

## CHAPTER THREE

### PREACHING, WINNING CONVERTS AND EDUCATING THEM: EVOLVING MULTIFACETED STRATEGIES

Preaching the Gospel to non-Christian people with the aim of converting them to Christianity was the fundamental rôle of missionaries. Interpreting how the multifaceted strategies of the Jesuits evolved over time presents its own problems. In Japan, the Jesuits constantly revised their methods throughout the second half of the sixteenth century. The more they understood local people, the better they became at gaining converts. The same can be said of the French missionaries in New France in the seventeenth century. As they became acquainted with the local people, their educational methods improved, resulting in more converts.

For a better understanding of the evolution of strategies of the Christian mission in New France, one needs to place it in a longer and broader perspective. In other words, one should also investigate the activities of Jesuit missionaries who were at work a half century earlier outside North America. When the Jesuit missions began in North America, the priests had already established some of their methods based upon two things: the initial plan for founding the Jesuit order; and the order's experience in other non-Christian regions throughout the world. Comparing the methods used in New France with the approaches undertaken by predecessors, such as those in Japan, will demonstrate the various approaches that served as the prototypes for French missionary strategies.

In order to understand this evolution in methods, it is important to address two issues. First is the question of whether or not one should label the Franciscan missionaries cultural absolutists, and whether or not one should label the Jesuit missionaries cultural relativists. The second issue is whether the Jesuits approached the local population using one method only. Or did they use a variety of methods, separate yet interconnected? If they used one single method, did the Jesuits then pick and choose certain individuals whom they wanted to convert? Also to be kept in mind is how missionaries modified their single-minded method over time. On the other hand, if the Jesuits were using a multifaceted or parallel approach from the outset, they must have

envisaged two target age groups: children and adults, as well as two genders: male and female. If that assumption is correct, the Jesuits may have attempted to interconnect all these groups throughout the contact periods. Because a multifaceted approach is by its very nature broader and more inclusive, there was no need to shift approaches when dealing with potential converts to Christianity. With these two issues in mind, the earlier evolution in Japan will be used here as a basic evangelistic experience to be learnt by later missionaries, or in order to discuss the later development of multifaceted strategies in New France.

## A. JAPAN

### 1. *Missionary Methods in Japan*

#### a. *Early Cultural Accommodation and Father Francisco de Xavier*

When Father Francisco de Xavier opened the mission to Japan, the first method he developed was a culturally accommodative, if imperfect, approach to individuals. His cultural adaptation was limited to preaching without using European languages or enforcing them upon Japanese neophytes. And yet this attempt is worthy of mention as an initial step towards the cultural accommodation the Jesuits developed through the second half of the sixteenth century. Discussion of Father Xavier's initiatives when preaching in Japan will require brief consideration of his experience in India in the 1540s, since his approach was based on his own soul-searching about his experience in India. Since most missionaries, including Father Xavier, were unable to comprehend Tamil, a local Indian tongue, all their communication with local people was conducted through native interpreters. The missionaries were not familiar with Indian customs, and thus they failed to see that people of India comprehended little of what the Jesuits were teaching. Of course, the priests failed to comprehend the answers given by the Indians, and the priests only half understood what the interpreters were saying. Because the people had to learn prayers that they did not fully understand, they were baptised without a deep knowledge of Roman Catholic doctrine.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Kishino Hisashi, *Zabieru to Nippon* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbun-kan, 1998), 93.

This poor communication with East Indians made Father Xavier pessimistic about the future of the Indian missions. In his correspondence of 1549, three months before his party left for Japan, he pointed to the negative characteristics of the Indian population, whom he considered unsuitable to become Christians. Because Father Xavier preached only in Portuguese or Spanish through interpreters, he found it difficult to make himself understood to a people who, he realised, did not know God and did not listen to Christian reason because of ingrained and barbarous habits of living in sin. Father Xavier contended that the Society of Jesus could in no way be perpetuated by Indians alone, for he believed that they would remain Christians only as long as the European missionaries should remain in India.<sup>2</sup>

The effort and time spent to learn Tamil by one of his brethren inspired Father Xavier to believe that the Japanese mission would be successful by communicating in Japanese to each individual. Father Henrique Henriques was the first missionary in India to learn to communicate in fluent Tamil. He baptised selected individuals by repeatedly preaching to them until they abandoned their Hindu religion.<sup>3</sup> Father Xavier applauded Father Henriques as a virtuous and admirable person who knew how to speak and write Tamil. According to Father Xavier, because of Father Henriques's knowledge of the Tamil tongue, the Christian converts had a tremendous love for him and treasured him for his sermons and speeches given in their own language. Father Xavier concluded that the efforts of Father Henriques had been the most successful in the mission because of his linguistic skill.<sup>4</sup>

Upon reaching Japan, Father Xavier made it a priority to learn the Japanese language and to understand this non-Christian society and culture so that the Jesuits might produce pious Christians. In 1549, he wrote to Father Loyola from Cochin that he would report on Japanese customs and writing. In the same year, he wrote to Father Simão Rodrigues in Portugal that, after reaching the archipelago, he would find out what was written in the Japanese religious texts.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Xavier to Father Ignatius de Loyola, in Rome, from Cochin, 12 January 1549; in in M. Joseph Costelloe, SJ (trans.), *The Letters and Instructions of Francis Xavier* (St Louis, Missouri: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1992), *ep.* 70, pp. 215–23.

<sup>3</sup> Kishino, *op. cit.*, 93–95.

<sup>4</sup> Costelloe, *op. cit.*, *ep.* 70, pp. 215–23, esp. 221.

<sup>5</sup> Xavier to Father Ignatius de Loyola, from Cochin, 12 January 1549; and Xavier to Father Simão Rodrigues in Portugal, from Cochin, 20 January 1549; in Costelloe, *op. cit.*, *ep.* 70 & 73, pp. 215–23 & 229–33.

Although Father Xavier was unable to make himself understood in Japanese during his brief stay of just over two years, his frequent references to his effort to learn Japanese and his detailed descriptions of the culture in his correspondence demonstrate a clear recognition of the importance of communicating in Japanese and of preaching Christianity in a way that was understandable to the people. For example, he asserted that if he and his brethren knew how to speak Japanese, many people would become Christians. He added that his party had already learnt to explain the Ten Commandments in Japanese. In his correspondence, he also gave a full description of Japanese temples and Japanese habits as though they were the keys to finding appropriate ways to explicate religious terms in Japanese.<sup>6</sup> Consequently, except for those who had not yet learnt enough Japanese, the Jesuit missionaries followed Father Xavier's advice and communicated with individual people in Japanese throughout the mission period in Japan.

b. *Hierarchical and Political Approach*

The other method that Father Xavier and other Jesuits applied to Japan was a community-based, political approach. Father Xavier, however, did not devise it from scratch after arriving in Japan, for he had already developed this mass-based and hierarchical approach in India in order to achieve large-scale, even if superficial, conversions to the faith. In 1545, for example, Father Xavier and his brethren baptised more than ten thousand people in one month. Native community leaders in southern India who wished to trade with the Portuguese were kindly disposed to the missionaries. Upon being invited to a village, Father Xavier and his companions would gather all the men and boys in one place. After preaching, the priests baptised them and then encouraged them to bring their wives and other family members to be baptised.<sup>7</sup>

Father Xavier applied this method to the missions in Japan. From the first contact in Japan, the Jesuits made it a practice to approach the rulers of local domains, or *daimyō*. The first task for Father Xavier, as a pioneer missionary to the country, was to secure the patronage of both the local and national rulers. His enthusiasm even made him seek an

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<sup>6</sup> Xavier to his companions living in Goa, from Kagoshima, 5 November 1549; in Costelloe, *op. cit.*, ep. 90, pp. 292–313, esp. 300.

<sup>7</sup> Xavier to his companions living in Rome, from Cochin, 27 January 1545; in Costelloe, *op. cit.*, ep. 48, pp. 116–20.

audience with the Japanese emperor in Kyoto even though there was no chance of such an audience, and this would not have been appropriate since the emperor had little power.

After introducing himself to local rulers, Father Xavier sought to obtain permission to preach to the residents in their fiefs. At the second audience with Ōuchi Yoshitaka in 1551, Father Xavier gave him expensive foreign gifts as the ambassador of the Indian Governor Garcia de Sá and on behalf of the Indian Bishop Juan de Albuquerque. The Father accordingly secured a residence for priests and obtained the authorisation for preaching in Ōuchi's territory.<sup>8</sup>

The Jesuit missionaries emulated the approach of Father Xavier. In Kyoto, for example, in 1560, they obtained official permission for their preaching from Shogun Ashikaga Yoshiteru, and later from his successor Ashikaga Yoshiaki in 1569.<sup>9</sup> In other regions of western Japan, the Jesuit fathers obtained the patronage of local *daimyō*, including the Takayama clan in Osaka as well as the Ōmura and Arima clans, both in Hizen, the modern-day Nagasaki and Saga Prefectures. Their authorisation allowed the missionaries to preach to the *daimyō*'s retainers, as well as to ordinary residents in their domains. With the support of central or local rulers, the missionaries tried to secure buildings for use as churches and more opportunities for their activity.

Father Luis Frois's advice to Father Melchior de Figueredo in Bungo seems to represent the basic idea of the Jesuit strategy for gaining converts in Japan. After approaching Oda Nobunaga and the Ashikaga shogunate in Kyoto, Father Frois assessed the Japanese power structure and recognised the importance of obtaining the patronage of the upper echelons of society. As Father Frois saw it, in order to gain evangelistic fruit among all echelons of Japanese society, the Jesuits needed to win the hearts of national and local rulers and, in turn, the rulers had to demonstrate to the lower classes their love of the missionaries and appreciation of the mission. Otherwise, noted Frois, the missionaries could never protect themselves from anti-Christian parties, including Buddhist priests. Without powerful patrons, the Christian

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<sup>8</sup> Xavier to his companions in Europe, from Cochin, 29 January 1552; in Costelloe, *ep.* 96, pp. 326–343, esp. 332–33.

<sup>9</sup> José Wicki, SJ (ed.) *Historia de Japam* (by Luís Frois, SJ, 4 vols., Lisboa: Biblioteca nacional de Lisboa, 1976–84), *primeria parte*, capitulo 25 [Frois, *Historia*, part I, chap. 25, henceforth]; part I, chap. 86; part II, chap. 76; and Matsuda Kiichi & Kawasaki Momota (eds.), *Furoisu Nipponshi* (12 vols., Tokyo: Chūō kōron-sha, 1977–80), part I, chaps. 25 & 86; part II, chap. 76.



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4. First Ursuline Nuns with Native Pupils at Quebec (a twentieth-century image)



5. Seventeenth-Century Japanese Folding Screens, a Set of Two  
5a. The Left Screen

This screen depicts an Iberian ship arriving at Nagasaki in the late sixteenth century.

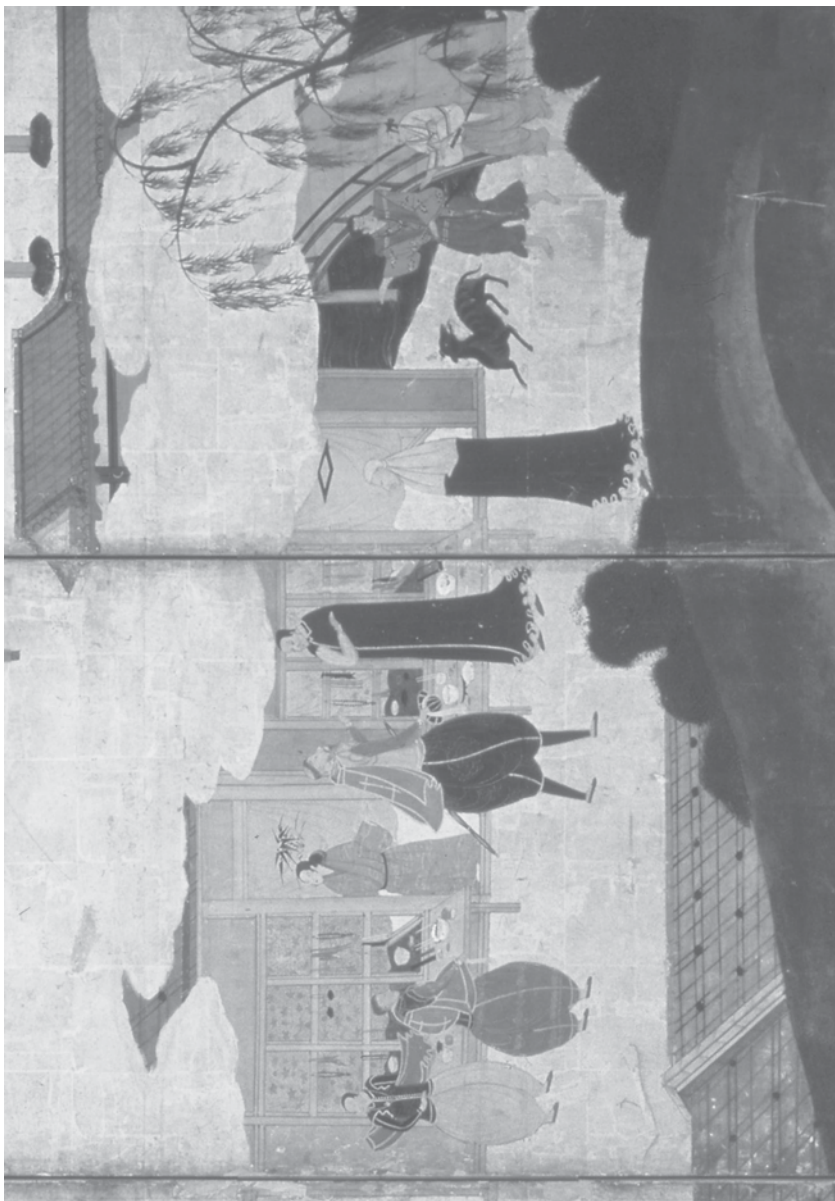


5b. The Right Screen  
The busy port town of Nagasaki and a Jesuit church building are depicted.





5c. Christian Missionaries in a Church Building with a Crucifix on the Rooftop (the upper right of 5b)  
The architecture of church buildings was in an Oriental style despite the crucifix on the roof.



(5a/5b/5c/5d) Source: *Nanbanjin raichō-no zu*, The Nagasaki Museum of History and Culture

5d. European Priests and Merchants (the lower right of 5b)

preaching would garner no social support.<sup>10</sup> In this way, the vital matter in Japan was determining whom to approach for patronage rather than considering whether the missionaries should preach to the young or the old.

### c. *Social Improvements*

In territories governed by pro-Christian *daimyô*, preaching was combined with philanthropy and education, which followed two important Jesuit principles of the mission. Social service was encouraged both by the Formulae of the Institute of the Society of Jesus and by the Constitutions of the Society. According to these constitutions, the Jesuits should propagate the Christian faith through missionary visitations, caring for the sick, teaching Christian doctrine to the young, and through works of charity.<sup>11</sup> From a Japanese perspective, the philanthropy carried out by the missionaries and their converts was also a valuable service and a motive for baptism among the ordinary population of all ages and both genders especially because the civil war had left them destitute.

#### (1) *Philanthropy*

From the commencement of the missions, the Jesuit correspondence mentions cases of almsgiving guided by missionaries and organised by local residents. In 1554, the Jesuits decided to provide the residents of Yamaguchi with monthly food rations after preaching about the Ten Commandments. In Bungo under the rule of the Ôtomo clan in the late 1550s, the local Christian church collected donations from those who attended Sunday Mass so that priests and their Japanese assistants might later preach to and help the sick and destitute. By 1560, under the direction of Father Cosme de Torres, who succeeded Father Xavier as vice-superior, the Funai church in Bungo established

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<sup>10</sup> Luis Frois to Melchior de Figuereido in Bungo, from Kyoto, 12 July 1569; in Matsuda Kiichi *et al* (eds.), 3rd ser. of *Jûroku-shichi seiki Iezusukai Nippon hôkokushû* (Kyoto: Dôhō-sha, 1988–1998), vol. 3, pp. 329–47, esp. 341–42 [henceforth, Matsuda, *Hôkokushû* 3, 3: 329–47].

<sup>11</sup> ‘Formulas of the Institute of the Society of Jesus’ in John W. Padberg, SJ (ed.), *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus and Their Complementary Norms* (Saint Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1996), article 1; ‘The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus’ in Padberg, *op. cit.*, part vii, chap. 4, article 9, paragraphs 650–51; and Joseph F. Conwell, SJ, *Impelling Spirit* (Chicago: Loyola Press, 1997), 163–82.

a medical hospital and philanthropic confraternities<sup>12</sup> called ‘*irmãos da misericórdia*’, or ‘Brothers of Charity’. In this way, the Jesuits had their Christian converts help their neighbours who were ill, injured or destitute.<sup>13</sup>

This type of Christian community based on philanthropy was not unique to the towns of Funai and Yamaguchi. The Jesuits attempted to organise communities in other regions under the patronage of Japanese nobility. According to a record for the year 1565 on Hirado, ruled by the Matsuura clan, the missionaries organised a confraternity. Four secretaries were elected to collect donations and to take care of the destitute. There was another confraternity in Takayama of Settsu, ruled by Takayama Hidanokami, a pious Christian patron. In the 1570s, Lord Takayama promoted conversions to Christianity in his domain by arranging philanthropy. In other words, in the absence of a local missionary, he acted as the religious leader on behalf of the missionaries. In another piece of correspondence, Father Frois referred to Nagasaki, the domain of Lord Ômura Sumitada. In Nagasaki, which was ceded by this lord to the Jesuits in 1580, the Jesuits had local Christians build a leprosarium and a shelter to help the destitute in the surrounding areas. Father Frois commented that this service attracted the inhabitants of surrounding areas to Nagasaki, and helped the missionaries to win them to Christianity.<sup>14</sup>

## (2) *Basic Medical Care*

Another charity that attracted people was basic medical service. The Jesuits worked through reciprocity. They exchanged medical knowledge with Japanese physicians, whom they welcomed as brethren. On the one hand, to save the patients who gathered at the missionary residence of Funai, for example, Father Torres learnt from a Japanese physician how to make Chinese-style medicines. On the other hand,

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<sup>12</sup> Religious confraternities, or *confrarias*, usually existed for shared devotions for a particular saint, a member of a holy family, or a cult, e.g. the Immaculate Conception. Charity would be a secondary function.

<sup>13</sup> Pedro d'Alcáçova to his companions in Portugal, from Goa, 1554; Baltasar Gago to his companions in India, from Bungo, 1st November 1559; and Gonçalo Fernandes to an unknown addressee at the College of Coimbra, from Goa, 1st December 1560; in Matsuda, *Hôkokushû* 3, 1: 107–22, 285–97, & 327–33.

<sup>14</sup> Juan Fernández to his companions in China, from Hirado, 23 September 1565; Luis Frois to an unknown addressee, from Usuki, 20 August 1576 [or 1577]; Father Frois's annual report of 1583 to the general superior, 2nd January 1584; in Matsuda, *Hôkokushû* 3, 3: 45–55; 4: 365–78; & 6: 175–212.

Brother Luis d'Almeida, who was well versed in European medicine, passed on his surgical techniques to his Japanese brethren.<sup>15</sup>

The possibility of receiving medical help provided a strong motive for the acceptance of Christianity. To care for the sick, the Jesuits ran a hospital in Funai under the leadership of Brother Luis d'Almeida. The hospital was sponsored by a local Christian community, Portuguese merchants and Lord Ôtomo Yoshishige. In the late 1550s, this hospital accommodated more than one hundred patients, in addition to ill or injured outpatients.<sup>16</sup>

Brother D'Almeida's devotion to surgery ended abruptly after July 1560, however, when the Jesuit headquarters' prohibition of 1558 on direct involvement in medical treatment reached Japan. From that point on, the European Jesuits no longer gave medical treatment at the hospital, which declined gradually under the sole management of Japanese physicians.<sup>17</sup> In Japan, there were no further hospitals or clinics established by the Jesuits, except for some leprosaria. This 1558 shift from an emphasis on saving both lives and souls towards a focus on saving only souls determined some characteristics of the New France missions, as will be discussed later.

### (3) *Elementary and Nursery Education*

The third type of social service offered by the Jesuits was in the sphere of education, which included two basic types of instruction. The first was rudimentary instruction explaining basic Christian doctrine and some non-religious subjects through basic Japanese-language instruction, even though the Constitutions of the Society provided that, because of the dearth of members, the Jesuits should give no elementary education to teach how to read and write.<sup>18</sup> The second kind of education was to train future assistants and priests. Education was a fundamental activity for missionaries rather than a strategic creation of the Japanese mission. Yet it provided a framework for managing local Christian communities.

<sup>15</sup> Frois, *Historia*, part I, chap. 19; Matsuda & Kawasaki, *op. cit.*, 6: 200–06; and Baltasar Gago to the companions in India, from Bungo, 1st November 1559; in Matsuda, *Hôkokushû* 3, 1: 285–97.

<sup>16</sup> Baltasar Gago to the companions in India, from Bungo, 1st November 1559; and Aires Sanches to the companions in Portugal, from Bungo, 11 October 1562; in Matsuda, *Hôkokushû* 3, 1: 285–97; & 2: 31–38.

<sup>17</sup> Higashino Toshio, *Nanban'i arumeida* (Tokyo: Kashiwa shobô, 1993), 171–72.

<sup>18</sup> 'The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus' in Padberg, *op. cit.*, part iv, article 3C, paragraph 451.

The Jesuits hoped that general instruction in the Christian faith would result in the formation of local religious groups of adults. There was one problem, however. Before the missionaries began tutelage of boys in Bungo, for example, the sons of newly-converted Christians were already commuting to Buddhist temples to learn how to read and write. To eliminate this Buddhist influence upon the children of neophytes, the missionaries had to provide a replacement for this traditional education. They did so by re-interpreting the Jesuit regulation that 'because of the lack of members these elementary subjects are not ordinarily taught'.<sup>19</sup> Brother Juan Fernández, who worked in Bungo, stated that, from his own Christian standpoint in 1561, the boys studying at Buddhist temples learnt 'vices and evil habits'. The Jesuits, he continued, decided to have the children of their converts come to their residences instead so that they could teach them to read and write Japanese, in addition to Christian doctrine. In Kuchinotsu, in the domain of Arima, the missionaries had difficulty in persuading their congregation not to return to the service of Buddhist temples. To solve this problem, Brother Luis d'Almeida set up an elementary school in 1563 for the children of converts to learn both written Japanese and Christian doctrine. He concluded that, from that time onwards, former visitors to the church and their children who had been studying at Buddhist schools returned to the Jesuits.<sup>20</sup>

Passages in the Jesuit correspondence suggest that the missionary residence functioned also as a nursery for even younger children of both existing and potential adult converts. In 1561, for example, Brother D'Almeida referred to the childcare service on Ikitsuki Island, near Hirado. At the Jesuit residence, which could accommodate over six hundred visitors, Christians gathered every morning and evening to hear sermons. The Jesuits arranged a day-care service for the children of those converts who were working in the fields during the day. Another reference to Jesuit childcare is Father Frois's account of Takushima Island, also near Hirado. In 1564 Brother Fernández and Father Frois spent a year on the island. According to Father Frois, they were successful in winning converts by schooling the children of

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<sup>19</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>20</sup> Juan Fernández to the Jesuit companions, from Bungo, 8 October 1561; in Matsuda, *Hōkokushū* 3, 1: 349–65, esp. 351–52; and Luis d'Almeida to the companions in India, from Yokoseura, 17 November 1563; in Matsuda, *Hōkokushū* 3, 2: 99–136, esp. 119–20.

existing and potential adult converts. For teaching Christian doctrine, the missionaries not only gathered local teenagers in church in the evenings after their daily field labour, but they also had little children visit them twice a day, in the early morning and at noon.<sup>21</sup>

#### d. *Seminary Education*

The Jesuit education for Japanese children, which began in the early 1560s, eventually led to the establishment of two seminaries, which were designed to train boys for the priesthood. These seminaries began as late as 1579 or 1580 under the leadership of Father Alessandro Valignano, the *padre visitador* who was in charge of the entire East Asian mission. One seminary was built at Azuchi, in the Oda clan's territory, in 1579, and the other was established at Arima, in the Arima clan's territory, in 1580. Select boys boarded with the missionaries and their assistants, away from their parents. This type of seminary was one of the first such institutions for non-European boys and became the prototype for the seminaries for native boys near the French settlements in seventeenth-century North America. It was also one of the prototypes for residential schools for Amerindians in nineteenth and twentieth century Canada.

Father Valignano hoped that these seminaries would strengthen Christian communities under the guidance of Japanese priests, rather than simply educating boys. In his report to the general superior in 1583, he discussed the need for a seminary in Japan. He listed three reasons for creating a seminary by following the examples of the Jesuits in Europe and India. First, the seminaries would prevent Japanese boys from becoming unruly and self-indulgent. Second, early education in Latin and other academic subjects would relieve the Japanese of ignorance and make them capable of becoming missionaries. Third, the Jesuits should eliminate the traditional Buddhist rôle in education, replacing it with Christian schooling. With these three reasons in mind, Father Valignano intended to train seminarians to become Jesuits or assistants.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Luis d'Almeida to Father Antonio de Quadros, the superior of the Indian mission, and other companions, from Bungo, 1st October 1561; in Matsuda, *Hôkokushû* 3, 2: 369–89; Frois, *Historia*, part I, chap. 52; Matsuda & Kawasaki, *op. cit.*, 9: 172–73.

<sup>22</sup> Matsuda Kiichi (ed.), *Nippon junsatsuki* (Tokyo: Heibon-sha, 1973), 77–80; based on *Sumario de las cosas que pertenecen a la provincia de Japon y al gobierno della, compuesta por el P. Alexandre Valignano, Visitador de las Indias de Oriente dirigido*

There are two characteristics to note in the Jesuit plan for these seminaries. One is that the Jesuits did not teach Portuguese to seminarians despite their Portuguese royal patronage. Another is that Father Valignano intended to use the seminaries to gain the support of influential Japanese patrons if possible, just as his brethren in Europe used the Jesuit colleges for the same purpose. In the same report, he proposed that the seminaries should accommodate the sons or younger brothers of aristocrats, of domain rulers and of their vassals, should there be any extra time, funding, or personnel. For the Jesuits, therefore, securing local elite patronage was more important than bringing up future Japanese priests, for education was possible only with the support of the local nobility.

*e. Attempts at Baptism*

The Jesuits attached importance to post-baptismal preaching but only gradually did they emphasise pre-baptismal instruction. When early Jesuits began to work in the Japanese missions in the 1550s, their lack of command of Japanese forced them to depend on their Japanese assistants, who did the preaching. They were thus barely capable of confirming each proselyte's avowed comprehension of the faith and belief in it. Initially the only option was mass baptism without much instruction. Father Xavier, for example, reported that his party had conducted one hundred baptisms in Kagoshima, another one hundred in Hirado and more than five hundred in Yamaguchi during his two-year sojourn.<sup>23</sup>

Three decades later in 1583, as the superior of the Japanese mission, Father Valignano, proposed more systematic instruction before baptism. According to these instructions, candidates should be baptised after a seven-day period of instruction. In the first three days, priests were supposed to expound on two fundamental points: the salvation of souls through God; and the concept of the eternal soul. In addition, four days should be spent on further study of Roman Catholic doctrine. After this seven-day course, those who sought baptism were instructed to write several prayers in Japanese as prerequisites for

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*a N.P. Gen. Claudio Aquaviva*, preserved in Biblioteca da Ajuda. Cód. 49-IV-56. ff. 55-114v, 116-145v.

<sup>23</sup> Xavier to his companions in Europe, from Cochin, 29 January 1552; in Costelloe, *ep.* 96, pp. 326-343, esp. 330-35.



baptism. Father Valignano admitted that, even after this type of baptismal instruction, a fresh convert would still need to be trained in a church to become a fine Christian.<sup>24</sup>

This training sequence indicates that the Jesuits spent less time preaching and training the congregation before baptism than Father Valignano had proposed. From another point of view, the instruction and standard for baptism grew strict enough for Japanese candidates to identify themselves as Christians or to distinguish themselves from Shinto or Buddhist believers. To confirm a candidate's faith in God, the missionaries either instructed or obliged neophytes to discard non-Christian icons and scriptures.<sup>25</sup> By approaching communities rather than individuals, the evangelists were able to baptise from a few hundred to thousands annually at the respective local residences until the early seventeenth century.<sup>26</sup>

## 2. *The Jesuits and the Franciscans in Japan*

Thus, the Jesuit strategies for preaching and winning converts were not only based on the Society's Formulae and Constitutions but also on cautious observation of the complex situation of the mission in Japan. The Jesuits learnt some Japanese in order to communicate with converts. The only other option was to force these converts to speak Portuguese, which they did not even try to teach to their Japanese students. As a fundamental policy, the missionaries approached local

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 74; Thomas Uyttenbroeck, *Jûroku naishi jûshichi seiki no Nippon ni okeru Furanshisukokaishitachi* (trans. Ishii Kengo, Tokyo: Chûô shuppansha, 1980), 56–57.

<sup>25</sup> Fernão Guerreiro, SJ, *Relação anual das coisas que fizeram os padres da Companhia de Jesus nas suas missões do Japão, China, Cataio, Tidore, ... Goa, ... Cabo Verde e Brazil: Nos anos de 1600 a 1609...* (1603–1611, three vols., 2nd ed., Coimbra & Lisboa, 1930–42), tomo I, parte primeira, livro secundo, 69–164, edited in Matsuda, *Hôkokushû* 1, 3: 151–302, esp. 198, 213–214; Luis Frois's report of 1583 to the general superior, from Japan, 2nd January 1584, in Matsuda, *Hôkokushû* 3, 6: 173–212, esp. 197–99; and Frois to the general superior, from Nagasaki, 20 August 1585, in Matsuda, *Hôkokushû* 3, 7: 1–93, esp. 15–16.

<sup>26</sup> See Gaspar Coelho's report of 1588 to the general superior, 24 February 1589, in Matsuda, *Hôkokushû* 1, 1: 1–93, esp. 20–24; Coelho's report of 1589 to Alessandro Valignano, from Kadsusa, 7 October 1589, in Matsuda 1, 1: 113–138, esp. 125; Luis Frois's report of 1595 to the general superior, 20 October 1595, from Kyoto, in Matsuda, *Hôkokushû* 1, 47–88, esp. 69–70 & 74; Luis Frois's report of 1596, from Nagasaki, 13 December 1596, in Matsuda, *Hôkokushû* 1, 125–271, esp. 147–48, 177–84, 191–95, 226 & 261–62; Fernão Guerreiro, *op. cit.*, tomo I, parte segunda, livro primeiro, 169–234, edited in Matsuda, *Hôkokushû* 1, 4: 67–172, esp. 83, 94, 99–100 & 158–59; and Fernão Guerreiro, *op. cit.*, tomo III, livro terceiro, 115–231, edited in Matsuda, *Hôkokushû* 1, 5: 121–299, esp. 223.

rulers for patronage. Once they gained the *daimyō*'s authorisation and sponsorship, they preached Christianity in Japanese to residents. The Jesuit schooling for young seminarians consisted of teaching Christianity and Latin along with basic subjects. These methods lasted under the Jesuit monopoly of the missions until the early 1590s.

One further point to note in this regard is that, whereas it was the Jesuits who followed the Franciscan mission in New France, it was the Franciscan friars who followed the model of the Jesuit mission in Japan. In 1584, four friars under Spanish royal patronage arrived at Hirado from Manila. They were welcomed by Lord Matsuura Shigenobu of Hirado, and then they returned to Manila and reported that the prospects for a successful mission were good. Again, in 1593, the Franciscan Father Pedro Bautista's party reached Japan, and began their Christian preaching the following year.<sup>27</sup>

The Franciscan approach to preaching was similar to the Jesuit one in terms of the above-mentioned hierarchical approach and social improvements. The Franciscans were wise enough to recognize that they were burdened with two disadvantages: They were foreign and they were in the minority. They quickly learnt to operate their own mission using many of the strategies developed by the Jesuits in Japan. Accordingly, unlike their compatriots in the Philippines who worked under the umbrella of Spanish colonial rule, the Franciscans in Japan did not attempt to impose themselves and their theology on the Japanese. The first task for the Franciscans was to obtain the patronage of Japanese rulers following the example of the pioneer Jesuits. As the Spanish emissary from Manila, Father Bautista managed to receive an audience with Toyotomi Hideyoshi, who controlled most parts of central and western Japan in the 1590s. Father Bautista also asked Hideyoshi for permission to stay in Japan as a missionary. Once the mission was authorised, or more to the point, once the Franciscan friars assumed that it was authorised,<sup>28</sup> the Franciscans began preaching the Gospel in

<sup>27</sup> Pablo Pastells, SJ, *Jūroku jūshichi seiki Nippon Supein kōshōshi* (trans. Matsuda Kiichi, Tokyo: Taishūkan shoten, 1994), 07 & 77–98.

<sup>28</sup> There was disagreement on the authorisation for the Franciscan mission. The Franciscan Father Bautista's interpretation of what the Friars had been granted by Hideyoshi was the sponsorship and authorisation of their sojourn as well as their evangelistic activity in Kyoto. The Jesuit Father Luis Frois reported later, in 1597, that Father Bautista had misinterpreted the message of Hideyoshi, who had really only given permission to the Franciscans to promote international trade. Father Frois believed that Father Bautista had been wrong because Hideyoshi gave the Jesuits the same

their limited Japanese, assisted by their interpreters in Kyoto, Osaka and Nagasaki. In preaching and baptising people, they were assisted by Father Pedro Gómez, the Jesuit vice-superior of Japan. Thus, the Franciscans followed, from the outset, the existing guidelines established by Father Valignano. The Franciscans also began to found noviciates and hospitals in Kyoto. Despite a short break from 1597 to 1602,<sup>29</sup> the Franciscans succeeded in organising ten noviciates and seven hospitals from the 1590s to the mid-1610s.<sup>30</sup>

Although the Franciscans followed the Jesuit model, there were some variations, at least initially. For example, the Jesuit Father Frois wrote in 1597 that the Franciscan Father Bautista had begun to preach openly in public in Kyoto even though the Jesuit activity had remained underground since Hideyoshi's proscription of Christianity in 1586.<sup>31</sup> In order to claim that the Franciscans, but not the Jesuits, were responsible for causing the execution of twenty-six Christians in 1597,<sup>32</sup> Father Frois blamed Father Bautista's failure to obey the orders of Hideyoshi. It must be said that, only after having won converts during the first stage of the missionary work, the Franciscans would have been able to proceed to the second stage, which involved assisting those lay Christians in order to win more converts, as did the Jesuits in their underground missions. Thus, by beginning only with underground activity, the Franciscans could never have been able to expect missionary success.

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order—that the European visitors were to promote international trade only. Father Frois's idea was that Hideyoshi only overlooked the Jesuit priests' stay in Nagasaki for promoting international trade and had not withdrawn his anti-Christian proscription issued in 1586 before the arrival of Father Bautista. For Father Frois's opinions, see his own report on the twenty-six martyrs in Nagasaki in 1597, made to the general superior at Rome (from Nagasaki), 15 March 1597, in Matsuda, *Hōkokushū* 1, 3: 1–82, esp. 6–9; and Michael Cooper, *Tsūji Rodorigesu* (trans. Matsumoto Tama, Tokyo: Hara shobō, 1991), 102–103. For Father Bautista's perspectives, see Uyttenbroeck, *op. cit.*, 33–35 & 42–44.

<sup>29</sup> In 1597, Hideyoshi removed all eleven Franciscan missionaries from Japan by executing six and deporting five. Hideyoshi died in 1598. Tokugawa Ieyasu was successful in reorganising the power structure of Japan by 1603.

<sup>30</sup> Uyttenbroeck, *op. cit.*, 33–63.

<sup>31</sup> Frois's report on the twenty-six martyrs in Nagasaki in 1597, made to the general superior at Rome (from Nagasaki), 15 March 1597, in Matsuda, *Hōkokushū* 1, 3: 1–82, esp. 6–9; and Michael Cooper, *op. cit.*, 102–103.

<sup>32</sup> Twenty-six Christians, mainly Franciscan missionaries and their Japanese assistants, who had been arrested in Kyoto and Osaka by the order of Toyotomi Hideyoshi in December 1596, were taken to Nagasaki and executed there in February 1597.

Another difference was that the Franciscans initially walked barefoot and dressed in rags in order to fulfil their vow of poverty. They did so in spite of the fact that the Jesuits had already adopted the Japanese clothes well before the 1590s.<sup>33</sup> However, this does not mean that the Franciscans imposed their choice of attire on their converts. Rather, they dressed in rags as a way of letting the Japanese know that another Roman Catholic religious order had arrived. Therefore, this contrast in clothing style, between the Franciscans and the Jesuits, does not represent any differences between the two orders, as far as cultural tolerance is concerned. Moreover, these distinctly different styles take nothing away from the argument that there was a continuity of methodologies between the Jesuits and the Franciscans.<sup>34</sup>

### 3. *Hypotheses for New France*

The case of the missionary strategies in Japan yields two general hypotheses. First, it is inappropriate to consider the Franciscans to have been different from the Jesuits in terms of the instillation of Euro-Christian culture. Despite their poor adaptation to Japan in the early stage, the Friars from the Spanish colony of the Philippines followed, to a large degree, the missionary conventions that the Jesuits had devised through their forty-year experience in this archipelago.

Second, in the Jesuit strategy, no priority was given to the conversion of adults or youth. Converting the general adult population and educating children were two parallel activities with differing motives. Notwithstanding the fact that there was some overlap between these activities, the former was essential for establishing a Christian community and the latter was originally based on the instructions of the Ignatian Formulae and Constitutions. It is now possible to examine these hypotheses with regard to the missionary experiment in New France.

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<sup>33</sup> Neil S. Fujita, *Japan's Encounter with Christianity* (New York & Mahwah, N. J.: Paulist Press, 1991), 132–33.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Fujita, *loc. cit.*

## B. NEW FRANCE

1. *The Question of Cultural Absolutism and Relativism*a. *The Franciscan Missions*

The Jesuits succeeded the Friars in New France. True, the Jesuits did arrive in the French colony of North America earlier than the Franciscans. Yet their missions ended within three years when the French abandoned Acadia in 1613. Samuel de Champlain managed to raise funds in 1614 to bring Récollet Franciscans inland to the Saint Lawrence Valley, west of Acadia. They reached Quebec the following year.<sup>35</sup> It was ten years later, in 1625, that the Jesuits finally joined the mission as ecclesiastical reinforcements for New France.

In recent Canadian historiography, several scholars have dealt with the differences in these two religious orders' approaches to evangelistic activity. These differences have often been attributed to the separate origins of each missionary organisation. One common opinion, espoused first by Bruce Trigger in 1976, was the contrast between the cultural absolutism of Franciscans and the cultural relativism of Jesuits. The Franciscans, contended Trigger, believed that the indigenous peoples, in order to become true Christians, should become French in language and culture. The Jesuits, on the other hand, rejected this policy of cultural imperialism as a necessary condition for the Amerindians to be evangelised. Trigger affirmed that this policy difference originated in the ideological distinction between these missionary organisations, and had nothing to do with the experimental transition from Franciscans to the Jesuits. His opinion has gained the support of many contemporary scholars ever since, including John Webster Grant in 1985, Charles Principe in 1987, Roger Magnuson in 1992, Anya Mali in 1996 and Carole Blackburn in 2000.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> W.L. Grant (ed), *Voyages of Samuel de Champlain, 1614–1618* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907), 270–271.

<sup>36</sup> Bruce G. Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1976), 376–81 & 467–69; Trigger, *Natives and Newcomers* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1985), 200–02; John Webster Grant, *Moon of Wintertime* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 38 & 46; Charles Principe, 'Les Jésuites missionnaires auprès des Amérindiens du Canada' in G. Demerson *et al*, *Les Jésuites parmi les hommes aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles* (Association des Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Science Humaines de Clermont-Ferrand, 1987), 309–20, esp. 317; Roger Magnuson, *Education in New France* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), 19–20; Anya Mali, 'Strange Encounters:

An opposing interpretation focusses on the cultural argument that the missionaries' approach to foreign cultures developed continually throughout the seventeenth century, irrespective of the difference in religious orders. Cornelius J. Jaenen, for example, maintained in 1976 that the Jesuits perpetuated the Franciscan missionary policy and gradually adapted their approach in their negotiations with indigenous people. Along the same lines, in 1984 James Axtell argued that the Jesuit programme of conversion resembled the Franciscan programme of cultural assimilation throughout the 1630s. Then in the 1640s, the Jesuits turned to establishing native reserves, where they tried to settle down nomadic peoples.<sup>37</sup> Few other historians support these contentions.

To date, there has been little discussion and thus no compromise between these schools of thought. Among Canadian historians, it is almost impossible to determine whether the difference of attitudes was the result of a distinction between the principles of the two ecclesiastical orders or of an evolution in their strategies. A broader perspective that considers the relationship between the Franciscans and the Jesuits half a century before in Japan could well help to clarify this question.

It is an oversimplification to attribute methodological differences to the stated goals and ideals of religious bodies. Both the Jesuits and the Franciscans in Japan were clever diplomats who were able to analyse their political situation in a foreign land and to figure out the best possible approach. The Franciscans in Japan carefully adopted a method based on the accumulated experience of the Jesuits and were in no way culturally more aggressive than the Jesuits. In other words, the putative contrast between the culturally aggressive Friars and the culturally accommodative Jesuits needs to be reconsidered.

No matter how Eurocentric from a cultural perspective the missionary strategy of the French Friars may have been, it was not because they were Franciscans but because they were the pioneer missionaries with little practical experience. The only strategy initially open to them was to encourage indigenous people to live in the French settlement so that they might learn to communicate in French and learn European customs.

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Missionary Activity and Mystical Thought in Seventeenth Century New France', *History of European Ideas* 22 (1996): 67–92; and Carole Blackburn, *Harvest of Souls* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000), 130–31.

<sup>37</sup> Cornelius J. Jaenen, *The Role of the Church in New France* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1976), 22–30; and James Axtell, *The Invasion Within* (New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), 59–64.

Only this enterprise seemed possible for them at this initial stage although it proved impossible later.

This limited capacity of the early mission to communicate in Amerindian languages can be illustrated by its attempt at education. The education that Franciscans introduced to native boys in 1620 at Notre-Dame-des-Anges, near Quebec, followed the assimilation model, since there was not yet an Amerindian prototype for formal education. In 1616, the Friars endeavoured to bring young Amerindians to their French settlement, expecting that they would grow up to embrace Christianity, as well as French culture. Ultimately the missionaries hoped, these boys would help the missionaries promote Christianity. Usually one or two boys stayed with them, and they dispatched a total of six boys to France.<sup>38</sup> Although this assimilation policy may have been overly culturally aggressive, it was the only approach that seemed initially possible for pioneer missionaries, no matter whether they were Franciscans or of any other religious order.

Four factors drove the small group of Franciscans in the Saint Lawrence towards what Trigger and other historians consider cultural absolutism. First, the human resources of their mission were insufficient to initiate an active mission. From 1615 to 1629, the number of Friars, including lay brothers but excluding domestic assistants, was normally three or four and at no time more than eight.<sup>39</sup> In fact, in the autumn of 1616 there were only two Friars. The greatest number in any one year was eight, and that was in the summer of 1624. Even at this time, only four missionaries stayed in North America throughout the whole year. In 1615, the first four Franciscans arrived in Quebec. These four missionaries did not remain in New France throughout the 1610s and 1620s, for they had to secure recruitments and financing back in their home country, and thus they made several trips to France. Although more than ten missionaries reinforced the original four, many of them seceded from the Canadian missions within one to three years and contributed little to long-term missionary aspirations.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Chrestien le Clercq, *Premier établissement de la foy dans la Nouvelle France* (2 vols., Paris: Auroy, 1691), vol. 1, 99 & 257; and Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic*, 378–80.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Magnuson, *op. cit.*, 16–17; Trigger, *Natives and Newcomers*, 200–01; and Axtell, *op. cit.*, 55.

<sup>40</sup> This paragraph is based on George M. Wrong, 'Introduction' for George M. Wrong (ed.), *The Long Journey to the Country of the Hurons* (by Gabriel Sagard, Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1939), i–xlvi, esp. xxviii–xxxvi; G.M. Dumas, 'Pacifique Duplessis',

Second, as pioneer missionaries, the Franciscans were slow to learn native tongues and thus had difficulty in teaching them to their colleagues. With some exceptions, such as Fathers Le Caron and Viel, most Friars went back to France before they attained proficiency in an Amerindian language.

Third, because Lieutenant Samuel de Champlain facilitated the founding of the Franciscan mission and was its most vital supporter, the Friars were obliged to go along with his grand plan for colonisation. The basic Franciscan idea for Christianisation was to teach native people how to live in a Christian way and according to the principles and laws prescribed by God and by the Roman Catholic Church. Father Joseph le Caron's party preached this message at least to one Huron man during the mission period into Huronia in 1623 and 1624. This was part of Champlain's goal of native acculturation. His colonial plan, however, encompassed more than missionary zeal. According to his account of the voyages of 1615, he wished to have French individuals and families live among native people to support and assist the missionaries. He expected the French settlers to set an example and thereby correct the conduct of the indigenous peoples so that they might learn to live in what Champlain considered a more 'civilised' manner. In a way, Champlain's scheme was too adventurous and inappropriate for the delicate situation of the small seventeenth-century French colony. The Friars had to contrive an evangelistic strategy that would satisfy his magnificent dream.<sup>41</sup>

And yet, as the fourth factor, New France had no social infrastructure for this colonial design of Champlain's. The settlement of Quebec served as a trading post, but it was merely a small village that barely sustained just over fifty settlers throughout most of the 1620s.<sup>42</sup> It was

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'Paul Huet', 'Georges le Baillif', 'Guillaume Galleran', 'Gervais Mohier', 'Irénée Piat' and 'Nicolas Viel', *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online* (Library and Archives Canada, www.biographi.ca); Frédéric Gingras, 'Jean Dolbeau', 'Denis Jamet', 'Joseph le Caron', and 'Guillaume Poulain', *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online* (Library and Archives Canada); and Lucien Campeau, SJ, 'Fr. Jacques de la Foyer', *Biographical Dictionary for the Jesuit Missions in Acadia and New France: 1602-1654* [*Biographical Dictionary*, henceforth] (n.p.: William Lonc, 2001).

<sup>41</sup> George M. Wrong (ed.), *The Long Journey to the Country of the Hurons* (by Gabriel Sagard, Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1939), 175-76; Gabriel Sagard, *Le grand voyage du pays des Hurons situé en l'Amérique vers la Mer douce, ès derniers confins de la nouvelle France, dite Canada* (Paris, 1632), 238-40; and W. L. Grant, *op. cit.*, 322-24.

<sup>42</sup> According to Champlain, Quebec started with eight settlers in 1608. Its number of residents was sixty in the winter of 1620-21, fifty in the winter 1622-23, fifty-one in 1624, fifty-five in 1626 and in the winter of 1627-28. See H.P. Biggar (ed.), *The Works*



so fragile that it quickly capitulated to the English fleet in 1629. So few were the settlers in number that the Franciscans were not ready to promote French immigration to native villages. The missionaries were still puzzled by the different dialects derived from the Algonquian and Iroquoian tongues, the two major Amerindian language families in Canada. Consequently they were not ready to establish an effective communication with the indigenous peoples. These four factors caused the missionary strategy of the French Friars, or the pioneer missionaries to be correct, to appear culturally Eurocentric.

b. *The Jesuit Missions in the Saint Lawrence Valley until the 1630s*

The Jesuit missionaries up to this point were small in number. It was in 1625, during these Franciscan ventures, that three Jesuits were recruited to collaborate in the colonial missions. They were Father Énemond Massé, who had once been in Acadia, as well as Fathers Charles Lalemant and Jean de Brébeuf. Father Anne de Nouë joined them in 1626. Father Lalemant, the first superior of the mission of New France, stayed in North America for only a few years.<sup>43</sup>

Although the situation confronting the Jesuits was similar to that of the Franciscans, the Jesuits had one great advantage: They were under no obligation to follow Champlain's plan to impose French cultural mores and language upon the indigenous peoples. This was because Champlain was not involved in dispatching the Jesuits to New France. Thus, the Jesuits considered him merely a colonial leader of the French outpost, with whom they needed to co-operate only for their benefit. Back in France, the Jesuits were diplomatic and clever enough to control the higher echelons of the colonial administration of New France. Thus, the Jesuits approached Henri de Lévis, Duc de Ventador, who exercised more political power than Champlain, to make arrangements for their return to North America. In 1625, the Jesuit Father Philibert Noyrot, Ventadour's confessor, urged him to purchase the vice-regal office of New France held by his uncle Henri de Montmorency. Ventadour subsequently sent three Jesuit fathers and two coadjutor brothers

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of *Samuel de Champlain* (6 vols., Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1922–36), vol. 2, 68 [2: 68, henceforth]; 6: 10, 87, 136, 201, & 135–36. Cf. Edgar McInnis, *Canada: A Political and Social History* (1947, rev. ed., New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1959), 34.

<sup>43</sup> Campeau, 'Charles Lalemant', *Biographical Dictionary*, 232–34.

to Quebec at his own expense.<sup>44</sup> Later in 1635, when Champlain died, the Jesuits managed to free themselves completely from his ideology of acculturation.

Moreover, external events weakened Champlain's hold on Quebec and the Jesuits. In 1627, Cardinal Richelieu began to rule the colony directly from Paris via the Company of One Hundred Associates. Although Champlain was declared Richelieu's commander, the colony stagnated because of colonial competition between England and France. In 1629, Champlain was forced to hand over Quebec to the Kirke brothers from New England. He left for France. Although Quebec was returned to France in 1632, Champlain did not return until 1633. The Jesuits rarely faced a powerful Champlain, who was no longer a hindrance to Jesuit plans.

The Jesuits in the second half of the 1620s, however, were similar to the Friars in that they too were not ready to pursue an active and extensive mission to the indigenous peoples. As such, there was no methodological contrast between the Franciscans and the Jesuits. And yet the Jesuits, at least, sought to learn Amerindian tongues, following the example of the missionaries in Japan when trying to preach to non-Christians. In 1626, Fathers Brébeuf and Nouë and the Franciscan Father D'Aillon visited the Huron country and learned the local language. Three years later, according to Father Paul le Jeune, Father Brébeuf was able to recount some Bible stories and relate theological matters to the Huron people. Also, he prepared a Huron-language catechism, which was published in 1630 and 1632.<sup>45</sup>

Even after 1632, the Jesuits were slow in developing their own evangelistic approaches. The task for the missionaries was still to learn various dialects of both Algonquian and Iroquoian languages. Father

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<sup>44</sup> Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic*, 402–04; and Campeau, 'Henri de Lévis', *Biographical Dictionary*, 266–69.

<sup>45</sup> Paul le Jeune's *Relation* of 1633, in Reuben Gold Thwaites *et al* (eds.), *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* (73 vols., Cleveland, OH: Burrows Brothers, 1896–1901), vol. 5, 191–93 [*Relations* 5: 191–93, henceforth]; and René Latourelle, SJ, *Jean de Brébeuf's Writings: A Study* (trans. William Lonc, SJ & George Topp, SJ, n.p.: William Lonc, 2001), 19–20. According to Latourelle, the catechism's title is *Doctrine chrétienne du R.P. Ledesme de la Compagnie de Jésus, traduite en langage Canadois, autre que celui des Montagnais (sic), pour la conversion des habitants dudit pays* (Rouen: Richard l'Allemand, 1630). It was later inserted into Samuel de Champlain, *Les voyage de la Nouvelle France occidentale, dicte Canada, et Un catéchisme ou instruction traduite du françois au langage des peuples sauvages de quelque contrée...* (Paris: Louis Sylvestre, 1632).

Le Jeune, the new superior, arrived in the colony in July 1632, and, in order to learn the Algonquian tongue, he wintered among the Innu from 1633 to 1634. To learn the Iroquoian tongue, Fathers Jean de Brébeuf and Antoine Daniel travelled with their native companions as far as the Huron country to re-establish a mission there in 1634.

*c. The Continuity between the Two Religious Orders*

There was thus continuity between the Franciscan policy before 1629 and the Jesuit strategy of the 1630s. For example, the initial target groups for the Jesuits were the same as those of the Franciscans: the Innu near the French settlement and the semi-sedentary Hurons on Georgian Bay, both of whom were important trading partners for the French. Also, like the Franciscans, the Jesuits still attempted to send a limited number of select pupils to France and recruited native children for an elementary French-style school near Quebec. Above all, both parties set up strict conditions for baptism, except when baptising those faced with death, as will be discussed below.

(1) *Initial Attempts at Baptism*

Seventeenth-century French missionaries' attitudes to baptism were based on ideas formulated by the sixteenth-century missionaries. The priests in these two centuries firmly believed that, as a prerequisite to faith, the potential convert must be 'civilised' according to European standards. When Father Xavier justified his choice of Japan as his new missionary field, for example, he introduced it to his readers as the most civilised nation he had met thus far in the East and, as such, perfect as a potential source of converts.<sup>46</sup> In the minds of seventeenth-century French priests, even before they set foot on the soil of New France over a half century later, the missionary experiences in East Asia represented an evangelism that was suited to a cultured country.

Once the missionaries, whether Franciscan or Jesuit, encountered the Amerindians of New France, it was obvious that the same approach to baptism as had been adopted towards 'civilised' nations was impossible there, at least in the short term. The Amerindians were not regarded as meeting the prerequisites for acquiring the Christian faith. Faced

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<sup>46</sup> Xavier to his companions living in Goa, from Kagoshima, 5 November 1549; and Xavier to his companions in Europe, from Cochin, 29 January 1552; in Costelloe, *op. cit.*, 292–313 & 326–43, esp. 297–98, 330, & 334–35.

with Amerindians who appeared totally uncivilised, at least from a Euro-Christian standpoint, the missionaries were confirmed in their preconception that only 'civilised' people like Europeans, and like the Japanese, were qualified for baptism. They were consequently forced to discard the sixteenth-century Iberian approach to baptism, considered to apply only to cultured nations. The Franciscan Brother Gabriel Sagard noted that conversion of the indigenous peoples would require teaching them how to lead a virtuous life, following the example of 'civilised' Christians, before the missionaries could begin to teach them theology. Evaluating people according to one's own standard of civilisation was reflected in Father Brébeuf's view of the indigenous peoples as just above the condition of beasts, so different from 'civilised' non-Christians, such as the Japanese, to whom his Jesuit predecessors had hitherto preached. Based on consultation with theologians at the Sorbonne in the late 1610s, the Récollet Franciscans had decided to baptise native candidates only after prolonged instruction and a cautious trial of faith, or else when they agreed to live with French settlers in a Euro-Christian way.<sup>47</sup> The only exceptions were the dying, whom the Friars decided to baptise immediately in order to save souls from the flames of Hell.

In practice, however, the Friars were unable to keep to their strict baptismal policy formulated in France. When they reopened the Huron missions in 1623, for example, they baptised three indigenous people within a short period even though they spent little time in attempting to 'civilise' any of them or in persuading them to move to the French settlement.<sup>48</sup> Because the Franciscans were excluded from the Saint Lawrence basin from 1629 onwards, their grand designs for Christian conversions remained at the level of theory.

Like the Friars, the Jesuits lowered their standards for baptism only if those concerned were in critical condition, with no hope of surviving.<sup>49</sup> There was, however, a slight difference between the baptisms near Quebec and those in the Huron country. In the 1630s, the Jesuits,

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<sup>47</sup> Chrestien le Clercq, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, 147–48; and Trigger, *Children of Aataentsic*, 379.

<sup>48</sup> Wrong, *The Long Journey*, 175–76; Sagard, *Le grand voyage*, 238–40; Trigger, *op. cit.*, 379; Jean de Brébeuf's *Relations* of the Hurons of 1636, in *Relations*, 10: 221; and Le Clercq, *op. cit.*, 147–48 & 257.

<sup>49</sup> Baptising only extremely sick people without reservation was already the Jesuit policy taken by Father Pierre Biard, who worked in Acadia in the early 1610s. See Biard's *Relation* of New France published in 1616, in *Relations* 4: 91–97.

as guests in the Huron country, were unable to exert much influence, even when it came to baptism. The Jesuits were able to baptise dying Hurons only after requesting permission from the parents or spouses, and the Jesuits were unable to impose other baptismal conditions. In the case of little children who had even a slight chance of survival, the missionaries like Fathers Brébeuf and Nouë set no prerequisite for baptism. When more Huron people suffered epidemics towards the late 1630s, Father François-Joseph le Mercier reported that they often baptised dying babies and little children secretly without the consent of their parents.<sup>50</sup>

By contrast, in the missions to the migratory Algonquian language groups, such as the Innu and the Algonquin near the French settlements on the Saint Lawrence Valley, Father Paul le Jeune and his companions were able to set more strict conditions during the 1630s because they dealt mainly with native visitors who were often induced to settle down near Trois-Rivières or Quebec. Rather than turning them into 'civilised' people before baptising them, the Jesuits offered the parents the option of allowing the missionaries to take the children to the French settlement for Christian instruction upon recovery, as is stated in Father Le Jeune's *Relations* of 1633 and 1636. With ailing adults, the Jesuits in Quebec delayed baptism as long as possible because they feared that the native patients might apostatise on recovering health. In Father Le Jeune's *Relation* of 1636, Father Pierre Chastellain made a dying young man wait for his baptism until the eve of his death. In the same report, a dying woman had to promise Father Jacques Buteux to be faithful to Christianity if she should regain her health.<sup>51</sup>

## (2) *Later Attempts at Baptism*

Because of more frequent interactions and easier communications between the French and the Amerindians, baptising healthy people grew possible towards the mid-1640s. In keeping with the dreams of the Franciscan predecessors, the Jesuits tried to impose even more strict prerequisites on their adherents in order to instruct the indigenous peoples in a Euro-Christian mode.<sup>52</sup> Just as the Friars' ideology

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<sup>50</sup> Le Jeune's *Relation* of 1634, in *Relations* 6: 109–13; Brébeuf's *Relation* of the Hurons of 1635, in *Relations* 8: 135–37; and Joseph le Mercier's *Relation* of the Hurons of 1637, in *Relations* 14: 7–9, 41, & 67–69.

<sup>51</sup> Le Jeune's *Relations* of 1633, 1634 and 1636, in *Relations* 5: 227; 6: 129–39; 9: 7–17, 41, 51–53.

<sup>52</sup> Even before the Friars in the 1620s, Father Biard, who worked in Acadia in the early 1610s, had already emphasised the necessity of thoroughly catechising native

differed from their practice, Father Le Jeune's initial expectation contrasted with his later attitude towards the migratory Algonquian peoples. At first, he was optimistic about their conversions. Once Father Le Jeune found a practical opportunity for baptism, however, he persisted in demanding the abandonment of what he considered extreme paganism and in implanting in its place Christian piety, as the Jesuits in Japan had done. In 1639, Father Le Jeune described a young Algonquin catechumen who was forced to wait at least a year before being baptised. In 1642, the Jesuit fathers postponed the baptism of a young native man at the native settlement of Sillery for two years, since they doubted his constancy of faith. According to Father Barthélemy, Vimont's *Relation* of 1643–1644, the Jesuits postponed the baptisms of several catechumens at Sillery by telling them that they had not demonstrated a solid faith in God.<sup>53</sup> So too, in the country of the Hurons, who were a semi-sedentary people of Eastern Woodlands, the Jesuits set high standards prior to baptising healthy indigenous people.<sup>54</sup>

In the 1640s, the Jesuits adjusted the conditions for baptism, mostly to suit themselves. At first, the missionaries applied even stricter rules. In 1642, for example, Father Lalemant reported that the missionaries at the station of Sainte Marie, which they built in Huronia in 1639, reserved the baptism of healthy indigenous people for the festivals of Easter and Pentecost. To be baptised, candidates had to show a marked increase in faith. Following Father Lalemant's advice, the priests

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people before baptising them. See his *Relation* of New France published in 1616, in *Relations* 3: 141–49.

<sup>53</sup> Le Jeune's *Relation* of 1639, in *Relations*, 16: 113–25; and Barthélemy Vimont's *Relations* of 1642 and 1643–44, in *Relations* 22: 99–101; & 25: 117–33.

<sup>54</sup> There were four examples. First, Father Brébeuf noted in 1635 that his party withheld further instruction unless there was danger of death. Second, when a man named Chiwatenhwa, approximately thirty-five years of age, was baptised as Joseph in August 1637, he had to discard his anti-Christian customs, such as polygamy, gambling, intoxication, wearing charms and attending feasts that the missionaries regarded as diabolical. Third, the Jesuits obliged candidates to prove the stability of their faith in order to baptise them. In 1639, Aochiati, an old man at Ossossané was forced to proclaim in public to his fellow villagers that he would abandon dances and diabolical superstitions, particularly the naked dances of which he was in charge. Lastly, in 1640, the priests postponed the baptism of a woman for over a year until they finally confirmed her virtue on her deathbed. See Brébeuf's *Relation* of the Hurons of 1635, in *Relations* 8: 141–45; Le Mercier's *Relation* of 1638, in *Relations* 15: 77–85; and Jérôme Lalemant's *Relation* of the Hurons of 1639 and 1640, in *Relations* 17: 79–83 & 95–97; 19: 195. A similar reference is also in Charles Garnier's letter to Henri de Saint-Joseph, his brother, from the country of the Hurons, 22 May 1642, in Campeau, *Monumenta*, 5: 239–46, esp. 243.

postponed the baptisms of more than one hundred villagers at Ossossané. Father Paul Ragueneau implied, in his Huron report of 1646, that the priests had set up a one- or two-year probation before granting baptism in most cases. Yet, when Father Ragueneau and his party learnt to distinguish ‘absurd’ customs from ‘criminal’ ones, based upon their Euro-Christian standards in the late 1640s, they relaxed their strict baptismal policy and tried to be more tolerant towards native customs, unless they seemed harmful to the Christian faith.<sup>55</sup> In this respect, rather than a factional disparity between the evangelising policies of two religious orders, as alleged by Trigger and his academic supporters, there was a continuity from the original Franciscan plan for baptism of the 1610s to the revised Jesuit plan of the 1640s.<sup>56</sup>

## 2. *Was There a Shift of Missionary Goals?*

### a. *School Education*

Like the Friars, the Jesuits tried to educate native children either in France or near Quebec. At the reopening of the colonial missions in 1632, Superior Le Jeune, embraced this educational ideal. In the *Relation* of 1633, he announced his plan to send one child, especially an Innu child, to France annually. In the same account, he advocated educating native boys and girls by establishing seminaries in Quebec. According to Father Le Jeune, the seminary was a good place for converting native children who belonged to the regions farther up the Saint Lawrence and Ottawa rivers, since the missionaries could separate the boys and girls from their parents, who, the Jesuits feared, might prevent Christian instruction. He asked the Jesuit provincial in Paris how he might acquire a seminary for girls. In the *Relation* of 1633–1634, Father Le Jeune implied that the Jesuits had already been inviting Huron boys to a future seminary in the French outpost.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>55</sup> J. Lalemant’s *Relation* of the Hurons of 1642 and 1643, in *Relations* 23: 21–23; 26: 213–15; Paul Ragueneau’s *Relation* of the Hurons of 1646 and 1648, in *Relations* 30: 115; & 33: 145–47; and Charles Garnier to Mutius Vitelleschi, general superior, at Rome, from Sainte Marie among the Hurons, 26 May 1642, in Campeau, *Monumenta*, 5: 248–250.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic*, 468; Trigger, *Natives and Newcomers*, 326; Magnuson, *op. cit.*, 19; and Blackburn, *op. cit.*, 130–31. All these scholars persist in contrasting the unrealised dream of the Franciscans for Christianisation with the missionary practice of the Jesuits, rather than comparing the practices of the two religious orders.

<sup>57</sup> Le Jeune’s *Relation* of 1633, in *Relations* 5: 145–47, 195–97; and Le Jeune to the provincial of France at Paris, from Quebec 1634, in *Relations* 6: 33–89, esp. 83–85.

Based on these ideas, the priests gradually developed their education schemes. At the Jesuit residence near Quebec, they took care of Amerindian boys who had received some education in France in the 1620s.<sup>58</sup> As early as 1633, Father Le Jeune attempted to instruct Innu and Algonquin children back at the residence of Notre-Dame-des-Anges, where the Franciscans had a seminary for a year or two in 1620. Simultaneously the Jesuits began to send native children to France to receive education. In 1637, for example, they dispatched or had the trading company deliver five Amerindians: a young Iroquois woman, three Innu girls and a little boy apparently of unknown tribal origin. In the summer of 1636, they began to bring Huron boys to the seminary, rebuilt at Notre-Dame-des-Anges, although it was, strictly speaking, no more than a rudimentary school. At the same site, by 1638, they also started a seminary for Algonquin and Innu boys.<sup>59</sup>

In all this, the French missionaries in the mid-1630s were different from those in the 1610s or 1620s in their objectives, or their responsibility and capability. In terms of responsibility, the Jesuits had no obligation to pursue a complete French-style education. Champlain, their collaborator, who, while commander of New France, had held unrealistic ideals, such as the implantation of the French culture and language, was no longer alive. As Father Le Jeune stated in his *Relation* of 1636, the missionaries' success depended generally on the development of the French settlement, and not specifically on instilling a Euro-Christian mode of life in the indigenous peoples.<sup>60</sup> References to the dispatch of Amerindian pupils to France in *The Jesuit Relations* declined towards the late 1640s. As with the Jesuit education in Japan, the education of children was rooted in the principles stated in the Constitutions and Formulae of the Institute of the Society of Jesus, which controlled the religious conduct of the Jesuits.

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<sup>58</sup> E.g. Louis Amantacha, a Huron, and Pierre-Antoine Pastedechouan, an Innu. See Le Jeune's letter to the provincial of France at Paris, from Quebec, 1634, in *Relations* 6: 33–89, esp. 85–87.

<sup>59</sup> Le Jeune's *Relations* of 1633, 1633–34, 1635, 1636, 1637, 1638 and 1639, in *Relations* 5: 227–31; 6: 85–89, 101, note 9; 7: 263–65, 287–89; 9: 103–05, 293–95; 11: 93–99; 14: 127, 257; & 16: 169; Le Jeune's letter to Mutius Vitelleschi, general superior, at Rome, from Trois-Rivières, 23 August 1637, in Lucien Campeau (ed.), *Monumenta Novae Franciae* (Roma: Monumenta Historica Soc. Iesu; & Montréal: Bellarmin; or Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1967–2003), vol. 3 (1987), 508–10 [Campeau, *Monumenta*, 3: 508–10, henceforth], esp. 509.

<sup>60</sup> Le Jeune's *Relation* of 1636, in *Relations* 9: 97.



As for capability, unlike the pioneer Franciscan priests two decades before, the Jesuits were no longer a tiny group of inexperienced missionaries. The Friars tutored a limited number of native children in French because it was the only language that they knew, apart from Latin or other European languages. They were not deliberately avoiding native tongues; they simply had never learnt them. Unlike these early French missionaries, who were ill prepared to instruct in any Amerindian language, some Jesuits had learnt enough for instructing boys in either the Innu or the Huron languages.

This fundamental difference of responsibility and capability was due more to the change in evangelistic environment than to the difference of religious orders. The two methods of education, the Franciscan and the Jesuit, were carried out in two different contexts; therefore, it makes little sense to attribute the differences in educational approaches to the institutional policies of these two religious orders. Even so, it may be appropriate to compare the pioneer priests with the later missionary participants in terms of methodological development.<sup>61</sup>

The Jesuit priests designed their education in the most appropriate way to suit their specific evangelistic ends. The seminary at Notre-Dame-des-Anges was basically a boarding school that isolated its native pupils from the French settlement, just as the Friars had previously done. The pupils followed a daily routine that included prayers, Mass, reading, writing, catechisms and the examination of consciences.

Although the Jesuit teachers pragmatically tried to bring up native boys as assistants, as had the Friars, they had more flexible options than their Franciscan predecessors in Quebec. For example, their education was conducted in two languages. The native boys were normally taught in their own Huron or Innu language, but they learnt some French as part of the curriculum.<sup>62</sup> According to the *Relation* of 1639, at the Sunday school for learning the catechism, which was also open to local French boys, the Jesuits began to use French boys as models in order to speed up the learning process for Amerindian boarders. The Superior Le Jeune explained that the Jesuit teachers expected pedagogical benefits from instructing two ethnic groups together.

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<sup>61</sup> Cf. Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic*, 376–81 & 467–69; Trigger, *Natives and Newcomers*, 200–02; J. Grant, *op. cit.*, 38 & 46; Charles Principe, *op. cit.*, 317; Magnuson, *op. cit.*, 19–20; Anya Mali, *op. cit.*, 67–92; and Carole Blackburn, *op. cit.*, 130–31.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. Magnuson, *op. cit.*, 48–49. Magnuson infers that the independent native class soon ceased and merged with a French class.

Furthermore, this education was not the traditional seminary education, which was based on Latin. Despite the French appellation 'séminaire', the Jesuits seem to have decided not to teach Latin in the native classroom, perhaps because they considered the pupils too immature to learn the Latin language.<sup>63</sup>

Like the Japanese precedents, the native seminaries in New France were based on models found at the Society's schools in Europe though the Jesuits had to adapt those models to the circumstances encountered in the missions. Superior Le Jeune began with instruction in reading and writing, somewhat akin to the example of the Iberian missionaries in Japan, who had interpreted the Constitutions of the Society in their own way. Like the Society's Constitutions, the *Ratio Studiorum* of 1599, set forth the Society's regulations intended mainly for the secondary schools in Europe. This rulebook shows that elementary grades were excluded from Jesuit tutelage.<sup>64</sup> Despite this restriction, the French Jesuits in New France had little choice but to begin with the very basic instruction because the oral Amerindian tradition lacked both schools and texts. As in Japan, the main languages used for instruction in New France were the local tongues. The difference was that the Japanese seminaries taught Latin, as stipulated later in the *Ratio Studiorum*, whereas the Amerindian seminaries did not. Whether or not Father Le Jeune, who read the Iberian reports on Japan, followed the Iberian convention that was adjusted for the Japanese, he seems to have adopted what was necessary for educating Amerindians, based on Japanese precedents. The seminary designed by Father Le Jeune was a hybrid of two types of Japanese schools: early elementary schools using a non-European language and later seminaries for their boarding style.

By the early 1640s, however, the Jesuits abandoned the seminary for Huron boys at Notre-Dame-des-Anges, as well as the seminaries for Algonquin and Innu boys at the same site. In 1639, Father Jérôme Lalemant, who was in charge of the Huron mission, pointed to the inefficiency of converting the native nations through the instruction of

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<sup>63</sup> Le Jeune's *Relations* of 1633, 1637 and 1639, in *Relations* 5: 195–97; 12: 63–69; & 16: 179–81. James Axtell, however, asserts that the missionary teachers introduced religious instruction in Latin. Cf. Axtell, *op. cit.*, 56–57.

<sup>64</sup> Allan P. Farrell, SJ (trans.), *The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum of 1599* (Washington, D.C.: Conference of Major Superiors of Jesuits, 1970), the rules of the provincial, article 21, number 1.

children, and proposed that the seminaries should serve as the place for the children of Christian neophytes and adult catechumens. In the report of 1642–1643, Father Vimont, Father Le Jeune's successor as superior of New France, stated that the Jesuits had closed the seminary for Huron boys because it had not born fruit among their people back in the Huron country.<sup>65</sup>

Nevertheless, when Father Lalemant's proposal for a revision is examined, it becomes clear that the Jesuit missionaries must have been fully aware that their elementary education would produce a transformation in Amerindian society only after years of effort. Father Vimont's explanation sounds like an excuse for his inability to follow the educational guidelines of the Society, as expressed in its *Formulae* and *Constitutions*. He may have implied that a native seminary was not worth the trouble, given its heavy burden on human and financial resources as well as its lack of success.

There were several reasons for the termination of the seminaries. Roger Magnuson lists three reasons: a lack of pupils due to the reluctance of parents to entrust their sons to the Jesuits far away from Huronia; the inability of some pupils to adjust to the boarding school; and the heavy cost of maintaining them.<sup>66</sup>

There are, however, more important reasons, beyond those given by Magnuson. A comparison with the Jesuit schools in Japan reveals four fundamental conditions that the native seminaries of New France lacked to ensure their survival. First, the French Jesuits failed to establish schools that might serve native society, even though Jesuit education in principle was supposed to be a method of improving autochthonous society. While the Japanese schools were established as existing segments for Japanese society and served to make the Japanese pupils more pious, the native schools were located far from the native country and outside the French outpost. Although the non-Christian subjects taught at the Japanese schools were designed to promote literacy, the schools for Amerindians taught no useful secular subjects, but only theology and prayers that were alien to the Amerindian life in the wilderness.

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<sup>65</sup> J. Lalemant's *Relation* of the Hurons of 1639, in *Relations* 16: 251–53; and Vimont's *Relation* of 1642–1643, in *Relations* 24: 103.

<sup>66</sup> Magnuson, *op. cit.*, 50.

Second, the French missionaries failed to convert native parents, who would have encouraged their children not only to convert but also to remain good Christians. While the Christian schools in Japan were for the children of neophytes, those near Quebec were for the boys of non-Christians, whom the missionaries had not yet converted to the faith. In other words, the French Jesuits tried to instruct the native boys whose home society was not Christian.

Third, unlike the Japanese, the Amerindians did not assist Jesuit schooling even though boarding schools usually required great financial and human resources. On the one hand, the Japanese schools, including the properties on which they were built, were sponsored not only by the Iberian merchants but even more so by their Japanese seigniorial patrons and a local congregation. On the other hand, the seminaries near Quebec were solely supported by the French patrons of the Society of Jesus.

Fourth, to the Amerindian people, education itself reinforced cultural changes, though the Jesuits were only vaguely aware of this. The Jesuits' attempt to convey French standards and thought to indigenous boys was carried out by removing them completely from their parents. The seminarians were expected to return home only after some years of education. Although the Iberian Jesuits in Japan had only to replace the Buddhist schools with those of their own Christian schools, the French missionaries began the native seminaries from nothing. In other words, the indigenous people of New France had never experienced formal education before the arrival of the French missionaries. These four factors explain the difficulties of maintaining sufficient numbers of pupils in classes and of managing the seminaries in a way that justified the investment of resources.

#### b. *Approaching Adults*

Because of the failure of Jesuit schooling for boys, historians like Axtell, Trigger and like-minded scholars consider that there was a shift of emphasis on the age groups for evangelisation.<sup>67</sup> They believe that the missionaries originally favoured children over adults in the proselytising process, but that later, by 1640, they replaced this original policy by

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<sup>67</sup> E.g. Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic*, 557–58; Trigger, *Natives and Newcomers*, 252; Axtell, *op. cit.*, 57–58; and Magnuson, *op. cit.*, 34–35.

approaching prominent men in society who, the Jesuits hoped, would create a chain reaction of conversions.

The grounds for this interpretation lie mainly in the following incidents. According to Father Le Jeune, in his *Relation* of 1639, the Jesuits learnt from an elderly Huron visitor to Quebec that the missionaries were mistaken in preferring children to grown men for giving Christian instruction, because Huron society did not accept young people's opinions. In the Huron *Relation* of 1639, Father Lalemant, who had arrived in the colony the previous year, criticised the instructional emphasis on children of non-Christian parents as an ineffective method. Instead, he proposed converting adult men. In the early 1640s, the Jesuits began the experiment of instructing Huron traders who wintered near Quebec.<sup>68</sup>

For a century, missionaries had separated education from politics. The Jesuits throughout the world had been developing a number of means for converting non-Christians. The education of boys was one method, and the diplomatic approach to win over prominent men in the hope of inducing a religious chain reaction was another. The Jesuits knew that the education of boys was an entirely separate activity from their attempts to convert prominent leaders. Discussing these two different methods as one single evolutionary lineage obscures the composite methods that the Jesuits had gradually devised.

For evangelising the indigenous peoples, the French Jesuits used two main auxiliary approaches: philanthropy and political diplomacy, both of which their Iberian predecessors in Japan had devised over a half century before. Philanthropy, on the one hand, included education and medical help, and will be discussed later, while political diplomacy, which involved approaching prominent individuals in a foreign community, was practised, beginning in the mid-sixteenth century, in India and Japan, well before Father Lalemant's methodological proposal in 1639, which Trigger, Axtell and other academics commonly cite as evidence.

#### (1) *Hierarchical and Political Approach*

In North America also, prior to 1639, the French Jesuits adopted a political strategy for converting the indigenous peoples to Christianity at the outset of their missionary activity. When Father Pierre Biard

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<sup>68</sup> Le Jeune's *Relation* of 1639, in *Relations* 16: 169–173; J. Lalemant's *Relation* of the Hurons of 1639, in *Relations* 16: 251–53; 17: 33; and Vimont's *Relation* of 1642–43, in *Relations* 24: 103–17.

analysed the Mi'kmaq government system in Acadia in the early 1610s, for example, he focussed his attention upon two kinds of offices, the chieftain and the head of shamans, whom he apparently considered to be the key figures for missionary diplomacy. When Father Jacques Buteux began his work at Trois-Rivières in 1634, he approached an Innu chief, who, Father Buteux and Father Le Jeune hoped, would lead his community to settle down near this new French outpost.<sup>69</sup>

There were more examples that suggest that Japan was the model. In 1637, Father Le Jeune attempted to induce an Innu group to settle at Trois-Rivières. He approached and instructed Makheabichtichiou, a future chief of the Innu-Algonquin band at Trois-Rivières.<sup>70</sup> At that time, Makheabichtichiou was ill. When he recovered under Jesuit care, he helped with missionary work. Makheabichtichiou expounded elementary Christian doctrine to his community on one occasion, and accompanied his Innu chief on another occasion. This chief asked Father Le Jeune for his help in obtaining permission from Governor Charles Huault de Montmagny and the French settlers to settle near this French outpost.<sup>71</sup>

The missionaries also made every effort to convert Huron headmen. When Tsiouendaentaha, a prominent chief in his fifties, became the first Huron convert baptised as a healthy person in 1637, Father Le Mercier never failed to mention this baptism and the influence it exerted upon the villagers. Subsequently these villagers began to ask for baptism while in good health. Another example was Chiwatenhwa, whom Father Le Mercier described as approximately thirty-five years of age. Although he was offered baptism only when near death in August 1637, he was such an influential person that he helped the missionaries to persuade a chief of Ossossané to exhort his villagers to receive religious instruction. Consequently the Jesuits were successful in approaching another chief of Ossossané, whose name Father Le Mercier did not mention, in the hope that he would persuade his people to convert to Christianity.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> Pierre Biard's *Relation* of 1616, in *Relations* 3: 87–125; and Le Jeune's *Relation* of 1635, in *Relations* 8: 55–57.

<sup>70</sup> Father Le Jeune described Makheabichtichiou as the chief of a Trois-Rivières band of the Innu and the Algonquin as well as his eventual baptism in his *Relation* of 1638. See *Relations* 14: 131–33 & 145.

<sup>71</sup> Le Jeune's *Relation* of 1637, in *Relations* 11: 149–65; 12: 151, 161–63, & 173.

<sup>72</sup> Le Mercier's *Relations* of the Hurons of 1637 and 1638, in *Relations* 14: 77–99; 15: 77, 117–19 & 125.

Father Lalemant's emphasis on conversion of adult men in 1639 was therefore a reconfirmation of his overall methodology, which, instead of being a plan of his own invention to shift the emphasis from children to adults, seems to resemble the policy followed in Japan in the sixteenth century. Although his praise of Father Xavier may be insufficient to gauge his knowledge of the Jesuit missions to Japan, it must be pointed out that he concluded the chapter of this methodological proposal with a reference to Father Xavier, which suggests that he was well versed in the multifaceted approach that Father Xavier and his successors designed for converting non-Christians in Japan.<sup>73</sup> No matter how much Father Lalemant was aware of the grand missions of his Iberian predecessors, by understanding that connection, one is better able to interpret his proposal. When Father Lalemant arrived in New France in 1638, he seems to have recognised a fundamental flaw in the missionary enterprise, that except for the establishment of seminaries, there had been little progress. And even the seminaries were scarcely successful. They were instructing the boys of non-Christian parents. To make matters worse, the instruction and discipline were alien to Amerindian customs. At the same time, the missionaries were unsuccessful in converting adults in the Huron country although they should have done it before undertaking the education of children to ensure that the parents did not hinder the children's Christian practice upon their return home after the completion of their education. This reversal of the usual practice of first finding an influential native patron, then dealing with children afterward, almost guaranteed failure. It was natural for Father Lalemant to criticise Father Le Jeune's educational scheme and to propose a more conventional evangelisation methodology similar to the one that had been adopted in Japan.

(2) *Collaborative Philanthropy*

Another method for converting indigenous peoples to Christianity was the use of social philanthropy, which included education, alms giving and medical help. As late as the 1640s, rudimentary education was a main part of Jesuit philanthropy in Canada. The missionaries terminated the boarding school for native boys, but soon achieved some success in their attempt at two other forms of education that they had planned since the mid-1630s. One form was general schooling at the

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<sup>73</sup> J. Lalemant's *Relation* of the Hurons of 1639, in *Relations* 17: 55.

missionary residences in Huronia for children, neophytes and catechumens. It began as a Sunday school for children, under the leadership of Father Brébeuf in 1636. By 1639, when Father Lalemant made his report on the Huron missions, it had developed into an instructional site. Because of this effort to teach children and adults in Huronia, the demise of the seminary near Quebec does not necessarily indicate that the Jesuits entirely abandoned the education of Huron children.<sup>74</sup>

The other form was a seasonal education for young Huron traders at the French settlements. In the autumn of 1642,<sup>75</sup> when Father Brébeuf had already returned to Quebec and was available as an interpreter, the Jesuits began to instruct six or more young Huron men, who visited Quebec for trading and wintered near the French outpost apparently to hunt for fur animals with Algonquin settlers at Sillery and to engage in war against the Iroquois. Through this experience with the Huron traders, Father Vimont, who had succeeded Father Le Jeune as superior in Quebec, reported, in his *Relation* of 1642–1643, on the idea of opening a ‘seminary’ for young Huron men, by which he probably meant some form of instruction without actually constructing a school building. Subsequently Father Brébeuf and his companions provided seasonal instruction for another six Huron men at Trois-Rivières from the early winter of 1643 until the spring of 1644.<sup>76</sup>

This attempt to instruct young Hurons, however, does not represent a shift in educational objectives from children to young men, since it neither began as an alternative for the seminary institution for boys nor shared the same civilising principle. The missionaries had already begun a similar attempt to offer Christian instruction to Huron traders near the French settlements as early as 1637, almost simultaneously with the founding of the Huron seminary. And yet before the early 1640s, the Jesuits were completely unsuccessful in persuading the traders to dwell, even seasonally, near the outposts.<sup>77</sup> Moreover, the young men were not forced to attend but came on their own initia-

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<sup>74</sup> Brébeuf’s *Relation* of 1636, in *Relations* 10: 19–25; and J. Lalemant’s *Relation* of the Hurons of 1639, in *Relations* 16: 248; Le Jeune’s letter to Mutius Vitelleschi, general superior, at Rome, from Troi-Rivières, 8 August 1636, in Campeau, *Monumenta*, 3: 155–57, esp. 157.

<sup>75</sup> This year might be the autumn of 1641. Because Vimont’s *Relation* of 1642–1643 is undated, his reference to ‘l’an passé’ can mean either 1641 or 1642. See *Relations* 24: 103–105.

<sup>76</sup> Vimont’s *Relations* of 1642–1643 and 1643–1644, in *Relations* 24: 103–121; & 26: 19–29.

<sup>77</sup> Le Jeune’s *Relation* of 1637, in *Relations* 12: 255–59.



tive primarily to trade at the French outposts and, unlike the former young seminarians who boarded inside a Jesuit monastery, they were not segregated from other Amerindians or from French settlers.

The indirect attempts by the Jesuits to educate girls through the collaboration of French nuns also contradict the conventional wisdom that the Jesuits shifted their instructional efforts from native children to adult men. When the Jesuits failed to maintain the seminaries for boys, they invited two female religious organisations from France in 1639: the Ursuline nuns and the Hospital nuns. The Ursuline education for girls was part of Father Le Jeune's initial missionary scheme, proposed as early as 1633. Upon arrival in Quebec, the Ursulines were stationed at the nearby native settlement of Sillery. By 1640, they had opened an elementary school, which Father Le Jeune called 'séminaire', for eighteen native girls, including at least six orphans.<sup>78</sup> This school served French and native girls, both as day students and as boarders. The Jesuit missionaries co-operated in this female education. In his *Relation* of 1639, Father Le Jeune wrote that he had recruited the daughter of a dying native woman at Sillery for the Ursuline school. Fathers Jacques Buteux and Claude Pijart, the second of whom had formerly been in charge of the Jesuit seminary, participated in the instruction of indigenous girls.<sup>79</sup>

The Hospital nuns, as well, contributed to the education of girls and boys. Upon their arrival in Quebec, these native youngsters were lodged temporarily in a house of the Company of One Hundred Associates, near Fort Saint-Louis in Quebec. In June 1640, the nuns moved to Sillery and, in December, entered their convent building that was completed by the following spring. In his *Relation* of 1642–1643, Father Vimont noted that the Hospital nuns instructed native girls and boys through prayers and catechisms at their house, which served as a medical clinic.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> Le Jeune's passages in his *Relation* of 1639 are clear about the orphanage of six girls, but not clear enough about the orphanage of the eighteen seminarians. Because his *Relation* of 1640–1641 refers to a Huron girl whose mother lived in her native country, not all the initial seminarians seem to have been orphans. See *Relations* 16: 09; & 19: 137–39.

<sup>79</sup> Le Jeune's *Relations* of 1633, 1639 and 1640, in *Relations* 5: 145–47; 16: 09–21, 67–69; 19: 37–39, 45–49; and Vimont's *Relations* of 1642–1643 and 1643–1644, in *Relations* 23: 315; & 25: 225.

<sup>80</sup> *Relations* 16: 23, note 8; Le Jeune's *Relation* of 1640–1641, in *Relations* 20: 237; and Vimont's *Relation* of 1642–1643, in *Relations* 23: 311–13.

Because of the many and varied needs of the indigenous people who were in contact with the French, the nuns had to devote themselves to other kinds of charity in collaboration with the Jesuits. When the Hospital nuns began their medical service in 1639, their temporary clinic in Quebec was soon full of Amerindian patients in serious condition. The nuns abandoned their first house, which was owned by the Company of One Hundred Associates, and moved to Sillery in 1640. By 1643, they resumed their medical service for French and Amerindian residents at the Hôtel-Dieu de Québec, their own building whose construction was commenced in 1638 and completed in 1644. In Sillery, their convent building, the House of Mercy, served not only as a medical clinic but also as an asylum for needy residents, including those abandoned by their own people. Also, the Ursuline convent building extended its educational service by functioning not only as an orphanage, but also as a source of alms for both men and women of all ages. Then in 1642, the Innu residents at Sillery co-operated with the missionaries and nuns in offering charity to a larger number of native migrants. In the late 1640s, the Ursuline convent served as a shelter for those destitute refugees who had escaped from the Iroquois nations. When bands of Huron refugees were led by the missionaries to Quebec in 1650, both the Hospitallers and the Ursulines provided them with all possible help. In these cases, charity was an inducement to conversion.<sup>81</sup>

Such philanthropy, however, was certainly not a stopgap solution adopted quickly as a replacement for the Jesuit education of Amerindian boys. The idea of extending charity to native people was mentioned in the Jesuit correspondence long before the termination of the seminaries. Just as with his request in 1633 for the founding of education for Amerindian girls, Father Le Jeune stated as early as 1634 that a hospital was necessary for indigenous peoples, once he had learnt of the outbreak of disease among the native people at Trois-Rivières in 1633. He repeated this proposal in 1636. The establishment of hospitals run by other religious orders was particularly important for the Jesuits because the Society of Jesus prevented its members from becoming

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<sup>81</sup> Le Jeune's *Relations* of 1639 and 1640–1641, in *Relations* 16: 217–19; 20: 235–41; Vimont's *Relation* of 1642–1643, in *Relations* 23: 311–15; 24: 67–69, 111–15; 159–61; Lalamat's *Relation* of 1647–1648, in *Relations* 32: 213–15, 233; Paul Ragueneau's *Relation* of 1649–1650, in *Relations* 35: 209; and François-Joseph Bressani's *Relation* of 1641–1642, in Campeau, *Monumenta*, 5: 347.

directly involved in medical treatment. To introduce a hospital—the Hôtel-Dieu de Québec in 1644, for example—the Jesuits' friends in France made an effort to secure the sponsorship of Marie-Madeleine de Vignerot in Paris, the Duchesse d'Aiguillon, who was a niece of Cardinal Richelieu.<sup>82</sup>

Strictly speaking, however, the charity near Quebec was not typical missionary philanthropy in a foreign land, for the religious organisations dealt only with their native guests in the French settlements without expanding their service beyond the outposts. It was akin to the expansion of the French settlements through missionary diplomacy with Amerindian neighbours. Such work, similar to the sixteenth-century Jesuit philanthropy among non-Christians in countries such as Japan, began only at the missionary station of Sainte Marie, in the country of the Hurons. Under the leadership of Father Jérôme Lalemant, the missionaries and their lay assistants began to build this fortified mission station in the territory of the Ataronchronon, an eastern division of the Attignawantan Hurons, in 1639.<sup>83</sup>

From an international perspective, the residence of Sainte Marie was more an emulation of Jesuit charity houses in Japan than Father Lalemant's own 'innovation', which is how Trigger describes it.<sup>84</sup> Father Lalemant's scheme of missionary charity, based at the residence of Sainte Marie, was similar to the philanthropy under the leadership of Father Cosme de Torres, one of the pioneer missionaries who accompanied Father Xavier to Japan. Both Jesuits began their philanthropy in a foreign land, away from the trading establishments. Both chose as the sites for their missionary centres regions with a history of goodwill towards Europeans, where they could secure political patronage. Through philanthropy, both Father Torres and Father Lalemant attempted to convert indigenous peoples without segregating neophytes or catechumens from their home communities. Because of these common backgrounds, the station of Sainte Marie functioned, like

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<sup>82</sup> Le Jeune's *Relations* of 1634, 1636, 1638 and 1639, in *Relations* 6: 61–63, 143; 8: 233–35, 99–101; 14: 125–27; & 16: 217–19.

<sup>83</sup> J. Lalemant's *Relation* of the Hurons of 1640, in *Relations* 19: 167; and J. Lalemant to Mutius Vitelleschi, general superior, at Rome, from Ossosdané, 25 May 1639, in Campeau, *Monumenta*, 4: 231–33. For the relationship between the Ataronchronon and the Attignawantan, see Trigger, *Natives and Newcomers*, 252–53.

<sup>84</sup> Trigger, *op. cit.*, 252–53.



6. Huron Houses in Sainte Marie (replicas)



7. Church Building in Sainte Marie (a replica)



8. Altar for Native Converts in Sainte Marie (a replica)  
This altar is located inside the church building on the Huron site of Sainte Marie.

several of the Jesuit residences in Japan, as a medical clinic, a refuge and a hospice for Huron visitors.<sup>85</sup>

### C. A NEW PARADIGM FOR THE MISSIONARY STRATEGY IN NEW FRANCE

This discussion leads to two conclusions. First, when considering the Japanese and Canadian missionary cases, one should abolish those simplistic labels like cultural absolutism and cultural relativism that recent historians in the Canadian field have used. Despite popular ideas about the methodological difference between the Franciscans and the Jesuits in the Canadian historiography, there was little factional difference between the Franciscans and the Jesuits in terms of missionary policies. Any plausible difference was, strictly speaking, simply the result of continual evolution of missionary strategies throughout the first half of the seventeenth century. The variation of missionary policy was caused by the shifting responsibility and experience of priests who adjusted themselves to changing evangelistic environments. Distinguishing the two missionary bodies in stereotypical terms of cultural absolutism and cultural relativism merely serves to confuse the true characteristics of these religious orders by ignoring the evangelistic situations peculiar to each stage of missionary development.

Second, basic methodological similarities between the Iberian missions and the French missions demonstrate that the Society of Jesus, since the pioneer years of Father Xavier, had already evolved multifaceted strategies internationally when its French group began evangelistic activity in New France. The Jesuit approach cannot be described simply as a shift from converting children to evangelising adults, as influential scholars in the Canadian historiography have claimed for more than three decades. In Japan and New France as well, the missionaries worked with a variety of approaches, with an emphasis on two basic lines: political diplomacy and philanthropy. The philanthropy consisted of works of charity, medical help and elementary education. The early Jesuit education could well be regarded as a third independent line of approach if one considers the Jesuit boarding schools to have been seminaries rather than elementary schools. Here, one should recall that they never functioned as institutions

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<sup>85</sup> J. Lalemant's *Relation* of the Hurons of 1643, in *Relations* 26: 201–03; and Ragueneau's *Relation* of the Hurons of 1647–1648, in *Relations* 33: 77, 99–101.

for bringing up future native priests in New France. Failure to distinguish these two or three lines of methodological evolution in the French missions blinds historians to the evolution of the multifaceted methods that Christian missions beyond Europe adopted from the mid-sixteenth century to the mid-seventeenth century because the missionary policy in Canada drew on previous experience and evolved continuously.