

CHAPTER ONE

REVIEW OF LITERATURE ON THE JESUIT MISSIONS TO JAPAN AND NEW FRANCE

For over three centuries, scholars have studied the early Jesuit missions to Japan and New France. Academic works on the Japanese mission were originally produced by westerners, who were joined by Japanese scholars at the end of the nineteenth century. Scholarly studies of the Canadian mission have been made in France and North America since the eighteenth century. Based on sixteenth- and seventeenth-century sources, modern students have developed their perspectives on the Jesuit missions.

Although much has been written and published on these two missionary fields, there is room for further research. For instance, the Japanese mission, which provides both European and non-European perspectives, is overlooked by Canadianists. An historiographical overview of the Roman Catholic mission in Japan during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries will demonstrate the need for revision.

A. HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE JESUIT MISSION TO JAPAN

The academic studies about the Christian missions in Japan can be divided into five groupings, of which four are western and one, Japanese. The first group consists of clerical editors of missionary documents to the end of the eighteenth-century. The second includes nineteenth- and early twentieth-century westerners, the first ones to attempt modern historical writing on this subject. The third group, in the twentieth century, consists of specialists in ecclesiastical archives. In the fourth category is a broader spectrum of western students, mainly of the second half of the twentieth century. Finally a fifth group includes Japanese scholars who balanced western interpretations with their own analyses of the Japanese aspects of missionary history.

1. *The Eighteenth Century*

Although publications on the mission in Japan began as early as the seventeenth century, most of these works in the first group, including

those by Luis de Guzmán and Daniello Bartoli, did not go beyond mere compilations of Jesuit correspondence.¹ Thus, an historiographical overview can only begin in the eighteenth century with Pierre-François-Xavier de Charlevoix, SJ (1682–1761). It was Father Charlevoix whose analytical and reconstructive style of description first bridged the gap between the reprinting of missionary letters and modern historiography based on primary sources. His history of attempts to convert the Japanese to Christianity remained in print through three revised editions for over a century, from the first edition of 1715 to the fourth edition of 1844.²

Charlevoix's history is a chronicle of the Jesuit missions and of the Japanese authorities with whom missionary priests dealt. While admitting that the missionaries were deported or executed, and ultimately failed in their mission, throughout his monograph Charlevoix praised both the evangelistic efforts of the church and the strong faith of its congregations. He revealed a story of the Japanese church that was planted by and grew up under the Jesuits, and then was destroyed by central Japanese rulers.

2. *The Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*

After Father Charlevoix, modern western scholars in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, who represent the second group, kept track of the evangelistic heroes who led the missionary church in Japan. The scholars in this category include Léon Pagès (1814–86), Louis Delplace, Hans Haas (1868–1934), Otis Cary (1851–1932) and James Murdoch (1856–1921). Because these earlier historians had extremely limited access to Japanese sources, insufficient evidence in Europe and in Japan hampered their academic influence upon later historians.

In his *Histoire de la religion chrétienne au Japon depuis 1598 jusqu'à 1651*, Léon Pagès, a civil Christian historian, viewed the Japanese church

¹ E.g. Luis de Guzmán, SJ., *Historia de las Misiones de la Compañía de Jesus* (1601, revised in 1891) and Daniello Bartoli, SJ, *Giappone: Istoria della Compagnia di Gesu* (1660, Milano: Spirali, 1985). Bartoli (1608–1685) in Italy was in charge of compiling a chronology of the Jesuit missions in the Italian language for the Society of Jesus.

² Pierre François Xavier de Charlevoix, *Histoire de l'établissement, des progrès et de la décadence du christianisme dans l'empire du Japon, où l'on voit les différentes révolutions qui ont agité cette Monarchie pendant plus d'un siècle* (Rouen: Guillaume Behourt; Jacques Joseph le Boullenger; Pierre le Boucher, 1715.); *Histoire et description du Japon* (4^{me} édition, Tours: A^d Mame et C^{ie}, 1844).

sympathetically. He devoted almost his entire work to praising the piety and unvanquished faith of the converts, while at the same time condemning the Japanese political authorities and Protestant Dutch traders for the cruel torture and death suffered by local Christians and missionaries. Despite his lack of analytical subtlety, his detailed narration became an important and oft-cited work since it was the first major, western publication on the subject of Japanese history after modern Japan resumed diplomatic relations with European states in 1854.³

In the early twentieth century, for the first time, western historians began to use Japanese documents, which they consulted while actually living and studying in Japan. At the same time, European historians continued to write about Jesuits in Japan without actually visiting the country. In 1909, Louis Delplace, SJ, wrote his *Le catholicisme au Japon*, which was no more than a modern version of Charlevoix's history, with additional material from missionary correspondence.⁴

The first publications by westerners living in Japan appeared in German and English. In German, one of the outstanding studies was Hans Haas's *Geschichte des Christentums in Japan* (1902–04), which deals with the first two decades of the Jesuit mission, from 1549 to 1570. This Protestant missionary showed some cultural familiarity with Japanese spirituality, gained from first-hand experience in the archipelago. At the same time, his adherence to Christian theology led to his appreciation of early Jesuit evangelistic work.⁵ In English, Otis Cary, an American

³ Léon Pagès, *Histoire de la religion chrétienne au Japon depuis 1598 jusqu'à 1651* (2 vols., Paris: Charles Douniol, 1869–70). Pagès's other publications include *Histoire des vingt-six martyrs japonais dont la canonisation doit avoir lieu à Rome le jour de la Pentécôte 1862* (1862); *La persécution des chrétiens au Japon et l'ambassade japonaise en Europe* (1873); *La déportation et l'abandon des morts: Cimetière de Mery* (1875) and 'Cerqueira, Conference Held by the Bishop Cerqueira on the Subject of Slaves Bought or hired and transported out of Japan, in September 1598, extracted from the Archives of the Academy of History in Madrid by L. Pagès', *Japan Weekly Chronicle* 29 Jan. 1902: 83–85.

⁴ Louis Delplace, SJ, *Le catholicisme au Japon* (2 vols., Bruxelles: Maline, 1909–10).

⁵ Hans Haas, *Geschichte des Christentums in Japan* (2 vols., Tokyo: n. p., 1902–04). Haas also published the following monographs and treatises on Japan and related subjects: *Die Sekten des Japanischen Buddhismus: Eine Religionswissenschaftlich Studie* (Heidelberg, 1905); 'Die Religion der Japaner—2. Der Buddhismus', in Edvard Lehman & A. Lehman (eds.), *Die orientalischen Religionen* (Berlin & Leipzig: B. G. Tübner, 1906), 221–54; *Japans Zukunftsreligion* (2. Aufl., Berlin: K. Curtis, 1907); 'Amida Buddha unsere Zuflucht': *Urkunden zum verständnis des Japanischen Sukhavati—Buddhismus* (Göttingen: Vandenhöck & Ruprecht; Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1910); *Bibliographie zur Frage nach den Wechselbeziehungen zwischen Buddhismus und*

Protestant missionary in Japan, shared with his predecessors an interest in the development and decline of the first Japanese mission during the preceding three and a half centuries. His history of Christianity in Japan⁶ is worth citing because its discussion of missionary failure considered also the changing political and economic environment of European-Japanese diplomatic relations. Like his ecclesiastical contemporaries, however, Cary was unable to revise the written observations of early modern Roman Catholic correspondents.

In the same decade as the monographs of Haas and Cary, a more comprehensive history appeared in print. *A History of Japan during the Early Foreign Intercourse* is the second volume of James Murdoch's three-volume history.⁷ In an attempt to revise the ecclesiastical approach that had been dominant since Charlevoix, Murdoch consulted not only European documents but also Japanese sources. For this demanding endeavour, he sought help from his Japanese colleague Isoo Yamagata. Murdoch's secular background also escaped glorification of the Christian converts. To a considerable extent, he examined non-religious incidents in politics and international relations when discussing the mission. Consequently his monograph placed greater emphasis on political relations between missionaries and the Japanese authorities.

3. *Specialists in Ecclesiastical Archives in the Twentieth Century*

It was only after the 1920s that German historians began to investigate the Japanese mission. These historians, who never visited Japan, let alone lived there, formed part of a third group. They uncovered new archival missionary sources. Among this group is the Franciscan Father Dorotheus Schilling (1886–ca.1960s) and two Jesuits, Georg Schurhammer (1882–1971) and Josef Franz Schütte. While sharing

Christentum (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1922), *Buddha in der abendländlichen Legende* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1923). His interest in Japan grew to include the Ainu in his *Die Ainu und ihre Religion* (Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1925).

⁶ Otis Cary, *A History of Christianity in Japan: Roman Catholic, Greek Orthodox, and Protestant Missions* (2 vols., New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1909; reprint in 1976 as one volume by Tuttle in Rutland, Vermont, & Tokyo, Japan).

⁷ James Murdoch and Isoh (*sic*) Yamagata, *A History of Japan during the Century of Early Foreign Intercourse (1542–1651)* (Kobe: Kobe Chronicle, 1903). He first published this work as an independent monograph. He later expanded his work into three volumes. He published a book on the previous period of Japan as the first volume of *A History of Japan* in 1910. Although he passed away before seeing a printed copy of the third volume which dealt with the years 1652–1868, Joseph H. Longford and L. M. C. Hall completed its publication in 1926.

with preceding authors an admiration for individual Christian missionary heroes, these three specialists at least inspired a source-based historicism among later students. Because their publications brought more primary sources to light, Charlevoix, Pagès, Haas and Cary began to be referred to less frequently in source citations in the second half of the twentieth century.

Dorotheus Schilling, OFM [the Order of the Friars Minors], contributed to the study of the Japanese missions by editing archival manuscripts, especially those of Luis Frois, SJ, and Avila-Girón, a Spanish merchant, whose documents had been extant for over three centuries. After searching for Jesuit documents copied in Macao, Schilling found the manuscript of Luis Frois's *Historia de Iapam*. He discovered Father Frois's manuscript written between 1583 and 1593, in Toulouse, France, in 1931, and another manuscript written between 1578 and 1582, in Lisbon in 1933.⁸ The part from 1578 to 1587 had not previously been known. Also in 1933–35, in collaboration with Fidel de Lejarza, Schilling published Avila-Girón's second edition of *Relación del Reino de Nippon*, which had remained in manuscript form since the early seventeenth century. Besides his exploration of original sources, Schilling's interest extended to the Jesuits' educational and technological contributions to Japanese society, as well as Japanese politics and religion during the period of the early missions.⁹

While also covering other themes extensively, the studies of Georg Schurhammer, SJ, were concerned with two Jesuit missionaries, Luis Frois and Francisco de Xavier of the sixteenth century. In the 1920s, Schurhammer edited another part of the manuscript of Luis Frois's *Historia de Iapam* [or *Japam*] and published it in a German translation. He also uncovered and edited Xavier's correspondence. His archival investigation of original sources helped him publish numerous monographs and treatises on the Jesuits and related matters. His study uncovered other documents concerning the Portuguese colonies. In addition, his religious interest grew to include Japanese *Shintô*.¹⁰

⁸ Matsuda Kiichi, 'Kaidai', in Matsuda Kiichi & Kawasaki Momota (trans.), *Furois Nipponshi* (Tokyo: Chuōkōronsha, 1977–1980), 27–28.

⁹ Doroteo Schilling, OFM, & Fidel de Lejarza (eds.), 'Relación del Reino de Nippon', *Archivo Ibero-Americano* 36 (1933): 481–531; 37 (1934): 5–48, 259–75, 392–434, 493–554; 38 (1935): 103–30, 216–39, 384–417; and Dorotheus Schilling, 'Neue Funde zur História de Japão von Luis Frois S. J.', *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft* 23 (1933): 337–43. See appendix 2 for Schilling's list of other publications.

¹⁰ Georg Schurhammer & E. A. Voretzsch (Hrsg. & Übers.), *Die Geschichte Japans (1549–1578)* (Leipzig: Verlag der Asia Major, 1926); Georg Schurhammer, SJ, & J. Wicki,

Schurhammer's academic quest to discover Jesuit documents was followed by that of another German Jesuit, Josef Franz Schütte. Schütte's exploration of the missionary sources started in Rome where he was assigned to the Jesuit archives, thereby gaining easy access to missionary sources. His research extended to manuscript material on the Japanese missions in the Jesuit archives and in the Vatican library in Rome, including Japanese Christian writings and drawings. His major work, based on the Jesuit-archival documents, is *Valignanos Missionsgrundsätze für Japan*. In the 1950s, he began to do research in Portugal and Spain. In Madrid, he discovered Luis Frois's original text on Japanese culture, and published it in German in 1955. In the early 1960s, he also created a bibliography of Japanese sources located in the Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid. In the same years, he made a significant contribution to Japanese missionary studies when he found the text of *Igreja do Japão*, which was written by João Rodriguez-Tçuzu in the seventeenth century. He also found new material in East Asia. Finally in 1968, his decades of research culminated in *Introductio ad Historiam Societatis Jesu in Japonia, 1549–1650*, an analytical description of the Jesuit missions in Japan.¹¹

4. A Broader Spectrum of Western Historians

Contemporaries of these German clergymen were able to use recently-discovered sources for their studies. The major historians in the second and third quarters of the twentieth century include Johannes Laures, SJ (1891–1959), Charles Ralph Boxer (1904–2000) and George Elison (1937–), who represent the fourth historiographical group. These three historians finally attempted a synthesis based on both European and oriental scholarships.

Although Johannes Laures was among the last generation of historians to take an heroic approach to the Jesuit mission, he did make a vital contribution to Japan-based archival research of Jesuit documents. His manual of Jesuit books and documents on Japan helped scholars to comprehend

SJ(eds.), *Epistolæ S. Francisci Xavierii aliaque eius scripta* (2 Tomus, Romæ: Monumenta Historica Soc. Jesu, 1944–45). See appendix 2 for Schurhammer's numerous publications.

¹¹ Josef Franz Schütte, SJ, *Introductio ad Historiam Societatis Jesu in Japonia, 1549–1650, ac Proemium ad Catalogos Japoniae Edendos ad Edenda Societatis Jesu Monumenta Historica Japoniae Proylaeum* (Romæ: Institutum Historicum Soc. Jesu, 1968). For other works by Schütte, see appendix 2.

the mission's extensive publications in diverse languages.¹² His most analytical work on the Japanese missions is *Geschichte der katholischen Kirche in Japan*,¹³ which deals with these missions from the period of Xavier to the nineteenth century. Like his predecessors, he described the rise and fall of the missions while estimating their degree of success. In addition, he examined the reasons for the success and failure of proselytisation, while at the same time considering the feudal Japanese rulers' intentions, in support or persecution of Christians. The monograph's academic weakness is Laures's all too rare indication of source material, which may have been the result of his publisher's decision to target general readers or perhaps by the author's own intention to publish only a short monograph.

The access to both European and Oriental sources is more clearly evident in the work of Charles Ralph Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan, 1549-1650*, published in 1951.¹⁴ Not only did Boxer take advantage of discovered or edited sources but also he contributed to publishing western manuscript sources. He investigated the growth of the missionary church from a broader perspective rather than solely in terms of the Jesuit priests, who were described not only as diplomats but also as traders. Also, he paid special attention to the Japanese brothers and servants whose vital rôles had been underestimated by both his ecclesiastical contemporaries and subsequent historians. The Japanese converts and martyrs were also favourably noted. His work, though written from a western viewpoint, represented a revisionist perspective in Japanese mission studies. Up to that time, scholars had paid attention only to European priests and their political counterparts mainly through missionary language and terminology.

By extensively consulting Japanese printed sources in his *Deus Destroyed* of 1973, George Elison delved into the problems and limits of the Jesuit mission far deeper than previous westerners.¹⁵ From an

¹² Johannes Laures, SJ, *Kirishitan Bunko: A Manual of Books and Documents on the Early Christian Missions in Japan* (1940, 3rd ed., Tokyo: Sophia University, 1957).

¹³ Johannes Laures, SJ, *Die Geschichte der katholischen Kirchen in Japan* (Kaldenkirchen: Steyler, 1956). Its English edition appeared in print two years earlier under the title of *The Catholic Church in Japan: A Short History* (Tokyo: Tuttle, 1954).

¹⁴ C. R. Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan, 1549-1650* (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press; London: Cambridge University Press, 1951).

¹⁵ George Elison, *Deus Destroyed: The Image of Christianity in Early Modern Japan* (Harvard East Asian Monographs 141; Cambridge, MA: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1973). His other works are included in George Elison &

acculturating point of view, he contended that Jesuit Christianisation was doomed by forces both within and without. He pointed to the limitations of the Christian influence upon Japanese society. By dealing with the failure of the Christian mission as a consequence of Christianity's own inherent weakness, he was the first western historian not to devote much space to estimating evangelistic accomplishments.

While they did not revise Boxer and Elison, historians of the 1990s developed or summarised the oriental and western scholarships. For example, focusing on specific missionaries, Joseph F. Moran's (1937–2005) treatise on Father Alessandro Valignano should be noted. Concerning the authors of more extensive works, one should mention Andrew C. Ross (1931–2008) and Neil Fujita (1934–). Ross outlined the whole Japanese mission in an heroic approach focussing on leading Jesuit priests in Japan. Bilingual in Japanese and English, Fujita wrote another version of Boxer's history of the Christian century in Japan, by including more academic discoveries that had been made since the mid-twentieth century.¹⁶

There have been two major trends of western historical investigation in the field of Jesuit missions. One has been to discover hidden material and edit hand-written texts in print. The other has been to analyse incidents and synthesise a new theory by reinterpreting the newly-discovered and edited sources. These trends were shared by Japanese-language historians.

5. *Japanese Historians from the Twentieth Century to the Present*

Japanese historians who studied the Christian mission form the fifth historiographical category. They began their investigations in the late nineteenth century simultaneously with the revival of Christian missions to Meiji Japan. Twentieth-century Japanese approaches to missionary history were developed mainly to understand evangelisation within the context of Japanese history rather than as mere incidents within the Christian church. There were, however, two problems in pursuing the topic from a Japanese point of view. One was that the

Bardwell L. Smith (eds.), *Warlords, Artists, and Commoners: Japan in the Sixteenth Century* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1981).

¹⁶ J. F. Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits: Alessandro Valignano in Sixteenth-Century Japan* (London: Routledge, 1993); Andrew C. Ross, *A Vision Betrayed: The Jesuits in Japan and China, 1542–1742* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1994); Neil S. Fujita, *Japan's Encounter with Christianity* (New York & Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1991). Fujita is fully discussed in the fifth historiographical category.

source material of the Japanese mission was scattered internationally; and the other was that the documents in Japan had been lost or destroyed during the three-century proscription of the Christian faith.

The initial task of historians was thus to find fragments of evidence and to compile them into a manageable form. While the source study of the Japanese missions was pursued by ecclesiastical historians in Europe, Murakami Naojirô (1868–1966), Okamoto Yoshitomo (1900–1972) and Matsuda Kiichi (1921–1997) contributed to the discovery of remaining Japanese sources as well as to the introduction of European material to Japanese readers. To begin with, Murakami edited or translated Jesuit correspondence, the journals of the Dutch commercial factory in Japan and other western documents.¹⁷ He compiled the correspondence between Japanese authorities and representatives of other nations.¹⁸ Also, he edited the documents written by Englishmen in feudal Japan, as well as the journals of the English commercial factory in Japan.¹⁹ Murakami was followed by Okamoto Yoshitomo, who edited and published several missionary manuscript sources.²⁰ More recently, since the 1990s, the Historical Source Institute of the University of Tokyo has undertaken an on-going compilation of the Jesuit correspondence, in the original European language and in Japanese translation.²¹

¹⁷ Murakami published the following edited monographs: *Ikoku nisshishô* (Tokyo: Sanshûsha, 1911); *Yasokai nenpô* (Nagasaki: Nagasaki shiyakusho, 1926); *Yasokai Nippon tsûshin: Keikihen* (Tokyo: Sunnansha, 1927–28); *Ikoku nikkishô* (Tokyo: Sunnansha, 1929); *Yasokai Nippon tsûshin: Bungo hen* (Tokyo: Teikoku kyoikukai, 1936); *Deshima rankan nisshi* (3 vols., Tokyo: Bunmei kyokai, 1938–39); *Yasokai no Nippon nenpô* (2 vols., Tokyo: Takubundô, 1943); *Nagasaki Oranda shôkan no nikki* (3 vols. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1956–58).

¹⁸ Murakami Naojirô (trans.), *Ikoku ôfuku shokanshû* (Tokyo: Sunnansha, 1929).

¹⁹ Murakami Naojirô & Murakawa Kengo (eds.), *Letters Written by English Residents in Japan, 1611–1623* (Tokyo, 1900); Murakami Naojirô (ed.), *Diary of Richard Cocks, Cape-Merchant in the English Factory in Japan, 1615–1622, with Correspondence* (Tokyo, 1899).

²⁰ He edited and translated Frois's report on the First Japanese embassy to Europe under Valignano: Okamoto Yoshitomo *et al* (eds.), *La première Ambassade du Japon en Europe, 1582–1592* (Tokyo: Université Sophia, 1942) and Okamoto Yoshitomo (trans.), *Kyushu sankô ken'ô shisetsu kôki* (Tokyo: Tôyôdô, 1942). He co-edited *Segunda parte da Historia de Japam que trata das couzas, que socedarão nesta V. Provincia da Hera de 1578 por diante, começado pela conversão del rey de Bungo (1578–1582)* (Tokyo: Edição da Sociedade Luso-Japonesa, 1938). He was also the editor of *El Nippon y Philipinas sus Relaciones Historicos* (Tokyo: Japan Times, 1945). As for Japanese material, he was the editor of *Gyosonki* (Tokyo: Tôyôdô, 1946).

²¹ Tokyo daigaku shiryô hensanjo, *Nippon kankei kaigai shiryô: Iezusukai Nippon shokanshû* (6 vols. as of 2007, Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku shiryô hensanjo, 1990–).

Another linguistic expert was Matsuda Kiichi, who was the pioneer of the study of post-war sources on the Christian missions. Although not a Jesuit, he completed university education in 1944 at Jesuit Sophia University, where he met Professor Laures. Matsuda's documentary studies of European-Japanese relations include a report on the documents discovered inside Japanese folding screens at Evora, Portugal; a bibliographical catalogue of European-Japanese international relations; a source study of Japan-related documents in European collections, along with other works, all published in the 1960s.²² His Japanese translations of unpublished source material of the Jesuits include *Historia de Iapam* and the comparative cultural discussion of Japan, both by Luis Frois; Alessandro Valignano's reports on the Japanese church; and also *Carta annua de Japão* of the Society of Jesus, all of which were published in the last thirty years of the twentieth century.²³ His publications encompass several monographs on specific but essential aspects of the Japanese missions.²⁴

Based on these extensive source studies, twentieth-century Japanese research of the Jesuit mission developed mainly to understand evangelisation as episodes of Japanese history rather than as part of the growth and decline of the Christian church. Leading scholars in this field are Anesaki Masaharu (1873–1949), Okamoto Yoshitomo, Okada Akio (1907–82), Ebisawa Arimichi (1910–1992), Shimizu Hirokazu (1942–), Takase Kôichirô (1936–) and Neil S. Fujita (1934–), among others. Ane-

²² Ebisawa Arimichi & Matsuda Kiichi, *Porutogaru evora shinshutsu byôbu monjo no kenkyû* (Tokyo: Natsumesha, 1963); Matsuda Kiichi, *Nichiô kôshôshi bunken mokuroku* (Tokyo: Keibundo & Isseido, 1965), and *Kinsei shoki Nippon kankei nanban shiryô no kenkyû* (Tokyo: Kazama shobô, 1967). In addition, he wrote *Nanban shiryô no hakken: Yomigaeru Nobunaga jidai* (Tokyo: Chuô kôronsha, 1964).

²³ Matsuda Kiichi & Kawasaki Momota (trans.), *Furoisu Nipponshi* (Tokyo: Chuô kôronsha, 1977–80); Matsuda Kiichi & Engelbert Jorisßen (trans.), *Frois no Nippon oboegaki: Nippon to Yôroppa no fûshû no chigai* (Tokyo: Chuô kôronsha, 1983); Matsuda Kiichi *et al* (trans.), *Nippon junsatsuki* (1965, Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1973); and Matsuda Kiichi (ed.), *Jûroku-shichi seiki Iezusukai Nippon hôkokushû* (17 vols., Kyoto: Dôhôsha, 1987–2000.); Matsuda Kiichi *et al.* (eds. & trans.) *Nippon kankei Iezusukai genbunsho* (Kyoto: Dôhôsha, 1987)

²⁴ E.g. Matsuda, *Kirishitan kenkyû* (vol. I, Tokyo: Sôgensha 1953; vol. II, Tokyo: Kazama shobô, 1975); *Nippo kôshôshi* (1955, Tokyo: Kyôbunkan, 1963), *Taikô to gaikô* (Tokyo: Tôgensha, 1966); *Nanban junrei* (Tokyo: Asahi shinbunsha, 1967); *Keichô shisetsu: Nipponjin hatsu no taiheiyô ôdan* (Tokyo: Shin jinbutsu ôraisha, 1969); *Hideyoshi no nanban gaikô: San Feripegô jiken* (Tokyo: Shin jinbutsu ôraisha, 1972); *Shitan tenshō ken'ô shisetsu* (Tokyo: Kôdan-sha, 1977); and *Ômura Sumitada-den* (1955, 3rd ed., Tokyo: Kyôbun-kan, 1978).

saki Masaharu was a pioneer who considered the Christian mission from both European and Japanese viewpoints.

Anesaki applied a cultural approach to European-Japanese relations. He considered two ideas: first, the influence of the Christian mission upon the Japanese nation; and second, the negative effect on national growth of the Tokugawa authorities' ban of Christianity. In independent monographs, he considered five main aspects of the mission: the concealment of converts; the termination of missions; personal spiritual achievements; religious literature; and missionary activity itself.²⁵ His *Kirishitan dendô no kôhai* deals with the rise and fall of the Catholic missions in Japan from 1549 to 1668. In this work, the mission's positive and negative influences on the Japanese rulers and ordinary people became his main concerns. On the Japanese authorities' initially positive and later negative response to the missions, he concluded that the Japanese central court suppressed anything in its way when the church gradually became an obstacle to its rule. Another clue was the church's philanthropy, which helped Jesuits gain converts among ordinary people by using the support of wealthy, influential Christian supporters. Because of anti-Christian persecutions, the missionary church was no longer able to finance the philanthropy necessary to maintain the congregation.

A less cultural and more political and economic approach to the same international relations can be found in Okamoto Yoshitomo. He analysed the triangular relationship among Portuguese traders, missionaries, and Japanese rulers. As a specialist on the relationship between European visitors and Japanese residents, he emphasised the leading diplomatic rôle of the Jesuit missionaries in the Portuguese trade with Japanese merchants, who were closely connected with local lords. He described the Jesuits as diplomats who took advantage of international trade to enhance their church; and he affirmed that the feudal lords had no choice but to welcome Christian missions in order to invite Portuguese ships to their own ports, even if they wanted no evangelisation in their territories.²⁶

Another approach to missionary activity rather than the mission itself was made by Okada Akio, an archivist at the Institute of Historical

²⁵ Anesaki Masaharu, *Kirishitan shûmon no hakugai to senpuku* (Tokyo: Dôbunkan, 1925); *Kirishitan kinsei no shûmatsu* (Tokyo: Dôbunkan, 1926); *Kirishitan hakugaishichû no jinbutsu jiseki* (Tokyo: Dôbunkan, 1930); *Kirishitan shûkyô bungaku* (Dôbunkan, 1932); and *Kirishitan dendô no kôhai* (Tokyo: Dôbunkan, 1930).

²⁶ Okamoto Yoshitomo, *Jûroku seiki Nichi-Ô kôtsûshi no kenkyû* (Tokyo: Kôbunsho, 1936).

Sources, the University of Tokyo. While consulting the Jesuit documents, he was one of those rare individuals who were not governed by them. With no apparent appraisal of the missionary efforts, he attempted to grasp the meaning of the missions and foreign intercourse in the light of Japanese society. His interest grew to include the western influence on life in Japan and the problems of cultural importation faced by the Christian converts. According to Okada, the Jesuit mission caused two social frictions: first a conflict between non-Christian feudal lords and the Christian God as the target for loyalty; and then withdrawal from social activities, many of them associated with traditional autochthonous customs, which the missionaries considered pagan. He affirmed that most proselytes simply replaced Japanese objects of worship with the Christian God while retaining the conventional framework of Japanese spiritual customs.²⁷

In contrast to Okada's thematic writings, Ebisawa Arimichi made more extensive analyses. He regarded the Japanese church as a community of both missionaries and numerous converts rather than as the mere organisation of European priests. From his strict Protestant standpoint, the conflict was between feudal authorities and Christian communities, and not simply political tension between the top rulers and the missionaries.²⁸

In Ebisawa's Japanese history of Christians, the Christian mission had two special meanings apart from its attempt to Christianise pagans. According to this analysis, the mission introduced Japan to a new world view, which stimulated an awakening of self, as well as a new rational or scientific reasoning and a positive or critical spirit. In other words, Ebisawa gave Christianity credit for spiritually accelerating the development of Japan's national identity. Also, the qualification for being a Christian in Japan, he claims, consisted simply in recognising the person of God and claiming to deny conventional beliefs, for the Jesuits were linguistically incapable of making their congregation understand fully the true faith. One basis for his assertion lay in the Jesuit publications of

²⁷ Okada Akio, *Nanban shūzokukō* (Tokyo: Tajin shokan, 1942). His main articles are compiled into *Okada Akio chosakushū* (ed. Kodama Kōta, 6 vols., Tokyo: Shibun kaku, 1983-84).

²⁸ Ebisawa Arimichi, *Nippon kirishitanshi* (Tokyo: Hanawa shobō, 1966); and *Kirishitan no dan'atsu to teikō* (Tokyo: Yūzan kaku, 1981).

Japanese-language catechisms and the doctrine books, which were full of confusing Buddhist and Confucian terms.²⁹

After Ebisawa, one discerns two major trends in the Japanese perspectives on the missions. The first is to view the history of the evangelistic activity from the standpoint of its growing conflict with conservative autochthonous institutions. Within the context of Japanese politics, this school, whose members include Murai Sanae (1946–), Shimizu Hirokazu (1942–) and Gonoï Takashi (1941–), discussed how missionaries were expelled and Christians were suppressed by the growing power of the central rulers.³⁰ Shimizu Hirokazu, for instance, focussed on the reaction of the Toyotomi and Tokugawa clans against the European enterprise in Japan. His history of Christian proscription³¹ investigates the mission from a strictly Japanese standpoint, employing domestic sources and printed foreign documents in order to examine the cause behind the Japanese authorities' decision to prohibit Christianity and to expel European missionaries. His focus is on the domestic political powers rather than on the mission itself. Based on his premise that Christianity was destined to be expelled from the country, he attempted to find all possible reasons for this within national policies.

The second school of writers, which discussed the mission from the viewpoint of European colonisation, includes Takase Kôichirô (1936–), Neil S. Fujita (1934–) and Takahashi Hirofumi (1960–).³² While Shimizu emphasised internal political attitudes, Takase Kôichirô, in his study of the Japanese Christian century, examined the Jesuit mission in the light of the international relationships involving Iberians and Japanese. Working on a global scale that emphasised Japan's conflict with Iberian colonies in the Pacific Ocean, he examined the secular activities of the Society of Jesus, including finance, trade and military affairs. The Jesuits, in his opinion, were also merchants and potent military invaders. The mission was not only excluded by the political power but it also

²⁹ Ebisawa, *Nippon kirishitanshi*, 23–37 & 92–119.

³⁰ Murai Sanae, *Bakuhan taisei to kirishitan kinsei* (Tokyo: Bunken shuppan, 1987); Murai, *Kirishitan kinsei to minshû no shûkyô* (Tokyo: Yamakawa shuppan-sha, 2002); Gonoï Takashi, *Nippon kirisutokyôshi* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kôbunkan, 1990); Gonoï, *Tokugawa shoki kirishitan kenkyû* (1983, rev ed. Tokyo: Yoshikawa kôbunkan, 1992); and Shimizu Hirokazu, *Kirishitan kinseishi* (Tokyo: Kyôikusha, 1981); Shimizu, *Shokuhô seiken to kirishitan* (Tokyo: Iwata shoin, 2001).

³¹ Shimizu, *Kirishitan kinseishi* (1981).

³² Takase Kôichirô, *Kirishitan jidai no kenkyû* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1977); Neil S. Fujita, *Japan's Encounter with Christianity* (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1991); and Takahashi Hirofumi, *Iezusukai-no sekai senryaku* (Tokyo: Kôdansha, 2006).

destroyed itself when priests became too absorbed in secular concerns. He maintains that the Iberian trade and the Jesuit mission ultimately shared the same fate, since the priests were involved both officially and privately in commerce.

Neil S. Fujita's *Japan's Encounter with Christianity*, published in 1991, is an introductory monograph for non-academic readers and contains few source citations. He synthesised previous interpretations, using both European and Japanese sources in order to produce a more plausible perspective on the mission than earlier writers had done. Although his emphasis was on the Japanese religious mentality, he also focussed on how the Christian mission had failed in Japan despite its initial success. He also pointed to the cultural, ethnological and psychological factors of the Japanese people, concluding that the pre-modern Japanese spiritual tradition was alien to the Christian mentality with God at its heart.

A more recent approach among this second trend can be found in Takahashi Hironobu's *Iezusukai-no sekai senryaku* (2006). Although this title meant the global strategy of the Society of Jesus, the monograph was on the growth of the Portuguese Jesuit mission to India and Japan, under the leadership of Father Valignano during the fourth quarter of the sixteenth century. By illustrating the development of the Society's military characteristics, Takahashi discussed that the Jesuit priests conceived Japan to be an object for Portuguese military invasion just as earnestly as to be a new evangelistic field. This perspective is worthwhile, since Takahashi's argument was not so much based on a Japan-centred framework as based on a more extensive framework of the Portuguese Jesuit mission, which began in Europe and expanded to Japan.

Not surprisingly western and Japanese academics have almost always differed in their interpretations. Western historians endeavoured to define the story of the missions in the context of the Japanese church, which negotiated with the Japanese authorities. Western historians have measured missionary success in terms of the number of converts. They have also tried to find the causes of religious oppression in the various motives of rulers. On the other hand, Japanese historians have generally tried to seek meaning, for Japanese society, in missionary activities. Even those who dealt with missionary accomplishments were more interested in cultural influence on a traditional society than in the number of converts. When they examined the reasons for official persecution, they attempted to grasp the overall political and economic intentions of successive rulers rather than to analyse each *daimyō's* actions. One could therefore say that the study of the

Jesuit missions finally found a place in Japanese history when Japanese historians clarified the meanings of the missionary enterprise for the nation.

B. HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE JESUIT MISSION TO NEW FRANCE

The historiography of the Jesuit missionary work in New France can be divided into six main categories. In the first category is one study, published in France in the eighteenth century. The second and third groups include French- and English-language histories in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In the fourth and fifth categories, one finds secular scholarship and ecclesiastical accounts, from the earlier twentieth century to the present.

1. *The Eighteenth Century*

In the first category is a history of the early Jesuit mission in New France that is based on the documents written by explorers and missionaries in the seventeenth century. The author of this history of New France was Pierre-François-Xavier de Charlevoix, SJ (1682–1761), who moved beyond mere documentation of the Jesuits into analytical narrative, and thus his history, published in 1744, remains useful today. Charlevoix was admired by later historians for sound source-based descriptions covering global aspects of French colonial history from the discovery and exploration in the early sixteenth-century to the colonial rivalries of the early and mid-eighteenth century.³³

As for his accounts of the Jesuit mission, however, his writing is primarily a summary of the evolution of ecclesiastical institutions and practices. Throughout his accounts of the period from the 1620s through the 1650s, Charlevoix kept close track of missionary progress among the Huron and neighbouring tribes. He applauded both the efforts of missionaries and the strong faith of native converts. Every incident that happened in the Huron missions was interpreted as helpful to the growth of Christianity in New France. From the standpoint of the benefits of French colonisation, he made an important contrast between the

³³ Pierre-François-Xavier de Charlevoix, SJ, *Histoire et description générale de la Nouvelle France, avec Le journal historique d'un voyage fait par ordre du roi dans l'Amérique septentrionale* (3 vols., Paris: Didot, 1744).

virtuous Hurons, allied with the French, and the vicious Iroquois, who attacked the French colonies. This dualistic perspective on the native North American peoples was picked up and perpetuated by nineteenth-century historians.

2. *French-language Histories in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*

The second and third historiographical categories include studies of New France during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries published in France or in North America. These works were written by a wide assortment of authors, including secular French Canadians, Jesuits and other priests, as well as anglophone North Americans. In the French-language, to begin with, the influential writers included François-Xavier Garneau (1809–66), Benjamin Sulte (1841–1923), Jean-Baptiste-Antoine Ferland (1805–65), Étienne-Michel Faillon (ca.1799–1870) and Camille de Rochemonteix (1834–1923).

François-Xavier Garneau, born in Lower Canada (now part of Quebec), was a French-Canadian nationalist. His *Histoire du Canada depuis sa découverte jusqu'à nos jours* was first published in 1845.³⁴ In it, he argued that the Jesuit missions had retarded the development of the colony and nineteenth-century liberalism. His anti-clerical attitude provoked pro-clerical reproaches from conservative francophone readers. Although he regarded Charlevoix as the best early historian of Canada because of his exact and minute descriptions as well as his simple and natural style, he considered Charlevoix's ecclesiastical view of the colony outdated and irrelevant for contemporary readers living under British rule. Garneau dismissed missionary enterprises and experiences. He also neglected the native population, to whom the Jesuits had preached.³⁵

Another secular francophone author was Benjamin Sulte, whose extensive publications included his *Histoire des Canadiens-français*,

³⁴ Garneau, *Histoire du Canada depuis sa découverte jusqu'à nos jours* (1845, 4^e éd., 4 tomes., Montréal: Beauchemin & Valois, 1882). The first edition of 1845 in three volumes was enlarged to four volumes as the second edition in 1852. The third edition was published finally as a complete set in 1859, and was further enlarged as the fourth edition in 1882. An English edition is available as *History of Canada, from the Time of Its Discovery till the Union Year 1840–41* (trans. of rev. 1859 ed. by Andrew Bell, 2 vols., Montréal: John Lovell, 1862).

³⁵ Garneau, *History of Canada*, vol. I, xx–xxi; *Histoire du Canada*, vol. I, vi–viii.

1608–1880.³⁶ In recounting events in seventeenth-century Canada, Sulte often referred to Jesuit missionaries critically, mainly through the eyes of French colonists in North America. His condemnation of the Jesuits was demonstrated by his criticism of *The Jesuit Relations*, in which the missionaries were absorbed in their Christianising activity. Nor was Sulte sympathetic to the Huron nation. Like Garneau, he described what Jesuits and native converts had done against the French settlers. In his opinion, the Jesuits could be appreciated only for their valiant, but impossible and ineffective, mission to the native population which would have been better off if it had become acquainted with the true Christian God.

By contrast, clerical historians admired and emulated Charlevoix's pro-Jesuit point of view. Jean-Baptiste-Antoine Ferland, a Roman Catholic priest in Quebec, interpreted Jesuit activity as one of the grand successes of the French colony. Jesuit missionaries were colonial heroes. To explain the failure of the mission and the dispersal of the Hurons, Ferland resorted to a seventeenth-century Jesuit convention, which interpreted the failure and dispersal as a divine sign that God was displeased with the insufficient outcome. In other words, God permitted the Huron people to join the Christians, and then He decided to abandon these objects of conversion, despite a Jesuit victory over the Hurons.³⁷

Along the same line, Étienne-Michel Faillon and Camille de Rochemonteix, SJ, both writing in France, dealt with the missions in terms of the efforts of the French to convert the Huron and other native peoples. These two historians' interest in the Hurons consisted only in showing how the Amerindians were different from Christians and how they could have been converted to lead a Christian life. These authors found it unnecessary to make references to native cultural aspects, such as social structures and dietary habits, which had little to do with Christianisation. Rochemonteix's monograph especially turned out to be no more than an heroic collective biography of missionaries and a chronology of the mission.³⁸

³⁶ Benjamin Sulte, *Histoire des Canadiens-français, 1608–1880* (8 vols., Montréal: Wilson, 1882–84). Two other examples of his works are *Histoire de la ville des Trois-Rivières et de ses environs* (Montréal: Eusèbe Sénécal, 1870); and *La guerre des Iroquois, 1600–1653* (Ottawa: J. Durie; Toronto: Copp Clark, 1897).

³⁷ Jean-Baptiste Ferland, *Cours d'histoire du Canada* (2 tomes., Québec: Augustine Côté, 1861–65).

³⁸ Étienne-Michel Faillon, *Histoire de la colonie française en Canada* (3 tomes, Ville-Marie: Bibliothèque Paroissiale, 1865–66); and Camille de Rochemonteix, SJ, *Les Jésuites de la Nouvelle-France aux 17^{me} siècle* (3 tomes, Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1895–96).

3. *English-language Histories in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*

While French-language scholars of the Jesuit mission in Canada were at the forefront, there were several English-speaking historians, who form the third category. Among these historians are William Smith (1769–1847), John Mercier McMullen (1820–1907), Francis Parkman (1823–93) and Thomas J. Campbell (1848–1925). Smith and McMullen should be noted for their ignorance of the Jesuit mission. In writing about the same seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Canada that French-language contemporaries dealt with, Smith totally omitted the Jesuit missionary activity from his account. Born in New York and educated in England, Smith was an Anglo-Saxon bureaucrat in Lower Canada, home of the majority of French Canadians. For Smith to keep the peace and to maintain his position as a career civil servant, it was no doubt wise to omit any negative comments on the Jesuits in Lower Canada, lest he should incur the wrath of the overwhelming francophone majority.³⁹

Similar omissions can be found in the general history of John M. McMullen, an Irish Canadian in Canada West, now part of Ontario. As in the monograph by Smith, the seventeenth-century under the Jesuit leadership was outside McMullen's academic concerns. Thus, he merely touched on the mission and native peoples in one short passage. In his Anglo-centric version of Canadian history, Canada had progressed by turning its back on fierce native populations to welcome Anglo-Saxon immigrants, who became his main focus.⁴⁰

On the other hand, although he was an Anglophone Protestant, the American historian Francis Parkman treated the Jesuit mission as the central subject of study in his classic *The Jesuits in North America in the Seventeenth Century*.⁴¹ There are two significant points in Parkman's

³⁹ William Smith, *History of Canada; from Its First Discovery till the Year 1791* (2 vols. Québec: John Neilson, 1815). The first volume has the title *History of Canada; from Its First Discovery till the Peace of 1763*, but it is altered as above in the second volume. His work did not appear in print immediately and became available as late as 1826. For Smith's socially complicated situation, see J. M. Bumsted, 'William Smith Jr. and *The History of Canada*', in Lawrence H. Leder (ed.), *Loyalist Historians*, Vol. I of *Colonial Legacy* (New York: Harper & Row, 1971), 182–201; and Bumsted, 'William Smith', Vol. VII of *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (1988), 816–19.

⁴⁰ John M'Mullen [McMullen], *The History of Canada from Its First Discovery to the Present* (Brockville, C. W.: J. M'Mullen [McMullen], 1855), pp. xiv & 31. The book was revised and enlarged in 1867 and 1892.

⁴¹ Francis Parkman, *The Jesuits in North America in the Seventeenth Century* (1867, Williamstown, Massachusetts: Corner House, 1980).

work of 1867. First, it is a pioneer English-language study of Jesuit influence among native peoples. Second, he was also the first historian to use a biographical approach to the French missions. This biographical style would be followed by his contemporary Jesuit historians, such as Rochemonteix in France and Campbell in the United States.

Parkman discussed the Jesuit mission through the biographies of Jesuit priests, who became his protagonists. His focus was on the missionary undertakings among the Huron and other native peoples until the dispersion of the Huron nation in 1649. He applauded the Jesuits for their achievements among native people, and praised the native converts in terms of both their number and spirituality. At the same time, he did not agree with the Jesuits' view of life, which was totally dominated by God. Instead, he criticised them from the perspective of Unitarian humanism. This critical attitude could be explained by his background. He was an American, with little connection to Canadian society. Nor was he a priest. It was only his academic interest in colonial North America that connected him with New France.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century there was a dramatic change in research on the Jesuit mission. From 1896 to 1901, thirty years after Parkman, the English translation of the Jesuit missionary correspondence was produced by Reuben Gold Thwaites, with the help of others.⁴² Consequently English-speaking historians such as Thomas J. Campbell, SJ (1848–1925), had easy access to the Jesuit correspondence.

Campbell published *Pioneer Priests of North America, 1642–1710* in 1908 and *The Jesuits, 1534–1921* in 1921.⁴³ His approach in the first book is a hybrid blend of secular American historians such as Parkman and the ecclesiastical work of priests like Ferland or Rochemonteix. Campbell's publication is a collective biography of the North American Jesuit missionaries among the Amerindians who lived in the Valley of the Saint Lawrence. Missionary activity was reconstructed by tracing the

⁴² Reuben Gold Thwaites *et al* (eds.), *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610–1791* (73 vols., Cleveland: Burrows Brothers, 1896–1901).

⁴³ Thomas J. Campbell, *Pioneer Priests of North America, 1642–1710* (3 vols. New York: The America Press, 1908–1911), whose sequel is *Pioneer Laymen of North America* (New York: The American Press, 1915). As a Jesuit, Campbell's continuing interest in Jesuit missionary activities produced the following books: *Out of the Grave: The Discovery of Fort St. Charles in 1908* (St. Boniface, Manitoba, 1915); *The Jesuits, 1534–1921: A History of the Society of Jesus from Its Foundation to the Present Time* (New York: The Encyclopedia Press, 1921); and *The Martyrs of the Mohawk* (Apostleship of Prayer, 1926).

efforts of the Jesuit fathers. Campbell used the contents of the missionary reports relatively faithfully and uncritically, exercising judgement only in determining which part of the reports to select in order to narrate the story. His work, unlike Parkman's, represents almost no change from seventeenth-century Jesuit documents in the interpretation of either Amerindians or mission.

The other monograph by Campbell is a general history of the Society of Jesus. It deals briefly with both missions, in New France and in Japan, along with other missions throughout the world. Nevertheless, he deals with the two missions in separate chapters as if they were unrelated with each other.

4. *Secular Scholarship in the Twentieth Century*

After the first quarter of the twentieth century, the historical study of the earlier French mission experienced a turning point. In the 1920s, archaeologists and anthropologists undertook research on the historic native peoples. The indigenous peoples along the Saint Lawrence became the subjects of academic investigation and, gradually, an attempt was made to overcome embedded national or religious biases that had been a characteristic of many previous histories of the Jesuit mission.

Among the archaeological researchers were R. B. Orr, T. F. McIlwraith, R. E. Popham, Wilfrid Jury, Elsie McLeod Jury, J. N. Emerson and Martha A. Latta. As early as 1922, Orr began to research the Hurons. McIlwraith's archaeological team pursued a survey of Huron country in the early 1940s. In 1950, Popham endeavoured to identify the historical geography of the Huron nation. The former Jesuit mission sites of Sainte-Marie and Saint-Louis were investigated by Kenneth E. Kidd in the 1940s and by Wilfrid Jury and Elsie McLeod Jury in the 1950s. In the 1960s, Emerson surveyed the historic Huron site of Cahiagué. In the 1980s, Latta endeavoured to identify the Jesuit mission sites in eastern Huronia.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ R. B. Orr, 'The Hurons', 33rd Annual Archaeological Report 1921-22, Appendix to the Report of the Minister of Education, Ontario (Toronto, 1922): 9-23; T. F. McIlwraith *et al.*, 'Archaeological Work in Huronia', *The Canadian Historical Review* 27 (1946): 394-401; R. E. Popham, 'Late Huron Occupations of Ontario: An Archaeological Survey of Innisfil Township', *Ontario History* 42 (1950): 81-90; Kenneth Earl Kidd, *The Excavation of Sainte-Marie I* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1949); Wilfred Jury & Elsie McLeod Jury, *Sainte-Marie among the Hurons* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1954) and Jury & Jury, *Saint Louis: Huron Indian Village and Jesuit Mission Site*, University of Western Ontario, Museum of Indian Archaeology, Bulletin No. 10 (London,

Further work in anthropology and related fields was carried out by Henry Morgan, Diamond Jenness, W. Vernon Kintetz, James V. Wright, Elizabeth Tooker, Conrad E. Heidenreich, John Steckley and Marguerite Tehariolina Vincent. Although Morgan's anthropological classic on the Iroquois, published first in the mid-nineteenth century, does not necessarily belong to this category, because the Iroquois nation was never part of the active Jesuit mission, the frequent reprints of his academic contribution repeatedly stimulated later anthropologists of the twentieth century. Jenness studied the native groups of Canada, and in 1932 published a general guidebook. In 1940, Kintetz focussed on the Huron and Algonquian groups along the Great Lakes and attempted to explain their culture. In 1955, Wright collected the research data of the Iroquoian tribes of the part of New France that is part of today's Ontario, and discussed their cultural development. In 1964, Tooker consulted the accounts of Samuel de Champlain, founder of New France in the early seventeenth century, as well as accounts of missionaries, in order to create Huron ethnography. In the 1960s and 1970s, Heidenreich discussed the historical geography of the Huron country as well as the cultural interaction through trade. In 1982, Steckley re-examined Tooker's article of 1970, on the socio-political organisation of Huron clans. Finally, in 1984, Vincent published a synthesis of ethnographic works and available historical data of the Huron nation.⁴⁵

Ontario, 1955); J. N. Emerson, 'Cahiagué 1661', *Ontario History* 54 (1962): 136–37; and Martha A. Latta, 'Identification of the seventeenth century French Missions in Eastern Huronia', *Journal of Canadian Archaeology* 9 (1985): 147–71.

⁴⁵ Henry Morgan, *The League of the Ho-de'-no-sau-nee, Iroquois* (Rochester: Sage & Brother; New York: Mark H. Newman; Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 1851), or *The League of the Iroquois* (1851, reissue ed., A Citadel Press Book, New York: Carol Publishing Group, 1993); Diamond Jenness, *The Indians of Canada* (Ottawa: National Museum of Canada, 1932); W. Vernon Kintetz, *The Indians of the Western Great Lakes, 1615–1760* (Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P; Rexdale: John Wiley & Sons Canada, 1940); J. V. Wright, 'The Middleport Horizon', *Anthropologica* 2 (1960): 113–20; Wright, *The Ontario Iroquois Tradition* National Museum of Canada *Bulletin No. 210*, Anthropological Series No. 75 (Ottawa, 1966); Elizabeth Tooker, *An Ethnography of the Huron Indians, 1615–1649*, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 190 (Washington, D. C., 1964); Tooker, 'Northern Iroquoian Sociopolitical Organization', *American Anthropologist* 72 (1970): 90–97; Conrad E. Heidenreich, 'Indian Occupance of Huronia, 1600–1650', in *Canada's Changing Geography* (ed. R. Louis Gentilcore, Scarborough: Prentice-Hall of Canada, 1967); Heidenreich, *Huronia: A History and Geography of the Huron Indians, 1600–1650* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1971); Conrad E. Heidenreich & Arthur J. Ray, *The Early Fur Trades: A Study in Cultural Interaction* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976); John Steckley, 'The Clans and Phratries of the Huron', *Ontario Archaeology* 37

The above studies developed in parallel with historical works about seventeenth-century Canada. In addition to works of francophone historians, more and more English-speaking scholars in the fourth historiographical category produced works related to the Jesuit missions. This group included Alfred Goldsworthy Bailey (1905–1997), John Hopkins Kennedy, Cornelius J. Jaenen (1927–), Olive Patricia Dickason (1920–), Bruce G. Trigger (1937–) and John Webster Grant (1919–). French-language historians Marcel Trudel (1917–) and Lucien Campeau (1914–2003) should also be noted as representing the fifth category.

The subject of cultural exchange between the French and Amerindians was first introduced by Alfred Goldsworthy Bailey, whose work was a turning point in the historical study of the native Canadian people. *The Conflict of European and Eastern Algonkian Cultures, 1504–1700*, Bailey's excellent monograph, was published in New Brunswick just prior to the Second World War, and after the War it gradually attracted the attention of North American academic readers. His discussion of the Algonquian peoples is noteworthy as it sets up for the first time an intercultural theme of the native responses to the European colonisation of Canada.⁴⁶

During the years before Bailey's publication was properly appreciated, John Hopkins Kennedy, an American historian, produced a more conventional study entitled *Jesuit and Savage in New France*.⁴⁷ Kennedy investigated the development of the methods or stages by which the French gradually came to view the Amerindians. Above all, he argued about the French missions in the seventeenth century, all from the point of view of his own period. Rather than discussing the native peoples, he focussed on the images of the indigenous

(1982): 29–34; and Marguerite Tehariolina Vincent, *La nation huronne: Son histoire, sa culture, son esprit* (avec la collaboration de Pierre H. Savignac, Québec: Éditions du Pelican, 1984).

⁴⁶ Alfred Goldsworthy Bailey, *The Conflict of European and Eastern Algonkian Cultures, 1504–1700: A Study in Canadian Civilization* (1st ed., Saint John: New Brunswick Museum, 1937; 2nd ed., Toronto & Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1969). Because of the limitation of funds, the concluding chapter was published separately, in Bailey, 'Social Revolution in Early Eastern Canada', *The Canadian Historical Review* 19 (1938): 264–76. Other relevant articles include 'The Significance of the Identity and Disappearance of Laurentian Iroquois', *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 3rd series, section II, 28 (1933): 97–108; and 'Social Revolution in Early Eastern Canada', *The Canadian Historical Review* 19 (1938): 264–76.

⁴⁷ John Hopkins Kennedy, *Jesuit and Savage in New France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950).

people established through the eyes of those who grew up in European culture. Although his conclusions are not always new, at least he successfully illustrated seventeenth-century missionary views of native peoples. He argued that such notions themselves weakened the evangelistic enterprise in the end. Although his study was squarely in the Eurocentric tradition, it did advance beyond the ethnocentrism of the previous centuries. He saw the misinterpretations of the French, whereas previous historians, or many of them, had worked within those preconceptions.

During the twentieth century, the archaeological and anthropological study of Amerindians in the Saint Lawrence region was firmly established. After Kennedy came Marcel Trudel, who produced abundant works on the colonial period of Canada during his tenure at Laval University, in 1947–1965, and later at the University of Ottawa. *Histoire de la Nouvelle-France*, his masterpiece, based on accumulated research over forty years, is an attempt at an historical synthesis of the development of the French colony in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁴⁸

Although he focussed on French-language Quebec, as had Garneau, Ferland and Sulte, Trudel was at least free from ecclesiastical or nationalist views. He never criticised the Jesuit mission in terms of its influence upon the New France church or the francophone population. Instead, the missionary activity is discussed in terms of the failure of the Europeans to dominate the native population. In this light, Trudel evaluated the historical Jesuit mission in terms of how poorly it helped to develop French settlement. He thus maintained only a negative perspective on the missionary activity in the Saint Lawrence region.

The interpretive focus on European colonisation, or what one may today call Eurocentrism, began to be addressed in the work of Cornelius J. Jaenen, who dealt not only with the Amerindian-European relationship, as had Bailey, but also with native education and the Christian church in the colony.⁴⁹ Among his publications, *Friend and*

⁴⁸ Marcel Trudel, *Histoire de la Nouvelle-France* (3 tomes, Montréal & Paris: Les éditions Fides, 1963–83).

⁴⁹ As to the relations between the French and the Amerindians, Jaenen wrote the following: 'Problems of Assimilation in New France, 1603–1645', *French Historical Studies* 4 (1966): 265–89; 'The Meeting of the French and Amerindian in the Seventeenth Century', *Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa* 43 (1973): 128–44; 'Amerindian Views of French Culture in the Seventeenth Century', *The Canadian Historical Review* 55 (1974): 261–91; *The French Relationship with the Native Peoples of New France and Acadia* (Ottawa: Canadian Government Publishing Centre, 1984); *The Role of the Church in New France* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1976); 'Education for Francisation: the

Foe of 1976 examines the trend of European-dominated studies of Amerindian-European relations. Among Canadian historians, Bailey was the first to introduce the subject of European domination, but he had focussed solely on the Eastern Algonquian peoples. Other groups in the Great Lakes region, including the Huron and Iroquois nations, were examined by Jaenen, who incorporated modern anthropology and Amerindian-centred study into his work. In this monograph, he emphasised the cultural gap between Europeans and Amerindians, a major contributing factor to the European misperception of the latter. He did not limit his analysis of the Jesuit mission to religious endeavours. Instead, he stressed the cultural interaction between European immigrants and native peoples.⁵⁰

Along the same line, Olive Patricia Dickason discussed French colonisation in terms of French images of the native peoples, as well as intercultural relations based on these images. As one of Jaenen's students, Dickason denied the conventionally-assumed cultural dichotomy in Canada between the 'savage' people without order and the civilised European with order, and instead sought another explanation for the Jesuits' cultural approach to the native population. According to Dickason, the Jesuits intuitively rather than logically built a native Christian church without totally replacing the original culture with Christianity. Through their preaching and teaching about the Christian God, the French missionaries separated their converts socially from traditional communities, thereby disorienting and disorganising native society. Dickason concluded that the Euro-Christian and Amerindian cultures never became one, and thus native culture was never eradicated or even reformed by European cultures.⁵¹

Another revisionist was Bruce G. Trigger. Among his publications related to the Jesuit mission, three stand out. The first, *The Huron: Farmers of the North*, published in 1969, is an historical ethnography of the Huron

Case of New France in the Seventeenth Century' in *The Legacy*, Vol. I of *Indian Education in Canada* (ed. Jean Barman, Yvonne Hébert & Don McCaskill, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986).

⁵⁰ Cornelius J. Jaenen, *Friend and Foe: Aspects of the French-Amerindian Cultural contact in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976).

⁵¹ Olive P. Dickason, *Myth of the Savage and the Beginnings of French Colonialism in the Americas* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1984), 251–278. Dickason is also the author of *Canada's First Nations: A History of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1992).

people that deals with the way they interacted with nature, and with each other in large social units. Trigger argued that in order to understand a culture, one has to know how that culture developed. Seven years later, in 1976, he completed *The Children of Aataentsic*, which was an attempt to cast aside the European-dominated trend of native historical study. In addition, he attempted to understand Huron mentality by recreating pre-contact culture, then comparing it to the culture that developed during European-Amerindian interactions. The historiographical significance in these two publications is that he paid much more attention to the Huron nation than previous scholars had done, analysing not only the French-Amerindian relations but also Huron society itself. He consulted sources written by seventeenth-century French missionaries and explorers in order to gain a deeper understanding of native society. His attempts were limited by the lack of sources on the native side, and thus he was often obliged to rely on archaeological studies with their necessarily limited evidence. Trigger's third influential monograph, *Natives and Newcomers*, was published in 1984. It examines the relations between French and Amerindians in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In this iconoclastic study, he went beyond explorers and priests as heroic figures during the two centuries of colonisation, paying equal attention to traders and lay missionary assistants.⁵²

5. Ecclesiastical Contribution in the Twentieth Century

Another group, modern ecclesiastical historians, constitute the fifth category. They continued to discuss seventeenth-century Jesuit missions, seeking to reconcile their sympathy for missionary activity with a recognition of its cultural biases. Such clerical historians include John Webster Grant, a United Church clergyman in Ontario, and Lucien Campeau, SJ, in Quebec. In the *Moon of Wintertime*,⁵³ Grant described the encounter of European Christians with native people from the colonial period until the twentieth century. Unlike Dickason or Jaenen, Grant considered the Christian evangelisation as an

⁵² Bruce G. Trigger, *The Huron: Farmers of the North* (1st ed., New York: Holt, 1969; rev. ed. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990); Trigger, *Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660* (Kingston & Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1976); and Trigger, *Natives and Newcomers: Canada's "Heroic Age" Reconsidered* (Kingston & Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1985).

⁵³ John Webster Grant, *Moon of Wintertime: Missionaries and the Indians of Canada in Encounter since 1534* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984).

enterprise to impose Christian beliefs and values on indigenous people without appreciating their culture. Thus, Grant's conclusions are similar to Parkman's, though unlike the American historian, Grant insisted that the mission had a limited effect upon native socio-economic patterns. Like Parkman, Grant evaluated the fervour and commitment of native converts, and concluded that they merely changed their economic or social behaviour without assimilating Christian values.

Unlike Grant's general ecclesiastical history, Lucien Campeau's histories concentrate on the Jesuit mission itself. His thorough, source-based study has produced several monographs.⁵⁴ In *La mission des Jésuites chez les Hurons, 1634–1650*, published in 1987, Campeau focussed on how the missionaries christened the Huron people. His aim in this monograph was to challenge Trigger's thesis, in *Children of Aataentsic*, that the main reason for the political destruction of the Huron nation was the cultural shock caused by Jesuit contact. Although presenting few clear antitheses, Campeau implied that the militarily powerful Iroquois, and not the Jesuits, were solely responsible for the destruction of the Huron confederacy. Also, like ecclesiastical historians of the previous centuries, Campeau celebrated Jesuit accomplishments in converting indigenous people to Christianity. What is different from his predecessors is that he did not describe missionaries as heroic, instead treating them collectively as an evangelistic corporation.

A more significant contribution by Campeau is his compilation of Jesuit correspondence, entitled *Monumenta Novae Franciae*.⁵⁵ Here, he brought to light handwritten letters that had been preserved in manuscript form for more than three centuries at the Jesuit archives in Rome. Because he did not publish the manuscripts with general readers in mind, all the letters were simply transcribed into print in their original languages. Without his editorial efforts, however, few students would have had access to Jesuit documents beyond Thwaite's edition of *The Jesuit Relations*, published in 1896–1901.

⁵⁴ Lucien Campeau, SJ, *La première mission d'Acadie (1602–1616)* (Roma: Monumenta Historica S. I.; Québec: les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1968.); Campeau, *La première mission des Jésuites en Nouvelle-France, 1611–1613* (Montréal: Bellarmin, 1972); and Campeau, *La mission des Jésuites chez les Hurons, 1634–1650* (Vol. XLVI de Bibliotheca Instituti Historici S. I., Montréal: Bellarmin; Roma: Institutum Historicum S. I., 1987).

⁵⁵ Lucien Campeau, SJ (ed.), *Monumenta Novae Franciae* (9 vols., Roma: Institutum Historicum Societas Iesu; & Montréal: Bellarmin; or Québec: l'Université Laval, 1967–2003).

6. *Recent Scholarship*

More recent, and perhaps too new to fully identify their historiographical significance, are the publications by Dominique Deslandres, Karen Anderson, Carole Blackburn and Nicholas P. Cushner.⁵⁶ In her *Croire et faire croire* of 2003, Deslandres dealt with the French missionary activity from a perspective different from the French colonialism of North America. By focussing on the European origins of the evangelists, she examined the historical significance of the New France mission in the context of more extensive ecclesiastical French religious restoration beyond North America.

The underlying themes of Anderson's *Chain Her by One Foot* of 1991, and Blackburn's *Harvest of Souls* of 2000 were missionary successes and failures in subjugating native peoples. Within the framework of gender-related acculturation, Anderson affirmed that the Jesuit missionaries had transformed native society, which was based on gender-equality, into a patriarchy by imposing European paternal cultural values on Amerindians. By contrast, Blackburn applied a rhetorical analysis to *The Jesuit Relations* in her endeavour to prove the Jesuits' failure in colonising native people under their European authority, despite their claims of evangelistic accomplishments in their *Relations*. According to Blackburn, the Hurons wilfully accepted Jesuit messages and teachings in a way advantageous to themselves, and subverted the evangelistic intent of the missionaries, along with their European authority.

More polemical is Cushner's *Why Have you Come Here?*, whose discussion entails the entire missionary activities in the Americas. Objecting to modern cultural anthropologists' idea that one belief system cannot replace another, Cushner considers how successfully Jesuit evangelists replaced native American religion with Christianity. His unspoken premise is that Amerindian peoples had a religious system fully compatible with Christianity, which he remains to prove. He

⁵⁶ Dominique Deslandres, *Croire et faire croire: Les missions française au XVIIe siècle (1600–1650)* (Paris, Fayard, 2003); Karen Anderson, *Chain Her by One Foot: The Subjugation of Women in Seventeenth-Century New France* (London & New York: Routledge, 1991); Carole Blackburn, *Harvest of Souls: The Jesuit Mission and Colonialism in North America, 1632–1650* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000); and Nicholas P. Cushner, *Why Have You Come Here?* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).

contends that the replacement process was incomplete and yet effective enough to 'ensure a lasting foothold'.⁵⁷

C. TOWARDS A SYNTHESIS OF HISTORIOGRAPHIES

Within the framework of historical analysis, one can view clear differences and similarities. On the one hand, the Iberian missionary studies of Japan take into account only the missionary church with no consideration of the entire Japanese nation. On the other hand, the colonial French studies largely discuss the growth of a European colony; and with it, the native church. In terms of ethnicity, western historians discussed the Christian mission within the concept of the missionary church or the European colony while Japanese authors illustrated the mission within Japanese society or the foreign relations of Asia. In general, most western scholars have not considered seriously the development of the non-Christian nations, in Canada and in Japan.

There is one example of French colonial interpretations that should be reinterpreted from a broader international perspective. Affirming that the missionary martyrs in the 1640s were rhetorical fictions of *The Jesuit Relations*, Guy Lafèche ascribes the myths to the personal initiatives of missionary correspondents like Fathers François le Mercier and Jérôme Lalemant. Lafèche implicitly assumes that they were personally responsible for creating the 'spirituality', or the aura, of martyrdom, which was, in effect, foreign to the Ignatian spirituality. This may be the most plausible interpretation that could be gleaned from the reports from New France.⁵⁸ Nevertheless, a further consideration of the contemporary Jesuit publications back in France will prove that Le Mercier and Lalemant do not deserve such an indictment. It was rather the Jesuit order, back in France of the early seventeenth century, that began to include martyrdom in its publications. When Jesuits experienced numerous executions of missionaries and converts in Japan during the first half of the seventeenth century, the Society of Jesus published the French translations of Iberian accounts that dealt

⁵⁷ Cushner, *op. cit.*, 3 & 198.

⁵⁸ Guy Lafèche, 'Les Jésuites de la Nouvelle-France et le mythe de leurs martyrs', *Les Jésuites parmi les hommes aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles: Actes du Colloque de Clermont-Ferrand (avril 1985)* (ed. G. et G. Demerson, B. Dompnier et A. Regond, n.p. (France): Associations des Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines de Clermont-Ferrand, 1987), 35–45.

with their deaths as martyrs. Before Le Mercier and Lalemant took charge of the reports on New France, they were simply trained back in France during the very decades when the martyrdom in Japan was one of the main themes for the French Jesuit publications.⁵⁹ Therefore, the correspondents from New France never created or initiated the rhetoric of martyrdom.

A summary of academic contributions in the two geographic fields brings to light some neglected international considerations as well as some important clues for further investigation. The historiography of the French Jesuits and that of the Iberian Jesuits have been divorced from each other. Historians in one field are ignorant of historians in the other. In the case of Japan, non-western historical documentation and perspectives do not match the solely western historical observations and interpretations. A historian of the French Jesuits should realise the characteristics of each document and work out the cultural influence on its contents. Thus, from an international standpoint, there still seems to be room for revisions or even for unexpected perspectives on the French Jesuit mission, to be discussed fully in succeeding chapters.

⁵⁹ See appendix 1.