasingly powerless to preserve themselves as they were before the Jesuits arrived.

Chapter 3: The Judeo-Christian Tradition of Isolation

Recognition of the prevalence of geographical and spiritual or mental isolation in the Christian traditions that spawned the missionary impulse and the monastic movement allows a more complete understanding of the importance of isolation to the Jesuit missionaries and their mission. Investigation of the role of these types of isolation and how they were presented in these traditions demonstrates that the isolation that the Jesuits experienced and utilized was well rooted in antecedent Christian traditions. Due to the influence of geographical and spiritual isolation on Judeo-Christianity, discussing of isolation in the context of Christian missions becomes valid. Recognizing this will help the reader to understand that the self-image of the Jesuits in New France was rooted in a pattern that spiritually linked believers more directly with their Saviour in an attempt to become more holy.

Demonstrating the role of isolation in Judeo-Christian tradition will start with the Pentateuch and Hebrew Prophets. This will then proceed into the more specifically Christian traditions illuminated by the life of Jesus of Nazareth and then tie the influence of these two sources to the tradition of Christian monastic asceticism and spirituality. The ascetic tradition finds its origins in the Egyptian wilderness with the persons of the Theban hermit Paulus and Antony of Alexandria. In terms of spirituality, a selection of sources that influenced the Jesuits who accepted the call to the mission in Canada, and specifically to the mission to the Huron, will be discussed. It includes Thomas à Kempis' well known spiritual manual, which is closely associated with the *Devotio Moderna*, the

second most read book in the world,¹ *The Imitation of Christ*. Also included is the *Spiritual Doctrine* of the Jesuit teacher Father Louis Lallement. Two highly influential guides and bases for action that the Jesuits under examination would have accorded great weight will complement Kempis and Lallement's work. The guides are the papal bull that founded the Jesuit order and Jesuit founder Ignatius Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises*. Together these texts gave a basis upon which geographical and spiritual isolation became important aspects and condition of Christian monasticism and spirituality, conditions that must be understood to appreciate more fully both the mission and the missionaries who conducted it. Pursuing a study such as this will also illuminate some of the origins of the tools that the Jesuits used in this mission that were based on encouraging their own isolation.

A. *The Old Testament*

The pre-Christian era writings of the Pentateuch and the Hebrew prophets familiarized the Jesuit missionaries with countless stories imbued with motifs of spiritual or geographical isolation, particularly stories in which the wilderness is a central feature or cause of isolation. There are countless stories that utilize the wilderness as a motif. These Old Testament stories left a sufficient impression on the missionaries that they used the imagery of these stories in their annual reports.² A small selection of some of the stories in the Old Testament will demonstrate the connection that the Jesuits felt between their situation and mission and that of the people in these stories. Examples of these types of stories include Cain's exile, the Exodus, and Isaiah's prophecies.

¹ Thomas à Kempis, *The Imitation of Christ*. (Wheaton, IL: Christian Classics Ethereal Library, 1998. <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/kempis/imitation.html>), 3.

² The impression that the stories of the Old Testament had on the Jesuits in the Canadian mission is alluded to through their use of Old Testament imagery, such as their references to Moses, Isaiah, Elijah, Hagar, and Solomon.

Only doing this does not entirely make it clear that the Jesuits could and did make these types of connections between their present and the pre-Christian past. It is likely that in the two-decade period that the Jesuits were with the Huron these types of connections were made, however through examining a number of examples drawn from those texts to which the Jesuits referred to in the *Relations*. During their stay with the Huron, scattered concrete references to a few Old Testament stories such as that of Hagar, and references to Elijah were made. By explaining the meaning of these stories in terms of both of geographical and spiritual isolation, the connections that the Jesuits could make between these stories and their situation and mission is clear.

The Old Testament provided a rich source of images and stories that centered mainly on geographical isolation. As such, the discussion in this section focuses on a few important areas. The first is collective geographical isolation, the separation of a group from the larger society in which they exist, which is important since missionaries like Jean Breb uf were not completely alone in their work. Other members of the Society, the *donn s*, or their Native hosts surrounded the missionaries at various times. As a result, the isolation that they experienced was collective in some instances, parallel to the experience of the early Hebrews during the Exodus. The second area is individual spiritual isolation and its significance because the commitment to the mission and the ascetic life of the Society was an individual decision that separated them willingly from other parts of European society. Also, each Jesuit's call was specific to the individual. Throughout this chapter a number of aspects of the isolation will be identified, particularly as they relate to the isolation that the Jesuits dealt, such as spiritual isolation,

both while in the midst of others and while alone, and the geographical separateness from cultures and societies that were familiar to the missionaries.

Beginning with the concept of communal geographical isolation, there are few events in the Old Testament as notable in this regard as the Exodus. Briefly, the Exodus was the period in Jewish history following their escape from Egypt, under Moses' leadership, and included forty years of wandering through the Sinai wilderness south of Canaan. It is during this time that the LORD³ made the Covenant with the Hebrews, through Moses. The Exodus, as it is related to isolation, is relevant in a number of important ways. For forty years the Hebrew people were a nomadic population cut off from urban civilization. The prelude to the Exodus, the time spent in Egypt, was one of collective alienation from lands and culture that they considered their own. This was followed by physical and cultural isolation from urban culture and society while wandering the wilderness. Also, the Exodus into the wilderness was something the LORD told them to do and knew would happen,⁴ and as the plot of Exodus played out, it served as a time when the Hebrews were tempted and had their faith tested.⁵ The temptations were followed by a covenant between the LORD and the nomadic Hebrews in which they, Israel, the LORD's chosen people, were promised Jerusalem as the base for the earthly Kingdom of the LORD focused on the Temple.⁶

³ The word "LORD" is used in place of the Divine Name in Old Testament Scriptures. For this reason, references to YHWH in the Old Testament context will use this rendering. Otherwise, words such as "Lord" and "God" will be used. See Bruce M. Metzger's notes in *The Harper Collins Study Bible, New Revised Standard Edition with the Apocryphal/Deutrocanonical Books*. General Editor Wayne A. Meeks. (USA: Harper Collins Publishers, 1998), xxix.

⁴ The Egyptian exile is prophesied to Abraham in Genesis 15.

⁵ Stegner, 19.

⁶ Genesis 15, 28:13-14, Exodus 6:6-8, Joshua 15.

In terms of spiritual isolation, the Exodus plays an important symbolic role that was replicated throughout the Hebrew Bible.⁷ One of the purposes of the Exodus was to allow the LORD to call people into a situation to test their fidelity. Through these trials, the faithful were brought into a closer union with the divine. This result was important for the Jesuit missionaries who evangelized the Huron because the development of this union assisted their personal spiritual development and quest for perfection, as well as assisting the task of drawing converts. Finally, the wilderness is where the Kingdom of the LORD was prophesied to emerge.⁸ After Jesus' crucifixion, the idea of the Kingdom of the LORD being brought into existence in the wilderness was given an eschatological element.⁹

The wilderness as an isolating place that served a variety of purposes, like testing and covenanting, was not limited to the Exodus nor was the Exodus the earliest incident. From the beginning of the Hebrew Scriptures, the wilderness was a place of exile. This was made clear by the punishment Cain received for murdering his brother Abel. Cain was forced to wander east of Eden, away from the soil, and hidden from the LORD. In normal circumstances, this meant that Cain faced the prospect of death on a continuous basis. Thus, from this point on in the Bible the wilderness was clearly identified with lawlessness. It is where evil roams since none were allowed to kill Cain.¹⁰ This uncivilized and lawless image of the wilderness gave Jesuit descriptions of the forested wilderness of New France as *sauvage* a clear parallel to Biblical imagery.

⁷ The Babylonian exile after the destruction of the Temple and concluding with the construction of the second Temple would be an example of this. The experiences of the exile and its isolation are echoed throughout the Psalms, such as Psalm 10.

⁸ Stegner, 20.

⁹ Revelation 21:1-2.

¹⁰ Genesis 4: 1-16.

This use of the wilderness as an isolating device and place where the LORD covenanted with the Hebrews is evident in the story of Hagar, the servant of Abram and Sarah. After Sarah found out that Hagar was pregnant with Abram's child and threatened Hagar, Hagar ran away from Sarah to the wilderness where LORD promised to make a nation from Ishmael, her son with Abram.¹¹ This passage became more significant in terms of its impact with recognition that this was one of the few Old Testament stories referred to specifically in the *Jesuit Relations*.¹²

The *Jesuit Relations* also referred to Elijah's story. In the details included in Le Jeune's 1638 report, the stories of Hagar and Elijah, who was referred to in the *Relations* as Elias, the Greek form of his name, are mentioned together.¹³ The Elijah story was important because of the role of the wilderness in Elijah's flight from wickedness, in the form of Jezebel. While fleeing to the wilderness, Elijah received grace from the LORD in to help his journey despite Elijah's feelings of being as sinful as his ancestors and therefore unworthy of divine assistance.¹⁴ In the anecdote, the flight from wickedness strikes a metaphorical parallel to the movement of the Father. The Father, whose story was chronicled,¹⁵ moved from the temporal comforts of the Europe to the physical hardships of New France and the Huron country and experienced his fate left in the hands of the LORD despite his feeling of being less worthy than Elijah to receive this grace, which also demonstrates the humility this Father felt. That the writer of this Father's story redacted the account, tells the reader that the writer's beliefs were, or ought to have been, what is of importance. Furthermore, the spiritual paradise that the Jesuits remarked

¹¹ Genesis 16.

¹² *JR*, 14: 249.

¹³ *JR* 14: 249.

¹⁴ 1 Kings 19: 1-19.

¹⁵ The Father is unnamed in the Relation but may be Father du Peron.

on while conducting their mission demonstrated the extent they believed they were to be recipients of the LORD's grace while in the wilderness of the Huron country. Reference to these stories makes it clear that the Jesuits were aware of the grace, consolation, and assistance that they could receive from the LORD in the wilderness.

To use one final example of the importance of the wilderness as an isolating phenomenon, a passage from Isaiah is instructive. In particular, Isaiah 40 illustrated the need to separate oneself from society and the utility of the wilderness in doing so. The first verses of the chapter relate the punishments that Jerusalem suffered for its sins. This identified the ways of mankind, or at least Israel, with Jerusalem. This was quickly contrasted in the following two verses which identified the ways of the LORD with the wilderness. It is through the wilderness, not in Jerusalem, that the highway by which the LORD would come and Isaiah's readers were instructed to go there and prepare this highway. This section of the chapter concluded by stating that only once this has happened would the LORD be revealed to mankind and all people would witness the LORD together. This passage would later serve as a touchstone for monastic movements,¹⁶ such as the Benedictines,¹⁷ as they recalled the example of Jesus' contemporary prophet, John the Baptist, the generally accepted realization of Isaiah's prophecy in Chapter 40. Thus, Isaiah's words, reflected in the life of John, encouraged movement into the wilderness as a forum in which to proclaim the Gospel¹⁸ and to expedite the Second Coming. As the Exodus demonstrated, this movement was possible on an individual or

¹⁶ Derwas Chitty, *The Desert City: An Introduction to the Study of Egyptian and Palestinian Monasticism under the Christian Empire* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1966), 14.

¹⁷ Ludo J.R. Milis, *Angelic Monks and Earthly Men: Monasticism and its Meaning to Medieval Society*. (Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 1992), 137.

¹⁸ Matthew 3:3, Mark, 1:3, Luke 3:3-4.

community basis. These are also the same sentiments that were echoed by the Jesuit missionaries to the Huron, however with the symbolism of the Cross added.

B. The Life of Jesus

Despite the importance of the Old Testament as the historical origin of Christianity, the period of time covered by the Synoptic Gospels in the New Testament are equally, or more, significant for the tradition in question. This period, which covered the life of Jesus of Nazareth and his commissioning of the apostles after the resurrection, directly influenced the tradition, lives, and actions of those missionaries who dedicated themselves to the Huron mission. Beyond taking the message of Jesus to the Huron with the hopes of winning converts and saving Huron souls, the life of Jesus was important in regards to isolation. It paralleled, motivated, and added significance to the experience of physical and spiritual isolation of the missionaries engaged in the Jesuit mission to the Huron.

This section focuses on the events of Jesus' life, his words and actions as portrayed in the Synoptic Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke. As with the Old Testament, the wilderness served a prominent role in the New Testament. John the Baptist did not proclaim the messiah in the center of Hellenistic Judaic society.¹⁹ Rather, John left the cities for the countryside and wilderness of Judea with his messianic message and presented it there to those who followed him.²⁰ Interestingly, Mark's Gospel opens with a reiteration of the Isaiah 40:3 regarding the making of a way for the LORD in the wilderness. This provided an important tie between the wilderness and the herald of

¹⁹ Mark 1:4

²⁰ Mark 1:5

the Messiah, John.²¹ This experience of isolation, as it pertained to John, was not limited to geography. John also had an ascetic streak in him as the reference to his lifestyle implies. He was “clothed with camel’s hair, with a leather belt...he ate locusts and honey.”²² Clearly, in the example of John the Baptist, who was later separated from the earthly life in his martyrdom at the hand of Antipas,²³ isolating factors such as geography and culture were prevalent.

The life of John’s most famous client for baptism provided clearer examples. Upon Jesus’ baptism, the Holy Spirit, drove Jesus away from all semblances of societal comforts and into the wilderness.²⁴ The wilderness that Jesus was forced to endure, like the wilderness of the Exodus, lacked any traces of civilization. It was also here that he was forced to deal with wild beasts and Satan.²⁵ As with the Hebrew Exodus, Jesus’ forty-day isolation in the wilderness allowed his faith to be tested and ultimately rewarded by the power of the Holy Spirit.²⁶ These gifts for the faithful in the wilderness were again demonstrated in the account of the Transfiguration. In this story, which occurred on top of a mountain, like Moses’ dealings with the LORD on Mount Sinai, the person of Jesus is named as the Son of God and given the power to speak to and to be heard by the Lord.²⁷

This story was preceded by Jesus’ own proclamation of the requirements of discipleship that further ingrained the importance of isolation from various aspects of life

²¹ Mark 1:2-3,7

²² Mark 1:6

²³ Matthew 14:1-12; Mark 6:17-29

²⁴ Mark 1:12

²⁵ Mark 1:13

²⁶ Luke 4: 1-14. J. Andrew Kirk, and others, would argue that being tested and tried was the purpose or motive for Jesus to be *driven* into the wilderness. J. Andrew Kirk, “The Messianic Role of Jesus and the Temptation Narrative: A Contemporary Perspective” *The Evangelical Quarterly* v. 44 1972, 19-20.

²⁷ Luke 9:28-36

and society. Specific mention was made in Luke 9 to isolating oneself from physical desires, “let them deny themselves and take up their cross daily,” and from one’s ties to earthly life, “those who want to save their life will lose it.”²⁸ Clearly, separation of oneself from the world, both in the sense of a lack of attachment to one’s material culture and in the extreme to one’s survival instinct was of significant importance in the life of Jesus. It is also an important directive that many of the Jesuits at the mission to the Huron, like Brébeuf, Ragueneau, and Jogues, found echoed in the spiritual directives they were confronted with through the person and ideas of Father Louis Lallement.

The importance of social and cultural isolation was evident in the more mundane aspects of Jesus’ life. These aspects intertwined themselves through the daily life and the mission of the Nazarene. One of the most common themes of Jesus’ ministry was his choice of whom he sought to evangelize. Among the common or more well known groups that Jesus ministered to were the reviled tax collecting servant of Rome, Zacchaeus²⁹, the sick and outcast such as lepers,³⁰ the socially repugnant,³¹ and the culturally alien and ritually unclean Samaritan.³² These choices found loose parallels in the desire of some Jesuit missionaries to undertake the evangelization of Canada, one of the least glorious and most physically difficult missionary arenas that the Society entered during this time. Jesus further isolated himself religiously through his relations with other Jewish groups such as the Pharisees³³ and Jerusalem’s High Priest.³⁴ These people with whom he associated and his relations with officials were choices that brought him scorn

²⁸ Luke 9:23-27

²⁹ Luke 19:1-10

³⁰ Luke 17:11-19

³¹ Matthew 9:10-13

³² Luke 10:25-37

³³ Luke 11:37-54

³⁴ Luke 19:45-47

and marginalization in Hellenistic Jewish society. Jesus' willing rejection of accepted norms and intentional attempts to subvert these norms was evident to the last moments of his life when he suffered crucifixion, an extremely humiliating death, and ministered to, and provided salvation for, the thief with whom he shared Golgotha.³⁵

Jesus' example also points to the social and cultural implications of geographical separation. From this perspective the locations Jesus utilized to proclaim his message and conduct his ministry are important. Aside from teaching in synagogues or the Temple, Jesus was depicted as having presented his teachings away from the traditional venues. This included locales such as mountaintops, at sea, or between villages. This also meant that rather than go to where most people went to hear preachers, Jesus either made many of his followers leave the city to hear him or he was sufficiently marginalized in society that he was forced to do so. Consequently, Jesus provided a clear symbolic precedent for those who wished to follow him and to break with conventional ways of religious practice, an idea that the Huron were encouraged adopt as well, as Huron converts were required to refrain from many aspects of their traditional life.

It is more than clear from the examples provided that isolation had a significant role in the life of Jesus. Jesus suffered through geographical isolation as a part of the divine plan, was religiously marginalized, and civilization's wilderness served as the locale for numerous important events in his life. These events included the Transfiguration, the crucifixion, and much of his preaching. It was also a significant aspect of his ministry in a social, cultural and religious manner as he made himself distant, or at least noticeably outside of, the popular currents of the Hellenistic Judaism of which he was a part.

³⁵ Luke 23: 39-44.

The relevance of isolation in the life of Jesus went beyond the confines of the historical figure Jesus. The spiritual legacy that Jesus' example imparted provided a model for the Jesuits. He was a model of holiness and of the exorcism of Man's corruptness that was present since the exile from Eden. Through this model, particularly the means that this holiness was demonstrated in his trials, temptations and suffering in the wilderness, the Jesuit missionaries in the Huron country were able to find individual reasons, as Brébeuf mentions³⁶ and Jerome Lalement gives light to in the case of Isaac Jogues,³⁷ to seek out the isolated wilderness that the Huron territory embodied.

Physical, geographical, and cultural isolation was the means by which Jesus demonstrated his complete holiness. These forms of isolation served this function because much of the journey that Jesus undertook between his first public engagements to his later crucifixion demonstrated that Jesus' humanity was becoming less and less dominant in his life as his holy divinity controlled it, for example, in his visit to the Temple where Jesus separated himself from his parents,³⁸ one of whom was like the rest of the world and subject to Adam's sin,³⁹ or his overcoming the temptation in the wilderness. This developing spiritual isolation of his human and divine traits culminated in the story of the resurrection when Jesus wholly separated himself from the rest of humanity by doing the one thing that a sinful Adam could not do once the image of the LORD that Adam embodied had been corrupted, that is, to conquer death.⁴⁰ Jesus also gave direction toward the attainment of this goal of perfect holiness in his response to the

³⁶ Latourelle, 277.

³⁷ JR 31:37.

³⁸ Luke 2:42-52.

³⁹ The Doctrine of the Immaculate Conception had not been officially accepted as doctrinal truth until 1854 but most Roman Catholic theologians accepted Mary to be sinless.

⁴⁰ Genesis 3:19.

rich man's query about how to attain salvation. Jesus' response, which perplexed his apostles, was to give all that one owns to the poor and follow Christ.⁴¹ This directive was a major impetus to the development of Christian desert eremiticism that evolved into monasticism within two generations.⁴² This directive to the rich man was also congruent with the directions that were made to his disciples when the 12⁴³ and the 70⁴⁴ were commissioned and the disciples were to carry only the most bare of necessities, a staff, sandals, and a tunic, as they journeyed in pairs among the nations of the world.

Through his life, Jesus provided examples of how those within the tradition who followed him could seek out their own holiness. Consequently, the epitomization of holiness in Jesus implied that holiness was only possible by isolating the temporal side of one's being, whether this side emerged culturally, socially, or physically. In doing so, the followers of this tradition were able to make himself more at one with their Redeemer and the LORD from whose image they were made, as well as attain the eternal life given up by Adam in the Garden and regained through the crucifixion and resurrection.

C. Paulus and Antony

The Egyptian wilderness was the home of what would become the monastic tradition in both Eastern and Western Christendom. Its origin is usually attributed to Antony, courtesy of the biographical study that Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria, wrote in the fourth century. This study however will begin with Paulus of Thebes, who received biographical treatment from the Vulgate's translator Jerome. Due to Jerome's importance in the corpus of Roman Catholic literature and Paulus' relationship to Antony, Paulus had

⁴¹ Mark 10: 17-31, Luke 18:18-30. Matthew 19:16-26

⁴² Paulus the first Christian desert hermit anoints Antony as his successor. Antony's most important disciple, in terms of the development of monasticism as a communal way of life, was Pachomius.

⁴³ Mark 6:6-13, Luke 9:1-6. Matthew 10:5-13.

⁴⁴ Luke 10:1-9.

an underlying influence on the development of monasticism in the West. From their relationship with each other, Paulus was an influence on Antony and Antony's followers, such as Pachomius.⁴⁵ This study will examine the influence of Paulus and then Antony on the ascetic tradition, particularly in terms of the importance of isolation.

The idealization of the desert by Christianity in the eastern parts of the Roman Empire developed out of the decline of traditional holy men. In the first centuries of Christianity, the Christian martyr was the archetypal holy man due to the persecution Christianity faced since the empire was largely pagan at this time.⁴⁶ The actions of the Emperor Constantine, which ended the state persecution of Christians, brought a decline in martyrdom and opportunities for these holy men to rise out the suffering that came with paying the ultimate price for their faith. It was out of this milieu that the desert holy man emerged, with Paulus and Antony as the first Christian examples. Those who fled to the desert were believed to develop power from God as a result of their experiences of physical isolation and separation from the corrupt urban environment, an isolation that went beyond the earliest forms of eremitical life on the outskirts of towns, villages, and cities. As a result, desert ascetics served as guides to spiritual perfection for more secular Christians and helped in the continual fight against evil in their society, such as helping to cleanse pagan temples of demons.⁴⁷ That is not to say that all who fled to the Egyptian, Palestinian, or Syrian wildernesses did so in pursuit of holiness, were free of corruption, and exemplified the ideals of the pioneers. By the third generation, the generation after Pachomius' innovation of communal geographical isolation through the creation of

⁴⁵ Jerome, *Life of Paulus the First Hermit*, 12. <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/3008.htm>. Access Date: March 15, 2004.

⁴⁶ Farag Rofail Farag, *Sociological and Moral Studies in the Field of Coptic Monasticism*, (Netherlands: E.J. Brill, 1964), 12.

⁴⁷ Chitty, 104.

monasteries in the desert, there were already concerns within and without the eremitic community that the movement had become lax. There were allegations and problems with homosexuality and sexual corruption,⁴⁸ accusations of flights to the wilderness to avoid personal secular difficulties,⁴⁹ and attraction of monastic groups as personal armies, as Alexandrian Archbishop Theophilus utilized.⁵⁰ It is for this reason, the closeness to the ideal and origin, as well as the likelihood of bearing a significant influence on later orders, that this study will limit itself to the examples of Paulus and Antony.

Paulus' influence, and particularly on the importance of physical isolation,⁵¹ is quite widespread and complemented aspects of Jesus' influence. Paulus is thought to be the first devotee of Christianity to give up urban life in an attempt to follow Christ,⁵² and the first to go out into the wilderness as far as he did.⁵³ By going far out into the wilderness, in the desert and the mountains, Jerome related that Paulus looked at his isolated outpost as a gift given by God. Through this gift, Paulus believed he could achieve anything – including righteousness.⁵⁴ Thus, from Paulus onward there was a belief that holiness was an end that was achievable by seeking solitude and separation from the world as steps toward the spiritual break from the world. Paulus believed he

⁴⁸ Chitty, 66-67.

⁴⁹ Chitty, 48.

⁵⁰ Chitty, 54. Peter Brown, *The World of Late Antiquity: From Marcus Aurelius to Muhammad* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1971), 104.

⁵¹ Soon after the desert is discovered by Paulus and his tradition, it evolves into isolated communities in the desert that embody the spirit of Paulus. Goehring, 268.

⁵² *Life of Paulus*, 1.

⁵³ It had previously been common for hermits to locate themselves on the fringes of towns and villages rather than be at a significant distance from urban areas as Paulus did.

⁵⁴ *Life of Paulus*, 6. Jerome also noted that at his death Paul believes that he has a “crown of righteousness in heaven waiting for him. *Life of Paulus*, 11.

could do this by relying totally on the provision by God of necessities⁵⁵ and the requisite trust that would be necessary to do so, much like Jesus trusted God after Gethsemane.⁵⁶

Paulus' connections to Christ and his dedication to following Christ's directives were also evident in Paulus' exhortation to value poverty and not worldly excesses in order to be in a greater union with Christ.⁵⁷ This proclamation in Jerome's biography of Paulus set an example that the Jesuit missionaries who ventured to the Huron country were able to use for themselves, within the bounds of their vocation and vows,⁵⁸ in terms of not desiring temporal comfort and assistance, but rather desiring prayers to make their mission more successful.⁵⁹ In addition, it provided an example of reliance on the Lord for the Jesuits to use with the Huron to encourage them that they did not need the rest of their community in order to survive, particularly in the afterlife. Rather, these Jesuits taught the Huron that God would provide for their souls in the life to come and therefore being willing to rely on God alone would make them closer to Christ and therefore salvation.

Further integrating Paulus into this tradition of isolation, Jerome equated his eremitical subject with the Old Testament prophet Elijah.⁶⁰ By making this comparison, Jerome implied that Paulus, in his flight to the wilderness from the cities and Egyptian civilization, really fled evil and corruption, much as Elijah fled Jezebel. The example of Elijah and Paulus gives the Jesuit 1300 years later sufficient impetus to seek out the

⁵⁵ *Life of Paulus*, 10.

⁵⁶ In Jerome's Vulgate edition, verses 43-44 of Luke 22, mention an angel coming to give Jesus the strength to do what God has asked of him and shrink from trusting in God's will and plan for him. These verses are not included in all manuscripts of Luke's Gospel, such as Clement and Origen's. However it is important that Jerome has included them because his edition of the Bible was the accepted Latin version that the Jesuits would have known, as well as the fact that he both translated and compiled this edition of the Bible as well as write Paulus' biography.

⁵⁷ *Life of Paulus*, 17.

⁵⁸ Jesuits were to live a life of apostolic poverty which centered on the receipt of alms for sustenance, an idea that connoted dependence on divine providence in order for one to have their physical needs fulfilled. John W. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993), 348-349.

⁵⁹ *JR*, 8: 177-179, 11: 85.

⁶⁰ *Life of Paulus*, 13.

wilderness in places like New France, to cut himself from the physical comforts and ease of life in Europe,⁶¹ as a means of opening himself to the LORD's grace and thereby to greater holiness, as Elijah did.

Paulus anointed of the Father of Christian monasticism, Antony.⁶² Like Paulus, Antony pursued the eremitic life as a means of following a Christ-like example of forsaking the material world to secure his salvation.⁶³ Antony's decision to give away all of his material possessions was a direct response to an encounter with and exegetical understanding of Jesus' recommendation to the rich man to give away all that he owned to the poor and follow Christ.⁶⁴ He did this even to the extent of having his sister, for whom he was responsible, given to the care of a community of virgins.⁶⁵ As was the practice at the time, Antony's first strides into this life were within or near his village; however, he eventually made what appeared to be an innovation by seeking out the wilderness of Egyptian mountains and desert.⁶⁶

Unlike Paulus who fled the cities for a more pure life of reliance on God and purity of existence, Antony's experience was characterized by temptations and struggles. Throughout the trials, Athanasius recounted for his readers what appeared to be Antony's direct interactions with a scheming Satan and how Antony resisted them. Through the first of these trials on the road to his future mountain dwelling, Antony was given the

⁶¹ LeJeune's call to missionaries to be able to cut themselves from the sweet comforts of Europe.

⁶² *Life of Paulus*, 12-13. In chapter 12 Paulus confers the role of being a monastic example on Antony. In the following chapter, in addition to equating Paulus with Elijah, Jerome refers to Paulus as being akin to John the Baptist who proclaimed Jesus as the Messiah (Matthew 3:11-12, Mark 1:7-8, Luke 3:15-18) as Paulus proclaimed Antony the example for monasticism.

⁶³ Athanasius, "Life of Antony" *Select Works and Letters*, Volume IV of NICENE AND POST-NICENE FATHERS, Series II, Philip Schaff and Henry Wace, editors, 2. Accessed through *Medieval Sourcebook*, <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/basis/vita-antony.html>. Access Date: March 13, 2004.

⁶⁴ Mark 10: 17-31, Luke 18:18-30. Matthew 19:16-26.

⁶⁵ Matthew 19:21. Chitty, 2.

⁶⁶ According to Jerome's *Life of Paulus*, Antony believed he was the most perfect monk until a voice spoke to him at night and eventually directed him towards a meeting with Paulus. *Life of Paulus*, 7.

idea, which he believed to be from Christ, that trials were allowed to occur to him without him receiving any divine help. Antony's believed this was done so he could demonstrate his personal strength and holiness – much like the Old Testament Job⁶⁷ - in exchange for his name becoming widely known for these deeds.⁶⁸ It also paralleled Christ's own temptation in the Judean wilderness before his ministry began. Antony believed that the temptations in the wilderness were eased by a continual focus on Christ and that faith and the power of the Cross made any burden bearable.⁶⁹ This idea surfaced as a recurrent theme in the Jesuits writing on their missions in New France and the Crosses that the mission held for its evangelists.

From this basis, Antony's example led his followers to believe in a bounty of gains that were available in exchange for denying the demands and wants of the body.⁷⁰ This was because the spiritual health of the individual was significantly more important than the health of the physical being.⁷¹ In this view, ascetical discipline, its strictness and exercises, became tools by which the ascetic could combat the evil that surrounded him since the ascetic's daily practices gave him power through his focus on Christ.⁷² This belief, which was latched onto in the eastern Empire in the fourth century, is what made the desert monastic holy and is the most important way in which they served the spiritual needs of the urban population.⁷³ In addition to making these trials and tribulations more easily dealt with, the whole process of enduring the monastic discipline developed a

⁶⁷ Job was tested by Satan as to his faith in a deal made between Satan and the Lord. The basis of the test was whether or not Job had such strong faith that he could withstand having all taken from him and be persecuted by Satan and still not rebuke God for deserting him which eventually Job does not and is handsomely rewarded for his faith.

⁶⁸ *Life of Antony*, 10.

⁶⁹ *Life of Antony*, 5 and 23.

⁷⁰ *Life of Antony*, 16.

⁷¹ *Life of Anton*, 4.

⁷² *Life of Antony*, 30.

⁷³ Brown, 101-102.

greater degree of purity within the disciple.⁷⁴ Thus, in the example of Antony, the later reader gains a sense of how the spiritual isolation of the wilderness is useful a tool for ensuring personal salvation.

For the Jesuits who made the journey to work in the Huron mission, Antony's example demonstrated a significant influence on their actions. Antony's example clearly paralleled some of Jesus' own experiences of physical isolation in the wilderness. The wilderness was a place of temptation to prove one's worthiness and holiness before the Lord. By living in the wilderness and its lack of comforts, one was forced to rely on the Lord for assistance and suffered many tribulations and painful difficulties in service of the divine. Thus, Antony provided a more human model than Jesus for the pursuit of holiness and salvation within the structures of Christianity. This model made an adequate parallel for the Jesuits to follow in the Huron country in securing their own purity of heart, salvation and the rewards of the world to come, as disciples and possibly martyrs.⁷⁵ Furthermore, the trials and crosses that the missionaries endured, as Antony did as well, helped them not only to become personally more pure but, they believed, helped them convert others and thereby earn others' salvation.⁷⁶

D. Kempis and Lallement

The range of influences on the Jesuits who travelled to the land of the Huron as missionaries was not strictly limited to the lives and actions of their spiritual forefathers. It can also be traced through the literature and ideas that they brought with them to the mission and that the examples they encountered prior to their arrival in New France. The

⁷⁴ *Life of Antony*, 34.

⁷⁵ *Life of Antony*, 46. Antony is declared to have desired to become a martyr for Christianity and went back to Alexandria with others in order to stand for their faith and possibly suffer that end.

⁷⁶ *Champion*, 47-48.

range of sources that could be studied from this could include any number of spiritual texts and doctrines available and possibly popular in Europe from the time of Loyola, their founder, to the mid-seventeenth century. Examples of such could include Francis de Sales' *Introduction to the Devout Life* or the *Lives of the Saints* from which Ignatius Loyola was inspired. To direct the discussion more concisely, a brief examination of two sets of ideas will determine how the Jesuit missionaries were influenced. These are Thomas à Kempis' *The Imitation of Christ* and the doctrines instilled in Father Louis Lallement's *Spiritual Teaching*.

These sources provide important insights into the thought of the Jesuits. The first was a popular and a readily available text in Europe throughout the period in question. *The Imitation of Christ*, is one of the few texts that the Jesuits brought to this mission in sufficient numbers and that held sufficient value to have been mentioned by name as having been given as a gift as well as having its use mentioned.⁷⁷ The other text, Father Lallement's work slightly varies from the first in that it did not obtain its present form until Father Pierre Champion compiled it late in the seventeenth century. Its contents were known to those who studied at the college at Rouen through Lallement's teaching and through personal interactions with him. As René Latourelle lists, Father Brébeuf instructed at Rouen at the same time as Lallement was there, and Lallement was Master of Novices or Tertian Instructor for Fathers Jogues, Daniel, Le Moyne, Ragueneau, and

⁷⁷ Jerome Lalement gave copies of Gerson as gifts in 1648, 1649, and 1650. *JR* 32:67, *JR* 34: 37, *JR* 35:29. Isaac Jogues mentions carrying it as well. *JR*, 25: 57, 289ff. The references in the Jesuit Relations speak specifically of a text by Gerson, otherwise known as Jean Charlier and it is believed allude to *IV livres de l'imitation de Jésus Christ*. The authorship of this book has been disputed since it first began to be circulated. Current thought and scholarship attributes the text to the authorship of Thomas à Kempis, with Gerson being the second most common attribution. What is important for the discussion here is not who authored the text, but rather that the text now currently attributed the Kempis is in fact the same text referred to by Isaac Jogues as having been written by Gerson.

Vimont, some of the most significant names in the history of this mission.⁷⁸ Instead of the *Doctrine spirituelle* being the work of his own hand, it was his students' notes, namely Fathers Rigoleuc and Surin, that was the basis for the book.⁷⁹ Nonetheless, its value lies in the fact that the basic ideas laid out in the *Spiritual Teaching* were presented to a number of Jesuits who were instrumental in the mission to New France, particularly to the Huron. These Jesuits include Fathers like mission Superiors Paul LeJeune, who oversaw the Canadian missions and edited numerous reports from the Huron country, and Paul Ragueneau who oversaw the Huron mission in the 1640s, as well as the famous martyr Isaac Jogues. By examining these sources on spirituality, it is clear that geographical isolation was encouraged for specific purposes in the lives of the Jesuits who conducted the mission to the Huron. This was particularly true in terms of their personal relationship with the divine and these were ideas that the Jesuits could then pass on to their Huron converts.

The influence of *The Imitation of Christ* on concepts of spiritual isolation is evident from the first pages. The opening pages of Kempis' manual parallel the motives that drew Paulus from the cities to the wilderness. Kempis clearly exhorted his readers to be contemptuous of the world and personal desires if they are effectively going to seek out the reward of heaven by imitating Christ.⁸⁰ This movement towards removal from the world and the association of this ideal to the early desert fathers was repeated by Kempis when he notes how "detached were the lives the holy fathers led in the desert!"⁸¹ He noted that these fathers "renounced all riches, dignities, honors, friends, and associates.

⁷⁸ Latourelle, 258-261.

⁷⁹ Champion, vii.

⁸⁰ Kempis, 4, 96, 120.

⁸¹ Kempis, 15-16.

They desired nothing of the world...they were despised by the world.”⁸² Thus, Kempis echoed the message that Jerome developed in his biography of Paulus – holiness may be sought by exiting from the world and forsaking the corruptness of civilization.⁸³ Thus, the mental or spiritual isolation of oneself from those aspects of society that represent that which is predominately a home for evil was a worthy and viable route to self purification, wisdom, and ultimately salvation. Kempis even took this conclusion so far as to make it a black and white decision between Christ and earthly pleasures by denying a middle ground.⁸⁴

One of the important features of Kempis’ programme of spiritual development was his focus on interior spiritual development while continuing to live and work within the world. Kempis does not actively admonish monasticism as a form of exile and separation from the world. He recognized the holiness of the actions of the Desert Fathers.⁸⁵ In spite of this, he made it clear there was no single mode of employment, religious or secular, that ensured salvation and an openness to following God’s will. Kempis encouraged those whom he directed to make a complete interior change of life, mortifying oneself through separation from earthly attachments and all that does not serve God’s will.⁸⁶ This service had to include charity since true charity came from pure love of God. Therefore, if charity for others was performed properly it was an expression of love of God and a product of our interior openness to God. As an overall message,

⁸² Kempis, 15-16.

⁸³ In this manual Thomas à Kempis recognizes that each individual cannot take themselves off to the wilderness or the desert and live the life of an eremitic monk simply because each person does not have the strength or drive to do so. He cautions strongly against such steps as entering religious orders and seeking monastic orders unless one truly and completely seeks complete humbling before God, and has no will of his own and to give up one’s self to God as an “exile on earth.” Kempis, 15.

⁸⁴ Kempis, 91.

⁸⁵ Kempis, 15.

⁸⁶ Kempis, 15.

therefore, Kempis argued that service to God and spiritual development were possible through any vocational calling, provided it is the one to which Christ had called and was done without looking toward temporal or physical gains since the spiritual development was entirely within the heart.⁸⁷

Kempis did not promote a physical flight from society as a means to developing holiness and greater union with Christ since holiness and this union could be flaunted as a sign of personal superiority if it was developed through physical flight. Kempis' exception to this was if the devotee had received a call to this life and that the devotee followed this calling in a complete submission to Christ. Rather, Kempis was quite clear in his admonition against this and developed requirements to prevent it. Kempis encouraged readers that their personal devotions to God in hopes of imitating Christ should not be performed publicly, but rather readers should seek solitude at appropriate or suitable times as "such personal things are better performed in private."⁸⁸ One reason Kempis gave is that devotions, as well as the circumstance of devotions, were not necessarily appropriate for any other person at any given time. Thus, each individual devotee of Christ must consider his own situation, and his own calling by Christ and respond to it accordingly.⁸⁹

By specifically discussing the individuality of prayer and devotion, Kempis provided a clear illustration of how different Christian practices are from those of the Huron whom the Jesuits encountered. Communal devotions were not to be admonished.⁹⁰ According to Kempis, they were a sign of giving up oneself to others and of one's

⁸⁷ Kempis, 13-14.

⁸⁸ Kempis, 17.

⁸⁹ Kempis, 17.

⁹⁰ Kempis, 23.

humility and subservience, an idea that was agreeable to Jesuit founder Ignatius Loyola.⁹¹ Kempis also made a concerted effort to elaborate the importance of taking part in Mass.⁹² Although the community still took precedence to the devotions and desires of the individual, much as occurs in Huron religious practice, the motive that Kempis implied diverges from Huron motives. Kempis' motive for such practices was the demonstration of individual worthiness for the gift of heaven in the next life.⁹³ The motives of the Huron differed, as Huron society encouraged all individuals, as necessary and able, to participate in community religious celebrations, feasts and ritual for the sake of community survival. Thus, the focus for the Jesuits was ensuring that all people, their converts as well as themselves, followed God's will in their devotional activities and kept Christ at the forefront of their minds.

Despite his affinity with the ideas of Paulus, as Jerome wrote them, Kempis also shared an explicit connection with the ideas of Antony, particularly with the value attributed to the experience of temptation and individual trials and suffering. In the beliefs of Kempis, trials and tribulations were how the Christian believer came to recognize his need for God. This meant that in terms of imitating Christ, the pious devotee must try to bear the sufferings that Christ bore since Jesus' life was defined by its suffering, most importantly the suffering on the cross.⁹⁴ By noting Jesus' life, the believer received an example of how to bear witness and endure temptations and trials as well as

⁹¹ Joseph de Guibert, S.J., *The Jesuits Their Spiritual Doctrine and Practice, A Historical Study*, translated by William J. Young, S.J., edited by George E. Ganss, S.J. (Chicago: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1964), 100.

⁹² Kempis, 106-108.

⁹³ Kempis makes reference to John 8:12 in which Jesus proclaims that following his will results in the attainment of the light of life, that is heaven and salvation. Kempis, 4.

⁹⁴ Kempis, 38.

the accompanying suffering.⁹⁵ The reader was instructed that suffering these trials and temptations was the way to salvation since all trials ultimately led to redemption.⁹⁶ Kempis tied this result, redemption, into his overall framework, particularly those ideas that parallel Paulus' thought, by explaining that to resist the temptations offered and endure such trials demonstrated the ability to subvert personal desires and wants to the will of others, most importantly God's will.⁹⁷ Consequently, Kempis argued that if one was to humble oneself fully to God and fully imitate the suffering and temptation that Christ endured, devotees of Christ must seek out their own crosses - suffering and tribulations – even if it means suffering martyrdom.⁹⁸

Kempis' ideas about how to ensure salvation tied together with and provided instruction on the use of geographical isolation as a tool for the missionary to the Huron. For the individual Jesuit, Kempis' ideas provided them with a reward, the most important reward a Jesuit or any Christian could desire, for enduring the difficulties and trials that came with being so physically isolated from that which they knew and for immersion in such a foreign culture and society for the sake of gaining converts. It also rewarded them by making the task apparently easier by allowing a means, if the missionary was following a true calling, of ensuring better isolation from the corruption of civilized society. Together, these ideas helped each Jesuit pursue the goal of demonstrating his holiness and humility to God. Kempis' ideas, as described in *The Imitation of Christ*, also provided a reward and rationale that was able to be promoted by the Jesuits to their potential converts. By convincing the Huron to subvert their own wills and desires to the

⁹⁵ Kempis, 58.

⁹⁶ Kempis, 37, 85.

⁹⁷ Kempis, 91.

⁹⁸ Kempis, 38, 97.

Jesuits, much like living under a superior as Kempis describes it,⁹⁹ the Huron were promised that they would be well taken care of in the afterlife without suffering, a concern that kept them from converting early on in the mission. This would help the Jesuits isolate more and more Huron from their traditional religious beliefs and effectively to weaken the mechanisms of Huron society. In addition, the action of conducting this mission, with the hopes of converting the Huron and thereby gaining their salvation was an expression of charity, and provided God with a means to judge the Jesuit missionary favourably in the life to come.¹⁰⁰

Kempis' devotional manual influenced the attitudes and actions of the Jesuits engaged in the mission to the Huron as it was one of the cherished personal items carried into New France.¹⁰¹ This text, however, was supplemented by the teaching that many of the Canadian missionaries received at Rouen where Father Louis Lallement was posted. In addition to being a teacher to many of the Jesuits commissioned with the mission to the Huron, Lallement was himself an aspirant to the Canadian mission whose desire was never fulfilled, despite three years of asking. Consequently, he had only the opportunity to transmit his passions for Canada to his students.¹⁰²

Father Lallement has become known for his spiritual doctrine. His ideas suggest the development of an important middle ground in the debate within the Jesuit order surrounding the balance between a life of activity and one of internal reflection and

⁹⁹ Kempis, 9.

¹⁰⁰ Kempis, 4.

¹⁰¹ Isaac Jogues notes carrying only "*a little office of the Virgin, of a little Gerson, and a wooden Cross*" (italics in original). JR 25:55. In listing gifts given, Paul Ragueneau gives the text the honour of naming it while with other spiritual guides only refers to them as "two spiritual books". JR 35:29. This extra status that Jogues and Ragueneau give Kempis' book imply that it was a highly regarded text for one's personal spiritual development. Latourelle refers to Kempis' book as one of the few things Brébeuf read while in New France, along with the Bible and his breviary. Latourelle, 256.

¹⁰² Champion, 8.

spiritual development. The roots of this debate are obvious by recalling the innovations and foci of the order that Ignatius helped start and that he led. One of Ignatius' most important innovations was detailed in the document he is most famous for, the *Spiritual Exercises*. Ignatius' devotional routine, a fundamental aspect of the Jesuit identity as all Jesuits were supposed to complete it in order to enter the Society and then perform the Exercises on a regular basis, highlighted the importance that Loyola placed on spiritual development and the interior life. On the other hand, the Society embodied an ethic towards work and involvement in the world through an emphasis on missions, the quick development of a vast educational network, and movement away from parish clerical life and a cloistered life of highly regular communal devotions, choirs, and masses in favour of private breviary work and involvement in the community. Without an intentional focus on finding and maintaining a balance between exterior and interior work it was easy to sacrifice one side of the Jesuit identity in favour of the other. This balancing act became important in discussions within the order by the early seventeenth century and a balance that Lallement spent significant effort attempting to address.

The life of a Jesuit missionary was well suited to Lallement's spiritual programme, despite the infrequency of direct references to mission work in the *Spiritual Doctrine*. Lallement viewed missions as momentous acts of piety and devotion, and as such, evangelism was an act of spiritual development and was to ward against the sterilization of pious zeal. He also believed that missions in Canada were ideal locales for such development as he thought these missions to be more abundant in trials, suffering, and crosses. As a result, participation in these missions was promoted, "although fewer conversions were made there than elsewhere", such as in Paraguay, "because it [the

Canadian mission] was more fruitful in labours and crosses, because it offered a less brilliant career, and contributed more to the sanctification of the missionaries.”¹⁰³

Mission work to peoples like the Huron, or other Canadian native populations, had this effect for two important reasons that are central to much of Lallement’s spiritual teaching. First, it provided opportunities to demonstrate self-abnegation and second, it demonstrated their obedience to wills other than their own. The potential that obedience offered was obtained through an intense interior life, a core principle of Ignatian spirituality,¹⁰⁴ that developed one’s communication with God, required as complete a knowledge of the will of God as was possible, most readily attained by a sacrifice of personal wants and desires and the denial of the self.¹⁰⁵

As Lallement believed, salvation was more attainable as one moved towards perfection, a task whose means was best attained for those called to the Jesuit vocation through obedience. This, according to Father Lallement, required complete resignation of one’s fate to God’s will and in doing so one looked to the examples of both Joseph and Jesus.¹⁰⁶ Thus, in Lallement’s scheme of spiritual development, involvement in missions was an excellent demonstration of a Jesuit’s willingness to forego his own physical needs, wants, and desires, for service to the will of God as promulgated by superiors. The Canadian mission due to its isolation geographically, poor material supplies, and significant numbers of trials provided an excellent vehicle for a Jesuit to work towards his own perfection. Furthermore, the trials that missions like Canada provided not only assisted an individual’s own spiritual development, but were necessary for the mission to

¹⁰³ Champion, 8.

¹⁰⁴ Guibert, 171.

¹⁰⁵ Champion, 32-34, 93. Guibert, 545.

¹⁰⁶ Champion 59.

be fruitful. Lallement took this one step further in his belief that personal suffering and trials were necessary facets of securing the salvation of the souls of the world's people, an act that from the perspective of these missionaries was an act of immense charity.¹⁰⁷

In addition, this quest towards perfection and purity, as illustrated by the demonstration of obedience in Lallement's mind, was found in the origins of Christian traditions, and in ways that encouraged Jesuit missionaries towards this isolating environment. A classic example of how one may attain perfection through the purity of heart that Lallement pointed his audience to, paralleled by Thomas à Kempis, was the example of the Desert Fathers who dwelled in solitude in the Egyptian wilderness. He specifically mentioned Paulus, the first of these Fathers.¹⁰⁸ Along with Paulus, Lallement mentioned Mary of Egypt.¹⁰⁹ Both received what was interpreted as a clear call from God to renounce their former lives in favour of a life of physical isolation from much of society.¹¹⁰ The willingness to do so and endure the trials and difficulties of giving up the comforts of civilization, was a testament to their purity of heart which allowed them to obey so perfectly.

Closely associated with Lallement's emphasis on obedience in spiritual development was the value placed on self-abnegation as a means of demonstrating obedience. For the beginner this was defined as personal "withdrawal from occasions of sin" which include deeds, as well as thoughts,¹¹¹ "the mortification of passions, as well as

¹⁰⁷ Champion, 47-48.

¹⁰⁸ Champion, 80.

¹⁰⁹ Mary of Egypt lived in the late fourth and early fifth centuries, although there is the possibility that she died in the early sixth. On the completion of a pilgrimage to Jerusalem she had an epiphany in which she gave up her corrupt lifestyle, in obedience to God's call to her, as a prostitute to live in the Palestinian desert in order to gain access to the Church.

¹¹⁰ Paulus had contact with Antony at the end of his life and Mary had sporadic access to a priest.

¹¹¹ Sins of thought would include the beliefs, such as pride, that manifest themselves as sinful actions, *Spiritual Exercises*, 294.

individual will and judgement.”¹¹² For the Jesuit who was more spiritually advanced, this self-abnegation included detachment from such divine gifts as grace since these gifts are given out of mercy and not because of any value of the individual or their actions, and that these gifts are as easily withdrawn as they are given.¹¹³ He believed that full service to God and pursuit of the vocation for which each Jesuit was called required that each must renounce his previously held relations.¹¹⁴ Consequently, Lallement taught that the Jesuit who sought perfection must totally abandon all attachments to himself and spiritually isolate himself from the world so that he may more easily develop a closer relationship with God.¹¹⁵ This sacrifice of the self, of its desires, and the obedience that it demonstrated, was exemplified in Lallement’s acceptance of his role promoting the Canadian mission and its spiritual benefits rather than as an active participant since he only made requests to be sent to New France during a three-year span. For those just beginning this journey it included doing what was necessary to withdraw from sin through a mortification of passions, of personal will, and judgement. Furthermore, he instructed Jesuit spiritual directors – those entrusted with leading spiritual devotees through exercises such as those developed by Ignatius – with the task of intervening to assist the devotees with the task of becoming spiritually isolated.¹¹⁶

Lallement also instructed followers of his spiritualism that this spiritual self-sacrifice must be accompanied by a joyful demeanour.¹¹⁷ He explained this condition as necessary if the penitential believer was going to remain humble in the quest to get closer

¹¹² Champion, 96.

¹¹³ Champion, 96.

¹¹⁴ Champion, 55.

¹¹⁵ Champion, 96.

¹¹⁶ Champion, 98.

¹¹⁷ Champion, 44.

to God.¹¹⁸ This humility was necessary, from Lallement's perspective on spiritual development, because with true humility came an ability to resort only to God as an aid and for assistance.¹¹⁹ When the trials provided by God are combined with humility, the devotee's suffering becomes surmountable due to God's help, and should be looked at as a gift since it was an opportunity to demonstrate obedience.¹²⁰

Thus, spiritual isolation served a useful function in the doctrine of Father Lallement and was an integral part of his functional theology. It was a fundamental aspect of his programme that the believer, particularly the Jesuit, separated himself from his own natural will and inclination since not doing so separated him from God. Thus, the believer renounced himself, refrained from obedience to his own desires and isolated his personal will from action. By doing this, he was better able to follow the demands and will of God that was to ultimately bring him closer to God. Due to the trials and sufferings that the Canadian missions were thought to bring, and the fact that suffering was antithetical to individual physical survival, participation in these missions helped missionaries become closer to God, if this was God's will, and thereby drew more converts into the Christian flock.

Taken together as a set of influential texts and teachings, Thomas à Kempis and Father Louis Lallement provided a spiritual foundation upon which the Jesuit missionaries who journeyed to the Huron country were able to build a life that would enhance their personal spiritual development. They provided a set of rewards that worked from the desire of the religious to ensure his salvation. This desire for salvation was accomplished through a willingness to submit to the trials, sufferings, and crosses that his

¹¹⁸ Champion, 46.

¹¹⁹ Champion, 35.

¹²⁰ Champion, 48.

vocational call from God to the isolated Huron mission demanded. Furthermore, this spiritual development also led to an eased road to conversion for those outside the Church that were targeted by Jesuit evangelization.

E. Ignatius Loyola and the Society of Jesus

Each of the sets of documentary literature, the Old and New Testaments, the lives of specific spiritual and cultural antecedents, and instructive texts of the period all share an influence that affected the role of isolation in the lives and actions of any number of Christians and Christian organizations of the time. What makes the impact on those who conducted the missionary experiment with the Huron different is the simple fact that they were Jesuits. Recognizing this assumes two separate but important facts. First, it assumes that there was a corpus of literature that they were very knowledgeable about, and that the ideas of this corpus of literature were things that they agreed with, believed in, and used in attempting to live in their daily lives. The nucleus of this literature was composed of two texts. The first text is the *Constitutions the Society of Jesus* and included the papal bull that brought the Society into existence, *Exposcit debitum*. This text outlined what exactly the society was as well as its governing principles. The second was the *Spiritual Exercises*, a method of meditation, self-examination, and reflection developed by the Society's founder, Ignatius Loyola. Together, these texts formed the basis of what it was to be a Jesuit and were the basis for setting Jesuits apart from other religious orders. Furthermore, and more pertinent to the discussion at hand, these texts lent themselves to the promotion and institutionalization of certain forms of isolation among the Society's members and reinforced the ideas found in the texts previously discussed in this study, or formed part of the basis for such ideas, as in the case of the *Spiritual Doctrine*. These

Jesuit texts affected how the Jesuit missionaries carried out their mandate to convert the Huron. By affecting how the missionaries carried out their mandate, the texts affected how the individual and collective agenda of the missionaries were pursued.

Since the Society cannot exist - at least in an official capacity within the Church proper – without sanction from the Holy See there is logic in first examining the papal bull *Exposcit debitum*.¹²¹ Early in the bull's profession of the characteristics of the society it reaffirmed what Kempis wrote of the individuality of the vocational duty, and highlighted the obligation of devoutness, an idea that the Jesuit Lallement took up as well.¹²² Thus, from their institution, Jesuits were confirmed in pursuing their individual ends as dictated by their calling, though within the confines of following the orders of the society's superiors for as long as these superiors felt is necessary. Naturally, as Kempis' ideas illustrated for the Jesuit, these individual ends also included charitable work for others through pure love and for God's glory, not their own.

In describing the vows of the members of the Society, the vow of poverty and its explanation deserves notice for how it contributed to the function of isolation in the mission to the Huron. The premise behind this vow centred on the internal gratification and greater purity of spirit that came from self-removal from the "infection of avarice" that came from evangelical poverty.¹²³ Jesuits was able to pursue such objectives and be fully removed into evangelical poverty in no better way than being sent on mission into

¹²¹ A previous bull to *Exposcit debitum* had been issued ten years prior, *Regimini militantis*, however the later bull enhances and corrects the earlier bull and is thus considered to be the official and binding version of the Formula. George E. Ganss, S.J., translator and commentator of *Saint Ignatius of Loyola, The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus* (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1984), 50.

¹²² "The Formula of the Institute of the Society of Jesus" *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*, translated and commented on by George Ganss, S.J. (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1984), 67.

¹²³ "The Formula of the Institute of the Society of Jesus", 69. This is re-inforced and dealt with in further detail in "The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus and their Declarations" *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*, translated and commented on by George Ganss, S.J. (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1984), 251-259.

the wilderness such as to the hinterland of New France among the Huron. This support of missions into the wilderness was amplified by later dictums regarding the accumulation of wealth and the imposed reliance of the Jesuits on alms. Requiring poverty and the acquisition of sustenance in this way heightened the necessity of the Fathers to place their reliance on and trust in God. This objective was largely the purpose of the trials, suffering, and temptation that Paulus and Antony, as well as the communal monastic movements that they inspired, sought out by fleeing to the wilderness. As a result, by isolating themselves in this way, the Jesuits not only helped to fulfill their obligations, which were considered a pathway to God; it also placed them in situations to demonstrate their faith and devotion and ease the road to salvation, as well as make it easier to attain Huron converts to the faith.¹²⁴ Thus, having been isolated from sinful ways, here characterized by greed, Jesuits were able to labour towards working out their own salvation and union to the divine. In addition, it also formed a part of the basis for the conversion program that was utilized in the attempt to shift the trust and focus of individual Huron away from the traditional community when considering their need to survive the life to come and instead trusting and focusing on God. If the Jesuits convinced the Huron of this then the missionaries significantly reduced the ability of the traditional society to hold onto Christian Huron who challenged the ability of traditional Huron society to persevere.

The individualism of the vocational call and its manifestation carried over into aspects of the spiritual life of the Jesuits. Unlike other orders, and in line with the writers previously mentioned, the Formula advocated for the value of private devotions and

¹²⁴ Thomas à Kempis commented that suffering in the present life reduced suffering in the afterlife enroute to heaven. Kempis, 24.

prayer, and recitation of the Divine Office by its members.¹²⁵ This reinforced the individuality of the vocational call and enshrined it as a means for the members of the Society to seek out solitude and physical isolation, similar to the example of Paulus and Antony, or in the manner of Jesus at Gethsemane. Encouragement in this manner gave rise to the ways in which the Jesuits structured their lives and the mission to formalize this isolation. This included separate sanctuaries for Jesuits from their converts, the living quarters of their residence at Sainte-Marie, and quiet devotional time when the Huron were expected to leave the Jesuit residence, to the extent possible and dependent on the evangelistic opportunities and demands of the day.

The Constitutions of the Jesuit order elaborated and emphasized these proscriptions, particularly in Part VI. The explanation of the vows in *The Constitutions* – chastity, poverty, obedience, and papal supremacy – reinforced many of the ideas that led to the use of mental or spiritual isolation by the Jesuits as an organization as well as individually. Chastity, for example, was touted as a means of increasing the angelic purity of the mind and body.¹²⁶ Purification itself was one of the reasons for isolating oneself from sinful society and chastity necessitated isolation from the primal desires of the body that were seen in sinful society in larger forms. Furthermore, by seeking such purity the Jesuit was required to suffer the temptations of the body and the mind's impurities. The Huron country, as the Jesuits found out, provided a particular challenge in this regard due to its striking differences in norms of behaviour. In addition, based on the instruction of Lallement, these trials helped their missionary success. By going through this process, the missionaries better equipped themselves for the afterlife and salvation as

¹²⁵ "The Formula of the Institute of the Society of Jesus", 70.

¹²⁶ "The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus and their Declarations", 245-246.

well as saving more souls. The concern for restraint on physical desires also helped strengthen the explanation of why Huron who desired conversion needed to isolate themselves from their traditional ways and society to be successfully converted.

The spiritual purity on which the Jesuits focussed, and its subsequent demand on the Jesuit to separate himself from the demands of the material world, was addressed in Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises* which also reinforced various aspects of physical isolation that were promoted by other texts as well. From the opening passages of Loyola's manual the importance of isolation for the Jesuit was obvious. In his first explanation of the purposes of the Exercises he explained that these processes were designed to separate the devotee from those affections that prevented greater knowledge and understanding of God so that God may be better sought.¹²⁷ This did not assume that the Exercises were ones of continuously greater separation and isolation from those temptations the exercitant wished to be free. Rather, the Exercises may provoke temptations to arise to counteract the goals of the Exercises and the successful mitigation of these temptations and the suffering they brought with them seemed to result in greater communion God and an easier road to salvation.¹²⁸

The type of spiritual isolation that Loyola encouraged is evident in the Exercises themselves and his explanations. For example, in the First Week of the Exercises where he laid out the bases for the Exercises as a unit he stated that the foundation was the belief that mankind's purpose was praise and reverence of God. Thus, in order to do so, the exercitant must open himself to doing only that which followed this purpose and to

¹²⁷ Ignatius Loyola, "Spiritual Exercises" *The Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius Loyola*, translated and commented on by George Ganss, S.J. (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1992), 21.

¹²⁸ "Spiritual Exercises", 23-25.

isolate his own desires and will from his actions in order to accomplish this.¹²⁹ The practice that Loyola described here corresponded with the importance and purposes of obedience that the Constitutions of the Society laid out. This affected the mission in two ways. First, it underscored the reasons that the Jesuits were there on mission – the demands of their Superiors. Second, for those Huron who were given the opportunity to take part in the Exercises, or at least parts of them, it built on the foundation for drawing these Huron away from social practices in which they act based on the will of the community for the community. As a result, these Huron move towards actions based on God’s will for God alone, which in turn benefit the individual in the afterlife.

Furthermore, as it is implied by the explanation of the Weeks of the Exercises, Loyola’s program was intended to be completed in a manner in which the persons completing the Exercises removed himself from many of the other distractions of life. This was done so that the exercitant gained a better connection with God by having as few distractions as possible from their meditations.¹³⁰ In order to facilitate this, Loyola instructed that when possible an exercitant should physically isolate themselves from the rest of the world to the greatest extent possible so that he may immerse himself totally in the Exercises and other acts that encouraged similar benefits as the Exercises like hearing Mass and Vespers. This admission paralleled Kempis’ caveat that not all can take the time nor are called to take the time to be devoted entirely to meditations.

Loyola also included in his instructions encouragement to seek complete physical isolation and stated that access to friends or acquaintances, and unstructured activities with these people hindered the potential benefits of the Exercises and are thus

¹²⁹ “Spiritual Exercises”, 32.

¹³⁰ “Spiritual Exercises”, 22.

discouraged. The exception was the spiritual director who led the exercitant through the Exercises. Thus, the exercitant was isolated to a significant degree and to the extent that the Exercises allowed and demanded. It is interesting to note that early desert monastics, such as those under Pachomius, felt that they were still isolated despite being in a community of over a thousand in some cases.

Finally and most definitively, in the last of Loyola's explanations for the Exercises, he instructed that if one isolated himself as much as possible then two benefits would be received. First, the exercitant was more fit to commune in a more intimate manner with God. Second, if one was isolated in this manner he became more open to receive God's grace, the gift that made dealing with the suffering and temptations that one endured to show devotion more easily dealt with.¹³¹

Together, the directives that are embedded into the fabric of what could be considered the most signature pieces of Jesuit literature created a firm encouragement amongst their readers that isolation is not just important, but crucial, to the attainment of many of the Jesuits' goals, particularly the conversion of the Huron. These directives built on a deeply rooted tradition that stretched beyond the Mosaic period of Judeo-Christian history in which isolation, primarily geographical and spiritual isolation, was a tool through which the Christian may seek greater union with God, become more holy, and ease the road to salvation. It is a road to suffering and temptation, as well as a road by which suffering and temptation may be conquered. In being both of these roads, isolation then became a tool that shaped strategies of conversion through which the Jesuits' missionary goals were achievable, were tools of conversion in and of themselves,

¹³¹ "Spiritual Exercises", 28-29.

and helped them achieve their personal spiritual goals while isolated in the country of the Huron.

Chapter 4: Collective Isolation and the Jesuit Missionaries in New France

They claimed that in those days the country flourished; that all these misfortunes had fallen on them since the word of God had commenced to be preached here; that the believers (such is the name of the Christians here) should either withdraw apart, or retain their Faith in the depths of their own souls, without condemning the customs of their forefathers in so public a manner; that these should not be invited either to councils or to feasts, and that all relations with them should be broken off, — or rather, if it were desired to preserve the country, a general Council should be called at once, to make those who were already of that party renounce the Faith, either willingly or by force.¹

- Barthelemy Vimont , 1644

The Jesuit missionaries sent to New France, like those sent to most other Jesuit missions, faced challenges due to their isolation from the environment of Europe with which they were familiar. The new and strange environment encountered in this new world affected the missionaries as a group; it geographically isolated them from the land and society familiar to them and placed them in a situation where they were social and cultural outsiders to a greater extent than they would have experienced in Europe. The geographic isolation as well as social and cultural isolation prompted different responses from the Fathers. The missionaries' cultural isolation resulted in an ignorance of customs that compelled them to integrate themselves into Huron society as a means of developing a critique of traditional Huron religion within the Huron community. This served as a stepping-stone to marginalize and thereby isolate Huron from their traditional community and eased the conversion process. Physical isolation became a vehicle for winning converts and reinforced the social and cultural isolation that was necessary, from a practical perspective, to make the conversion of Huron from their traditional ways complete. The socio-cultural environment of the Huron country after the arrival of the Jesuits became a forum in which Catholicism and Huron religion competed for adherents

¹ JR 26: 281.

among the Natives. The Jesuit intent on securing Huron souls, in combination with the Huron tendencies to discourage social exclusion and the religious particularism of Catholicism, made social and cultural isolation, supplemented by geographic isolation, a useful, and necessary, tool of conversion.

Isolation was a tool of conversion collectively used by the Jesuits. Social and cultural isolation helped to shape such diverse aspects of their mission as how they educated their potential converts, the dictation the codes of behaviour of the baptized, and the geographical and architectural design of their mission. One of the ways geographic isolation manifested itself was through the mission's geography and how issues of space mediated and influenced the missionary experience. Isolation also manifested itself culturally, particularly in those aspects of Huron culture that bore direct connections with religion but also in social and political conventions between the Jesuits and the Huron as well as in addition to the divide between the social and cultural practices of these two competing systems.

Even before the Jesuits arrived in the Huron country, or even New France, they had fought to ensure that they were the only missionaries in this territory. The missionaries sent to secure the souls of the Huron were not only agents of Holy Rome, but served dually as representatives of Louis XIII. Royal permission for their mission thereby gave the Jesuits a monopoly as the singular royal agents in the Huron country via the secular actions of *La Compagnie des Cent-Associés* (Company of One Hundred Associates) founded by Cardinal Richelieu in 1627.² With the return of French

² *La Compagnie des Cent-Associés* was given control of the eastern seaboard of North America in their charter. Included in this charter was a requirement to furnish the colonies with a minimum number of Catholic missionaries. Thomas Guthrie Marquis, *The Jesuit Missions* (Toronto: Glasgow, Book, and Company), 1916, 31-32.

sovereignty in Québec in 1632, after the short English interregnum, the Recollets who began the missions in New France found themselves barred from the returning mission. In considering which religious order received dominion over the missions in New France, Richelieu had become convinced that the Recollets had had their chance and were extremely unsuccessful. Thus, the Jesuits received the chance to run the Huron country mission despite Richelieu's dislike for the Society.³

This opportunity created a *de facto* monopoly for the Jesuits in New France, and ensured there would be no competing sources of Catholic authority for them in their mission colony in the Huron country. Although this provision was an extension of the necessity of eliminating all non-Catholic influences, namely Huguenots, from the colony to protect its religious hegemony, it also served the purposes of the Society. The provision established that there would be no second-guessing of Jesuit policy and methods while they were the dominant missionary organization in the region. This allowed them to act unfettered in the region in terms of methodology. This monopoly allowed Father Jean de Brébeuf and his colleagues to do things that other orders may not have looked upon favourably such as putting their belief in accommodation into practice. Examples of such accommodation include concessions that they made to the Huron in terms of burial and funerary practices such as Brébeuf's allowance for the practice of Native burial customs by those who sought baptism early in the mission in order to secure the soul of the Huron in question for the sacrament of baptism.⁴ Richelieu's provision for only one order in the Huron country indirectly allowed the Jesuits the

³ J.H. Kennedy, *Jesuit and Savage in New France* (Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1971), 38. Richelieu did not like the Jesuits' singular allegiance to the papacy. Furthermore, he was limited in terms of which order he might ask to take over this mission when the Capuchins refused.

⁴ *JR* 8:267.

opportunity to fulfill their command to be all things to all people⁵ and lessened the burden on the Society's missionaries in terms of how other Catholics viewed their practices, regardless of how useful such practices were for saving the souls of the Huron.

This monopoly impacted how the Jesuits saw their relationship with, and the role of, secular Europeans, most importantly fur traders, or *coureurs de bois*, in the missionary experience. Father Paul LeJeune expounded the desire of the Jesuits in New France to limit the access of less than desirable elements into New France in the first few years of the colony. He exhorted investors in the colony to demonstrate their zeal for the mission by denying access to all unsavoury types such as the blasphemer, the drunk, the gambler, or the generally wicked. To ignore this plea, LeJeune asserted, would put all of New France in peril as the unwelcome influence of these types of people would have been felt much more at the start of the colony and its missions than later when the colony had firmly established itself as a truly Christian environment.⁶ The case of the Huron increased the need for controlled access in light of Brébeuf's admission of the damage that those such as Etienne Brûle had done to the image of the French and Christianity in the Huron country.⁷ The threat of unwanted secular influences was re-inforced by the description of a shaman who, after beginning to adopt the teachings of the Jesuits felt himself drawn into errors by his interactions with women in Québec.⁸ Additionally, Brébeuf noted that their handpicked domestic assistants served the dual function of also being lay examples of the godly life for the Huron.⁹ Thus, few Europeans who did not have a direct affiliation with the Jesuits arrived at the mission after the death of Brûle.

⁵ JR 33:143-145.

⁶ JR, 7:271, 8:11, 11:77

⁷ JR 10:311.

⁸ JR 16:155.

⁹ JR 17:43.

The exceptions included the *donnés* and the hired domestic helpers, as well as the French military personnel sent to defend the Huron country in the late 1640s.¹⁰

This left few avenues for the French laity to interact with and be a part of the missionary endeavour. The opportunity most closely tied to the conversion of souls was through sponsorship at baptism. Only those baptisms of Huron that took place in the relative vicinity of Québec received such sponsorship. Furthermore, this type of relationship between the Huron and the laity was limited to Frenchmen of prominence within the colony such as Monsieur Emery de Caën or Governor Charles Huault de Montmagny.¹¹ The other significant interaction permitted between the Huron as a group and the French laity of New France was when the Huron came to villages like Trois-Rivières to trade. Beyond this, encounters with lay French and ability of these people to influence the Huron were only possible with the boys sent to the seminary at Québec or the young girls that the Ursuline nuns educated. Nonetheless, the influence and role that the religious had on these Huron on a daily basis would have limited these encounters.¹²

The Jesuits' ability to keep all Christians at the mission geographically isolated, as well as socially and culturally isolated, from the non-Christian Huron society was made more effective by the isolation of themselves from potentially detrimental influences. For the Jesuits, this objective manifested itself in a number of ways. The clearest example was the Jesuit program to create a reduction, loosely in the style of that which the Jesuits of Paraguay developed, named Sainte-Marie. This dwelling, as one of

¹⁰ Jean Cote, *The Donnés in Huronia*, translated by William Lonc and George Topp (Hamilton, Ontario: William Lonc, 2003), 51-58.

¹¹ *JR* 5:69-71, 10: 309, 20:215-219. Montmagny's participation in the baptism of Charles also included the presentation of a gun to the new Christian. In Acadia, a number of baptisms were sponsored by French laity by proxy and thus the participation of the laity in the sacrament was limited to name and spirit only. *JR* 2:155-161. LeJeune tells of having Monsieur de saint Sauveur provide a Christian name for a new baptism at Quebec. *JR* 11:103.

¹² *JR* 20:127.

the Superiors of the mission Jerome Lallement noted, was set at a location that was remote from the Huron villages to allow it to serve as a better place of retreat for the missionaries. In addition, Sainte-Marie's location allowed its Christian Huron visitors to fully separate themselves from the rest Huron society and better immerse themselves in Christianity.¹³ Even before the construction of this centre of European culture in the Huron country, the Jesuits residences in individual Huron villages were built as far from the centre points of Huron life as possible since, as Lallement described it in his report for 1638-39, the residences suffered less from the unruliness of the ceremonies, feasts and celebrations than did other dwellings due to their distance from the events.¹⁴ It also reduced the need of the Jesuit missionaries to rely on "angelic chastity,"¹⁵ as LeJeune called it, to survive the Huron sexual improprieties that induced their Recollet predecessors to construct dwellings separate from their Huron hosts.¹⁶ Considering the resistance that the Jesuits faced from many of the Huron, locating their residence in this way may have minimized, to some degree, the intrusions of antagonistic Huron. Regardless, it deterred others from approaching the Jesuits' residence, as they would have been forced to go out of their way to do so.

The arrangement of the major Jesuit construction in the Huron country, Sainte-Marie also featured architectural designs that reinforced the geographic isolation of Christian Huron from traditionalist Huron. At Sainte-Marie, the Jesuits' residences and chapel were located within a central set of fortifications. Outside of these fortifications was a courtyard that was again subdivided. The Christian Huron who came to Sainte-

¹³ *JR* 19:137. Lucien Campeau notes that Sainte-Marie was never a Reduction [in the Paraguayan sense of the term] but only a French post. Campeau, 442.

¹⁴ *JR* 17:177.

¹⁵ *JR* 6:67.

¹⁶ *JR* 4:197.

Marie for a retreat, spiritual guidance, the Service of the Word, or assistance with their physical and temporal ills had the inner of these two areas allocated to them. Included within this construction was a longhouse for Christian Huron, a hospital for the sick, and a Huron chapel separate from the Jesuits' own religious space. Outside of these walls, those non-Christian Huron who travelled to Sainte-Marie in search of aid, medical assistance, or food lodged within the general fortifications of Sainte-Marie; however, they were outside of the fortifications that provided further protection to the Christian Huron and even more protection to the Jesuits.¹⁷

This design created a clear social hierarchy among the traditionalist Huron, the Christian Huron, and Jesuits. It created clear separation on the basis of status between the clergy and the lay and between non-Christian Huron and the converted Huron. This type of segregation was foreign to the Huron before the arrival of the French due to the community unity that their society actively sought to protect. As a point of comparison, it demonstrated how different the Jesuits were from their Huron hosts in terms of their use of isolation and its role in society. In Huron society there was little entrenched hierarchy, either socially or politically. Of the few divisions that did exist, they were either temporary,¹⁸ gender based,¹⁹ or due to elevation in status stemming from a specific aptitude that only continued as long as that aptitude was demonstrated.²⁰ This created an awareness of differences in status, or at least an “us-and-them” division within the mission society. It provided a certain set of quasi-legal prescriptions regarding the rights

¹⁷ Trigger, *Children*, 668-673. *JR* 26: 201-203.

¹⁸ An example of a temporary separation is the isolation of menstruating females.

¹⁹ This type of separation would include such things as divisions in labour. Dividing labour on the basis of gender, however, did not imply a difference in status or value to the work or individual.

²⁰ The types of aptitudes that would be included here would be eloquence of speech which allowed the individual Huron to convince others of their position and gain followers. As long as they were able to do so then their following would be maintained.

and privileges of various members of the community. From the perspective of the Jesuit missionaries, those who were baptized and accepted the Jesuits' God and religious prescriptions were entitled to receive special treatment in return for their willingness to undergo the required ritual. By creating a clear separation between the baptized and the non-baptized – even those who may have believed what the Jesuits taught but felt they were unable to follow all of the rules – there was evidence that the religious culture of the Jesuits had developed such that it considered itself self-sufficient enough to be able to exclude elements that may have helped it to survive and self-propagate.

This type of geographic isolation at Sainte-Marie had two significant effects on the mission and its success. First, establishing their community in this way had the practical effect of encouraging the marginalization of Huron from the mainstream of their community. In doing so, the Jesuits instilled greater and greater senses of social and cultural difference within the Huron. The development of these differences and their encouragement in turn began making the process of drawing those increasingly marginalized Huron into the Christian fold easier. In addition to making conversion easier, the geographic isolation of Sainte-Marie socially and culturally isolated the Huron who had converted, or desired conversion, which reduced the potential negative effects of Huron who maintained traditional religious beliefs.

This potential harm to the evangelization efforts of the Jesuits was demonstrated by their experiences with the Montagnais closer to Québec. In the *Relations* that appeared soon after the resumption of control of the colony by France, LeJeune wrote of the attempts to thwart their efforts made by a Montagnais shaman who did not want the

Jesuit to learn their language, a crucial tool for evangelization.²¹ The opposition that was evident in the relationship between LeJeune and the sorcerer was clarified by LeJeune's belief that the shaman acted as he did to prevent himself from looking bad in front of his fellow Montagnais and to give the appearance of strength and power. As such, the shaman feared the threat that LeJeune presented and the idea of losing followers to the newcomer Black Robes.²² Thus, the concerns of this shaman put the fidelity of new converts in peril since they were targets for apostasy. Whether these were the actual beliefs and motives for the shaman's actions is of little concern since it was LeJeune's interpretation of them that helped shape Jesuit policy and activity in their mission. In addition, LeJeune conceded soon after describing these events that the Jesuits' task and its difficulties would be significantly easier if both the shaman and the Montagnais apostate were not in their midst.²³

Those Huron accorded religious influence, according to LeJeune, were not the only corrupting influences on Christian Huron or potential converts. He noted his belief that some Huron actively tried to divert other Huron from the path that the Jesuits offered whenever possible.²⁴ LeJeune's analysis of the situation at this early point concerning which Natives were easiest to baptize and educate confirmed this idea. His conclusion was that orphaned children were most receptive, due to their lack of social and cultural ties to traditional ways through family who might corrupt the Christianizing work of the Fathers.²⁵ Deciding to send natives to France to be educated took the belief that Christianisation would be expedited via geographic and subsequently cultural isolation of

²¹ *JR* 7:29.

²² *JR* 7:51.

²³ *JR* 7:61, 103.

²⁴ *JR* 7:275.

²⁵ *JR* 7:285.

pupils from their original environment to a further extreme.²⁶ This ideology was also manifest in the decision to send those that they felt were most educable and held the most promise for assisting future conversions to the new seminary at Québec.²⁷ In addition the Jesuits also sent whichever orphaned children they could to Québec for care by the Ursuline nuns.²⁸ LeJeune admitted in 1638 that those Huron sent to the seminary at Québec progressed well without the diversions that their relatives may have offered them,²⁹ and that female seminarians adopted French-Catholic practices at the expense of Native traditions soon after they arrived in Québec. LeJeune's observations confirmed the Jesuits' belief in the utility of this practice.³⁰

These Huron who were educated at the seminary encouraged the Jesuits' concern for geographically separating the baptized, especially the newly baptized,³¹ from the unwashed. This was evident in a number of their comments, concerns, and observations about life in the Huron country and the missionary endeavour. Father LeJeune, shortly after he praised the success of the Huron seminarians in Québec, expressed concern for the Huron who had returned to the Huron country to preach but were going to be living in the midst of fellow family members who may not be receptive to the Christian practices and beliefs brought back from Québec.³² Jesuit concern for Québec-educated Huron returning to the Huron country was exemplified by apprehensions regarding contact, especially intimate contact, between Christian and pagan Huron and the belief that apostasy was a significant risk if there was only one Christian Huron dwelling in a

²⁶ *JR* 7:295.

²⁷ *JR* 8:181.

²⁸ *JR* 16: 67.

²⁹ *JR* 14: 231.

³⁰ *JR* 19: 53.

³¹ *JR* 17: 125-127.

³² *JR* 14: 251.

longhouse.³³ Continuous attempts by the Huron to keep their kin within their socio-religious structure encouraged the Jesuits to continue trying to isolate their converts geographically as much as possible. Traditional Huron did this because they thought that conversion to Christianity resulted in families with Christian converts being separated in the afterlife, a threat that ran counter to the essence of Huron social, political, economic, and religious lives.

LeJeune vocalized this concern indirectly in the pages that followed his observations in the *Relations* when he described an incident where a Huron woman diverted a sick Huron from the baptismal ritual. As the Father related, the rationale behind such behaviour was that the sick Huron had no baptized relatives and therefore his family was not in Heaven, where he would go in the afterlife. Consequently, the concern centered on whether his family would proceed to the Huron afterlife without him.³⁴ This demonstrated the Huron concern not for the salvation of the individual but for his connection to his familial unit in the afterlife and the belief that families were dependent on each other to acquire the needs of life. A parallel example to this was a Huron who sought baptism to be closer to other Christian Huron and further developed ties to the French.³⁵ Descriptions of parents who brought their sick children for baptism in hope of receiving a cure demonstrated this way of thinking when the parents then sought baptism to prevent separation from their offspring after death.³⁶

The effect of these Huron concerns, however accurate or inaccurate they may have been, on Jesuits' consideration of apostasy was reinforced by the example of a

³³ *JR* 13: 119.

³⁴ *JR* 13: 125-127.

³⁵ *JR* 13: 147.

³⁶ *JR* 14: 107.

Huron seeking shelter and protection with the Jesuits and away from traditionalist Huron. This Huron, who was baptized, did so on the basis that to be among non-Christian Huron would have “ruined him.”³⁷ The concern for Huron backsliding to their traditional ways if not geographically isolated, and consequently culturally isolated from traditional Huron ways, was also encouraged by Jerome Lalement’s observation of Joseph Tawatiron’s lapse from Christianity when he returned to the Huron country after two years in Québec.³⁸ Together, these examples demonstrate the need, in the eyes of the Jesuit missionaries, for taking some form of action in order to preserve the gains that they made in their mission, such as geographically isolating their converts from those who had not been baptized.

The physical separation of Huron converts from their non-baptized brethren when possible was not the only manner in which the Fathers considered isolation important; it also extended to the social and cultural life of the Huron. The Jesuits tried to make clear divisions between the religious and cultural environment of Christianity and that of Huron religion. Making divisions such as these served to isolate the Huron even further from more traditional Huron since the religious and social life of the Huron was directed towards the consolidation of the entire community as a whole. By not participating in activities such as these, the Christian Huron effectively isolated themselves culturally and socially from the larger Huron community and, in the framework of traditionalist Huron beliefs, jeopardizing the well-being and stability of the community.³⁹ As the mission

³⁷ *JR* 16: 87.

³⁸ *JR* 21: 171.

³⁹ Denys Delâge suggests that it was Joseph Chihwatenha’s apparent social isolation from Huron life when the Jesuits arrived that prompted his conversion to Christianity and eased his transition to the lifestyle that the Jesuits demanded. Denys Delâge, *The Bitter Feast: Amerindians and Europeans in Northeastern North America, 1600-1664*, translated by Jane Brierley (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1993), 182-183.

progressed, the Jesuits increasingly made more demands as to what was acceptable behaviour amongst converts and the extent converts could take part in the religious and social functions of the non-baptized. As with the physical isolation that the Jesuits encouraged to a limited degree, there was significant resistance by the Huron to the Jesuits' culturally isolating plans.

Among the most troubling aspects of Huron life that the Jesuits focused on was the manner of relations between the sexes. The issues of acceptable partners, courting practices, and marital conduct, as the Jesuits presented them, were so foreign to the Huron that it was a significant obstacle to their conversion. Throughout the mission, the Fathers in writing to their Provincials and European audiences noted the difficulties that Christian marriage practices posed for the Huron and that these practices kept many Huron from communion with the Holy Roman Church. This difficulty first appeared in Brébeuf's 1636 *Relation* where he described the degree of alarm he observed among the Huron at Catholic ideals of purity and chastity and the extent the Jesuits required converts to seek these ideals. This, Brébeuf explained, created enough fear of Christianity that many rejected Christianity outright.⁴⁰ This also suggested the extent that Christian marriage, and aspects such as its dissolubility, created a gulf between the proselytizer and the proselytized. A year later this issue reappeared, though this time directly linked to marriage, in LeMercier's report of a Huron's rejection of baptism based on the Jesuits' restrictive marriage requirements.⁴¹ Among the restrictions opposed was the ban on polygamy.⁴²

⁴⁰ *JR* 10: 313-315.

⁴¹ *JR* 13: 139.

⁴² *JR* 16:145.

In time, as the Jesuits' foothold with their converts increased, they drew some of the Huron over to their position and compelled significant changes in marital customs that alienated parts of the Huron community from each other. For example, LeJeune described a newly converted Christian Huron who demanded that a potential suitor to his daughter receive baptism if he was to have her hand in marriage. This requirement effectively ended the possibility of the union as the suitor felt that he was incapable of following the requirements of Christianity.⁴³ The separation of a married couple based on differences in religious beliefs, such as the Christian husband who left his traditionalist spouse, exemplified the changes in lifestyle that the Huron interpreted as being necessary.⁴⁴ Under normal Huron practices, this would not have had significant effects, as each of the separated Huron then remarried as they saw fit. However, the decision to separate within the context of Christian marriage would prevent the husband from future marriage and imposed celibacy on him permission from the Jesuits to remarry. Celibacy was already considered an extremely heavy burden for the Huron for whom premarital sex was not frowned upon, and a woman might have had 12 to 15 marriages in addition to relations with other men outside of wedlock.⁴⁵ The Sillery mission made further demands on converts. Here LeJeune noted the practice of Christian Natives asking the Fathers for marriage advice,⁴⁶ a practice that, it may be conjectured, would have spread to the Huron country when the opportunity arose and Christian Huron were a significant majority. The changes in marriage practices and extent that Christian and non-Christian Huron were culturally separated from each other, as with the physical

⁴³ *JR* 16: 83-85.

⁴⁴ *JR* 22: 75. Lalement in 1644-45, *JR* 28: 51, notes the prevalence of this in the Huron country.

⁴⁵ Tooker, 125-127.

⁴⁶ *JR* 18: 207.

separation described earlier, are also discernible in the decision to send a Christian girl away from Sillery in an attempt to diminish her feelings for a pagan as they would not have allowed her to marry him.⁴⁷

The preceding examples demonstrate significant use of cultural isolation by the Jesuits in the lives of the Huron through segregating social and cultural practices. The imposition of Catholic belief structures on Huron marriage practices, however, were not the only innovations brought to the Huron. The Jesuits also isolated converts from most of the major Huron social and religious practices, to some degree, with Jerome Lalement requiring converts to detach fully from their former community.⁴⁸ As noted earlier, the Jesuits' response to the major Huron social and religious practices, such as the feasts, curing rituals, and practices concerning death, served to counteract the original motivation behind the practices, the unification and preservation of the Huron community. As a result, the Huron who accepted the Jesuits' directives became increasingly marginalized from the traditional Huron community. This marginalization made it easier for the Jesuits to include these Huron within the Christian community and help ensure their conversion would be lasting.

For the Jesuits who travelled to the Huron country to convert the Native population to Christianity, the practices and rituals surrounding feasts, dreams, and death constituted a barrier to the successful promotion of their faith. To a significant extent, much of this attitude stemmed from Jesuit distrust of ceremonies bearing a resemblance to Christian ritual, such as feast days, divine visions, execution of burial rites, or doing

⁴⁷ *JR* 22: 117.

⁴⁸ Peter A. Goddard, "Augustine and the Amerindian in Seventeenth Century New France" *Church History* 67 (1998), 679.

penance of various types.⁴⁹ Furthermore, because of the particularism that embodied their Catholic faith, *i.e.* that which the Church does not sanction but serves similar functions as Church acts cannot be godly, all of the ritual and religious, or seemingly religious, observances of the Huron appeared to be profane, if not blasphemous. The Jesuits noted this position in their reports a number of times throughout their tenure in this mission.⁵⁰ The Jesuits sought to restrict participation when possible or alter, where necessary, Huron religious practices. Jesuit interference occurred to the extent that these rituals lost their original meaning and developed Christian theological foundations, and thus the Christianized version of these practices were at least as ideologically different from the original practice as the Jesuit and Huron conceptions of the afterlife.

This preconception of Huron ritual, correct or not, resulted in an intensification of Jesuit attempts to separate either themselves or their converts from the profane and possibly blasphemous cultural practices. In relation to Huron feasts, particularly eat-all feasts, the Fathers used a number of measures by which they sought to isolate themselves and their faith from the ritual as much as possible without endangering the mission. In the early stages of the mission, these measures included attending feasts but trying not to consume any of the food presented by the hosts.⁵¹ When compelled by the Huron to consume the food given to them they tried to maintain their separation from the feast by passing off as much food as they were able to dogs wandering around the longhouse in

⁴⁹ *JR* 17: 195-197. The marriage of young Huron girls to fishing nets was done to appease the spirits of the nets who had lost their own wives.

⁵⁰ *JR* 13: 129; 10: 39. The act of listening to Huron Sorcerers and not God equates with turning away from God. *JR* 13: 79: The Jesuits believed that their work in the Huron country is an attempt to overthrow the Kingdom of Satan that prevails here. *JR* 23: 45-53: In this example a Huron Captain was willing to accept martyrdom to refrain from taking part in non-Christian Huron customs. *JR* 25: 149: Native leaders categorize the consumption of alcohol, eat-all feasts and superstitions to be sinful.

⁵¹ *JR* 16: 65.

which the celebration was taking place.⁵² Ultimately, some Christian Huron women did what would have been unthinkable ten years previously; they rejected an invitation to a feast in order to maintain a self-imposed fast.⁵³

The centrality of feasts to the social organization of the Huron eventually became more clear to the Jesuits and with it the realization that abolishing feasting would be virtually impossible in the short term. This led the Jesuits to attempt changing the ideology of the feasts from what they perceived as a glorification of gluttony to a focus on Christian charity.⁵⁴ This change has a secondary implication beyond demonstrating how necessary the Jesuits found the objective of culturally isolating themselves and their converts from profane rituals like feasts. It also shows the extent that the Jesuits appear to have been unaware of the social and economic functions of these feasts as a wealth redistribution agent and promoter of charitable actions.⁵⁵ This attempt by the Jesuits to shift the cultural and social focus of the feasts towards a Christian orientation began the process of making the cleavage between orthodox Christian ideology and the habits of thought that the Christian Huron previously shared with the pagan Huron. Eventually, such a cleavage in patterns of thought would, if successful, turn these feasts into Christian celebrations in which the pagan origins may be lost, much as was done with many pagan celebrations in Europe, such as Yule and Hallowe'en, as Christianity spread.

This type of response by the Jesuits to Huron cultural practices was also evident in their reactions to Huron burial practices. The Huron concept of communal burial of the

⁵² *JR* 10: 179.

⁵³ *JR* 23: 63-65.

⁵⁴ *JR* 16: 47.

⁵⁵ *JR* 10: 209-11. Ramsden, 35-40.

dead, regardless of who the dead were in the village,⁵⁶ was foreign to the Fathers who believed only sanctioned, *i.e.* Roman Catholic, persons were buried in a specific burial ground.⁵⁷ Conceiving the logic behind communal burial of this type, or at least putting the logic into practice, would have been very difficult for a Catholic of this period. It would have been tantamount to burying a Catholic alongside anyone who was outside of the Church, a Moor, a Jew, or a pagan. This difficulty divided the Jesuits and some of their hosts, particularly around the Feast of the Dead and where Roman Catholic Frenchmen, most importantly Etienne Brûle, and Christian Huron were to be buried. The Huron argued for their burial with traditional Huron while the Jesuits argued for their burial in a Catholic cemetery. The content of this dispute demonstrated the degree that the Jesuits felt they required clear points of separation between their practices and those of the Huron. The line of separation that the Jesuits proposed created a division between Christians and non-Christians that was foreign to the Huron, for whom the burial practice was a way of unifying all in their territory. Jesuit teachings about the afterlife reinforced the cultural isolation that developed between the two groups and prompted many Huron to reject baptism to ensure that they would be with their families even if it meant risking, according to the Jesuits, a fiery damnation.⁵⁸

The most direct Jesuit movements to isolate themselves and their religion culturally from traditional Huron practices were their responses to the Huron advocacy of dreams as a credible source of direction. From the Jesuit perspective, Huron dreams and their use were indicative of the power of demons in the Huron country that were clouding

⁵⁶ The exceptions to this included burying dead infants along paths that women would frequent and the burial of warriors killed in battle. Tooker, 132.

⁵⁷ *JR* 8: 255, 267; 10: 305-309.

⁵⁸ *JR* 22: 93.

the minds and subsequent actions of the Huron.⁵⁹ Thus, the Jesuits felt it was necessary to denounce all actions based on the interpretation of dreams.⁶⁰ In Ragueneau's report for 1648 from Sainte-Marie, he stated that the Huron believed that shaman could interpret and see into dreams due to powers given to them by *oki*, a connection that made the interpretation of dreams and responding in accordance to those interpretations blasphemous.⁶¹ This denunciation of shaman and dreams was evident in reports of Christian Huron attempting to prevent the fulfillment of others' dreams in which they were implicated, and the Jesuit prohibition on Christian Huron taking part in a cure inspired by a dream.⁶²

Together, these three aspects of cultural segregation demonstrated the importance of the individual in the religion of the Jesuits. Their propositions to potential converts demonstrated a focus on the success of conversion of each Huron individually, and in a piecemeal fashion that would eventually secure the conversion of the group that was still their ultimate objective.⁶³ The Jesuit program did not require that whole villages or even longhouses convert en masse; baptizing the Huron, and isolating them from their traditional ways, one soul at a time over the duration of decades until they were all Christian was acceptable. As part of this approach, the Fathers were willing to deny baptism to those whom they felt were not up to the task of living a Christian life, as Le Mercier reported doing in 1637.⁶⁴ Approaching the mission with this openness of

⁵⁹ *JR* 20: 51. Lallement laments the control of devils over the Huron whose highest authority for action is the power of dreams.

⁶⁰ *JR* 17: 143.

⁶¹ *JR* 33: 191-193. *Oki*, according to Elizabeth Tooker, is best defined as a spirit or supernatural being. Tooker, 78.

⁶² *JR* 23: 125, 33: 199.

⁶³ Peter A. Goddard, "Converting the Sauvage: Jesuit and Montagnais in Seventeenth Century New France" *Catholic Historical Review* 84(2), 223.

⁶⁴ *JR* 13:25.

approach also helped ensure conversions were sincere and apostasy was limited, a problem described early on by LeJeune from the experience with the Montagnais.⁶⁵ Thus, the Fathers in the Huron country used culturally isolating factors, such as marriage restrictions, which were both foreign to traditional Huron culture and a means to segregate parts of Huron society from each other, thereby drawing Huron one by one from one system of belief to another. Burial customs in which converts were both physically isolated from other Huron dead and destined for a separate afterlife re-inforced this. In a clear point of divergence between Catholic and Huron beliefs, only Huron converts were buried communally and spent eternity together and the baptism of all Huron in order for this to occur was unnecessary. The willingness to selectively baptize the Huron allowed the Jesuits to slowly separate the baptized Huron from the traditionalists and not affect the afterlife of the baptized at all except to insure their place in the economy of salvation. Furthermore, Jesuit encouragement of further cultural and social separation of the Christian Huron from the rest of their community freed converts from social obligations that their previous traditions required by demoting of the status of dreams.

These forms of social isolation promoted the importance of the individual and were supported by a legalism that Huron religion lacked. The individualism of the Catholicism, as the Jesuits presented it, was particularly evident when their religion and its tenets clashed with those of the Huron, who favoured the development of the community as a whole at the expense of the individual and its salvation. The legal proscriptions that the Jesuits imposed on marriage, death, and even dreams, all highlight

⁶⁵ LeJeune's Relation for 1634 notes a number of problems caused by a baptized Native who apostatized and the difficulties this individual, dubbed "The Apostate" had navigating between Christian and traditional cultures. *JR* 7:29, 103, 171.

the importance that the Jesuits placed on each Huron achieving their rightful place in the economy of salvation. Each Huron who converted and demonstrated their adherence to the requirements that the Fathers set out for them was a success, since the Natives were taught that in order to go to heaven they need only to believe, be baptized and obey,⁶⁶ even if the converted Huron soon died or, in the case of sick children, the child was baptized with the consent of their parents.⁶⁷

In contrast, the Huron did what they could to sabotage and discourage fellow Huron from converting to forestall the detrimental effects it would have on their community as a whole. Each conversion for the Huron represented a significant turning of that individual away from the community.⁶⁸ However, the Huron lacked the legal mechanisms to isolate the convert from their community. This forced the Huron to rely on moral suasion and the coaxing of apostasy to bring baptized Huron back into their community.⁶⁹ Huron social and legal structures did not provide them with the tools to excommunicate, as Catholics did, or at least deny certain privileges such as burial with the community at the Feast of the Dead, which may have provided sufficient deterrents to potential converts to Christianity.

Through tactics that isolated the Huron socially and culturally, the Jesuits found means by which the Huron became progressively more powerless to prevent the incursions of the Jesuits as the number of converts increased. As the Jesuits converted more Huron, a community developed which utilized dramatically different means of social control than was used in Huron society. The Jesuits' Christianity demanded that

⁶⁶ *JR* 11:229-231.

⁶⁷ *JR* 14: 5.

⁶⁸ *JR* 8: 137-139, 15: 97, 16: 135, 17: 159.

⁶⁹ Tooker, 47.

the Huron who converted to adhere to a specific code of behaviour, or else suffer the requisite reprimand or jeopardize their salvation. The individualism of this system allowed the converted Huron to no longer worry about their standing in the community in terms of ensuring community survival, as long as they were following the rules that the Jesuits set out since the Fathers were the only authority in determining the requirements of a Christian life. In contrast, the Huron lacked any legal authorities with the power to compel specific behaviours. Punishment in Huron legal codes was based largely on the use of the suasion of wrongdoers such that guilty parties did not want to transgress their community and jeopardize its long-term well-being. Through the Jesuits' actions, substituting the communal focus of Huron society with one that stressed individual salvation and a legal system without enforceable legal requirement for one with clearly delineated ones, the stability of the Huron social and political system was jeopardized. Even more damaging for the Huron was their lack of any legal mechanisms through which they could combat the Jesuits' isolating of the Christian Huron community from the traditional Huron community.

Due to the problem of not being able to apply legal strictures to the traditional Huron community, the non-Christian Huron community could not easily respond to the challenge of the Christians and compel their members to isolate themselves, geographically or culturally, from Christianity and its influence. Thus, as the Christian population increased within the Huron country, the strength of the voice of moral suasion among the traditionalists steadily diminished until the Huron community split completely between the Christian and traditionalist factions. Thus, the Christians were able to make their cultural and social isolation more complete from their traditional ways. Geographic

isolation, as the design of Sainte-Marie incorporated it, further emphasized the growing divisions in Huron society. Together this better allowed the Jesuits to weaken the hold of traditional Huron religion so that their own religion became stronger within the Huron community and thereby made the world of the Huron more congruent with their own.

Chapter 5:
Individual Isolation and the Jesuit Missionaries in New
France

When I regard, with my own eyes of flesh, the innumerable expenses that must be incurred in order to succeed in this enterprise, the pain, the labors, the sufferings, the crosses... I am as weak as a reed... But when I lift up my thoughts, and cast them upon Jesus Christ, and when I look at him with the eyes of faith and confidence, when I consider what he has done, and what he is doing every day to save these poor souls, —I am all-powerful.¹

- Jerome Lalement, 1640

The mission to the Huron was a venture undertaken and promoted by the Society of Jesus under the permission of the Holy See in Rome and through the assistance of *La Compagnie des Cent-Associés*. It inherently relied on the co-ordinated collective efforts of innumerable people. The Huron country was a place where the desires and needs of individuals sought fulfillment. Here the Jesuit missionary was able to pursue aims and objectives that were of the utmost importance to him as an individual and in turn hopefully reap dividends for the evangelical mission and souls of the Huron. These objectives became more attainable by the geographic isolation that the Huron country provided. The physical isolation offered by this frontier provided an encouraging stimulus to participation in the mission. In fact, Father Charles Garnier notes that the mission allowed for the objective of converting Huron for the Jesuits as a corporate entity to co-exist with the pursuit of individual perfection that each Jesuit sought out on his own.²

The geographically, culturally, and mentally isolating aspects of New France, including the frontier wilderness of the Huron country, offered Jesuits opportunities to imitate Christ and the forefathers of the ascetical movements in the Egyptian wilderness

¹ *JR* 18: 245-249.

² *JR* 20: 89.

that may not have appeared to be available elsewhere. Significantly, these opportunities focused on the Christian desire for salvation.³ The Jesuits who undertook the mission to the Huron used whatever was available to pursue this highest of personal objectives, including the opportunities of relative seclusion in the hinterland of New France. This included taking advantage of a number of the facets of this mission such as the construction of Sainte-Marie, the crosses, struggles, and personal tribulation that the sparsely inhabited wilderness of the Huron brought. It also included the geographic separation of the mission that also emphasized cultural and mental displacement from European society or what they knew as Christian civilization. Finally, these missionaries utilized Huron country and the mission there as a means of undergoing the spiritual challenge of separating themselves from their physical attachments, as Christ directed, Paulus and Antony exemplified, and as Father Louis Lallement proclaimed as handles by which the devil could gain footholds in one's life,⁴ to follow God's will, and to demonstrate their humility and fidelity by relying only on God.

One of the most obvious ways that Jesuits distinguished themselves from other religious orders, particularly in terms of how vocational calls helped individual Jesuits to attain the salvation which was sought, was through the Jesuit mode of spiritual interiorization, the completion of meditation and self-examination regimes based on Ignatius Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises*. By doing so, as described previously, a Jesuit exercitant better understood himself and his shortcomings. This understanding then helped him to work towards further developing his relationship with God. To complete these exercises well an exercitant had to be able to segregate himself from the rest of the

³ Guibert, 534.

⁴ Champion, 98.

world, with the exception of a spiritual director, while he undertook his devotions, reminiscent of Jesus' decision to take Peter, John, and James with him for his prayers in Gethsemane before the betrayal.⁵

This requirement, being able to isolate oneself from as much of the world that one was in regular contact with as much as possible, influenced the manner in which the Jesuits structured their way of life while conducting the mission to the Huron. The construction of Sainte-Marie, a residence designed to be their retreat center in the depths of Huron country, provides evidence of this need. First and foremost, the Jesuits set their retreat centre sufficiently distant from the Huron villages that it would take much effort on the part of the Huron to interfere with the Jesuits' goings on at Sainte-Marie.⁶ This provided a clear mirror to the actions of the first generations of ascetics in the wilderness of the eastern Mediterranean who sought deeper manifestations of geographic isolation.

The opportunity to separate oneself from much of the world and the spiritual benefits that this provided was enhanced by the design of the retreat center. The segregation of inhabitants, both permanent and temporary, within Sainte-Marie allowed the Jesuits to isolate themselves from the Huron who visited them and thereby carry out the Exercises undisturbed, or at least as much as they could without limiting their ability to minister to the Huron.⁷ The opportunity to be isolated from the visiting Huron to conduct devotions became a possibility by the existence of amenities at Sainte-Marie

⁵ Matthew 26:36-38, Mark 14:32-33.

⁶ *JR* 19:137.

⁷ The need to pursue both objectives was a balancing act to which Father Lallement provided the missionaries with guidance as to how to prioritize their tasks. "We ought to hold ourselves so disengaged in the midst of our devotions, and all our actions, that we may be always ready to quit everything when obedience or charity summons us elsewhere. If for instance, at the time we have fixed for saying the rosary, an opportunity occurs for hearing confession, or doing our neighbor some other service, we must leave that exercise of devotion to attend to this occasional work of charity." Champion, 59.

such as separate Jesuit worship facilities from those of the Huron.⁸ This allowed the Jesuits the opportunity to commune with God and carry out devotions with minimal distractions from those who were not in the direct employ of the Society. It also offered the Jesuits a locale where Huron, like Joseph Chihouatenhoua, could be taken to undergo such devotional activities.⁹

The importance of being able to pursue a significant degree of physical self isolation to the Jesuit missionaries in the Huron country is evident from the degree to which it influenced their daily routines. Jerome Lalement's 1640 report to his superiors provides some detail on the individual spiritual development that the Jesuits and select converts were working through. After describing the value of Sainte-Marie as a place of withdrawal, he noted that the Fathers took each other through the activities that Loyola demanded of those in their order.¹⁰ This adds detail to the material found in the letter by Father François du Peron a year earlier. In his correspondence, du Peron noted that the Fathers underwent examinations of conscience, the most regular aspect of the Exercises, at both 2pm on weekdays¹¹ and 8pm on Sundays.¹² Father du Peron's letter also noted that he participated in an abbreviated version of Loyola's prescriptive Exercises in April of that year that took 8 days to complete.¹³ This was the same amount of time allotted to the Huron martyr Joseph Chihouatenhoua's retreat under the guidance of Father LeMercier.¹⁴ Thus, by having Sainte-Marie constructed the Jesuits were better able to incorporate their devotions into the cycles of missionary work as well as begin to

⁸ See diagram in Appendices A and B.

⁹ *JR* 19:137-139.

¹⁰ *JR* 19:139.

¹¹ *JR* 15:163.

¹² *JR* 15:165.

¹³ *JR* 15:183. This version of the Exercises was sanctioned in 1608 and thence became of a regular facet of Jesuit life. Guibert, 529.

¹⁴ *JR* 19:149-151.

introduce converts, as the converts were deemed able, to more advanced and interiorly self-conscious programmes of spiritual development.¹⁵

Sainte-Marie would have limited the demands of evangelization on the Jesuits while they completed their devotions. It would also allow the missionaries a place to assist non-Jesuit Christians in the Huron country. This however does not imply that in the process of doing so the missionaries neglected the duties of their evangelistic call to the Huron.¹⁶ The details of a common day that du Peron provided his brother demonstrate the missionaries' attempt to balance their competing vocations of interior spiritual development and service in mission to the Huron. As Kempis would have condoned, Jesuit evangelists placed the service and good work of ministering to Christian Huron as a higher priority during the times allotted for personal devotions.¹⁷ Both Francis De Sales¹⁸ and Lallement¹⁹ would have also promoted the economics of this decision as

¹⁵ Ignatius himself is said to have believed that the salvation of the souls of others was just as important as saving one's own soul and that therefore the Society did not desire members who did not value the salvation of others at least as highly as their own. A. Lynn Martin, *The Jesuit Mind, The Mentality of an Elite in Modern France*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), 28.

¹⁶ Guibert, 546. The Jesuit demand on maintaining vocational duties at the same time as they completed their devotional duties was so entrenched in the Society's members that it prompts a number of Jesuits to seek out having their vows annulled so that they could pursue becoming Catusians. Martin, *The Jesuit Mind*, 26.

¹⁷ JR 15: 163-165. When the bell is rung for the Jesuits to complete their examination of conscience there is no mention of the dismissal of the Huron who are present. When the Jesuits assemble for dinner immediately after this, it is made clear that there are Huron who are present since "the benedicite and grace is said in Huron, on account of the savages who are present" though there is no mention of re-admitting the Huron to the Jesuit cabin for dinner. This continued ministry to the Huron while conducting their spiritual activities is re-inforced by du Peron's statement that at "four o'clock in the evening, the savages who are not Christians are sent away, and we quietly say, all together, our matins and lauds, at the end of which we hold mutual consultation for three-quarters of an hour about the advancement of and the hindrances to the faith in these countries; afterwards we confer together about the language until supper, which is at half-past six; at eight o'clock, the litanies, examination of conscience, and then we retire to sleep." Once again, du Peron does not note the exclusion of Christian Huron from the Jesuit residence at La Conception de Notre Dame, though he very clearly notes the exclusion of non-Christians. This implies that Jesuits there were continuing their mission, albeit in a selective manner, while concurrently attempting to conduct their spiritual development, giving precedence to the needs of the Christian Huron. De Sales' work was also influential for the development of Father Louis Lallement's doctrines of spiritual development, particularly in terms of how to pray and communicate with God, *Champion*, 255-56.

¹⁸ Francis De Sales, the Bishop of Geneva in the early seventeenth century, wrote the spiritual manual *Introduction to the Devout Life*. promoted a spirituality and devotional life that encouraged the devotee to

spiritually beneficial. Maintaining this residence in this way created as good an opportunity as was possible for the Jesuit missionaries to commune with God and continue working out their salvation, as well as the individual salvation of others, through the isolation or geographic seclusion that their residence, especially that which Sainte-Marie, offered.

The opportunities for physical self-isolation that Sainte-Marie offered Jesuit missionaries for their individual devotions, meditations, and spiritual exercises, while still involving them in their vocational duties, paralleled the spiritual isolation that devotees were encouraged to seek by the spiritual writers that the missionaries regarded well enough to bring to the mission. As discussed previously, Thomas à Kempis advocated devotional practices that were sufficiently private that the practices did not allow devotees to flout their piety. This was because Kempis believed that the devotions one carried out, as called by God to do, were a personal sign of devotion that did not need to be followed by others. Allowing for such devotional practices as Kempis advocated also allowed the Jesuit missionaries in the Huron country to follow the spiritual directions that some of the more influential Jesuits in New France had learned from Father Louis Lallement. Kempis' promotion of private and personal devotional activities as a deterrent to pride in personal piety reinforced the humility that Lallement declared necessary in the spiritual development of Jesuits. By being able to segregate himself, to an extent that would still allow them to carry out their evangelical directives, a Jesuit was less able to

actively incorporate their devotions into the form of life that they had been called to vocationally. St. Francis de Sales, *Introduction to the Devout Life*. Grand Rapids MI: Christian Classics Ethereal Library, 2002. http://www.ccel.org/ccel/desales/devout_life.html, 15.

¹⁹ De Sales' work was also influential for the development of Father Louis Lallement's doctrines of spiritual development, particularly in terms of how to pray and communicate with God, Champion, 255-56.

give himself the appearance of pious superiority and therefore kept himself more humble. By preventing or limiting opportunities for the grandstanding of piety, the Jesuits who conducted this mission, as many of them understood spiritual development, would have been more able to open themselves to God's will because they would have been made more humble by the fact that only God and their spiritual director, and not others around them, were really aware of their devotional activities.²⁰ The privacy that residential isolation, such as that at Sainte-Marie, to perform their devotions as they believed God instructed also made it easier for the missionaries to be more open to interior spiritual development.

The Jesuits who undertook the mission to the Huron also distinguished themselves from the other religious, in addition to their unique balance between external work and interior personal development, through their direct subservience to the will and demands of superiors, ultimately embodied in the Holy See. By their unique bond to the wishes and directives of the papacy, notably in the area of missions, Jesuits were placed in the position of not being easily tied to a particular place, even if they wanted to be, particularly as they were not to take up parish ministries. It also prevented them from taking part in activities that they might have desired being a part of in other circumstances.²¹ This left them open to potentially being thrust into any missionary endeavour without concern for how far abroad it was or the risks involved. For an individual Jesuit this obligation could provide him with opportunities to imitate Jesus' devotion to God's plan and calling in his daily life to the extent that the circumstances

²⁰ Father Lallement taught "If we love the esteem and applause of the world, we are fools; we feed ourselves with wind...[humility] brings us closer to God, and consequently it confers true greatness upon...it raises us in the estimation of God, in which true glory exists." Champion, 46.

²¹ An example of this would be the denial of Father Louis Lallement's wishes to be a part of the missions taking place in Canada.

allowed. It could force him to give up all of the comforts of what he knew as civilized society, and thrust him into inhospitable conditions or difficult situations with societies that he was sent to convert and mission to. The result of these directives is that the Jesuit missionaries were forced to rely fully on the will of God, and God's grace, even if such reliance required dying for Christ in martyrdom.

Father Brébeuf exemplified this development of reliance and the extent to which he was willing to give of himself for the promotion of God's will. During his religious life, Brébeuf made three vows to God. In his third vow, in 1645, he solemnly pledged to do whatever contributed to God's service. This vow also included a willingness to endure whatever cruel torments and crosses that a captive may endure in order to assist the propagation of God's Word, assist conversion, and abolish sin.²² René Latourelle suggests that in Brébeuf's case his entire mission experience was a path that the Father felt led directly toward martyrdom, however not from doloristic intents but as a result of God's special grace and a subsequent willingness to follow Christ to whatever ends he was led.²³ With ideas among the Jesuits like those of Brébeuf added to obligations such as obedience to the Pope, there were substantial opportunities for the Jesuit to demonstrate their devotion to God and hopefully better secure salvation, albeit for the glory of God, an idea that Charles Garnier echoes in his 1642 letter to his brother.²⁴

The directive to take part in the mission to New France, and particularly the remote and isolated the Huron country, provided an excellent example of the opportunities available to help secure the salvation of individual Jesuits. Throughout the *Relations* readers are given glimpses of how set apart and isolated the Jesuit missionaries

²² Latourelle, 279.

²³ Latourelle, 274-291.

²⁴ *JR* 21:279.

found themselves to be while in the Huron country. For the missionary sent to the Huron, this society of *sauvages* forced them out of any comfort zone, or area in which they felt socially at ease, that they might have previously enjoyed.²⁵ LeJeune, in his report for 1636, listed all of the things that missionaries were isolated from by coming to New France and then to the land of the Huron. He says that the missionary forsook family, friends, and associates. Each missionary left a homeland that he found to be “so sweet and so refined”²⁶ in order to risk his life travelling to a place where he would live a life of suffering and without any of the advantages of their life in Europe.²⁷ As such, LeJeune declared that those who undertook this mission had to separate themselves from the world and the desires of the Self in order that they may fully follow God’s directives and seek God alone.²⁸ This declaration presented a clear parallel to that which Paulus and Antony said they were giving up in search of greater perfection and communion with God in the Egyptian wilderness.

LeJeune’s proclamation demonstrates a clear parallel to what he probably learned during his time with Father Lallement. Under Lallement, LeJeune and other Jesuits of the Canadian missions were directed that their spiritual development, their quest for spiritual perfection, and full communion with God, required the complete renunciation of all things, including one’s own will and desire. This was necessary in order for the Jesuit to demonstrate, or at least attempt to demonstrate, complete regard for, and submission to, the will of God. In submitting to the will of God, the devoted Jesuit sought only to do

²⁵ JR 7:33.

²⁶ This statement provides a window into the mindset of these Jesuit missionaries in terms of their views of civilization and wilderness. It makes it very clear that Europe was very obviously molded by the hand of men, although sinful it was still comfortable and civilized, and that New France was very clearly not nearly as refined, an idea that it could be extrapolated to imply that *le bois*, and the land of *le sauvage*, or the Huron, were even less “refined”, civilized or cultured by the hand of men.

²⁷ JR 8:223.

²⁸ JR 8:189.

what God willed, service to divine demands and glorification. Furthermore, it is only by the search for and desire to fulfill God's will that perfection was attainable,²⁹ and subsequently the opportunity for salvation.

Being in an environment like New France and in continual contact with the Native populations, LeJeune warned, was enough to draw a European away from his own ways and into a life of savageness.³⁰ Even within the Huron country, the Jesuit was required to isolate himself mentally from those places there in which God's civilizing presence was obviously abundant and enter the natural world of uncivilized concupiscence of the Huron cabins where he preached the Gospel.³¹ These difficulties, however, were crucial parts of the spiritual development of the Jesuits who undertook the mission to the Huron in New France's hinterland.

For the spiritual development of the Jesuit missionaries, particularly if Jesuits like Lallement educated them, it was necessary, to a certain degree, that the frontier lands in which the Huron dwelled, and where the Jesuits conducted their mission, embodied some of sense of foreboding. These Jesuits had to couch their descriptions of their mission with phrases like being in a "land of darkness" and stress that the Huron country was one of crosses³² if their participation was to have the spiritual benefits that they desired. This type of description of the geography into which they travelled created a sense of an imposed spiritual solitude, aloneness, and therefore isolation.

²⁹ Champion, 32-33.

³⁰ *JR* 7:237.

³¹ *JR* 17:111.

³² *JR* 7:217, 15:61.

By developing this sense of being spiritually isolated, surrounded by demons, living in a land where evil reigns³³ the Jesuits who were involved in the mission there developed a setting in which they had no other recourse for spiritual assistance than God. As a result, the Jesuit missionaries who evangelized the Huron were in a position where they could do little other than turn to God for assistance and aid to endure the crosses and exterior sufferings that the physical hardship of the Huron country provided. As Father Lallement taught, the devoted Jesuit needed such trials and exterior difficulties to experience the inner peace that came from being able to focus on God and repose in God, as well as the consolations that God provided the faithful in times of need.³⁴ Furthermore, Lallement's instruction to his charges in France made it clear that in addition to the individual spiritual benefits that these difficulties had for the spiritual development of the Jesuit missionaries, it was also a necessity if their endeavours were going to bear fruit in terms of conversion.³⁵ Thus, the spiritual isolation and aloneness that these missionaries developed to commune with God helped them move towards the perfection that they desired.

There is evidence that these Jesuits felt geographic isolation from the physical comforts of home and that they received spiritual comfort in their mission that assisted them in their spiritual development. As the Jesuits in the Huron country dealt with their trials and difficulties it became increasingly clear that they felt that they were becoming closer to God through the experience and relied more and more on God. In addition, it places the Jesuit missionary in an experience akin to people like Antony who found in the

³³ *JR* 15:167.

³⁴ *Champion*, 34-35.

³⁵ *Champion*, 47-48.

wilderness the peril of demons and evil that they needed to combat and deal with as a part of their spiritual development and growth in spiritual strength.

One of the means by which the Jesuits utilized their physical isolation from the comforts of Europe was through the possibility of martyrdom that the Huron mission offered. The Jesuits taught the Huron that in order to be good Christian believers one must be willing to endure suffering and pain on their route to salvation.³⁶ For the Jesuits who made the journey to New France, the land of the Huron was well suited for those who were ready, able and willing to endure suffering to uphold God's will. The Jesuits were convinced that the hinterland of New France where the Huron lived was to be a place where they would suffer in order to proclaim God's message. This is made clear by LeJeune's declaration that potential missionaries to these lands must be willing to die for the cause and that even if the missionary died enroute to the land of the Huron that his death was martyrdom itself.³⁷ Jerome Lalement repeated LeJeune's ideas when he called living in the Huron country a martyrdom and that the missionary may not even need to die there; simply by travelling to the mission was enough for a Jesuit to suffer a martyr's trials.³⁸ Although there may be an element of exaggeration of the soteriological value inherent in the conduct of the mission, it does help indicate how close the idea of martyrdom was to some missionaries in New France and the degree to which some may have held martyrdom as imminent in this mission. LeJeune reported that if the Huron country was where God led one then the pain and suffering endured while there must be rejoiced.³⁹ This implied that the suffering each Jesuit might be forced to bear was a gift

³⁶ *JR* 30:19.

³⁷ *JR* 7:223-225.

³⁸ *JR* 17:11, 17.

³⁹ *JR* 8:177-179.

from God since it was part of the divine plan that brought the missionary to the Huron. This was reinforced by the belief that only the most faithful of God's servants would be allocated the worst of God's suffering, *i.e.* assignment to Huron mission, much as only Job was forced to undergo such a difficult trial because he was the most faithful of believers.⁴⁰

This presents a clear indication of Louis Lallement's influence on the spiritualism of the mission to the Huron. The willingness of a Jesuit to undergo trials such as martyrdom indicates a clear subordination of the called Jesuit's physical self to the will and desires of God. The willingness of the Jesuit evangelists in the Huron country to undergo martyrdom and suffering for the sake of God's will parallels Lallement's endorsement of its spiritual benefits. Lallement's use of the example of Ignatius,⁴¹ the second bishop of Antioch, and his views on martyrdom's relationship to himself⁴² draws some similarity to the actions of Jesuit martyrs like Isaac Jogues who suffered intense torture at the hand of the Iroquois and then returned to complete his martyrdom.⁴³ It is also a clear example of how a Jesuit might isolate himself from the physical desires, particularly for self-preservation, for the sake of the soul and the will of God.

The idea that isolating oneself in the wilderness of the Huron country would bring on suffering that may lead to martyrdom, as well as the idea that this was something to be celebrated is echoed in more of the metaphorical language used to describe this land. It is also important to note how closely these descriptions were tied to the goal of imitating

⁴⁰ *JR* 15:95.

⁴¹ Champion, 47.

⁴² Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, translated by C.F. Cruse (Peabody, Mass: Hendrickson Publishers, 1988), 100-102.

⁴³ The story of Isaac Jogues' martyrdom is recounted by Jerome Lalement in chapter 4-9 of the 1647 Relation, *JR* 31: 14-137.

the life of Christ. A clear example is Lalement's redactive comments in his report for 1642-43 that to be a part of the mission and the suffering that they suffered there in order to gain souls for heaven was itself akin to the Cross. This was reinforced by Paul Ragueneau's statement that the Huron country was forsaken.⁴⁴ In statements such as these, Lalement and Ragueneau clearly present the idea that the missionaries' trials demonstrate their holiness before God as much as other acts of self-denial and pain that others have suffered in order to be more Christ-like.

These images of the Huron country, created by various Jesuits for the land they were proselytizing demonstrates that by being isolated in the wilderness with the barbaric, and *sauvage* Huron, the missionaries were imitating the ultimate suffering that Jesus underwent as a sign of his complete holiness. Vimont added to the image of how the Jesuits viewed the Huron country by making a metaphorical connection between the trials and solitude of individual Jesuits in the Huron country to that of Jesus during the 40 days spent in the wilderness in that God came to each of them like a ray from Mount Tabor.⁴⁵ Through Vimont's vibrant Biblical imagery, echoing LeJeune,⁴⁶ the Huron country became the setting in which God tested the Jesuits' fidelity in the Lord's protection and willingness to deliver them from undue threats and evil if martyrdom was not their destiny. Furthermore, as Father Lallement taught his students, these struggles and tests of faith and courage were in fact gifts of God. Thus, withdrawal from the

⁴⁴ *JR* 26:171, 33:71.

⁴⁵ *JR* 27:141. Mount Tabor is a much referred to Biblical peak, west of the Jordan River in northern Israel. It is after Jesus' temptation in the wilderness that he begins his ministry. The last temptation, according to Matthew occurs on a high unnamed mountain. According to Matthew 4:12-14, Jesus withdraws from Nazareth and moves to Capernaum on the Sea of Galilee after his temptation ordeal. From this chronology, and based on the geography, it is likely that Jesus' third temptation was at Tabor and that therefore, Jesus' ministry, since it begins after the last temptation, is analogous to a ray from Mount Tabor. Thus, God coming like a ray from Mount Tabor embodies significant metaphorical and soteriological implications.

⁴⁶ *JR* 20:121

challenges and crosses of the Huron mission was akin to withdrawing from God. Conversely, acceptance of these trials helped open the missionary to God, demonstrate his submission, and help his development toward perfect communion with God. This was how Father Ragueneau was able to follow his proclamation that the Huron country is a forsaken land with the seemingly contradictory statement that this land will be a paradise for those Jesuits called by God to evangelize the Huron.⁴⁷

In addition to Vimont's comments, the reports from the Huron country made numerous other remarks that emphasized how ingrained in the Jesuit mindset, or the mindset of those who followed the developments of the mission, this idea was. LeJeune noted that in New France those who sought to suffer as a sign of fidelity and to become closer to Jesus' example would find ample opportunities, particularly since one need not fear hardships as God would deliver the missionary from those hardships if necessary.⁴⁸ As an example, Father Breb uf wrote in his 1637-38 report that the Jesuits believed that threats they received because of the Huron thinking that the Jesuits caused the diseases which ravaged the community that year, placed the Fathers in the direct care of God as only God could ensure their safety in this situation.⁴⁹ Perils such as this also resulted in the sporadic claims, like Vimont's in 1640, of thanks for God's help when the missionaries were in peril.⁵⁰ Jerome Lalement also seemed to have latched onto this idea while writing for French temporal support through the Provincial Superior for their mission against the Iroquois, who were described as enemies of the faith,⁵¹ because it is

⁴⁷ *JR* 33:71.

⁴⁸ *JR* 7:53, 201-207.

⁴⁹ *JR* 14:51-53.

⁵⁰ *JR* 18: 249.

⁵¹ *JR* 28: 43.

in the difficult moments and conditions that the faith of the Huron would be founded.⁵²

The Fathers believed it was these perils that God used as a guidepost to help the Jesuits find him and to only seek out his assistance.⁵³

To illustrate the Jesuit mindset that the Huron country was a place of trials and suffering where the missionaries would be tested in their reliance on God alone for security or to demonstrate their faith as a martyr, the example of Father Isaac Jogues is instructive. The Iroquois captured, tortured, and disfigured Father Jogues. Later, with the aid of the Dutch, Father Jogues escaped the Iroquois and returned to France. According to Vimont's reports, Jogues' time with the Iroquois was the antithesis of paradise. Despite the hellish conditions that Jogues endured he retained a fervour to return to the Huron country.⁵⁴ He felt this way for two reasons. First, the trials that he was forced to endure brought him closer to God and this suffering made Jogues feel more secure in his interpretation of his vocation. As a result, the torment which he underwent had no negative spiritual effects on him. These trials were of such consolation to him that he desired, and ultimately did, to return to the Huron country to complete the martyrdom that he began during his first expedition to the Huron country and then in the land of the Huron's enemies, the Iroquois.⁵⁵ Jogues' experience demonstrates the willingness of the Jesuits to isolate their own ideas and desires from that which God has called them and to note the parallel between Jogues' escape story and the story of Jonah.⁵⁶

⁵² *JR* 28:59.

⁵³ *JR* 20:89

⁵⁴ *JR* 25:65.

⁵⁵ *JR* 25: 73. The reference to Jogues' desire to complete the sacrifice that would be his martyrdom also provides a clear link to the tradition of attempting to imitate the example of Jesus, since Christians view Jesus' death as a sacrifice for the sake of humanity's sinfulness. Thus, Jogues could be viewed as sacrificing himself in an attempt to convert and subsequently save the Iroquois.

⁵⁶ *JR* 25: 53-59. In the Old Testament book of Jonah, Jonah attempted to flee from that which God wanted him to do. When Jonah did this God acted in such a way as to send Jonah back where Jonah did not want to

Thus the example of Father Isaac Jogues illustrates the extent that the Jesuits looked at being among the Native populations of New France, such as the Huron or in this case the Iroquois, as one in which they were personally isolated from all that the temporal world considered good. In addition, it shows how they viewed the situation as one in which God would test their faith. It also allowed them to demonstrate their reliance on God alone since they were isolated from all other forms of assistance. Finally, it offered the chance to offer themselves up as the ultimate in individual sacrifices, martyrdom for God, an act that revealed their willingness to forgo their own interests, such as self-preservation.

As an extension of being in a place of trials and suffering, the geographic isolation of the Huron country became where the Jesuit missionaries sought their own perfection and the expression of this through complete union with God. Father Breb  uf made this idea clear in his identification of the Huron country as a place where the devotee were able to learn to seek out God and God’s intentions for them. By seeking this and by isolating themselves culturally, as the missionaries did in the Huron country, Breb  uf saw an opportunity for greater perfection for missionaries.⁵⁷ Part of this perfection came through developing more complete access to and communion with God by the missionaries losing all that they had in order to be there.⁵⁸ This greater communion with God, the Jesuits felt, actually made their physical and cultural, and mental isolation feel less burdensome as God’s presence made them feel less alone.⁵⁹ Thus, by undergoing

go despite Jonah’s efforts to not go to these places, like Ninevah. In Jogues’ case, Jogues felt he do more good for the Iroquois by escaping. As a result of his escape and not being martyred, Jogues is sent back to the Iroquois where he is killed.

⁵⁷ *JR* 8:169, 10:103.

⁵⁸ *JR* 8:173.

⁵⁹ *JR* 18:85.

the strains and trials of isolation, as the missionaries did in the Huron country, they were provided avenues to pursue their individual perfection and thereby salvation.

Paul LeJeune vividly described the challenges of the Huron mission and demonstrated this reliance and the extent to which they find goodness and blessings in situations like those described above.

When I regard, with my own eyes of flesh, the innumerable expenses that must be incurred in order to succeed in this enterprise, the pain, the labors, the sufferings, the crosses, the dangers, the deaths, the slanders that must be encountered, —and that will have to be encountered more and more, and from all sides, in this road where we have cast ourselves, —when I contemplate with these same eyes the frivolity, the inconstancy, and the barbarity of the Savages, I tremble, —I am as weak as a reed, I have no more heart; all seems to me to be built upon the shifting sand. But when I lift up my thoughts, and cast them upon Jesus Christ, and when I look at him with the eyes of faith and confidence, when I consider what he has done, and what he is doing every day to save these poor souls, —I am all-powerful, —these difficulties animate me; and all this work seems to me to be founded upon the living rock, *petra autem erat Christus*. I express the sentiments of all those whom God has called to this vineyard, of whom I am the least.⁶⁰

LeJeune's confession outlined the trials and suffering that he believed all of the missionaries that he worked with felt. It also provided a window into his personal detachment from materialism through his acknowledgement of the uselessness of many of the Huron's concerns. However, more importantly, his statements display the extent that he acknowledged the wonder that surrounded him, as he attributed none of its successes to himself and the other Jesuits, but rather to the power of Jesus to enable such fruit to be harvested from such barbarity by such weak tools. Thus, it is apparent that LeJeune, and the others with whom he worked, felt that the only spiritual aids that the

⁶⁰ JR 18: 247-249.

mission to the Huron had were the gifts of grace that he saw delivered to the Huron who were being evangelized. This solitude, in terms of a lack of tangible supports, also highlighted the importance that LeJeune, who was influenced by Lallement, placed on humility because he considered himself the least of God's servants in this vineyard, despite having just been Superior of the mission to New France, an idea that Louis Lallement highlighted as crucial to the spiritual development of Jesuits enroute to perfection, and may be implied by Kempis' instructions.

Clearly, the Jesuits who trekked to the Huron country found individual benefits in the geographic isolation that this mission provided, benefits that also helped their evangelization. The manner in which the mission was set up offered opportunities to seek out actively sufficient physical isolation to carry out the religious practices that it was felt would help the journey towards salvation. The journey to, and existence in, the Huron country also provided the missionaries with the isolating experiences needed to better demonstrate their imitation of the ways of Christ. These experiences allowed them to suffer trials and temptations, much as Jesus did, and thereby show God how willing and able they were to rely on divine grace for their protection and needs when they were isolated from all other aid. It also helped them to demonstrate their willingness to isolate themselves from their physical needs and desires to those of God, even if this meant suffering martyrdom. This subversion of individual will and acceptance of trials and crosses, in the imitation of the examples of Jesus, as well as Paulus and Antony, assisted the quest for Huron souls as each missionary tried to draw his personal concerns from the temporal toward spiritual openness to God. In doing so, the Jesuits who went to the Huron country felt that this environment, which paralleled the Biblical and Egyptian

wilderness, allowed them to become more perfectly holy and therefore closer to God. Ultimately each believed that he would secure the glory of salvation that Loyola,⁶¹ Kempis, and Lalement intimated would come with following and suffering in Christ's example.

⁶¹ A. Lynn Martin, *The Jesuit Mind, The Mentality of an Elite in Modern France*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), 28-29.

Chapter 6: Effects of Isolation on the Mission to Huronia

When it is he who sets us apart to this, by the direction of obedience, he binds himself to aid us in it; and, with him assisting us, we shall accomplish that which he expects of us.

- Paul Ragueneau, 1650

Isolation in its many forms, geographical, social and cultural, or spiritual and mental, played a significant role in the Jesuit mission to the Huron. In Huron society, isolation, particularly social and cultural isolation, was antithetical to what they believed and tried to inculcate within members of their community. The Huron used isolation infrequently as a social, religious, economic, or political tool, these usually entailed geographic manifestations that had social implications in some situations, although social isolation did occasionally occur. When physical isolation was used its effects were minimal on the community's ability to subsist. As a result, the long-term practice of these few isolating acts did not put the existence of the community in jeopardy. Most of Huron culture and life was directed away from isolation and towards the unification of the community to ensure their ability to sustain themselves. This inclination towards a community orientation was woven into all aspects of their community life. This was evident in their religious life and in the political structures and institutions that they created. It was also evident in the economic decision-making of their society and their social institutions. Some of the more central aspects of this impulse toward community integration were the means that wealth and economic largesse were re-distributed through moral suasion and religious practices, as well as democratic mechanisms that resisted the accumulation of significant amounts of legal and political power amongst individual Huron.

In contrast to the Huron cultural abhorrence of isolation was the tradition of supporting and encouraging various forms and experiences of isolation within the Judeo-Christian, and specifically Roman Catholic tradition. From the earliest documentary history tied to the Christian tradition, isolation played a significant role. The wilderness encapsulated this role. Often the role of the wilderness, and the geographical isolation it provided, was as a place of trial, testing, temptation that allowed one to work towards better cultural and mental isolation of oneself from the concerns and desires of the temporal world. This ultimately helped individuals show their fidelity to God and become closer to their Lord. In the Old Testament this was most obviously seen in the Exodus experience enroute to the promised land. In the New Testament, this motif ran repeatedly through the life of Jesus of Nazareth whom the Jesuits, as well as other Christians, sought to emulate and imitate in order to become more holy and thereby help ensure their salvation.

After the end of the Biblical period the forefathers of Christian monasticism took up the use of geographic isolation as a means of becoming closer to God, showing one's willingness to follow God's path, and rejecting the physical wants and desires of the world. The most exemplary illustrations are Paulus of Thebes and Antony of Alexandria. Together these two Egyptian hermits solidified the importance of this form of isolation to seek greater communion with God in order to become more holy, in the example of Jesus, a power that it was believed would help the world to combat evil.

The Biblical examples from the two Testaments, and their application, as established by Paulus and Antony, resonated through to the life, thinking, and practices of the Jesuits who took up the mission to the Huron. The influence of these two early

sources of tradition made themselves heard in the directives of the spiritualists who influenced the Jesuits at this mission the most, Thomas à Kempis and Father Louis Lallement. Both of these sources highlighted isolation, particularly spiritual and mental isolation, but also geographical isolation in certain circumstances, as an important feature of a Christian's life if the believer was going to try and live a more holy life and practice a devout spirituality that would bring him closer to God. Furthermore, success in developing this holier life in union with God through the isolating practices they encouraged also assisted the Jesuit missionary to secure salvation for more souls, a selfless act of charity when one considers the role of suffering and temptation that Father Lallement emphasized existing in the tasks of mission work.

In addition to these important sources, the Jesuits who undertook this mission were influenced regarding the role and importance of physical as well as spiritual isolation by those documents that were instrumental in the founding of their order, particularly the bull that gave them papal sanction, *Regimini militanti*, and *The Spiritual Exercises* written by Ignatius Loyola. These texts solidified the place of geographical, as well as spiritual and mental isolation as a tool that manifested itself in the spiritual lives of Jesuits, whether they were in mission around the world or working at a Jesuit college in Europe. These documents gave a significant role to private and individualized devotions as well as the institutionalization of denying individual desires to the demands of the church through the obligation to obedience to the papacy.

Obedience to papal calls to mission resulted in members of the Society of Jesus spread across the known world from eastern Asia, in China, Japan, and India, to South and Central America, in both Portuguese and Spanish territories, to North America, most

notably in New France but also in the English and Spanish territories by the end of the seventeenth century. In New France, and particularly the Huron country, isolation influenced the Jesuits' actions. In the mission to the Huron, the Jesuits had the dual objectives of attempting the conversion of their Huron hosts and seeking their own "individual perfection."¹ The Jesuits attempted to employ isolation, both geographical and cultural isolation, as a tool to secure the first objective, conversion. As a result of the intense degree to which Huron society sought to resist isolating its members from the community and the obstacle to conversion that this brought the Jesuits, the Fathers used social and cultural isolation, and in some cases geographical isolation, as a very practical tool to draw Huron from their traditional religious beliefs and into the Christian fold. Slowly the Jesuits weakened the communal bonds that kept the community intact as a cohesive unit and at the same time won more converts to Christianity.

The Jesuits also used geographical and spiritual isolation in the Huron country to seek out their own individual perfection. Their retreat center, Sainte-Marie, offered them a place of solitude and physical isolation from the world where they could meditate, seek to right the wrongs in their lives and achieve greater communion with God. The Huron country was also where the Jesuits, like the hermits Paulus and Antony before them, demonstrated to God their willingness to follow divine will at the expense of physical and personal desires, had their fidelity and trust tested, and if necessary suffered or were martyred in the barbarous wilderness of New France. In doing so, the individual Jesuit felt he became more holy and better secured his place in the economy of salvation. In addition, this spiritual development, particularly through personal trials with temptation

¹ JR 20:89.

and suffering, drew more Huron to the Christian message and secured salvation for those souls.

The conclusions drawn here allude to the importance of more concentrated studies of the underlying features of the institutions and structures that support and shape the societies in contact and the explanation of the effects of sustained contacts between these societies, particularly when they are as radically different as Huron and European Roman Catholic societies were. Doing so may provide a better understanding of how and why some interactions are less influential than others on each of the societies involved. As a corollary to this, a better understanding of the role of the individual and the individual's desires needs to be understood and taken into consideration. Despite the objectives and desires of the collective organization, what motives were at work in the individual actors, why these motives exist, and how these motives manifest themselves must be considered. An example of this is the impact of the desire of each Jesuit to secure their own salvation and how this desire encouraged each to seek out physical and spiritual isolation, such as at Sainte-Marie whose construction introduced social divisions to Huron society that did not previously exist but were a part of Roman Catholic society. Examined together, it is clear that tools such as isolation were significant in beginning to change the world of the Huron into a world of the Jesuits'.

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Appendix A:

Sainte-Marie among the Hurons, Midland, Ontario, Canada

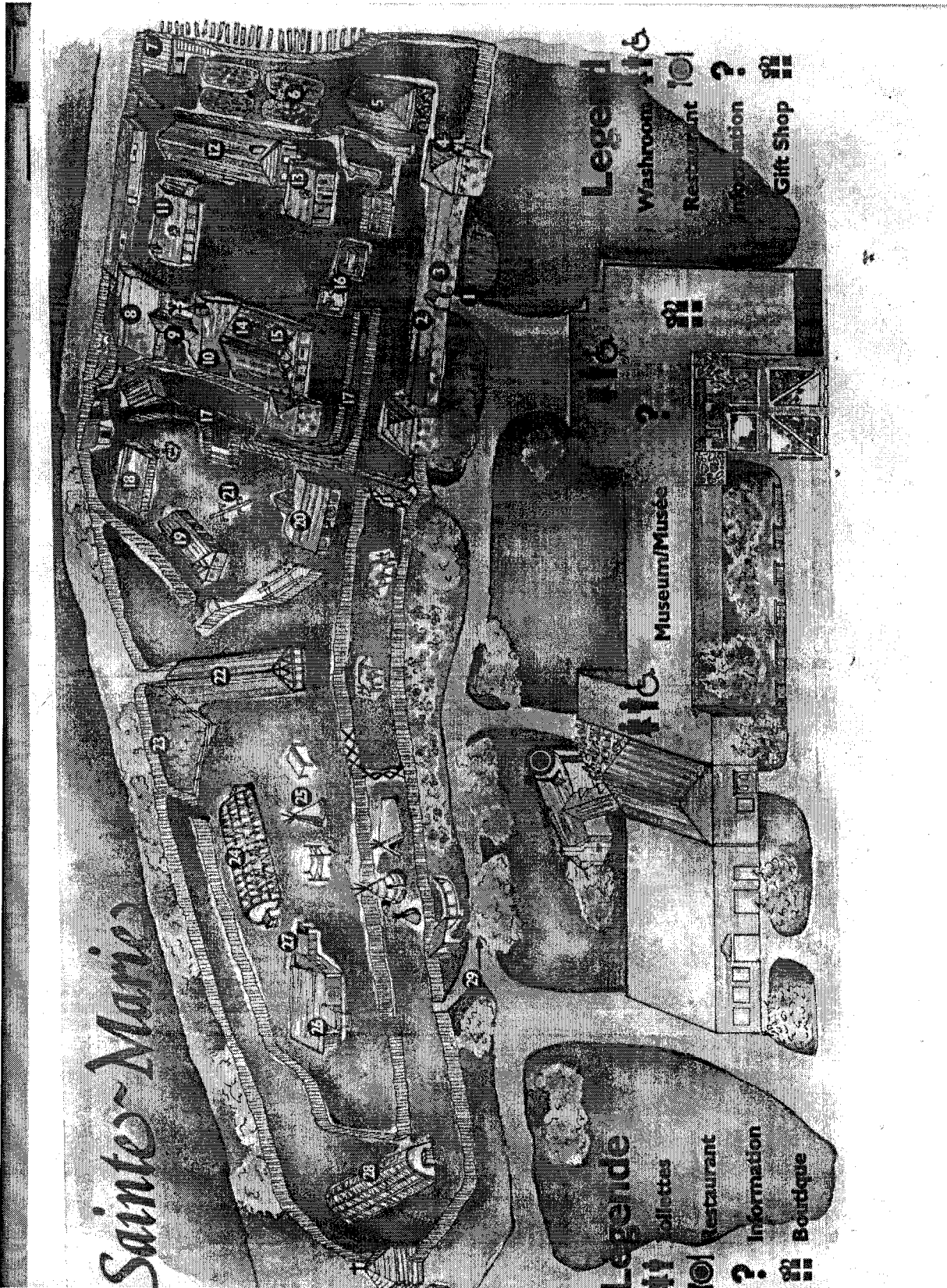


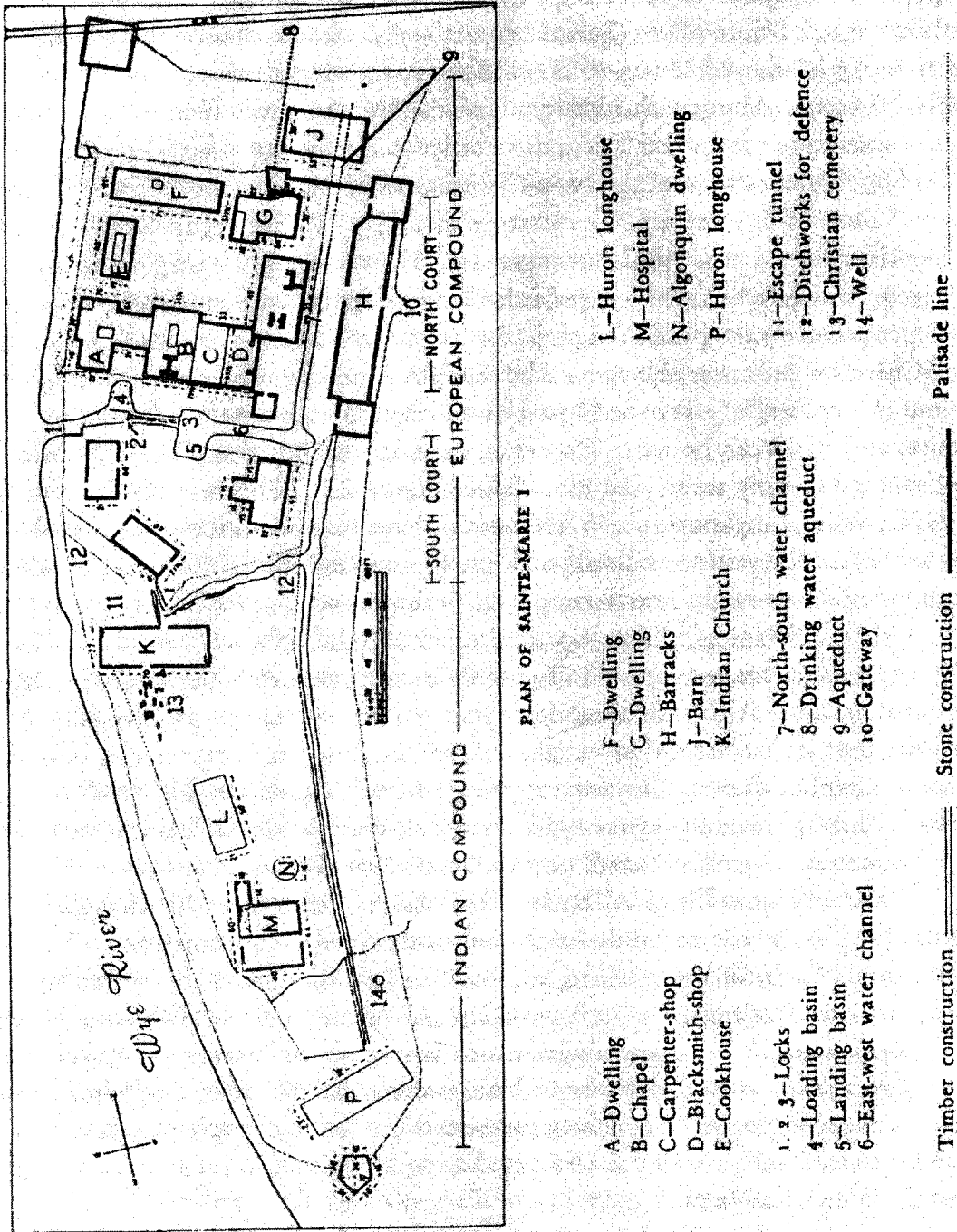
Photo courtesy of Sainte-Marie among the Hurons an attraction of the Ministry of Tourism & Recreation, Midland Ontario, Canada.

Section	Number	Feature
<i>Main Gates</i>	1.	Main Gates
	2.	Fleshing Area
	3.	Soldiers' Barracks
<i>North Court</i>	4.	Stone Bastions
	5.	Granary
	6.	Cookhouse Garden
	7.	Northwest Bastion
	8.	Chicken Run
	9.	Jesuit Residence
	10.	Refectory
	11.	Chapel
	12.	Cookhouse
	13.	Farmer's Dwelling and Stables
	14.	<i>Boivin</i> Building
	15.	Carpenter Shop
	16.	Blacksmith Shop
	17.	Original Stonework
<i>South Court</i>	18.	Locked Waterway
	19.	<i>En Pillier</i>
	20.	Shoemaker/Tailor
	21.	<i>En Colombage</i>
	22.	Saw Trestle
<i>Native Area</i>	23.	Church of Saint Joseph
	24.	Cemetery
	25.	Christian Longhouse
	26.	Wigwam/Christian Area
	27.	Apothecary Shop and Garden
	28.	Hospital
	29.	Non-Christian Area
	30.	Non-Christian Longhouse
	31.	Five-Sided Bastion
	32.	Native Gardens
	33.	Pathway to Museum

Appendix B:

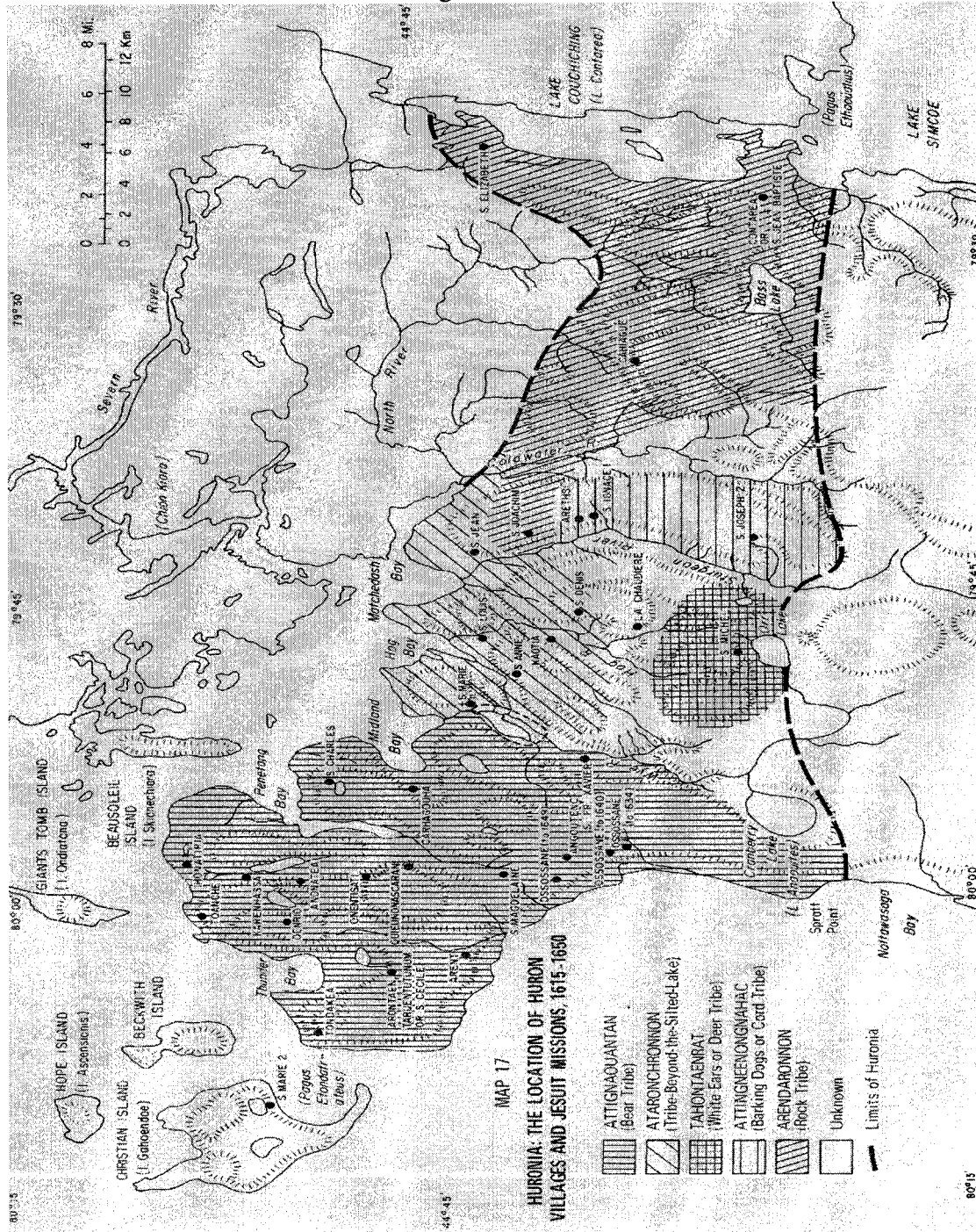
Plan of Sainte-Marie I

Drawings used courtesy of Sainte-Marie among the Hurons, Midland, Ontario, Canada Huronia Historical Parks, Ontario Ministry of Tourism and Recreation.



Appendix C:

Huronia: The Location of Huron Villages and Jesuit Missions, 1615-1650¹



¹ Copyright 1971, Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources. C.E. Heidenreich, *Huron: A History and Geography of the Huron Indians 1600-1650*. (Canada: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1971.), Map 17.