A Place Under Heaven: Amerindian Torture and Cultural Violence in Colonial New France, 1609-1729

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by

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ABSTRACT
A PLACE UNDER HEAVEN: AMERINDIAN TORTURE AND CULTURAL VIOLENCE IN COLONIAL NEW FRANCE, 1609-1730

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This doctoral dissertation is entitled, *A Place Under Heaven: Amerindian Torture and Cultural Violence in Colonial New France, 1609-1730*. It is an analysis of Amerindian customs of torture by fire, cannibalism, and other forms of cultural violence in New France during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Contemporary French writers and many modern historians have described Amerindian customs of torturing, burning, and eating of captives as either a means of military execution, part of an endless cycle of revenge and retribution, or simple blood lust. I argue that Amerindian torture had far more to do with the complex sequence of Amerindian mourning customs, religious beliefs, ideas of space and spatial limits, and a community expression of aggression, as well as a means of revenge. If we better understand the cultural context of Amerindian torture, we see more clearly the process of cultural accommodation in New France. To torture a captive offered communities an opportunity (men and women), young and old, to engage in a relationship with an adversary that tread what in the Amerindian cultural context was a thin or even non-existent line between the worlds of the living and the dead. Both Amerindian captives and captors understood this, and torture became an opportunity to push this barrier as a tortured captive came closer to death. When French colonists, soldiers, and missionaries became involved, torture complicated and altered missionary efforts, and had a direct effect on the political and military relationships between the French and these various Amerindian groups, both friend and foe. These new dynamics of alliances, rivalry, economics, and religion often caused Amerindians to change the circumstances under which they tortured captives and endured torture themselves, but colonization did not bring an end to this violence, only adaptation. The French also adapted when they found themselves captured and tortured. They altered their own religious, military, and political goals in North America at times to combat and at other times manipulate Amerindian cultural violence to their advantage

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> Do you think by your arguments to throw water on the fire that consumes me, and lessen ever so little the zeal I have for the conversion of these peoples? I declare that these things have served only to confirm me the more in my vocation; that I feel myself more carried away than ever for my affection for New France, and that I bear a holy jealousy towards those who are already enduring all these sufferings; all these labors seem to me nothing, in comparison with what I am willing to endure for God; if I knew a place under heaven where there was yet more to be suffered, I would go there.[1]
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> Father Jean de Brébeuf, 1636

[1] John Patrick Donnelly, S.J., ed. and trans., *Jesuit Writings of the Early Modern Period, 1540-1640* (Indianapolis, Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Company, 2006), 128.

Introduction to the Dissertation

For more than a century and a half, the French colonial presence dominated eastern North America. From the founding of Quebec in 1609 through the surrender of Canada to the British in 1763, French fur traders, soldiers, missionaries, and explorers colonized half a continent while their British rivals clung to the eastern seaboard. The motivations of these French colonists varied. Some came out of greed, others out of religious fervor. Some travelled the endless wilderness with boundless curiosity for what lay on the other side of the river as they explored the French dominion. A few of these individuals found what they sought. They became wealthy; they brought their ideas of God to the New World; and they brought glory to France in the form of land, wealth, and relationships with the indigenous people who already lived in the place they called New France. As a whole, the French viewed their Amerindian neighbors as primitive. The latter wandered in pursuit of game animals to kill with their stone-tipped weapons. If they practiced agriculture at all, it was simple maize cultivation. They lacked a written language, so Amerindians could not create a formal history. If they wore clothing at all, they made it from the skins of animals. The French viewed indigenous religious customs as a collection of pagan superstitions. When Amerindians went to war against each other, they did so only when they held the advantage and favored ambushes and traps to formal battle with an equal adversary. Amerindians confused and frustrated the French with their lack of clear purpose for warfare. They did not fight over land or riches, or to kill the

enemy on the battle field. Instead, they largely fought to take captives. If the French believed the social and religious customs of Amerindians to be primitive or barbaric, the former viewed the latter's treatment of captives as beyond horrific.[2]

Amerindians adopted many of their captives into the communities, tribal bodies, and even families. They did this to increase their population, and as part of a complex series of mourning rituals for the dead. Many captives though met a different fate-- one of death by slow fire. Priests, soldiers, and explorers described the shocking violence of such scenes in their reports to their superiors in France. The French expressed disgust at how these Amerindians slowly burned, dismembered, and even ate other human beings. Equal to this disgust was the French confusion not only over how people could do this to each other, but also at how these captives appeared to accept this fate with calm stoicism, rarely crying out or giving any indication of pain during their torture, even when taken to the point of death. Four hundred years later, historians continue to grapple with the savage/civilized dichotomy in their studies of torture and contact.

This dissertation examines the customs of Amerindian cultural violence practiced in New France during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Contemporary French writers and many modern historians have described Amerindian customs of torturing, burning, and eating of captives as either a means of military execution, part of an endless cycle of revenge and retribution, or simple blood lust. Amerindian torture, in fact, had far more to do with the complex sequence of Amerindian mourning customs, religious ideas, and a community expression of aggression, as well as a means of revenge. To torture a

[2] Reuben Golde Thwaites, ed. and trans., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents. Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610- 1791: The Original French, Latin, and Italian Texts. With English Translations and Notes. Volume 6* (Cleveland: Burrows, 1898), 155-169. (From this point on *JR*, Volume Number: Page Number.)

captive gave the entire community (men and women, young and old) an opportunity to engage in a relationship with an adversary that tread what, in the Amerindian cultural context, was a thin or even non-existent line between the worlds of the living and the dead. Among Amerindians, both the tortured and the torturers understood this, and torture became an opportunity to push this line as a tortured captive came closer and closer to death. Ultimately, torture by fire created the chance to have a foot in both worlds that made both captive and captor equally powerful in this confrontation.

When French colonists, soldiers, and missionaries became involved, torture complicated and altered missionary efforts, and directly affected the political and military relationships between the French and these various Amerindian groups, both friend and foe. For example, Amerindians listened to Jesuit missionaries, and at times either attempted to stop priests from converting captives to Catholicism, or tortured these captives all the more because they came to believe that Catholics (French or Amerindian) needed to suffer far worse torture because they would experience no such suffering in the Catholics' Heaven. When Amerindians captured French colonists and missionaries, they came to endure this torture with the same stoicism they observed among Amerindian captives, only instead of reciting stories of their past exploits as Amerindians did, they prayed throughout the ordeal. Further, a close examination and analysis of written records indicates that Amerindian torture and cultural violence had a far deeper cultural meaning in which gender roles, social hierarchy, mourning customs, religious belief, ideas of space and spatial limits, were just as important (if not more so) as revenge, military prowess, or diplomacy. In fact, Amerindian cultural violence was interconnected with all of these cultural ideas.

An important component of this journey towards a greater understanding of Amerindian cultural violence will be the use of a database of case studies to examine these customs. While these methods are routinely used in other fields to gain insight into economics, birth and death rates, and immigration patterns, Amerindian historians and scholars of colonial America have only very recently begun to use these tools. The most significant example of this is José António Brandão's 1997 book *Your Fyre Shall Burn No More: Iroquois Policy Towards New France and Its Native Allies to 1701*. Brandão challenged many long held ideas first presented in such books as George T. Hunt's 1940, *Wars of the Iroquois: A Study in Intertribal Trade Relations*, that portrayed the Iroquois conflicts of the seventeenth century as driven by a desire to steal furs and Europeans' trade goods. To do so, Brandão created a database of all known Iroquois attacks in the seventeenth century and by extracting information from this database, concluded that the Iroquois seldom attacked to steal trade goods or furs. They attacked to seek revenge and retribution, to acquire captives to fulfill their own cultural mourning rituals of adopting and torturing captives, and to pursue notoriety in their home communities. By focusing more deeply on as many cases as possible, Brandão drew a distinction between personal raiding and public raiding. Iroquois warriors operated both with and without family and community sanction. In summation, Brandão illustrated how such tools can be used to reveal the complexities of Amerindian history and culture.[3]

Secondly, Brandão's approach is important because it demonstrates an alternative to anecdotal evidence to draw conclusions about Amerindian societies that left no written

[3] José António Brandão, *Your Fyre Shall Burn No More: Iroquois Policy Towards France and Its Allies to 1701* (Lincoln: The University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 31-36. George T. Hunt, *Wars of the Iroquois: A Study in Intertribal Trade Relations* (Madison, Milwaukee, London: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1939), 146-150.

records. We are restricted to the written accounts of the French, English, and to a lesser extent the Dutch, who described seventeenth and eighteenth century Amerindian society and culture. Such bodies of documents as *The Jesuit Relations* contain highly detailed and vivid accounts of Amerindian torture and cultural violence. However, these represent only a handful of cases. Beyond these few are dozens of descriptions of Amerindian torture that contain far less detail. Many cases might state that the captors returned to the home community and burned their captives. An account might only state that the captive was burned at night, in the building designated for such torture, and that it was slow, and very gruesome. If examined individually there is very little to learn, but a large number of lesser-detailed cases that, for example, mention the same trend of Amerindians burning captives indoors at night and outdoors during the day, indicate a clear purpose for this particular dynamic that would not have been clear if the evidence were not examined as a whole. The conclusion (which will later be examined in greater detail in Chapter II) is that Amerindians burned captives indoors to avoid contact with potential supernatural entities. This in turn, led to an interpretation that placed a far greater emphasis on religion in Amerindian torture than scholars previously believed.[4]

These types of trends, complexities, and underlying meanings do not emerge from looking at one or two well-detailed examples. They only emerge when as many cases as possible are examined. Such conclusions presented in this dissertation will be based upon a database of 137 cases of Amerindian torture that occurred in New France between the

[4] When we consider that many Amerindian groups believed in a multi-dimensional layering to the human non-corporeal entity, essentially that a person possessed more than one soul, and that the soul of a tortured captive after (perhaps even during) the process of death such as that by slow torture could harm those who left the confines of the building and even the community, it becomes more clear why captives were tortured indoors at night. It also indicates that there was a great deal going on beyond the destruction of a human being. The act of torture under such conditions was in a way just as stoic and courageous as enduring such torture with poise and stoicism.

time of initial French colonization in 1609, to the year 1730 (See Appendix F). These case studies are primarily taken from *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, with additional examples from T*he Mississippi Provincial Archives*, and *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*.

In the late nineteenth century, historian Reuben Golde Thwaites, translated and edited the series, *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents. Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610- 1791: The Original French, Latin, and Italian Texts. With English Translations and Notes*. Jesuit missionaries in New France corresponded with their superiors in Paris and Rome to keep them informed on the progress of conversion among Amerindians, and they also described everything from the appearance of Amerindians, to the natural scenery and potential resources of the different areas they inhabited. In France, however, the Catholic Church published this correspondence, and these accounts of life in North America became widely popular, and created immense public support for the Jesuits' missionary efforts. Individual selections of these reports had been translated into English as early as the seventeenth century. It was not until the late nineteenth century that Thwaites collected, edited, and translated into English the entire body of such reports and correspondence of the Jesuits in North America. Composing seventy-four volumes, Thwaites' translation of *The Jesuit Relations* remains one of the most widely used sources for scholars who research Amerindians of North America during the colonial period.[5]

As the examples of Amerindian violence used here do not represent examples found in records and general correspondence of military officers and colonial officials of New France, they represent only a sample of the potential material available. While only a

[5] *JR*, 1:vii-xi.

sample, this data does function as an indicator of what this violence meant to both the French and Amerindians. This material can give historians some strong indications, if not definite conclusions, for understanding the place of these customs in New France between 1609 and 1730.

It was in 1730 when the French (for better or ill) created equilibrium within their colonies by the establishment of strong alliances with some Amerindians, and the total destruction of those who resisted. This policy shirt changed Amerindian cultural violence for the duration of the *ancien régime*. With the Great Peace of 1701, the French, their Amerindian allies, and the Iroquois ended the brutal wars of the seventeenth century. During the seventeenth century, the Five Nations remained the greatest threat to the peace and stability of New France. Due in part to exploration of the western Great Lakes and Mississippi Valley in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, and also the reduced Iroquois threat that allowed for the refocusing of military and economic resources in the west, the French established forts, missions, and communities in these regions. While the French found trading partners, eager converts to Catholicism, and military allies in the western Great Lakes and Mississippi region, some Amerindian nations resisted the French intrusion and fought back as aggressively as the Iroquois had in the east during the seventeenth century. Among these new enemies were the Fox of the western Great Lakes, and the Natchez of the Mississippi Valley. The French and their allies fought each of these groups sporadically throughout the first decades of the eighteenth century. This continued until 1729, when the French soundly defeated and virtually obliterated both the Fox and the Natchez. This ended the period of autonomous Amerindian rebellion against the French in their North American colonies. After 1730, Amerindian enemies of the

French did not attack French colonies because of their own motivations as had the Iroquois, the Fox, and Natchez; they did so with the cooperation, encouragement, and military support of the British. In the intermittent peace that separated Queen Ann's War (1702-1713), King George's War (1744-1748), and the Seven Years War (1756-1763) both the French and British used their Amerindian allies to wreak havoc on the frontiers of the other and to prevent encroachment on each others' self-defined borders. During times of open war, Amerindian allies proved useful to both the French and British as scouts and auxiliary forces. These Amerindians, however, often proved difficult to control and extreme examples of torture and cannibalism frequently occurred. While some elements of these escalations to cultural violence occurred in the first decades of the eighteenth century, such as demands by Amerindians on long campaigns to torture and eat captives, this type of violence became more frequent and expected by the middle of the eighteenth century when European powers attempted to control and manipulate their allies' violent tendencies as an implement of war. While preliminary research indicates that there is a wealth of evidence regarding Amerindian cultural violence during the remainder of the *ancien régime*, this violence differed from the localized forms of violence controlled by individual Amerindian communities and tribes during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries,[6] and such an examination of Amerindian torture in the larger picture of the eighteenth century struggle for the continent between the French and the British will require an entirely separate research project. This dissertation will focus specifically on the following areas.

[6] Edward P. Hamilton, ed. and trans. *Adventure in the Wilderness: The American Journals of Louis-Antoine de Bougainville, 1756-1760* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964), 331.

Chapter I is a general overview of the most prominent ideas and interpretations of Amerindian history and culture presented by historians, ethnohistorians, and anthropologists. While we lack a definitive historiography on the subject of Amerindian cultural violence, scholars have created an enormous amount of research on Amerindian history and culture into which a focused analysis of Amerindian violence can be placed. Beginning in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, historians and anthropologists had focused on chronicling Amerindian history and the pace of acculturation to western cultural norms, as well as examining Amerindian warfare. In the later twentieth century and the new millennium, historians and ethnohistorians utilized tools of ethnohistory, anthropology, archeology, as well as new models of literary theory and philosophy to shed light on the complexity of Amerindian culture and the meeting of Europeans and Amerindians in early America. Studies addressing such sub-topics as acculturation into Amerindian society, the importance of both adopted and tortured captives in the process of mourning, and new ideas of hostility and war in the colonial period have led to new ideas of what both Europeans and Amerindians defined as "savage" and "civilized." This contributes to a foundation upon which an analysis of Amerindian cultural violence can be created.

Chapter II breaks down the essential elements of Amerindian torture by fire and cannibalism, in order to illustrate the social, religious, and philosophical significance of these customs. Unlike European customs of torture in which the torturer acted upon the captive in a one-way exchange of aggression, Amerindian torture was a symbiotic relationship that required the torturer to exact pain, and the captive to accept this pain and react accordingly with self-control and appropriate verbal response. This brought both the

torturer and the captive into what was almost an altered state of consciousness that bordered the worlds of the living and dead. Likewise, the multi-dimensional nature of the Amerindian notion of the human soul, and the belief in both malevolent and benevolent supernatural entities that could affect the lives and worlds of Amerindians, influenced both the torture of captives, and the destruction of the physical remains. To further demonstrate these theories, this chapter offers a full deconstruction of the most detailed case of Amerindian torture by fire in the written record, the 1637 torture and death of the Iroquois man Saunadanoncoua.

Chapter III will address the relationship between Catholicism and Amerindian cultural violence in the French dominion. Whether friend or enemy, Amerindians were greatly affected by the material culture, political policies, military institutions, and economic systems of the French. However, nothing had as great an impact on Amerindian cultural violence as Catholicism. Stories of Catholic martyrs bore a striking resemblance to victims of torture by fire, and this point was not overlooked by either missionaries or Amerindians. As the new religion of the French brought the French and Amerindians together, it also divided many Amerindian communities. While some embraced the Christian message of mercy towards their captives, others resented the cultural intrusion and even overcompensated for it when the time came to burn captives. Among the Hurons, Algonquians, and particularly among the Iroquois, we can observe how Christianity did more to divide communities than unite them, and this divide manifested most acutely with the torture of captives. Even in the early seventeenth century, the French struggled to reconcile with the customs they abhorred, particularly when traditional non-combatants such as children became involved. As the seventeenth century

progressed, this changed. Catholic priests found torture by fire a useful teaching point about the severity of damnation, Catholic devotion, as well as Christian mercy. They also found a steady stream of converts among the captives their Amerindian allies sent to the flames. Finally, by the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the French and Amerindians began to combine each others' customs when captured. When death became imminent, many sang their death song or prayed while walking to the torture platform. Whether French or Amerindian, they often met this death calmly as early Christian martyrs, or brave Algonquian warrior.

Chapter IV will examine the ordeals of the Jesuit priests who were captured and tortured by the Iroquois in the mid-seventeenth century. These cases offer not only vividly detailed descriptions of the torture of these missionaries, but are also a unique window through which we can examine the cultural alterations of both the Amerindian neophytes who willingly died alongside the Jesuits, and also the Iroquois themselves. Typically, writers address the story of the Jesuit Martyrs as a hagiographic story of heroic Jesuit martyrs, villainous Iroquois savages, and briefly mentioned Catholic Amerindians. As historical subjects, the roles of all those involved are far more textured and complex. These priests were well-educated Frenchmen, as well as Jesuit missionaries, experiencing the Atlantic world. It is with this full cultural lens that they endured Amerindian torture. An often overlooked fact is that only two of the eight Jesuit Martyrs died as a result of torture by fire. Likewise, not all priests who were tortured are among the martyrs, and most of them later provided a written account of not only their ordeals, but the context in which they occurred. They often provided detailed descriptions of the deaths by slow fire of their dedicated neophytes, a point that is all but ignored in more hagiographic

retellings of their captivities, and tell us a great deal about the place of Catholicism, and the level of loyalty, among French allied Amerindians. These accounts have traditionally portrayed the Iroquois as the villains of this hagiographic story, and often misrepresent them in order to fit this role. The Iroquois did not seek out Jesuits as captives. Nor did they torment priests more intensely than other captives, French or Amerindian. In fact, when Iroquois did kill Jesuits, this was not done with the consent of the Iroquois leadership and in every case that the Iroquois League as a whole conferred on the fate of these priests, they released them. A fuller view reveals that the Iroquois who captured, tortured, and at times killed these priests and *donnés* existed in a world of social and political tension as they struggled with external military and diplomatic issues, and internal social, religious, and political issues. This affected not only the fate of these French priests, but also the evolving dynamic of New France.

Chapter V is an analysis of the evolution of cultural violence in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries as the French expanded their dominion into the western Great Lakes, or *pays d'en haut*, and the Mississippi Valley. In these regions, the French interacted with groups of Amerindians such as the Natchez and the Ojibwa, who also practiced diverse customs of cultural violence. These customs possessed many of the same elements as Amerindian cultural violence in the East, but had evolved in unique ways. These unique evolutions, as well as evidence of such customs in the archeological record, indicate a long tradition of such customs that challenges the accepted notion that customs of torture and cannibalism began among the Iroquois, and dispersed from Iroquoia throughout North America. This adds greater credence to the growing trend among historians and ethnohistorians who argue that Amerindians of the western lakes

developed their own cultural identity, and did not merely react to what occurred in the East. This chapter also illustrates how the French tried to manipulate Amerindian cultural violence to their advantage. This type of manipulation began in the early seventeenth century, and by the beginning of the *long eighteenth century* the French used both the threat, and reality, of Amerindian cultural violence against rival powers and rebellious Amerindians. Finally, while Catholicism had an influence on curbing and stopping Amerindian torture and cannibalism, the introduction of the slave trade to Amerindians offered a different means of disposing of captives, with an economic benefit. Even with the influence of Catholicism and the opportunity of the slave trade, Amerindians continued to practice torture by fire and cannibalism through the end of the *ancien régime*, and beyond the colonial period into the time of the early republic. No matter the region, century, or governing power, Amerindian cultural violence was never a random act of violence, but a deeply embedded element of Amerindian culture. As we will see, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, both the French and Amerindians adapted their customs and ideas regarding Amerindian cultural violence, not in order to eliminate these customs, but to incorporate them into the full social dynamic of New France.

Chapter I: *"A Song Very Sad to Hear"* [1]
Amerindian Cultural Violence in Historical Perspective

Part I: Introduction

In 1599, Samuel de Champlain accompanied a Spanish fleet to New Spain where he wrote a detailed account of numerous islands as well as the mainland. Champlain described in detail everything from the vegetation and edible fruits, to jaguars and rattlesnakes. His account is filled with vivid descriptions of Mexico City and the surrounding lakes, the Spanish colonists, and the Amerindian population. He divided the Amerindians into two categories: those who lived under the control of the Spanish authorities, and those who did not. Based upon what he learned of their customs and religion, Champlain described those living outside of the Spanish Pale as "these poor people, deprived of reason." He wrote of how they danced before the moon, and proclaimed: "Oh! powerful and bright moon, grant that we may conquer our enemies, and may eat them, that we may not fall into their hands; and that dying, we may go and rejoice with our relatives."[2]

Champlain also alluded to the tense relationship between the Spanish colonizers and the indigenous peoples that resulted from the harsh methods of control on the part of the Spanish. "As for the other Indians who are under the dominion of the king of Spain, if he did not take some order about them, they would be as barbarous in their beliefs as the

[1] Samuel de Champlain, *Narrative of a Voyage to the West Indiens* [*sic*] *and Mexico in the Years 1599-1602* Norton Shaw, ed. (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1859), 213.
[2] Samuel de Champlain, *Narrative*, 38.

others." Champlain further described how he himself observed the Spanish clergy as they used Inquisitorial methods to force Amerindians to acculturate to Spanish social mores and Catholicism. This would include the destruction of traditionalist religious idols; public corporal punishment for secretive traditionalist religious practices; and Inquisitorial methods of torture including the rack, the strapodo, and in the worst cases, even burning offenders at the stake. Champlain commented further that by the time he wrote this down, the Spanish no longer practiced these "evil treatments" because the Amerindians simply ran off to live in the mountains, from where they waged war upon the Spanish, and continued to kill and eat the Spaniards who fell into their hands. Indeed, "[i]f they had continued still to chastise them according to the rigor of the said Inquisition, they would have caused them all to die by fire." At the time of Champlain's visit, Spanish clergy still punished Amerindians with beatings for infractions as minor as missing church services. He further described the Amerindians of New Spain as possessing a "melancholy humour." They were intelligent, learned quickly, and were not naturally prone to anger unless provoked.[3]

Based on this account, Champlain did not favor such harsh treatment of Amerindians. Samuel de Champlain was a well-traveled man who even before 1600 saw a great deal of the New World and the various indigenous populations of the Americas. He had the insight to understand that in the Americas, violence begot more violence and the Inquisitorial methods of the Spanish created more problems than they solved. Further evidence of this is that only a few years later in the fledgling colony of Quebec, along the St. Lawrence River, the French did not use Inquisitorial methods to root out the traditional religious customs of the Amerindian population. However, Champlain and the

[3] Samuel de Champlain, *Narrative*, 38-39.

colonists he led to New France quickly learned that just as in New Spain where the Spanish and Amerindians used brutal violence against each other, the French in Canada would not corner the market on brutal violence.

Ten years after his journey to New Spain, Champlain succeeded in leading the French to found the permanent colony of Quebec, while he forged military and economic alliances with the local Amerindian groups including the Algonquians, the Montagnais, and the Hurons. In July of 1609, Champlain accompanied a group of Montagnais and Hurons on an expedition against the Iroquois, a group of Amerindians living south of the St. Lawrence of whom Champlain knew little at the time besides that they were the enemy of his new allies. Near the lake that Champlain named after himself, he, along with a few other Frenchmen armed with arquebuses, and their Montagnais and Huron allies, engaged the Iroquois in battle. In all, Champlain's description of the battle shows the Hurons and Montagnais in a very positive light. They used battle formations and intricate plans of attack, pre-planned and communicated to all by use of sticks on the ground to represent individuals and groups. He further illustrated how: "they often came to me and asked if I had dreamed, and if I had seen their enemies." Champlain replied, I "[d]reamed that I saw the Iroquois, our enemies, in the lake, near a mountain, drowning within our sight; and when I wished to help them our savage allies told me that we must let them all die, and that they were worthless."[4] The battle that took place is a well-known story, as Champlain and the Frenchmen with arquebuses packed with two or even four lead balls, overwhelmed, terrified, and dispersed the Iroquois as the Montagnais and Hurons pounded them with arrows. At battle's end, the Iroquois wounded fifteen or

[4] Samuel de Champlain, *The Voyages and Explorations of Samuel de Champlain Vol. I (1604-1616) Narrated by Himself Together with the Voyage of 1603 Reprinted from Purchas His Pilgrims* Edward Gaylord Bourne ed., Annie Nettleton Bourne trans. (Toronto: The Courier Press, Limited, 1911), 200-209.

sixteen French-allied Amerindians, but none seriously. The Iroquois did not wound any French soldiers, but the French and their allies killed a significant number of Iroquois, and took ten or twelve captives. The victors, with captives in tow, set off by canoe for home. [5]

What happened after the battle is not as well known. Upon pulling in to camp for the night, the Montagnais and Hurons began to harass one of the captives about the cruelties the Iroquois committed upon their own people. They forced the captive to sing what Champlain only described as "a song very sad to hear." As he sang, the Montagnais and Hurons began to burn the captive with firebrands. They paused only to throw cold water upon his back to sharpen the pain of the burns. They tore out his fingernails, and, through incisions they made in his wrists, pulled free the full length of the tendons from his forearms. They burned the tips of his extremities including his fingers and penis. After removing his scalp, they poured hot tree sap upon his head. Apparently the captive uttered "strange cries" but Champlain clearly described how they were not cries of pain, and that: "he showed such endurance that one would have said that, at times, he did not feel any pain."[6]

Champlain's allies encouraged him to participate in the torture, and he explained how the French did not treat captives in such a way, and that when they did kill prisoners, they did it quickly. He asked them if he could kill the man quickly with a musket shot. At first they refused, but later changed their minds. Standing behind the Iroquois captive, Samuel de Champlain ended his pain with a musket. Not yet done, the Montagnais and Hurons tore out the dead Iroquois's entrails and threw them into the lake. They removed his

[5] Champlain, *The Voyages*, 211.
[6] Champlain, *The Voyages*, 213-215.

heart, cut it into pieces, and attempted to force feed it to the other captives, some of whom were the dead man's relatives. Champlain described how they took it into their mouths but would not eat it. They threw these pieces as well into the lake.[7]

A seasoned soldier, Champlain had fought throughout Europe, interacted extensively with Amerindians of the New World, and even observed the Inquisitorial methods of the Spanish clergy, and he begged his allies to allow him to end this captive's pain. Documentary records such as these illustrate the intense violence of these customs; the revulsion and disgust experienced by Europeans upon first viewing Amerindian torture; and even the compassion towards the victims that moved men like Champlain to want to end the man's pain quickly. From this first encounter with such customs through the end of the Seven Years War, French governors, soldiers, priests, farmers, and traders described Amerindian torture with predictable adjectives like barbaric, savage, inhuman, and even demonic. Perhaps it was best put by Francois Le Mercier in 1637 when he described the Huron torture of an Iroquois captive: "We are not the masters here; it is not a trifling matter to have a whole country opposed to one, -- a barbarous country, too." Father Le Mercier wrote this almost thirty-years after Samuel de Champlain first observed his Huron allies torture and burn their Iroquois captive, illustrating that over those thirty years, the French had been unable to curb torture by fire. They did, however, eventually come to better understand the purpose it served for Amerindians, and the purpose it could serve towards their own goals. In 1667, thirty-years after his initial comments on Amerindian torture, and almost sixty-years after Champlain's first observations, Father Le Mercier not only continued to baptize condemned captives, but

[7] Champlain, *The Voyages*, 215-216.

did so while he lived among the Iroquois. This is a clear example of the cultural accommodations that took place in New France regarding Amerindian cultural violence.[8]

During the *ancien régime,* the French struggled first to control Amerindian cultural violence, and then sought an understanding of these customs. Initially, military leaders such as Champlain argued it was not an honorable way for soldiers to behave, and missionaries argued that it was not how Christians behaved. When such arguments did more to alienate Amerindians than convince them to abandon customs of torture by fire and cannibalism, a series of cultural accommodations took place from which both the French and Amerindians redefined the meaning and uses of violence that was part of the world in which they lived. Cultural accommodation is the creation of a new and shared experience between different cultures brought together by such factors as geographic proximity, political alliance or rivalry, and social integration. The circumstances that originally separate these cultures do not need to be as diverse or compartmentalized as "European" and "Indian" and historians have shown how this blending of cultures due to a variety of circumstances such as migration and the fluid nature of kinship networks also resulted in similar alterations as different peoples met and interacted, and this can even call into question what the term "native" in early America means as Amerindians were in constant states of change that often had little or nothing to do with Europeans. In colonial America, the cultural imports of European colonists differed greatly from those of the Amerindians with whom they shared the land, and over time this resulted in both conflict and cooperation. As such, accommodations took place in New France over the course of the *ancien régime*, there came to exist great differences in the cultural perceptions of seasoned European colonists compared to those newly arrived in America, as is evident

[8] For "a barbarous country," see *JR*,13:69. Father Le Mercier in 1667, see *JR*,42:97.

in Father le Mercier's changing ideas regarding torture by fire. Likewise, various Amerindian groups differed in their own values and perceptions of the world in which they lived. This resulted in the creation of cultural accommodations in the traditional sense of one group misinterpreting the values and practices of those they interacted with. From these misunderstandings emerged new practices and shared meanings. Such new found meanings, however, did not necessarily result from misunderstandings. Whether experienced Jesuit missionaries or Amerindian community leaders, participants often understood their differences and newfound meanings and consciously manipulated them towards an achievable goal.[9]

Nowhere is this manipulation of cultural practices more apparent than when Amerindian cultural violence became involved. Missionaries who were at first shocked and disgusted by Amerindian torture by fire learned over time that these customs represented an opportunity to both convert condemned captives and preach about the harsh penalties that awaited those who did not convert to the Catholic faith. Amerindians learned that when faced with European invasion, the torture and captivity of such high profile captives as Jesuits could serve as valuable bargaining tools with these Europeans. Eventually, even French officers came to diverge from Champlain's initial opinions, and regarded Amerindian torture and cannibalism as valuable military assets. In the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, this manipulation Amerindian violence increased as the French used it in both their military and missionary efforts, and

[9] Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), x. Kathleen DuVal, *The Native Ground: Indians and Colonists in the Heart of the Continent* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 10. Heidi Bohoker, "Nindoodemag: the Significance of Algonquin Kinship Networks in the Eastern Great Lakes Region, 1600-1701" *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Series 63, no. 1 (2006): 46-47.

Amerindians used it on a larger scale against both Amerindian and European rivals, and as an expression of defiance to religious invasion.

In its most subtle form, Amerindians incorporated European culture to their methods of torture through the use of heated metal implements as instruments of torture. In the most dramatic of examples, Amerindians employed what anthropologist Frederick Gleach refers to as aesthetic irony in Amerindian cultural violence. Defined, aesthetic irony in violence is where some element of what brought one to the circumstances of torture became part of the methodology of the violence exerted upon them. Gleach used this to explain why when the Powhatan Indians of Virginia captured the leader of an English raiding party sent to steal their food, they skinned him alive, then killed him, stuffed his mouth full of bread, and left him for the Virginians to discover. The bread meant to sustain him, became a part of his own death. A common use of this by Amerindians in New France was forced self-cannibalism, the drawing of sustenance from one's own death. The most well-known example of aesthetic irony in New France is the Iroquois' "baptism" of Father Jean de Brébeuf and Father Gabriel Lalemant with boiling water. The baptism they sought to bring to the Iroquois, became a method of torturing the priests. The use of such aesthetic irony signifies a clear and well thought out, but always individualized, purpose to the violence.[10]

These concepts of cultural accommodation and aesthetic irony are important in understanding this Amerindian violence in New France, and have only in the last few decades been given serious attention by scholars. For almost four centuries colonists, writers, anthropologists, and historians have shared in this struggle to truly understand

[10] Frederick Gleach, *Powhatan's World and Colonial Virginia, A Conflict of Cultures* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 50.

such customs. Scholars have interpreted Amerindian torture and the cannibalism that followed it as an endless cycle of revenge and bloodlust, a means of military execution, a method of blood sacrifice that was welded to religious beliefs, and as an integral element of Amerindian mourning customs.

Part II: Historiographic Perspectives on Amerindian History and Violence in Early America

Historians have produced diverse interpretations and studies of Amerindian culture in eastern North America during the colonial era ranging from a largely anthropological approach in the nineteenth century, to political analyses of military conflict and acculturation into American society that predominated the literature in the early twentieth-century. In the later twentieth-century, historians employed anthropological and ethnohistorical tools to cast light on the richness of Amerindian culture and the interaction of all peoples in early America that stretched beyond the limits of a purely political model of acculturation. In the last decades of the twentieth century and the new millennium, scholars have both expanded on these methods and introduced tools of philosophy and literary theory into the field to understand Amerindians from a more theoretical perspective. Even if these studies do not address Amerindian cultural violence directly, an examination of this historiography can contribute to creating a foundation upon which such a study of these customs can be placed. A more general view of how scholars have come to understand Amerindian history, and a more focused look at ideas of violent behaviors and customs of both Amerindians and Europeans, and the

motivating factors that altered these dynamics, contribute to greater understanding of the place of Amerindian culture within this body of work.

In the nineteenth century, historians and anthropologists examined Amerindian history and culture in a very observational nature in which they sought to chronicle and preserve elements of Amerindian society before it became lost in the living memory. While these largely amateur scholars made very few direct interpretations of what they observed, they went to great length to describe their observations in detail, almost like naturalists observing and describing a new species. An important example of this is Henry Lewis Morgan's book, *League of the Iroquois*. First published in 1851, Morgan's work is important because he not only consulted written evidence, but also the Iroquois themselves, before they lost a great deal of their own oral history. When addressing some of the more basic elements of Iroquois culture, Morgan gave clear descriptions of Iroquois agricultural techniques, the construction of buildings, and even ideas of religion. When addressing some of the more cross-cultural aspects of Iroquois society though, such as trade or warfare, Morgan did draw comparisons to what he found to be European cultural equivalents and as a result, reinforced some misconceptions such as that Iroquois women took responsibility for the majority of heavy labor such as farming and food preservation, and men did very little besides hunting, fishing, and warfare. It is in this section on warfare that Morgan made one of the few comments on Amerindian torture. His comments are brief but important, and succinct enough to be presented in their entirety:

> The rejected captives were then led away to the torture, and to death. It is not necessary to describe this horrible practice of our primitive inhabitants. It is sufficient to say that it was a test of courage. When the Indian went out upon the warpath, he prepared his mind for this very contingency, resolving to show the

> enemy, if captured, that his courage was equal to any trial, and above the power of death itself. The exhibition of heroism and fortitude by the red man under sufferings of martyrdom almost surpass belief. They considered the character of their nation in their keeping, and the glory of the face as involved and illustrated in the manner of their death.[11]

Two elements of Morgan's analysis are typical of the type of ideas that led other historians to argue that Amerindian torture remained a male cultural practice. First, he focused on warriors by stating that the Iroquois only tortured captured warriors. He did, however, include the important observation that before they departed on the "war path," men prepared themselves for this possibility of capture. This period of mental, emotional, and spiritual preparation for war implies that Morgan observed this type of mental preparation that modern historians have also observed. In his 1997 book, *New Worlds for All: Indians, Europeans, and the Remaking of Early America*, Collin G. Calloway also acknowledged this period of mental and spiritual preparation for war. A very similar preparation for war is described among the Pueblo by historian Ramón Gutiérrez in his 1991 book *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500*-1846. Gutiérrez described the spiritual and mystical preparation for war. Pueblo men prayed, sang, purified their bodies, and abstained from sexual relations before setting off for war. Even in the nineteenth-century, Morgan understood that Amerindians did not view war as just an excuse to fight, a means of gaining material wealth, or an opportunity to climb the social hierarchy within the community. Fighting an adversary represented a deeply personal experience of self-reflection (as is evident by the dream interpretations of Champlain's party as they prepared for battle) and a mode of self-expression through displays of bravery and

[11] Henry Lewis Morgan, *League of the Iroquois*, 6th ed. (New York: Corinth Books, 1962), 344-345.

combat skill. While Morgan clearly sought a deeper understanding of the complexities of Iroquois culture, including a meaning behind warfare, he associated torture with warfare because they both contain many of the intrinsic elements he described: courage, violence, and fortitude in the face of pain and stress.[12]

Other nineteenth century historians approached different Native American groups in the same manner as Morgan chronicled Iroquois culture. They described Amerindian culture at great length, but made no real effort to interpret or attach meaning to Amerindian customs. In his *Personal Memoirs of a Residence of Thirty Years with the Indian Tribes on the American Frontiers*, published in 1851, Henry Rowe Schoolcraft chronicled oral histories of historic events from the time of initial European contact with the Ojibwa until the American Revolution. Schoolcraft also included a wealth of observations including descriptions of specific places of spiritual importance for the Ojibwa, rituals to improve both hunting and the fertility of agricultural fields, and even the tendency he observed among the Ojibwa to drink excessive amounts of alcohol. Much as Morgan did at almost the same time but among the Iroquois, Schoolcraft gave a wealth of descriptions regarding Ojibwa culture but virtually no interpretation. While lacking any depth of interpretation, or as historian Daniel K. Richter put it "history-less history," such studies as Morgan's and Schoolcraft's remain valuable as a window into Amerindian oral history before a great deal of this history became lost in the living

[12] Henry Lewis Morgan, *League of the Iroquois*. For social and gender relationships, see 320-324. For preparations for war, see 344-345. Colin G. Calloway, *New Worlds for All: Indians, Europeans, and the Remaking of Early America* (Baltimore, London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1997), 156. Ramón Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500-1846* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991), 26-27.

memory of the community, as well as an observation of Amerindian culture in the early nineteenth century.[13]

In the twentieth century, historians continued to examine Amerindian history with traditional western models and methodologies, which only increased misconceptions, especially when they addressed topics such as warfare, raiding, and the customs of torture they exclusively associated with warfare and other "male" cultural activities. An important example of this is George T. Hunt's, *Wars of the Iroquois: A Study of Intertribal Trade Relations*. First published in 1939, Hunt's book became a historiographic keystone through the end of the twentieth century and remains indirectly so into the twenty-first century. Hunt described this series of seventeenth century wars between the Iroquois and the French as almost purely economic in nature and motivation. Essentially, the Iroquois went to war against the French and their Amerindian allies to pillage canoes of furs coming east from the Great Lakes and to attack French convoys of trade goods as they came west along the St. Lawrence. Hunt described torture and cultural violence within a military-economic, male-dominated framework. Hunt did in fact compare the customs of different Amerindian groups in eastern North America and the Great Lakes region, but in each example, he compared them to European modes and norms, and not to each other. In all cases, Hunt interpreted warfare and torture as economically motivated actions that resulted in material gain for Amerindians. He described the Hurons as being driven by their agricultural and economic needs. Hunt

[13] Henry R. Schoolcraft, *Personal Memoirs of a Residence of Thirty Years with the Indian Tribes on the American Frontiers: With Brief Notices of Passing Events, Facts, and Opinions, A.D. 1812 to A.D. 1842* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo and Co., 1851), 96-103. Daniel K. Richter, "Ordeals of the Longhouse: The Five Nations in Early America" *Beyond the Covenant Chain: The Iroquois and Their Neighbors in Indian North America, 1600-1800*, ed. Daniel K. Richter and James H. Merrell (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1987), 12. Richter does not intend this as a criticism, -and refers to Morgan as the greatest American anthropologist of the nineteenth century.

interpreted the actions of the tribe the French called the Neutrals as being entirely driven by the economic advantages and disadvantages of the Neutrals' geographic location. He described the Illinois as primarily traders of both fur and slaves. He reiterated numerous times that the Iroquois raided for material gain through thievery. There is no doubt that Amerindian warfare was partially motivated by economics. Much like Morgan's work, Hunt's analysis illustrates how a single-pronged interpretation of Amerindian culture (and cultural violence) cannot work. Another clear example of this is Victor Barmouw's 1950 book, *Acculturation and Personality Among the Wisconsin Chippewa*. Barmouw's anthropological examination of the Chippewa describes a very clean acculturation of the Wisconsin Chippewa that is almost an antithesis to Hunt. For as aggressively as the Iroquois acted towards Europeans, the Chippewa acted with equal passivity. The acculturation of the Chippewa was nearly seamless as they adapted to the cultures of first the French, then the British, and finally the Americans. Barmouw attributed this to the Chippewa realization during the eighteenth-century that any resistance to European settlement was futile, and the examples of the destruction of the Fox, and the endless problems of their neighbors the Ottawa, Pottawatomie, Winnebago, Menominee, and Sauk in dealing with Europeans illustrated this futility.[14]

In 1940, historian Nathanial Knowles published "The Torture of Captives by the Indians of Eastern North America" in the *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*. This remains the most significant study of Amerindian cultural violence to date, and while Knowles followed the same interpretive path looking at Amerindian history

[14] George T. Hunt, *Wars of the Iroquois*. For an economic argument for warfare, see 146-150. For the killing of women and children, see 97. For Huron economics, see 41. For Neutrals and Illinois economics, and Iroquois thievery, see 96-150. Victor Barmouw, *Acculturation and Personality Among the Wisconsin Chippewa* (New York: AMS Press, 1950), 13-22.

through a western cultural lens, his methodologies can tell us a great deal about perceptions of Amerindian violence in the early twentieth-century. Knowles asserted that Amerindian torture became an element of these customs only after Amerindians learned of torture from two sources. First, Amerindians of the Southeast learned of harsh corporal and capital punishment from the Spanish, including death by burning at the stake. The second source from which Knowles argued that Amerindian torture originated is the Iroquois. Knowles stated that Amerindian groups of Algonquin, Iroquoian, and Siouxian origins, including the Montagnais and Huron with whom Champlain allied himself in 1609, as well as Amerindians of the western Great Lakes such as the Illinois and Ojibwa, learned torture from the Iroquois and used these customs as a tool to gain revenge upon their enemies. Knowles's work can be viewed today as an insightful and thoroughly researched look at Amerindian torture and cannibalism in which the author attempted to analyze a perplexing cultural phenomenon. On the other hand, Knowles did not see beyond the motivation of revenge as the primary reason behind Amerindian torture. The common criticism of these studies is not their ethnocentric approach; it is their narrow focus that excluded other motivating factors such as religion, social structure, or gender roles in the incorporation of Amerindian cultural violence between different tribes. Also, this approach does not take into consideration the deeply ingrained cultural implications of these customs that had evolved since the pre-Columbian period.[15]

In the late twentieth century fundamental changes occurred in how historians of North America understood colonization and interaction with Amerindians. The subtle injection of European ideas and methods of historical interpretation; social and cultural changes

[15] Nathaniel Knowles, "The Torture of Captives by the Indians of Eastern North America" *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 82, no. 2 (1940): 153-191.

that altered race relations in the United States during the 1960s and 1970s; and the rejection among historians of purely political or military methodologies, combined to fuel these new ideas. In the introductory chapter to the 1989 book *The New Cultural History*, historian Lynn Hunt stated that by the mid-twentieth-century, American historians had begun to use anthropological tools as opposed to traditional political and military methods of historical inquiry, but continued to contain them within a solid historical context. Historian Peter Mancall reiterated in the 2008 book, *A Companion to American Cultural History*, that in the 1970s, historians of colonial America began to use tools of anthropology, ethnohistory, and even archeology to re-access the meeting of cultures between Europeans and Amerindians. To place in the context of the previously mentioned approaches to Amerindian history that focused on political and military approaches, cleanly cut lines of demarcation between European and Amerindian culture, and accepted models of acculturation, the work of the these historians on the topic of Amerindian history represents a virtual revolution in the field. W. J. Eccles, Joseph Peyser, Daniel K. Richter, James Axtell, and Francis Jennings all used these new tools of anthropology and ethnohistory to create a new approach to Amerindian history in which "Indians" were no longer an obstacle to the great deeds of great men; Native Americans became distinct people with unique histories and cultural experiences as historians began to distill a native voice from European sources.[16]

The work of this group of historians altered how we think about Amerindian history through the presentation of new ideas that created the foundation upon which a more

[16] Lynn Hunt, "Introduction: History, Culture, and Text" *The New Cultural History*, ed. Lynn Hunt (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1989), 11. Peter C. Mancall, "Cultural Encounters: Americans and Europeans" *A Companion to American Cultural History*, ed. Karen Halttunen (Malden, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2008), 4-7. Patricia O'Brian, "Michel Foucault's History of Culture," *The New Cultural History*, 29-44.

diverse and culturally focused approach to Amerindian history could be established. Among the most important and influential of such studies is W. J. Eccles' 1969 book, *The Canadian Frontier, 1534-1760*, Francis Jennings' 1976 book, *Invasions of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest*, and the research of James Axtell's including his 1981 book, *The European and the Indian: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America*, which he followed in 1985 with, *The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America*. Long before anybody called it "The Middle Ground," Eccles analyzed the cultural exchanges between Amerindians and the French in New France. Jennings reinterpreted the process of American colonization and re-characterized "settlement" as an "invasion" by Europeans who brought not only axes and plows, but also new ideas such as religion and economics which proved far more dangerous to Amerindian culture than the material goods they introduced. Axtell used anthropological tools to a greater extent to illustrate misconceptions of traditional Amerindian religion and society and presented an enriched and more textured image of Amerindians that did not merely compare them to western standards.

These historians dispelled long accepted ideas through the presentation of new observations and interpretations. For example, historians previously accepted the observations of colonists who interpreted the nomadic lifestyle of many Amerindian groups as an unwillingness or inability to utilize the natural resources at their disposal. As stated by Morgan, scholars previously believed that Amerindian men did very little work and forced women to cultivate the land and process animal skins. Further, it remained accepted that most Amerindian religions consisted of a collection of superstition and

rituals, and lacked any clear dogmatic structure.[17] This new generation of historians dispelled such ideas through new interpretations. Jennings argued that while European colonists interpreted uncultivated land as wasteful, such a non-sedentary lifestyle was in fact an efficient means of utilizing food resources as Amerindians "commuted" to different areas at different times of the year when foods were in season. Axtell assessed that Amerindian women performed work within the community while Amerindian men performed work outside of the community such as fishing, hunting and warfare which all involved long periods of constant physical rigor, often in hostile territory, and that long periods of rest between such ventures were necessary. This explains why European visitors to Amerindian communities saw women laboring and men resting. Colonists, however, understood fishing and hunting as recreational pursuits of the upper class, and came to the conclusion that Amerindian men were lazy.[18] Eccles described Amerindian religion as a complex belief system rich in myth and legend, and argued that Europeans found difficulty in understanding it because it was an oral tradition that could not be referenced easily through a written source. Eccles further described the western allies of the French as eloquent diplomats and accomplished orators, and he fully recognized that even the Iroquois were skilled traders experienced enough to play the French and English against each other to gain the best price for their furs. These examples are representative of the new approaches to Amerindian history that allowed for a new understanding of American history and culture.[19]

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[17] Henry Lewis Morgan, *League of the Iroquois*, 320-324. W. J. Eccles, *The Canadian Frontier, 1534-1760* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1969), 48-49.

[18] Francis Jennings, *Invasions of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest* (New York: Norton, 1976), 71. James Axtell, *The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 158-159.

[19] W. J. Eccles, *The Canadian Frontier, 1534-1760*, 56.

While Eccles himself stated that he did not seek to either confirm or refute Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier thesis, this generation of historians called into question the subject of Amerindian acculturation that had long been integral to any examination of Amerindian culture. Historians such as Eccles and Jennings illustrated how the meeting of European and Amerindian cultures was not a one-way exchange in which Amerindians increasingly gained social and cultural elements of European colonists until they became virtually indistinquishable from each other. Instead, Europeans and Amerindians took on elements of each others' culture and created what historian Richard White later referred to as "The Middle Ground." Even if these historians did not actively seek to question Euro-centric interpretations, the next generation of historians influenced by them further illustrates how the previously accepted models of acculturation needed to be re-evaluated.

Among the most significant of such re-evaluations is the research of historian Daniel K. Richter. In his 1983 article in *The William and Mary Quarterly*, "War and Culture: the Iroquois Experience" and his 1992 book, *Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization*, Richter presented a drastically different portrayal of Iroquois warfare that that of Hunt. Instead of a marauding empire that destroyed everybody in its path through sheer numerical superiority and an arsenal of European fire arms, Richter depicted the Five Nations as a political and social alliance that used war as a means of cultural balance and cohesiveness. Richter was among the first modern historians to directly address the notion of the *mourning war*. In Iroquois society, men went to battle to acquire captives in order to participate in the complex rituals of mourning those who died not only in battle, but from disease (which had shown a distinct rise in the seventeenth-century) or unnatural causes. After the arrival of

Europeans, both disease and the numerous wars with the French and Amerindians from all directions, decimated Iroquois populations. This led to an even greater need to conduct war to acquire more captives to maintain their population. At the same time, to acquire the European weapons necessary for war on this scale, the Iroquois quickly depleted their own hunting grounds and needed to attack trade convoys to acquire the needed furs for trade, and this cycle of warfare left the Iroquois exhausted by the end of the seventeenth century. Richter, along with James H. Merrill, illustrated in their 1987 anthology, *Beyond the Covenant Chain: the Iroquois and their Neighbors in Indian North America, 1600-1800,* how similar diplomatic tensions further compounded Iroquois problems. Since before the time of European colonization, the League Council based in Onondaga handled all important external and internal Iroquois matters. The Iroquois picked representatives to this League Council based upon respect within the clan and community, wisdom, and achievement. Due to the constant wars in multiple areas, the introduction of a large number of naturalized Iroquois adopted from other Amerindian groups, and the new diplomatic demands of dealing with Europeans, these traditional modes of leadership were upset and a new Grand Council that was made up of war leaders, intermediaries of trade, and even European representatives became more prominent. In short, almost anybody who wanted to be included could speak at the Grand Council, and this lack of uniformity added to the problems of the Five Nations. Richter focused predominantly upon the Iroquois. Warfare and diplomacy, however, are vitally important elements of Amerindian culture, and Richter's full re-evaluation of war and diplomacy among one of the most central powers in early America has shown the problems of examining Amerindian warfare and diplomacy from a strictly military and

political perspective. For the Iroquois and their neighbors, war held a deep cultural meaning and the changes they endured had a great impact on their interactions with each other and Europeans.[20]

Historian Carla Gardina Pestana is more critical of this group of historians, asserting that in the 1970s and 1980s, the new social historians who researched Amerindians of the colonial period continued to reject literary theory and philosophy as tools of historical analysis and continued to use anthropological and ethnohistorical methods of inquiry. While Pestana's criticism is certainly valid, the next generation of historians they influenced did begin to use such tools more extensively. In his 1991 book, *Ethnophilosophical and Ethnolinguistic Perspectives on the Huron Indian Soul*, ethnohistorian Michael M. Pomedli described how the binary nature of the rational and the irrational self in Huron culture connected directly to Huron ideas regarding altered states of consciousness including dream states, and even the barriers between life and death. To develop these ideas Pomedli utilized Michel Foucault's work on madness in early modern France to understand early modern French descriptions of Huron belief systems. Pomedli was not the only scholar of Amerindians in New France to utilize the work of Foucault. A radically different approach to the meeting of cultures was presented by historian Karen Anderson in her 1991 book *Chain Her By One Foot: The Subjection of Women in Seventeenth-Century New France,* in which she examined changes in the roles of Amerindian women in seventeenth century New France. Anderson utilized

[20] For the Iroquois *mourning wars*, see Daniel K. Richter, "War and Culture: The Iroquois Experience," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 40 3rd Series, no. 4 (1983): 529-530. For the escalations of the Iroquois Wars and the problems this caused, see 537-539. For additional information on the *mourning wars*, please see Daniel K. Richter, *Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization* (Chapel Hill, London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 23-36. On Iroquois leadership and diplomacy, see Daniel K. Richter, "Ordeals of the Longhouse,": 18-20.

Michel Foucault's writings on power relationships to deconstruct and re-evaluate the role of women in the meeting of French and Amerindian cultures. The result is an intriguing argument that French Jesuits injected European gender models of male domination and female subjection among the Montagnais and Huron to minimize the role of women in Amerindian communities and kinship networks, resulting in a social and cultural atmosphere more positive towards both Catholic conversion and a lucrative fur trade. If the objections of women could be silenced, the Jesuits needed only to convince male family and community leaders to convert to Catholicism. According to Anderson, an additional detrimental effect of the meeting of French and Amerindian cultures resulted from the preservation of existing Amerindian labor distribution. As men trapped more animals for trade, the workload of women increased dramatically as it was they who processed the animal skins, yet they had no power or voice in the economic transactions themselves.[21]

More recent research on Amerindians in the colonial period suggests that while a more theoretical approach to the subject is viable, historians and ethnohistorians use these ideas as tools, and the main focus of inquiry remains a historical and ethnohistorical approach. In his previously mentioned book *Your Fyre Shall Burn No More: Iroquois Policy Towards New France and Its Native Allies to 1701*, José António Brandão used quantitative evidence to challenge many long held ideas regarding the Iroquois conflicts of the seventeenth century. Ethnohistorian Roger M. Carpenter joined the social ideas of

[21] Carla Gardina Pestana, "Cultures of Colonial Settlement" *A Companion to American Cultural History*, 19. Michael Pomedli, *Ethnophilosophical and Ethnolinguistic Perspectives of the Huron Indian Soul* (Lewiston, Queenstown, Lampeter: The Edwin Mellon Press, 1991), 99-100. Karen Anderson, *Chain Her By One Foot: The Subjection of Women in Seventeenth-Century New France* (London, New York: Routledge, 1991). For models of power and gender structures, see 29. For the injection of European gender models, see 72, for the fur trade, see 159.

historians like Richter and Axtell, and the theoretical approach of Pomedli and Anderson in his 2004 book, *The Renewed, the Destroyed, and the Remade: The Three Thought Worlds of the Iroquois and the Huron, 1609-1650*. Like Pomedli, Carpenter examined binary ideas of life and death and the rational and irrational self, but placed them directly within the social context of early seventeenth century New France. Also, Carpenter approached Iroquoian cultures to include the Five Nations, but also the Hurons who linguistically and culturally are Iroquoian. Carpenter connected these ideas strongly to the social dynamic of Iroquoian societies, for whom the loss of one's rational self was a vital element of mourning the dead. Carpenter maintained this approach within the historical context of French missionaries' first efforts at converting Amerindians and the first wave of warfare between the French, their allies, and the Iroquois during the early seventeenth century. While Carpenter did not necessarily present any new ideas or theories, his book is important because it illustrates how a more theoretical approach to Amerindian history can add to existing ideas, such as Richter's work on the *mourning wars* of the Iroquois. The work of these historians is certainly significant, but a strong theoretical tradition has not emerged in the historiography. Perhaps the most significant reason for this is immense influence of historian Richard White and his research on the blending of cultural identities in the Great Lakes region.[22]

Since its publication in 1991, Richard White's *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region,1650-1815,* has become one of the most influential studies of Euro-Amerindian cultural history in the late twentieth century. White argued that instead of a situation of cultural assimilation in which one group

[22] José António Brandão, *Your Fyre Shall Burn No More*, 31-36. Roger M. Carpenter, *The Renewed, the Destroyed, and the Remade: The Three Thought Worlds of the Iroquois and the Huron, 1609-1650* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2004), xx-xxi.

gradually assimilated the other until it became indistinguishable from the assimilator, European and Amerindian cultures combined to create a unique experience of cultural accommodation that contained elements of both European and Amerindian societies. Whereas historians such as Jennings and Axtell focused upon the English colonies over the full course of the colonial period, White illustrated and expanded upon these ideas of cultural accommodation in the Great Lakes region and Ohio River Valley between the mid-seventeenth to the early nineteenth centuries. White provided a new model for examining history. Where previous historians such as Hunt presented a purely economic depiction of the fur trade, White argued that the economic and social systems that developed in this "middle ground" took into consideration Amerindian customs of gift giving, trade networks based on pre-existing kinship networks, and imperial rivalries between the French and English as well as tribal rivalries. Just as goods and customs were exchanged, so were military alliances, sexual relations, and even spirituality. Further, the eclectic nature of evolving Amerindian identity and migration in this region resulted in a more layered level of dependency on European goods and assistance as some Amerindians lost their traditional methods of manufacture while others preserved these traditions. Ultimately, even these evolutions of culture became largely displaced by the early nineteenth century when the decline of Amerindian societies in the region, and the influx of American settlers replaced them with a more agriculturally focused "American" society. In the last two decades, historians influenced by White have illustrated that White's work presents as many questions as it answers. In particular, White's own lines of demarcation represented by the timeline of the mid-seventeenth through the early nineteenth centuries, and his focus upon the Ohio River Valley and

Great Lakes, do not encompass the full nature of the blending of cultures that he presented. If anything, this important book has caused historians to take White's tools and employ them beyond his middle ground. [23]

The generation of historians influenced by scholars such as Jennings, Axtell, Eccles, and White have taken these ideas into even more focused directions to gain greater insight into Amerindian cultural history and the relationship between all peoples in early America. In her 1997 article in *The William and Mary Quarterly*, "Dreaming of the Savior's Blood: Moravians and the Indian Great Awakening in Pennsylvania," historian Jane T. Merritt described how eighteenth-century Moravian missionaries encouraged the conversion of the Shawnee and Delaware by soliciting the veneration of Christ's crucifixion. Moravians re-articulated the image of Christ within the Amerindian cultural context of extreme stoicism under torture, essentially re-inventing Christ as "the ultimate warrior captive." In his 2005 book, *Mohawk Saint: Catherine Tekakwitha and the Jesuits*, historian Allen Greer described how the influence of Catholicism among the Iroquois during the seventeenth century created deep divides between traditionalists and Catholics to the extent that large numbers of Iroquois relocated to French Canada to practice their new religion and build an alliance with the French. Further, the French *reserves* became an ideal setting for this as unlike the English in the praying towns of New England, the French did not pressure Amerindians to relinquish non-religious aspects of their culture

[23] Richard White, *The Middle Ground*, ix-xi. For alterations to fur trade culture, see 94-97. For changing dependency on European goods, see 128. For new systems of identity and alliance, see 186-189. For the end of the middle ground, see 518-520.

such as their traditional bark homes, hunting and trapping, and of perhaps most importance to the French, warfare.[24]

Historian Susan Sleeper-Smith presented a very different interpretation of the influence of Catholicism on Amerindian culture in her 2001 book, *Indian Women and French Men: Rethinking Cultural Encounter in the Western Great Lakes*. Truly illustrating the influence of Richard White, Sleeper-Smith described how Amerindian women of the *pays d'en haut* used both French and Amerindian cultural ideas to their advantage. Due to the decimating casualties among Illinois during the Iroquois Wars, the male-female ratio among the Illinois altered to the point that polygamy among the Illinois became the norm and led to an increase in female abuse and sexual exploitation. Unlike in Anderson's analysis of the subjection of Huron and Montagnais women, Illinois women gained power through conversion to Catholicism by asserting their choice in marriage and used the lack of Illinois men to their advantage by choosing French fur traders as husbands in marriages formally recognized by both the Catholic Church and French law. This also occurred among the Potawatomie of Michigan and at the fur trade center of Green Bay. These women did not, however, relinquish their traditional culture, and through their marriages to French traders and their traditional Amerindian kinship networks, these women acquired great influence over the fur trade. Sleeper-Smith does not refute White's theories, but does argue that the direct impact of cultural

[24] Jane T. Merritt, "Dreaming the Savior's Blood: Moravians and the Indian Great Awakening in Pennsylvania," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 54 3rd Series, no. 4 (1997): 741-742. Allan Greer, *Mohawk Saint: Catherine Tekakwitha and the Jesuits* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 76-78.

accommodation continued well into the early nineteenth century, long after the point White stated it declined.[25]

Very similar modifications that expand on White's ideas more than combat them are presented by historian Kathleen Duval in her 2006 book, *The Native Ground: Indians and Colonists in the Heart of the Continent*, and by ethnohistorian Heidi Bohoker in her article "Nindoodemag: the Significance of Algonquin Kinship Networks in the Eastern Great Lakes Region, 1600-1701" published in *The William and Mary Quarterly*, also in 2006. Both argue that the mixing of cultures that White described occurred far earlier in different regions. Duval addressed the migration of the Quapaw nation into the Arkansas River Valley that occurred at some point between the sixteenth century Spanish invasion of the region and the seventeenth century French exploration of the Mississippi and Arkansas Rivers. Bohoker addressed Anishinabe kinship networks of the northern Great Lakes. Duval argued that the French became one more group of people in an area that had already been in transition since the Quapaw migration, and that the Quapaw attempted to directly manipulate French perceptions of Amerindians to maintain a monopoly on French trade goods. To do this, the Quapaw described all surrounding Amerindian groups as both very hostile and as not possessing good fur resources for trade. Further, DuVal argued that this manipulation was not difficult for the Quapaw as they themselves had needed to blend their own culture with that of the surrounding Amerindians when they migrated to the region by adopting the region's food sources, agricultural cycles, and methods of diplomacy. A similarly constructed argument is

[25] Susan Sleeper-Smith, *Indian Women and French Men: Rethinking Cultural Encounter in the Western Great Lakes* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001). For an expansion of White's ideas and arguments against pioneer settlement, see 2-7. For empowerment from Catholicism and its effects on kinship networks and the fur trade, see 46-52.

presented by Bohoker who argued that intermarriage among Amerindian groups of the Great Lakes had been prevalent long before the migration of refugees of the Iroquois Wars after 1650. The blending of cultures was not the creation of widespread intermarriage itself as White argued, but an inclusion of refugees in already existing intermarriage customs and kinship networks.[26]

As original and insightful as such studies are, the question of accurately representing the native voice lingers as historians are forced to use European created sources to articulate the ideas of non-literate peoples. This very question is the focus of Daniel K. Richter's 2001 book, *Facing East From Indian Country: A Native History of Early America*. Richter attempted to understand colonization from the Amerindian perspective. He used existing written records by Europeans, rare firsthand accounts by Amerindians, tools of anthropology, and archeological evidence to attempt to reconstruct this native voice in an original narrative style. While fully acknowledging the problematic nature of this approach, Richter argued that a native voice can be distilled from a careful reading of the rare written accounts of literate Amerindians, and transcriptions of councils where European translators transcribed the proceedings and speeches. Richter fully acknowledges issues of distilling this voice from European editors, as well as the even greater issue of translations of council proceedings as many Amerindian terms simply do not have European equivalents. While in many ways this book takes the subject of acculturation even more towards identifying a purer Amerindian voice, it might well

[26] Kathleen DuVal, *The Native Ground: Indians and Colonists in the Heart of the Continent* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 68-72. Heidi Bohoker, "Nindoodemag: the Significance of Algonquin Kinship Networks in the Eastern Great Lakes Region, 1600-1701" *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Series 63, no. 1 (2006): 46-47.

serve future studies as a guideline to more carefully address the issue of identifying both the presence and absence of this authentic voice.[27]

Clearly, the later part of the twentieth century and the beginning the new millennium have seen a revolution in how historians understand the complexities of Amerindian culture in eastern North America during the colonial period. From military and political models of Amerindian warfare contrasted against European institutions, and accepted models of Amerindian acculturation, historians in the late twentieth century moved beyond these older methods and used tools of ethnohistory, anthropology, archeology, and even elements of literary theory and philosophy to create complex depictions of Amerindian culture. Questions of motivating factors that drove Amerindian ideas of economics, war, diplomacy, and gender roles continue to be addressed by scholars.

In the context of these studies of Amerindian history, a study of Amerindian cultural violence can be placed within this historiography through the subject of both European and Amerindian definitions of "savage" and "civilized" customs and actions. People who lived in colonial America moved back and forth through this blurred space between cultures, and times of intense personal and social stress often caused both Amerindians and Europeans to take drastic and often violent action in circumstances of war, captivity, and displacement. A more general picture of what this journey encompassed is necessary before any examination can be made of the darker paths taken by both Europeans and Amerindians. Numerous scholars have approached this issue in different ways, and their research addresses many of the same overarching questions as those presented in this dissertation. The most fundamental first step towards accessing this grey area in which

[27] Daniel K. Richter, *Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America* (Cambridge, London: Harvard University Press, 2001). For a general summary of understanding the Amerindian voice, see 7-9. For written records of Amerindians, see 110-111. For councils, see 128-131.

the people of early America, both European and Amerindian, defined their own and others actions as savage or civilized lies in an examination of Europeans who (willingly and unwillingly) became acculturated into Amerindian society.

The issue of acculturation to Amerindian life plagued both the English and French in America. A significant number of colonists willingly acculturated to the Amerindian way of life and chose freely to live in Amerindian communities. A great deal has been written on the *coureurs des bois* of New France. These were young men who traded extensively with Amerindians, married into Amerindian families, or simply deserted the harsh life of the Quebec, Montreal, and other communities for what they found to be an easier life among Amerindians. W. J. Eccles has described the "love-hate" relationship between the colonial government of Canada and these *coureurs des bois*. French officials had no tolerance of the illegal fur trading in which the *coureurs des bois* openly participated, and French missionaries loathed the horrible influence these men had on Amerindians as they traded liquor, engaged in free sexual relations with Amerindians, and generally undermined their missionary efforts. However, *coureurs des bois* maintained close ties for the French with distant Amerindian groups, and they could be called upon as militia in times of need, therefore French leaders often tolerated such acculturation. The English colonists had drastically different views on acculturation to Amerindian life. The lines of demarcation between colonists and Amerindians in the English colonies were much more defined than in New France. While few English colonists freely deserted to Amerindian communities as did the *coureurs des bois*, English captives taken in times of war were often adopted by Amerindian families and many chose to remain in their new Amerindian communities. James Axtell described in *The Invasion Within* how

problematic this was for the English colonies. Amerindian aggression could be dealt with, but the acceptance of Amerindian ideas by English colonists questioned the very foundation of English justifications for colonization, subjection, and acculturation of Amerindians. In her 1993 book, *White Captives: Gender and Ethnicity on the American Frontier*, historian June Namias described this acculturation as a migration between the world of the civilized and the savage. At times, some adopted captives chose to migrate back to "civilized" society, while some did not. Namias stated that when captives accepted their new families through marriage, and especially if they had children with their Amerindian spouses, they chose to remain.[28]

The acceptance or rejection of more violent aspects of Amerindian culture, the most predominant being torture by fire, proved equally problematic for the English colonists. In *Invasions of America*, Francis Jennings argued that concepts such as "civilized" and "savage" were ethnocentric constructs manipulated by colonists for their own ends. Further, colonial writers and modern historians (of which we can include Knowles) have overemphasized the "savage" behaviors of Amerindians in combat, adoption and torture, while de-emphasizing such behaviors among Europeans. Jennings argued that both England's northern colonies and the French in Canada also manipulated ideas and images of Amerindians to support their own economic, religious, and political agendas. Jennings asserted that colonial writers called attention to the most brutal aspects of Amerindian warfare, and that they incited dissension among different Amerindian groups to fight amongst themselves. Further, the deliberate disregard of agreements and treaties was a means to incite further hostility during such conflicts as the Pequot War and King

[28] W. J. Eccles, *The Canadian Frontier*, 112-114. James Axtell, *The Invasion Within*, 303-308. June Nabias, *White Captives: Gender and Ethnicity on the American Frontier* (Chapel Hill, London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 270-271.

Phillip's War. Finally, colonists used military and religious arguments to justify such actions and create the idea of the Indian menace in early America. W. J. Eccles also argued in *Canada Under Louis XIV, 1663-1701* that the French encouraged brutal warfare between Amerindians of the Great Lakes and the Iroquois to keep their allies away from British fur traders. In, *The Fox Wars: The Mesquakie Challenge to New France*, R. David Edmunds and Joseph Peyser presented a similar argument to describe French justification for the total destruction of the Fox nation in 1729 and how the French justified this because it resulted in an advantageous union between Canada, Illinois, and Louisiana. Such reasoning could and was used by colonists to justify their own actions and dispel any criticism from European superiors.[29]

Historians have addressed the issue that such manipulations represent not only a means of pursuing an agenda, but also a deliberate attempt to avoid contradiction as Europeans sought to maintain their own "civilized" status even while their own actions could be described as "savage." Jennings argued that writings of the colonial period from both New England and New France were in part propaganda to explain to Europeans who did not live under the constant threat of Amerindian attacks, the necessity of brutal tactics that did not fit European norms. James Axtell and William C. Sturtevant presented a subtle but powerful argument in their 1980 article in *The William and Mary Quarterly* "The Unkindest Cut, or Who Invented Scalping?" This article is best known for dispelling the theory that Europeans introduced scalping to Amerindians, and is in some ways comparable to Knowles' argument that the Spanish and Iroquois were responsible

[29] Francis Jennings, *Invasions of America*. For ideas of the savage and civilized, see 146-163. For the Peqout War and King Phillip's War, see 212-213. W. J. Eccles, *Canada Under Louis XIV, 1663-1701* (London, New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 178. R. David Edmunds and Joseph L. Peyser, *The Fox Wars: The Mesquakie Challenge to New France* (Norman, London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992), 158-159.

for disseminating customs of torture by fire. Far more challenging though is Axtell's and Sturtevant's notion that by offering scalp bounties, Europeans encouraged the killing of Amerindians by other Amerindians for purely economic reasons. While Europeans may not have invented scalping, they molded it into something truly savage by European standards.[30]

Axtell's article is mirrored by a similar controversy over the topic of Amerindian cannibalism that took place at roughly the same time. In 1979, anthropologist W. Arens published, *The Man-eating Myth: Anthropology & Anthropophagy*. In this anthropological approach to the subject of cannibalism in non-western cultures, Arens asserted that historians and anthropologists have too hastily come to the conclusion that many non-western cultures, specifically the Iroquois, practiced cannibalism. Arens argued that archeological evidence of Iroquois cannibalism was without merit, and also stated that no firsthand accounts of Amerindian cannibalism exist within *The Jesuit Relations*. Arens' book was answered the following year with the article in *Ethnohistory*, "Iroquois Cannibalism: Fact not Fiction," by ethnohistorian Thomas S. Abler. Abler more clearly described both the archeological evidence from Onondaga communities, and written evidence within *The Jesuit Relations* to prove: "that with respect to the Iroquoian-speaking peoples of North America, the case for cannibalism in early historic times is so strong that it cannot be doubted." [31]

The unique timing of these arguments in the late 1970s and early 1980s is attributed by Axtell and Sturtevant to the apologist movements regarding Amerindian culture

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[30] Francis Jennings, *Invasions of America*, vii. James Axtell and William C. Sturtevant, "The Unkindest Cut, or Who Invented Scalping" *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Series 37, no. 3 (1980): 469.

[31] W. Arens, *The Man-eating Myth: Anthropology and Anthropophagy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 127-129. Thomas S. Abler, "Iroquois Cannibalism: Fact not Fiction" *Ethnohistory*, 27, no. 4, Special Iroquois Issue (1980): 309-315.

during the 1960s and 1970s in which many individuals sought to sanitize Amerindian history and culture.[32] Research that has emerged in the 1990s and new millennium has again brought to the forefront the "civilized" and "savage" controversy in early America. Historian Jill Lepore took these ideas even farther in her 1998 book, *The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity*. Lepore stated that New England colonists remained conscious of their own journey towards becoming as "savage" as the Amerindians they fought as they committed atrocities against the Wampanoags, Narragansetts, and Nipmucks, including killing women and children, observing their own allies torture Amerindian captives, and culminating in the display of Metacom's head at the Thanksgiving feast of 1676. Lepore argued that the voluminous accounts of the war written in the last quarter of the seventeenth century were not only an effort to document these events, but also an effort to control the legacy of the colonists' own brutal actions and reassure themselves that they had not acculturated to Amerindian customs of brutality. In no way does Lepore argue that Amerindians on either side of this war were excluded from this move towards savage behavior, but the monopolization of the written legacy by European colonists excluded the native voice. Other historians have argued that Amerindians also experienced a move towards what their own culture defined as "savage" behaviors. In a full reversal of this idea towards the Amerindian perspective, historian Ramón Guriérrez described a very similar movement among the Pueblo during the 1680 Pueblo revolt against the Spanish. After defeating the Spanish and driving them from their territory, the Pueblo humiliated and killed the missionary Jean de Jesús and destroyed Catholic churches and all images of Jesus, Mary, and the Saints. Christians went through purification rituals to cleanse them of the sacraments, and Pueblo leaders

[32] James Axtell and William Sturtevant, "The Unkindest Cut": 452-453.

even forbid the use of the Spanish language as they also attempted to assert control over the legacy of their victory by wiping all elements of the Spanish and Catholicism from their midst.[33]

Upsets to established social systems, as with the Pueblo, often moved Amerindians towards what they defined as savage behaviors. Alcohol also became an important factor that caused Amerindians to embrace such savagery. In his 1997 book *New Worlds for All: Indians, Europeans, and the Remaking of Early America*, historian Colin G. Calloway argued that while European colonists remained very conscious of their savage behaviors, and justified their actions constantly, Amerindians were also conscious of their own decent towards what they deemed as savage behavior. For Amerindians this went beyond scalping, cannibalism, or torture. In the context of Amerindian culture, the "savage" was achieved when Amerindians consumed large amounts of alcohol, the influence of which induced them to commit horrific acts of violence against each other, sexual abuse, and even incest. W. J. Eccles described in *The Canadian Frontier*, how in 1664 an Algonquin man raped a French woman while intoxicated.[34] The Algonquians justified this act by stating (literally) that the alcohol committed the rape, and not the individual. In a move that echoes the French justification of Amerindian torture that will be described further in this dissertation, the French took no action against the individual that would upset their military and economic allies.

Just as Axtell and Sturtevant examined scalping, Abler cannibalism, and Lepore New England warfare, this dissertation will assess the place of torture by fire, cannibalism, and

[33] Jill Lepore, *The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1998), for the English and torture, see 17; for fear of acculturation, see 129; for Thanksgiving, see 174; Ramón Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away*, 134-135.
[34] W. J. Eccles, *The Canadian Frontier*, 77.

the perceptions of these customs by both Amerindians and Europeans in light of the full range of scholarship on the meeting of Amerindians and Europeans in the colonial period. This dissertation will address Amerindian ideas and motivations towards cultural violence, through initial French understandings of these customs, and ultimately towards French utilization of this violence as they developed and manipulated their own ideas of what was "civilized" and what was "savage" in New France. Likewise, in the wake of European colonization and the injection of European economics, religion, and alliances, both Amerindian allies and enemies of the French accommodated their ideas and beliefs to changing circumstances.

Part III: Connections Between Sex, Age, and Amerindian Cultural Violence

As it is incorrect to correlate Amerindian cultural violence strictly to the male cultural norms, it is also necessary to re-assess the place women occupied in such customs. There is in fact, little debate that women, and children for that matter, actively participated as torturers themselves. Daniel K. Richter recognized that women and children participated in the torture of captives. As torture involved communities, the inclusion of women and children in these customs supports the conclusion that torture likely served a deeper religious purpose for the community. Historian José António Brandão also described the role of children to some extent in his 1997 book *Your Fyre Shall Burn No More, Iroquois Policy Towards New France and Its Native Allies to 1701*. He stated that adults encouraged children to participate in the torture of a captive, and

that as part of a ceremony to drive off the spirit of the torture victim, the blood of the victim was rubbed upon children.[35]

The qualitative evidence supports these points, but in truth, we have very little direct evidence of female involvement in torture. In 63% of cases of Amerindian torture, there is no specific information regarding the sex of the torturers; 26% specifically only mention men as participants; and 15% mention women as active participants in torture (See Appendix A). It can be stated with some certainty that Richter and Brandão were correct that women participated very actively as torturers, and this was far from a male-dominated custom centered upon war.

On the subject of women as the victims of torture and cannibalism, scholars have presented less certainty and unity regarding the frequency with which this occurred, as the torture of women does not fit into the war focused, male-dominated theories regarding torture and cannibalism. Thus, the place of women as victims of torture has led to an array of responses on this subject. This can be traced back to the work of Morgan in the nineteenth century. On the subject of torture Morgan argued a captive: "prepared his mind for this very contingency, resolving to show the enemy, if captured, that his courage was equal to any trial, and above the power of death itself. The exhibitions of heroism and fortitude by the red man under sufferings of martyrdom almost surpass belief." Morgan used only male pronouns and speaks of only the male-dominated cultural elements of "the warpath" or heroism and fortitude.[36] The same can be seen in the work of Bruce Trigger on the Hurons. Much like Knowles decades earlier, Trigger drew conclusions on the whole based on one "typical" case of torture: the torture of the

[35] Daniel K. Richter, *Ordeal of the Longhouse*, 36. José António Brandão, *Your Fyre Shall Burn No More*, 40-41.
[36] Henry Lewis Morgan, *League of the Iroquois*, 344-345.

Iroquois man Saunadanoncoua that is found in Rueben Golde Thwaites's *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents,* Volume 13. The frequency of this one case in the historiography is second only to that of the torture of Father Jean de Brébeuf. Anybody who has read these two cases understands why: they are both vividly written, highly detailed, and the interaction of captive and captor appears to answer many of the questions regarding torture by fire. The use of this particular case of Saunadanoncoua seems to have contributed indirectly to the notion that Amerindians rarely tortured women. Like Morgan, Trigger constantly referred to any tortured captive as "he." In modern historiography this is very common. Francis Jennings, in *Invasions of America,* also expressed that Amerindians spared women and children from torture. Historian Ian Steele has stated that Amerindians tortured women and children infrequently, but argued that this was not due to humanitarian reasons, but because they could contribute more to the local economy of Amerindian farmers, much as George Hunt stated decades earlier.[37]

More recently, Roger Carpenter has stated that Amerindians most often adopted women captives. He argued that they did this to repopulate the community, and never mentioned economics or agriculture. Carpenter also stated that adoptees, even women and children, tread a fine social line once adopted. They could live in their new communities, often as equals, but if they attempted to flee they would be tortured by fire upon recapture. Carpenter also addressed the binary reversal of this idea by stating that Amerindians rarely adopted adult male captives, that they resisted assimilation, and that

[37] Bruce G. Trigger, *The Huron: Farmers of the North* (Fort Worth, Chicago, San Francisco, Philadelphia, Montreal, Toronto, London, Sydney, Tokyo: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1990), 58-59. Francis Jennings, *Invasions of America,* 169. Ian Steel, "Surrendering Rites: Prisoners on Colonial North American Frontiers" *Hanoverian Britain and Empire Essays in Memory of Philip Lawson*, Stephen Taylor, Richard Connors, and Clyve Jones, ed., (Woodbridge, Suffolk, Rochester, New York: Boydell Press, 1998), 143. George T. Hunt, *Wars of the Iroquois*, 97.

this was why Amerindians tortured men more frequently than women. Amerindians tortured women and children, but only in special circumstances that remained unspecified by Carpenter. In *Nation Iroquois: Seventeenth-Century Ethnography of the Iroquois,* José António Brandão argued that the Iroquois tended to adopt the young captives, but generally killed the adult men because they resisted assimilation and tended to escape. Ethnohistorian Matthew Denis also fell back upon the interpretation that Amerindians tortured and ate men because they resisted assimilation. He pointed, however, to excerpts from *The Jesuit Relations* that argue that the true strength of the Iroquois came from assimilating prisoners into their ranks as fighting men. Finally, in their excellent anthologized selections from the *Jesuit Relations,* Anthony P. Schiavo and Claudio R. Salvucci, interpret the torture of children and other non-combatants as escalations of hostility between rival groups, implying that Amerindians tortured non-combatants only as revenge upon the enemy who had tortured warriors.[38]

The qualitative evidence offers a means of clarifying how often Amerindians tortured women captives. Of the 137 cases examined, women were the victims of torture in 26% of cases. Men are specifically mentioned as the victims of torture in 60% of all cases, and in 14% of cases, there is no definitive information on the gender of the victims (See Appendix B). While not tortured nearly as often as men, women were by no means excluded from torture based on their sex or their potential contribution to either economics or population. The answer for this is simply that there was no institutionalized

[38] Roger Carpenter, *The Renewed, the Destroyed, and the Remade,* 22-25. José Antonio Brandão, *Nation Iroquoise: A Seventeenth-Century Ethnography of the Iroquois* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003), 73-75. Matthew Denis, *Cultivating a Landscape of Peace: Iroquois-European Encounters in Seventeenth Century America* (Ithica, Cooperstown: Cornell University Press, 1993), 88-108. Anthony P. Schiavo and Claudio R. Salvucci ed., *Iroquois Wars:* Volume I (Bristol: Evolution Publishing, 2003), 16-19.

sorting process to determine who Amerindians either adopted or tortured. Individual families who encouraged the raiding parties determined the fates of the captives. Richter described this in *Ordeal of the Longhouse*, as Brandão did in *Nation Iroquoise*. Brandão reiterated that in Iroquois culture, woman often made important political decisions, such as whether captives would be adopted or tortured. He also stated (as did Matthew Denis) that as the seventeenth century progressed, the need to use captives to re-populate the Iroquois ranks contributed to the decline of torture, and that the Iroquois tended to adopt the young captives and generally killed the adult men because they were too difficult to assimilate and tended to escape. Like other aspects of Amerindian cultural violence, there are a number of factors that contributed to either the adoption of torture of captives including politics, warfare, religion, economics, as well as population trends. These contributing factors constantly shifted based on the context of time, geography, and both community and family dynamics. As will be further explored, the self-conscious influence of the French like the injection of Catholicism into Amerindian communities, and the less direct influences such as the increase of fire arms also became contributing factors. [39]

Within Amerindian societies, where the delegation of authority and community, family, and clan decision making was an intricate balance that took into consideration gender roles, intra- and extra-community dynamics, age, religion, social hierarchies, and military strength; the reasons given to torture a captive varied from the social status of an individual captive to the physical condition of the captive upon return. If a community acquired a high-profile captive such as an Amerindian war leader or a Jesuit priest, they

[39] Daniel K. Richter, *Ordeal of the Longhouse*, 23-36. José Antonio Brandão, *Nation Iroquoise*, 73-91.

might be convinced to torture that captive regardless of previous plans to adopt any returned captives. Likewise if a raiding party already mangled a captive's hands, or otherwise severely wounded him or her, such a poor physical condition at times brought a community to the decision to torture the captive. For religious reasons involving the presence and favor of supernatural entities and the fate of a captive's soul, the location, time setting, or duration of the ordeal of torture was vitally important. Building upon this, an examination of torture by fire tell can tell us a great deal about Amerindian ideas and attitudes toward the malleable barriers between life and death as a tortured captive was in a sense both alive and dead at different points of the torture. Finally, there were often social and political ramifications regarding the torture or preservation of specific captives such as Amerindian leaders or Jesuit missionaries.

Ultimately this leads us to examine what the French colonists thought of Amerindian torture. While some French colonists such as Samuel Champlain abhorred such customs, Jesuit missionaries came to see them as valuable tools in their religious mission. French governors and military officers also came to understand the value of such customs in their military strategies in North America, particularly when these enemies were rebellious Amerindians such as the Fox or Natchez. The Catholic religion the French brought to the Amerindians had a dramatic effect upon how Catholic Amerindians endured torture, and how traditionalist Amerindians used torture as an expression of their religious frustration in response to the Catholic invasion. As a result, these customs did not remain rigid but altered over time. Initially, however, the French believed that Amerindians tortured, burned, and ate their captives as either a means of military execution, or part of an endless cycle of revenge and retribution. The central idea that will be presented here is

that Amerindian torture had far more to do with the complex sequence of Amerindian mourning customs, religious beliefs, ideas of space and spatial limits, and a community expression of aggression, as well as a means of revenge. This presented an opportunity to the entire community, men and women, young and old, to engage in a relationship with an adversary that tread what in the Amerindian cultural context was a far less distinct barrier between the worlds of the living and the dead than Europeans understood. As the next chapter will illustrate, both the tortured and the torturers understood this, and torture became an opportunity to temporarily alter these barriers as a captive came closer and closer to death, and perhaps even to temporarily occupy both worlds in such a way that equalized the circumstances within which this conflict took place.

Chapter II:
"Come, Uncle, Where do You Prefer that I Should Burn You?"[1]
Fire, Duality, and the Deconstruction of Cultural Violence in New France

Part I: Introduction

The Jesuits in New France themselves understood the centrality of torture by fire to the Amerindian worldview, and used this cultural practice as a means to describe the Christian concept of Hell. Father Jean de Brébeuf epitomized this in a sermon that described Hell to the Hurons where he stated: "It is not such a fire there inside the earth as the fire with which you cover prisoners."[2] Ironically, Father Brébeuf, himself later died as a victim of Amerindian torture by fire. In this particular passage, Father Brébeuf drew a clear distinction between the type of fire the Hurons used as an implement of torture, and the fires of Hell which the French told them burned not only a tormented soul, but also burned them from within. This idea greatly intrigued the Hurons. Fire represented a unique and important element of Amerindian culture that pervaded all aspects of their lives. Not only was it their primary means of preparing and preserving food, but it kept them from freezing to death in the winter, was a focal point of their technology, appeared commonly as a key element of their mythology, and was an important tool in their religious practices. Among the more complex and intricately constructed of these ideas and beliefs is the role of fire in Amerindian cultural violence. Fire played an important

[1] *JR*,13:69.
[2] John L. Steckley, ed., *De Religione : Telling the Seventeenth-Century Jesuit Story in Huron to the Iroquois* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004), 77.

role in constructing the event of Amerindian torture that went beyond its convenience as an implement of torture. Amerindian torture by fire dealt with a complex sequence of Amerindian mourning customs, religious ideas, and a community expression of aggression, as well as a means of revenge. The event of torture allowed the entire community, men and women, young and old, to engage in a relationship with an adversary that, in the Amerindian cultural context, temporarily resided between the worlds of the living and the dead. Among Amerindians, both the tortured and the torturers understood this, and torture became an opportunity to push this barrier as a tortured captive came closer and closer to death. The fact that the tortured might have a foot in both worlds then placed conflict on a level playing field. Fire was an ever-present and important element of this process.[3]

Europeans understood torture, even if they did not understand the context of Amerindian torture. Nathaniel Knowles wrote that "[t]he methods of torturing varied considerably and showed quite a bit of ingenuity." Knowles's conclusion is partially true. While specific methodologies showed a great deal of variation, Amerindians used heat and fire in almost all cases of Amerindian torture. European colonists concluded that Amerindians used fire because it caused the greatest degree of pain. However, it was the cannibalistic feasts that at times followed torture that made these customs truly alien from the European perspective, and as a result European writers of the early modern period focused a great deal upon Amerindian cannibalism. But there was much more to torture by slow fire than simply the act of burning and consuming human remains. The use of fire to inflict pain became a mode of expression through the canvas of the human body as both the captive and the captor set off on a journey within the dualistic world of

[3] Michael Pomedli, *Ethnophilosophical and Ethnolinguistic Perspectives of the Huron Indian Soul*, 150.

Amerindian culture that temporarily placed them between both life and death, and light and darkness. Ideas of day and night, the associative passage of time, the internal community and the world beyond, and the relationship between adversaries as they both tried to manipulate different elements of their selves to prove their strength, superiority, courage, and self-control all became vital to this process.[4]

To understand this, it is also necessary to understand the important place of fire within the context of Amerindian culture and religion. For Amerindians, fire was not only essential for survival; it also carried with it important religious implications for torture by fire because they needed it to maintain a safe balance between the physical and non-physical worlds at nighttime. Europeans remained unable to understand these religious customs due to their own abhorrence of the cannibalism that often followed torture by fire, therefore the relative importance of cannibalism to these religious ideas of cultural violence and religion needs to be assessed. Finally, a well-documented and often cited case of Amerindian torture and cannibalism (the 1637 torture, death, and consumption of the Iroquois man Saunadanoncoua by the Hurons of Arontoun) will be studied to illustrate how these cultural and religious ideas played a role in Amerindian torture by fire that was not fully understood by the Europeans who bore witness to it.

At the core of this lack of understanding, and the cultural divides between Europeans and Amerindians resided a basic and fundamental difference between how each culture perceived fire. For the European, fire existed most often as an implement of destruction. In its uncontrolled state, fire could destroy homes, forests, and even entire cities. In its controlled state, fire not only destroyed refuse but also took the form of a powerful destructive weapon in the form of gunpowder. In extreme cases, Europeans even used

[4] Nathaniel Knowles, "The Torture of Captives," 188.

fire to dispose of witches, criminals, and heretics. To Amerindians, fire existed as the most important tool of creation, not destruction. They used fire to prepare and preserve food, to create tools necessary for survival, and even used controlled burning of the forest floor to create a suitable living environment. Building directly upon this, to Amerindians torture by fire was not the destruction of a human being, it was the creation of a mutually understood event within a specific time, place, and context.

Part II: Concepts of Time, Spatial Relationships, and Amerindian Torture

Amerindians performed torture by fire and the cannibalism that at times followed in specific contexts of time and location, for significant religious, social, and cultural reasons, and this occurred in an overwhelming percentage of cases. The strongest and most consistent trends concern a correlation between the time of day the torture occurred and the location of the community in which it occurred. From the 137 cases of Amerindian cultural violence under analysis, seventy-seven (56%) have no information pertaining to the time of day or location in which the torture occurred. In twenty-five cases (18%) the account specifically stated that the torture occurred during the daytime and outdoors. In five cases (4%) the account stated that the torture occurred indoors at night. In twenty cases (15%) the account stated that the torture was moved at either daybreak or nightfall. However, in cases where there was a shift of location at dawn, the captive was moved from indoors to outdoors in all examples, and in cases when the shift occurred at nightfall, Amerindians moved the captive from the outdoors to indoors in all

examples. In ten cases (7%) Amerindians tortured captives outdoors at night, but in all of these examples there were extenuating circumstances. In eight of these cases, the captive was burned at the point of capture as the victors encamped for the evening. In one case, the captors burned a wounded captive who could not continue the return journey to the captors' home. In the last case, the captors acquired a supply of liquor on the journey home, and burned a captive while intoxicated. The only case in which Amerindians burned a captive indoors during the day involved the young men of an Oneida community who burned an Ottawa in secret after the elders had ordered them not to do so (Appendix C).[5]

It is very clear that Amerindians placed a great deal of significance on where the captive was tortured relative to whether it occurred during the day or the night. The reason why is far less apparent, but when the given details of the individual cases are studied, and similar customs of other Amerindian cultures are examined, all evidence indicates that the opportunity to torture a captive by slow fire had a great deal to do with Amerindians' religious beliefs regarding the relationship between day and night. The act of torture became the means by which the captors drew out the death of a captive to such a point that the captive, and possibly the captors as additional key elements of this process, tread the thin line between the Amerindian worlds of the living and the dead. If the captors tortured a captive at night, there was a need for that captive to live until dawn. The Jesuits wrote of how Amerindians stressed this point. In addition, there is a connection to the need to prolong death until dawn and the necessity for a captive to remain calm and collected throughout the process of torture. In one case in which a man

[5] For the wounded captive being burned, see *JR*,42:73. For the Iroquois burning a captive while intoxicated, see *JR*,47:139. For Oneida burning in secret, see *JR*,51:213.

screamed through his torture, his captors killed him with an ax well before daybreak. In another case in which an Iroquois captive attempted suicide during the night, his Huron captors stopped him, and killed him at dawn. Conversely, Amerindians expected a captive to show no fear or pain during their torture, and the captors typically killed him or her at dawn. Historians have long believed that this represented a display of courage and that a lack of courage illustrated by crying out in pain proved a captive to be less than courageous and hence unsuitable for torture. Why, then, did the Hurons keep this Iroquois man who attempted suicide to escape his pain, alive until daybreak? Further analysis indicates that the desired behavior under torture by fire was not only a display of courage in the European sense, but a display of emotional collectedness and mental investment in the event of torture that involved the relationship between the rational, intellectual soul or *endionrra* in the Huron language, and the emotional, anger-centered soul or *eiachi*.[6]

In his 1991 book *Ethnophilosophical and Ethnolinguistic Perspectives of the Huron Indian Soul*, ethnohistorian Michael Pomedli described how among many Amerindian groups, including Algonquin nations such as the Montagnais, Neutrals, and Iroquoian nations such as the Hurons, the emotional equilibrium or calm that enabled intellectual thought resided in the rational soul or *endionrra*, while courage and aggression originated in the emotional part of the self or *eiachi*. Further, a deliberately pursued imbalance of this equilibrium caused the rational soul to make way for the emotional soul. War represents an example of how these various elements of the self might be used together. One created an intricate battle plan by using and controlling the *endionrra*, but one went

[6] For a captive being killed quickly for screaming during torture, see *JR*,42:191. For a suicide being stopped, see *JR*,17:97. For a description of the mental investment in an event through the *endionrra*, see Michael Pomedli, *Ethnophilosophical and Ethnolinguistic Perspectives of the Huron Indian Soul*, 65-67.

into battle with courage and aggression by embracing the *eiachi*. Further, one did not merely release the intellectual soul, but he allowed it to travel beyond his body. This caused an altered state of consciousness that Amerindians believed took place outside of the body, much like dreaming or meditation. While the *endionrra* was absent from the body, horrific visions, alcohol fueled rage, and courage in battle resulted from the absence of this rational soul.[7]

In applying the ideas of Pomedli to Amerindian torture, both the captive and captor used both of these elements of the self during torture to execute self-control over both the rational and emotional souls. The captor who at first glance tormented the captive without restraint in fact used a great deal of restraint to avoid killing the captive until the right moment. At the same time, the torturer needed to embrace the emotional self to bring forth his anger in the form of acts of burning and torture. The captive needed to use the intellectual soul to endure such wounds and resist any temptation to simply release the rational soul from the body and lose all control. From the Amerindian perspective, this is why a captive began to scream in the midst of torture. As his intellectual soul left the body, he essentially ceased to be present, and had given up on the exchange with the captor. There was little point in continuing the torture, so the captors killed the captive quickly.

Pomedli addressed these issues from a very metaphysical and philosophical perspective. Roger M. Carpenter, in *The Renewed, the Destroyed and the Remade*, extended this theoretical framework into the historical context of Iroquois and Huron culture of the seventeenth century. Carpenter asserted that the separate ideas of the

[7] Michael Pomedli, *Ethnophilosophical and Ethnolinguistic Perspectives of the Huron Indian Soul*, 62-65.

rational and emotional self followed a very dualistic idea that ran throughout Amerindian culture, and manifested itself dynamically in religious belief. The rational soul which governed an individual's reason and thought processes was the element of the self that left the body for the Village of the Dead. The emotional soul which governed the physical body and its functions remained with the body even after physical death. When the Hurons went to great lengths to care for the remains of the dead until the time of the Feast of the Dead when they would permanently inter the bodies, they cared for this emotional soul as much as the body itself. Father Jean de Brébeuf observed the Feast of the Dead and described this connection of the *eiachi* to the body. "[A]ttached, as it were, to the body and informs, so to speak, the corpse, remaining in the pit of the dead… and never leaving it again."[8]

Carpenter further argued that this dualistic belief resulted in a strained barrier between the world of the living and the world of the dead. Amerindians did not believe these worlds to be as separate as in Western culture. The living and the dead interacted everyday with regularity and greatly affected one another, particularly at night time, when the rational self traveled beyond the body most frequently. Amerindians showed great fear of such non-physical entities. During the night, fire light typically kept these entities at bay within the community. Following this dualistic model, though, Amerindians reversed this idea during torture. Fire became not only the most convenient means of torture but also the vehicle used to transport both the captive and captor into the strained space between the physical world of the living and the non-physical world of the dead. In this strained space, the captors hoped to illustrate their own control over their

[8] For Father Brébeuf's description of the Feast of the Dead, see *JR*,10:283-285. For analysis of the intellectual and emotional soul among the Huron and Iroquois, see Roger M. Carpenter, *The Renewed, the Destroyed, and the Remade*, 39.

eiachi and *endionrra* and vent their aggression with a degree of self-control and not kill the captive before daybreak. The captive also sought to show such control over both the *eiachi* and the *endionrra*. If he or she did so, then after their inevitable physical death the *endionrra* would be able to leave and travel to the Village of the Dead. They believed that the emotional *eiachi* remained near the body. If the captive maintained the desired dualistic balance, the captive's emotional soul would then be able to vent its fury upon the captors after physical death: in the Huron language this is called a *sken*, and is very similar to an angry ghost that could torment the community. The chances of this *sken* manifesting itself increased if the captive experienced physical death at nighttime, when these barriers between the living and dead diminished most acutely. This is the reason Amerindians sought to keep a captive alive until dawn. With self-control, the captive sought to maintain his own intellectual and emotional equilibrium in order to torment the captor after death.[9]

Observers mentioned these vengeful *skens* in the written records and indicate that Amerindians fully believed in the potential threat these and other non-physical beings presented after the event of torture. In 1655 the Iroquois captured and bludgeoned to death a young Iroquois girl. That night, the Iroquois remained in their cabins and beat the walls with sticks to keep the dead girl away. In 1670, an Iroquois woman terrified her community when she claimed to have heard the voice of a recently tortured Susquehannock captive screaming from the bottom of a kettle. In 1696, the Iroquois killed a woman and intended to adopt her small child. The child then began to act as if he could see his dead mother's *sken* and, in fear, the Iroquois immediately bludgeoned him to death. In 1696, a Huron captured and tortured by the Onondaga, who later escaped,

[9] Roger M. Carpenter, *The Renewed, the Destroyed, and the Remade,* 38-41.

gave a description of such a being: "I seemed to see a horrible phantom in the form of a hideous serpent, and in other shapes, hovering around me, and feigning an attack upon my feet and arms, and even approaching to hiss in my ears: this made the hair of my head stand on end, as if the vision had been a lurking demon, stationed to watch over me."[10] This meeting between the Huron captive and this "being" occurred after the former was taken captive while in route back to the community of the Onondaga. His captors tortured him between the time of this encounter and his eventual escape. In this captive's description, this "being" paid close attention to his feet and arms; this implies that this man believed it to be concerned with his future torture. Further, this encounter occurred outside, in the absence of the fire used to keep such entities at bay.

Amerindians believed that these three separate non-corporeal elements of the self: the *endionrra*, the *eiachi*, and the *sken* played significant roles in this violent exchange between hostile factions of Amerindians that began before the ordeal of torture, and from the Amerindian point of view, continued after physical death. One might ask at this point why a community would go through this ordeal only to potentially inflict upon themselves the wrath of a supernatural being. Amerindians exposed themselves to the *sken* for the same reason they exposed themselves to gunfire or possible capture: to prove their courage and self-control. In addition, the *sken* could be rendered powerless if the captors destroyed its anchor to the physical world of the living, namely the physical corpse of the tortured captive. To understand the significance of destroying the body of an enemy, it is first necessary to understand that Amerindians typically took extreme care and attention when dealing with their dead.

[10] For the Iroquois keeping the dead girl away by beating the walls, see *JR*,42:137. For hearing the screams from a pot, see *JR*,53:251. For the phantom being, see *JR*,46:35.

Most Amerindian groups of the eastern woodlands followed complex and elaborate customs and rituals to properly treat and house their dead. The most famous of which occurred during the Huron Feast of the Dead. The Feast of the Dead took place only once every twelve years. It was an occasion for all of the Hurons to transport the remains of their dead from temporary internment within the various communities to a permanent and communal burial place. The best description we have of the Feast of the Dead was written by Father Jean de Brébeuf in 1636. An analysis of The Feast of the Dead is very important to Amerindian cultural violence for one vital reason: Father Brébeuf referred to it as the Feast of the Dead, but he stated very clearly that a more accurate translation would be to refer to it as the Feast of the *Atisken*, which is another form of the word *eiachi*. The Hurons cared for the emotional soul they believed remained attached to the physical remains, and to a lesser extent, the corpse itself. They left the dead to dry upon platforms and then moved them to mausoleums within the community where they stored and protected them until the time of the Feast of the Dead. Fire worked its way into the preparations for the feast, although not as dramatically as cremation. The Hurons coordinated this event through inter-community councils and in the eloquent and metaphorical language of these councils; they referred to the Feast as "the kettle." If they needed to delay the Feast, then they damped the fire beneath the kettle. If they needed to speed up the Feast, then they stirred up the fire beneath the kettle. If they needed to cancel the Feast, they overturned the kettle. When they finally solidified the plans for the event, they prepared the bodies for the journey. They stripped flesh from the bones of those who had been dead for some time, and then cremated the remains. They left on the bones the flesh of those who had not been dead for long. Then, they carefully wrapped

the bodies in bundles and transported them to the communal internment site where the Hurons buried, but did not cremate, them.[11]

While Amerindians paid a great deal of attention to the internment of their dead, they paid similar attention to the disposal of animal remains. Father Paul Le Jeune described the meticulous care the Montagnais took to burn and bury the bones of a bear to keep it from the dogs. He also described how the Montagnais only ate the fetus of a moose at the end of a moose-hunt so as not to offend the moose and make them difficult to hunt. Upon viewing a Frenchman spill beaver blood upon the ground, the Huron became dismayed and afraid that they would then catch no more beaver. Father Le Jeune reiterated that when the Montagnais gave him a beaver, they directed him not to allow the dogs to get the bones, and to burn them carefully and completely.[12]

As meticulously as Amerindians cared for the bodies of their own dead, and the remains of game animals, they treated the remains of tortured captives in the opposite manner and did everything they could to destroy, displace, and dispose of these bodies. In 1610, Samuel de Champlain described how he watched the Montagnais and Algonquians dismember and feed to dogs the bodies of their tortured captives. In 1639 some Hurons burned and dismembered the body of a tortured Mohawk captive. In a similar way, the Iroquois dismembered and fed to dogs the remains of their tortured captives in 1635, 1644, 1662. The Hurons and Algonquians dismembered and scattered into a river the bodies of their tortured Iroquois captives in 1639 and 1647. The partial or complete consumption of the remains of captives occurred in 18% of all cases of Amerindian cultural violence in our sample. For as eagerly as Amerindians often burned and tortured

[11] *JR*,10:283-285.

[12] For Father Le Jeune on the disposal of animal remains, see *JR*,6:219-223. For spilling beaver blood, see *JR*,5:179. For keeping bones from dogs, see *JR*,5:165.

their captives, they just as eagerly disposed of the corpses of their victims. They did this as quickly as they did because they feared the return of the *sken*, which was attached to the physical body of the captive. If they destroyed or scattered the body, then they disconnected the *sken* as well. It appears that there was no risk if they kept parts of the body, or physically consumed the bodies, but the body as a whole, and the *sken* that went with it, needed to be destroyed for the good of the community.[13]

Part III: The Significance of Fire, and Its Place in Amerindian Cultural Violence

While it may seem that Amerindians used fire as a tool of torture because it was readily available and inflicted the greatest degree of pain, the widespread adoption and adaptations of these customs is indicative that Amerindian torture by fire had deep-seated cultural, social, and religious significance. Amerindians harnessed and manipulated fire not just as a means of warmth and food preparation; it represented a focal point of Amerindian technology as an almost universally important tool, always readily available with the use of a simple bow drill that used friction to create a flame. Certainly, fire permeated all aspects of Amerindian culture as a practical tool. Native peoples used it to cook food for daily consumption but also to smoke meat and tan skins for preservation and later use. While Amerindians lacked kilns, they heated pottery for hardness and strength, as well as flints which could be flaked more easily to create edged tools after they rested in a fire for a few hours. Amerindians used fire to hollow out wood to produce

[13] Samuel de Champlain, *The Voyages*, 97, for the Hurons dismembering a Mohawk, see *JR*,17:71; for Iroquois feeding bodies to dogs, see *JR*,31:19; *JR*, 46:53; and *JR*,22:247; for Algonquians and Montagnais scattering the Iroquois dead, see *JR*,9:251; *JR*,30:193; and *JR*,17:63.

everything from bowls to canoes, and created wooden implements ranging from farm tools to war clubs by hardening them with fire. Warped arrows could be heated and straightened with a bone tool. Amerindians produced snow shoes and lacrosse rackets by heating and reshaping hard woods. Amerindian groups ranging from the Iroquois of upper New York, the Anishinabe of the western Great Lakes, and the Powhatans of Virginia used fire to clear forests of undergrowth and deadfall through controlled burning. This prevented large scale fires that would destroy the entire forest and human communities. It made movement through the woods easier for transportation and hunting, and even cut down on the insect population. Generally, Amerindians did not use fire as a weapon in the pre-Columbian era. At times, they used flaming arrows, and archeological evidence suggests that invaders may have burned communities, but early Americans did not commonly use fire as a weapon to the extent that they relied upon the bow, the lance, or the war club. Amerindians did, however, use fire as a hunting tool. In the eastern woodlands, strategically placed fires could drive and funnel deer herds for easy harvesting. An anonymous French writer described how the Illinois burned the prairie as a very common method for hunting buffalo in 1680.[14]

As fire represented the most dynamic form of natural energy Amerindians could harness, it also had an important place in Amerindian oral history, mythology, and religion. Within Amerindian mythology and religious beliefs there is often a mystical or supernatural element that originally led people to harness fire as a natural resource. The Ojibwa told a story of how a non-physical or "spiritual" entity gave them the knowledge of acquiring and using fire. This entity not only taught them how to cook with it, but it

[14] For uses of fire, see Roger M. Carpenter, *The Renewed, the Destroyed, and the Remade,* 6-7. For the use of fire to drive game, see William Joseph Seno, ed., *Up Country: Voices from the Midwest Wilderness* (Madison: Round River Publishing, 1985), 99.

also gave them a secret compound that when applied to the skin would protect the wearer from being burned. The Huron told of a similar origin describing the acquisition of fire as a tool. They recounted how the entity Iouskeha learned of fire himself from the Turtle and then gave it to the Huron people. Further, they needed the continued favor of Iouskeha to continue to make the kettles boil and the food cook. Traditional Ojibwa oral history holds that this group left their homeland along the Canadian Atlantic coast and settled in the western Great Lakes shortly before European contact. As they moved west, they carried a fire from their old homeland all the way from the Atlantic coast to the straits of Michillimackinac, much like the Olympic torch today is relayed around the world. They then split into three distinct groups. One went north and became the Ojibwa; one stayed in the area of Michillimackinac and became the Ottawa. The third went south and took with it the original fire the tribe brought with it. This group became known as *The Keepers of the Fire,* or the Pottawatomie.[15]

Amerindians intertwined the event of torture by fire with mourning customs, religious ideas, and political rivalry to create a communal expression of aggression. Because of this interweaving of cultural elements into one accessible moment, cultural violence, specifically torture by fire, held an important place in the mythology of some Amerindians. One Iroquois myth tells how one day a respected leader left his son and community to lead a raiding party. After he left, the people proceeded to torture the son with fire because the young man's tears turned into wampum. When his father returned, he learned of the treatment his son received at the hands of the others. He went to the

[15] For Ojibwa origins of fire, see Francis Densmore, *Chippewa Customs* (Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1979), 142. For Huron origins of fire, see *JR*,10:135. For the migration of the Potawatomie, see William W. Warren, *History of the Ojibway* [*sic*] *People* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1984), 82-83.

building where his son was being burned and magically turned the walls of the longhouse from bark to red flint. He then heated the walls of the longhouse as if they were flints being tempered. This heat burned up those who had tortured his son. Clearly, oral traditions pay a great deal of attention to both fire, and also the burning of the living.[16]

Many Amerindians beyond the eastern woodlands also viewed fire-related cultural violence as an integral component of their religious beliefs and customs, particularly regarding human sacrifice. Amerindians very often went to great lengths to insure that this fire-focused cultural violence occurred at a precise time and place. The French observed one such form of sacrifice among the Natchez of Louisiana in 1702. During a storm, lightening struck the burial temple of the Natchez chiefs. While the building burned, several Natchez women spontaneously cast their infants into the flames, thus receiving the praise of the Natchez spiritual leader, who encouraged other women to do the same. While the exact reason these women did this is not clear, the point that this was done under the supervision of the community religious leader implies that there was a religious reason for doing so that concerned the lightening strike, an incredibly powerful, spontaneous, and uncontrollable form of fire. The Natchez took advantage of this lightening strike to offer a blood sacrifice of children in the very fire the strike had caused. The fact that they threw these children into the fire as fast as they did alludes to the importance of that particular fire, time, and location.

This close correlation between the use of fire in cultural violence and conducting such violence at a precise time is present in another dramatic example from Mexico. The Aztec believed it was necessary to renew the life of the sun, the ultimate source of energy

[16] Urzula Chodoweic, "La hantise et la practique: Le canibalisme iroquois," *Nouvelle Revue de Psychoanalyse* 6 (1972): 59.

that fueled the world itself, and this was done through the New Fire Ceremony. If the Aztec did not accomplish this ritual at precisely the right time, they believed the world would be plunged into eternal night, and cannibalistic demons would come forth to devour humanity. The opportunity to renew this energy occurred only once every fifty-two years during a precise celestial event. The Spanish observed this ceremony and its rituals only once. In November of 1507, the stars came into their proper fifty-two year alignment. The Aztecs chose a captive warrior for sacrifice and prepared him well in advance. On the designated night, Aztec priests used a bow drill to kindle a small fire upon the chest of the chosen captive. After they lit the fire, the Aztec cut out the heart of the sacrificial victim and thrust it into the fire. As the fire surged, those observing the ritual cut their ears and the ears of their children, and splattered the blood in the direction of the point of the fiery sacrifice. The Aztec, then, methodically distributed the new fire first to the pyramid of Huitzilopochtli[17] in the middle of Tenochtitlan, and from there to the homes of priests, warriors, and eventually throughout the entire empire until this new fire that had been kindled upon the chest of a sacrificial victim, had been distributed everywhere. This allowed not only the community gathered at Tenochtitlan, but the entire Aztec empire, to share in the benefits of the sacrifice through the spraying of blood in the direction of the sacrifice, and the sharing of the fire kindled on the captive's chest. The Aztec placed great importance in the transferred energy of this particular fire, just as the Pottawatomie placed an importance to the transferred fire that they carried across North America in their search for a new home. These examples from cultures beyond the

[17] Huitzilopochtli was an Aztec god of the sun and war.

eastern woodlands illustrate the significance of spatially prescribed, and precisely timed fire associated violence throughout the Americas.[18]

Other factors that may have influenced how Amerindians of the eastern woodlands understood the place of fire in association with cultural violence can be seen in evidence from groups who resided in the eastern woodlands far before the Columbian era. Archeological evidence illustrates the importance of both dismemberment and cremation in the burial customs of the early Amerindian culture referred to today as the Hopewell civilization. Like many Amerindian groups of the historic period, the Hopewell people venerated the remains of their dead in a multi-stage burial. However, similarities between the customs of dismemberment and cremation among the Hopewell people and customs of torture by fire of later groups point towards a Hopewell influence not only on the burial practices, but also on customs of cultural violence that developed among these later groups such as the Iroquois, Hurons, or Algonquians. In 1966, anthropologist Raymond Baby undertook an analysis of Hopewell crematory customs from Hopewell archeological sites in Ohio. Baby concluded that the people of Hopewell burned their dead in the flesh. Previously, anthropologists thought the Hopewell people dried or smoked the bodies of the dead, and then stripped the flesh from the bone, much like Amerindian groups of the eastern woodlands in the historic period did to their dead. Baby argued that not only were the dead burned without being processed, but the Hopewell people first dismembered them. Baby based this conclusion upon three points. First, the crematory basins at these Hopewell sites were too small to burn an entire body. Second, because they were too small, none of these skeletons were found whole, and most showed

[18] For the Natchez burning children, see *JR*,68:135-139. For the New Fire Ceremony see, David Carrasco, *City of Sacrifice: The Aztec Empire and the Role of Violence in Civilization* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1999), 96-97.

signs of broken bones associated with dismemberment. Third, many of these bodies were not completely burned in the crematory basins. Many still showed clear signs that portions of the muscles remained attached to the bones when they were buried. Such dismemberment and incomplete burning at a low temperature is similar to customs of later groups in the historic period burning captives' bodies. The only real difference is that the people of Hopewell burned their own people while the Iroquois and Algonquians burned their captives.[19]

A second study of these specific remains results in a direct correlation between the influence of the Hopewell people upon how later groups of Amerindians both venerated their dead and tortured their captives. "Textile Evidence for Ohio Hopewell Burial Practices" by Amanda Jo Thompson and Kathryn A. Jakes, published in 2005, looked at the same examples as Baby, but they examined the remains of textiles burned with, and later buried with the bodies. The condition of the textiles first indicates that these bodies were initially burned at rather low temperatures, and not within the crematory basins. Because the bodies show no cut marks, the most reasonable explanation is that the bones were shattered part way through the crematory process, that the peripheries of the body (hands and feet) lay outside of the crematory basin, and the cremators moved them inside part way through the cremation. Thompson and Jakes also analyzed textiles discovered with the bodies. These remnants of textiles associated with larger parts of the body were left far more intact, and Thompson and Jakes argued that this could be the result of a two step burial process. The first would be a partial cremation and burial at the time of death followed by some form of temporary internment. The second would be a periodically

[19] Raymond Baby, "Hopewell Cremation Practices" *Papers in Archeology* (Columbus: The Ohio Historical Society, 1966): 1-4.

held secondary burial in the large log burial structures often associated with Hopewell, and that with this secondary burial there was also a secondary burning. Transportation of the previously burned remains could account for un-charred fabrics being associated with the bodies.[20]

This bears a striking similarity to the multi-stage burial customs of various Algonquin and Iroquoian speaking groups of the eastern woodlands that Europeans like Father Brébeuf observed hundreds of years later. Civilizations such as Hopewell may have affected the people who later encountered Europeans, including the ancestors of the Iroquois and Hurons, and also greatly impacted their ideas of life and death, their cultural uses of fire, and burial customs such as the Huron Feast of the Dead. One possibility is that because of their unique ideas regarding the multi-dimensional nature of the soul, Iroquoian peoples adapted these customs to fit their own beliefs and ideas of cultural violence. Because they felt that if the body was physically destroyed, then the emotional component of the soul or *eiachi* was destroyed as well, they may have separated the cremation part from an otherwise good two-tier burial system. They did not have to abandon cremation altogether however. Iroquoian peoples may have adapted these customs to fit their own beliefs and ideas of cultural violence. If earlier people began the process of cremation and dismemberment after what they perceived as death, Iroquoian people did the same thing, only they included a dualistic infusion of aesthetic irony to reverse the circumstances of cremation to burn and dismember the living enemy, and not the dead kin. Ultimately, this reflects how torture by fire had deeply ingrained religious

[20] Amanda Jo Thompson and Kathryn A. Jakes, "Textile Evidence for Ohio Hopewell Burial Practices" *Southeastern Archeology* 24, no. 2 (Winter 2005): 136-137.

connotations that gave these customs a far greater importance and complexity than a form of execution for undesirable captives or anger fueled revenge.

Part IV: Amerindian Cannibalism in Relationship to Torture by Fire

The subject of Amerindian cannibalism in eastern North America is controversial. The extent to which these customs existed, which tribal entities practiced cannibalism, the circumstances under which cannibalism took place, and at times its very existence has been debated. At the core of this debate, though, is the point that Amerindian cannibalism broke one of the greatest taboos in western culture and gave ample ammunition to European writers who sought to demonize Amerindians. This criticism also evolved into the condemnation of cannibalism among only some Amerindians in order to support political or social agendas in early modern Europe. This debate continued to evolve through the early modern period into contemporary scholarship. This debate over Amerindian cannibalism has existed since the time of early Spanish colonization and has remained controversial ever since.

The first European to describe Amerindian cannibalism was none other than Christopher Columbus who described the customs of the warlike people who resided on the island of "Carib" and how these people ate human flesh. The Spanish used such descriptions throughout the sixteenth century as justification for the forced subjugation and enslavement of the Amerindian population of their colonies. In the early seventeenth century, John Smith described a nation that lived far to the west of the Jamestown colony of Virginia, who ate the flesh of their enemies. In the seventeenth and eighteenth

centuries, writers often utilized the vivid accounts of Amerindian cannibalism contained in the written accounts of Jesuit missionaries in New France.[21]

Among these influential writers was Father Joseph Francois Lafitau who in1724 wrote the book, *Customs of the American Indians Compared With the Customs of Primitive Times*. Father Lafitau connected cannibalism with torture by fire, and explained it as an effort by the captors to share or absorb the bravery of their captives when they endured torture by fire with courage and stoicism. In his 1978 book, *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present*, Robert Berkhofer Jr. placed Father Lafitau's book within the political and intellectual context of early modern France, arguing that Jesuit authors deemphasized the negative aspects of their Amerindian converts and highlighted the negative traits of the enemy tribes of the French in order to illustrate the success of their missionary effort to their Jansenist and Atheist rivals within French intellectual society. This accounts for a more militant condemnation of Iroquois cannibalism and an explanation (if not justification) of cannibalism among French-allied Amerindians. While this is very open to both interpretation and argument, Berkhofer further argued that the coming of the Enlightenment caused many French intellectuals to look at Amerindians in New France for an example of a culture free of the burdens of aristocracy, and even to ask if these people did practice cannibalism, how much better was a class of nobility that metaphorically consumed people?[22]

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[21]For Columbus see Robert F. Berkhofer Jr., *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present* (New York: Random House, 1979), 7. For John Smith see, Edward Wright Haile, ed., *Jamestown Narratives: Eyewitness Accounts of the Virginia Colony: The First Decade, 1607-1617* (Champlain Virginia: Roundhouse, 1998), 161.

[22] For Jesuit ideas, please see Father Joseph Francois Lafitau, *Customs of the American Indians Compared With the Customs of Primitive Peoples,* ed. and trans. by William N. Fenton and Elizabeth L. Moore (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1977), 155-159. For the use of the image of the cannibal, see Robert F. Berkhofer Jr., *The White Man's Indian,* 74-75.

In summation, a group of writers as diverse as Christopher Columbus, John Smith, French missionaries in the Americas, and French intellectuals in the salons all agreed that savage or noble, slave or free, Christian or pagan, ignorant or educated, Catholic or Protestant, the customs of Amerindian cannibalism broke one of the greatest taboos in western culture. This is the main reason why European writers who looked to either demonize Amerindians, or who needed a dramatic rhetorical point, focused so much upon it. Europeans tolerated and even institutionalized torture, public corporal and capital punishment, and even physical abuse. But while some early modern intellectuals attempted to describe the good qualities of Amerindians, they justified warfare and torture in the sense that Europeans also practiced these customs. Cannibalism on the other hand, along with human sacrifice, enabled other writers to create the image and stereotype of the "bad" Indian. When the need arose to create a negative image of Amerindians, the readily available evidence in the form of vividly written descriptions, intellectuals and writers began to pay a great deal of attention to Amerindian cannibalism.[23]

These many controversies over the positive and negative aspects of Amerindians and the awkward place that cannibalism occupied in their cultures continued into the twentieth century. Enlightened thinkers believed in the purity of Amerindians who were free from greed, petty rivalry, and shame, to make comparisons with those they saw as a decadent aristocracy. Modern historians, anthropologists, and sociologists have re-evaluated the place of Amerindians. By the late twentieth century, Amerindian culture began to occupy a status of primitiveness in American society. This "Noble Savage" who lived in a simple utopian state before the infusion of European vices took center stage.

[23] Robert F. Berkhofer Jr., *The White Man's Indian*, 28.

This idea resulted in the notion of *pan-indianism*, or the idea that tribal identity was subservient to a communal relationship that all Amerindians shared. Cannibalism represents a threatening idea to such a harmonious communal construct.[24]

Based on written records and archeological evidence, there is no doubt that many, if not most, Amerindian nations of the eastern woodlands practiced cannibalism thousands of years back in the pre-Columbian through the early modern period. There is also considerable evidence that the combination of torture with cannibalism also dates back thousands of years. A collection of bones discovered in Salt Caves, Kentucky, dated anywhere from 710 to 1460 BCE and consisted of more than 2,000 human bones. The bones ranged in age from infant through adult, and were mixed with an equal number of animal bones. Both the human and animal bones show similar signs of burning that indicate cooking. This alone implies that this was a refuse pile for bodies (both animal and human) that had been cooked for food, and not an ossuary. Near Chattanooga, Tennessee, a group of forty-two skeletons dating from 1100-900 BCE show evidence of the forced removal of flesh from bone. However, the flesh was not peeled from dry bones after a drying period, as was the custom of many cultures in both the pre-Columbian and historic periods, including the Hurons at the time of the Feast of the Dead. Both male and female skeletons show cut and tear marks that indicate the flesh was forcefully removed from the body, which is a clear sign of cannibalism.[25]

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[24] Robert F. Berkhofer Jr., *The White Man's Indian*, 73-74.

[25] Robert P. Mensforth, "Human Trophy Taking in Eastern North America During the Archaic Period: The Relationship to Warfare and Social Complexity," *The Taking and Displaying of Human Body Parts as Trophies by Amerindians*, ed. Richard J. Chacon and David H. Dye (New York: Springer, 2007), 249. For Tennessee, see Nancy A. Ross-Stallings, "Trophy Taking in the Central and Lower Mississippi Valley," *The Taking and Displaying*, 342-345.

From an archeological site in Mississippi dating to sometime around the year 1600 is a find that is eerily reminiscent of customs both much older and those that were well documented in the historic period. A body was found that showed marks and cuts indicative of cannibalism. While the individual was still alive, however, the hands, feet, toes and fingers, were all crushed and broken. Along the longer bones of the body, only the very tips showed burn marks, indicating that the killers burned only the very tips, a clear sign not of cremation but of torture by fire and cannibalism. The fact that such customs existed in eastern North America for such a long period of time and across such a wide geographic area is indicative that the significance of such practices consisted of more than just a means of exacting revenge, but also a deeper cultural meaning. Thus, such customs appealed to a wide variety of early American cultures for a very long period of time, and evolved through the centuries into the early modern period when Europeans first encountered them.[26]

French documents of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries contain numerous vivid and gruesome accounts of the cannibalistic customs of the Iroquois, Hurons, Algonquians, Montagnais, Ojibwa, Ottawa, Erie, and other nations. This cannibalism took a variety of forms. At times the torturers dismembered the corpse of tortured captives, cooked the separate body parts, and ate them at a feast. A particular individual might eat either the head or the heart of a particular captive. The torturing group also at times drank the blood of a victim. A torturer might also cut off a captive's finger and eat it while the victim watched. If the torturing group captured a large group of people, they might distribute them to various communities as gifts where they would be tortured and

[26] For speculation of torture, see Keith P. Jacobi, "Disabling the Dead: Human Trophy Taking in the Prehistoric Southeast," *The Taking and Displaying*, 320-323. For Mississippi, see Ross-Stallings, "Trophy Taking in the Central and Lower Mississippi Valley," *The Taking and Displaying*, 344-346.

eaten. There are also some examples of Amerindians force-feeding captives their own flesh. At other times, captives watched as their captors either ate the battle fallen dead or even watched while they killed and cooked other captives. In 1642 an Algonquin woman told the French of how the Iroquois did this. "[T]hey tore from my bosom my poor little son. But alas! If I did not know that thou wilt have compassion on us, I would say no more. They took our little children, placed them on spits, held them to the fire, and roasted them before our eyes."[27]

Unlike torture or even human sacrifice, there existed no custom comparable to cannibalism in western society, and Europeans struggled to reconcile their own abhorrence of cannibalism as they interpreted Amerindian customs with their own cultural lens. While there can be no doubt that Amerindian cannibalism occurred among a wide range of tribes in eastern North America over a very long span of time, the qualitative data shows that European writers and modern scholars have overemphasized the importance of cannibalism to Amerindian cultural violence. Out of 137 examples of Amerindian cultural violence by various groups across the expanse of French North America between the years 1609 to 1730, cannibalism is only directly mentioned to have occurred in twenty-five cases (18%). In ninety three cases, there is no information given as to the disposal of the dead captives' remains (68%). Ten cases describe how Amerindians threw the remains into a river or gave them to dogs to eat (7%). In seven cases, the captive managed to escape at night as a result of their torture being drawn out

[27] For eating the dismembered parts of a captive, see *JR*,50:33; *JR*,30:227; and *JR*,15:171; for the cutting off and eating of a captive's fingers, see *JR*,9:251; for body parts as gifts to other communities, see *JR*,45:241; for captives being force fed their own flesh, see *JR*,15:171; for children being killed and cooked, see *JR*,22:247.

over several days (5%). In six cases, the captors willingly released the captives after or in the midst of their tortures (4 %) (See Appendix C).

The emphasis upon a direct connection between cannibalism and torture by fire can be traced back to Father Lafitau, and in the twentieth century to the work of Nathanial Knowles, who argued that cannibalism and torture by fire generally went hand in hand as part of the cycle of revenge and retribution. Knowles was among the first modern historians to focus on the idea that Amerindian cannibalism functioned as a means of acquiring the strength and courage of the captive. Likewise, Knowles also described the consumption of blood, and the combining of blood through bloodletting, as a means of absorbing the courage of the victim who had bravely undergone torture. Knowles used the writings of the Dutch theologian John Megapolensis as his evidence for cannibalism among the Mohawk. In order to show a clear comparison, he referred to the Jesuit Father Paul Le Jeune for information pertaining to the Hurons. However, while Knowles cites accurate evidence, his phrasing indicates that these are trends and norms. He actually based these conclusions on single incidents from which he drew conclusions about entire Amerindian nations. The reader is left with the impression that cannibalism was incredibly common in seventeenth century New France, and entirely connected to torture by fire. A close examination of Knowles's sources reveals that they are certainly accurate in the information they present, but Knowles used fewer than twenty instances of cannibalism in his entire essay. This is hardly enough information from which to draw such overwhelming conclusions.[28]

Knowles's interpretation influenced other historians well into the twentieth century and beyond. Historian Bruce Trigger described torture and cannibalism as being closely

[28] Nathaniel Knowles, "The Torture of Captives," 189-190.

tied in his 1990 book *Hurons, Farmers of the North*. The impression of widespread cannibalism has also led to different reinterpretations of such customs. In his 1993 book *Cultivating a Landscape of Peace: Iroquois-European Encounters in Seventeenth-Century America*, Matthew Denis described how "ritualistic" cannibalism did continue among the Iroquois through the colonial era, and in fact Denis implied that cannibalism was more widespread than torture. As recently as 2004, the connection between torture and cannibalism was presented in Roger M. Carpenter's *The Renewed, The Destroyed, And The Remade: The Three Thought Worlds of the Iroquois and Huron, 1609-1650.*[29]

It is not a matter of doubt that Amerindians practiced cannibalism, but the frequency of this in early modern New France must be re-evaluated. It should also be noted that in the seventeenth century, cannibalism existed very infrequently when not associated with torture. However what also must be acknowledged is that torture by fire could and did occur without the *necessity* of cannibalism. Likewise, the written record is clear that among the purposes for cannibalism was the absorption of the enemy's strength or courage. Additional analysis of the reasons behind cultural violence such as torture by fire, specifically the connection between Amerindian religion and cultural violence, indicates that Amerindians also ate their tortured captives' bodies to sever the connection between the victim's *sken* and the community of the torturers. These religious ideas, and the interrelationship of torture by fire and the circumstances under which cannibalism occurred are apparent through the examination of a very well documented case of Amerindian cultural violence that occurred in Huronia in 1637.

[29] Bruce Trigger, *The Hurons*, 58-62. Matthew Denis, *Cultivating a Landscape of Peace*, 88-89. Roger M. Carpenter, *The Renewed, the Destroyed, and the Remade*, 27.

Part V: The Torture of Saunadanoncoua

On September 2, 1637, Father Francois le Mercier learned that the Hurons of Onnedtisati had acquired an Iroquois captive whom they planned to torture. Father le Mercier and two other Jesuits went to Onnedtisati, where they learned that the captive had been moved to the nearby community of Arontaen. The priests wished to convert this captive to Catholicism before he was tortured, so they went to Arontaen. It was there that they met the fifty-year-old Iroquois man named Saunadanoncoua. The Jesuits educated Saunadanoncoua in Catholicism, eventually baptized him, and remained at his side for the duration of his torture. Father le Mercier carefully documented the torture of Saunadanoncoua, and the result is one of the most detailed accounts of the entire process of Amerindian cultural violence in the historical record. The case of Saunadanoncoua, however, represents more than a vivid case of Amerindian cultural violence. Father le Mercier's account of the torture, death, and destruction of this man offers a record of the journey both Saunadanoncoua and his Huron captors took to prove their power over the non-physical world. Saunadanoncoua needed to prove his control over his rational self, or *endionrra*; the Hurons needed to prove control over their irrational selves, or *eiachi*. Over the course of this night, Saunadanoncoua placed himself at risk of losing his rational self by surrendering to physical pain. The Hurons placed themselves at risk by opening themselves to both their potential loss of control, and Saunadanoncoua's *sken* which would plague their community if they emerged unsuccessful. According to their religious beliefs, both risked a great deal as they embraced this confrontation at night, the point of

time when they themselves were most vulnerable to the non-physical world they feared more than each other. [30]

The Jesuits arrived at the community of Arontaen where they were invited to attend a feast held in honor of the captive. When they first saw Saunadanoncoua, the Jesuits were struck by several things. First, he was dressed in a fine beaver robe and adorned around the neck and head with strands of wampum. The man sang with vigor that impressed the Jesuits, considering his obvious exhaustion. The Jesuits also noted that great platters of fruits and vegetables were being brought to the captive, and that: "up to the hour of his torment, we saw only acts of humanity exercised towards him." Father Le Mercier quickly noticed that Saunadanoncoua's hands had almost rotted away at the wrists. One thumb had been crushed with a stone, another finger hung nearly amputated. When the Hurons removed the leaves that served as bandages, the Jesuits observed that "[t]hey were half putrefied, and all swarming with worms, a stench arising from them that was almost insupportable." Saunadanoncoua begged the Jesuits to remove the worms as they ate his hands almost to the marrow, and in his own words quoted by Le Mercier, made him feel "as if someone had touched him with fire."[31]

There appears at first glance to have been some disagreement among the Hurons regarding the fate of Saunadanoncoua. The Jesuits stated that they felt he was to be tortured. The Hurons appear to have decided that he was to take the place of a dead nephew of Ondessone, a Huron war leader who said to Saunadanoncoua prior to a feast, "My nephew, thou hast good reason to sing, for no one is doing thee any harm; behold thyself now among thy kindred and friends." A feast then followed where a dog was

[30] *JR*,13:37.
[31] *JR*,13:37-45.

roasted, and the Hurons hand fed the best food to Saunadanoncoua. Father Le Mercier implied that this may have been a cruel joke on the part of the Hurons to hold a feast and give Saunadanoncoua the impression that they intended to adopt him, while they intended all along to torture him. It was unlikely that this was the case. Father Joseph Poncet described a similar situation during his own adoption that involved his new family placing strings of wampum around his neck during the transitional process between torture and adoption. Father Poncet also clearly stated that even at this point, if his adoptive family wished to burn him, it was entirely within their right to do so. Father Poncet's family chose to adopt him; Saunadanoncoua's chose to burn him. At this feast Ondessone approached Saunadanoncoua again, and informed him:

> My nephew, thou must know that when I first received news that thou wert at my disposal, I was wonderfully pleased, fancying that he whom I lost in war had been as it were, brought back to life…But now that I see thee in this condition, thy fingers gone and thy hands half rotten, I change my mind, and am sure that thou thyself wouldst now regret to live longer. I shall do thee greater kindness to tell thee that thou must prepare to die: is it not so?[32]

Upon then learning that he would be tortured by fire, Saunadanoncoua merely said calmly: "That is well."[33]

Thus far, Saunadanoncoua received a dualistic treatment at the hands of the Huron that is indicative of the indefinite position he occupied as a captive whose captors had not announced if he would be adopted or tortured. The Hurons gave him the finest food and clothing they had to offer, but forced him to sing for the duration of his captivity. Although they announced their intention to adopt him, the Hurons at no point made an effort to treat his wounded hands, beyond the water they gave him to clean them. The assembled Hurons, Ondessone, and Saunadanoncoua, likely understood that the Hurons

[32] For Father Poncet's account, see *JR*,40:137-139; for Saunadanoncoua's ordeal, see *JR*,13:54-55.
[33] *JR*,13:55.

had no plans to treat his wounds. Also of importance is Saunadanoncoua's own description of his hands. He stated that they felt as if he had touched fire. Possibly, both he and the Hurons saw this as the first phase of his torture as he sat in agony during a feast in his honor. The worms took the place of, and became indicative of, the cannibalism that would eventually follow. This type of implied cannibalism occurred elsewhere in eastern woodland culture. As part of the Feast of the Dead, the Hurons believed that their dead relatives took the form of turtle doves after internment in the collective grave. Immediately after this internment, the Hurons participated in a group hunt and feast of turtledoves. The Montagnais ate the lice and insects they found on their own bodies. They told Father Paul Le Jeune that they did this: "not because they liked them, but only, they say, to avenge themselves and to eat those that eat them."[34]

Upon deciding that they would torture him, the Hurons held another feast in Saunadanoncoua's honor. The family of the deceased man, whom he was to replace through torture, personally fed him. Everybody in the community including the Jesuits attended the feast. Before it began, Saunadanoncoua rose and addressed the crowd. "My brothers, I am going to die; amuse yourselves boldly around me. I fear neither tortures nor death."[35]

Saunadanoncoua and the assembled Hurons then began to sing and dance around the building in acceptance of this fate. Nathanial Knowles argued that it was largely bravado that caused Iroquoian people to embrace torture by fire with such enthusiasm. Such a display of courage was certainly part of the preliminary exchanges between captor and captive. When Amerindian beliefs in the multi-dimensional soul, the afterlife, and the

[34] *JR*,5:27.
[35] *JR*,13:57.

rich, metaphorical nature of Amerindian oration are all taken into consideration, this appears to be much more of a preparation for the subtle and intense conflict between captor and captive that would occur over the course of the night. Both parties, the captive and the captors, willingly accepted their role as the process of torture began before they kindled the first fire. Saunadanoncoua's death was a certainty; the process of how he met that death was far more important. It would be determined by *both* parties. According to Iroquoian religious beliefs, if he lost his faculties and screamed in pain during the ordeal this meant that his intellectual self or *endionrra*, had left his body and his emotional, anger driven self, the *eiachi*, controlled his actions, and pain and rage would take over in the form of incoherent screams. Likewise, the Hurons needed to demonstrate that they could control their own *eiachi* as they fought to torture the captive without mercy, but still show enough restraint to keep him alive until daybreak.[36]

Even the choice of where the torture took place had a dualistic nature. The Hurons used two buildings for community affairs in Arontaen. One was the home of the war leader Atsan, and was called *Otinontsiskia*" or "The House of Cut Off Heads." In this building, war councils took place. The Hurons used a different building for affairs of the community and inter-Huron relations, and called it *Endionrra* or "The House of the Council." One was a building of anger and violence; one of calm and diplomacy. Concerning torture, it may even have been the case that Iroquoian people felt that the The House of Cut Off Heads was a space suitable for use by the emotional *eiachi*, and The House of Council was more suitable to allow control with the *endionrra*. As the sun set, the Hurons led Saunadanoncoua into The House of Cut Off Heads.[37]

[36] Nathaniel Knowles, "The Torture of Captives," 186.
[37] *JR*,13:59.

The Hurons kindled eleven fires within the building as the community entered to watch and participate in the torture. Aenons gave instructions before they brought in Saunadanoncoua. He told the people to "do their duty" and that this act was being watched by "[T]he Sun and the god of war." He stressed as the young men picked fire brands out of the fires that they only burn Saunadanoncoua legs because it was important "that he might hold out until daybreak." He then added one more instruction. He told the people that for the rest of the night, they were not to go out into the woods.[38]

It would be hasty to imply that the Hurons believed that this ordeal of torture was observed by deities and that they offered Saunadanoncoua as a blood-sacrifice to bring good fortune to the Hurons. Many eastern woodland tribes, including the Hurons, believed in benevolent deities that meant humans no harm, but did not interfere in human affairs. Likewise there were malevolent deities who did bring misfortune to humans. Aenons reminded the community that if they did not carry out this torture well, these malevolent deities would likely cause them problems. The order not to go into the woods during the night is also of great importance. Whether it was the shadowy serpents described by the Huron captive, or some other manifestation of the supernatural, they clearly thought that the process of torture would arouse some non-physical being that could cause them harm during the night. In Saunadanoncoua, they had a captive from a warring nation who understood that he was about to die horribly but showed no fear. The Hurons believed that the torture they were about to inflict would be observed by some form of deity, and by heeding the warnings of Aenons, they all expressed belief that other non-physical beings lurked in the woods, beyond the borders of the community. These people believed that the barriers that separated the worlds of the living and the dead were

[38] *JR*,13:61.

never necessarily distinct, and by this point became more strained. It was in this atmosphere, that the Hurons began to burn Saunadanoncoua.[39]

When Saunadanoncoua entered the building, the Hurons removed his fine beaver robe. They tied his hands and forced him to sing and dance around the building. No one burned him at this time but it was announced that after he was dead, the Hurons would hold a feast where Ondessone would eat his head, and the others would eat his liver and an arm. The Hurons burned Saunadanoncoua upon the legs with firebrands as he ran about the building. When he shrieked in pain, the crowd repeated his shrieks. When he became tired of running and stopped at one end of the building, the Hurons crushed the bones in his hands, pierced his ears with sticks, and bound his wrists so tightly they further crushed his hands. When Saunadanoncoua needed to rest, the Hurons allowed him to do so, but forced him to sit on piles of hot ash and smoldering coals. When he stated he was unable to rise from the ash pile, the Hurons thrust a fire brand upon his groin and he fainted. At this point the Hurons stopped for fear that if it went any further, Saunadanoncoua would die too soon, before "he should see the daytime."[40]

The Hurons shifted from a mood of humanity and admiration for Saunadanoncoua to relentless torture with incredible speed. This was a controlled use of pain, as is evident in the special attention the Hurons paid to his already wounded hands. The Hurons understood how they could inflict the most pain with the least chance of death, and pursued this quite systematically. Also, with a simple order to stop, all those participating did so and this is further evidence that this was a controlled and planned out act, and not the orgy of violence it appears to be at first sight.

[39] Roger M. Carpenter, *The Renewed, the Destroyed, and the Remade*, 32.
[40] *JR*,13:61-65.

The Hurons revived Saunadanoncoua, allowed him to drink some water, and then commanded him to sing. At first he did so in a very weak voice, but he quickly rose up and sang with a fervor that the Jesuit observers thought to be near superhuman. After Saunadanoncoua fainted, the Hurons had filed out, but rushed back in when he began to sing. The Hurons took the cords that bound his hands and set them on fire, they rubbed out fire brands into his legs, and they pressed heated hatchet blades to his feet.[41]

It was at this point that a verbal exchange began between the Hurons and Saunadanoncoua, as the Hurons filled their language with metaphor and dualistic imagery that helped all involved to build towards a focal point. This exchange reveals the most about the dynamic created between the two factions at this specific place and time in which both groups utilized their emotional and intellectual selves against each other. A Huron said to Saunadanoncoua: "Come… let me talk and pitch my canoe, it is a beautiful canoe which I lately traded for; I must stop all the water holes in it." He said this even as he ran a fire brand slowly up and down Saunadanoncoua's legs. This Huron used aesthetic irony and dualistic language to alter the use of the word *beautiful*, beyond the traditional meaning to include the violent spectacle of Saunadanoncoua. This use of dualistic language goes beyond the act of torture though. He stated that he recently "traded" for his canoe. This could be a play on words to interchange "trade" for "capture." This could also be a reference to the dead nephew of Saudanuscouay, for whom Saunadanoncoua took the place of through torture. The torture is a dualistic gesture of love for Sauandauscouay's nephew, and aggression towards the Iroquois who killed him via the conduit of Saunadanoncoua. This is also the reason the Hurons began to refer to him as *uncle*.

[41] *JR*,13:65-67.

Next came the most revealing example of the dualistic relationship between the captors and the captive, and both the verbal and non-verbal communication between the two as the captors worked to maintain control of their emotional selves and the captive worked to maintain the link to his intellectual self. This occurred when a Huron said to Saunadanoncoua: "Come uncle, where do you prefer that I should burn you?" Father Le Mercier specifically stated that Saunadanoncoua then pointed to a place on his body where he should be burned next.[42] With a single motion of a burned, mangled hand, Saunadanoncoua sent a clear message to his Huron captors that as he lingered somewhere between life and death, he maintained control of his intellectual self. This was the underlying reason they continued to ask as they pursued the group goal of distinguishing themselves as the controllers of both themselves and the situation. By maintaining his ability to answer their questions, Saunadanoncoua proved his own self control. With each passing moment towards dawn and his inevitable death, he increased his control of the situation as they failed to render him insensible and insured that his emotional soul would remain near his body and potentially plague them at a later point.

"For my part, I do not know anything about burning," one said as he burned Saunadanoncoua. Another commented: "Ah, it is not right that my uncle should be cold: I must warm thee." Another placed a pair of stockings on his legs and then set them on fire. They continued to ask Saunadanoncoua: "And now, uncle, hast thou had enough?" When he replied that he indeed had enough the Hurons only replied: "No, it is not enough," and they continued to burn him. It would be easy to view these exchanges as sadistic abuse on the part of the Hurons, but it must be kept in mind that within the intricate nature of Amerindian oratory and religious belief, it was a rhetorical question. If

[42] *JR*,13:69.

Saunadanoncoua could answer the question at all, it was not enough. He needed to be rendered senseless for the torture to be successful. Even to answer that he had had enough was a message that he still controlled both his mind and body. All he needed to do to end his torture was to lose his faculties and surrender to the immeasurable pain he had endured for hours, yet he did not. [43]

The Hurons continued throughout the night until it became clear that if they continued, Saunadanoncoua would die before daybreak. They gave Saunadanoncoua food and water and let him rest while they conversed with him and the Jesuits. They talked about several subjects, including French methods of torture and execution and the nature of Heaven and Hell. The Hurons questioned Saunadanoncoua about the state of affairs in Iroquoia, and if he knew the fate of several Hurons recently taken captive. He openly volunteered information about Iroquoia and apparently knew of several Hurons killed in battle and taken captive. The Jesuits were impressed by the coherence of his thought and speech during this conversation. “He did this as easily, and with a countenance as composed, as any one there present would have showed.” He in fact thanked the Hurons for taking the time to talk with him, and stated that it had temporarily: “diverted him from his troubles.” When the sun rose, the Hurons brought Saunadanoncoua outside and kindled fresh fires.[44]

Here the process of torture took on a new level of complexity. As quickly and easily as the Hurons burned and tortured Saunadanoncoua, they just as quickly calmed once again and conversed with him almost as if he were an adoptee, or even a visitor. This was a deliberate display of control over their emotional selves. Saunadanoncoua clearly took

[43] *JR*,13:69.
[44] *JR*,13:75.

this as an opportunity to manipulate both the Jesuits and Hurons by first distracting them with information on their absent tribesmen and an interest in Catholic dogma. In the process, they allowed Saunadanoncoua an opportunity to regain his composure and illustrate his own control over his intellectual self. He also took the opportunity to again show off his oratory skills with the subtle insult of referring to their skill as torturers as his "troubles." The goal of the Hurons was to burn this man to the point of death, and force him into pain induced hysteria. They allowed themselves to be manipulated into doing just the opposite when they helped Saunadanoncoua forget his pain for a few minutes.

It was through the manipulation of this pain that both captor and captive fought this conflict. The Hurons proved unable to render Saunadanoncoua insensible, and in these final stages of torture before dawn, he forced them to either allow him to rest and reaffirm his own self-control, or to allow him to die and open themselves to greater risks from his *sken*. The lesser of these two risks was to allow him a rest and to keep him alive. At day break the Hurons brought Saunadanoncoua outside and placed him upon a platform about six feet high. Three or four Huron mounted the platform with him and as the sun rose, they burned him without regard for his life. They forced firebrands down his throat and into his anus. They burned out his eyes and placed a necklace of heated hatchet blades around his neck. They poured water down his throat and upon seeing that he was motionless, they cut off first a foot, then his hand, and finally his head, which they threw into the crowd. Later, they gave it to Ondessone who ate it. The other Hurons ate most of Saunadanoncoua's remains at a feast later that day.[45]

[45] *JR*,13:77-79.

The Hurons attempted to delay the death of Saunadanoncoua until morning in order to manipulate the time of final physical death to occur when the non-physical world was least active. This would diminish the chances of Saunadanoncoua's *sken* becoming powerful enough to plague the community. They physically destroyed his body to disengage the link between the body and the *eiachi* that otherwise would have remained with his physical body. Undoubtedly as well, they consumed parts of his body to absorb some desired quality of courage, stoicism, strength, or self-control.[46]

Once the pressure of waiting for daybreak had passed, the Hurons used more lethal forms of torture and killed Saunadanoncoua. In "The House of Cut Off Heads" Saunadanoncoua proved his self-control over his intellectual self by remaining lucid throughout his ordeal. By keeping him alive until daybreak, they demonstrated the same self-control. With coming of dawn, the Hurons freely gave way to their irrational selves. The Hurons' use of firebrands thrust down Saunadanoncoua's throat only minutes after he insulted them is notable. This occurs elsewhere in the historical record, most notably when Christians (Amerindian or French) prayed during the final phases of torture and their captors removed their tongues or lips to stop them from speaking. The Iroquois did this to both Father Jean de Brébeuf and Father Gabriel Lalemant in 1649. As has been illustrated in the case of Saunadanoncoua, the power of speech remained the only weapon a captive retained, and it was also the means with which their captors measured their level of control. If he could still maintain a verbal exchange, control of his intellectual self was recognized. Removal of the captive's ability to speak in the final phases of torture rendered the level of retained control irrelevant. In the event he died during

[46] The idea of absorbing some desired quality of the tortured captive through physical consumption of the remains will be examined in detail in Chapter III.

daytime, Saunadanoncoua's ability to establish a link between the Huron community and the world of the dead was more questionable than if he died during night time, when this link to the Huron community was virtually assured. The dismemberment and consumption of the body was an effort to absorb some desired quality of Saunadanoncoua, whether that quality was his strength, bravery, control over the intellectual and emotional parts of himself, or some other quality. This served the dual purpose of disposing of the body, which would have diminished the link between the physical self and the *endionrra*, and hence would have created a greater disconnect between the tortured captive and the Huron community.[47]

Part VI: Conclusion

As is illustrated in the case of Saunadanoncoua, Amerindian torture by fire was a complex cultural exchange that involved rules, restraint, and intense self-control on the part of both the captives and the captors. The occasion of torture was not just the act of extracting pain from an enemy until he or she died. It was an interactive conflict that represented a mutual challenge between captor and captive that went beyond tribal boundaries and delved into the supernatural and metaphysical religious convictions of Amerindians. For the Amerindian participants, this challenge took place between the worlds of the physical and the non-physical, of day and night, and of emotion and intellect.

[47] *JR*,34:139.

Amerindians utilized different elements of themselves as both individuals and (for the captors) as a community to engage in a conflict that certainly contained elements of revenge and retribution, but also was intertwined with religious beliefs, conflict between political and military rivals beyond the battlefield, and personal achievement in either withstanding or administering torture within a mutually accepted framework that was far from an unrestrained cacophony of bloodlust. Due to the ethnocentric cultural lens that colonizers naturally brought to the New World, the French significantly overlooked both points and judged such customs by their own standards of what constituted acceptable torture and capital punishment. This was particularly true when Amerindians added cannibalism to this violence.

The purpose of torturing captives with fire went beyond a convenient and effective means of inflicting pain. Likewise, torture itself was more than a means of disposing of prisoners of war or those unsuitable for adoption. Fire was a tool of politics and survival, as well as religion. Much like the attempt to control fire to create a pot, a canoe, or to drive deer through a forest, the manipulation of the *endionrra*, the *eiachi*, and the *sken*, required different degrees of skill and control to insure success. Amerindians tread a fine line between control and chaos when they experienced torture by fire as either the captor or the captive. The inevitable death of a captive was a secondary matter as the way that captive arrived at that death, and how their tormentors took them there, was of far greater importance. Fire was the light by which both captive and tormentor found this path. Pain was the mode of transportation.

Chapter III: *"My Father, Allow Me to Caress the Prisoners a Little…"*[1]
Catholicism, Torture, and Cultural Accommodation in Seventeenth-Century New France

Part I: Introduction

On June 29, 1930 Pope Pius XI made a dramatic speech at the Vatican Basilica in which he stated: "We have decided and defined the Blessed Jean de Brébeuf and his companion Martyrs, Gabriel Lalemant, Antoine Daniel, Charles Garnier, Noel Chabanel, Isaac Jogues, René Goupil and Jean La Lande… to be Saints."[2] This occasion was almost three hundred years in the making. These Jesuits and their dedicated companions or *donnés* were among those who traveled to New France in the seventeenth century to bring Catholicism to the Amerindians. Over the course of the seventeenth century, these missionaries endured physical, emotional, and spiritual tests as they spread a network of missions across the continent. These eight men of diverse backgrounds and experience paid the ultimate price for their faith. Famous are the stories of the juggernaut of a man and missionary, Father Jean de Brébeuf. Father Brébeuf lived among the Hurons for decades before being captured by the Iroquois who slowly burned him to death. There is the story of Father Isaac Jogues and his ordeal of captivity. After being tormented, burned, and mutilated, Father Jogues lived for months among the Iroquois before he escaped and returned to France. Jogues not only soon returned to New France, but also returned to missionary work among the Mohawk. Soon after, a young Mohawk plunged a

[1] *JR*,27:229-239.
[2] Joseph P. Donnelly, *Jean de Brébeuf, 1593-1649* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1975), 312.

hatchet through his head. Yet this is only part of the story of the relationship between Amerindian torture and the invading religion of Catholicism in seventeenth century New France. The courage of men like Brébeuf and Jogues is undeniable. But it is an old story of heroes and villains, of dark wildernesses, isolation, saints and demons, and of martyrdom in its most dazzlingly violent form. The realities were far more complex. Catholicism and Amerindian cultural violence were not two systems that coexisted in a socially combative situation until the new religion conquered the old customs. Instead, Catholic beliefs and Amerindian worldviews combined to infuse acts of torture and cultural violence with a new spiritual meaning. They represented a symbiotic experience that deeply affected, and in many ways came to change each culture, altering cultural interactions in New France during the colonial period.

In 1624, the Recollect priest Joseph Le Caron wrote: "No one must come here in hopes of suffering martyrdom… for we are not in a country where savages put Christians to death on account of their religion."[3] In 1624, this may well have been the case. Amerindians, for one, did not understand Catholicism or the missionary goal to replace their traditional belief systems. Second, the inclusive nature of eastern Amerindian religion allowed its adherents to incorporate components of Catholicism into their traditional religious belief systems without significant dogmatic compromise. This also allowed Catholic Amerindians, even devout ones, to self-identify as Catholic while retaining elements of their traditional religion and not see this as a conflict as the Jesuits did. In short, missionaries assumed that they were dealing with people like Romans or Muslims who saw their missionary efforts as a threat. As the early years of the

[3] James Axtell, *The European and the Indian: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 80.

missionary effort of New France progressed, Catholic missionaries would come to understand that the more they learned about Amerindian culture and religion, the less they understood. The complexities of culture, custom, ritual, and language forced Jesuits to abandon the missionary effort altogether, work in communities at a painstakingly slow pace, or as was most often the case, to alter their strategies to meet both theirs' and Amerindians' changing spiritual needs.[4]

The complexities and tensions of merging cultures are most apparent when examining Amerindian cultural violence. As priests first heard of, and then witnessed Amerindian torture, they experienced the same shock and disgust that Europeans did from Tenochtitlan, to Jamestown, and to Quebec, particularly when Amerindians tortured traditional non-combatants such as children. France, however, had its own traditions of cultural violence and upon close examination, it is clear that Catholic missionaries saw the barbarity of these practices, but also the opportunities that they presented. Once they understood these customs, Jesuits used the example of Amerindian cultural violence to illustrate the benefits of embracing elements of Catholicism such as the severity of damnation, Catholic devotion and brotherhood, as well as Christian mercy. They also found a steady stream of converts to instruct and baptize among the captives their Amerindian allies sent to the flames.

Missionaries could gain a better understanding of Amerindian culture and religion by observing these most violent elements of it. Harnessed appropriately, Amerindian cultural violence could be a valuable tool for zealous converts in the Jesuit-sponsored missionary communities along the St. Lawrence, or *reserves*, where (for some) religious dedication was often measured by self-inflicted suffering. While the issue of these

[4] Allan Greer, *Mohawk Saint*, 108-109.

practices certainly was not the sole cause of internal tensions among Amerindian groups such as the Algonquians, the Hurons, and most acutely among the Iroquois, they certainly did contribute to such tensions. Likewise, it is through these customs that such tensions manifested themselves most acutely and dramatically, even to the extent of killing fellow tribesmen because of religious disagreement.

French Catholics brought a strong history of cultural violence with them to New France. Organizations of confraternities, or local organizations of devout lay Catholics who worked to support the church, were well known in France. These groups often employed self-flagellation as a symbol of their religious devotion. The French also tortured religious dissidents to produce confessions, and these priests in New France were familiar with these methods. Also, the public corporal, and even capital punishment of serious religious dissidents and deviants was likely viewed by many French Catholics before arriving in New France. However, the most glaring spiritual and perhaps even mystical similarity between the two groups was the very image of Christ. They worshiped, and encouraged the admiration of a man who had endured violent torture with the type of self-control and poise that Amerindians admired, and even feared. And the Catholics put his image everywhere they could. The Passion of Christ became the conduit by which both the French and Amerindians came to understand one another's perspectives on religious violence.

Part II: A Comparison Between the Traditions of Religious Violence Among the French and Those of Amerindians

Amerindian cultural violence already possessed mystical or religious qualities that could be, and often were, interwoven with elements of Catholicism. In *Your Fyre Shall Burn No More*, José António Brandão made the vital observation that Amerindian torture can be viewed as something akin to performance art that functioned as a shared experience for the entire community. There was posturing in both movement and speech, much like the singing and dancing that went along with other, often religious, customs. Likewise, the sensory experience of Amerindian torture was visual, tactile, auditory, *and* involved the senses of smell and taste with the cannibalism that sometimes followed.[5]

While Amerindian cultural violence was intertwined with religious connotations, it would be hasty to state that Amerindians tortured captives as part of a blood-sacrifice ritual to deities. Most Amerindian groups of the eastern woodlands believed in the types of entities Western culture might refer to as gods or goddesses. They told creation myths just as the French did, as well as social stories of a supernatural nature to explain natural phenomena. The Jesuits in fact observed that Amerindians had in their own history a great flood. What made religion of the eastern woodlands unique, though, was the Amerindian belief in two types of supernatural entities. There were the benevolent deities who did not typically interfere in human affairs and malevolent deities who did interfere in human affairs to implore enemies to attack, to blight crops, and after the arrival of

[5] For Iroquois religion as irretrievable, see Daniel K. Richter, *Ordeal of the Longhouse*, 36. For the religious significance of torture, see José António Brandão, *Your Fyre Shall Burn No More*, 41-46.

Europeans, to spread disease. For example, when Amerindians forded a dangerous stream, they offered tobacco, not to ask a benevolent being to help them gain safe passage, but to implore the malevolent deity not to send an undercurrent to drown them, or cause them to slip upon the rocks and injure themselves.[6]

Many Amerindians believed that these malevolent deities encouraged them to torture and consume captives in order to gradually acquire more and more courage with each captive, and not out of a sense of revenge over a particular enemy. For the Hurons, such beings could appear in the form of an angry and temperamental warrior, or as a furious old woman. Such an imbibing of important qualities was not restricted to the consumption of human flesh and is part of a larger mystical belief that was as central to these religious ideas as the divine nature of Jesus Christ is to Christianity. Essentially, any substance that Amerindians took internally contained a degree of "medicine." In the languages of the Iroquois, Hurons, and other groups as well, there is not a clear differentiation between the physical and spiritual benefits of a consumed substance. Nutrition and spiritual wellness represented the same thing. Corn, squash, and beans contained a good "medicine" that could be transferred through physical consumption. The steam of a sweat lodge contained a "medicine." A medicinal herb contained a good "medicine" and human flesh and blood consumed under the right circumstances also contained a desired "medicine."[7]

The similarities of Amerindian mystical need to absorb a desired quality of a substance, and the Catholic belief in transubstantiation are striking, and both Jesuits and

[6] Roger M. Carpenter, *The Renewed, the Destroyed, and the Remade*, 32.
[7] Michael Pomedli, *Ethnophilosophical and Ethnolinguistic Perspectives of the Huron Indian Soul*, for deities, see 64; for the foundation of the Amerindian absorption of "medicine" is largely lost in translation; for a more detailed analysis of this process, see 75-76.

Amerindians recognized this. Because of this, Jesuits took care not to celebrate communion in a community while Amerindians cannibalized their captives. Such an example occurred in 1637, when a group of Jesuits traveled to a different community to celebrate mass while the Hurons burned an Iroquois captive.[8] This conscious separation of the Catholic ritual of transubstantiation from Amerindian cannibalism occurred again in 1757 on the campaign of the Marquis de Montcalm to attack Fort William Henry, and illustrates an adaptation that the Jesuits made in the seventeenth century and carried into the eighteenth as they encountered and combated Amerindian belief systems. In this example from 1757, a group of Jesuits retired deep into the woods to celebrate communion while a group of Ottawa ate the British dead.

> After having consulted each other, we all deemed that the respect due to the sacredness of our mysteries did not permit us to celebrate, in the very center of barbarism, the sacrifice of the lamb without spot; and the more so, as these people, devoted to the most grotesque superstitions, might take advantage of our most solemn ceremonies in order to make them the substance, or even the adornment, of their juggleries.[9]

It is more important to understand, as did these Hurons in 1637 and the Ottawa in 1757, that at least from a theoretical point of view, there were distinct similarities between Amerindian ideas of religious violence (in which they ate the physical remains to gain mystical strength) and the beliefs the French (who ate semi-mystical flesh to gain spiritual power) carried with them across the Atlantic.

There are several events in Europe that had a great impact upon how Catholicism and Amerindian cultural violence would come to co-exist in New France. The first was the Council of Trent that occurred from 1545-1563. As a result of the council's reforms, the Church eradicated the last vestiges of autonomous medieval confraternal organizations

[8] *JR*,13:39.
[9] *JR*,70:131.

that employed incredibly violent methods of self-flagellation to the point of serious injury or death. In their place the Church created a new system of largely penitential confraternal organizations that came to focus on the direct suffering of the body of Christ, the Stations of the Cross, and the use of self-flagellation within defined parameters to purify the physical body of sin. The use of hair shirts, private self-inflicted pain short of injury such as flogging, and charity became symbols of personal devotion and symbolic suffering for sin. Parish priests closely regulated and supervised these organizations. The French borrowed some elements from the earlier Spanish system of more radical confraternities. While they disregarded the destructively painful self-flagellation, they retained the high public profile of such organizations. They staged elaborate parades and processions on religious holidays, and wore costumes specific to such groups as *Pénitant Blanc* the *Pénitant Bleu* and *Pénitant Gris*. The sanctioned, institutional status of these groups, their prominent place in the public eye, and their embrace of the reformed ideas of the place of pain and suffering as a symbol of religious devotion, had a great influence on ideas regarding the human body, pain, and religious devotion in early modern France.[10]

Second, the Edict of Nantes in 1598 granted French Protestants limited but secured rights in France and abroad, including the right to assemble to worship. French Huguenots possessed very limited influence in New France, but in France both the French laity and the clergy learned to function in a religiously diverse society. The clergy, including the Jesuits, already had some experience with such religious diversity in their work with very rural French communities. Much like the Amerindians they later

[10] Lisa Silverman, *Tortured Subjects: Pain, Truth, and the Body in Early Modern France* (Chicago, London: The University of Chicago Press, 2001), 111-113.

encountered in New France, these communities often celebrated the remnants of pagan religious beliefs and superstitions alongside of, and not necessarily in conflict with, Catholicism.[11]

Third, the Society of Jesus itself developed in accordance with the above described values regarding violence and religion. First founded by Ignatius Loyola in 1546, the Society of Jesus was an organization of select priests dedicated to achieving a heightened sense of spiritualism. Jesuits dedicated themselves to the principals of education, knowledge, and missionary work. In order to become a *soldier of Christ*, a Jesuit needed a thorough understanding of the classics, philosophy, and theology, as well as fluency in Latin, Greek, and even Hebrew. This familiarity with learning languages assisted Jesuits in acquiring the Amerindian language skills necessary for missionary work. What Loyola and a handful of followers began in 1546 had, by his death in 1556, grown to almost a thousand member religious order.[12] As the order matured and expanded its membership in the sixteenth-century, the Jesuits began to undertake missionary work on four continents.[13]

Prospective Jesuits required years of rigorous training and education in advanced theology and philosophy, which was interspersed with teaching requirements at Jesuit colleges. At the same time, they fulfilled requirements to humble themselves before God in a manner that promoted self-discipline while maintaining the contemporary ideas of venerating Christ through personal penance, self-sacrifice, and suffering. To this end,

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[11] Jeremy Black, *Eighteenth-Century Europe* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), 323. William Doyle, *The Old European Order, 1660-1800* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 152.

[12] Nicholas P. Cushner, *Soldiers of God: The Jesuits in Colonial America, 1565-1767* (Buffalo: Language Communications, 2002), 25.

[13] John Patrick Donnelly, S.J., ed. and trans., *Jesuit Writings of the Early Modern Period, 1540-1640* (Indianapolis, Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Company, 2006), xiv-xvii.

Jesuits took a vow of poverty, undertook daily chores, and ate a simple diet. They were discouraged from undergoing the customs of public sacrifice and self-flagellation that other orders and confraternities zealously embraced. Instead, Jesuits and Jesuit novices often wore cloths of very course cloth, or sat in uncomfortable positions in an effort to avoid sensory pleasure rather than to cause physical pain. Jesuits believed that this, combined with long periods of meditation and prayer, brought them closer to God. Missionary work quickly became one of the primary concerns of the Jesuit order. By the seventeenth-century, hundreds of Jesuits resided in Asia, Africa, and North and South America. These were the well-educated and disciplined men who came to France's North American colonies. [14]

In New France the Society of Jesus slowly spread a network of missions from the French strongholds of Quebec, Montreal, and Three Rivers throughout the St. Lawrence Valley and by the late seventeenth century, beyond the Great Lakes into what is today Wisconsin, Michigan, Illinois, and Minnesota. The Jesuits in New France worked as they did throughout the world. They functioned as a hierarchical organization that, unlike English Protestant missionaries, was largely freed from parish work. They answered to a network of superiors in a chain of command. At a large mission such as the Mission of the Huron, three to four priests might answer to one Jesuit Superior, who reported to his Superior at Quebec, who in turn answered to Paris, and finally to Rome. In this way, the Jesuits enjoyed both a concrete bureaucracy that dictated overall policy and mission organization, yet left the individual missionary a great deal of freedom to go about converting Amerindians as he saw fit.[15]

[14] Allan Greer, *Mohawk Saint*, 67-72.
[15] James Axtell, *The European and the Indian*, 69-70.

The Jesuits were successful because of the long-term nature of their missionary goal and their tolerance for Amerindian traditional beliefs and customs that was necessary in such a long-term undertaking. Unlike other missionary efforts such as that of the Franciscans in Latin America, the Jesuits of New France did not seek immediately to purge Amerindians of their traditional beliefs whether they liked them or not, and at the tip of a whip if necessary. Also, unlike English missionaries, they did not demand Amerindians give up all aspects of their culture and enter colonial economies at the bottom of the social ladder. The Jesuits acknowledged throughout the seventeenth century that the achievement of their goals would take generations of chipping away at Amerindian religious beliefs, and winning souls one at a time. In the process they endured not only isolation and physical discomfort, but also bore witness to the darkest of Amerindian customs with the knowledge that they could not stop them. This is what some scholars have referred to as the Jesuit use of Aristotle's Nichomachean Ethics. The Jesuit Constitution itself states that when teaching the subjects of metaphysics, nature, and moral philosophy, Aristotle's ideas should be followed. Aristotle's Nichomachean Ethics states that contrary to Platonic ideas, ethics are not universal. People instead attempt to create their own ethics from their own nature and circumstance, what we might today refer to as a *cultural lens*. Following this notion, Jesuits did not condemn Amerindians for their customs no matter how immoral or abhorrent they found them to be. Amerindian morality was not broken beyond repair, they argued, but it did need to be mended, even rebuilt, and this would take time. The use of Nichomachean Ethics is partially what allowed the Jesuits to tolerate such violent customs as torture and cannibalism. The wide range of Jesuit responses to Amerindian torture is explained by a

combination of this idea of missionaries guided by a series of philosophical ideas, and not always from direct orders from superiors, coupled with their seventeenth century Catholic perspective on pain and suffering as a tool of Christian faith. The Jesuits' responses varied based on the individual, the political state of affairs with the allies and enemies of New France, and with the varying degrees of success and failure of the overall missionary effort in any particular region at a given time.[16]

Part III: Early Jesuit Responses to Amerindian Torture

As the Jesuits worked to establish a foothold in the Huron and Algonquin communities between Quebec and Montreal, they found themselves in a difficult position regarding Amerindian cultural violence. While they found these customs to be abhorrent and barbaric, the Jesuits objected to these customs on a broader scope than the Western taboo of cannibalism. They understood and possessed a clear familiarity with penitential violence, judicial torture, and both the corporal and capital punishment of criminals and religious deviants such as witches and Protestants. Due in part to their own experience with religiously motivated violence, the Jesuits challenged Amerindian reasons to burn a man, woman, or child alive, and quickly assessed that these customs represented a component of the Amerindian religion that they had crossed the Atlantic in order to combat. As a result, Jesuits expressed a clear objection to Amerindian violence, and, in the first decades of the missionary effort, did all they could to prevent or curb it.

[16] For a comparison of English and French missionaries, see James Axtell, *The European and the Indian*, 85. For Nichomachean ethics, please see John Patrick Donnelly, *Jesuit Writings*, 42. For Jesuits and local customs, see Christopher Vecsey, *The Paths of Kateri's Kin* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1997), 26.

Father Paul Le Jeune quickly became the strongest advocate of stopping Amerindian torture in the early seventeenth century. Father Le Jeune became the Jesuit Superior of Quebec upon his arrival in 1632, and served as a missionary in various locations and capacities before returning to France in 1662. Upon his arrival in New France, Father Le Jeune resided at the French settlement of Tadoussac where he received his first exposure to Amerindian torture. A month after his arrival, the Montagnais of Tadoussac condemned three recently captured Iroquois prisoners to be tortured. Father Le Jeune described how he and Monsieur Emery de Caen argued with the Montagnais to save the life of the youngest prisoner, a boy of about fifteen. Father Le Jeune initially argued to save the lives of all three, but the Montagnais told him that it would take a wealth of gifts to do so. Having none, Le Jeune proved unable to convince the Montagnais to refrain from torturing the prisoners. The Montagnais burned all three of them over the course of several hours.[17]

In the same month Father Le Jeune again argued with the Montagnais for the lives of a group of Iroquois prisoners. This time he addressed the French commander of Tadoussac and argued that in France, alms would be given to restore men in prison for debt, and it was more than fitting to pay the Montagnais not to torture their captives. As is evident by his scathing report, nothing came of Le Jeune's pleas. He wrote how, if the French could in some way profit from the fur trade, they would save all of the condemned captives. Father Le Jeune enjoyed at least one success when later that year, he baptized a small child after the Montagnais tortured its parents to death. He then sent the child to France.[18]

[17] *JR*,5:27-31.
[18] *JR*,5:45-49.

Father Le Jeune clearly attempted to place these customs in context and struggled to do so. He compared these captives to men in debtor's prison based on the idea that once a sum is paid, the captive would be freed. However, he learned that his proposed situation did not accurately represent the Montagnais beliefs regarding torture by fire. While Le Jeune surely felt revulsion at the violence he witnessed, he specifically focused upon the treatment of the youngest captive and sought to understand why the Montagnais chose to torture a child. Father Le Jeune illustrated frustration with not only the violence itself, but also the lack of a clear motivation for such torture. Lastly, he quickly came to understand the economic dynamic of his new home. In Canada, all aspects of life revolved around the fur trade and with the exception of Monsieur de Caen, the colonists showed no willingness to risk upsetting the suppliers of their most lucrative export.

The Jesuits used their training and experiences in other parts of the world to adapt their goals of conversion and acculturation to the social and cultural environment of New France. The important accommodation of the missionary effort became the reprioritization to save the soul of the condemned captive by means of as thorough an education in Catholicism as circumstances would allow before baptism. This education came to take precedence over the physical life of the captive. Not only would catechistic learning save the soul of the condemned captive but it would also expose the French allied Amerindians to the teachings of the church each time they burned a captive. Over time, the Jesuits' efforts prepared the Hurons, Montagnais, and Algonquians for their own baptism into the Catholic fold.

In the early modern period, the Catholic Church considered baptism as indispensable for eternal salvation, and the baptism of Amerindians became a high priority across all

Catholic colonies of the New World. While the clergy preferred that the individual understand the ritual, they did not consider such comprehension to be essential for salvation. In New France, priests made every effort, even if they did it in secret, to baptize dying infants. Due to the devastating epidemics of the seventeenth century, they sadly had such children in abundance. In Latin America, some Franciscan priests readily practiced baptism by *aspiration*, that is, administering baptism by spraying holy water on a large group of people. Some Franciscans claimed to have baptized as many as five thousand people in a single day, spraying water until they could not move their arms anymore. The Jesuits attempted this very rarely in New France, and only when circumstances required it. One such case was the destruction of the Mission of St. Joseph in the summer of 1648. Father Antoine Daniel, amid the gunfire and flying arrows, dipped his handkerchief in water and used it to fling holy water across his crowded church. He ran about the village baptizing everybody he could, as fast as he could, until the Iroquois surrounded him, repeatedly shot his body full of arrows, only to shoot him through the chest with an arquebus. Such wholesale baptism, however, was the exception to the rule.[19]

At times Jesuit missionaries went to extremes to insure that adults fully understood what they undertook through baptism. In one instance, Jesuits prepared for baptism a crippled woman who had been abandoned to die. She enthusiastically embraced the teachings of the Jesuits. Before they baptized her, however, they wanted to test her to see if she truly wanted to become a Christian. They directed her towards a departing group of Amerindians and stated that instead of being baptized as a Christian, she could leave with them. Only when she broke down and pleaded to be saved, did they measure her as

[19] *JR*,34:87-91.

suitable for baptism. Even with the case of Catherine Tekakwitha, the Jesuits took great care that the future "Mohawk Saint" understood the gravity of what she undertook in becoming a Catholic.[20]

The Jesuits educated condemned captives with as much detail and seriousness as possible throughout the seventeenth century, but paid greater attention to proper education accompanying baptism and conversion in the later seventeenth century than the early years of the missionary effort. When circumstances did allow, Jesuits took a great deal of time and effort to insure that the new convert understood not only the rituals that the priests performed, but also Catholic dogma, including both the eternal rewards of Heaven, and the penalties of burning in Hell. They also took advantage of Amerindian cultural violence to further the greater missionary effort in New France by accommodating their educational mission when they used such violence to convince Amerindians of the need to embrace Catholicism. An example of such alteration is illustrated in Father Antoine Le Mercier's 1637 account of the pre-torture conversion of the Iroquois man Saunadanoncoua by Father Jean de Brébeuf.

Father Le Mercier wrote: "At first we were horrified at the thought of being present at this spectacle; but, having well considered all, we judged it wise to be there, not despairing of being able to win this soul for God." The Jesuits knew that they could not prevent the torture of this captive, but they could use the example of Amerindian cultural violence as a teaching tool to bring their Catholic message to their Huron hosts.[21]

Father Brébeuf did exactly this as he continued to: "instruct him in our mysteries- in a word, to prepare him for Holy Baptism." As a crowd of Hurons gathered to listen to the

[20] *JR*,1:259-260.
[21] *JR*, 13:37.

priest's instructions, Father Brébeuf spoke of how God loved all men: "the Iroquois as well as the Hurons, the captives as well as the free, the poor and the miserable equally with the rich, --provided they believe in him and keep his Holy Commandments." As the torture began, Father Brébeuf encouraged Saunadanoncoua to be courageous and reminded him that this suffering would only be for a few moments, reiterating to the Hurons that God hated sin, and punished sinners with eternal damnation and torment in ceaseless flames. The Catholic education that Father Brébeuf taught to both Saunadanoncoua and the Hurons illustrates both the key religious points of the Jesuits when they dealt with Amerindian cultural violence, and a means by which missionaries could use such violence to spark Amerindians' interest in the new religion. By adapting his methods and goals to meet the situation, Father Brébeuf used a situation that could have been nothing but the brutal death of one captive as an opportunity to both convert a captive to Catholicism, and to solidify the groundwork of the Jesuit mission in the community. Father Brébeuf took advantage of the torture of Saunadanoncoua to remind the assembled crowd of how this scene resembled the torments of condemned souls in Hell. He not only stated that the torments of Hell were far worse, and eternal, but that if "they were cruel to this poor wretch; the Devils were still more so to the condemned."[22]

Father Brebéuf's use of Amerindian cultural violence represents an innovation in the use of these customs to advance the overall missionary effort. In Europe, political leaders used public executions to show people the penalties for criminal acts, and religious leaders used similar punishment to illustrate the penalty for religious deviance. Father Brébeuf utilized his knowledge and experience to adapt this idea to a social setting in which the religious deviants were the ruling body. He took advantage of the scene of

[22] *JR*,13:37-72.

torture by slow fire to describe the horrors of Hell that awaited those who did not become Catholic. It is one thing to tell an assembled group of Amerindians that Hell is bad, and quite another explain this as they burned a man alive.[23]

Upon their arrival in New France, Jesuit missionaries found themselves in a difficult position. Unable to prohibit Amerindian cultural violence, they adapted their missionary goals to include these customs as a part of their spiritual arsenal. As illustrated in this example, the easiest and least intrusive inlet was to work to convert and give spiritual aid to condemned captives while exposing the captors to the same religious teachings. From the Jesuit perspective, this simultaneously saved the immortal souls of the captives, did not interfere or alienate the Jesuits' hosts, and exposed these hosts to the Jesuits' teachings. In short the Jesuits changed to meet the situation in which they found themselves. Inevitably, the violence of which they became a part changed them as well.

The most dramatic example of this change is the tendency on the part of the Jesuits to condone and even encourage torture by fire. This occurred in October of 1647 when a combined group of Frenchmen and Algonquians captured the man who had killed Father Isaac Jogues the previous year. By an order of Governor Charles Huault de Montmagny, the Jesuits educated this man in the Catholic faith. After the Jesuits baptized him with the name of Isaac, they gave him back to the Algonquians, and instructed them to burn him, or as the Jesuit writer described it: "in order to extract Justice from him." So, the French authority both secular, and religious condoned this torture. A similar example occurred in 1656 and comes directly from Father Paul Le Jeune. In April of 1656, twenty-four years after he first attempted to bargain for the lives of Iroquois captives, Father Le Jeune described how the Hurons near Quebec captured an Iroquois man and took him: "to the

[23] *JR*,13:77.

Island of Orleans, where he was condemned to death and to the fire, which doubtless he richly deserved."[24]

Father Le Jeune began his career in New France by arguing adamantly for the preservation of Amerindian captives, and the drastic change from his previous feelings, and why they altered over time, should be addressed. The French religious presence took the brunt of Iroquois attacks. The clergy watched as the Iroquois captured and burned their Amerindian converts, and their missions. In the 1640s, the Iroquois began to capture and torture their fellow priests and dedicated *donnés*. In many ways the Jesuits, Amerindian Catholics, and French colonists went through a period of spiritual *seasoning* and adjustment over time.

The lack of a culturally accessible purpose for Amerindian torture inevitably took a toll, even on those familiar with religious violence. This is clear in the words of Francois Le Mercier after observing the torture, death, and cannibalization of Saunadanoncoua. Father Le Mercier wrote that he, Father Garnier, and Father Brébeuf did attempt to discourage the Hurons from torturing captives. He wrote: "it is not yet in our power, we are not the masters here; it is not a trifling matter to have a whole country opposed to one, -- a barbarous country, too." This same type of frustration and realization is also evident in Father Le Jeune's relation of 1637. That year, the Iroquet Algonquians defeated a group of Iroquois and took thirteen prisoners, one of whom they took to Three Rivers. Father Buteux relayed to Father Le Jeune how the wives of men recently killed by the Iroquois had tortured this captive. Father Le Jeune did not give any details, stating that they were too horrible to write down. "[W]hat saddens me," he wrote, "is that they give vent to this madness in the presence and in the sight of our French people. I hope

[24] For the death of Father Jogues' killer, see *JR*,32:19-25. For Father Le Jeune, see *JR*,43:105.

however, that in the future they will keep away from our settlements, if they wish to indulge in this mania." Both Father Le Mercier and Father Le Jeune had a myriad of concerns when it came to Amerindian torture that point towards a type of spiritual seasoning that developed over time. Upon arrival in 1632, Father Le Jeune was clearly concerned for the captives and very critical of the colonists' apathy. By 1637, the edge was gone from his writing, and he expresses more concern for what effect the spectacle of torture might have on the French colonists. By 1655, he himself cast judgment on the condemned. [25]

The methods and process by which the Jesuits converted captives did not initially go through great changes, but the social and political circumstances in which conversions occurred did change. The Jesuits were very familiar with how politics and religion affected each other. Rival religious orders vied for the favor of monarchs and the nobility, the Protestant Reformation had an impact on politics across Europe, and in France, Cardinal Richelieu held immense political influence. In New France, the Iroquois League represented the most influential outside factor in the Jesuits' success or failure. When the Iroquois raided into Canada, the Jesuits watched their progress among the Hurons, Algonquians, and Montagnais diminish as communities scattered, the Iroquois killed and captured converts, and the French colonists and leaders became preoccupied with defense. Their efforts eroded further when the Iroquois took Jesuits themselves captive. The reverse was true as well. When the French and their allies enjoyed success against the Iroquois, the number of potential converts rose as their allies captured and tortured more Iroquois.

[25] For Father le Mercier, see *JR*,13:79. For Father Le Jeune, see *JR*,12:181-183.

In December 1639 the Hurons returned with more than one hundred Iroquois captives, of whom the Jesuits of the Mission of the Huron baptized eighty. One priest wrote that they had only enough time to baptize them before the Hurons burned these Iroquois, indicating that he would have liked more time to focus on religious instruction. One of these baptized captives, attempted (unsuccessfully) to choke himself to death after a full twenty-four hours of torture. The Jesuits returned and explained to him that this was a sin, and if he killed himself he would not enter Heaven. He was allowed to: "acknowledge his fault" and the Jesuits gave him absolution before the Hurons finally killed him. Like Father Brébeuf in 1637, these Jesuits learned to accommodate Amerindian cultural violence. This group of priests did not remain at the suffering man's side as a different group of priests had with Saunadanoncoua two years earlier. They helped the man as a priest in Europe would help any condemned prisoner. In France they would hear his last confession. In New France, they insured that he was baptized and avoided the mortal sin of suicide.[26]

The series of successes and failures between the Hurons and the Iroquois continued in the late 1630s and early 1640s. This resulted in a flurry of baptisms of condemned captives by Jesuits as they adapted to the changing military situation in which they found themselves. Father Brébeuf baptized captives in and around the Mission of the Huron. In 1639, at *Residence de la Conception*, Father Francois Peron and Father Hierosme Lalemant shuttled between the communities of Teanaustayue and Scanonaenrat in order to baptize twelve captives before the Hurons burned them. Father Rene Menard baptized two Iroquois prisoners the day before the Hurons burned them.[27]

[26] For baptizing the Iroquois, see *JR*,17:63-65; for stopping the suicide; see *JR*,17:97-99.
[27] *JR*,37:111.

In the 1640s the Iroquois initiated an aggressive new offensive against the Hurons that almost wiped out the once powerful Huron confederacy and drastically reduced the Jesuits' missionary effort in the region. The Iroquois attacked and destroyed entire communities. Among these were large villages of The Mission of St. Joseph and Mission of St. Louis. Refugees from these attacks poured northward and westward to resettle. The Iroquois killed several of the most experienced Jesuits, including Fathers Brébeuf, Antoine Daniel, and Isaac Jogues.[28]

In the wake of these Iroquois offensives, the Jesuits eventually rebuilt their ministry into an even more extensive and farther reaching network of missions. They continued their work among the remnants of the Hurons, the Algonquians, and the Montagnais. After the French negotiated a truce with the Iroquois, the Five Nations allowed Jesuit missionaries to reside in Iroquois communities. By the late 1640s, the Jesuits had spent a decade learning how best to convert condemned captives and use this experience to make headway with the captors. While the Jesuits mourned the losses of men like Father Brébeuf, he greatly influenced the ability of the Jesuit order to make the necessary adaptations to the overall missionary effort. The Jesuits and even modern writers have commended Father Brébeuf for having the foresight to allow his fellow priests to take a sample of his blood as a holy relic so that something of him would remain if the Iroquois killed him. Perhaps his greatest legacy, though, was the knowledge and experience he passed on to a new generation. Father Brébeuf was instrumental in training a generation of younger missionaries, like Father Antoine le Mercier, how to be successful in Amerindian communities and also how best to go about baptizing condemned captives.

[28] The destruction of Huronia and the deaths of these missionaries are examined in greater detail in a later.

When the Iroquois finally allowed French missionaries to live among them, the Jesuits embraced this opportunity. In 1652, Father Joseph Bressany baptized condemned Huron captives of the Iroquois. In 1655, Father Jean de Quen described baptizing Erie captives before the Iroquois burned them. In 1667 Francois le Mercier still baptized condemned captives, this time among the Iroquois, thirty years after he first observed Jean de Brébeuf baptize Saunadanoncoua.[29]

The developing relationship between the Iroquois and the Jesuits led to a dramatic expansion of the geographic range of the French missionary effort. Iroquois raiding parties had a much wider geographic range than those of the Hurons or Algonquians, and by the 1660s the Iroquois brought back Susquehannock captives from as far away as Virginia, and the Jesuits eagerly educated them in Catholicism.[30] Although the means altered drastically from the first missionary efforts, the Jesuits still successfully gained converts, even if they first had to walk the gauntlet to find the Catholic God. Occasionally, captives took knowledge of the Jesuits back to their homeland. While living among the Iroquois, Father de Carheil described how several Susquehannock captives spoke of other Susquehannock who successfully escaped from the Iroquois, returned to their own communities and told their people of: "the charity that the black Gowns had for them as well as for the Iroquois."[31]

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[29] For Father Brébeuf giving his blood, see *JR*,34:161-162; for baptizing the Hurons and Erie, see *JR*,42:97; for Saunadanoncoua, see *JR*,13:65-69.

[30] This method of having Amerindians come to meet the French is very similar to the way the French governor conducted the yearly councils at Quebec. In the late summer, Amerindians from as far as Louisiana and the Upper Great Lakes traveled to Quebec to meet with the French governor in a massive council that lasted for several weeks. Regardless of who held the post, Amerindians referred to him as *Onontio*, which is Algonquin for "Great Mountain."

[31] *JR*,52:167-173; *JR*,53:137; *JR*,53:243-253; *JR*,54:21; *JR*,54:103; *JR*,54:279; *JR*,57:169; *JR*,58:225-227.

That the Jesuits extended their efforts as deep into North America as they did suggests that as they lived among different nations in different regions, they succeeded in their adaptations and accommodations to the situations in which they found themselves as the missionary effort showed progress with some communities, families, and key leaders. With this achievement they also introduced deep religious divides among Amerindians, for others in these communities resented and even feared their presence and teachings. Along the way Catholicism divided communities, broke apart families, and alienated many powerful Amerindian leaders. These rifts and tensions often manifested themselves in the use of cultural violence.

Part IV: Amerindians, Catholicism, and Cultural Violence

While the Jesuits maintained a balance between their cultural beliefs and Amerindian torture, Amerindians underwent their own struggles politically and militarily against the French, the English, the Dutch, and each other. They struggled socially as well. The nearly constant state of war, and European diseases decimated Amerindian populations among both the allies and enemies of New France. A spiritual struggle, however, also took place among Amerindian groups at this time, and historians have only begun to examine this in depth. In the past, historians and hagiographers alike have categorized Amerindians as either "good" or "bad" characters in a story crafted to make saints of the few, and demons of the many. These were the Amerindians who accepted baptism, as

much as those who burned Jesuits and *donnés*.[32] These constructs only represent the extremes of what was a complex and constantly shifting Amerindian reaction to Catholicism. This reaction was at times as beautiful as the Jesuits portrayed it to be, and at other times it produced horrific violence. Most Amerindians fell between the two in their reaction to the new religion where the violence of torture and cannibalism met the invasion of Catholicism.

Neophytes were Amerindians who fully embraced Catholicism and followed the teachings of the Jesuits as closely as they could. They underwent Catechistic exercises and education (before becoming Catholic) that included learning about Catholic ideas of Heaven and Hell, the immortality of the soul, and the divine and all-encompassing nature and power of God, or "Michi-Manitou" as the Christian God was often called in Algonquin dialects. Neophytes learned and eventually received all of the sacraments beginning with baptism. They were expected to marry in a Catholic ceremony, reject polygamy, and refrain from all sexual activity outside of marriage. Many of these male neophytes became *donnés* in all but name, typically laboring for the Church and the fathers as canoe men and bodyguards on the long and dangerous voyages between missions. Some female neophytes rejected marriage and sexual relations altogether, possibly to emulate both the matriarchal societies they originated from and the nuns they observed in the French communities or heard about from eyewitnesses. Many others came to live on the *reserves*, the seventeenth century Christian communities created along the St. Lawrence. For most though, they still lived their traditional lifestyle of hunting, gathering and cultivating in seasonal and migratory patterns. They rejected most

[32] Allan Greer, "Colonial Saints: Gender, Race, and Hagiography in New France" *The William and Mary Quarterly* 3rd Series. 57, no. 2 (April 2000): 341.

elements of traditional Amerindian religion and practiced the Catholic faith, with or without the presence of French priests.

Traditionalists were just as multi-layered as the neophytes in the diversity of their religious beliefs. While they did not convert to Catholicism, they sometimes retained an interest in listening to, and learning from, the Jesuits. They retained their traditional beliefs, including a multi-dimensional nature to the soul that lived on after physical death. Certain elements of this mystical element of themselves would remain near the physical body while other elements would go on to the afterlife that they believed lay far to the west. Traditionalist religious leaders, or *jugglers*, as the Jesuits called them, often opposed the Jesuits' efforts to spread their Christian teachings. These individuals saw to the metaphysical and mystical needs of the community in warding off harmful entities that could, among other things, destroy crops, drive off game and after the advent of the Europeans, bring deadly diseases. These jugglers often saw the Jesuits as competition and on numerous occasions directly debated and confronted them.

Neophytes and traditionalists represent the polar opposites of religious belief among Amerindians. Most often, this religious divide also corresponded to an individual's stance on Amerindian cultural violence, as neophytes stood strongly against it, and traditionalists stood just as strongly for it. The debate and conflict between these two extremes became a source of religious tension as the Jesuits attempted to gain the support of Amerindians who did not fall into either extreme, such as *catequmens*. These *catequmens* demonstrated a desire to learn about Catholicism but had not gained enough knowledge or experience to be considered neophytes. They listened to the stories and sermons of the priests, and decided to convert to Catholicism. Initially, the Jesuits

considered virtually any Amerindian who expressed the slightest interest in Catholicism to be a *catequmen*. Many of them wished to establish ties with the priests to get presents or an inroad with the French. Others may have believed the mystical powers of Catholicism could be added to their traditionalist belief systems without replacing them.

Lapsed Catholics were Amerindians who underwent education, baptism, and even time in the reserves, but returned to traditionalism after they lost what may have been a devout and even passionate attitude towards Catholicism. The alcoholism that ran rampant throughout Amerindian cultures even in the seventeenth century caused many Amerindians to give up Catholicism. Capture and adoption caused many others to become lapsed in their Catholic beliefs because upon capture, they did not have access to a priest, and if they regained access to a priest, they took up Catholicism again. Upon entering Iroquois communities, many Jesuits (both as captives themselves and later as missionaries) reported pleasurable meetings with neophytes they had previously known before their captivity, and who eagerly re-embraced their faith. Not all those who became lapsed Catholics, however, initially took up Catholicism willingly. Many Amerindians reluctantly converted to Catholicism because of family or community conversion. When removed from Catholic restrictions by capture and adoption, they became militantly anti-Catholic, and anti-French, and they returned to traditionalism. Many of the naturalized Iroquois who tortured Father Jean de Brébeuf and Father Gabriel Lalemant had formerly been Catholics before capture.[33]

The exclusive nature of Catholicism prohibited other religious rituals or traditions, while Amerindian religion embraced and incorporated other rituals and traditions. Both

[33] Michael Pomedli, *Ethnophilosophical and Ethnolinguistic Perspectives of the Huron Indian Soul*, 63-64. For the naturalized Iroquois who killed Father Brébeuf and Father Lalemant, see *JR*,17:105-109.

the Jesuits and Amerindians, however, reacted distinctly to the challenges that Amerindian cultural violence presented. The religious divides and conflicts of neophytes, traditionalists, and lapsed Catholics often came to embrace religious violence. This is illustrated by the well documented example of a dedicated neophyte, her experiences with Amerindian cultural violence, and her reactions to these religious divides she processed and endured. Pulled one way by the teachings and controls of the Jesuits, and another by her traditionalist roots, she accommodated both elements of her environment through the use of cultural violence that borrowed from both French and Amerindian traditions.

Catherine Tekakwitha is thought to have been born around 1656 in the community of Goiogouen, along the Mohawk River. Due in large part to religious divides in Goiogouen between Catholics and traditionalists, her family relocated in 1677 to the Catholic Iroquois community of Kahnawake. Tekakwitha has been the subject of numerous hagiographic biographies from the time of her death in 1680 into the twentieth century. In 1980 she was officially beatified by Pope John Paul II, and awaits official canonization as a Catholic Saint. Serious historical inquiry into the life of Tekakwitha has only emerged very recently in the form of Allan Greer's excellent 2005 book, *Mohawk Saint: Catherine Tekakwitha and the Jesuits*.[34]

We know a great deal about Tekakwitha's life after she came to reside at Kahnawake, and even about her life as a Catholic along the Mohawk River in the midst of the Great Iroquois Schism of the late seventeenth century. The Jesuits of Kahnawake learned of and chronicled the personal stress and community tensions she likely experienced after her baptism, and more importantly, after she made the decision to continue following the

[34] Allan Greer, *Mohawk Saint*, 3-4.

teachings of the Jesuits even if this caused social tensions. Not all baptized Amerindians completely relented on traditionalist ideas as the Jesuits asked. One example of this is the Catholic prohibition of work on Sunday. Most Amerindian women refused to stop working in the fields on Sunday, but Tekakwitha did refuse. Subsequently, other women called her lazy; they stole her rosary; and traditionalist religious leaders and children mocked her.[35]

Jesuit writers and historians have come to understand a great deal about Tekakwitha's life as a Catholic, but for as much as we understand about her religious life, we know very little about her youth as a traditionalist Mohawk adolescent, or her experience with cultural violence at this earlier time of her life. This was a period of heavy military activity for the Iroquois, and while we cannot know if young Tekakwitha burned or ate captives, it is quite likely that she witnessed it. We know through the relation of Father Pierre Milet that on at least one occasion, the Mohawk tortured two women there in 1670, the same time when Tekakwitha lived there. This is of great importance because of the potential impact it had on Tekakwitha's evolving Catholic zeal. Her experience with observing and possibly inflicting pain upon captives, and her personal use of pain as an expression of this religious devotion shaped the ascetic penance that she, and the group of Catholic Amerindian women she bonded with, regularly participated in as an element of their religious devotion. This in turn can show us how customs of traditionalist cultural violence evolved among Catholic Amerindians on a very personal level.[36]

As early as 1676, a group of Catholic Amerindian women at Kahnawake began to use self-inflicted injury and pain as an expression of ascetic penance, much like members of

[35] Allan Greer, *Mohawk Saint*, 56-57.
[36] For Tekakwitha's likely experience with Amerindian torture at Goiogouen, see *JR*,54:29. For her religious zeal at Kahnawake, see Allan Greer, *Mohawk Saint*, 47.

European confraternal organizations. Upon her arrival, Tekakwitha enthusiastically joined this group. These women's religiously motivated actions differentiated from that of Europeans only in the sense that in Europe, only men typically participated in such penitential rituals. The bodily exposure necessary for the typical self-flagellation of a whip to the back required men to strip to the waist to whip themselves, and women could not expose their bodies like this. Also, organizers of such organizations did not feel that women possessed the intellectual capacity for the intense and serious self-reflection that such penance required. Men participated in such customs as atonement for their participation in market economics. As women did not participate directly in economics, they did not need to be penitent for it. Even if the Jesuits and Ursaline nuns who oversaw the reserves believed these reasons to be sound, none of them applied to these Mohawk women. Ascetic penance was performed in private by the Mohawk women, so there was no issue of sexual impropriety. Amerindian women had a direct role in economics, particularly among the agriculturally-based Huron and Iroquois who produced the food that was the basis of their economies. Lastly, women in Iroquois culture occupied important roles in matters of family, diplomacy, religion, economics, and government. The Iroquois certainly had no qualms about the intellectual capacity of women for self-reflection or decision making. As part of the Jesuit tendency to alter their methods and ideas to meet the unique challenges of their missionary effort, they certainly recognized the importance of gaining the favor and religious dedication of women.[37]

Europeans and Amerindians used methods of ascetic penance as exposure and self-laceration, but the drastically different Amerindian ideas regarding cultural violence, and the place of violence in religious expression, caused these violent expressions to manifest

[37] Lisa Silverman, *Tortured Subjects*, 127.

in different way among Amerindians. The devoted women of Kahnawake learned about European penitential tools such as hair shirts through the Ursaline nuns of Quebec. Amerindians, however, used fire and self-inflicted burns in uniquely adapted methods that merged both European Catholic and traditional Amerindian customs. Amerindian religious leaders used such self-inflicted burning in healing procedures. Most Iroquois also used it as a training tool for possible capture and torture. Greer speculates that this use of fire by Tekakwitha and her compatriots might have been an effort to prepare themselves not only for the fires of their enemies, but also for the fires of Hell. He cites a Huron example of this from the *Jesuit Relations* of 1645-46.[38]

The specific methods that Tekakwitha employed imply that she did not merely use the training devices of the Iroquois to prepare herself, but also used traditionalist methods of torture by fire on herself to emulate the suffering of Jesus Christ. She and her close compatriot, the Oneida woman Marie-Thérèse, privately placed hot coals between their toes for the time it took to recite the Ave Maria. The placing of hot coals directly upon the skin certainly was a method of torture used by many Amerindian groups of New France. When alone Tekakwitha passed a firebrand slowly along her leg, starting at her toes and working her way up to the knee. The act of passing a firebrand slowly over the limbs, beginning with the extremities and slowly working up the body, was the most common means of burning a captive in the initial phases of torture. Some Catholic Iroquois chose to chastise themselves with lacerations, as they did in mourning rituals, or to burn themselves as they did in preparation for possible capture. Tekakwitha took this

[38] Allan Greer, *Mohawk Saint*, 118-119. John Steckley's work on the Huron sermons of Father Jean de Brébeuf reinforces this hypothesis to an even greater degree. Brébeuf conveyed, in Huron, the severity of the fires of Hell in comparison to the less powerful fires the Hurons used to burn their captives. John Steckley, *De Religione*, [*sic*] 77.

to another level by adapting the act of torture itself, not the training exercise. She re-interpreted the Amerindian customs of torture by fire to culturally accommodate her Catholic faith in a way that bore similarity to both the torture of Amerindian captives she understood and could directly reference, and the sufferings of Christ that she sought to understand and emulate. [39]

Catherine Tekakwitha's case is not a typical example of how neophytes reinterpreted cultural violence. Yet, in the wake of the Catholic invasion and the rapidly changing dynamic it produced, The Great Schism of the Iroquois resulted in a variety of drastic reinterpretations of religious violence, of which this is only one, and both Catholic and traditionalist Iroquois reinterpretations of torture by fire illustrates the depth of these religious divides. This held true for both Catholics and traditionalists because even if traditionalists did not convert to Catholicism, the inclusive nature of their religious beliefs allowed for the recognition of its mystical and supernatural power. As Catholic Iroquois like Tekakwitha embraced and re-interpreted Catholicism in the framework of Iroquois cultural violence, traditionalists also re-interpreted cultural violence to combat this religious invasion.

The growing presence of Catholicism in Iroquois communities, and the religious divides within them, produced a significant effect on Iroquois use of cultural violence, even when the Five Nations welcomed missionaries. Some Iroquois forbade the Jesuits from baptizing captives before torture. At other times, some Iroquois allowed and even encouraged the Jesuits to baptize captives before they burned them. In one case an Iroquois warrior actually loosened the bonds of a French captive so he could pray more comfortably. At Onondaga in 1669, Father Pierre Milet baptized a Susquehannock

[39] Allan Greer, *Mohawk Saint*, 143.

captive before the torture. Father Milet then left the captive, because he did not think he could witness his torture. While walking away, one of the Onondaga stopped Milet, and encouraged him to comfort the captive while they burned him. In 1696, the Iroquois captured a Catholic woman near the Mission of the Sault and took her and her child back to Iroquoia where they beat, slashed, and burned her with hot irons. The woman continued her prayers, and implored these Iroquois to embrace Catholicism. While this type of scene was not unheard of, what makes it shocking is that this woman *was* Iroquois. She lived near the reserves, and was captured and tortured by traditionalists. She continued to invoke God, the Saints, and the Holy Virgin until her captors stabbed her with a bayonet. When she did not die even after the bayonet broke off inside of her, some of her tormentors began to believe that the Catholics could not be killed. She finally died when the Iroquois threw her upon a fire. For several days, her small son continued to call out to his dead mother until the Iroquois killed him as well. The Iroquois clearly thought the child could see his dead mother's *sken*. Plainly put, this was not supposed to happen and reflected another seemingly supernatural power these Iroquois attributed to the woman's Catholic beliefs.

As the seventeenth century progressed, the successes of the French in bringing Catholicism to the Iroquois, and making peace with some elements of the Five Nations, only deepened internal rifts that had been developing within the Iroquois League for some time. In a time of great stress and schism among the Iroquois over religion, some went so far as to torture brutally one of their own, and then kill her child. While there is no evidence to argue that the controversy over the treatment of captives caused the Great

Schism of Iroquoia, it is clear that an examination of Amerindian torture during this era illustrates the depth of internal divides.[40]

Part VI: The Evolving Relationship Between Catholicism and Torture

In 1642, Father Paul Le Jeune was struck by the unusual intensity of torture that the Hurons inflicted upon a group of Iroquois captives he had recently baptized. He asked the Hurons why these prisoners received such harsh treatment. They responded that they needed to make their prisoners feel the torments of Hell as they had heard them described by Father Le Jeune who had the Iroquois baptized. The Hurons said the prisoners would not feel these after death. That same year, Hurons chastised and insulted another group of Jesuits while they baptized condemned captives. These Hurons explained that they wished their Iroquois enemies to suffer "as much torment in their Souls as they inflict on their bodies." This overcompensation of torture to counter the benefits of baptism was not restricted to the Hurons. In 1648 a Christian Huron baptized the man beside him while the Iroquois tortured them. His Iroquois captors immediately cut the man's hands off and separated the two of them. It is claimed that the Iroquois who tortured Father Jean de Brébeuf said to him: "Thou hast told others that, the more one suffers in this life, the greater is his reward in the next; therefore thank us, because we increase thy crown." In

[40] For loosening a captive's bonds, see *JR*,50:59; for comforting the Susquehannock, see *JR*,52:167; for the Iroquois killing an Iroquois woman, see *JR*,65:33-39; for the role of the *sken*, see Michael Pomedli, *Ethnophilosophical and Ethnolinguistic Perspectives of the Huron Indian Soul*, 71; for scalping, see José António Brandão, *Your Fyre Shall Burn No More*, 47. Brandão has stated that there was no difference between a scalp taken with a stone knife and a scalp taken with an iron knife. It can also be stated that it did not matter if a captive was tortured with a burning piece of wood or a heated iron hatchet head. It was the spiritual imports, not the material goods, of the French that had an effect on the ordeal of torture.

1670, when the Onondaga prepared to burn several captives, they initially stopped Father Pierre Milet from baptizing the captives so that they would burn in this life and the next.[41]

These examples further illustrate that although Amerindian traditionalists did not themselves embrace Catholicism, they still believed in its mystical and supernatural power to affect both their own lives, and the lives of their captives. They believed that this power could disrupt the process of torture by not only saving the captive's soul, but also by giving comfort to the captive during the ordeal of torture, and in effect softening the pain's impact. Because of the inclusive nature of Amerindian religion, one could believe in the existence of both the Amerindian Village of the Dead, and Catholic notions of Heaven and Hell. Even in the early years of missionary work, the Jesuits described Amerindian curiosity about Heaven and their fascination with Hell. After hearing a description of Hell, one group of Amerindians said they did not believe that such fires could exist in a place where there was no wood. Father Jean de Brébeuf described Hell in detail to the Hurons. "Inside the earth, where it burns, not being extinguished. It is not such a fire there inside the earth as the fire with which you cover your prisoners."[42] Father Brébeuf attempted to impress the Hurons, and explained to them that if they did not convert, they would suffer a fate worse than their most horrible tortures, and it would last forever. Father Brébeuf's goal was to persuade the Hurons to convert to Catholicism. Many Amerindians also used the promise of eternal torment for the victim to increase the effect of torture. Baptism nullified this, and from that point of view, nullified torture

[41] For Father Le Jeune and the Hurons, see *JR*,26:179-181; for tormenting the body and soul, see *JR*,23:33-35; for the separation of captives, see *JR*,33:93-95; for Father Brébeuf's torture, see *JR*,39:253; for stopping Father Millet from baptizing captives, see *JR*,54:25.

[42] For Huron ideas of Hell, see *JR*,1:289; for a comparison of torture by fire to Hell, see John Steckley, *De Religione*, 77.

itself. From this perspective, it would make sense for traditionalists to prevent the Jesuits from baptizing these captives.

French allies often showed as much disagreement over the presence of Catholicism as did the Iroquois, and they reflected this through their use of cultural and religious violence. This is not as readily evident or as dramatic as with the Iroquois, because there was not as strong a bond among the Hurons, Algonquians, and Montagnais. In short, without a firm foundation, there could be no real schism. They did, however, come into conflict with the French about the treatment of captives in and around the French settlements. In August of 1636, a large group of Montagnais from Tadoussac and Quebec (many of whom were Catholic) burned an Iroquois man. The French did not object openly to this. Yet, when Catholic Algonquians and Hurons prepared to torture some Iroquois prisoners near Three Rivers in 1644, Governor Montmagny argued that as Catholics they should not torture their captives. When the governor presented the Algonquians and Hurons with gifts, they stopped burning the captives. Governor Montmagny attempted this again with a group of mixed Catholic and traditionalist Hurons. A traditionalist among them stated angrily that *Onontio* (the governor) could have the captive if it was that important, because he had the courage to go out and look for more. In reply, one of the prominent Catholic leader within the community stated that they had a right to burn the captive, but they would instead show mercy to the captive as a gesture of good will towards both the French and the Iroquois.[43]

Missionaries such as Father Paul Le Jeune came to understand the difficulty of prohibiting Amerindians from burning captives, and how this in fact often served to alienate those communities whom the Jesuits sought to convert. Torture could be curbed,

[43] *JR*,9:251; *JR*,23:53-63.

however, if Jesuits sought this mercy through key Amerindian leaders. This was the case when the same Christian Algonquians acquired eleven more Iroquois captives in 1645. They returned to the mission community of St. Joseph with the scalps of the dead decorating their canoes, and their captives on display. The Catholic Jean-Baptiste Etinechkaouat led the party. He ordered that the captives not be burned, and instead turned them over to the French. Father Barthélemy Vimont, the Jesuit at St. Joseph, expressed his approval of this and stated that Governor Montmagny would come to thank them personally. Indeed, these captives did not have so much as a nail torn out, and aside from a few blows from a war club, the Algonquians did not abuse the captives at all. This produced mixed reactions from the Algonquians, as many traditionalists and Catholics wanted the captives burned. Two young girls danced in celebration over the returning captives, but only after they had permission from Father Vimont to do so. Some of the elderly women of the community were less than content with this. One said to Vimont: "My Father, allow me to caress the prisoners a little… They have killed, burned, and eaten my father, my husband, and my children. Permit me, my Father, to caress them." Vimont explained to her that while the Iroquois had indeed done her great harm, she would gain more from forgiveness than from vengeance. She only responded that she would not harm the captives. Another elderly woman's reaction at this time was a bit more straightforward. "I love God more than I hate the Iroquois."[44] Such a statement epitomizes the conflicting feelings that Amerindians in New France, both the allies and enemies of the French, experienced on the tribal, community, and personal level as many struggled to accommodate all aspects of their new religion, particularly for those who

[44] *JR*,27:229-239.

suffered great loss. At times, Amerindians tolerated this frustration, and at other times they expressed it violently.

Such conflict and disunity among traditionalists and Catholics continued to create new forms of cultural accommodation among Amerindian Catholics as they captured both Catholic and traditionalist enemies. Upon returning to Three Rivers after a battle, Catholic Algonquians killed their captives quickly, without torture, stating that: “their old cruelties must be abandoned.” The Hurons recognized one captive, however, as a Huron-born, naturalized Iroquois. A Catholic, he turned from the new religion while among the Iroquois. In an example that mirrors the adaptations of traditionalist Iroquois who tortured a Catholic woman for her religious beliefs, the Catholic Hurons tortured and burned this man, specifically for abandoning Catholicism. Another unique change took place among the Algonquians of Sillery in 1663. The victorious Algonquians brought three Iroquois captives into the community. Instead of forcing them to run the gauntlet, they brought them to Father Jerome Lalemant who spent three days giving them a Catholic education. Some Algonquians even served as the captives’ godfathers. The Hurons discovered that one of the Iroquois was a Huron adopted as a child, and they spared him. They did not burn the other two freshly baptized captives, but did shoot them with muskets. Father Lalemant wrote that such scenes had become common, and only weeks earlier another group of nearby Hurons allowed their Iroquois captives to be baptized, but then burned them. In all of these cases the Hurons and Algonquins did not follow any institutionalized method for dealing with their naturalized Iroquois captives,

but interpreted each new situation by accommodating their new Catholic beliefs with their traditions of cultural violence.[45]

Part VII: Enduring Torture as a Catholic

While enduring torture, neophytes drew immense strength and defiance from their Catholic religion. As this defiance came from their Catholic faith, it was a challenge to the power of traditionalist Amerindian religion and traditionalists often over-compensated for this defiance with more intense torture than they normally inflicted. Just as Catherine Tekakwitha combined elements of European penitential violence with Amerindian cultural violence, many Catholic Amerindians accomplished something similar. They drew from both the Amerindian custom of enduring torture by fire with bravery and poise, the Catholic traditions of martyrdom that emulated Jesus Christ, the long tradition of Catholic martyrs they learned of, and their own Jesuit teachers tortured by the Iroquois.

There are many examples of such courage drawn from both Catholic and Amerindian traditions that changed the event of torture by fire into not only a contest between rival Amerindian nations, but a contest between traditional Amerindian religion and Catholicism. This is illustrated in the example of several Catholic Algonquians the Iroquois tortured in March of 1647. One, named Jean Tawichkaron is said to have encouraged the other captives to remember their faith: "Courage…my brothers, let us not forsake the Faith or Prayer. The arrogance of our enemies will soon pass away, our

[45] For Hurons abandoning torture, see *JR*,32:173-185. For the education and execution of Iroquois, see *JR*,48:105-113.

torments will not be of long duration, and Heaven will be our eternal dwelling." He prayed throughout his torture, which lasted for two days.[46] Considering the strength he drew from his religious faith, his specific reference to the "arrogance" of the Iroquois is as much a statement against traditionalist religion as against the Iroquois themselves.

The Iroquois came to understand that the strength their captives drew from the new religion was a direct threat and challenge to themselves. Whereas previously, tortured captives sought to control their rational self or *endionrra*, neophytes accommodated this dynamic by merging the idea of the rational self with their self-identity as Catholics. The process of maintaining self-control during torture did not change, but the means captives used to achieve this self control did change, and some Iroquois interpreted this altering of the dynamic of torture as a threat. This is shown in the case of Joseph Onahare, the one Amerindian included among the martyrs of New France. The Iroquois captured and tortured him, and a large group of Hurons in 1650. While The Iroquois burned him and his fellow captives, he calmly prayed and encouraged his companions to also pray. For three days the Iroquois tortured him while forbidding him to pray. Just as Saunadanoncoua defied his torturers by continuing their verbal exchange and even pointing towards where they should burn next burn him, Onahare never stopped praying in defiance of his Iroquois torturers. This occurred again the same year when the Iroquois captured a young Catholic man of an unspecified Algonquin-speaking nation. When they forbade him to pray during his torture, he prayed all the louder upon the scaffold until his death. This type of reaction to torture did not only occur during the fall of Huronia in the late 1640s. In 1656, the Iroquois captured and burned two men. One was Jacques Oachonk, a Catholic who prayed throughout his ordeal. The second was Jorchin

[46] For Jean Tawichkaron, see *JR*,30:227; for baptism during torture, see *JR*,33:91.

Ondakont, a "half Christian." The Iroquois burned him and cut off several of his fingers, but he managed to escape. After he made his way home, he became a full Catholic. In the spring of 1662 yet another Catholic Huron man prayed while the Iroquois burned him.[47] The Iroquois expected their captives to express verbal defiance in the face of death by slow torture as a means of controlling their *endionrra*. The inclusion of prayer during torture complicated this dynamic by giving added strength to the captive through religious faith that the Iroquois did not fully understand. The captive reinterpreted their death not only as an individual unlucky enough to fall into the hands of the Iroquois, but also as a holy martyr in the tradition of their French teachers. Both French and Amerindian cultures had distinct traditions of verbal defiance in the face of religious death, and Amerindian captives interwove these traditions into a unique adaptations represented both their own cultural expectations and their new religious beliefs. Another way that these changes manifested in the torture of Catholic Amerindians appeared in the custom of an individual's own *song*.

If captured or mortally wounded, Amerindians of the eastern woodlands recited an individualized, preconceived oral composition referred to as the individual's *song*. Amerindians composed this *song* at some point in their life, so they could recite it if death became immanent.[48] The *song* might contain detailed stories of what the individual or his tribal body had done to captives, or testimonies of the individual's bravery. The tortured captive would be expected to continue singing this song throughout torture. As this occurred, the captors interacted with the captive, essentially making the song an accompaniment. They asked if the captive had burned people in such a way, to which the

[47] For Joseph Onohare, see *JR*,35:221-223; for escaping and then converting, see *JR*,43:99; for the Hurons praying during torture, see *JR*,48:99.
[48] *JR*,1:273.

captive would respond that he or she had, and done far worse, deliberately pushing the captors to torture with more intensity. Seventeenth-century observers did not fully understand this intense interaction, and interpreted it as pure bravado. While an individual recited his or her own song in the case of imminent death, one might also compose such a song for a loved upon learning of their capture or death. By examining the interaction of Catholic prayer, and the Amerindian song, we can gain a fuller understanding of the cooperative role of the song and prayer.

On the surface, these French and Amerindian customs appear to be very similar uses of pre-conceived oratory to draw internal strength. Amerindian use of prayer to draw strength during torture has been described. In addition, French Catholics recited prayers during torture such as the *Veni Creator*, and Father Poncet recited the Litany of the Blessed Virgin and religious hymns during his torture. Not all Catholic Amerindians, however, merely recited the prayers and songs that their Jesuit teachers taught them. Some created something new and embarked on a new form of adaptation by directly incorporating Catholic ideas and imagery into the traditional Amerindian artistic expression of the *song*. This is illustrated in an example from 1660 in which the Iroquois captured and burned another group of Catholic Hurons and a Frenchman. One Huron escaped and returned home. When the wives of those captured learned of the fate of their husbands, they began the traditional Huron custom of mourning by calling out in song form the names of the deceased, which they continued to do each morning and evening for a year. This gives added credence to the notion that the event of dusk or dawn held special, possibly religious, significance to Amerindians, but the Jesuits did not seem to see this as conflicting with Catholic ideas because these women also recited Catholic

prayers as part of their mourning, and inquired if their husbands prayed during torture. The Jesuits described part of their mourning process: "[I]nstead of the shrieks that those bereaved women were expected to utter, according to the customs of these nations, they came, every one, into our Chapel."[49]

These Huron women incorporated elements of their traditional customs and beliefs into their new religious customs, but did so in a way did not compromise their Catholic beliefs. To bring Amerindian imagery of the *sken*, or *endionrra* into Catholic prayer would have been sacrilegious. In this instance, Amerindians only made Catholicism more accessible by incorporating Catholic ideas into an Amerindian form of expression. Catholic Amerindians who combined Catholic prayer and imagery into their *song* did not always make such a clear distinction between Catholic imagery and the mystical strength they drew from the recitation of their *song*. Another of these Hurons who escaped from the Iroquois described the song that he recited when captured. This man stated that his death song contained not only testimony of his bravery and the invocation of several saints, but also an invocation of the Jesuits themselves so that even though they were distant, they would pray for him upon his physical death. In a comparison between Amerindian torture and Catholic martyrdom, this individual clearly compared his own bravery to that of several saints. Yet he also prayed to the Jesuits themselves. This bears a striking similarity to the Huron belief that while dreaming, a part of oneself could (under the right circumstances) travel independently of the body. This was not exactly the same as the *endionrra* or rational soul, but a part of the soul that was more difficult to control or to understand called the *ondinoc*. Traditionalists sought out the aid of a spiritual advisor for advice and assistance when they thought such a dream journey of the *ondinoc*

[49] For French prayer during torture, see *JR*,45:31; for Father Poncet's prayers, see *JR*,40:123.

had occurred. The Jesuits saw such dream interpretation as one of the most common and dangerous customs of Amerindian traditionalist religion and prohibited it among Catholic Amerindians. This man used both his *song* and prayer in the face of death. His description of reaching out to the Jesuits through prayer bears a remarkable similarity to the Huron *ondinac* reaching out during the dream state, and represents another unique and remarkable cultural accommodation in which an Amerindian combined Catholic and Amerindian elements of religious violence in a way that did compromise Catholic dogma. Whether he sought additional strength, spiritual solace and support, or something else by invoking the *ondianac* is unclear, but he did seek Catholic strength through traditionalist means. There is another example of an Amerindian captive invoking, possibly actually reaching out to the Jesuits, during torture. In 1673, a Susquehannock captive: " thanked the Father in his death-song for the succor given him, saying that he well knew that he loved them, and that the French nation was not among the number of their enemies."[50]

As both torturers and as tortured captives, Catholic Amerindians combined their new religious beliefs with their traditional ideas and customs when either administering or enduring torture by fire. In addition to the clergy, the French transplanted their own culture and religion to New France, where they also often found themselves the victims of Amerindian cultural violence. In Europe, a soldier might be taken captive, or one might find himself in legal trouble. At worst, however, one could expect a sentence as a galley slave, a stint in debtor's prison, or public corporal punishment. To be a French Catholic in North America meant exposing oneself to danger for many reasons. In New

[50] For this Huron's account of captivity, see *JR*,46:61; for the role of the *ondianac* and the *ondinac*, please see Michael Pomedli, *Ethnophilosophical and Ethnolinguistic Perspectives of the Huron Indian Soul*, 81-82; for the Susquehannock account of captivity, see *JR*,58:227.

France, the gathering of firewood, or simple farm labor in a field, meant running the risk of capture and a death by fire. The French also understood that beyond the Iroquois, the Puritan colonies of New England did not just see them as political and economic rivals, but as heretics to be eradicated from North America. In light of these great risks, it is essential to have some understanding of what captivity and torture meant to French Catholics. The Christian tradition of bravery and steadfast faith in the face of violent death for their religion dates back to the first century. This tradition of martyrdom continued throughout the centuries into the religious wars of the early modern era. It was also exported to New France with the martyrdom of Jesuits such as Father Jean de Brébeuf, Father Gabriel Lalemant, and Father Isaac Jogues. In addition to the French clergy, numerous other French men, women, and at times children, faced torture, and drew strength and courage from their religious faith. The French colonists did not try to control their *endionrra*, to manipulate the dynamic of torture by fire, but they did engage in their own adaptations by falling back upon their traditions of martyrdom and Catholic teachings to draw strength during Amerindian torture.

In the spring of 1651, the Iroquois burned to death a French woman they captured near Montreal. They burned her, cut off her nose, her ears, and her breasts. Throughout her torture she: "ceased not to implore his aid; her eyes were fixed on heaven, and her heart was faithful to God unto death." In 1659, the Iroquois captured a Frenchman near Three Rivers, and returned him to Onondaga where he was "cruelly burned" while he too, prayed. Also near Three Rivers in 1659, the Iroquois captured a group of eight French captives. This time they took them to the Island of Richelieu where they burned away their fingernails and cut off their fingers and hands. A naturalized Iroquois recounted to

the Jesuits how these captives did: "sing the Litany of the Virgin, and in the morning the *Veni Creator*, with the other prayers. I saw them lift to heaven their mutilated hands… all dripping with blood." This man's knowledge of the French prayers indicates that he had received at least some religious education before his own capture. He claimed that he had been so moved by what he saw that he broke away from the Iroquois and surrendered to the French. Amerindians made no exemptions when it came to the torture of captive children from rival tribes, and neither did the Iroquois offer any exemption to French children or teenagers they captured. These young Frenchmen also drew strength from their Catholic faith during their torture. Such was the case of the young man Francis Hertel. The Iroquois captured him near Three Rivers in 1661 and took him to the community of Agnie. He prayed while the Iroquois cut off several of his fingers. In what Hertel later described as: "preparation for the Majesty of God," the Iroquois burned the stumps of his amputated fingers in a calumet pipe. They did not kill him, though. An Onondaga captain named Gararontie negotiated the release of as many of twenty French captives that year, including Hertel.[51]

Despite examples of extreme courage and religious faith when tortured, at times the French went to great measures to insure that the Iroquois did not take them captive. In 1660, after a fierce fight between the French and Iroquois near Montreal, the French commander began to kill his own men with a hatchet to save them from captivity and torture. The Iroquois burned one man on the spot who was mortally wounded, and divided the remaining Huron and French captives amongst themselves. One of these young Frenchman prayed passionately throughout his torture. Like Hertel, he thanked

[51] For the French woman's torture, see *JR*,36:165; for the Frenchman at Three Rivers, see *JR*,45:33; for French captives praying together, see *JR*,45:31; for the torture of Hertel, see *JR*,47:69-73.

God when the Iroquois cut off each of his fingers, and continued to pray with his fingerless hands. Over the next several days, the Iroquois burned him with heated hatchets, gun barrels, knives, and files. Another of the French captives persisted in his prayers until the Iroquois girdled his mouth and finally tore his heart from his chest. A Huron who escaped and returned with this account stated that these Iroquois came to respect this man's prayers and his strength a great deal.[52]

The French did not recite unique or elaborate oral compositions of their own bravery when tortured, but when they were told to *sing*, they *sang* what gave them strength in the face of death-- prayers. These prayers meant much the same to the French as the individualized song did to Catholic Amerindians, and the control of the *endionrra* meant to traditionalists. In these situations, prayer gave the captive the strength, courage, and comfort to face a horrible fate just as those before them had from Christ on the cross to Father Brébeuf at the stake. In emulating the behavior of other martyrs, French colonists achieved sainthood by association. Such prayer also illustrated to non-Christians the power and strength one could gain through prayer; and prayer often proved as potent a weapon against the Iroquois as muskets and cannon. The Iroquois took the power of prayer under torture very seriously, and this accounts for the mixed reactions to the previously mentioned group of Frenchmen when they prayed during torture. One group of Iroquois showed awe at the strength that prayer gave the first Frenchman, and they reacted to this by torturing him for several days. The second group of Iroquois showed such fear of the captive's prayers that they removed the one weapon he retained, his mouth, to physically prevent him from praying.

[52] For the French captive thanking God, see *JR*,46:53; for girdling of the mouth, see *JR*,46:205.

Part VIII: Conclusion

When the French brought Catholicism to the Amerindians of New France, cultural violence changed. As they entered a new land with extensive training and solid ideals, Jesuit priests needed to adjust their methods and goals in the face of Amerindian cultural violence. At times they saved the lives of captives, but most often focused on the conversion of the condemned, as they used Amerindian torture as a tool to expand the scope of the missionary network. As the Jesuits accommodated their mission to include torture by fire, both traditionalist and Catholic Amerindians adapted these customs in reaction to Catholicism. Religion divided Amerindian families, communities, and even tribes as some converted to Catholicism, some did not, and some resented and feared the new religion. This disunity, frustration, and disagreement often manifested itself in extreme forms of cultural violence. Communities disagreed on how to treat captives based upon both the captives' and captors' religious affiliation. As often as Catholics gave up torture and cannibalism, traditionalists burned captives with increased ferocity.

Zealous Catholics, French or Amerindian, used their religion to endure torture regardless of race and culture, but with some variation on how they used this faith. French Catholics recited Catholic prayers, some Amerindian Catholics recited prayers in a similar way, and still other Amerindians combined the traditionalist Amerindian death song and Catholic prayers into a unique cultural accommodation. This change occurred rather easily because despite radical differences, both Catholicism and traditionalist Amerindian beliefs contained traditions that focused on violence as an expression of

religious devotion. The ease with which Amerindians interwove torture by fire into both religions is an indicator of complex and deep reaching roots of these customs in Amerindian culture. Although war and the desire for revenge certainly fueled these customs, and at times became the means of venting religious frustration, more than revenge and militarism caused Amerindians to burn captives. While French colonists often used their faith to get through this ordeal, Amerindians did not always burn the French because of their religion. The Iroquois burned the French because they had injected themselves into the politics, cycle of violence, and social and cultural dynamics of a region in the chaos of colonization. As is illustrated in the examples of Jesuit priests who the Iroquois captured and tortured, this immersion earned the French great successes and allies, but also powerful enemies.

Chapter IV:
"A Violent Death in His Service"[1]
The Jesuits, Martyrdom, and the Socio-Political Context of Iroquois Captivity

Part I: Introduction

One historian has written that colonial American hagiography has defined Amerindians as either "good" or "bad," and that "[w]hether kneeling to accept baptism, thrusting firebrands at the suffering body of a martyr, or accepting the healing ministrations of the hospital nun, the native is a crucial actor in every drama of colonial saintliness."[2] The Jesuit martyrs of New France are the most notorious cases of Amerindian torture. Most non-specialists encounter Amerindian cultural violence through these cases. The group of men we refer to as the North American Martyrs included Fathers Jean de Brébeuf, Isaac Jogues, Gabriel Lalemant, Charles Garnier, Antoine Daniel, Noel Chabanel, and their *donnés* René Goupil, and Jean de Lelande. The Catholic Church canonized them all as Saints in 1930. As priests and well-educated Frenchmen, these Jesuit missionaries brought their message to Amerindians of the Atlantic World. Some, like Father Brébeuf and Father Jogues, spent years in Canada; some like Father Lalemant, spent a very short time in Canada before his superiors sent him to a mission to learn from more experienced missionaries. These Jesuit martyrs collectively offer historians some of the clearest case examples of the blending of cultures that helped build and rebuild the worlds of Amerindians and Europeans alike.

[1] *JR*,40:123.
[2] Allan Greer, "Colonial Saints,": 341.

Most Jesuit survivors of torture later provided written accounts not only of their ordeals, but also the political, social, and cultural contexts within which their trials occurred, and the alterations to cultural violence made by both their Iroquois captors, and their dedicated Amerindian neophytes who remained with the missionaries to endure torture by fire at their side. Examples of this include Eustache Ahatsistari who chose to remain with Father Isaac Jogues. Ahatsistari combined both his Catholic faith and Amerindian stoicism under torture to protect Father Jogues when he used his own oratory skills to draw the Iroquois torturers away from Father Jogues and upon himself. There is also the example of the numerous Huron neophytes who chose to die with Father Jean de Brébeuf and Father Gabriel Lalemant in the Huron community of St. Louis in 1649. While hundreds of Hurons escaped, many neophytes chose to remain with the missionaries. The neophytes who survived reported that these Hurons prayed and died courageously alongside the two priests. These, and other similar examples, will illustrate the cultural accommodation of Amerindians who willingly chose to endure torture by fire alongside the Jesuit Martyrs.

The accounts of Amerindian cultural violence by the Jesuit martyrs also offers a fascinating window into the world of Iroquoia as the Five Nations re-interpreted their own customs of cultural violence while they struggled with internal social, political, and religious tensions, and external military and diplomatic issues. The Iroquois did not actively hunt Jesuit priests to burn as dramatic examples of Iroquois supremacy over the French, as argued by some scholars, nor did they torment priests more intensely than other captives. If the Iroquois sought only revenge through the capture and torture of these missionaries, they would have killed all of them, which they did not. An often

overlooked fact is that only two of the eight Jesuit Martyrs, Fathers Brébeuf and Lalemant, died as a direct result of Amerindian torture, and the Iroquois killed them at the point of capture without the consultation or approval of the Iroquois leadership. In every case where the Iroquois leadership did confer on the fate of Jesuit priests, they chose to release them. It is for this very reason that Father Joseph Bressany and Father Joseph Poncet, whom the Iroquois also captured and tortured, are not included among the Jesuit Martyrs. An examination of the Iroquois through these rich accounts reveals tensions between Iroquois sympathetic to the Jesuits for personal and religious reasons, and traditionalists who sought the death of these intruders. Iroquois families adopted both Father Jogues and Father Poncet, and while typically the act of adoption removed the possibility of torture, the high-profile status of Jesuit captives only deepened the divides among the Iroquois regarding these captives. Likewise, many Iroquois leaders understood the value of Jesuit captives as diplomatic tools against both the French and French-allied Amerindians who held Iroquois captives. The accounts of Father Jogues, Father Bressany, and Father Poncet reveal that these Iroquois leaders argued on this point with their fellow Iroquois. Finally, animosity towards the Jesuits from naturalized Iroquois adopted from other tribes fueled all of these tensions. This represents a key reason why a large number of naturalized Iroquois chose to not consult the Iroquois leaders, and killed Father Brébeuf and Father Lalemant at the point of capture, and *not* follow the Iroquois custom of returning them to Iroquoia. These examples of both the Jesuits' allies enduring torture, and Iroquois captors inflicting torture, illustrate the uniquely detailed portrait of the changes Amerindian torture underwent as presented in the richly detailed accounts of Jesuit victims of torture.

Part II: What the Jesuits Actually Endured: The Ordeal of Father Isaac Jogues

Few would doubt that the story of Father Isaac Jogues is both tragic and beautiful in its vivid violence and seemingly inevitable martyrdom. The story is pieced together like the Gospels it is meant to emulate. Like these same Gospels, Jogues' story needs to be pieced together from a variety of authors, writing at different times and with different agendas. However, both the Amerindian neophytes and Iroquois captors who occupy the periphery of Father Jogues' experience are too often overlooked, but are of immense importance. His experience with captivity and Amerindian cultural violence was far from typical. Because he lived in Iroquoia for so long, and because his torture ended, historians must wonder how (besides the divine intervention that Jogues and later hagiographers credit) he survived. When we examine this periphery, the story outside the hagiographic context, in its full religious, political, and social contexts, the story of Isaac Jogues becomes a tale of Amerindian power struggles, international intrigue, and personal dedication. Father Jogues' story is an intimate look at the thoughts and feelings of a Jesuit in the most harrowing position he could find himself, and tells us a great deal about early modern Catholic ideas and religious training in the extreme context of Amerindian captivity and torture. His story also tells us a great deal about his companion *donnés* and neophytes, as well as his Iroquois captors and tormentors. All of these people played important roles in the capture, torture, captivity, and eventual deliverance of Father Isaac Jogues.

In the summer of 1642, Father Hierosme Lalemant sent Father Isaac Jogues to Quebec from the Mission of the Hurons. All told, it was a party of forty or so that consisted of a Huron escort, Father Jogues, and two French *donnés*, René Goupil, and Guillaume Couture. This escort included a mix of traditionalist and Christian Hurons, but included Eustache Ahatsistari, who by Jogues' own description, was one of the most loyal and devout of all the Christian Hurons. After a brief stop at Three Rivers, they set out again for Quebec on August 1. On August 2, they landed and found footprints. The group set off again, only to be attacked soon after by a much larger group of Iroquois who fired volleys of arquebus fire at them. Many of the Hurons, Couture, and Jogues himself left most of their weapons in the canoes and ran into the woods. When Jogues saw from his hiding place that the Iroquois began to take captives, including Goupil, he surrendered himself. Couture also watched from a distance as Goupil, who had some skill as a surgeon, assisted both the wounded Hurons and Iroquois while Father Jogues administered baptism to some of the Hurons' captives. Couture stepped forth from his hiding place, shot an Iroquois captain through the chest, and surrendered.[3]

Out of this group, the Iroquois took twenty-two captives. Three of the Hurons they killed in the battle, and the others ran off. The Iroquois first focused on Couture, presumably in retribution for killing one of their leaders. They crushed his fingers, tore out his finger nails, and pierced his hands before tying him up and placing him among the other captives. Father Jogues told Couture: "Courage… my dear brother and friend, offer your pains and anguish to God, in behalf of those very persons who torment you. Let us not draw back; let us suffer courageously for his holy name; we have intended only his

[3] *JR*,31:25.

glory on this journey." The Iroquois fell upon the captives. They tore out their finger nails, their hair, and beards. They crushed and burned their hands, and beat them with war clubs. They beat to death an elderly Huron named Ondouterraon. The Iroquois, with captives in tow, set off for home by canoe.[4]

Historians have given limited attention to the *donnés*, but they played important roles in the lives and deaths of the Jesuit martyrs. It is often assumed that all of the martyrs were Jesuits but two, René Goupil and Jean de Lelande were *donnés*. Another *donné*, Christophe Regnaut, wrote a detailed description of the physical remains of Fathers Brébeuf and Lalemant. Based on this account, Jesuits verified the accuracy of the descriptions of these priests' tortures given by escaped Huron neophytes. The *donnés* were zealous men of faith who dedicated their labor to the church but did not become priests themselves. Both Goupil and Couture illustrate important roles *donnés* served in Canada. As a surgeon, Goupil served a great need combating disease among Amerindian communities, and illustrated to Amerindians the knowledge and humanity of the French. Perhaps more importantly though, they acted as body guards for the Jesuits. They were skilled in the use of firearms, experienced in the Canadian wilderness, and as Couture showed, dedicated to defending the Jesuits to the end. Couture successfully evaded the Iroquois. Well armed and only a few days travel from Three Rivers, he easily could have escaped. He chose not only to remain at Father Jogues's side, but he drew the Iroquois attention to himself when he shot one of their leaders.

Eight days later, the party met a group of two hundred more Iroquois returning from an unsuccessful attempt to assault the French at Fort Richelieu. These Iroquois took it

[4] For Father Jogues' encouragement to the other captives, see *JR*,31:27; for the abuse of the captives, see *JR*,39:183.

upon themselves to force all of the captives to run the gauntlet, beat them with clubs, and whipped them with thorn covered branches. They beat Father Jogues so badly he could not get back up.[5] At this point the Iroquois cut off the thumbs of the Huron Eustache. Jogues wept as he watched his, and the Iroquois began to verbally and physically harass Jogues for crying. Eustache responded to the Iroquois. "Do not suppose that those tears proceed from weakness; it is love and affection that he feels for me, and not the want of courage, that forces them from his eyes. He has never wept in his own torments; his face has always appeared dry, and always cheerful. Your rage, and my pains, and his love are the theme and the cause of his tears."[6] Amerindian neophytes occupied a precarious place as both Catholics and as Amerindians, and their contributions to the stories of the North American martyrs have only recently been given serious historical consideration. Historian Allan Greer has written that colonial period missionary writings, in particular the sacred biographical texts such as the accounts of Father Jogues' captivity, can tell us a great deal about racial hierarchies in colonial America.[7] Eustache and the other neophytes are a prime example of this. As Catholics they are associated with the French, but as Amerindians they are associated with the Iroquois. The torture of Jesuits has traditionally been treated from a hagiographic perspective; therefore the place for someone such as Eustache has been problematic. In his 1925 book, *The Jesuit Martyrs of North America*, John J. Wynne wrote little about the Amerindians, focusing primarily upon the Iroquois. A hagiographic model requires a villain to make martyrdom possible, and the Iroquois occupy this role in the story of Father Jogues. Wynne even went as far as to quote Jerome Lalemant in referring to the Iroquois as "the Empire of Satan." He described the Hurons

[5] *JR*,28:121.
[6] *JR*,31:35.
[7] Allan Greer, "Colonial Saints,": 324.

very little, though, and depicted them most often as superstitious pagans who sacrificed both animals and people to their pagan god, Oki.[8]

Eustache's speech tells us a great deal about his and Father Jogues' mixing of Amerindian and French cultures at this point in their captivity. His own courage is evident when he spoke out against the Iroquois, something that brought further torture and mutilation upon himself. As has been previously stated, powerful oratory skills could empower a captive to defy his or her captors the only way they could. He illustrated his own self-control by speaking confidently to the Iroquois immediately after they cut off his thumbs. As a devout Catholic, he no longer believed that he accomplished this self-control through his *endionrra,* but instead through his religious faith and dedication to Father Jogues. The result, however, remained verbal defiance towards the Iroquois. Eustache, however, created an additional alteration that is more unique to the neophytes who died alongside the Jesuit Martyrs. He did not react verbally to the Iroquois to highlight his own bravery, endurance, or even religious faith. Instead, he did this to call attention to Father Jogues's own courage, self-control, and dedication to both his companions and the Iroquois. He described Father Jogues's tears as in part due to the rage of the Iroquois, and not out of fear but continued compassion for the Iroquois, who did not know any better. Jogues endured his own torture with the silence that was expected of him, an additional indicator of his considerable knowledge of Amerindian culture. Only when the Iroquois mutilated those around him did he show emotion.

[8] For the Iroquois, see John J. Wynne, *The Jesuit Martyrs of North America : Isaac Jogues, John de Brébeuf, Gabriel Lalemant, Noel Chabanel, Anthony Daniel, Charles Garnier, René Goupil, John Lalande* (New York: Universal Knowledge Foundation, 1925), 189 and 56. Oki translates closest to "spirit" in English, much like how the word "Manitou" does in Algonquin languages.

René Goupil showed the same level of dedication towards Father Jogues and the Hurons when he refused to take advantage of the opportunity to escape. While the physical torture of the French captives appears to have temporarily ceased, the Iroquois forced all of the captives to carry heavy loads, and forced them to live on nothing but wild fruit for the remainder of the journey. At one point, Father Jogues spoke privately with Goupil, and encouraged him to escape in the night, as the Iroquois did not guard captives closely. Goupil refused when Jogues said he would not go with him and abandon his priestly duties for the other captives. With this, all three Frenchmen refused the opportunity to escape, adhering to the formula of martyrdom by willingly accepting their fate.[9]

Thirteen days later, and suffering from exhaustion, infection, and severe heat exhaustion, the entire group arrived at the first Iroquois community where the Iroquois beat and tortured them. While beating him, a naturalized Iroquois (formerly Huron) said to Jogues: "You are dead Frenchmen, you are dead; there is no liberty for you. Think no more of life; you will be burned; prepare yourselves for death." A second Iroquois approached Father Jogues, and this second meeting is vitally important in understanding the role of the Iroquois in Father Jogues's torture, captivity, and eventual escape. This second Iroquois approached Father Jogues, told him that he was in "a pitiable state" and wiped the blood from his face. Father Jogues described this second man as his *guard*, and his use of such a term calls into question the motivations and goals of the Iroquois. The original French reads *"mon garde"* [*sic*] which translates into English as protector or guardian. The Iroquois held Father Jogues in the heart of Iroquoia, hundreds of miles from any French community. Any chance to escape had long since past. By all

[9] *JR*,31:29-37.

indications, this man did not guard against Jogues's escape; he protected Father Jogues from the other Iroquois. This guard allowed the other Iroquois to beat and torture him, but not to kill him. The Iroquois leadership already recognized that as a Jesuit, Father Jogues occupied a unique status as a high-profile captive with value as a hostage. The clearest evidence for this is the fact that while they tortured him, the Iroquois did not kill Father Jogues.[10]

The captives entered the community through a gauntlet of Iroquois who severely beat them with sticks, clubs, and iron rods. Jogues claimed to have been hit with something he described as an iron fist that nearly knocked him unconscious. This continued until the captives reached the torture scaffolds within the palisade walls where they all received the worst tortures they would endure. In Jogues's own account of his ordeal, he described how he could barely discern Goupil as alive or even human. The only spots on his face not bloody, beaten, or infected were his eyes. Upon the scaffold, an old man and a woman first approached Jogues with a knife, and the man commanded her to cut off Jogues's thumb, which she at first refused to do. After compelling her to do so, she finally cut off Jogues's left thumb. Father Jogues picked up his own thumb and attempted to offer it to God when Couture warned him that if he did so, the Iroquois would force him to eat it. He instead threw his thumb away. The Iroquois then proceeded to cut off fingers from most of the other captives.[11]

The Iroquois ceased torturing the captives for the day, and the further treatment of Jogues, Goupil, and Couture indicates at least some of the Iroquois wanted to keep the

[10] For Father Jogues, see *JR*,31:39-41. Rueben Golde Thwaites translated edition of *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* contains both the original French and an English translation.

[11] For Goupil, please see *JR*,28:125; for Father Jogues' thumb, see *JR*,31:43; for taking the captives' fingers, see *JR*,39:191.

French captives alive. In and of itself, it was not at all unusual to allow captives to rest and regain their strength in the midst of torture, but it is at this point that the various accounts of Jogues's captivity transition from an account of the torture of a potential holy martyr, to a captivity narrative. Jogues described how several Iroquois bound their wounds and gave them food. After Couture's thumb was cut off, his arm swelled horribly, and he was then taken away for two days by some Iroquois who took pity on him. The Huron captives vanish from the various narratives at this time and the captivity of the Frenchmen becomes the focus. They were still abused and tortured, but not with the previous severity. At night, they were tied down in what Jogues describes as "a Saint Andrew's Cross" and the Iroquois children came and they "in order to learn the cruelty of their parents" threw burning cinders onto their stomachs and chests. While this was certainly painful, it was not lethal. Likewise, only children tormented them at night, indicating that at least some Iroquois desired to keep them alive. Father Jogues did not directly describe the motivations or goals of the Iroquois leaders, but these leaders, (both male diplomatic and military leaders and female clan matriarchs) always made the decision to torture or adopt captives. These leaders decided to continue to allow the community to torment the French captives, but within limits. They understood that these were not typical captives and altered their normal customs of torturing captives to insure their preservation. This explains why the Iroquois gave the French captives food, and began to treat their wounds.[12]

The Iroquois leaders' desire to preserve the lives of the French captives so they could be used as hostages and bargaining tools against the French and French-allied Amerindians becomes more apparent as Father Jogues's captivity continued. The internal

[12] For the care of Couture, see *JR*,39:195; for child torturers, see *JR*,28:125.

disagreement caused by these captives also becomes clearer. The Iroquois took the three Frenchmen to different communities over a six day span where they inflicted sometimes gruesome, always painful, but at no time life-threatening torments. Initially, the Iroquois only moved the French captives, but when the Huron captives do reappear in the narrative, the actions of the Iroquois indicate that they drew clear distinctions between the status of their French and Huron captives. The Iroquois tortured the Hurons constantly for two days by binding their wrists so tightly as to cut off the blood flow and forced them to pass out. These same Iroquois forced Father Jogues to undergo a similar form of torture that pushed the prescribed limits of the torment their leaders allowed them to inflict upon Father Jogues, and in turn sheds light on the changing circumstances underwhich the Iroquois held the three Frenchmen.[13]

These changing circumstances and internal disagreements became apparent when these Iroquois suspended Father Jogues from two vertical wooden stakes, tying him tightly between the elbow and shoulder joints to do so. This produced pain of such intensity that Father Jogues asked that his bonds be loosened, but the Iroquois only bound him tighter, as they did with the Huron captives. One account by Father Joseph Bressany used this point to emphasize the cruelty of the Iroquois. Father Jogues himself wrote only that the Iroquois left him there for fifteen minutes. However, a third account by Father Hierosme Lalemant reveals a key detail in understanding the social and political context of Father Jogues's captivity, and the subtle wedges it created among the Iroquois. Father Lalemant described how an Iroquois visiting from a distant community came forth

[13] For moving captives movement to different communities, see *JR*,31:47; for the binding of wrists, see *JR*,39:193.

and cut Father Jogues down, but made no effort to assist the Hurons.[14] The two examples of one man from a distant community freeing Father Jogues from his bonds, and the actions of Father Jogues's *guard* who wiped his face, both support the argument that the Iroquois leadership actively tried to keep Father Jogues alive because of his potential value as a hostage. At the same time, internal disagreement manifested as other Iroquois sought the continued torture of Father Jogues. Various Iroquois threatened to kill Father Jogues, but they did not act upon their threat. These Iroquois who threatened Jogues, and those who tied him to the posts, failed to create an appropriate adaptation for the special status of these French captives, and when they went too far, the Iroquois leadership stepped in to protect his life. It might be too far to state that the Iroquois leadership supplied protection to the French captives; perhaps placing distinct limits on torture is a more apt description. Regardless, it remained acceptable to continue to torture the Hurons in this way, but not the French. This shadowy presence of Iroquois leaders placing such limits is not unique to the case of Father Jogues. Father Joseph Poncet pointed out that when "the notables of the country," meaning the most influential leaders of the Iroquois gathered, they immediately ordered his mistreatment to stop. After the council, he was given to a family for adoption. Father Bressany also described how it was after a similar council of Iroquois leaders from a wide geographic swath, that his fate was resolved, and he was also adopted.[15]

The strongest evidence that the Iroquois leaders contemplated Father Jogues's fate as they did Father Bressany's and Father Poncet's is that Dutch colonists of New

[14] For Father Jogues being tied up, see *JR*,31:49; for Father Jogues being let down, see *JR*,39:195-197; for Father Jogues protection by a visiting Iroquois, see *JR*,31:49.

[15] For Father Jogues being cared for, see *JR*,31:39; for Father Jogues being threatened, see *JR*,39:197, *JR*,31:51, and *JR*,28:125; for Father Bressany's fate, see *JR*,26:49.

Amsterdam came to the Iroquois and argued unsuccessfully for the French captives' release and even offered a ransom of 600 guilders. This occurred as the torture of the Frenchmen ended and they recovered from their wounds, because Arendt Van Curler, the Dutchman who visited, saw Father Jogues and two other Frenchmen (Goupil and Couture) but was not allowed to speak privately with them. He also described being present at a large council where the Iroquois argued over the fate of the three men, and decided to keep them as hostages. Van Curler described the Iroquois' final statement on the subject: "We shall manifest towards you every friendship that is in our power, but on this subject we will remain silent. Besides, you well know how they treat our people who fall into their hands. Had we delayed to reach there three or four days longer, they would have been burnt."[16] The Frenchmen's captors left them alive and unharmed as long as Iroquois in captivity to the north also remained unharmed. Soon after, an Iroquois family adopted Couture and took him to a different community. The Iroquois burned the Huron neophytes, and this proves that the Iroquois understood the unique nature of this group of captives and adjusted to the differences by deciding their fate along cultural lines. One of these Hurons was Paul Onnonhoaraton, a Christian Huron of about twenty-five who also defended Jogues on their journey to Iroquoia. The Iroquois left Father Jogues and Goupil in what Jogues described as a state of "free slavery." That is, they were each given over to a different family, and had freedom of movement in the community, but not allowed to leave. Considering that Father Jogues was left alive and Goupil was killed a few weeks later indicates that Father Jogues' family chose to adopt him, and Goupil's did not.[17]

[16] E. B. O'Callaghan, M.D. *History of New Netherland Vol.* 1 (New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1845), 464.

[17] For the adoption of Couture, see *JR*,39:197-205 and *JR*,26:49; for the status of Father Jogues and Goupil, see *JR*,31:53.

A clear indication of the tense atmosphere in which the French captives resided among the Iroquois are the circumstances that led to the killing of Rene Goupil on September 24, six weeks after arriving at the first Iroquois community. When Father Jogues and Goupil left the palisade to pray, two young men came and commanded them to return to the village. At the gates of the palisade, one of them drew forth a hatchet, buried it into Goupil's skull, but left father Jogues unharmed. The delicate tightrope between safety and death in which Jogues and Goupil lived for weeks was a complicated network of politics, social hierarchy, spatial relationships, and a conflict of cultural traditions that combined to lead to the death of Goupil and the preservation of Jogues. The Iroquois insured the safety of the French captives to protect their own people held captive to the north. Even despite the wishes of the Iroquois leadership, custom gave the right to kill a captive to the adopting family. Goupil's killer said to Father Jogues that "he had not permission to kill me, as I was under the protection of another family."[18] The geography of the community also seems to have been a factor as they killed Goupil outside of the palisade walls. It is unlikely that the protection of the adopted family stopped at the palisade, because if it had, they would have killed Jogues as well. It seems more likely that Goupil's killers, both the two men who actually killed him, his adopted family, and any Iroquois leadership that supported this, wanted this done in private, away from the open view of the entire community. Yet after this, they then began to look for Father Jogues, and it seems that to kill him far from the community would have been tolerated because they offered to take him to a different village. To do so in such close proximity to the community, and in the presence of his adopted family, would have gone over the line of toleration. When Jogues and his adopted family said no, his would be assassins

[18] *JR*,39:203.

did not press the point, and the Iroquois who favored killing Jogues remained content to stay at bay and wait for him to step out beyond his sphere of geographic and social protection. Jogues's and his family's fear for his life is testimony to the stress such a high profile captive placed upon the Iroquois. His new family clearly wanted to protect him, as likely did elements of the Iroquois central leadership. By Iroquois custom, Father Jogues's adoption should have insured his safety, but some among the Iroquois clearly wanted Jogues dead. A likely explanation for this is that French-allied Amerindians to the north began to burn Iroquois captives in Canada. As the Iroquois kept Jogues and Goupil as hostages to insure the safety of Iroquois captives, it became politically necessary to reciprocate by killing the French captives. To not follow through with their threat to kill the French captives would diminish the diplomatic strength of the Iroquois. Regardless of the reason, it is clear that this was a complicated situation that kept Father Jogues safe, which went well beyond the divine intervention credited by Jogues and later hagiographers.

Whether Goupil's death appeased the more anti-French Iroquois, or Jogues's adopted family pressed harder for Jogues to remain unharmed, the remainder of Jogues's captivity proved to be much calmer, and Father Jogues even took up the duties of a missionary while still a captive. (A Frenchman living in New Amsterdam heard of his captivity and sent him alms.) During January, an Iroquois woman whose son had recently died formally took Father Jogues under her care. She was also "one of their principal personages," possibly a clan matriarch. She cared for Jogues's still healing wounds and

tutored him in the Iroquois language. He even began to instruct the local chiefs in Catholicism. They told him that they were quite glad they had not killed him.[19]

It was also during the winter that Jogues claimed to have had a religious vision in the form of a dream directly related to his tortures. He dreamed that the Iroquois community he lived in became stone bulwarks and towers. As he passed through the gates, he saw the letters "L.N" engraved on the right column of the second gate and next to it, a dead lamb. He wrote that he understood that the Iroquois now worshipped the Christian God. He was taken to the Royal Palace where he went before their Judge and Captain for punishment. The Judge drew forth a switch like those used by Roman Consuls, and struck Jogues severely on the shoulders, neck, and head. Jogues claimed that he felt as much pain as he did during his experience with the gauntlet. The Judge then embraced Jogues, taking away his fear and grief, and gave him "consolation wholly divine and entirely inexplicable. Overflowing with that celestial joy, I kissed the hand which had struck me," Jogues later wrote. He fully believed this was a direct communication to him from God.[20]

By springtime, Jogues's situation improved to the point that aside from being a captive, he fulfilled the same responsibilities as would any Jesuit who lived in a mission. Father Jogues fulfilled the missionary effort to adapt to his surrounding, much as Father Brébeuf did when he adapted his own strategy to use Amerindian torture as a teaching point to emphasize the fires of Hell when he spoke to the Hurons who burned Saunadanoncoua. As with the Hurons, this accommodation needed to be reciprocated by the Amerindians who allowed this adaptation to take place within their communities. The Iroquois allowed Father Jogues to travel in safety between communities to give religious

[19] *JR*,39:213.
[20] *JR*,31:63-69.

instruction to adopted Christian captives, to administer instruction and baptism to captives before the Iroquois burned them, and to baptize dying infants. At one point he baptized a group of twenty-two captives whose language he did not recognize. With an Iroquois translator, he helped them to understand and accept baptism. The Iroquois burned five of the male captives to death, and distributed the women and children for adoption. In all, Jogues claimed to have baptized seventy individuals during his captivity.[21]

Father Jogues escaped from the Iroquois after the Five Nations suffered a major defeat in Canada in which French-allied Amerindians captured more than one hundred Iroquois, and burned many of them. Because of this a member of Father Jogues's adopted family informed him: "the news of the resolution lately adopted for his death, and advice to escape thence to the Dutch;" The Dutch had never stopped negotiating for Jogues's release and Governor Keift had even become involved. When Jogues and the Iroquois approached New Amsterdam to hunt, he decided: "[T]hat he had done as much good as he could, and that his knowledge of the Iroquois language and culture could be of great use to both the Jesuits and the French, Jogues decided to take the advice and escaped in the night to New Amsterdam."[22] Just as with the death of René Goupil, to maintain their diplomatic credibility, the Iroquois needed to kill Father Jogues. Based upon the explanation that Jogues's family gave him, the Iroquois fulfilled their end of the agreement not to harm Jogues if Iroquois captives remained safe. The use of hostages to maintain peace or insure the safety of captives prevented further killing, and slowed the cycle of revenge and retribution in these wars. If, however, either party began killing

[21] *JR*,39:215-223.
[22] *JR*,39:225.

captives, the other side needed to kill their captives to insure their political integrity. Even if Iroquois leadership wanted to keep Jogues alive, the political situation made it impossible. Father Jogues certainly understood this and likely saw how his position had become untenable.

After a brief return to France, Father Jogues returned to Canada where, due to his knowledge of the Iroquois language and customs, the Jesuits appointed him to create a new mission in Iroquoia that would be called the Mission of the Holy Martyrs. On October 18, 1646, Isaac Jogues entered an Iroquois longhouse where, he was surprised and killed quickly with several blows from a hatchet. He thus met the same fate as that of his friend René Goupil four years and one month earlier.[23]

The final chapter in the story of Father Isaac Jogues provides insight to the extent that the French began to immerse themselves into not only Amerindian torture itself, but also the aesthetic irony that often accompanied it. In October of 1647, the French and Algonquians captured an Iroquois man near Quebec who soon confessed that he had killed Father Isaac Jogues the previous year. He gave a detailed account of Jogues's death, and stated that he killed Jogues without the consent of the principal Iroquois communities, council, or even the consent of Jogues's adopted *aunt* who had publicly and vigorously condemned the action. The Jesuits gave him absolution, and baptized him with the name of Isaac. By the order of Governor Montmagny, the Algonquians tortured him to death, as the Jesuit writer described it: "in order to extract Justice from him." That the French baptized Father Jogues's killer with the name of Isaac is an example of aesthetic irony, in this case used by the French. Concerning Father Jogues's killer, the French not only ordered this captive to be burned, but actively engaged in the intellectual

[23] *JR*,39:223-235.

process of torture by using this idea of aesthetic irony themselves when they gave him a baptismal named.[24]

Past writers have stressed the unusually violent and horrific nature of the ordeals of Father Isaac Jogues and the other Jesuit martyrs, but before a conclusion can be drawn regarding the intensity of the violence they endured, the context within which this violence occurred must be understood. Father Jogues's ordeal was unusual, but not because of the torture he endured. It was unusual due to the complexities that such a high profile captive created for the Iroquois. One captive contributed to a tense diplomatic situation as the Iroquois attempted to use Father Jogues as a hostage against the French and their Amerindians allies. The captivity of Father Jogues even drew pressure from the Dutch. The Iroquois attempted to deal with these issues, but the internal dissent and disagreement such a captive created within the Five Nations caused considerable problems as many looked beyond the political ramifications and simply wanted Father Jogues dead. This hostility resulted in new changes to Amerindian cultural violence in which some Iroquois abandoned the traditional custom of returning Jesuit captives to Iroquoia to decide their fate, and tortured them without consulting Iroquois leaders. This was the case with the capture, torture, and death of Father Jean de Brébeuf and Father Gabriel Lalemant.

[24] For the baptism of Father Jogues's killer, see *JR*,32:19-25. For aesthetic irony in cultural violence please see Frederick Gleach, *Powhatan's World,* 50.

Part III: The Ordeals of Father Jean de Brébeuf and Father Gabriel Lalemant

The deaths of both Father Jean de Brébeuf and Father Isaac Jogues assumed mythical proportions among writers who have highlighted the more dramatic or mystical elements of both their lives, and deaths. John J. Wynne described the "saintliness" of Father Brébeuf by citing the numerous references within the *Jesuit Relations* of Brébeuf foreseeing his own martyrdom in the form of a vision of a great cross large enough to bear all of the missionaries among the Hurons. Wynne described how after such a religious vision, the other priests asked Father Brébeuf to be bled by a surgeon as a precautionary measure, and that his blood be dried so that it could be preserved as a holy relic. Historian Allan Greer argued that in the reconstruction of the lives and deaths of colonial saints, writers have sought the strange and the alien to add emphasis and drama to the retelling. The deaths of Fathers Brébeuf and Lalemant in such accounts are intense and vivid, and there certainly are many strange and alien elements in these stories. They are, however, not strange for the reasons that past writers have asserted. The specific methods or duration of torture the Iroquois used to kill these priests were not any more intense, or of longer duration, than normal. In truth, the reverse is true. For as unusual as Father Jogues's ordeal is for the long duration, the captivity, torture, and deaths of Fathers Jean de Brébeuf and Gabriel Lalemant are equally unusual for the speed with which they occurred. A year passed between the point the Iroquois captured Father Jogues and when he escaped to New Amsterdam. The Iroquois captured Fathers Brébeuf and Lalemant and killed both men within two days. Later, several Huron neophytes

escaped and relayed to the French the details of the priests' deaths. With a careful analysis that also compares the ordeals of Father Brébeuf and Father Lalemant to similar examples, these cases of Amerindian captivity and torture can be explored in their full cultural and political contexts. [25]

On March 15, 1649, a group of six to twelve hundred Iroquois attacked the Huron mission community of St. Louis. The population of St. Louis consisted of a mixture of traditionalist and Catholic Hurons, and the two Jesuits. After a brief siege, the Iroquois captured St. Louis on the morning of March 16. They took captive Fathers Brébeuf and Lalemant, along with a large number of Huron neophytes who refused to leave the priests. The Iroquois did not return the captives to Iroquoia, but only to their base camp at St. Ignace, three miles away. They almost immediately began torturing Father Brébeuf and several of the Hurons.

Father Brébeuf's own ordeal of torture became his most astounding achievement of merging Amerindian torture with the Catholic missionary effort. During the torture of Saunadanoncoua, Father Brébeuf had skillfully used Amerindian torture to relay the message of Catholicism to the Hurons. This Iroquois party consisted primarily of traditionalists, and although not Catholic, they still acknowledged and feared the invading religion. During his torture, Father Brébeuf did not merely tell them about the power of the Christian God, he embodied it by preaching to both the Huron captives and his Iroquois captors throughout his ordeal. The Iroquois forced heated hatchets into his open wounds. They tied a belt of resin soaked bark around his waist and lit it. They placed a string of a half-dozen heated hatchet heads on green vines around his neck in such a

[25] For Father Brébeuf's visions, see John J. Wynne, *The Jesuit Martyrs*, 13 and 147-151; for colonial saint literature, see Allan Greer, "Colonial Saints,": 328.

manner that he could not move forward, backward, or side to side without burning himself. They pierced his hands with metal awls. Just as Saunadanoncoua defied his tormentors by indicating where they should burn him next, Father Brébeuf did the same as he continued to preach to both the Huron neophytes, and his Iroquois captors. The escaped Huron neophytes gave no specifics as to anything Father Brébeuf said, but based on the reactions of the Iroquois, they listened.

The Iroquois answered with their own adaptations to Father Brébeuf's Catholic strength by using aesthetic irony to include the ritual of baptism in his torture. They repeatedly poured boiling water over Brébeuf's entire body and said: "to the end that thou mayst be blessed in Heaven; for without proper Baptism one cannot be saved."[26]

Father Brébeuf understood the traditionalist belief in the power of verbal defiance during torture, and used this to his advantage by continuing to preach to the Iroquois. Based also upon Iroquois reactions to the verbal defiance of other Catholic captives such as the Joseph Onahare (who the Iroquois tried unsuccessfully to prevent from praying by cutting off his hands), Father Brébeuf's words alone must have been powerful enough to affect them because they attempted to physically remove his ability to speak. They first girdled his mouth (cut his lips off), and then cut off his nose. They forced fire brands into his mouth until his tongue was broiled, and they removed the skin that covered his skull. Even at this point, he continued to preach to both the Catholic Hurons and Iroquois. After torturing Father Brébeuf throughout the day, the Iroquois broke Father Brébeuf's jaw with a hatchet, and while still alive, they tore his heart from his chest. An Iroquois roasted and ate Brébeuf's heart while others drank his blood.[27]

[26] *JR*,34:143-145.
[27] For Father Brébeuf, see *JR*,34:139-145; for Joseph Onahare, see *JR*,35:221-223.

With the eating of Father Brébeuf's heart and the drinking of his blood, the Iroquois not only engaged in the absorption of some desired quality of Father Brébeuf's "medicine," but also altered the conditions of torture to make Catholicism acceptable to them. Whether his strength, his courage, or his self-control, the Iroquois certainly recognized these traits in Father Brébeuf and by consuming him, they absorbed and added these qualities to themselves. The Iroquois also recognized that Father Brébeuf gained this self-control and "medicine" through the power of Catholicism. Therefore, Father Brébeuf became the conduit by which Catholicism became acceptable to this group of otherwise very anti-Catholic traditionalists.[28]

Past writers focused a great deal upon this raiding party and their anti-Catholic sentiments, but they looked towards the graphic nature of these priests' torments as evidence of this, and at no point considered why these torments occurred in the first place. It was very unusual that the Iroquois tortured Fathers Brébeuf and Lalemant at the point of capture, without returning them to Iroquoia as captives. In similar cases of capture, the Iroquois typically returned to Iroquoia, and then family and community leaders decided whether to burn or adopt each individual captive. Amerindians might abuse captives, and force them to carry heavy loads on the return journey (as did Father Jogues), but the captors brought them to the home community without serious injury. In the specific instances of Jesuit captives, this is even more unusual as the Iroquois used Father Jogues as leverage against the French and French-allied Amerindians to protect Iroquois captives in Canada, so why did they not even attempt to use Fathers Brébeuf and Lalemant in the same way? All evidence points toward the conclusion that this group of

[28] Michael Pomedli, *Ethnophilosophical and Ethnolinguistic Perspectives of the Huron Indian Soul*, 75-76.

Iroquois took it upon themselves to decide to torture the priests and the Huron neophytes for two reasons. First, they knew the Iroquois leadership would want to keep them alive to bargain with the French, as they did with all other Jesuit captives. Second, because of the growing influence of Catholicism among many Iroquois, these traditionalists feared that the pro-Catholic factions within the Five Nations would prevent the torture of these priests. By this point, the Jesuits had occupied the Iroquois Mission of the Holy Martyrs for at least two years. Not only did the Jesuits make headway in converting some Iroquois to Catholicism, but this also gave traditionalists ample opportunity to see what a threat the Catholic religion posed to their own beliefs. While this predates the Great Schism of Iroquoia by at least a decade, the killing of these priests is representative of the deep-seated anti-Catholic sentiment that already existed within the Five Nations, and this is reflected in the fact that the Iroquois included a distortion of the ritual of baptism in their tortures. This issue of anti-Catholic sentiments within the Iroquois League is amplified by the related point that this Iroquois party who killed the two priests consisted largely of naturalized Iroquois.

José António Brandão has calculated that up to 1669, the Iroquois captured somewhere between 1,434 to 1,568 people. Further, in the period of 1645 to 1653, the Iroquois captured or killed only forty-seven French colonists. This means that these captives consisted mostly of Amerindians, and that those the Iroquois did not torture they adopted, and they became naturalized Iroquois. The Huron neophytes specifically mentioned that this Iroquois raiding party consisted of a large number of Huron-born, naturalized Iroquois who actively participated in the torture of Father Brébeuf, Father Lalemant, and the other Hurons. Jesuits commonly ran into opposition from

traditionalists in Amerindian communities. Considering the large number of Hurons the Iroquois captured and adopted, the large size of this raiding party, and the size of St. Louis, it is very likely that Father Brébeuf knew many of his captors before the Iroquois adopted them. That they so actively participated in his torture is a clear indication of the extreme that some of these naturalized Iroquois traditionalists went to against their former missionaries.[29]

Previous writers have stressed the point that the tortures endured by Father Brébeuf and Father Lalemant were of unusual cruelty and severity. Joseph P. Donnelly stated in his book *Jean de Brébeuf, 1593-1649*, that Brébeuf's status, combined with his unusual size, led to him receiving such terrible tortures. Donnelly wrote: "this pale giant of a man must be saved for the most exquisite torture ever devised. As for that wisp of a companion, he was worth torturing, but he would hardly furnish them with much sport." A careful examination of the available evidence indicates that Father Brébeuf's tortures were neither any more severe or unusual than those of Father Lalemant, nor were the torments of either priests unusually severe compared to other examples of Amerindian torture. In fact, the "wisp of a companion" likely equaled the strength, courage, and expression of Catholic power that Father Brébeuf expressed. Shortly after killing Father Brébeuf, the Iroquois began to torture Father Gabriel Lalemant with largely the same methods of torture they used with Father Brébeuf. The Iroquois cut and burned him; he received the necklace of hatchet heads; and they inserted the hatchets into his wounds. By "baptizing" Father Lalemant as well with boiling water, the Iroquois further expressed their anti-Catholic sentiments. The only thing Father Lalemant said was: "Lalemant lifted

[29] For statistics of captivity, see Brandão, *Nation Iroquoise*, [*sic*] 7-10. For the aggression of traditionalists, see *JR*,34:141.

his eyes to Heaven, clasping his hands from time to time, and uttering sighs to God, whom he invoked to his aid." Father Lalemant's tortures did differ from Father Brébeuf's in one key way. As mentioned, he endured the same torments, but the Iroquois also cut off his hands, just as they did to Joseph Onahare. Previous writers have treated Father Lalemant as a secondary figure to Father Brébeuf, but considering that the only other example of this method of torture was motivated by extreme defiance through prayer, it must be considered that while we do not know what Father Lalemant said, these signs and invocations to God that he made must have been equally defiant and powerful. Father Lalemant in fact proved to be so powerful, that the Iroquois kept him alive until morning when according to traditionalist religious belief, it would be safest to kill him. At daybreak, the Iroquois removed his eyes from their sockets and placed hot coals in their places. At some point around nine am on March 17th, the Iroquois killed Father Lalemant with a hatchet blow to the head. Indicating that they also desired to incorporate Father Lalemant's "medicine," they ate his heart, and drank his blood.[30]

An additional report exists from Christophe Regnaut, a *donné*, who learned of the fate of Fathers Brébeuf and Lalemant from the escaped Hurons, and he later examined the bodies of both men. Based on the accounts of the Hurons, and his own examination of the bodies, he added a few more details to the story. He verified that the Iroquois used the heated hatchet blades to burn the priests' armpits and genitals. Specifically with Father Brébeuf, they cut the flesh from his arms and legs, roasted it, and ate it as he watched. Regnaut stated clearly that the Iroquois cut and burned out both priests' tongues, further proving that both Father Brebeuf and Father Lalemant verbally defied the Iroquois. The

[30] *JR*,34:147-151.

specific tortures the Huron captives endured are at no point described aside from mention that Father Brébeuf offered them encouragement through their ordeal as well.[31]

While these Jesuits endured horrible torments, the evidence from the collection of case studies reveals nothing unusual about the severity of torture that Father Brébeuf or Father Lalemant endured. Father Brébeuf himself described the Hurons' use of heated hatchets as implements of torture, as did Regnaut, who recognized such marks on both Father Brébeuf and Father Lalemant when he examined their bodies. He stated that he recognized this because he had personally observed the Hurons using this method against Iroquois captives. The Hurons used a necklace made of heated hatchet heads against Iroquois captives in 1640. The Iroquois pressed fire brands into captives' mouths as early as 1636. They girdled captives' mouths and replaced their eyes with hot coals by 1642. Both the Hurons and Iroquois at times ate the hearts of victims, and they did this as early as 1632. Amerindians forced captives to eat their own flesh as early as 1638. The custom of cutting off Catholic captives' hands to prevent them from praying was a bit more unique, but this occurred as early as 1647. By the mid-seventeenth century these had all become commonly used and effective methods of torture by all Amerindian groups in New France. The only unique method of torture the priests endured was the baptism with boiling water, which certainly did relate to their Catholic faith.[32]

Following this trend, the duration of the priests' tortures was not of unusual duration, and in fact was even shorter than many similar examples. Father Brébeuf's torture of

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[31] *JR*,39:255.

[32] For the focus upon Father Brébeuf, see Joseph P. Donnelly, *Jean de Brébeuf*, 275; for Huron use of heated hatchets, please see *JR*,22:247; for earliest necklace of hatchets, see *JR*,17:105; for firebrands into captives mouths, see *JR*,9:251; for girdling of captive's mouths and removal of eyes, see *JR*,27:25; for eating of the heart, see *JR*,5:45; for force feeding of flesh, see *JR*,15:171; for cutting off of the hands, see *JR*,33:91.

three to four hours was considerably shorter than Father Lalemant's, who the Iroquois tortured for nearly fifteen hours. In comparison to other Jesuits, this torture occurred with highly unusual speed. While Amerindians tortured some captives for hours, they tortured some for days. In the case of Jesuits, the Iroquois typically tortured them for weeks. The Iroquois tortured Father Isaac Jogues day and night for over two weeks in August of 1642, and periodically after that into late September. They tortured Father Bressany day and night without stop from April through June of 1644. The Iroquois tortured Father Joseph Poncet for weeks between August and September of 1652. This creates further suspicion that if these Iroquois had followed custom and returned Father Brébeuf and Father Lalemant to Iroquoia, the leaders of the Five Nations might have spared them further torture, and even released them. The strongest evidence for this idea is an examination of the captivity, torture, and eventual release of the two Jesuit missionaries who are for this very reason not included among the Jesuit martyrs, Father Joseph Bressany and Father Joseph Poncet.

Part IV: The Ordeals of Father Bressany and Father Poncet

The captivity narratives of Father Joseph Bressany[33] and Father Joseph Poncet provide the most detailed information regarding the both the diplomatic motivations of the Iroquois as they held Jesuit captives, and direct observations of the internal disagreement among the Iroquois over these priests. Both of these points are essential in understanding the cultural accommodations the Iroquois made in the mid-seventeenth century as they

[33] There are numerous variations on the spelling of Father Bressany's name. Here I use "Joseph Bressany" as it appears in Reuben Golde Thwaites's *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents.*

altered their customs of torture and captivity to meet the diplomatic and religious challenges they encountered by holding, torturing, and eventually releasing their Jesuit captives. With the exception of Father Jogues's narrative, these are the only firsthand accounts written by the priests themselves about their captivity. Father Bressany's account is an excellent comparison to Father Jogues's as his captivity began just as Father Jogues's ended, and the circumstances of their capture, torture, and release are similar. The Iroquois tortured both of them for weeks, and moved them from community to community while they decided on the priests' final fate until, with the help of their Iroquois captors, both eventually became free. Father Poncet's account is unique because it is the only account of Jesuit torture that took the legacy of the martyrs into consideration. The Iroquois captured and tortured Father Poncet almost a decade after the first Martyrs, and their experience greatly impacted the manner in which Father Poncet interpreted and endured his ordeal. Both accounts reinforce the point that the Iroquois hierarchy saw the clear benefits of keeping missionaries alive, and both give a rare glimpse at the large councils where the Iroquois made these decisions, and the disagreements created over the treatment of Jesuits. They also contain a wealth of information regarding the changes the Iroquois made surrounding torture as in reaction to European colonization, they reinterpreted their own ideas of religion, politics, war, and mourning.

Like the case of Father Jogues, there are multiple accounts of Father Bressany's ordeal in the forms of both a letter written by Father Bressany himself during his captivity, and an account later compiled by Father Barthélemy Vimont. The Iroquois attacked Father Bressany while he traveled with a group of Hurons between Three Rivers and Quebec on

April 28, 1644. As with Father Jogues, as well as Fathers Brébeuf and Lalemant, a Christian Huron named Sotrioskon gave his life defending a Jesuit. The Iroquois began the long journey back to Iroquoia with Father Bressany and the Huron captives. One of these Hurons named Henry Stontrats escaped and relayed to the French that, unlike their treatment of Father Jogues, the Iroquois had not yet harmed Father Bressany, and that he retained his clothing and breviary. This was due to the intervention of an Iroquois captain who protected him from the other Iroquois, much like Father Jogues's gaurd.[34]

There are numerous parallels in the interactions between Jesuits and Amerindians as described by both Father Bressany and Father Jogues. Both cases involved Huron defenders who abandoned the priests as they attempted to escape, Catholic Hurons who defended the priests with their lives, and Iroquois captors who insured as humane treatment towards them as was possible. The Iroquois captain attempted to protect Father Bressany, and for part of the voyage he remained unharmed. As they did concerning Father Jogues, his French companions, and the Huron captives, the Iroquois drew a cultural distinction between the French and Huron captives. The Iroquois did not restrain Father Bressany at night, and even gave him moccasins to wear. They did, however, bind and abuse the Huron captives. This occurred the year following Father Jogues's captivity, and the Iroquois altered their normal customs of abusing captives to take into consideration the unique nature of Jesuit captives, in fact almost treating Father Bressany as a political prisoner. After learning from the captivity of Father Jogues, at least some Iroquois sought to use Bressany more as a hostage in negotiations with the French than as a captive to torture or adopt. When Father Bressany's captors, however, met another

[34] *JR*,26:29-37. Stelio Cro, "The Original Letters of Father Bressani Written From Fort Orange," *Canadian Journal of Italian Studies* 4, no. 1-2 (1980-81): 43-53.

Iroquois raiding party, they began to abuse him. This second group relayed that the French killed a prominent Iroquois war captain, and Father Bressany himself explained that because of this, the Iroquois reconsidered his fate and began to torture him as part of the mourning process for this captain.[35]

The extraordinary nature of the torture Father Bressany suffered at the hands of the Iroquois acts as a meter to gauge the social and political stressors of the Five Nations' in reaction to the increased severity of their military failures against the French. This manifested due to the anger and frustration over these severe defeats and losses, which the Iroquois in turn expressed through an increase in the abuse upon their most important captive. Religious divides among the Iroquois only further amplified this abuse and the result for Father Bressany became a horrific series of tortures that stretched out over weeks. As the Iroquois replaced beatings with torture by slow fire, Father Bressany began: "to taste the cup of our dear Lord Jesus Christ." The Iroquois slit his hand open between the third and fourth fingers, and beat him so badly with cudgels that he became insensible. The Iroquois understood their need for Father Bressany as a valuable captive, and at times a captain stopped this torture, but this protector did little more than restrain the other Iroquois from killing him. This continued for five or six days until, as they did with Father Jogues, the Iroquois moved Father Bressany between communities so other Iroquois could torture him. The torture of a unique captive like Father Bressany, by as many Iroquois as possible, was a change to the mourning process that equated the loss of a prominent Iroquois leader, and their resent military defeats. During the night, the Iroquois stabbed Father Bressany with sharp sticks; they burned him with firebrands and calumet pipes; tore out his beard and hair; and the children threw hot coals on him. They

[35] *JR*,26:41. Stelio Cro, "The Original Letters,": 43-45.

forced him to walk across sharpened sticks imbedded in the ground that they covered in hot coals, cutting and burning him at the same time. Each night ended with the burning of one of his fingers in a calumet pipe for seven or eight minutes while: "I was ordered to sing (at the time when it was quite impossible to stop screaming)." This continued daily for a month.[36]

The Iroquois continued to torture Father Bressany for weeks, until they themselves began to avoid him due to the smell of his infected wounds. At this point, the naturalized Iroquois took an active role in Father Bressany's ordeal in a manner very similar to the position they occupied in the torture of Fathers Brébeuf and Lalemant. Father Bressany described the party that initially captured him contained thirty Iroquois, nine of whom were naturalized Iroquois, almost a third of the group, including six former Hurons and three former members of the Wolf nation. Just as the naturalized Iroquois took a very active role in the torture of Fathers Brébeuf and Lalemant, they also singled out Father Bressany, and in his own captivity narrative, he continued to identify the naturalized Iroquois among the worst of his tormentors, much as occurred with Fathers Brébeuf and Lalemant.[37]

On June 19, two-thousand Iroquois gathered for what Bressany himself thought would be the last of his tortures and imminent death. While the Iroquois brought Father Bressany to this council, he did not have enough knowledge of the Iroquois language to clearly understand what happened. He clearly felt that they intended to decide how he would finally be killed.

> I begged a captain (I confess my weakness) that they change the form of death from fire to some other form of death. An old man that was present there started

[36] *JR*,26:43-45. Stelio Cro, "The Original Letters,": 45-51.
[37] *JR*,26:33-37. Stelio Cro, "The Original Letters,": 49-53.

> to yell at me and persuade the others to change their mind. I did not understand his words, but I saw a great vehemence in his speech. Then the captain to whom I had spoken before and who had condemned me to death, together with another captain, told me that not only would I not die by fire, but I would not die at all.[38]

This passage is of immense importance at it shows the disparity that existed among the Iroquois League on the subject of Jesuit missionaries whom they took captive. The Iroquois did not include Father Jogues in this decision, but Father Bressany did observe the mixed reactions of the Iroquois. That this attracted two-thousand people from across the Iroquois League to debate signifies the immense importance of the political, cultural, and religious connotations of this decision. The old man who yelled indicates that they did not come to a clear consensus, but that the factions who favored sparing Father Bressany prevailed. Before the Iroquois took him to New Amsterdam, Father Bressany learned that Guillaume Couture, who still resided among the Iroquois more than a year after his initial capture with Father Jogues, argued on his behalf. This massive council that decided Father Bressany's fate is indicative of not only the importance the Iroquois placed upon Jesuit captives, but this also explains why by the time they captured Father Brébeuf and Father Lalemant almost two years later, the anti-French and anti-Catholic factions among the Iroquois, of whom the naturalized Iroquois were a driving force, refrained from returning the priests to Iroquoia, and tortured them at the point of capture. It also explains how after this, the Iroquois refrained from capturing priests for several years, and when they captured Father Joseph Poncet they returned to Iroquoia to discuss how best to deal with him.[39]

[38] Stelio Cro, "The Original Letters,": 53.
[39] For the role of Guillaume Couture, see Stelio Cro, "The Original Letters,": 55; for the deaths of Fathers Brébeuf and Lalement, see *JR*,26:51.

The case of Father Joseph Poncet is unique as it is the only firsthand account of Jesuit torture after the Iroquois onslaught of the 1640s, and the deaths of the Jesuit Martyrs. Therefore, Father Poncet's ordeal reflects how a typical Jesuit in New France interpreted and understood the Martyrs not only in his daily life, but also their effect on his understanding and interpretation of his own capture , torture, and eventual release. Father Poncet wrote a firsthand account of his captivity and torture, which was edited and rewritten by Father Francois le Mercier.

The Iroquois captured Father Poncet near the French community of Sillery on August 20, 1652, along with a French colonist, Mathurin Franchetot. A rescue party set off the next day to free the two men, but near the island of St. Eloy, a few days journey from Sillery, the French found an odd message on a tree. The bark had been torn away, two faces had been drawn, and beneath the images were the names of Father Poncet and Maturin Franchetot. They found a book nearby in which was written: "Six Hurons, turned Iroquois and four anniehronnons [Mohawks] are carrying off Father Poncet and Maturin Franchetot. They have not yet done us any injury. It is their custom to treat prisoners gently as long as they are still in fear of being overtaken."[40]

Father le Mercier then referred to "the tattered remnants of his own account" and the narrative reverted to the first person. Father Poncet claimed that one of his captors took from him the reliquary he wore around his neck. However, he did conceal several of the items it contained. One was a piece of paper upon which he had previously written in his own blood the names of the Jesuits martyred in America, and a short prayer in which he

[40] *JR*,40:121-123.

asked God for a "violent death in his service."[41] That Father Poncet carried this reliquary on his person at all times indicates the deep hold of the martyrs upon the French colonists, most specifically the clergy, as he sought a mystical association with them by mingling their names with his own blood. Long before the Catholic Church considered them for sainthood, Canadians and the French treated these eight men as holy martyrs. Historian Allan Greer described the contemporary effect that the martyrs had upon Canada that included holy relics pertaining to them. Father Poncet created such a holy relic for himself in the form of the names of the martyrs in his own blood. His veneration for an object that he could easily procure again if the opportunity arose, reflects that on a personal level for Father Poncet, this piece of paper had gained the mystical status of a holy object.[42]

When the party approached the first principal community of the Iroquois, they stripped Poncet and Franchetot to breechclouts and ordered them to sing. Just as other Jesuits prayed during their tortures, Father Poncet sang elements of the Catholic mass including the Litany of the Blessed Virgin, the *Veni Creator,* and other religious hymns. Only then did Father Poncet and Franchetot meet the first significant abuse of their ordeal as the Iroquois forced them to walk a gauntlet of forty or fifty Iroquois who beat them with switches and clubs. All captives, including several Hurons the Iroquois had captured separately, mounted a scaffold. Poncet described how a one-eyed man approached with a knife in one hand and a piece of bread in the other. Remembering how Isaac Jogues lost his thumb at this point in a similar way, he prepared for this. The man only gave the

[41] *JR*,40:123-125.

[42] For a full analysis of the place of holy relics in Canada, see Julia Boss, "Writing a Relic: The Uses of Hagiography in New France" *Colonial Saints: Discovering the Holy in the Americas, 1500-1800*, ed. Allan Greer and Jodi Bilinkoff (New York, London: Routledge, 2003), 214-215. See also Allan Greer, "Colonial Saints,": 327.

bread to Franchetot. This is the first example of the important cultural details Father Poncet included regarding both his torture, and his adoption. The act of giving Franchetot bread and Father Poncet nothing implies that the Iroquois had already decided to kill Franchetot, and adopt Father Poncet, and this is another example of aesthetic irony in Amerindian cultural violence, as the Iroquois gave the dead man subsistence and the living man nothing.[43]

Father Poncet described the eclectic and conflicted reactions of the Iroquois regarding his torture and captivity, and the modifications of the Iroquois to appease both those who wished to torture him, and those who sought to preserve him. He wrote of how the Iroquois forced him to sing, to commit a series of "indignities," and to perform "apish tricks." At some point, a Huron-born, naturalized Iroquois came forward from the group tormenting the captives and took Poncet's place. The relief of a captive by one of the torturers is a unique occurrence that does not appear in any other examples of torture in New France. The root of this could reside with either this Iroquois, or the Jesuits. It is possible that for some unknown personal reason, this naturalized Iroquois enacted some form of surrogate torture to replace the torture that he did not endure as an adoptee. It is equally possible that Father Poncet or Father le Mercier lost the exact meaning of the event in the recording, and adapted it to more closely resemble the story of Simon of Cyrene, who carried Jesus' cross when he was no longer able to do so. Allan Greer described how whenever possible, colonial writers attempted to use imagery of Christ's crucifixion to describe the torture of the Jesuit martyrs. This accounts for the emphasis upon such imagery as the removal of the priests' clothing, the use of thorns, and the

[43] Frederick Gleach, *Powhatan's World*, 51.

elevation of the victim during torture. If one equates the enacting of such "apish tricks" to the carrying of Christ's cross, this could be added to the list of such imagery.[44]

Father Poncet gave an equally unique description of the circumstances that led to the cutting off of one of his fingers, the social implications of this, and the accommodations the Iroquois made in order to mutilate a Jesuit captive, and his own desire to emulate the Jesuit martyrs by accepting this mutilation. One night, during his torture, a woman came forward with a "*brasse* of Porcelain,"[45] and requested that the Iroquois cut off one of his fingers. Father Poncet described how by this point he actually wanted to bear the marks of his captivity and stopped hoping to be left with all of his fingers. He reflected on Father Jogues whose thumb the Iroquois took on the scaffold, and he prayed to Saint Gabriel that he would endure this "cheerfully." It is one thing to accept this mutilation as did Father Jogues; but Father Poncet took this one step farther to actually hope to be mutilated. For Father Poncet, such a mutilation at the hands of the Iroquois became a mystical connection to the Martyrs. Just as he drew a connection to them with the writing of their names in his own blood, he created another such connection through the conduit of Iroquois mutilation that could then never be removed or disassociated from him. Short of death, he could achieve no greater bond to the Martyrs. Before they removed his finger, the one-eyed man who had previously refused him bread reappeared, accompanied by a child of four or five. He closely examined both of Father Poncet's hands, and held the index finger while the child cut it off. As they took his finger, Father Poncet sang religious hymns. The one-eyed man then placed a string of wampum around

[44] For the treatment of Father Poncet and the naturalized Iroquois, see *JR*,40:129-131; for ideas of imagery in sainthood narratives, see Allan Greer, "Colonial Saints,": 330.
[45] Ronald Edward Zupko, *French Weights and Measures Before the Revolution: A Dictionary of Provincial and Local Units* (Bloomington, London: Indiana University Press) 30. Zupko identifies a *brasse* as 1.624 meters.

Father Poncet's neck, wound the rest around the severed finger, and brought it to his captor. The man then sought to apply his calumet pipe to the bleeding wound, but was beaten to it by others who encouraged the same child to apply a burning coal to it. This did not stop the blood so the Iroquois dressed the wound in corn husks.[46]

The captivity narratives of the Jesuits are filled with internal disagreements among the Iroquois. The taking of Father Poncet's finger represents a compromise that appeased both those who tortured him, and those who sought to save him. This appears to have been some form of agreement or exchange between the one-eyed man and Father Poncet's captor that might actually have solidified his future adoption. The Iroquois altered their own teaching methods to take advantage of Jesuit captivity. Father Jogues, Father Bressany, and Father Poncet all describe how children tortured them at night, most commonly by burning them with hot coals. Amerindians placed an importance on understanding how to both inflict and endure torture, and taught this to their children. The Iroquois capitalized upon the teaching opportunity presented by Jesuits held captive for such long periods of time. The cutting off of Father Poncet's finger illustrates in great detail how the Iroquois took this education seriously, and that only this one child both removed Father Poncet's finger and burned the wound, implies that the inclusion of this particular child was part of the agreement. The exchange of wampum among Amerindians typically followed an agreement of some kind, and as this is typically not mentioned in accounts of Amerindian torture, represents a unique situation of the Iroquois coming to terms with their internal disagreements concerning the torture of the Jesuits. Some form of agreement took place concerning Father Poncet's finger, and it is most likely that when the one-eyed man took the finger, wrapped it in wampum, gave it

[46] For the taking of Father Poncet's finger, see *JR*,40:133-135.

to Father Poncet's captor, and finally placed some around the Father's neck, he publicly relinquished any further right to torture Father Poncet. He is not mentioned again in the narrative, and soon after, the torture of Father Poncet ceased. This even further reinforces the point that there was a great deal not directly expressed in the written accounts regarding the fate of Jesuit priests, and the tense social, religious, and cultural positions of the Iroquois as they held Jesuit captives among the Iroquois.

Father Poncet described how the Iroquois took himself and Mathurin Franchetot to a final community because of "a great Assembly of the notables of the country" almost identical to the description given by Father Bressany. The Iroquois still forced them to dance, and despite the fact that the Iroquois leaders ordered the people to stop torturing them, some Iroquois still covertly burned them with firebrands as they passed through the crowd. The Iroquois told Father Poncet his fate, and not being fluent in Iroquois, he misinterpreted that they intended to kill him. Instead the Iroquois gave him to an old woman in place of a brother who French-allied Amerindians recently either captured or killed. He still knew he was not safe as: "that woman could have made me die in all the torments that could have been suggested by revenge." Not as fortunate, the Iroquois took Franchetot to a different community where they burned him to death.[47]

Poncet described his own adoption with great detail that sheds light upon not only Amerindian ideas of mourning but also the act of adoption and to what privileges the newly adopted captive became entitled. He stated that he was made to sit before a fire in the woman's home, on a table slightly raised from the ground. The woman and her two daughters then recited what he described as "chants" which illustrated how the mourning for the dead man ended with him being reborn within Poncet. This not only meant an end

[47] *JR*,40:135-139.

to his torture, but also that he was under the protection of his new family who would not allow him to be tortured any sooner than a blood relative, as the deceased relative now resided within him again.[48]

Three days later, Poncet learned that an Iroquois party went to Three Rivers. He again feared for his life but soon learned that the leader of this party was the brother of the woman who had adopted him, and while Poncet did not understand this at the time, was his *brother* as well. This man communicated with two Hurons who relayed that the French very much wanted Father Poncet returned, and as with the captivity of Father Jogues, the fate of several Iroquois hostages at Three Rivers depended on his safe return. This time, however, the Iroquois decided to make the first move and not wait for the French-allied Amerindians to begin burning their Iroquois captives. They took Father Poncet to New Amsterdam, and eventually escorted by the Iroquois (whom he promised safe passage) to Three Rivers.[49]

Part IV: Conclusion: The Legacy of the Martyrs

Recent scholarship on hagiography and sainthood in New France has opened a new understanding of the historical and spiritual place of the North American Martyrs. Historian Julia Boss described the veneration of the Jesuit Martyrs that began in the seventeenth century as a carefully constructed element of the relationship between Catholics on both sides of the Atlantic. Beyond the living memory of the Martyrs' death, this veneration began with the creation of *The Manuscript of 1652*, by Father Paul

[48] *JR*,40:139.
[49] *JR*,40:141-143.

Ragueneau and Father Joseph Poncet. This created a community of Catholicism between Catholics in France and New France by reconstructing the deaths of the Jesuits in traditional hagiographic style. The people of New France could point towards those individuals who possessed the qualities essential to potential saints, including miraculous visions for those who became blessed with a holy death in the name of God. They broke down the geographic barriers to maintain all the qualities that not only made them French and Catholic, but also potential saints far from the European center.[50]

The emphasis on the lives and deaths of the Martyrs, however, did not take into consideration either the Amerindian neophytes who accompanied these priests and often died defending them; the Iroquois who tortured in specific political, social, or cultural contexts; or the changes to the customs of torture by fire made by Jesuit, neophyte, and Iroquois alike as they all participated in the unique situation of Jesuit captivity and torture. As has been shown, these elements of cultural change are indeed present within the narratives of the North American Martyrs. In short, the hagiographic tradition of New France has focused more upon the lives of the Martyrs, and their place in the spiritual schema of New France and the Catholic world, than on the circumstances and contexts of their ordeals. It was the context of their captivity, not the violence of their tortures, that made Jesuit captivity and torture different. Concerning Father Jogues, Father Bressany, and Father Poncet, their status as important diplomatic bargaining tools for the Iroquois leadership caused their torture to stretch out and change into a situation of captivity as the political picture changed around them. For Father Brébeuf and Father Lalemant, they became the focus of the religious frustrations and social dissentions of traditionalist and

[50] Julia Boss, "Writing a Relic: The Uses of Hagiography in New France" *Colonial Saints: Discovering the Holy in the Americas*, 214-215.

naturalized Iroquois who burned them without the approval of Iroquois leaders. Political disagreement, religious divides, social changes, and the changes to customs of Amerindian cultural violence that accompanied them among the Iroquois quite possibly did more to splinter the Iroquois than to unite them.

Chapter V:
"That They Might Drink of Their Broth"[1]
The Evolution of Amerindian Cultural Violence in New France through the Early Eighteenth Century

Part I: Introduction

As the French explored more extensively into North America, they found the customs of burning and eating captive prisoners to be widely practiced throughout both Canada and Louisiana. With these customs came a variety of other forms of human sacrifice and ritualistic killing. The French also found that in some situations they could effectively allow, encourage and even participate in Amerindian cultural violence. In the seventeenth century they tolerated such violence so long as their allies burned Iroquois captives. In the eighteenth century, they expanded this tolerance to include the British. Both the British and the French worked carefully to use the threat of cultural violence to coerce each other, even though neither possessed any real control over its allies.

The French also openly encouraged the violent behaviors of their allies to quell internal rebellion by encouraging the killing and enslavement of captives during the Fox Wars and the Natchez uprising, Also, in the eighteenth century Amerindians in both the western Great Lakes and Louisiana learned that their great skill in acquiring captives could not only benefit their personal status within their home communities, but could also

[1] State Historical Society of Wisconsin, ed., *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 31 vols.* (Madison: The Society, 1854-1931), Vol. 17, 32. (From this point forward *WHC*, followed by volume number: followed by page number.

benefit their economic situation if they sold at least some captives into slavery as they, knowingly or not, became more immersed in the economy of the Atlantic world.

Finally, both the French and Amerindians made cultural accommodations as they reinterpreted customs of cultural violence in the western Great Lakes and Louisiana to meet the political, cultural, and military changes they encountered. Historian Richard White described the influences upon the culture of this region. "The Frenchmen who traveled into the *pays d'en haut*, as they called the lands beyond Huronia, thought they were discovering new worlds. They were, however, doing something more interesting. They were becoming co-creators of a world in the making."[2]

Ethnohistorian Heidi Bohoker has given an alternate interpretation, arguing: "White interprets widespread intermarriage as a product of refugee experience. These sorts of intermarriages were part and parcel of the Anishnaabeg [Ojibwa] world long before 1650. As husbands and wives had different *nindoodemag*, [extended family kinship and tribal identities] every family was by definition intertribal."[3] Bohaker's notion that Amerindians of the western Great Lakes possessed less rigid cultural and political identities, that allowed for the sharing of culture well before the seventeenth century is directly related to the alterations they made regarding Amerindian cultural violence. Amerindians of the western Great Lakes, and for that matter the Mississippi Valley, did not merely react to the aggression of the Iroquois, the Spanish, or the French. Likewise, these people's different and often shared *nindoodemag*, inevitably resulted in the sharing and observation of each others' customs, including their customs of torturing captives. As undeniably path-breaking as the research of Richard White has been, the fact remains that

[2] Richard White, *The Middle Ground*, 1.
[3] Heidi Bohoker, "Nindoodemag: the Significance of Algonquin Kinship Networks in the Eastern Great Lakes Region": 46.

Amerindians did not need Europeans to impact their own cultural dynamic. As argued by Bohoker, Amerindians altered their own cultural patterns. To take this idea one step farther, as they did not need Europeans to alter the cultural balance of life in North America, nor did Amerindians need the help of Europeans to destroy each other.

Part II: Cultural Violence and Diplomacy at the End of the Seventeenth Century

Throughout the *ancien régime* the French regularly interfered in the process of Amerindian cultural violence, but this interference evolved from compassion for the victims to manipulation of these behaviors for French gain. This began with Samuel de Champlain's first experience with such violence in 1609, and continued through the Seven Years War. In the early seventeenth-century this interference consisted largely of humanitarian efforts by colonial leaders like Champlain, but most often by priests like Father Paul Le Jeune, who attempted to save or ransom the lives of captives. By the later part of the seventeenth and the early eighteenth centuries, these attempts to intervene on the behalf of captives often became attempts at manipulation, as the French tried to use their allies' violent tendencies as weapons against their own enemies. In addition, there are examples of the French employing Amerindian cultural violence as a tool to control their growing population of African slaves in Louisiana. The French also found the illusion that they could control their allies' violent behaviors to be a powerful diplomatic tool in dealing with their North American rivals, the British. There are even incidents in which the French not only condoned such actions, but participated as torturers themselves.

In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, French military officers penetrated to the far western areas of New France that became known as the *pays d'en haut*. Despite the considerable personal risk, and the arduous hardships of such journeys, French officers sought and competed for these positions, because the officer assigned to a region was granted a monopoly on the fur trade. One winter in the *pays d'en haut* could result in a fortune in beaver skins. These officers acted far more like ambassadors than soldiers as they often needed to de-escalate conflicts between the different Amerindian groups of this region. An important part of such negotiations often included convincing Amerindians not to burn their captives and continue cycles of violence and retribution which destabilized the region, slowed colonization, and reduced profit from the fur trade.

A prime example of this is an instance that occurred near Michillimackinac in 1705, in which a French officer working with the local Jesuit missionary successfully convinced Amerindians not to burn a group of captives. The Michillimackinac Ottawa returned to their community in a celebratory parade formation after a successful raid in which they took nine Seneca captives. Father Joseph Marest wrote that Ottawa forced the captives to run the gauntlet, and the Ottawa beat them quite badly in the process, severally injuring the older captives. The returning Ottawa warriors turned all of the captives over to the elders of the community, who decided that the young men should be adopted, and the older men burned. At this point, the French stepped in and negotiated with the Ottawa for the captives' lives. It is not stated exactly what was said, but given the background of those involved it was likely the joint effort by Father Marest and the commanding officer at Michillimackinac, Major Louis de la Port de Louvigney, that secured the lives of these Seneca captives. Father Marest lived in the Michillimackinac region for several years

among the Ottawa. When they relocated to Detroit a few years earlier, Father Marest requested that these particular Ottawa relocate back to Michillimackinac, and they did so. In short, he had their friendship and their trust, and likely at his request, the Ottawa listened to the French officer. Major Louvigney was an experienced Amerindian negotiator who had in previous years successfully pacified the Iroquois and prevented them from raiding west, an act that had gained him the respect of both the Iroquois and the western nations. So, while it is unknown exactly what they said, a trusted Jesuit missionary and an experienced French officer pleaded for the lives of these Seneca captives and whatever they said proved effective, as the Ottawa did not burn any of these captives. [4]

In previous cases throughout the seventeenth century, humanitarian appeals for Amerindians not to torture captives often ended with less than successful results. Father Paul Le Jeune argued throughout the 1630s with the Algonquians and Hurons that it was not Christian to torture captives, but this approach yielded little success. Likewise, appeals made with diplomatic arguments and motivations succeeded even less so in that they further alienated the Amerindian allies of the French. This occurred in 1644 when Governor Charles Hault de Montmagney secured the lives of several Iroquois captives by ordering the Algonquians not to torture them, and as a result damaged the progress of the Jesuits' missionary efforts among these Algonquians. In 1655, despite pleas from the

[4] For Nicolas Perrot's description of these events, see Emma Helen Blair, ed. and trans., *The Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley and the Region of the Great Lakes as Described by Nicolas Perrot Commandant in the Northwest, Bacqueville de la Potherie, French Royal Commissioner to Canada; Morrell Marsten, American Army Officer; and Thomas Forsyth, Agent at Fort Armstrong* (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1911), 38-39. For background on Father Joseph Marest, see John R. Bailey, M.D., *Mackinac: formerly* [*sic*] *Michillimackinac* (Lansing: Darius D. Thorpe, Publisher, 1895), 64. For background on Major Louvigney, please see *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online: Volume II, 1701-1740*, s.v. "La Porte de Louvigny, Louis de" (accessed November 22, 2011) http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?id_nbr=900

French, the Erie started a war with the Iroquois by burning a high ranking Mohawk leader. Finally, in 1659, an Onondaga leader, even against the wishes of his own people who argued that his actions would incite war with almost everybody, ordered more than forty captives burned as he mourned his dead brother.[5]

The 1705 example of Michillimackinac, and other cases from the later seventeenth century illustrate an important change in French diplomatic methods in which they came to understand that Amerindians could be convinced not to torture captives, but they could not be coerced to do so and in order to convince them, the French needed to change their approach to the subject from an authoritarian argument of what Amerindians *must* do, to a diplomatic appeal of what they *should* do in their own best interests. In 1705, a Jesuit and an officer largely stopped acting as such and acted more like diplomats or ambassadors. This type of approach had previously yielded results, though in a much less official capacity than that at Michillimackinac. In 1654, a Catholic Algonquin named Noel Tekauerimat successfully argued in a council setting for the release of five Abenaki captives from the Algonquians. They released all five after only preliminary torture. In 1667, Father Francois le Mercier argued for the release of several Ottawa captives who some Oneida teenagers secretly tortured. Father le Mercier and the Oneida leaders found that the Oneida youths tortured the captives without permission, and Father le Mercier argued successfully that such action would start an unnecessary war with the Ottawa, and this diplomatic appeal to the Oneida's better interests that came from a religious leader they trusted convinced them to release the Ottawas. By the early eighteenth century, the French came to understand that they achieved greater success through an argument that

[5] For Father Le Jeune, see *JR*,5:27 and *JR*,12:181. For Governor Montmagny ordering the Algonquians to not torture, see *JR*,26:53. For the Erie and the Iroquois, see *JR*,42:175. For the Onondaga burning forty captives, see *JR*,42:191.

did not merely dictate French opinion and expectations to Amerindians, but instead appealed to their better interests. In this case, both a trusted missionary and a representative of Onontio made it clear to the Michillimackinac Ottawa that restarting a war with the Iroquois over a few captives would not benefit them, or anybody.[6]

The French discovered that careful diplomacy could save captives from the flames, but they also discovered that if properly handled, Amerindian cultural violence could be manipulated into a potent weapon. The deliberate use of Amerindian torture by the French dates back to the capture, baptism, and torture of "Isaac" who in 1647 confessed to the murder of Father Isaac Jogues. The French turned him over to their Amerindian allies for the expressed purpose that he be tortured. This is a vitally important transition as it is one thing to tolerate the customs of a foreign culture, and quite another to actively endorse them, or even to join in as a participant. With the case of Isaac, the French actively joined in the process of Amerindian torture and continued to do so in varying degrees for the remainder of the *ancien régime*.[7]

This important change in the French mindset manifested in many ways throughout the seventeenth-century. As with Amerindian expressions of cultural violence, the circumstances of French involvement in these customs depended upon the political, military, and religious relationship between the French and their Iroquois enemies. The self-imposed restraints on French involvement in torture by fire became less stringent as conflicts intensified throughout the seventeenth-century. In the early seventeenth century, this alteration remained indirect as the French involved themselves in Amerindian torture. Most commonly this involvement meant granting personal approval for Amerindians to

[6] For Noel Tekauerimat arguing for Abenaki captives, see *JR*,40:195; for Father le Mercier arguing for Ottawa captives, see *JR*,51:213.
[7] *JR*,32:19-25.

burn a particular captive or group of captives. Such an example occurred in April of 1656, when Father Paul Le Jeune stated frankly that a Mohawk captive of the Hurons had deserved to be tortured by slow fire. Father Le Jeune stated this in writing, after Amerindians burned this captive. He did not officially order or request the captive be burned, as the Jesuits and governor did in their request with Isaac in 1647. Father Le Jeune wrote this statement in a report to Jesuit superiors in France to emphasize that the destruction of remote missions, the gruesome deaths of several Jesuit missionaries, and the seeming inability of the French to stop or curb these attacks diminished the efforts of the clergy in New France. A necessary change became the inclusion of torture by fire to slow these wars, and revive the missionary presence in the region. This validation of Amerindian torture by the clergy allowed French leaders to make additional accommodations that allowed them to take a much more active role in requesting their Amerindian allies torture captives. In the early 1690s, the French officer Francois le Moyne de Bienville wrote of how Louis de Buade, Comte de Frontenac frequently ordered Amerindian captives burned during his 1672-1682 term as governor of New France. In the last decades of the seventeenth century, Governor Frontenac gained a reputation for achieving results by whatever means necessary. Unlike the Jesuits whose superiors in France understood the long-term nature of their missionary effort in New France, Frontenac needed to report to France every year on the progress of the colony, and explain why revenues from Canada did not equal investments from France. Also unlike the Jesuits, Governor Frontenac could use military means to achieve the desired results. As Governor, Frontenac certainly officially supported the Catholic goal of bringing Catholicism to Amerindians, but the creation of his own personal fortune

remained Frontenac's primary interest. Like many colonists, Frontenac came to the New World with a noble name and empty pockets. He created, however, a sizable fortune in a short time through control of the fur trade. The Iroquois represented the greatest obstacle to both his personal financial interests, and the larger French interest in the stability of the colony for which the King held Frontenac directly responsible. Governor Frontenac created his own alterations by building upon the precedent of French acceptance of Amerindian torture by allowing both his Amerindian allies, and even his own soldiers to burn captives when he aggressively invaded Iroquoia. During the 1696 invasion of Iroquoia, Governor Frontenac allowed a group of French soldiers to burn an elderly Onondaga man. In an ironic twist that is telling of the continuous growth of Jesuit influence over the course of the *ancien régime*, the Catholic Iroquois allies of the French objected to this torture on the grounds of the Onondaga man's Catholic religion. They knew this because Father Jacques de Lamberville, the Jesuit accompanying the campaign, baptized him years earlier. Regardless, Governor Frontenac allowed his men to burn him. After an hour of torture at the hands of the French soldiers, a Catholic Iroquois struck the man with a fatal blow to the head. [8]

French colonial and military leaders continued to create these same types of new opinions toward Amerindian violence as the French expanded their presence throughout North America. They utilized cultural violence when it became convenient to do so, in Illinois and Louisiana, and at times this drew distinct attention to the behavior of these

[8] For Father Le Jeune and this Mohawk, see *JR*,43:99. For Bienville on Governor Frontenac, see Dunbar Rowland and A.G. Sanders, ed. and trans., (revised and edited by Patricia Kay Galloway) *Mississippi Provincial Archives: Volume III, French Dominion, 1729-1748* (Baton Rouge, London: Louisiana State University Press, 1984), 116. (From this point forward, *MPA*, followed by volume number: followed by page number.) For Governor Frontenac's personal and political goals, see W. J. Eccles, *Canada Under Louis XIV, 1663-1701* (London, New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 196-203. For torture by French soldiers, see *JR*,65:27.

colonial officials. In 1707, a letter was sent from King Louis XIV himself to the acting governor of Louisiana, Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville. The letter confronted Bienville on sixteen different instances of corruption, theft, and general wrongdoing. Among the allegations, the crown accused Bienville of ordering the burning of an Alabama man at the gates of Fort St. Louis. Bienville professed his innocence, and the court took witnesses' testimony. Six different witnesses testified that Bienville had done no such thing, and one even pointed out that the alleged victim was still alive. The court cleared Bienville of any wrongdoing, but that is of secondary importance. What is important is the precedent set that condemned the involvement of a French colonial official in Amerindian torture. The precedent was short lived however. In 1731, long after Louis XIV was dead, another governor of Louisiana, Étienne Périer attempted to induce the Illinois to burn three Chickasaw captives. In another example of how the French altered their colonial policies to meet their immediate needs, Governor Périer wanted these Chickasaw captives burned to discourage both British supported slave raids into Louisiana, and the growing intrusions of British fur traders into the region. This occurred at a time of tense relations between the British and the French, directly between Queen Ann's War (1702-1713) and King George's War (1744-1748). Encouraged by British slave traders, the Chickasaw raided into Louisiana to take captives they then sold to the British, and British fur traders penetrated into the interior to such an extent that the French attempted to send their own allies against them. In Louisiana, the Choctaw did not take much convincing as the Chickasaw often targeted the Choctaw in these slave raids, and the Choctaw remained steadfast in their support of the French. In one council with the French, a Choctaw chief went so far as to issue a threat to burn any British traders

who entered Choctaw territory, and their goods. This is only one example of the continued alterations the French employed in order to use Amerindian cultural violence as a weapon in their escalating struggle with the British over control of the continent.[9]

In the *pays d'en haut*, the French found less success when they encouraged their Amerindian allies to torture and burn the British fur traders who encroached from Albany, but French leaders still used the subtle threat of cultural violence in their dealings with the British. In the 1680s, British fur traders from Albany openly traveled to Michillimackinac to trade their cheaper, higher quality trade goods and encourage the establishment of economic and diplomatic relationships between the Amerindians of Michillimackinac and the British. This encroachment, in fact, compelled the French to send officers such as Major Louvigney to this area, and eventually to build a fort there in 1715. In correspondence, French Governor Jacques-René de Brisáy Marquis de Denonville, frequently confronted New York Governor Thomas Dongan on this point. In one such series of correspondence, Governor Denonville demanded that Governor Dongan recall these traders immediately. In his response, Governor Dongan avoided the issue, but he did point out that several French missionaries resided in Iroquois communities within the New York colony. Further, he expressed his desire to continue to extend his protection towards these missionaries and to continue to curb the brutal raids of British allied Amerindians into French Canada. He likewise requested that Governor Denonville reciprocate by ending the raids of French allied Amerindians into the British colonies. In the subtle language of colonial diplomacy, Governor Dongan sent out a clear threat that the French missionaries resided safely within New York at his good will. Their

[9] For testimony regarding Bienville, see *MPA*,3:55-64, and 116; for attempts to induce the Illinois, see *MPA*,4:80; for Choctaw pledges to burn British traders, see *MPA*,1:184.

"protection" could be revoked anytime he saw fit and at his order, they could become victims of Amerindian torture. Governor Denonville took this threat very seriously, and in a report the following year he expressed great concern for Father Jacques de Lamberville who resided at the Iroquois political center of Onondaga. Governor Denonville did not have a great deal of solid support with which to answer Governor Dongan's implied threats. Amerindians of the *pays d'en haut* did not display the same level of loyalty to the French as the Choctaw chief who vowed to burn any British traders who entered Choctaw territory. In the upper Great Lakes, the Ottawa, Ojibwa, Fox, Sauk, and other nations had no problem with British guests who brought cheaper, higher quality trade goods, and used this to secure better terms of alliance with the French. What is not entirely clear, though, is if either governor understood that he attempted to leash a tiger with a paper chain. Neither the French nor the British possessed any direct control over Amerindian cultural violence, and Amerindians demonstrated this numerous times throughout the *ancien régime* in such dramatic cases as the aftermath of both Braddock's defeat and the siege of Fort William Henry. After soundly defeating a larger British force under General Edward Braddock in 1755, the French and their Amerindian allies returned to Fort Duquesne with a large number of British captives. That night the Amerindian army burned and ate several of their captives. The French reacted not by attempting to ransom, or even argue for the captives. Realizing they had lost any control over their allies, they locked the gates of the fort to keep out the Amerindians. In 1757, the French officer Louis-Antoine de Bougainville described how on the march towards Fort William Henry, many of the nearly 1,800 Amerindian allies of the French ate the British dead after every skirmish. Bougainville clearly wrote that this, and the inability of the French

officers to stop it, disgusted him. While the threat of Amerindian cultural violence served as a potent diplomatic tool, the reality of European control of such violence was illusory.[10]

Part III: Amerindian Cultural Violence and Internal Conflicts of the Early Eighteenth-Century

In 1701 the French, their allies, and the Iroquois League achieved a general peace and co-existence, but New France did not become a harmonious place during the first third of the eighteenth century. Rivalries among Amerindian groups often resulted in heated and bloody internal conflicts. This type of sporadic raiding and counter-raiding occurred frequently, but was nothing unusual. However, the presence and intervention of the French drastically escalated the scale and intensity of these conflicts. As has already been stated, to maintain their control over the fur trade, the French actively stepped in to resolve conflicts as it suited their needs. In the course of these conflict resolutions, different groups emerged in French favor. When enough frustration with the French and

[10] For Denonville's concerns, see "Copy of a Letter from M. de Denonville to M. Dongan, 29, June, 1686" French Michillimackinac Collection, Series C11a, Vol. 8, pg 101. Western Michigan University. For Dongan's reply, see "Letter of Colonel Dongan written to M. de Denonville, from New York, the 27 of July, 1686" French Michillimackinac Collection, Series C11a, Vol 8. pg. 104. Western Michigan University. For Denonville's concerns regarding Father Lamberville, please see "Memoire of the voyage of le Marquis de Denonville against the Iroquois enemies of the colony by the orders of the King, 1687. By the same M. de Denonville" French Michillimackinac Collection, Series C 11a, Vol. 10, pg. 105. Western Michigan University. For a summary of fur trade economics at Michillimackinac, see W. J. Eccles, *Canada Under Louis XIV*, 220. For Amerindian cultural violence in the aftermath of Braddock's defeat please see Samuel Gardner Drake, *Tragedies of the Wilderness; Or, True and Authentic Narratives of Captives, Who have been Carried away by the Indians from the Various Frontier Settlements of the United States from the Earliest to the Present Time. Illustrating the Manners and Customs, Barbarous Rites and Ceremonies, of the North American Indians, and Their Various Methods of Torture Practiced on such as from time to time, Fallen into Their Hands* (Boston: Antiquarian Bookstore and Institute, 1841), 181-182. For Amerindian cultural violence on the campaign towards Fort William Henry, see Ian Steele, *Betrayals, Fort William Henry and the "Massacre"* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 129-131.

their favored allies built up, internal rivalries escalated into internal rebellion against the French. Additional factors led to drastic changes and escalations in these types of wars. Previously, Amerindian warfare involved dozens or even hundreds of participants; this new system of alliances led to the involvement of thousands of combatants. The fur trade brought deadlier weaponry in the form of muskets, knives, and axes that replaced bows, clubs, and lances. Finally, these escalations resulted in stalemates and sieges that were unfamiliar to Amerindians. To resolve these stalemates, both the French and Amerindians attempted diplomatic resolutions. When diplomacy often failed, Amerindians fell back first on the threat, and then the reality, of burning the captives taken in battle. The most significant examples of this is the series of early eighteenth century conflicts around the western Great Lakes commonly referred to as the Fox Wars.

From a traditional military perspective, the Fox Wars are divided into two separate "wars." The first occurred in 1712 and the second, and far more violent, occurred in 1729-1730. Even the term "Fox" is an example of French influence as this Algonquin speaking nation referred to themselves as Mesquaki; other Amerindians referred to them as Outagamie, which translates from Algonquin as "The people of the opposite shore." The French referred to them as the Fox because the Mesquaki clan the French dealt with most frequently identified themselves as the Fox. At some point before French arrival, the Fox relocated from the eastern shores of Lake Michigan to the western shores in order to escape Iroquois attacks. In the seventeenth century, Lake Michigan served as a natural barrier against the Iroquois, who were leery of invading the area only to be trapped with Lake Michigan at their backs. As a result, groups of Ojibwa, Miami, Sauk, Potawatomie, and Illinois often joined the Menominee and Winnebago who already resided there, and

resented the intrusion of the Fox. The Fox had gained a reputation of being fearless and aggressive, if not numerous. Despite their numerical weakness, they frequently fought the Iroquois, and viewed requests for alliance with the French as an act of subservience. They held good relations with the Sauk (with whom they shared ancestral ties), and at times the Mascoutens, but they did not work to maintain good relations with anybody else. It became inevitable that encroachment on others' territory, small acts of aggression, and disagreement led to fighting. This fighting first escalated to the point of battle, and torture by fire, in 1712 near Detroit.

The Fox War of 1712 is an example of how the willingness on the part of the French to utilize Amerindian cultural violence resulted in their being drawn into the cycle of revenge and retribution among Amerindians that only exacerbated the problems between the Fox and all those, French and Amerindian, who resided in the *pays d' en haut*, as conflict with the Fox only increased after this conflict. In 1712, the French invited one of the largest groups of Fox to reside near Detroit in a thinly masked effort to relocate and control them. Disagreement quickly degenerated into combat and the Fox with their Mascouten allies became entrenched within their palisaded community as the French led coalition of Ottawas and Hurons laid siege. A large force of Illinois, Missouri, Menominee, Osage, and Potawatomi soon joined the French. As they returned, their allies told them that the smoke they saw rising from the Fox palisade was the result of the burning by slow fire of several Ottawa women, including the wife of Saguina, a powerful Ottawa leader. Unfortunately for the Fox, many of their own people returned from hunting and fishing at this time as well. The Amerindian army began to capture and torture every Fox and Mascouten straggler they could find. They shot the captives with

muskets, flaming arrows, and burned them by slow fire. The Fox eventually revealed that the Ottawa women were alive, and used them to bargain for their own escape. The French and their Amerindian allies rejected all offers of negotiations and the French voiced no objections as their allies continued to burn Fox captives. The Fox attempted a harrowing night time escape under cover of fog, and Jacques-Charles Redaud Dubuisson, the French commander of Detroit wrote that the Amerindian army captured and killed a large number of Fox. By refusing to intervene with the same type of mediation they had employed among the Michillimackinac Ottawa in 1705, the French opened both themselves and their allies to the type of retribution they had prevented by convincing those Ottawa not to burn their Seneca captives in 1705.[11]

The 1712 siege and stalemate of the Fox at Detroit represents a clear example of how the infusion of new elements of warfare in New France such as readily available firearms, siege warfare, and a more direct role of the French in encouraging and not defusing such conflicts, produced the conditions under which Amerindian cultural violence escalated to levels previously unheard of in this region. Prior to this, Amerindians conducted fast raids and ambushes in which they inflicted a few casualties but took more captives. They possessed little experience in extended siege warfare and reacted to this with what they knew. In short, they burned some captives to force the enemy to make a move. The counter-move by the enemy, though, followed the traditional model of burning more captives to atone for those the enemy had burned. An accelerated cycle of revenge and retribution grew on a larger scale than ever before. The French complicated the problems further as their support armed enemies of the Fox and kept their allies from seeking out a

[11] *WHC*,17:32.

diplomatic solution. What had previously been a systematic, almost ritualistic, custom of violence now spiraled out of control because of outside influences.

As a result, an escalating cycle of attack and counter-attack continued between the Fox and their neighbors for more than a decade. These attacks frequently resulted in the burning of captives by all parties on such a scale that it came to the attention of the French hierarchy. In a 1724 letter to the Minister de la Marine, Governor Philippe de Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil, described how the Fox and Illinois attacked and counter-attacked each other year in and year out, and that both groups most often burned their captives. In 1728, the French stepped in and assembled an army tasked to bring the Fox under the jurisdiction and control of the French colonial government, or to destroy both their ability and will to fight. The final years of the Fox Wars represent an evolutionary phase in French colonial policy in which the French militarily intervened in Amerindian affairs in order to achieve their desired outcome. To achieve this, the French military and colonial government showed a willingness not only to tolerate, but to manipulate and control Amerindian cultural violence to their own advantage. They did this in contrast to their successful mediation over other similar situations that utilized both military leaders experienced in Amerindian diplomacy, and missionaries who spent years gaining the trust of Amerindians. In previous cases this formula resulted in successful de-escalation of conflicts. In 1728 the French called upon the exact opposite types of leaders to deal with the Fox, and this resulted in large scale bloodshed.[12]

In 1728, a combined force of 1,200 Amerindians, including a large contingent of French-allied Catholic Iroquois, and 450 French regulars and militia, all placed under the

[12] For Vaudreuil describing the cycle of violence among the Fox and Illinois, see "Letter of Vaudreuil to the Minister with commentary in the margins, 1724" Library and Archives Canada, Series C11a, Vol. 46, fol. 90-94.

command of Constant le Marchand de Lignery, sought out the Fox. A French officer by birth, Lignery had considerable experience in the western Great Lakes as both a military commander at Michillimackinac and as a diplomat among Amerindians. In 1728 he moved his army down Green Bay but found only three Winnebago and one Fox, whom Lignery turned over to his Amerindian allies so "that they might drink of their broth," that is, to torture and eat them. In his own account of the campaign, Lignery wrote that as they moved down the Fox River, his army captured a young Fox girl and an elderly Fox woman who informed them that the main body of the Fox had moved to avoid the encroaching French army. However, an additional account by two other French officers states that Lignery turned these captives as well over to his Amerindian allies to be burned. A third account by the missionary Emmanuel Crespel states that the Amerindian army burned four captives (including an elderly man), shot one full of arrows, and took the elderly woman and girl captive as slaves.[13]

All of these accounts reinforce the point that the French did not utilize their experience in quelling Amerindian cultural violence, and instead used their experience in encouraging and manipulating these customs to create a methodology that more closely resembled that of Governor Frontenac's than that of Father Marest and Major Louvigney. The French pursued this very deliberately in order to create as violent an offensive against the Fox as they could achieve. Lignery entered this campaign with two decades of experience in dealing with Amerindians. Just as in the late seventeenth century Governor Frontenac manipulated Amerindians use of cultural violence to restrain Amerindians in some cases, and give them free reign to burn captives in others, Lignery did the same.

[13] For Lignery's account of the campaign, see *WHC*,17:32. For the account of the two French officers Beauharnois and Aigremont, see *WHC*,5:92-993. For the account of Father Crespel, see *WHC*,10:50-52.

However, he dealt with a problem that governor Frontenac did not contend with. Governor Frontenac moved an army the relatively short distance from Canada to Iroquoia. Some of Lignery's allies had traveled over a thousand miles; he needed to maintain their loyalty and focus on the campaign. He achieved this by allowing them to torture captives and "drink of their broth," as his experienced pen put it. This policy of allowing Amerindians to torture and eat captives on campaign continued throughout the *ancien régime*. The most notable instances of this occurred in the aftermath of Braddock's defeat where French-allied Amerindians tortured dozens of captives, and in the campaign leading up to the siege of Fort William Henry in which French-allied Amerindians killed and devoured a large number of British captives.[14]

Further proof that the French sought to use Amerindian cultural violence to their full advantage on this campaign against the Fox is the choice of Father Crespel as the accompanying priest. The examples of Father Jacques de Lamberville on Governor Frontenac's 1696 invasion of Iroquoia, and Father Marest's intervention with the Ottawa in 1705 proves that not only did they remain disapproving of Amerindian violence, but that they became more successful in stopping torture and cannibalism, and perhaps more importantly concerning the 1728 campaign against the Fox, they showed no fear in voicing their objections to military leaders who sought to manipulate Amerindian torture to their own ends. Father Crespel did not belong to the Jesuit order, he had not previously accompanied a military campaign, and based upon his reaction, had not previously observed Amerindian torture and cannibalism. This is apparent in his reaction to the Catholic Iroquois as they burned an elderly man. His argument reminds the reader of

[14] For Amerindian cultural violence in the aftermath of Braddock's defeat, see Samuel Drake, *Tragedies*, 181-182. For Amerindian cultural violence on the campaign towards Fort William Henry, see Ian Steele, *Betrayals*,129-131.

Samuel de Champlain and Father Paul Le Jeune, and shows none of the experience displayed by seasoned Jesuits like Father de Lamberville or Father Marest. Father Crespel stated to the Iroquois that they should not treat a captive in such a way, and if the captive should be killed, it should be done quickly. If the Fox captured them, the Iroquois replied, they expected the same or worse.[15]

The Natchez uprising of 1729 further illustrates how the French pursued the type of manipulations of Amerindian torture in which they utilized their allies' violent customs to their full advantage, but were able to do so in defensive mode after the Natchez used cultural violence against the French in their initial attack. In the *pays d'en haut* the French carefully constructed the circumstances in which they used this violence against the Fox by assembling Amerindian allies eager to torture Fox captives, and they chose French leaders who understood how to best pursue this strategy. The Natchez uprising differed in the sense that the French employed the same type of adaptations, but did so in a reactionary sense to deal with a rebellion by a powerful adversary. The resulting violence took on a less organized form, but with the same result of eventually annihilating the Natchez. Much like the Fox of the western Great Lakes, the powerful and influential Natchez of Louisiana resisted French rule through the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. After decades of encroachment by the French, the Natchez rose up on November 28, 1729. They captured the French settlement of Natchez and the corresponding fort. Their actions during and after the attack indicated a meaning and purpose to the violence they employed. The Natchez killed almost all of the Frenchmen, with the exception of only a tailor and a carpenter. They beheaded the resident Jesuit priest, Father Paul du Poisson. Among the French women, the Natchez tore the fetuses

[15] *WHC*,10:50-52.

from the wombs of all the pregnant women, and killed mothers and their children together. They specifically did not kill any women, however, who were not pregnant or nursing. Instead, they set them to hard labor. Nor did they seek to harm any of the African slaves who resided at Natchez.[16]

Like other Amerindian groups, the Natchez employed violence with a cultural purpose, some of which can be discerned, and some of which remains ambiguous. Certainly, the French male population represented a clear military threat to the uprising, but the remaining violence appears far more purposeful. The Natchez worshiped a variety of deities, including the sun. As has been illustrated in the case of the Jesuit Martyrs, Amerindians killed Jesuits in New France as a statement against the invasion of Catholicism into traditionalist religious belief systems. The specific killing of only women who were pregnant or nursing is not as easy to understand, but based upon other instances of Natchez cultural violence, this likely had something to do with Natchez religious beliefs regarding the cycle of life.

In 1702, a Jesuit priest watched a Natchez chief's burial temple get struck by lightning and burn. As it burned, seven or eight Natchez women spontaneously cast their infant children into the flames. The caretaker, or "guardian" as one Jesuit described him, praised these women for their actions, and encouraged other women to do the same. Additionally, at the birth of a new Natchez chief, each family dedicated an infant to be that chief's lifelong servant. When that chief eventually died, the Natchez strangled all of his lifelong servants. For some unknown reason, the Natchez excused from this strangulation women servants nursing small children. While the exact purpose is not clear, it is apparent that the killing of infant children, or the designation of certain infants to be killed at a later

[16] For the killing of French colonists at Natchez, see *JR*,68:167-171; for African slaves, see *MPA*,1:84.

point in time, had an important significance among the Natchez. When coupled with the beheading of a Jesuit priest, the killing of only pregnant women, small children, and their mothers, it becomes clear that religion, and the violence that went with Natchez religion, played an important role in the Natchez uprising that neither the Fox nor the Amerindian allies of the French used in the Fox wars. The reason for this is that the French took a far more active role in the events that led to the Fox wars, and actively manipulated cultural violence for their own reasons. They armed their allies and encouraged them to torture and burn their Fox enemies. Through this instigation of their allies, they caused Amerindians of the *pays d' en haut* to burn each other under the terms of the French, which took traditional reasons for Amerindian cultural violence out of the picture. Instead, the French altered this violence towards their own goal of subjugating Amerindians, not the traditional Amerindian reasons of mourning, religious expression, or Amerindian revenge and retribution.[17]

By February of 1730, the French had reorganized themselves in Louisiana, and in cooperation with the other enemies of the Natchez, the Choctaw, Yanabe, Tonikas, and Illinois, set off to locate and often torture to death, the remnants of the Natchez. After the initial attack, the French recaptured the community of Natchez. As they closed in, the Natchez threatened to burn all of their French captives, much like the Fox threatened to burn their Amerindian captives in 1712 when the French besieged them. The French re-took the town with no other captives burned and the Natchez scattered throughout Louisiana. The French and their allies spent several more years sporadically fighting the

[17] For the Natchez burning of infants, see *MPA*,4:23-25; for the killing of lifelong servants, see *JR*,65:141-145.

Natchez. In at least eleven cases,[18] French-allied Amerindians burned Natchez captives. Whether they burned them out of loyalty to the French or as an opportunity to settle old scores against the once powerful Natchez, is not clear.[19]

In both the Fox wars and the Natchez uprising, the French attempted to manipulate Amerindian cultural violence to their own advantage by allowing their allies to torture their captives without interference from French military leaders or clergy, the goal being the creation of a deterrent to further challenges to French authority. In the early eighteenth century, the only real opposition to this policy remained the Jesuits who had spent a century learning to understand and discourage such customs. Their marked absence from the campaign against the Fox, and the death of the only Jesuit at Natchez, left the French free to encourage their Amerindian allies to pursue each perspective enemy without restraint. Among Amerindians of eastern North America, such violence most commonly did not terrify the enemy into submission, but solidified their resolve for both defiance and retribution. While conflict continued between the Natchez and the French for several years, the Natchez never mounted as formidable an attack against the French or their allies, because the bulk of their forces had been cornered and severely defeated in the French counter-attack at Natchez. With no powerful allies, they enjoyed no safe haven from French-allied Amerindians in order to regroup. The Fox, besieged by the French at Detroit, did have advantages that helped them regroup. The Fox of Detroit suffered casualties, but they received assistance and protection in other Fox communities where they first recovered, and later counter-attacked in retribution. Also, the Fox did

[18] This hunt for the Natchez continued well after 1730, the cut-off point regarding the quantitative data used in this dissertation. This accounts for the discrepancy between the previously stated 4% of cases that involved the torture of Natchez captives. Up to 1730, French allied Amerindians tortured Natchez captives in five cases, which equates to 4%.

[19] *JR*,68:193.

have powerful allies, in particular the Sauk with whom they sought refuge when in need. The French and their allies encountered these problems when they dealt with the Fox in 1712. Their allies burned as many Fox as they could near Detroit, only to then deal with years of retribution as the Fox burned their own captives. After the invasion of 1728, the French found that while they successfully utilized their allies' willingness to torture the few Fox they captured, they achieved very little in 1728 besides the destruction of crops and the burning of some Fox women and elderly. The Fox continued to capture and burn their enemies until the summer of 1730.

Part VI: The Relationship Between Slavery and Amerindian Cultural Violence in Eighteenth-Century New France

The introduction of chattel slavery to Amerindians is one of the most significant factors that led to a reduction of Amerindian cultural violence in New France. Despite their successful utilization of Amerindian cultural violence on their own terms, the French never defeated their Amerindian enemies entirely, and this opened the French to the traditional cycle of violence that often accompanied Amerindian torture. The problem of neutralizing an entire Amerindian nation so angry boys did not become vengeful men kept the French immersed in this cycle of retribution. The solution was coldly simple; capture the entire population and sell them into slavery. This had been how the New England colonies had rid themselves of the rebellious Wampanoag at the end of King Philip's War. They sold the survivors, including the women and children, into Caribbean slavery. In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the British of the Carolinas

established a large scale system of slave trading in which British-allied Amerindians raided west to capture French-allied Amerindians to sell to the British, who in turn sold them into Caribbean slavery.[20]

The French created a new adaptation to their practices regarding enemy Amerindians to resolve both their problem of the Fox, and the growing need for slaves in the French colonies. In 1730, close to one-thousand Fox men, women, and children, representing the bulk of their population, attempted to relocate to Iroquoia to solidify an alliance with the Five Nations. Near the foot of Lake Michigan, a French-Amerindian army discovered and besieged the Fox for twenty-three days. The Fox tried to escape under cover of night as they had in 1712 at Detroit, and this attempt ended with similar results. The next day the French-Amerindian army located and defeated them. Only this time, they took almost all of the Fox survivors captive. The exact count of casualties and captives is not clear. One account states that they killed more than 200 Fox men, along with a great number of women and children, and took hundreds of captives. French officer Louis Coulon de Villiers stated that the Illinois of Cahokia, who had in the preceding years taken the brunt of Fox attacks, took most of the captives, many of which they later killed. A second-hand account by Gilles Hocquart, Indendant of New France, relayed that the French and their allies killed 200 men and an equal number of women and children, along with 400 to 500 captives that the Amerindians distributed amongst themselves. Yet another account states that the French and their allies killed 500, including 300 women and children. In addition to this, they took 300 more captive, and burned at least forty male captives. Despite the

[20] For the end of King Philip's War, see James David Drake, *King Philip's War: Civil War in New England, 1675-1676* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999), 195-196; for the Carolina slave trade, see Allan Gallay, *The Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of the English Empire in the American South, 1670-1717* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002).

different tallies of casualties and captives, it is clear that the victors burned some of captives at the time of capture, and later burned many more. With the Fox Wars, a new variable entered into the customs of cultural violence and adoption among Amerindians of New France. The victorious Amerindians did not adopt these Fox captives into their communities. Instead they sold the Fox into chattel slavery. In the eighteenth century, at least some French allied Amerindians chose the economic opportunities of becoming part of the slave economy of the Atlantic world by selling their captives instead of adopting or burning them as had been customary since pre-Columbian times.[21]

The French and their Amerindian allies worked cooperatively to make this change to both of their customs of dealing with captives that mutually benefited both cultural groups. Amerindians fulfilled their desire for revenge over an adversary, and gained a means to procure the European goods they grew more dependent on in the early eighteenth century. The French decisively defeated an adversary and by doing so positioned themselves to further develop their colonies, and fulfilled their growing need for slaves. Historian Bret Rushforth described how between 1713 and 1716, eighty Fox slaves appeared in Canada. By the 1730s and 1740s, the French and their allies cooperatively distributed hundreds of Amerindian slaves throughout New France. After the brutal attacks on the Fox between 1728 and 1731, the Fox captives made their way to the French. French Governor Charles de la Boische, Marquis de Beauharnois ordered that all of the Fox men be killed, but any women or children that survived be brought to the French. This would solve the problem of Fox resurgence, and the growing need among

[21] For an account of the battle and the aftermath from Louis Coulon de Villiers and Gilles Hocquart, see *WHC*,17:115-130; for a third anonymous account, see Joseph L. Peyser, "The Fate of the Fox Survivors: A Dark Chapter in the History of the French in the Upper Country, 1726-1737," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 73 (1989-90): 107.

the French colonists for slaves. Rushforth argued that Beauharnois overstepped his bounds in becoming involved in Amerindian cultural violence. He not only ordered that the Fox be killed, but he also suggested victims for his allies to kill. Traditionally, the victors took these captives and either adopted them into the community, or tortured and burned them. The introduction of the European slave economy had a tremendous impact on captives taken in war. Amerindians could burn women, children, or the elderly. In addition to this, the European market for Amerindian slaves meant that captives were not just valuable to repopulate a community, or to burn and eat. By the early eighteenth century, these captives had a market value. This trend affected not only the Fox in Canada but Amerindians in Louisiana who dealt directly with British allied slave traders. This change, however, did not originate solely from Amerindians who sought a means of income besides the fur trade. This became a mutually created adaptation initiated by both Europeans and Amerindians to deal with their mutual problem of common enemies, and together they created a more thorough means of eradicating the threat that these enemies represented than Amerindian cultural violence presented.[22]

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[22]Brett Rushforth, "Slavery, the Fox Wars, and the Limits of Alliance," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, 63 (January 2006): 64-77. The Natchez War of 1729 displaced and disrupted not only the French, but also their African slaves who occupied a precarious position as non-combatants who as a whole, did not participate in the fighting for either side. The Natchez did capture an unknown number of African slaves, but did not burn or torture them. When the French recaptured the fort at Natchez they found their African slaves feasting on fresh beef. The Africans told the French that the Natchez had intended to fatten them up and then sell them to the British as slaves. Like the Amerindians to the north, the Natchez came to value their African captives as a means of economic prosperity. They surely knew of the lucrative system of British allied Amerindians who raided into the west to acquire captives, not to adopt or torture, but to sell to the British. Here, the Natchez sought to use their own skills at acquiring prisoners of war to benefit economically, and inject themselves into the economy of the Atlantic world. For Natchez plans to sell Africans to the British, see *MPA*,1:84.

Steele, "Surrendering Rites" 139-143. These same ideas are addressed by Steele, who described how the Amerindian systems of acquiring and dealing with captives laid a foundation upon which making these captives slaves became an easy transition. He outlined how Europeans viewed prisoners as occupying a political status that took away their rights, but did not criminalize them, and pointed out that the desired goal remained to exchange or parole prisoners of war. By contrast, Amerindians traditionally viewed capture as a permanent status. Whether adopted or tortured, to be a captive of Amerindians meant a

By the beginning of what we refer to as *the long eighteenth century*, Europeans had been as equally terrified, disgusted, and enthralled with the Amerindian customs of burning and eating captives for nearly one hundred years. While in eighteenth-century France, Voltaire and Boccaria tried to convince the enlightened that torture and capital punishment were chapters of their history best left in the past, in North America these customs evolved in dynamic new ways. The French came to tolerate and even encourage such customs as it became a component of the new systems of alliances they developed; it entered into military strategy as the French developed their tolerance of such customs into attempts to control and manipulate Amerindian cultural violence to their advantage; and it entered into new systems of forced labor and economics in the colonies of the French. Indeed as the greatest contests for control of North America loomed at mid-century, Amerindian torture and cultural violence did not yet fall by the wayside of dark legend.

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complete change of identity. Steele further argued that the catalyst of change that altered Amerindian views on the treatment of captives in the mid-to-late eighteenth century was slavery. For many Amerindians who became reliant upon trade goods as time went on, it became difficult to burn a captive when they knew that a great financial benefit could be made by selling the captive to European colonists.

Conclusion to the Dissertation

The last known case of Amerindian torture by fire in eastern North America took place in 1812. The Kickapoo burned and ate an American after settlers killed a Kickapoo war leader. Whether the French controlled the situation, or the British, or the Americans, the presence or influence of white intruders did not influence or curb Amerindian cultural violence. These customs continued throughout and beyond the *ancien régime*, and the era of British North American rule. Amerindian violence continued to elicit such fear in America that Thomas Jefferson blamed the King for exciting "domestic insurrections" and bringing: "on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions," as he wrote in the *Declaration of Independence*.[1]

Amerindians of the eastern woodlands tortured and devoured their captives in a world of complex reasons that went beyond revenge and retribution against rivals and enemies. Their violence fulfilled an intricate cultural exchange between enemies. It created a means of walking between the worlds of the living and the dead, and was essential to the Amerindian process of mourning. Amerindians also used torture by fire as an expression of protest during tumultuous times of political, cultural, and religious invasion by foreign powers. With the introduction of foreign influences, Amerindian and French cultures both adapted to their new situations. As the French also discovered, much like a tapestry, the beauty or horror of the product remained in the eye of the beholder; at times French

[1] Nathaniel Knowles, "The Torture of Captives," 191.

colonists expressed horror at the customs of their Amerindian neighbors, at others they saw it as a useful tool in diplomacy, missionary efforts, warfare, and social control.

The purpose of this dissertation is not to supply all of the answers to long standing questions regarding Amerindian cultural violence, but instead to begin a dialogue on a subject that has for four-hundred years remained on the periphery of Amerindian studies, and the history of colonial America. Amerindian cultural violence represented far more than an opportunity to slowly kill people. Torture represented an intricate cultural exchange between rivals that went beyond the battlefield and allowed the entire community to express its mourning, its religious beliefs, as well as its collective anger. This did not occur in a furious explosion of aggression, but in a controlled expression of that aggression within assigned parameters produced by location, time of day, religious beliefs, political leanings, and diplomatic goals. These customs involved a great deal more than a fire and a wooden platform, and they were not trans-historical. Amerindian cultural violence evolved over thousands of years.

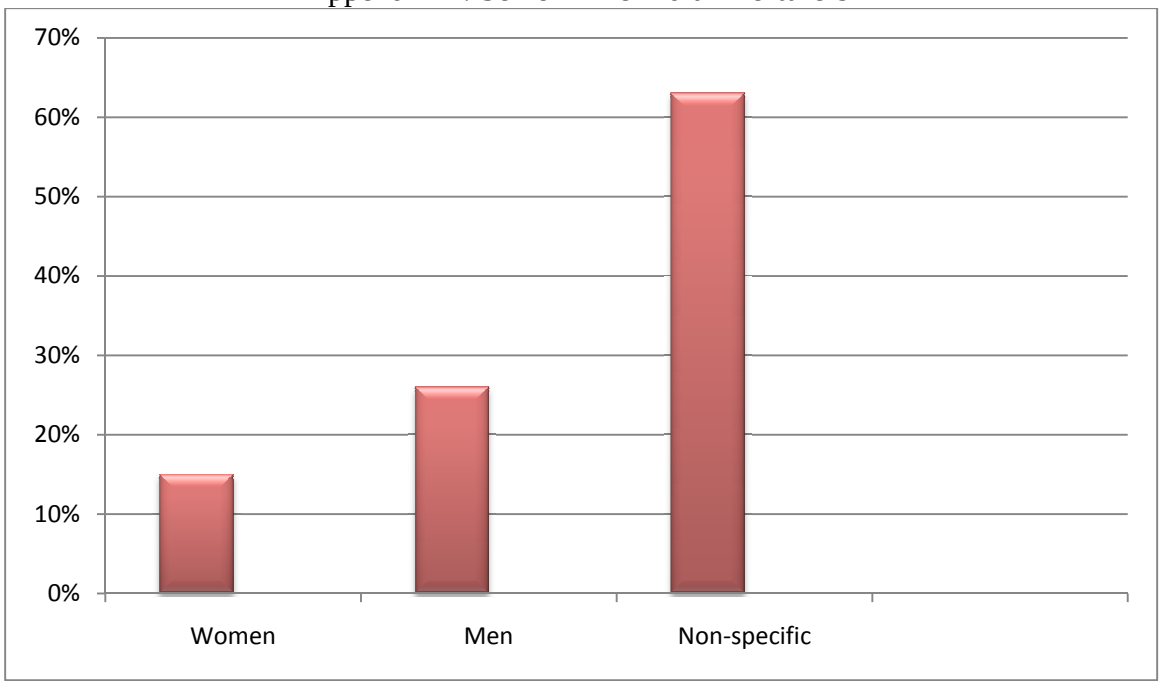
Many points need to be explored in future studies of this topic. Among the points raised is a questioning of the notions that Amerindians rarely tortured women, children, or the elderly. Likewise, historians, ethnohistorians, and anthropologists need to re-evaluate the role of these seeming non-combatants as torturers themselves. Likewise, scholars must revaluate the keystone status of the Iroquois as the source of Amerindian cultural violence. There exists ample evidence within both the written and archeological record to question the idea that Amerindian cultural violence began in Iroquoia and spread throughout eastern North America.

While Amerindian cultural violence effectively outlived the French regime in North America, these customs continued beyond the American Revolution and into the Early Republic. During the *ancient régime*, however, the French exerted immense and undeniable influence upon these customs. This resulted in a diverse set of adaptations made by both the French and Amerindians as they altered their own ideas , interpretations, and uses of torture and cannibalism. At times, the influence of Catholicism moved Amerindians to stop torturing their captives, as occurred among communities of Catholic Algonquians and Hurons along the St. Lawrence, and within the Iroquois reserves. At other times, Catholic Amerindians burned captives with zeal that rivaled any religious crusaders. Likewise, traditionalists burned both French and Amerindian Catholics to combat and protest this religious invasion. French political involvement, systems of alliances, and a steady supply of weapons increased the intensity of war and by effect, of torture by fire and cannibalism. This resulted in militarily successful manipulations of these customs such as the aftermath of the Natchez uprising, and in less successful examples such as the escalation of violence during the Fox wars. While historians have paid a tremendous amount of attention to the fur trade as a catalyst that propelled Amerindians into the economy of the Atlantic world, historians are only beginning to examine how involvement in the slave trade affected Amerindian society and culture. While more work needs to be done, the slave trade greatly affected Amerindian cultural violence. While these customs may not have been the most important factor in effecting the economic exchanges between Amerindians and Europeans; the cultural evolution of Amerindians both before and after they developed ties with Europeans; the injection of Christianity into Amerindian societies; or the

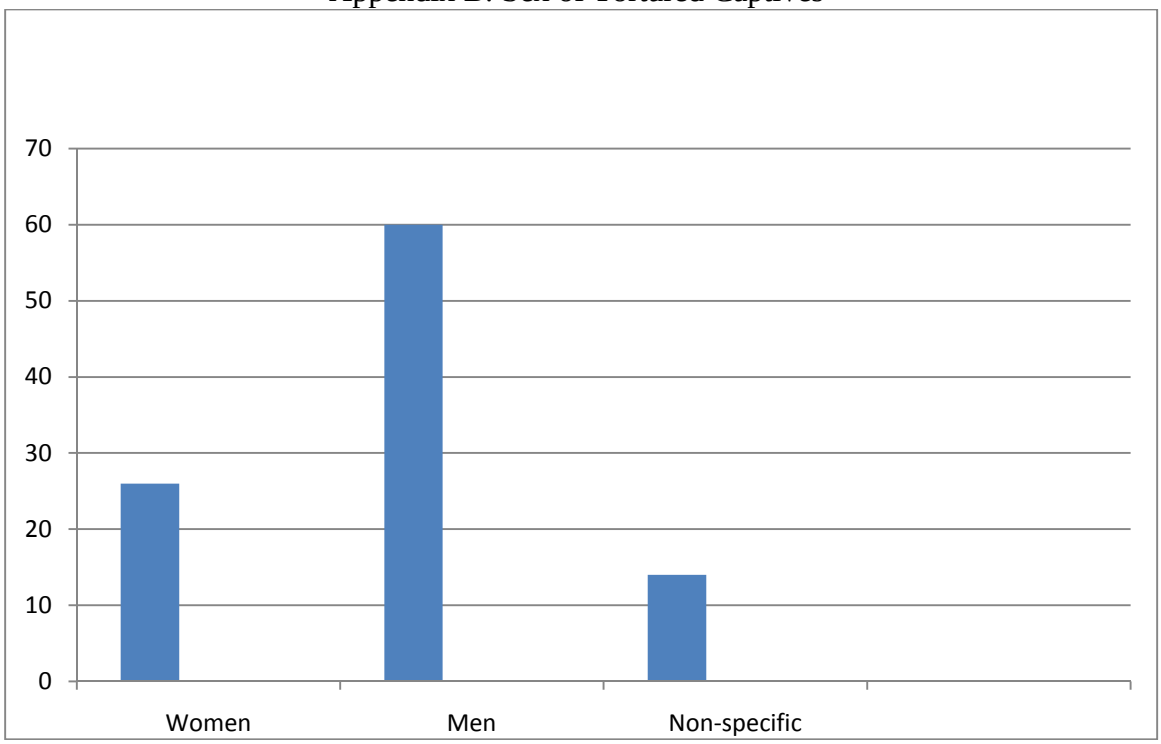
military struggle for North America, it did have a constant effect on *all* of these changes to life in colonial America.

Appendixes

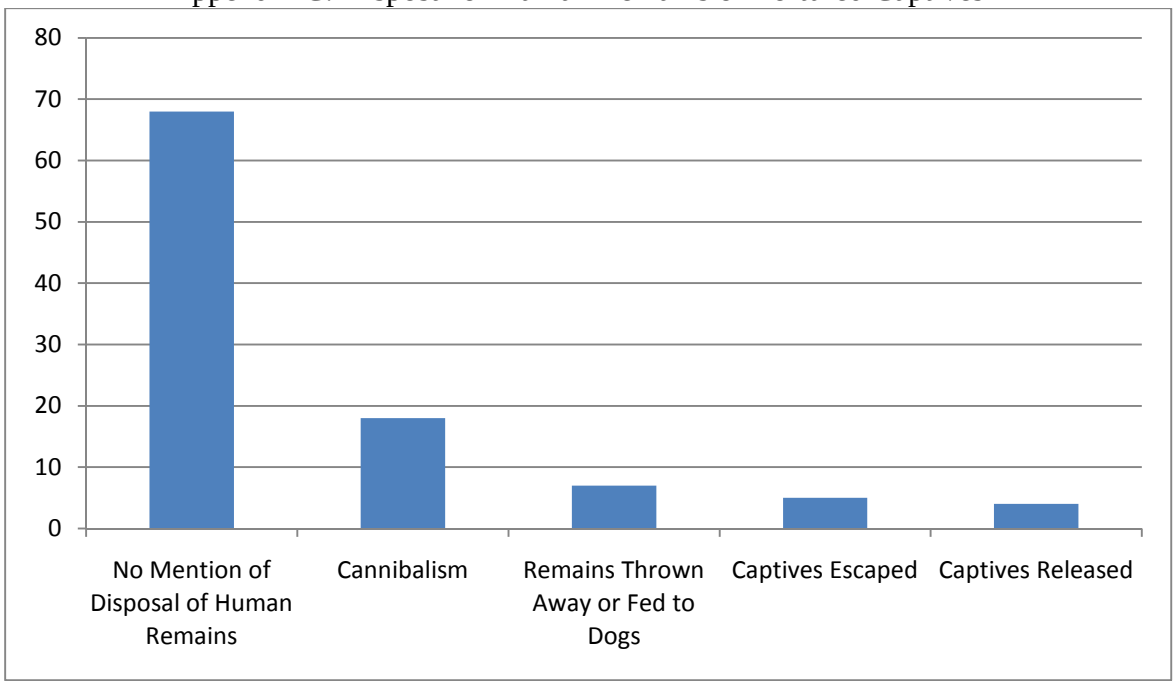
Appendix A: Sex of Amerindian Torturers



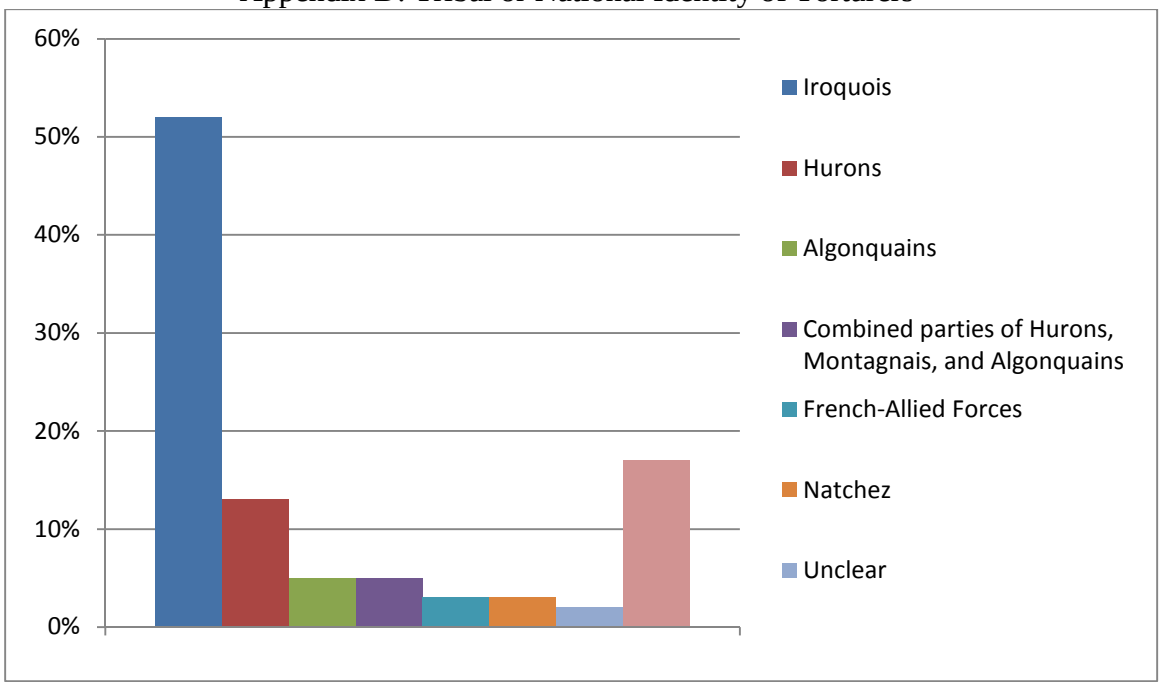
Appendix B: Sex of Tortured Captives



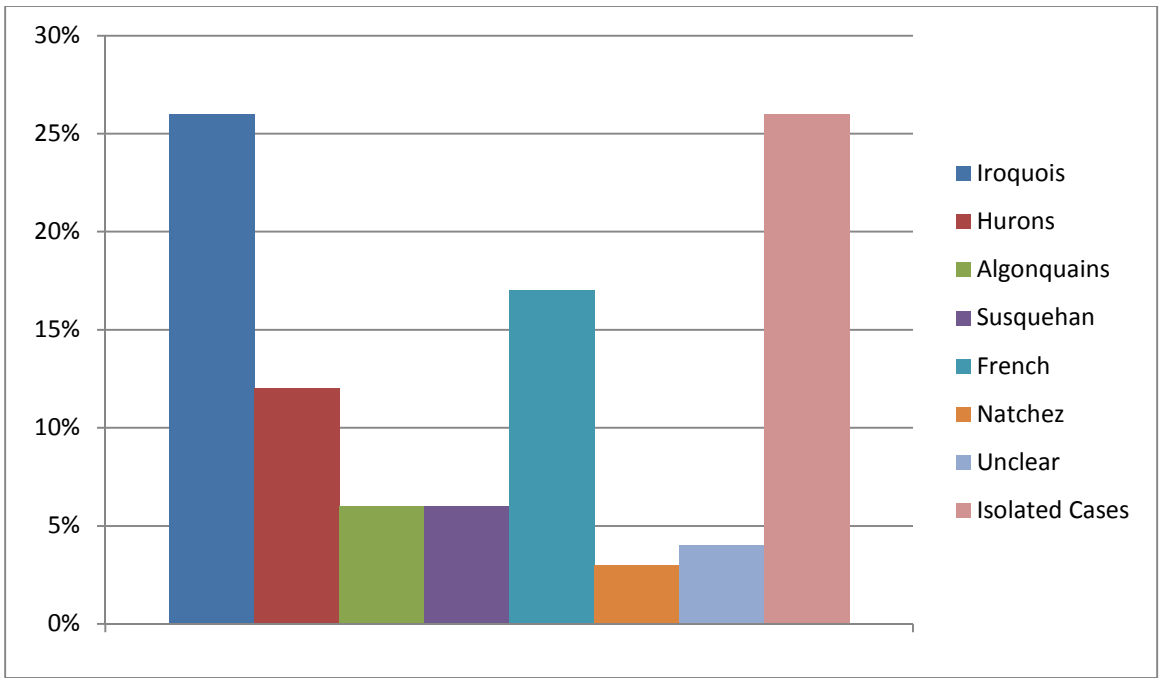
Appendix C: Disposal of Human Remains of Tortured Captives



Appendix D: Tribal or National Identity of Torturers



Appendix E: Tribal or National Identity of Tortured Captives



Appendix F:
Table of Case Studies of Amerindian Cultural Violence Between 1609-1730[2]

Source	Date	Tribe or Nationality of Captive(s)	Tribe of Nationality of Captor(s)	Sex and Number of Captives	Sex of Torturers
Champlain, *Narratives*, 213-216.	1609	Iroquois	Algonquians, Hurons, Montagnais	Male 1	Male
Schiavo, *Iroquois Wars I*, 47-48.	1610	Iroquois	Hurons	Male 6 and Female 5 1	Male
Schiavo, *Iroquois Wars I*, 43.	1610	Iroquois	Algonquians, Montagnais	Male 3	Male and Female
Schiavo, *Iroquois Wars I*, 61.	1615	French	Huron	Male 1	Male and Female
Schiavo, *Iroquois Wars I*, 82.	1627	Iroquois	French Montagnais	Male 3	Not specific
JR,5:45.	1632	Montagnais	Iroquois	Male 1	Not Specific
JR,5:27.	1632	Montagnais	Iroquois	Male 3	Male and Female

[2] These case studies are drawn from the following sources. Reuben Golde Thwaites, ed. and trans., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents. Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610- 1791: The Original French, Latin, and Italian Texts. With English Translations and Notes*. Vol. 1-73. (Cleveland: Burrows, 1898); Samuel de Champlain, *Narrative of a Voyage to the West Indiens* [*sic*] *and Mexico in the Years 1599-1602* Norton Shaw, ed. (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1859); Samuel de Champlain, *The Voyages and Explorations of Samuel de Champlain Vol. I (1604-1616) Narrated by Himself Together with the Voyage of 1603 Reprinted from Purchas His Pilgrims* Edward Gaylord Bourne ed., Annie Nettleton Bourne trans. (Toronto: The Courier Press, Limited, 1911); Dunbar Rowland and A.G. Sanders, ed. and trans., (revised and edited by Patricia Kay Galloway) *Mississippi Provincial Archives: French Dominion, 1729-1748* Vol. I-IV. (Baton Rouge, London: Louisiana State University Press, 1984); State Historical Society of Wisconsin, ed., *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 31 vols.* (Madison: The Society, 1854-1931); Anthony P. Schiavo and Claudio R. Salvucci ed., *Iroquois Wars:* Volume I (Bristol: Evolution Publishing, 2003); Joseph L. Peyser, "The Fate of the Fox Survivors: A Dark Chapter in the History of the French in the Upper Country, 1726-1737," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 73 (1989-90).

JR,5:41	1632	Montagnais	French	Male 1	Not Specific
JR,5:49.	1632	Montagnais, Algonquians	Iroquois	Unspecified 6	Male and Female
JR,9:251.	1636	Montagnais	Iroquois	Male 1	Not Specific
JR,12:153.	1637	Iroquois	Montagnais Algonquians	Male several	Not Specific
JR,12:181.	1637	Algonquins	Iroquois	Male 12	Male and Female
JR,13:37.	1637	Huron	Iroquois	Male 1	Male and Female
JR,12:93.	1637	Iroquois	Huron	Male, Female Close to 30	Male
JR,15:171	1638	Huron	Iroquois	Male 3	Male and Female
JR,17:71.	1639	Huron	Iroquois	Male 1	Male and Female
JR,17:63.	1639	Huron	Iroquois	Male 2	Male and Female
JR,17:65.	1639	Iroquois	Huron	Male 1	Not specific
JR,17:77.	1639	Iroquois	Huron	Female 1	Not specific
JR,17:97.	1639	Huron	Iroquois	Male 1	Not specific

JR,15:185	1639	Huron	Iroquois	Unspecified 9	Male and Female
JR,18:25	1640	Huron	Iroquois	Male 2	Not specific
JR,21:195.	1640	Neutrals	Fire Nation (other Western Nations)	Male and Female 170 *over an entire year*.	Not specific
JR,22:251	1641	Iroquois	Huron	Male and Female numerous	Not specific
JR,23:33.	1641	Huron	Iroquois	Male numerous	Male and Female
JR,31:19	1642	Iroquois	French Huron	Male 22	Male and Female
JR,22:245	1642	Iroquois	Algonquin	Male 1	Not specific
JR,22:245.	1642	Iroquois	Huron	Male and Female numerous	Male and Female
JR,22:247.	1642	Iroquois	Algonquins	Male and Female numerous	Male and Female
JR,23:197.	1642	Iroquois	Huron	Male 2	Not specific
JR,23:159.	1642	Animals, bears, stags, dogs	Huron	Not specific	Not Specific
JR,27:25	1643	Neutrals	Fire Nation	Male numerous	Not Specific
JR,26:53	1644	Algonquins	Iroquois	Male 1	Not Specific

JR,26:29.	1644	French Hurons	Iroquis	Male numerous	Male and Female
JR,28:71.	1644	Iroquois	Huron	Male 1	Not Specific
JR,29:151.	1646	French Algonquin	Iroquois	Male numerous	Male
JR,33:103.	1647	Huron	Iroquois	Male 1	Not Specific
JR,30:193.	1647	Algonquins	Iroquois	Male 1	Not Specific
JR,31:271	1647	Iroquois	Huron	Female 1	Male
JR,33:91.	1647	Iroquois	Huron	Male numerous	Not Specific
JR,30:227.	1647	Iroquois	Algonquins	Male and Female numerous	Male and Female
JR,33:43.	1648	Huron	Iroquois	Male 2	Not Specific
JR,32:173.	1648	Algonquins	Iroquois	Male 1	Not Specific
JR,34:139.	1649	French Huron	Iroquois	Male and Female numerous	Male
JR,35:183.	1650	Iroquois	Huron	Male and Female numerous	Male and Female
JR,35:251.	1650	Iroquois	Algonquin speaking nation (unspecified)	Female 1	Not Specific

JR,35:179.	1650	Iroquois	Algonquins	Male and Female	Not Specific
JR,36:165.	1651	French	Iroquois	Female 1	Not Specific
JR,37:135.	1652	Iroquois	Algonquins	Male 1	Male
JR,38:45.	1652	Huron	Iroquois	Male 3	Not Specific
JR,40:119.	1652	Iroquois	French	Male 2	Male and Female
JR,37:107.	1652	Algonquins	Iroquois	Male 1	Not Specific
JR,38:45.	1652	Iroquois	Non-specified	Male 1	Male
JR,37:93.	1652	Iroquois	Algonquins Huron	Male and Female numerous	Not Specific
JR,37:111	1652	French	Iroquois	Male 1	Not Specific
JR,37:143.	1652	Iroquois	Huron	Male 1	Not Specific
JR,26:43.	1652	Iroquois	Huron	Male 16	Not Specific
JR,38:45.	1652	Huron	Iroquois	Male 3	Not Specific
JR,37:99.	1652	Iroquois	Algonquins	Male 1	Not Specific

JR,39:57.	1653	Iroquois	Huron	Male 1	Male
JR,40:195.	1654	Abenaki	Algonquins	Male 4	Male and Female
JR,42:97.	1655	Iroquois	Erie	Male 1	Not Specific
JR,42:137.	1655	Iroquois	Erie	Female 1	Male
JR,41:223.	1655	Huron Algonquin	Iroquois	Male numerous	Not Specific
JR,42:73	1655	Iroquois	Erie	Female 1	Male
JR,42:175.	1655	Erie	Iroquois	Male 1	Male and Female
JR,43:99	1656	Huron	Iroquois	Male 1	Not Specific
JR,43:99.	1656	Iroquois	Huron	Male 1	Male
JR,44:221.	1658	French	Iroquois	Male 1	Nott Specific
JR,44:225.	1658	French	Iroquois	Male numerous	Male
JR,42:191.	1659	Erie	Iroquois	Male and Female 41.	Male
JR,45:33.	1659	French	Iroquois	Male 1	Not Specific

JR,45:31.	1659	French	Iroquois	Male numerous	Not Specific
JR,45:241.	1660	French, Huron Algonquin	Iroquois	Male 5	Male
JR,47:51.	1660	Huron	Iroquois	Female 1	Not Specific
JR,45:153.	1660	Algonquin Montagnais	Iroquois	Male 1	Male
JR,45:155.	1660	Not Specific	Iroquois	Male 4	Not Specific
JR,46:85.	1660	Iroquois	Algonquin	Male 1	Not Specific
JR,46:85	1660	Algonquin	Iroquois	Male 5	Not Specific
JR,46:53.	1660	Algonquin	Iroquois	Male numerous	Male and Female
JR,46:35.	1660	Iroquois	Huron	Male 1	Male and Female
JR,46:55.	1660	French	Iroquois	Male 1	Male
JR,46:53	1660	French	Iroquois	Male 1	Not Specific
JR,46:205.	1661	French	Iroquois	Male 13	Not Specific
JR,47:49.	1661	French	Iroquois	Male 1	Not Specific

JR,47:153.	1661	Iroquois	Abenaki	Male 1	Not Specific
JR,47:35	1661	French	Iroquois	Male 1	Not Specific
JR,47:69.	1661	French	Iroquois	Male 1	Not Specific
JR,47:139.	1661	Abanaki	Iroquois	Male and Female numerous	Male
JR,47:51.	1662	Huron	Iroquois	Female 1	Not Specific
JR,48:99.	1662	Huron	Iroquois	Not Specific	Not Specific
JR,50:55.	1662	French Ottawa	Iroquois	Male 2	Not Specific
JR,50:37	1664	Montagnais	Iroquois	Male 1	Male
JR,51:211.	1667	Wolf Nation	Iroquois	Female 1	Not Specific
JR,51:213.	1667	Ottawa	Iroquois	Male 1	Male and Female
JR,51:231.	1667	Susquehanock	Iroquois	Female 4	Not Specific
JR,52:173	1668	Susquehanock	Iroquois	Female 1	Not Specific
JR,52:161	1668	Susquehanock	Iroquois	Not Specific	Not Specific

JR,52:167	1668	Susquehanock	Iroquois	Male 1	Not Specific
JR,54:103.	1669	Susquehanock	Iroquois	Male 1	Not Specific
JR,53:243	1669	Susquehanock	Iroquois	Male 1	Not Specific
JR,53:137	1669	Mohican	Iroquois	Female At least 4	Not Specific
JR,53:139	1669	Iroquois	Mohican	Male 1	Male
JR,54:279.	1670	Mohican	Iroquois	Female 1	Male and Female
JR,53:252	1670	Susquehanock	Iroquois	Female 1	Not Specific
JR,55:41.	1670	Not specific	Iroquois	Male and Female numerous	Not Specific
JR,53:252.	1670	Susquehanock	Iroquois	Male 1	Not Specific
JR,54:21.	1670	Not specified	Iroquois	Male and Female 9	Male and Female
JR,56:115.	1671	Sioux	Huron	Not specified	Not Specific
JR,57:169.	1672	Susquehanock	Iroquois	Male 1	Male and Female
JR,57:169.	1672	Iroquois	Susquehanock	Female 1	Male

JR,58:225.	1673	Susquehanock	Iroquois	Male 2	Not Specific
JR,65:33.	1696	Iroquois	Iroquois	Female 1	Not Specific
JR,65:27.	1696	Iroquois	French	Male 1	Male
JR,65:137.	1702	Natchez	Natchez	Male and Female numerous	Female
MPA,3:27.	1704	English English-allied Amerindians	Spanish	Male 32	Not Specific
WHC,16:239.	1706	Ottawa	Miami	Male 1	Not Specific
WHC,16:239.	1706	Ottawa	Huron	Female 1	Not Specific
MPA,3:116.	1708	Iroquois	French Algonquin	Male and Female 18	Not Specific
MPA,3:128.	1709	English-allied Not specific	Tomahas	Male 5	Not Specific
WHC,16:273	1712	Fox, Mascoutan, Sauk	French-allied	Male and Female numerous	Not Specific
JR,66:281.	1712	Illinois	Not specific	Male 1	Not Specific
WHC,17:32.	1728	Winnibego Fox	Menominee, Ottawa, Ojibwa, Sauk	Male and Female 4	Male
WHC,17:51.	1728	Fox	Iroquois	Male 1	Male

WHC,17:50	1728	Fox	Menominee, Ottawa, Ojibwa, Sauk	Male 1	Male
WHC,17:97.	1728	Menominee	Fox	Male 1	Not Specific
JR,68:167.	1729	French	Natchez	Male and Female numerous	Male
MPA,1:84.	1730	Natchez	Yanabe	Male and Female 3	Not Specific
WHC,17:108.	1730	Illinois	Fox	Male 1	Not Specific
Peyser, *Fate of the Fox*, 107.	1730	Fox	French-allied	Male 40	Male
MPA,1:77.	1730	French	Natchez	Male 3	Not Specific
MPA,1:67.	1730	French	Natchez	Male 2	Not Specific
MPA,1:87.	1730	Choctaw	Natchez	Male 4	Not Specific
JR,68:199.	1730	African	Choctaw	Not specified	Not Specific
MPA,4:37.	1730	Tunicas	Natchez	Male and Female 6	Not Specific
MPA,4:40.	1730	Natchez	Choctaw	Not specific 4	Not Specific
JR,68:199	1730	Natchez	Tunicas	Male and Female 7	Not Specific

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