Copyright Statement

The digital copy of this thesis is protected by the Copyright Act 1994 (New Zealand).

This thesis may be consulted by you, provided you comply with the provisions of the Act and the following conditions of use:

- Any use you make of these documents or images must be for research or private study purposes only, and you may not make them available to any other person.
- Authors control the copyright of their thesis. You will recognise the author's right to be identified as the author of this thesis, and due acknowledgement will be made to the author where appropriate.
- You will obtain the author's permission before publishing any material from their thesis.

To request permissions please use the Feedback form on our webpage. [http://researchspace.auckland.ac.nz/feedback](http://researchspace.auckland.ac.nz/feedback)

General copyright and disclaimer

In addition to the above conditions, authors give their consent for the digital copy of their work to be used subject to the conditions specified on the [Library Thesis Consent Form](http://researchspace.auckland.ac.nz) and [Deposit Licence](http://researchspace.auckland.ac.nz).

Note: Masters Theses

The digital copy of a masters thesis is as submitted for examination and contains no corrections. The print copy, usually available in the University Library, may contain corrections made by hand, which have been requested by the supervisor.
Reformation Strategies: Conversion, Civility, and Utopia in Missionary Writings about the New World, c. 1610-1690

Catherine Ballériaux

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History
The University of Auckland
July 2012
Abstract

This thesis is an intellectual and comparative history of French, Spanish, and English missions to the native peoples of America in the seventeenth century. It argues that missionaries came to the new world as the cutting edge of reform movements in Europe. Foreign missions were thus a central part of the European processes of Reformation and Counter-Reformation as they extended into the seventeenth century; the study of European early modern Christianity needs to take these experiments into consideration accordingly. Whereas the historiography of missions tends to treat them as the religious wing of imperial history, my project seeks to study missions as the imperial wing of religious history.

Despite their presence in the New World, missionaries should be considered as a central source for the study of European intellectual and religious history: they were products of the best European education, were well aware of current intellectual, political and religious debates taking place in Europe, and were completely dedicated to what they considered to be international — Catholic or Calvinist — movements. At the same time, their isolation from Europe and their encounter with a group of people that they often perceived as untainted by European civilisation allowed them to develop a very critical view on the Old World and its problems. Missionary efforts reveal that Catholicism and Calvinism, as implemented among native societies, shared an intense vision of Christianity. Scholarly focus on the difference between these religious worldviews has meant that their common intellectual heritage remains to be explored.

Thus this project studies, through a thematic approach, missionaries’ understanding of civility and religiosity. It also compares the institutional relationship of missionaries with their home countries, examines the legal status of their enterprises, and engages with the criticisms and ideals missionaries formulated about settler communities and Europe. This research seeks to open new avenues for understanding early modern religion and to offer a new appraisal of source materials usually studied with the tools and methods of social and cultural history. It also attempts to emphasise the confessional contribution to political thought in the early modern Atlantic world.
Acknowledgments

I would never have been able to write this thesis without the help and support of Jonathan Scott. He has been a wonderful mentor and teacher, and his unfailing support in times of crisis has been invaluable. He has given me the skills and confidence that I lacked to accomplish this project, and for that I am deeply grateful. Joseph Zizek has been an amazing co-supervisor. His historiographical knowledge, his detailed comments on successive drafts, and his unwavering kindness have been an inestimable help. Thanks to Seymour Drescher, Alejandro de la Fuente, Lara Putnam, and Barry Reay for their advice and support along the way. I am deeply grateful to Quentin Skinner and Martin van Gelderen for having allowed me to take part in the ‘Freedom and the Construction of Europe’ workshops in Florence. Thanks to them I was lucky enough to meet an array of amazing scholars and to enjoy thought-provoking conversations in a wonderful setting. I am thankful to the University of Pittsburgh, the Belgian American Educational Foundation, New Zealand Education, the University of Auckland, the Faculty of Arts, and the History Department for their generous support.

Au noyau dur: Vinciane, Dédic, Véro, Laurent: merci pour votre présence lors des coups de gueule, des coups de mou, et des coups du sort. Je n’aurai rien pu faire sans votre aide et votre confiance. Merci à Mamée et la famille Bonnivert pour leur soutien sans faille. Vos coups de fils hebdomadaires ont rythmé ce project. Merci à Jean-Paul Ballériaux de m’avoir transmis son goût de l’histoire. À la smala Gillet: merci de m’avoir donné le sens du patrimoine, affectif et culturel. Faire partie d’une telle famille m’a permis de ne jamais me sentir déracinée.

Thanks to Julia and Graham Parfitt for their presence and generosity, and for the many wonderful trips. They have given me a family away from home.

To my dear friends around the world, Hélène Cipriano, Isaac Curtis, Jake Pollock and Hannah Gerrard, Jacques Trémouilhe, Valérie Gillet, Susan Karr, Carl-Albert Bauer, Louis Gerdelan: thanks for the ongoing conversations.

Finally, to Steven Parfitt: This thesis is for you. Thanks for putting up with me and for standing by me through the turmoil of a long-distance relationship. We survived.
CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION: A COMPARATIVE HISTORY OF RELIGIOUS PROCESSES .......... 1
Scope and Purpose .................................................................................................................. 1
Historiography .......................................................................................................................... 9
Religion as an Organising Concept ......................................................................................... 9
An Irreducible Other? .............................................................................................................. 13
Methodology ............................................................................................................................ 15
A Note on the Sources ............................................................................................................ 18
Synopsis .................................................................................................................................. 19

CHAPTER 1: RELIGION, POLITICS, AND REFORM: THE EUROPEAN CONTEXT
OF MISSIONS .......................................................................................................................... 22
Introduction: Religious Renewal in the Seventeenth Century ............................................. 22
Religious Reform, Tacitism, and Absolute Rule in France .................................................... 24
‘These traitors, these scoundrels, these assassins, these murderers of Kings’: the Jesuits and Gallicanism in France ......................................................................................... 24
‘Their only monastery will be the houses of the sick’: the Counter-Reformation in France ........................................................................................................................................ 30
Spanish Decline, Empire, and Mysticism .............................................................................. 38
‘The most powerful Prince in the world’: Spanish Decline and European War ............... 38
‘The illness is extremely serious’: the Opinion of the Arbitristas ......................................... 43
‘The Perfection of a Christian’: The Jesuits in Spain ............................................................ 48
Puritanism and Reformation in England .............................................................................. 52
‘A Most Pernicious Sect’: Puritanism in England ............................................................... 53
‘Jesuits are nothing but Puritan-papists’: Puritans and Jesuits Compared ...................... 65
Conclusion .............................................................................................................................. 71

CHAPTER 2: RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION, EDUCATION OF THE CLERGY, AND
THE UNIVERSAL MISSION OF REFORM ............................................................................. 72
Introduction ............................................................................................................................ 72
Peasants and Pagans .............................................................................................................. 73
A Responsible Clergy ........................................................................................................... 73
The Ideal of Universal Mission and the Exemplary Role of the Missionary ........... 86
Conclusion ................................................................................................................................ 99

CHAPTER 3: CUSTOM AS ETHOS AND HABITUATION: NATIVE PAGANISM
AND IDOLATRY ....................................................................................................................... 101
Introduction ............................................................................................................................ 101
The Nature of Idolatry ......................................................................................................... 103
Natural Reason ..................................................................................................................... 111
Corrupted Will....................................................................................................................... 116
Improving Reason .............................................................................................................. 119
Transforming the Will ......................................................................................................... 126
Conclusion .............................................................................................................................. 133

CHAPTER 4: CONVERSION: WILL, GRACE, AND GOOD WORKS ................................ 135
Introduction ............................................................................................................................ 135
Preparation for Salvation .................................................................................................... 136
The Problem of Preparationism ........................................................................................... 136
The Steps of Conversion ...................................................................................................... 140
Language and Knowledge of the Gospel ............................................................................. 140
The Importance of Preaching .............................................................................................. 150
Introduction

A Comparative History of Religious Processes

I. Scope and Purpose

In the late sixteenth century, the Franciscan missionary Gerónimo de Mendieta thought of the Americas as a way to tip the scales in favour of Catholicism in the world’s spiritual ledger. He believed that, through Cortés, God opened the door and paved the way for the preachers of his Gospel in this New World, where the Catholic church, with the conversion of many souls, could be restored and compensated for the loss and great damage caused in the same period by the accursed Luther in old Christendom.¹

The English Protestant clergyman and promoter of colonisation Richard Hakluyt, in his 1584 Discourse of Western Planting, saw no glory in Catholic efforts to convert the natives of the New World, and condemned Catholic nations: ‘[…] as for the boastinge of your conversion of such multitudes of infidells, yt may justly be compted, rather a perversion, seeinge you have drawen them as it were oute of Sylla into Charibdis, that is to say, from one error into another’. Hakluyt also perceived the New World as a reserve of souls and as a key area in an international doctrinal conflict. For Hakluyt, the conversion of the natives was an enterprise that

the princes of the religion (among whome her Majestie ys principall) oughte the rather to take in hande, because the papistes confirme themselves and drawe other (sic) to there side, shewinge that they are the true Catholicke churche because they have bene the onely converters of many millions of infidells to Christianitie. Yea, I myselfe have bene demaunded of them, how many infidells have been by us converted?²

Over a century later, Ezéchiel Carré, a French Huguenot refugee, published in Boston a pamphlet describing Jesuit personal papers found in Albany, and aimed at denouncing what he considered to be the abusive practices of French Jesuits in New

¹ Joaquin Garcia Icazbalceta, ed., Historia eclesiástica indiana, obra escrita á fines del siglo XVI por Fray Gerónimo de Mendieta (1596), México, 1870, p. 174. All translations are mine unless otherwise noted.
² Richard Hakluyt, ‘A Discourse of Western Planting, written by M. Richard Hackluyt, 1584’ in Edmund Goldsmid, F.R.H.S., ed., The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, And Discoveries Of The English Nation Collected By Richard Hakluyt, Preacher, Vol. XIII: America, Part II, Edinburgh, 1889, p. 178. For a similar argument, see also Samuel Purchas, Purchas his Pilgrimage, or, Relations of the world and the religions observed in all ages and places discovered, from the Creation vnto this Present... The 4th ed., much enlarged with additions…., London, 1626, p. 586.
France. For Carré, the conversion of the natives was still a key area in the conflict between Protestantism and Catholicism: ‘God forbid that the *Children of the Kingdom* be less industrious for that matter than the *Children of this world*’. Puritan minister Cotton Mather, whose preface introduced Carré’s pamphlet, was himself greatly preoccupied with the promotion of the Calvinist doctrine on an international scale. Aside from publishing multiple pamphlets for the propagation of the Gospel amongst the natives, Mather set himself to learn both French and Spanish, and wrote Calvinist catechisms and pamphlets in those two languages, to be distributed in French and Spanish America, as well as in Europe. Mather envisioned his efforts on a truly global scale, and he believed that

[...] a glorious *Reformation* is near to the *English Nation*. And more than so; that the Light of the Gospel of my Lord Jesus Christ, shall bee carried into the *Spanish Indies*; and, that my Composures, my Endeavoures, will bee used, in irradiating the Dark Recesses of *America*, with the Knowledge of the Glorious Lord. Yea, more than this; That I shall shortly see some Harvest of my Prayers and Pains, for the *Jewish Nation* also.

As these sectarian examples indicate, missionaries often advanced arguments that were in part a reflection of events in — and anxieties about — Europe. These writings not only reflected their authors’ perceptions of indigenous Americans, but also of a European and even world order that was itself unstable, and which seemed to some brimming with threats to their nation, to civility, and to their own religious doctrines.

---


5 See for example: Cotton Mather, *The Triumphs of the Reformed Religion in AMERICA. The Life of the Renowned JOHN ELIOT; A Person justly Famous in the Church of GOD...*, Boston, 1691; and Cotton Mather, *India Christiana. A Discourse Delivered unto the Commissioners, for the Propagation of the Gospel among the American Indians which is Accompanied with several INSTRUMENTS relating to the Glorious DESIGN of Propagating our Holy RELIGION, in the EASTERN as well as the WESTERN, Indies...*, Boston, 1721. Mather’s Spanish tract was published in his *La Fe del Christiano: En Veyntequatro Articulos de la Institucion de CHRISTO. Embiada a los Españoles, Paraque abran sus ojos, y paraque se Convertian de las Timieblas a la luz, y de la potestad de Satanas a Dios...*, Boston, 1699. Mather was responsible for the publication of the French catechism *ABC des Chrétien*, Boston, 1711, and wrote two pamphlets in French: *Le vrai patron des saines paroles*, Boston, 1704, and *Une grande voix du ciel a la France*, Boston, 1725.

Missionaries did not perceive their work as isolated experiments but as part of an international drama. Nothing less than salvation was at stake, and the struggle comprised all of humankind.

The seventeenth century was a period of intense religious enthusiasm among both Catholics and Protestants. It was also an age of religious wars: Europe was torn apart by the Thirty Years War and the English civil war was itself influenced by this European conflict. Anthony Wright has argued that the study of the Counter-Reformation must go beyond its sixteenth-century origin and needs to take the seventeenth century into account. Indeed, in many areas, it was the period when the decrees of the Council of Trent were actually put into practice, and it would be difficult to evaluate the impact of the Tridentine decrees, even in Spain, without taking the seventeenth century into consideration. In France, religious enthusiasm and episcopal reform flourished in the seventeenth century, after the turmoil of the wars of religion. Similarly, the civil wars and the migration of godly Puritans to the New World (often via the Netherlands) are central to understand the shape of the Reformation in England. Thus the degree of success or failure of religious refashioning can only be evaluated by taking the seventeenth century into account.

In diverse ways, France, Spain, and England experienced intense movements of religious renewal in the seventeenth century, all linked to a reformative urge which took different shapes, but which stemmed from the same desire to transform the moral climate of their societies. Despite mutual antagonism, and despite the destructive impulses of religious radicalism, the ‘hotter’ sorts of Catholics and Protestants also shared an interest in positive processes of renewal of the self and of the Christian polity. These differences and commonalities make the seventeenth century a key period in post-Reformation Catholicism and Protestantism.


10 Wright, *The Counter-Reformation*, pp. 3, 239. The term ‘hotter sort of Protestants’ to designate Puritans was used by Perceval Wiburn, in *A checke or reproofe of M. Howlets vntimely shreeching in her Maiesties eares with an answeare to the reasons alleadged in a discourse therunto annexed, why Catholikes (as they are called) refuse to goe to church...*, London, 1581, p. 9. Patrick Collinson frequently used the term, see for example *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, London, 1967, p. 27. When I talk about the ‘hotter sort of Catholics’, I am thinking, for example, of the devout movement in
Although Spanish efforts in the Americas dated back to the 1490s, in New France and New England missions to the natives started and flourished in the seventeenth century. In New England, godly Protestants such as John Eliot, Thomas Mayhew, Jr., Abraham Pierson, and John Cotton, Jr. undertook missions to the natives in their own language, with the support of the colonies’ elders, starting in the 1640s. In 1649, following the establishment of the English commonwealth, an Act of Parliament finally established a Corporation for the promoting and propagating of the Gospel of Jesus Christ in New England, which would be transformed into a Company with similar purposes after the Restoration.\(^{11}\) In New France, the Recollect (a reformed branch of the Franciscan order) and Jesuit orders, as well as Sulpician priests undertook missions throughout the seventeenth century. From the time when Richelieu created the Compagnie des Cent-Associés in 1627, the French Crown actively supported French missions to the New World.\(^ {12}\) Even Spain, which had been in the New World for a century, saw new and important efforts — such as Jesuit missions to remote areas, notably Paraguay — take place only in the seventeenth century. Parish life in native ‘reductions’ was organised in the same period, following the edicts of the third councils of Lima and Mexico in the 1580s, meant to enforce the Tridentine decrees in the New World.\(^ {13}\) The discovery of ongoing pagan cults in populations who were supposedly converted led to a proliferation of writings concerning conversion.\(^ {14}\) The most active missionaries to the New World, Jesuits and


\(^{13}\) William B. Taylor, Magistrates of the Sacred: Priests and Parishioners in Eighteenth-Century Mexico, Stanford, 1996, p. 64. The texts of the Councils are available in Francesco Leonardo Lisi, El Tercer Concilio Limense y la Aculturacion de los Indígenas Sudamericanos, Estudio crítico con edición, traducción y comentario de las actas del concilio provincial celebrado en Lima entre 1582 y 1583, Salamanca, 1990; and Mariano Galvan Rivera, ed., Concilio Provincial Mexicano, México, 1859.

Congregationalists (Congregationalists were actually the only Protestant group to offer a coherent program of conversion) were also especially vocal in Europe concerning the need to spread the Gospel and foster religious renewal. The seventeenth century is thus a crucial period — and one too often neglected by the historiography — in terms of conversion strategies for Spain as well as for England and France.\(^\text{15}\) In comparative terms, it should be considered as the Golden Age of missions as well as an era of intense European engagement with the challenges of religious reform at home and abroad.

As Luke Clossey has argued, soteriology, the theory of salvation, should be considered as the programme that gave coherence to early modern Catholicism, and even maybe Christianity as a whole.\(^\text{16}\) From this perspective, missions become central in the study of European Christianity. They are an ideal case study for seventeenth-century religious history, as they put into practice the widespread contemporary demands in Europe for moral renewal.

Missionaries did not only address the moral and soteriological conflicts between Protestantism and Catholicism in their writings, but also the reformation that they thought were necessary within their own confessional groups, and within their own nations. This particular interest in national reform was best expressed in calls to spread the Gospel at home, but the language of such calls varied according to confession. Peculiar to Catholic workers, the term mission comes from the Latin verb ‘mittere’, which means ‘to send’. The term could apply to any kind of apostolic work, whether directed at heretics, pagans, or Catholics.\(^\text{17}\) Protestants, by contrast, usually referred to apostolic endeavours as ‘propagation of the Gospel’, a task which fell to ministers, as religious orders did not exist in Reformed England. The term was applied to the work of education and preparation for conversion with both uneducated people in the Three Stuart Kingdoms and with the natives in the New World. Clossey has noted that the history of early modern Catholicism is usually divided between studies of missions to non-Christians; studies of the Counter-Reformation understood as an

---

\(^\text{15}\) For example, Anthony Pagden, the brilliant intellectual historian of European perceptions of the New World, largely excludes the seventeenth century from one of his most influential works. See Anthony Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man: The American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology*, Cambridge, 1982.


attempt to bring Protestants back to Catholicism; and studies of the Catholic Reform through the investigation of missions to nominal Catholics. The commonalities across these efforts are on the order of personnel and soteriology, for, as Clossey argues, it is ‘by emphasizing the missionaries over the potential converts, and by focussing on the process of salvation at the core of the attendant power plays and cultural negotiation, [that] we restore the essential unity of these seemingly disparate missions’. I think that similar, even if less successful, attempts at propagating the Gospel in England and English America should be conceived as soteriological moves in their own right, and as part of an international program of evangelisation and reform on the part of the ‘hotter sort’. For the sake of convenience, the terms ‘missions’ and ‘missionary’ will be used in this thesis to describe both Catholic and Protestant work among the natives.

Missions undertaken by Puritans in New England were significantly less successful than Jesuit missions. New England ministers did not have the opportunity to rely on religious orders for the implementation of missions, and their attempts were few and seriously threatened by internal tensions between settlers and natives. Similarly, the French Jesuits, even if numerous and highly organised, did not have an opportunity in the harsh climate and geography of New France to undertake missions to the levels of those established on the frontiers of New Spain and Peru by members of their own order. But the Godly considered their attempts, as we have seen with Cotton Mather, as having an international significance, and as essential for the salvation of souls. Similarly, the Jesuits of New France perceived their missions as crucial for the salvation of both themselves and the natives they converted. Thus, despite great discrepancies in practical implementations, Catholic and Calvinist missionaries wrote about their ambitious plans and perceived their oftentimes small-scale experiments as blueprints for further reformation. This very confidence, on both sides of the doctrinal divide, implies that missionaries’ writings about their experiments are key to our understanding of their worldview and the reforms that they considered essential for salvation. Moreover, in their writings, missionaries reflected on their own doctrines and isolated what they considered were the most vital elements of their faith in order to convince others of the importance of their missions.

Missionaries, in particular the Jesuits in Spanish and French possessions and the Congregationalists in New England, shared common intellectual and theological
influences. Their Christian humanist heritage and insistence on the necessity of reform, emphasising an experiential, practical vision of Christianity, led them to elaborate conversion strategies that encompassed not only religious, but also political and social changes. By the seventeenth century, conversion in Catholic missions was no longer conceived as a series of mass-baptisms expressing a hypothetical sudden experience of faith, but rather as a long-term process of habituation, involving social and political changes as much as religious education. This conception of conversion as a long-term struggle required, both in Europe and America, and both within settler and native societies, a reformation of manners amongst the converts. 

Though in Calvinist theology conversion could only be conceived of as a radical turning of the will operated by God alone in the Saints, in practice the conversion of the native peoples of Massachusetts required the establishment of a form of civility based on the Scriptures in native ‘praying towns’. In line with Covenant theology, the implementation of the Covenant of Law would prompt the humiliation necessary for regeneration among the elect. The congregational system instituted in ‘praying towns’ illustrates the ways in which Calvinist soteriology could be combined with social reform. In the New World, where missionaries experimented with peoples who had remained outside of


20 For a criticism of earlier conversion practices in Spanish colonies and in New France, see Pierre Biard, Relation de la Novelle France, de ses terres, nativrel du Pais, & de ses Habittans, Item, Du voyage des Peres Jesuites ausdites contrées, & de ce qu’ils y ont faict jusques à leur prise par les Anglois, Lyon, 1616, pp. 106–110.


the bonds of Christianity, and where they were able to experiment with entire populations, Catholic and Protestant understandings of individual and collective reformation revealed more similarities than they did in a controversial European setting.

Missionaries, born and educated in Europe, intensely debated the nature and role of political authority, religion, and personal virtues and piety within society. This thesis is an attempt, through a thematic approach, to study missionaries’ understanding of civility and religiosity and to resituate their discussions in their European intellectual context. My goal is also to compare the institutional relationship of missionaries with their home countries, examine the legal status of their enterprises, and engage with the criticisms and ideals missionaries formulated about settler communities and Europe. Only with a study of the intellectual, political, and theological aspects of their project can we understand the nature of seventeenth-century religious experiments and the political and religious implications of missionaries’ writings. Only then, also, will we understand the innovative power of some of the missions and their role in European religious and political controversies. These developments inevitably questioned the role of the state and of ecclesiastical institutions and emphasised the practical aspects of Christianity as well as the role of the devout individual within society.

Thus this thesis has two objectives. One is to reunite the New and Old World components of seventeenth-century European religious history. The other is to compare Protestant and Catholic (English, French and Spanish) reformation and conversion strategies. The result highlights the similarities of motivation, while also elucidating the importance of differing national and doctrinal perspectives in the practical implementation of projects aimed at conversion and reform.

Missionaries’ encounters with native groups, often in isolation from other European influences, provided them with a tremendous amount of political and moral authority, and allowed them, pragmatically, to experiment with radical plans for both individual and collective reform. Their role on the frontier, in areas often isolated from European influences — or so missionaries wished — provided them with great independence from colonial and European authorities. In turn, the observation of pagan societies and their conversion, or alternatively their failure or refusal to convert, influenced missionaries’ understanding of reform. Missionaries frequently regarded their New World initiatives as a template for desirable reforms that might someday be
instituted in their European homes. Their isolation from Europe and their encounter with a group of people that they often perceived as untainted by European civilisation allowed missionaries to develop a very critical view of Europe and its problems. The publication of their opinions under the cover of purely descriptive accounts enabled them to seriously question the moral shape of not only seventeenth-century European society but also the colonies made in its image, and to criticise monarchical policies concerning both natives and European settlers. Thus, missionary writings also offer a unique perspective on the study of seventeenth-century imperialism, a perspective which has so far not been fully grasped by the historiography. Ultimately, these writings illuminate the relationship — sometimes mutually beneficial, sometimes completely antagonistic — between religious and imperial goals in a complex, turbulent, ever-changing colonial world.

II. Historiography

1. Religion as an Organising Concept

Religion cannot simply be treated as one of the features of missionary writings, nor merely understood as a rhetorical device, but should be taken as the central element shaping their writings. Yet soteriology has been widely ignored in the scholarly literature. Oddly, studies focussing on the New World tend to overlook the centrality of religion in the study of missionary writings. Numerous academic works devoted to the ideological aspects of the ‘encounter’ simply group missionaries with other writers, and fail to acknowledge their specificity. Recent studies dedicated to the ideological dimensions of imperialism and colonialism tend to limit their scope to political facets of the process. The theological dimension of the writings, as well as the influence of the European religious context, is often unaccounted for. Yet such neglect should concern us precisely because, as Quentin Skinner has argued, any


historical inquiry should presuppose that agents genuinely believe what they claim to believe. One must endeavour ‘to think as they thought, and to see things in their way’.  

There are very few comparative intellectual histories of the relationship between the Old World and the New. They all tend to ignore, downplay, or misrepresent religion. Anthony Pagden’s analyses are the most informative in terms of the intellectual background and influences on missionaries. Unfortunately, Pagden usually excludes the seventeenth century from his investigations. Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, in his *Puritan Conquistadors*, puts religion at the centre of his interpretation. But one is left with the impression that religion was but an empty rhetoric, promoted by violent fanatics who had no positive goals in mind. Patricia Seed, the only other writer with Pagden to have undertaken a broad comparative study of imperialism, argues that differences in the forms of colonialism in the New World have been ‘mistakenly grouped under religious divisions rather than the emergent political ones actually operating’. But Seed does not at any point take into account the social or religious background of the writers she studies.

It seems to me that missionary writings, both in the Old and New Worlds, should be recognised as a specific genre, if only because they had — if not more than other texts, then in a unique way — not only a descriptive purpose, but also prescriptive and practical goals. These writings addressed practical issues in terms of social and political organisation and the subsequent reformation deemed necessary, both in the New World and the Old: they were all geared towards action.

---


26 The best comparative study of empires in the New World in general is John Elliot, *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America, 1492–1830*, New Haven, CT, 2006. Elliott does not focus on religion, but I have been inspired by his comparative methodology.

27 Anthony Pagden remains the authority in terms of intellectual history of perceptions of American natives: see his *Lords of All the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain and France C. 1500–C. 1800*, New Haven, CT, 1995, and *The Fall of Natural Man*. If he addresses theological issues along with political and philosophical questions, Pagden does not take the European religious context into account, and religion in his study is, if not secondary, disembodied and prominently theoretical.

28 Cañizares-Esguerra, *Puritan Conquistadors*. The European context is completely neglected, and national differences ignored, even rejected as artificial. Interestingly, if Cañizares-Esguerra’s main concern is the religious dimension of the texts he analyses, no effort is made to distinguish between religious and non-religious writers, Europeans or those who lived in the New World.

Studies of foreign missions tend to ignore the Post-Reformation European context in which those missions took place. Religion is too often considered only as a form of cultural imperialism, or as a justification for political and economic issues. As a consequence, most of these works tend to neglect the relationship and the interdependence of the reform movements in Europe and in America, usually presenting conversion strategies as forms of ‘European imperialism’ imposed from outside on a radically different ‘other’. But by doing so, those studies fail to account for the intellectual and theological dimensions of religion, as well as the European religious context informing those missions. Many historians interested in foreign missions often emphasise the cultural, ethnological, or sociological aspects of these experiments, and frequently ignore the conceptual (European) tools that are necessary for the understanding of missionary writings. In a word, they do not really treat missions as religious experiments, but rather as social and cultural ones, to the exclusion of theological concerns. As Brad Gregory has argued in his study of Christian martyrdom,

In seeking to explain religion, many scholars have employed cultural theories or social science approaches in ways that preclude its being understood. Instead of reconstructing religious beliefs and experiences, they reduce them to something else based on their own, usually implicit, modern or postmodern beliefs.

Similarly, studies of early modern European religion usually do not consider missions as part of the many reforms undertaken in that period, and missions are completely

---


31 See for example James Axtell, The Invasion Within: the Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America, New York, 1985, and Sabine MacCormack, Religion in the Andes Vision and Imagination in Early Colonial Peru, Princeton, NJ, 1991. For example, James Axtell’s The Invasion Within compares French and English missionary activities and is full of interesting insights about missions, especially about the cultural impact of native societies on Europeans. But, because he does not take into account the intellectual dimension of religion, he overlooks important aspects of missionaries’ thought: he does not identify quotations from the Bible, for example. ‘Come over and Help us’ is not only an example of how confident the English were of their cultural superiority, but also an important reference to the Bible (Acts, 16:9). Axtell, The Invasion Within, p.133. Similarly, Axtell’s long discussion of the notion ‘reduce them to civility’ is misleading.

32 Gregory, Salvation at Stake, p. 9.
omitted from their studies. But, as Luke Clossey has argued, Catholic missions in the early modern world were ‘a single world-spanning enterprise’.

What were seventeenth century reformers trying to build? What was their vision of the best possible social organisation and how did they try to implement it, both within their own culture and among radically alien ones? I do not intend to minimise the fundamentally destructive aspect of missions: peoples were wiped out by Europeans displaying an arrogant sense of superiority; cultural, social, and political systems were forever lost. But if we are to make an effort of ‘historical imagination’, we must also take into account the ways in which missionaries understood their work. Those men abandoned the comfort of the ‘civilised’ world to face the dangers of the ‘wilderness’, and sometimes torture and death. They did so to fulfil a Christian ideal, which needs to be analysed and explained.

At stake was salvation: salvation not only for the convert, but also for the converter. For Catholics, works of mercy (charity, conversion, and education) were a means to salvation. The Council of Trent had emphasised the importance of good works and outward activities in justification. Thus missionaries’ and religious reformers’ work for the salvation of souls was itself a condition of their own salvation. For Protestants, for whom the credo of justification by faith excluded works, millenarian hopes led to the conviction that the conversion of the Lost Tribes of Israel (whom the natives were believed to be) was an eschatological sign of the


36 In Catholic theology, works of mercy are divided between spiritual works (to instruct the ignorant, to counsel the doubtful, to admonish sinners, to bear wrongs patiently, to forgive offences willingly, to comfort the afflicted, to pray for the living and the dead) and corporal works (to feed the hungry, to give drink to the thirsty, to clothe the naked, to harbour the harbourless, to visit the sick, to ransom the captive, to bury the dead). These works are in reference to Matthew 25:41: Joseph F. Delany, *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, New York, 1911, vol. 10, s.v. ‘Corporal and Spiritual Works of Mercy’.

37 The Council of Trent, Session VI, Decree on Justification, Chapter VII, What the justification of the impious is, and what are the causes thereof, in *The Canons and Decrees of the Sacred and Oecumenical Council of Trent*, trans. J. Waterworth, London, 1848, p. 35.

Second Coming. Thus, personal action for Catholics, and a collective process for godly Protestants would not only save the natives but also those who converted them.\textsuperscript{39}

John van Engen has shown that in the medieval and early modern periods, conversion was more often defined as a voluntary process by people who decided to adopt ‘more intense forms of religious life within the Christian community’ than as an attempt to bring pagans or heretics within the bosom of the Christian church.\textsuperscript{40} Missions, at home and abroad (and more generally the reformation of the world, of the unbelievers, of the believers), were a process of double conversion: the intense religious and even mystical experiences of both missionaries and converts were often intertwined in the writings of those religious zealots. The process was thus transformative (even if generally destructive for the natives) for both the convert and the converter. Reformers understood their work as both collective and individual experiences.

\section{An Irreducible Other?}

Cultural histories or ethnohistories dealing with colonial encounters emphasise the ‘otherness’ of the natives and the attempt by European powers to impose a set of ‘Western’ rules on those societies.\textsuperscript{41} In the case of missionaries, the usual absence of cultural relativism stemmed not from a failure to recognise that the natives were equal to Europeans, but from a failure to recognise that they were different. As Anthony Pagden has argued for Europeans in general, descriptions of the natives did not emphasise a ‘remote otherness’, but rather incorporated the natives ‘within the grasp of an anthropology made authoritative by the fact that its sources ran back to the Greeks’.\textsuperscript{42} In order to do so, as Michael T. Ryan has argued, European observers tended to assimilate the natives they encountered with pagan antiquity: ‘there is an almost childlike joy running through these lists of conformities, as if the real discovery were not the exoticism of the other but his ultimate similarity with peoples


\textsuperscript{41} See for example: Schwartz, ed., \textit{Implicit Understandings}.

\textsuperscript{42} Pagden, \textit{The Fall of Natural Man}, p. 5.
already assimilated into European consciousness’.\footnote{Michael T. Ryan, ‘Assimilating New Worlds in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries’, \textit{Comparative Studies in Society and History}, Vol. 23, No. 4 (Oct. 1981), p. 529.} The grouping of different natives under the category of paganism did not make them insignificant or uninteresting, especially for missionaries. Because of doctrinal disputes between Protestants and Catholics, and an increased consciousness of the presence of pagan beliefs in the European countryside, writings about pagan religion were highly relevant to debates about the state of religion in Europe.\footnote{Ryan, ‘Assimilating New Worlds’, p. 526.}

Throughout the previous century, Europeans had evaluated the nature of native societies and had come to the logical Christian conclusion that they were humans.\footnote{On the humanity of the natives, see Margaret T. Hodgen, \textit{Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries}, Philadelphia, 1964, chapter 10, esp. pp. 405–407, 417–418. On the Las Casas – Sepúlveda debate, see Pagden, \textit{The Fall of Natural Man}, esp. chapter 6.} As Michael T. Ryan argues, religious writers considered that, as human beings, the natives could and would be converted to Christianity.\footnote{Ryan, ‘Assimilating New Worlds’, p. 525.} The goal of missionaries in the New World was not so much to impose rules on radically different peoples, but rather to implement Christian rules that they thought should be universally applied, given the fallen nature of man. Not all authors agreed on the nature and content of those rules, but all agreed that they existed and should be identified and put into practice. Reform was a process aimed at finding the best universal rules to guide man’s fallen nature. Missionaries evaluated this normative process differently, depending on their confessional and national allegiances. The natives had specific flaws as well as specific strengths, but they were, like any other man, fallen, and thus in need of moral guidance and regulations.

Many of the missionaries studied in this thesis spent decades within native societies, on which they were often heavily dependent for their survival. More than any other European groups, missionaries were totally immersed in native cultures, and often isolated from European settlements. As Spanish priest Diego de Medrano explained in 1654 about the Jesuits, ‘some priests have been in these missions (doctrinas) for over twenty or thirty years, most of their parishioners are like godchildren and family to them (son sus ahijados y compadres)’.\footnote{Relación del licenciado Diego de Medrano, cura de la ciudad de Durango, cabecera del reino de la Nueva Vizcaya… 31 de agosto de 1654’, in Thomas H. Naylor and Charles W. Polzer, \textit{The Presidio and Militia on the Northern Frontier of New Spain: a Documentary History}, Tucson, 1986, vol. I, p. 477.} The writings of missionaries will not let us get to the natives’ point of view directly. These works did
not intend to render the natives’ perspective on the process of conversion. Yet conversion was not about a static Self pitted against a monolithic Other. Humans were on the way to potential redemption, and they could approach or fall away from that goal. Missionaries frequently contrasted the virtues of recently converted natives to the vices of decadent settlers, and promoted segregation rather than assimilation on the grounds that European settlers would be a bad example to the natives. Colonial authorities also made numerous comments about the need to reduce (and this is their wording) European settlers to a Christian and civil life. In this context, it is not always useful to discuss the history of Christianisation in terms of self and other, as missionaries did not necessarily establish contrasts between Europeans and natives, but rather, evaluated people in terms of their own progress on the way to salvation.

III. Methodology

This thesis is a comparative history of religious processes (moral renewal and self-government, practical Christianity, reformation of manners) considered through the lens of both colonising and colonised spaces. Deborah Cohen, in her evaluation of the difficulties of comparative history, suggested that ‘least likely to go wrong are those topics that begin from a point of relation, those that seemed to contemporaries themselves inherently comparative. When you work on these kinds of topics, you uncover a rich international discussion that itself revolves around similarities and

---


16

differences’. Missionaries and religious writers in the seventeenth century did indeed evaluate the nature of their experiments not only in comparison to missions undertaken by other countries, but also in comparison to the moral status of both European and settler communities.

According to George Frederickson, comparative history, in order to be truly comparative, needs to have as its principal objective the ‘systematic comparison of some process or institution in two or more societies that are not usually conjoined within one of the traditional geographical areas of historical specialization’. This definition implies that comparison should not be simply used as a tool to highlight the specificities of a particular area, but should be the main methodological objective. Comparative history attempts to elucidate both the differences and the commonalities between processes taking place in different areas, in the hope that this will help to better understand the nature of the processes in question. John Elliott, the most important comparative historian of empire, has always advocated ‘a comparative historical approach’, even though it ‘is always likely to promise more than it can deliver’. The difficulties of a comparative approach are, indeed, numerous. One has to deal with an enormous secondary literature, in different languages, whose quality and scope varies greatly. Similarly, it is extremely difficult to compile a coherent sample of primary sources across three cultures, which would provide the same amount and quality of information.

But, methodologically speaking, there are also great advantages. One of Elliott’s arguments for comparative history is that it is a way to avoid exceptionalism and provincialism, especially if scholars study countries other than their own. If I am not an ‘inhabitant of the moon’, as Herbert Bolton suggests would be necessary to guarantee objectivity in the study of ‘greater America’, being neither French, English, nor Spanish can be seen in this context as an advantage. Greater specialisation in the

52 On this, see Peter Baldwin, ‘Comparing and Generalizing: Why All History is Comparative, Yet No History is Sociology’, in Cohen and O’Connor, eds., Comparison and History, especially p. 11.
study of history sometimes leads to a form of parochialism, and an overemphasis on the differences between various geographical areas: some studies are so narrow that they tend to overlook the bigger picture of, say, religious processes in Europe. An alternative risk is to dismiss too easily the differences between similar processes taking place in different areas, which can lead to a lack of nuance and broad overgeneralisations. This is particularly bound to happen with macrohistorical studies using a systemic approach. If I agree with George Frederickson (and John Elliott) that ‘the very act of comparison requires categories that are comparable’, I do not think one needs necessarily to consider that ‘some presuppositions about what is constant or predictable in human motivation or behavior’ are an essential element of the comparative approach. This thesis is not looking for systemic patterns, but for common concerns, to which different solutions were proposed, different solutions that also shared commonalities.

If comparative history has methodological advantages, the difficulty of maintaining a balance between the emphasis on differences or similarities in the comparison of texts from different cultures still remains. The fact that some studies have a wide scope does not necessarily make them comparative histories. Some historians just develop parallel histories, with no real, active comparison; some take broader units of analysis (Europe, America, Atlantic), but with no real comparative dimension: the unit is the Atlantic world, but different components within it are not compared.

An overemphasis on the differences, which ultimately leads to a neglect of nuance (each ‘national discourse’ being made uniform in order to contrast it more convincingly to other ‘national discourses’), ultimately leads to parallel histories, but not to comparative history. In her Ceremonies of Possession, Patricia Seed rightly

---

56 On this topic, and on comparative history in general, see the introduction to J. H. Elliott, Spain, Europe, and the Wider World, 1500–1800, New Haven, CT, 2009. For example, Margo Todd, in her brilliant Christian Humanism and the Puritan Social Order, Cambridge, 2002, only uses the Jesuits as a counter-example or as a contrast to the Christian humanist affiliations of godly Protestants, and so, neglects important relationships and commonalities between the two traditions.

57 See Elliot, National and Comparative History, p. 21.

58 Frederickson, ‘Comparative History’, p. 461.

59 For example, Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, who is rightfully trying to elucidate the commonalities in the Spanish and English approaches to the New World and its conquest in Puritan Conquistadors, ends up exposing a rhetoric of the Devil that is so ubiquitous that it becomes meaningless. The texts the author analyses are part of a common ‘discourse’, emptied of any specific meaning in relationship to the context in which they were written. Cañizares-Esguerra simply ignores any national, confessional, or individual differences. See Cañizares-Esguerra, Puritan Conquistadors, p. 76.
attempts to counter the fact that histories tend to ‘homogenize the five major powers colonizing America in to a single entity: “Europe”’. But each set of justifications for imperialist endeavours is presented by Seed as a uniform and coherent whole neatly delineated and easily distinguishable from other sets of justification. Yet contrary to what the author argues, Spaniards used as many ritualised gestures as Frenchmen (after all, some of them were Jesuits and Catholics as much as the French Jesuits were). Similarly, the public confessions of the natives in New England (‘taking possession did not require a dramatic ceremonial moment’) were indeed a ritualised ceremony of Europeans taking possession of the natives’ souls. Seed seems to reify and simplify some of these trends almost to the point of caricature, and to exclude any permeability between different cultures.

According to Elliott, truly comparative research should be able to uniquely overcome those two opposite difficulties in history. It can challenge the ‘atomization of the past’, but it can also question broad generalisations: ‘by identifying at once the similarities and the differences, it can suggest what is truly exceptional and what is experienced in common’. This study aims to emphasise both the commonalities and differences in Catholic and Calvinist conversion strategies, and elucidate trends that have so far been neglected.

IV. A Note on the Sources

The primary sources used for this thesis are quite varied. A significant amount of the sources were published at the time for purposes that might almost be termed ‘advertising’ in the modern sense, exhibiting measures of self-promotion, appeals for money, and extravagant promises. These pamphlets and mission reports were very popular in Europe. Aside from this published material, I have also used modern collections of documents either unpublished at the time (such as private correspondence) or difficult to find in their original edition. Spanish historiography does have a tradition of published Colecciones de documentos, such as for example Enrique del Valle Iberlucea’s Documentos para la historia Argentina, which contains the annual letters of the Jesuits in Paraguay. When possible, original editions have

---

60 Seed, Ceremonies of Possession, p. 3.
61 Seed, Ceremonies of Possession, p. 179.
been favoured over edited texts, but I have used the scholarly apparatus of the latter as needed. All texts have been consulted in the original language, and all translations in the thesis are mine, although I have occasionally used Thwaites’ translation when it seemed appropriate in the case of the French Jesuits’ Relations. I did so because this is the translation that is used in most (if not all) of the Anglophone secondary literature on the subject. I have tried to keep my translations as literal as possible, in order to preserve the meaning, if not the flavour, of the texts. I have also occasionally used Thwaites to access documents in the original language that were not available in the original edition. But I have also availed myself of contemporary translations made in the seventeenth century (or earlier), as for example with John Calvin’s works. I have used collections of legislation, such as the Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, and the Recopilacion de leyes de los reinos de las Indias. I have also occasionally used manuscripts, especially in the case of the correspondence between the French Crown and public officials in New France. In order to keep from inadvertently familiarising these strange voices from a different world, this thesis preserves the original spelling and punctuation. Perhaps this will permit the reader (to paraphrase Quentin Skinner) to ‘read things their way’.

V. Synopsis:

The broad French, English, and Spanish intellectual and religious contexts within which seventeenth-century missions took shape was itself a context of religious reforms, and many of the issues addressed by religious reformers in Europe were also omnipresent in missionary writings. Demands for reform and religious enthusiasm need to be assessed in relationship to France, England and Spain’s respective political and confessional situations. Missions pertained to a wider interest in religious and moral reform: European missions to peasants and missions to the native peoples of the New World stemmed from similar preoccupations, and were actively compared. Indeed, missions were part of broader institutional and soteriological movements in Europe concerned with religious education and reform. Chapters one and two address key themes in these intellectual and religious contexts.

63 For example, in the case of the Eliot Tracts, I have read the original pamphlets rather than Michael C. Clark’s edition, although I have mentioned Clark’s pagination when it was unclear on the original document.
As they set up missions in the New World, missionaries encountered peoples with different cults and what they considered to be ‘superstitions’. They wrote in detail about their perception of native societies and the transformations they believed to be necessary for their salvation. Missionaries’ analyses of custom, and in particular of native customs, were anchored within specific intellectual and theological traditions. The mental changes that missionaries thought native groups were meant to experience in order to reach salvation, or at least the possibility of it, were also indebted to the traditions within which they wrote, but were innovative in many respects. Chapter three discusses and compares missionaries’ understanding of native idolatry, the notion of conversion as a psychological process, and the nature of the mechanisms involved in this process. The following chapters address the particulars of those experiments.

The process of conversion in itself was implemented through specific missiologies, which were related to particular theological and ecclesiological principles in the Catholic and Calvinist traditions. Missions were shaped according to these principles, and this is the topic of chapter four. As chapter five will show, missionaries perceived some aspects of the natives’ social and political organisation as being incompatible with the tenets of Christianity. Thus, aside from purely spiritual processes of conversion, missionaries also implemented reformation strategies based on political and social changes.

Missionaries’ ultimate purpose was the salvation of the natives, and they shaped the political and institutional systems that they established within native communities to that end. These communities of converted natives (or converts-to-be) were established within a colonial context. Legal and political conditions partly shaped the form of their project. But missionaries were also frequently in conflict with other corporate groups and institutions in the New World on moral, religious, or political grounds. They were also frequently in conflict with the metropolis. Missionaries’ understanding of the nature and role of converted native communities often greatly differed from government officials’ perception. These officials had a clear idea of what membership within a political and/or Christian community entailed. They followed their own intellectual traditions to discuss the place and role of the natives within this framework. But missionaries offered their own vision of community-building, and adopted different practices regarding civil and religious membership within their native converted communities. Because of their complex
situation in the colonial world, and their intermediary position between settlers and unconverted native communities, converted natives were frequently at the centre of colonial conflicts. These issues are addressed in chapters six and seven.

The conclusion restates and elaborates on missionaries’ use of both unconverted natives and converted native communities in their definition of the ideal society, on the ways in which they considered their own experiments as blueprints for European reforms, and more generally on their disappointments and hopes regarding Europe, based on their experience in the New World. Missionaries naturally considered their experiments with the natives as applicable in Europe, for their real point of focus was not the variety of men or cultural differences. Their focus was on what was the only true, unalterable, and universal element in their worldviews: God. In 1658, French Jesuit Paul Le Jeune compared the customs of various countries, and mused on his experience with the natives:

The world is full of variety and change, and one will never find unalterable permanence (on n’y trouuera iamais de fermeté solide). If one were mounted on a tower high enough to survey at his ease all the Nations of the earth, he would find it very hard, amid such strange varieties and such a medley, to say who are wrong and who are right, who are fools and who are wise. Verily, God alone is constant; he alone is unchangeable; he alone varies not, and to him we must hold fast, to avoid change and inconstancy.\(^\text{64}\)

\(^{64}\) Paul Le Jeune, in Jean de Quen, *Relation de ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable aux missions des PP. de la Compagnie de Jesus en la Nouvelle France, ès années 1657 & 1658*, Paris, 1659, p. 121 (trans. JR, vol. XLIV, p. 297). The chapter is anonymous, but Thwaites mentions in the preface that it is apparently from Le Jeune (p. 16).
Chapter 1
Religion, Politics, and Reform: the European Context of Missions

I. Introduction: Religious Renewal in the Seventeenth Century

The history of seventeenth-century missions cannot be understood outside of the European context of post-Reformation Catholicism and Protestantism. Recent historiography has emphasised that the similarities between Reformation and Counter-Reformation stemmed, in the words of Anthony D. Wright, from ‘the single movement for Christian revival, personal and communal, of the late medieval and Renaissance period’.\(^1\) Despite intense polarisation, both movements, after all, emphasised the necessity of reform. Most actors believed that, in the words of Scottish Presbyterian George Gillespie, ‘reformation ends not in contemplation, but in action’\(^2\). Comparing both trends, by looking not only at the differences but also at the similarities, will help highlight positive processes of religious renewal in Catholic experiments, as well as similar evangelical impulses, which have been neglected by the historiography, in the Protestant world. The Counter-Reformation was not only a reaction to the Protestant Reformation, but was also, in itself, a positive process of renewal.\(^3\) Similarly, the religious demands at the origin of the civil war in England were also, in the words of Patrick Collinson, ‘the real English Reformation’, and involved a deep engagement with soteriological issues.\(^4\) In different contexts, zealous Christians in the seventeenth century were willing to experiment with new forms of

---

piety, and did not limit themselves to merely reactive or destructive approaches, but envisioned active processes of (re)construction of the self and the community.

These processes of reconstruction and reformation were also implemented with an international program in mind: along with national renewal and foreign missions, zealous Christians were preoccupied with the fate of their creed on an international level and were demanding support from political institutions when their communities’ rights or lives seemed threatened.

In a Europe torn apart by religious controversy, those who chose to adopt those more intense forms of religious life were often looked upon with suspicion. They were the most active members of their faith, but were often perceived by more moderate members, and by monarchies, as threatening established orthodoxy. Monarchical governments tended, despite periods of rapprochement, to be hostile to enthusiasts of religion: Puritans in England, mystics in Spain, dévots in France. But such groups were also the ones willing to undertake extreme actions for their faith, and many missionaries were part of this religious vanguard. The Jesuits, the avant-garde of the Counter-Reformation, were often criticised for their innovative forms of religious practices. The line between sincere religious enthusiasm and heresy was often thin. The complexity of soteriological debates and the multiplicity of pious initiatives in the seventeenth century also remind us that Christianity in early modern Europe was not a fact but a process, constantly renewed and refashioned by its actors.

This chapter will examine key themes in the political, religious, and intellectual climate in early modern France, England and Spain, and establish the position of the various missionary agents in their national contexts. The relationship between demands for reform and the rise of more authoritarian forms of monarchical power shaped not only the colonial world, but also its missions, which were often dependent on monarchical powers to survive. The relationship between monarchical powers and religious reform had a significant impact on the nature and form of imperialism adopted by monarchies, and on the amount of power granted to missionaries in their work overseas. Moreover, some of the key themes addressed by reformers in France, England and Spain had a long-lasting impact on their perception of the New World. Missionaries’ complaints and analyses of both settler and European societies frequently echoed those of reformers in Europe.
II. Religious Reform, Tacitism, and Absolute Rule in France

In France, the intensity of spiritual renewal reached its peak in the first half of the seventeenth century, with an emphasis on lay piety. The relationship between the Crown, the parlements, and the papacy shaped the fate of the Society of Jesus (key actors of missionary activities in New France) within the kingdom. More than thirty prior years of religious wars had profound consequences for political, intellectual and religious developments in seventeenth-century France. The wars greatly delayed the introduction of Tridentine reforms, and influenced the configuration of Catholic reform in France.\(^5\) Scepticism, as an ideal of withdrawal from public life and increased individualism, was an important aspect of France’s intellectual climate, but was actively criticised by the Jesuits. Reason of state and prudence became central in political theory, and reinforced the increasing autocratic tendencies of the monarchy. These motives could be, and were, catholicised and adapted to a Thomist vision of society.\(^6\)

1. ‘These traitors, these scoundrels, these assassins, these murderers of Kings’: the Jesuits and Gallicanism in France\(^7\)

The rise of erudite Gallicanism illustrates ‘a broad change in moral climate’ occurring in France over the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, from humanism to Stoicism and finally, to self-interest and reason of state in the seventeenth century.\(^8\) The term ‘erudite Gallicanism’, coined by historians, designates a group of royal magistrates and jurists, mostly conseillers from the parlement of Paris, trained in canon and civil law, who argued that the transcendence of French law in secular and

---


religious matters was the ultimate tool to secure peace within the kingdom. Tacitism had an important influence on these jurists, and became progressively favoured over Cicero’s civic humanism in political and philosophical writings. This ‘ruthless humanism’, as Richard Tuck calls it, differed from a more ‘virtuous’ form of Ciceronian humanism in which the public good prevailed over self-interest.

An ideal of withdrawal from the turmoil of public life — that can be found, for example, in Montaigne — developed during the religious wars, and was correlated to the emergence of arguments in favour of absolute monarchy. The violence of the war encouraged the development of a philosophical movement emphasising dignified resignation in the face of events one could not control. Reason of state and political prudence came to reinforce the ideals of absolute monarchy and individual disengagement from politics.

The growing Neo-Stoic importance of history and custom in intellectual debates was a significant feature of erudite Gallicanism: the only valid way to secure peace for the magistrates was adherence to French customs and laws in all matters. The Society of Jesus was at odds with this tradition, as it had favoured Ciceronianism from its foundation and based the Ratio Studiorum (the universal plan of education of the Order, established in 1599) on the imitation of Cicero. As Richard Tuck has shown, Ciceronian humanists defended ‘orthodox moral values and [...] a more widespread participation by the populace in political and moral life’, and this was

---


14 Tuck, *Philosophy and Government*, p. 17. The length of study for the Jesuits (ten years studying the arts) meant that they were more open to humanist ideas than other orders: *ibid.*, p. 133.
reflected in their pedagogy.\textsuperscript{15} Self-interest and a relativist understanding of customs were certainly not to the taste of the Jesuits, who, above all, supported the universal values of the Catholic Church. Human law was valid only insofar as it reflected divine law.\textsuperscript{16} The idea that the Jesuits were Machiavellian manipulators was commonplace in the seventeenth century, but, as Harro Höpfl has shown, the Jesuits only supported reason of state insofar as it was deemed \textit{good} reason of state (with the service of God in mind). Similarly, they supported a pure form of monarchy, as it reflected the perfect hierarchical order of the world, but only insofar as the king was a Catholic and virtuous king.\textsuperscript{17}

If prudence and reason of state were prominent in French political thought, in the seventeenth century, insistence by erudite Gallicans on customary law did not necessarily suit the increasingly centralising and authoritarian intentions of the monarchy. As Jotham Parsons has shown, the Bourbon monarchy was ‘much more inclined to accept constraint by a timeless ideal, defined in religious terms by religious specialists, which could justify practically any action in its pursuit, than a home-grown historical account that would confine them for their own preservation within a customary framework and would leave them unable to develop new resources’.\textsuperscript{18}

Henri IV’s relationship with the Jesuit order is illustrative of this trend. The Order had been expelled from France under the pressure of erudite Gallicans, who disapproved of the ultramontane and internationalist tendencies of the Jesuit order (every member of the Society had to swear an oath of allegiance to the Pope, and an oath of obedience to the Jesuit Father General), and feared that clemency for their ties with the League during the religious wars would undermine the authority of the laws of the kingdom.\textsuperscript{19} Moreover, the Jesuits were perceived as the principal representatives of Spain, who had supported the Catholic League in France during the wars.\textsuperscript{20} The Order also faced opposition from the University of Paris, which was unwilling to give up its central educational role in France to those it considered to be ‘wolves in

\textsuperscript{16} Tuck, \textit{Philosophy and Government}, p. 143.
\textsuperscript{17} Höpfl, \textit{Jesuit Political Thought}, p. 85.
\textsuperscript{18} Parsons, \textit{The Church in the Republic}, p. 273.
\textsuperscript{20} Nelson, \textit{The Jesuits and the Monarchy}, p. 21. See also Briggs, \textit{Communities of Belief}, p. 183.
disguise’, ‘poisoners’, ‘deceivers’ and ‘vain hypocrites’. Henri rehabilitated the Society in 1603, and this move was central in his strategy for securing religious peace and increasing his religious credibility and royal authority. Readmitting the Society by an act of royal clemency was a way for him to reaffirm the authority of royal judgment, making it the basis for peace and order. This view was directly opposed to the legalist conception of authority, as the king’s inscrutable authority — which could and would be developed in a theory of absolute monarchy — could contradict custom and law. The king’s use of the *arcana imperii* argument was a step towards absolute rule.

The readmission of the Order through royal clemency rather than exoneration also meant that the king could demand the Order’s obedience, thereby reaffirming his authority over French ecclesiastical matters. This strategy thus allowed the king to be in favour in Rome and gain influence in the international Catholic Church (in a competition with Spain), while securing obedience from the powerful order in France. The Jesuits would be under the jurisdiction of the Crown and the church hierarchy. The end of the war with Spain in 1598, and the king’s need for support in Rome made the moment propitious for the rehabilitation of the Order. This gesture would also reassure the former Leaguers, worried by the protection of Huguenots offered by the Edict of Nantes; the former Protestant prince could plausibly act as *le roi très chrétien*. The Edict of Nantes only allowed toleration insofar as it fostered peace, and the Jesuits would also be useful for missionary activities aimed at Huguenots. As J.H.M. Salmon has shown, the Jesuits, particularly in France, supported the idea that ‘hierarchy and monarchy were essential to good order in any

---

24 Nelson, *The Jesuits and the Monarchy*, pp. 79, 105. See also Briggs, *Communities of Belief*, p. 181, for a more general account of Henri’s policy towards political and ecclesiastical institutions.
collective body’, and reinforced the strong links between political and religious authority under the Bourbon kings. Royal support also meant that public criticism of the Order became more difficult. This close relationship was maintained under the regency of Marie de Medici and the reigns of Louis XIII and Louis XIV, who entrusted their hearts to the care of the Society after their death, as Henri IV had done. This close connection was reinforced by Cardinal Richelieu’s support of the Order.

Richelieu developed a vision of the Crown as specifically Catholic, and his policies represented from this perspective a compromise between a devout and a more Gallican form of Catholicism, as the advancement of the French monarchy was assimilated with the advancement of Catholicism (which would notably allow for an anti-Habsburg policy on the European scene). Richelieu’s politics of reason of state presupposed a sacralisation of the monarchy. According to Dale van Kley, ‘devout humanist spirituality in Catholic France [was] a necessary religious buttress for the notion of the divine right of kings’. The spiritual dimension of the monarchy and its need for spiritual counsel was central for Richelieu. The Gallican church lost its former glory, claimed the Cardinal, because religious persons did not take part in government, as ‘it is believed that the honour they have to serve God makes them unable to serve their king, who is [God’s] brightest image (qui en est la plus vive image)’. On the contrary, in the past, ‘persons devoted to the ministry of religion occupied the highest offices for the kings […] not only in spiritual matters, but also in

---

29 Salmon, ‘France’, p. 481. Even if, as Henry Phillips argues, the terms of the Edict were very strict, they were largely tempered by the king’s willingness to promote the vitality of the order in France and in New France. Under the king’s patronage, the Society expanded rapidly and became central in the reform movement in France. See Phillips, Church and Culture, p. 110; Nelson, The Jesuits and the Monarchy, pp. 98–110.
matters concerning civil and political government’. This was an essential issue for the Cardinal. Indeed, he claimed in his political testament that ‘the reign of God is the principle of the government of States: & it is so absolutely necessary, that without this Foundation no Prince could reign properly, nor any State could be Happy’. Richelieu believed that the king should be advised by churchmen (as he himself was), and created, in a 1625 project on national reform, a council on conscience to advise the king, composed of members of the clergy. Richelieu was favourable to the Jesuit order, and actively supported their missions to the New World. He also ardently supported the application of Tridentine reforms in France, as a way to enforce clerical discipline. As will be shown in chapter six, the fate of the Society of Jesus was linked to these political developments in France. After facing a difficult start in the New World, and strong criticisms from erudite Gallicans, the Society’s authority was reinforced by Richelieu’s reorganisation of the colony, but was later perceived as conflicting with royal authority, and, by the late seventeenth century, the Jesuits progressively lost their influence in New France.

The Cardinal combined the church and the state’s interests in his policies, and pushed Catholic reform in France as a means to reinforce hierarchy within the church, and the authority of the king over the church. An important aspect of the Counter-Reformation in France was its concern for structure and discipline. The clergy had to be reorganised and better educated, in order to better convert and teach uneducated people. This stress on hierarchy and discipline was central to the reform of the secular clergy. New congregations of priests, such as the Oratorians, Eudists, Lazarists and Sulpicians had to swear an oath of obedience to the bishops who were responsible for

38 Van Kley, The Religious Origins of the French Revolution, pp. 50–54; Parsons, The Church in the Republic, p. 267; Richelieu, ‘Harangue… 1615’, in Mémoires, vol. 1, pp. 363–364. On Richelieu’s support of the Society, see also Robert Bireley, The Jesuits and the Thirty Years War: Kings, Courts, and Confessors, Cambridge, 2003, p. 66. The decrees of the Council of Trent were received by the king but never by the parlements, and were thus never officially integrated within French law. They were received by the Assembly of the Clergy of France in 1615. See Armand du Plessis, Cardinal de Richelieu, ‘Règlement pour toutes les affaires du royaume, 1625’, in Avenel, ed., Lettres, instructions… du Cardinal de Richelieu, vol. 2, pp. 171–172; Phillips, Church and Culture, p. 3; Delumeau, Catholicism between Luther and Voltaire, p. 26; Briggs, Communities of Belief, p. 183.
39 Briggs, Communities of Belief, pp. 188, 210; Bireley, The Refashioning of Catholicism, pp. 91–94.
them. In late sixteenth-century France, the Crown usually granted bishoprics and other episcopal offices to reward political services. Clerical reformers, though, had a different understanding of the function, and elaborated a new theory of the sanctity of the episcopacy, demanding holiness from its members, and promoting their views not only through seminaries (training the future clergy), but also through numerous writings and good connections at court. Richelieu and the Crown supported this policy, as virtuous bishops would promote order in their dioceses.

2. ‘Their only monastery will be the houses of the sick’: the Counter-Reformation in France

If it is true, as J.H.M Salmon has argued, that in France, ‘the efforts of Catholic reformers [did not] serve to disarm sceptical opinion’, I would also argue that sceptical opinion certainly did not disarm Catholic reformers. A great number of new orders and congregations were created in the first half of the seventeenth century in France. Most of these focussed on creating seminaries for the education of priests, on charity, and the giving of missions to peasants, heretics, and infidels. Many of those new religious societies were secular, as it facilitated the priests’ interaction with the world.

Situated within the Christocentric tradition of what Henri Brémond has termed the ‘French school of Spirituality’, the Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement (Company of

---

43 Salmon, ‘France’, p. 482.
45 Deslandres, Croire et faire croire, p. 79.
46 Delumeau, Catholicism between Luther and Voltaire, pp. 34–40. Ecclesiastical authorities generally did not accept the fact that sisters would leave the cloister, and women, with the significant exception of the Daughters of Charity, created by Vincent de Paul, usually took vows and dedicated themselves to education or nursing.
the Blessed Sacrament) was established in 1629 by Henri de Lévis, duc de Ventadour and reflected the willingness of lay people to participate in the advancement of the faith. The Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement was a secret society with philanthropic and religious goals. Its emphasis on the Eucharist and on self-renunciation was in line with the spiritual mood of seventeenth-century France. Numerous members of the new secular orders were members of the Company, along with nobles and ecclesiastical figures. The Company promoted charity, financial involvement, and political lobbying to further Catholic renewal. Its members came from all social classes, but many of them were influential and wealthy members of society, with political weight, who had been recruited in Jesuit Sodalities (pious congregations of lay people). The document establishing the ‘spirit’ of the Company made clear that their activities were all-encompassing, and stated that it had been created to work for the good as much as possible, and fight evil at all times, in all places, towards anyone. This is what differentiates it from other endeavours, limited to specific places and types of works. The Company has no limits, no measure, no restriction but those that prudence and good judgement put on its works. It works not only to relieve the poor, the sick, prisoners and all people in distress, but also for missions, seminars, the conversion of heretics, and the propagation of the faith everywhere in the world; to prevent scandals, impious deeds, blasphemies; in a word, to prevent all evils or to provide cures for them; […] to embrace all difficult, formidable, neglected and abandoned causes, and to work for the good of others with all charity.

The Company’s declared mission was similar to the Society of Jesus’ apostolate, in their shared willingness to be all-encompassing, universal, and practical. Their spiritual outlook also shared an emphasis on Christ and his sufferings. The Jesuits’ Spiritual Exercises were a handbook prescribing a four-week meditation, which would help reinforce the practitioner’s spiritual proximity to God and could be practised by anyone. During the second week, one was to mentally visualise and relive the life and sufferings of Christ. Similarly, the members of the Company of the Blessed

49 Raoul Allier, La cabale des dévots, 1627–1666, Paris, 1902, p. 247
Sacrament, aside from their involvement in the world, organised conferences and lessons for their own spiritual good. Their aim was to ‘renew the memory of the actions and sufferings of Jesus Christ, its master and model, in the various stages of his birth, his life, and his death’.\footnote{San Ignacio de Loyola, transcripción, introducciones y notas de Ignacio Iparraguirre, Madrid, 1977 (t4 ed.), pp. 207–290.}

The Company’s activities in France were varied: they supported the poor and often defended them against more powerful individuals, established hospitals and asylums, visited jails. In terms of morality, they discreetly led various campaigns against frivolous clothing, indecent leisure activities (such as Molière’s plays), duelling, gambling, and swearing. They also dedicated their time to the improvement of the Catholic Church, in terms of material as well as spiritual well-being, by providing funds for missions and building renovations, and trying to influence the enforcement of a strict morality within the clergy’s ranks. Companies established in rural areas promoted religious education. Thus, the Company focussed on providing material as well as spiritual charity, and also attempted to enforce morality through lobbying but also through education and support of those in need.\footnote{Tallon, La Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement, pp. 35, 56.} The company’s members were particularly aggressive in their attempts to suppress heresy:

\begin{quote}

as God is greatly dishonoured in our times by the atheists, deists, libertines, heretics and schismatics, gamblers and blasphemers of his holy name, and by many other impious persons, we shall try, with charitable remonstrance and good examples, to bring them back on the path of righteousness; and if they prove themselves to be incorrigible, we shall threaten them to warn the authorities, and shall do it if necessary.\footnote{‘Exercices de la Compagnie’, in Beauchet-Filleau, ed., Annales de la Compagnie, p. 249.}
\end{quote}

A member of the Company who had also been trained by the Jesuits, Jean-Jacques Olier (1608–1657) created the Society of Saint Sulpice for the education of priests, as well as a mission for the relief of the poor, especially during and after the Frondes, and for the conversion of Huguenots. Olier also founded the \textit{Société Notre-Dame de Montréal pour la Conversion des Sauvages de la Nouvelle France} (Our lady of Montréal Society for the Conversion of the Savages of New-France), responsible for the founding of Ville-Marie, later renamed Montreal, in 1641.\footnote{See anon. [Jean-Jacques Olier], \textit{Les veritables motifs de Messieurs et Dames de la Société De Nostre Dame de Montreal, pour la conversion des Sauvages de la Nouvelle France}, s.l., 1643. On this, see Deslandres, \textit{Croire et faire croire}, pp. 146–147; Forrestal, \textit{Fathers, Pastors and Kings}, p. 59.} As we will see,
Jesuits in France and zealous members of the Company of the Blessed Sacrament collaborated and did much to assist missions in the New World.

Henry Evennett has shown that the ‘urge towards outward activity and good works’, and the implementation of ‘new techniques of meditative prayer and Eucharistic devotions’ were essential elements of Counter-Reformation spirituality.\(^{57}\) French religious reformers intensely participated in the life of the community, mainly through education, charity, and missionary activities. Traditional regular orders reformed, and new orders were created, regular as well as secular.\(^{58}\) Whereas the religious orders up to the sixteenth century emphasised the importance of contemplative life, devotion, and withdrawal from the secular world, new formations and reformed orders in the seventeenth century focussed on the intervention of its members in the world.\(^{59}\)

Francis de Sales’ *Introduction à la vie dévote*, published in 1609, illustrates the development of an understanding of salvation more oriented towards individual piety.\(^{60}\) This concern for ‘the common people’s’ spirituality also highlights the emphasis on individual action that was characteristic of seventeenth-century French reform movements. De Sales’ spirituality focussed on God’s love, which the devout would echo in his love for his neighbour: ‘as man is the image of God, so is man’s sacred love for man the true image of man’s celestial love for God’.\(^{61}\) This love for one’s neighbour was contrasted to self-love and self-interest.\(^{62}\) This emphasis on well-directed love could be found in Augustine, who declared in *The City of God*: ‘When a man’s purpose is to love God not according to man, but according to God, and to love

---


\(^{58}\) In the Catholic church, the secular clergy is opposed to the regular orders. The regulars live according to a rule, and take vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience. Members of the secular clergy live in the world as opposed to the cloister (saeculum), put themselves under the authority of a Bishop and promise celibacy. Secular orders, also called the ‘third orders’ are lay members of a religious order who do not take vows or live in a religious community: Auguste Boudinon, *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, New York, 1912, vol. 13, s.v. ‘Secular Clergy’; and Bede Jarrett, Ferdinand Heckmann, Benedict Zimmerman, Livarius Oliger, Odoric Jouve, Lawrence Hess, and John Doyle, *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, New York, 1912, vol. 14, s.v. ‘Third Orders’.


\(^{60}\) Phillips, *Church and Culture*, p. 17. The book ran to forty editions in ten years.


his neighbour as himself, he is beyond doubt said to be of good will because of this love’.63

This new spirituality promoted the idea of self-control, important in sceptic writings, but also the idea of active participation in public life, as opposed to a Neo-Stoic ideal of withdrawal.64 Mystic thought in the seventeenth century was thus centred on action and deep engagement in public life, while at the same time urging the believer to forget oneself and despise the world, ‘ad majorem dei gloriam’.65 They focused on self-renunciation, and actively sought suffering to prove the strength of their faith.66 Thus Louis Tronson, priest and superior of the Sulpicians between 1671 and 1700, recommended:

If you really want to be Christians, that is, completely belong to Jesus Christ, […] If you really want to be among his Children, and be part of his heirs in Paradise, that is, not be damned for ever, and be happy forever in heaven, you must renounce the world entirely, and bid it an eternal farewell.67

The corruption of one’s being was a way to celebrate the power and eternity of God. Thus, for Jean Jacques Olier,

When a Christian considers himself to be failing in his being (défaillant en son être) at all times, because of the passing of time, which causes his body and life to decay, he must let himself rise up to God through Jesus Christ, […], saying ‘My God I adore you, I adore your eternal being, I am delighted that my body is permanently decaying, so that at all times it is a tribute to your eternity’.68

Mortifications and penances were common practice, and many missionaries actively sought sacrifice and martyrdom in their endeavours.69 The Jesuits, in their missions

64 Tuck, Philosophy and Government, p. XIII.
65 Motto of the Society of Jesus: For the greater glory of God.
66 Delumeau, Catholicism between Luther and Voltaire, p. 48.
abroad, were especially impressive for their endurance in the face of torture. This idea of self-renunciation had Augustinian roots.

Another important aspect of this self-deprecation was humility. For example, the Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement was secret in order to prevent its members from ostensibly displaying their merits. Contemporaries both recognised and honoured this discretion. As the Jesuit Jean-Baptiste Saint-Jure explained about Gaston de Renty (head of the Company between 1639 and 1649), ‘he liked to live a hidden life […] in order to be able to escape the respect, honours and praises from men and be erased from their memory, forgotten by everyone’.

French mysticism was highly influenced by the theology of Pseudo-Dionysius, which emphasised, as Alison Forrestal has shown, the ‘hierarchical structure of divine and human relations and its predilection for negative ascent to God by self-renunciation’. This theology was also central to the Jesuits’ Spiritual Exercises, which envisioned personal development as going through three stages: purgation, illumination, and union (with the deity). Augustinian doctrines, intensely Christocentric, were also important in French mysticism. More fundamentally, it was inspired by the principles of the Devotio Moderna (developed by the Brethren of the Common Life in Germany and the Netherlands at the end of the fourteenth century), and by Spanish mysticism. The Devotio Moderna, according to Quentin Skinner, ‘stressed the need for a reformation of morals and defended the ideals of apostolic poverty and the communal life […] they sought to train themselves, by teaching and spiritual exercises, to cultivate this genuinely submissive relationship with God’.

Ultimately, the new school of spirituality in France combined an insistence on the centrality of action in the world and self-abnegation with an emphasis on the spirituality and virtuous life of lay people, who were expected to lead holy lives. In the first half of the seventeenth century, the role of lay people in religion was amply

70 On the notion of martyrdom in Jesuit thought, see Höpfl, Jesuit Political Thought, p. 142.
71 See for example: Augustine, The City of God, Book XIV, chapter 28, p. 632: ‘Two cities, then, have been created by two loves: that is, the earthly by love of self extending even to contempt of God, and the heavenly by love of God extending to contempt of self’.
73 Jean-Baptiste Saint Ivre (Jure), La vie de Monsieur de Renty, Paris, 1651, p. 61.
74 Forrestal, ‘Fathers, Leaders, Kings’, p. 29. See also Forrestal, Fathers, Pastors and Kings, p. 52.
77 Deslandres, Croire et faire croire, p. 97.
79 Briggs, Communities of Belief, p. 206.
discussed and promoted, and in particular by the members of the Society of Jesus. As Jesuit Jean Cordier claimed in *La Famille Saincte* (1662), ‘holiness, which is the Soul of the Mystic body of Jesus-Christ, is not only tamed in Cloisters & Deserts; but also in individual houses and Families’.\(^{80}\) The Company of the Blessed Sacrament did not accept members of religious orders, and had in its ranks more lay people than members of the clergy (who composed about 40 percent of the Company). Gaston de Renty often insisted on the duty of lay people to preach and put individual beliefs in practice.\(^{81}\) The Company of Paris tended to appoint only lay people at its head, as they had ‘more knowledge of temporal affairs than clerics do’.\(^{82}\)

Appeals to moral reform in the country relied on the usual criticisms of lust, greed, luxury, and idleness. Jesuit Nicolas Caussin, in his *La Cour Sainte* (1647), exhorted nobles to lead exemplary lives and inspire others to Christian perfection: ‘It is up to you’, said Caussin, addressing the nobility, ‘to create a new world, to banish sin from the earth, so that a golden age might flourish again’. For Caussin, the first issue in noble society lay in lukewarm feelings towards religion or straightforward heresy, as well as the tyranny of opinions and appearances. This led to toleration of heretical opinions:

> O that we shall soon see this great day, when France only speaks one language, when the names of Lutheran and Calvinist are banned from men’s memories, when all Frenchmen will be reunited under one Faith, one Law, one Leader, one Church, and together eternally bless the Name of Jesus.\(^{83}\)

For Caussin, the nobles had servants who lived ‘at death’s door (à quatre doigts près de la mort) so that they [the nobles] can live a life full of delights’. Contrasting the nobles’ luxury with the oppression of the poor, Caussin insisted that the former’s behaviour was ‘injurious to God and His church’. True devotion, for Caussin, consisted in banishing from one’s house ‘luxury in dress and foods, superfluities, delicacies, and vice, to give rise to modesty, frugality, industry, and virtue’.\(^{84}\)

---

80 Jean Cordier, *La famille saincte, ov il est traicté des Deuoirs de toutes les personnes qui composent une Famille*, Lyon, 1662, ‘Dessein de l’auteur’.


84 Caussin, *La Cour Sainte*, vol. 1, quotations on pp. 57, 79, 81, 94. See also Antoine Godeau (Bishop of Grasse), *Exhortation aux Parisiens sur le secovrs des pavvres des provinces de Picardie et de
Messages of moral transformation directed at the elite were commonplace across the copious literature devoted to the poor and their relief throughout the century. Conversely, idleness among the poor was not tolerated, as it was ‘the plague of Kingdoms and Commonwealths’. The theme of moral responsibility, and criticisms of greed and idleness were frequent in Jesuit writings about New France. Missionaries frequently contrasted the colony’s simple and wild landscape to the artificiality of courts and palaces, which, according to these authors, made the practice of Christian virtues more difficult.

If seventeenth-century France witnessed the growth of sceptical thought and of Neo-Stoic ideals of withdrawal, it also saw an incredible number of collective and individual attempts to reform society and individuals within it along the lines of Christian ethics. Although often described in the historiography as educated elites willing to control the lower classes of the population, these reformers not only sought

---


to transform others, but themselves, often through intensely ascetic means.\textsuperscript{88} Royal authority was challenged by the \textit{parlements} during the Fronde (1638–1653), but the resulting chaos only reinforced the conviction that order and security could only be guaranteed by the absolute nature of monarchy.\textsuperscript{89} In New France, the French monarchy trusted the Jesuits as representatives of the state, but attempted to diminish their influence once their practices were believed to be conflicting with imperial goals, as will be discussed in chapter six.

\textbf{III. Spanish Decline, Empire, and Mysticism}

After the death of Philip II in 1598, the Spanish monarchy seemed unable to face the challenges posed by the conflicts within Christendom: the Dutch revolt was not crushed, and France, after the religious wars, became dangerously threatening. The country was faced with economic and financial crisis.\textsuperscript{90} With the death of Philip III in 1621 came the advent of the Count-Duke of Olivares, a statesman completely dedicated to Spanish reform and renewal. That same year also marked the end of the Twelve Years’ Truce with the Dutch. Because of the threatening and increasing power of the Dutch, especially in the Atlantic, and the context of the Bohemian rebellion, both parties decided to resume the war. But war, of course, proved costly, and only made the Crown’s financial situation worse.

\textbf{1. ‘The most powerful Prince in the world’: Spanish Decline and European War}\textsuperscript{91}

Olivares’ major plan for reform, conceived in 1624, was to reduce all the kingdoms into a single legal unit. Spain traditionally dealt with its territories in two ways: one was by integrating the area within the laws and customs of the conquering

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item See for example Delumeau, \textit{Catholicism between Luther and Voltaire}.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
territory. Such was the case of the Indies, which were juridically incorporated into the Crown of Castile.\textsuperscript{92} The alternative was to maintain conquered or acquired territories as separate entities, with their own laws and customs. This was the case with most territories of the Spanish monarchy.\textsuperscript{93} In the composite of territories that was Spain, with different languages and customary laws, Castile had always been the centre of power.\textsuperscript{94} But Castile, impoverished and suffering from demographic decline, was burdened with taxes and its representatives increasingly complained of having to assume all the costs of empire. Other principalities pointed out that Castile was also reaping all the benefits of it, but this reality was in fact less and less accurate. Trade with the New World became less satisfying, as New Spain developed its industries and Peru its agriculture, and both became increasingly autonomous for their subsistence. The expulsion of the Moriscos in 1609 exacerbated an existing demographic problem. Castile at the beginning of the seventeenth century thus still had a political advantage, but its economic power no longer justified it in the eyes of the other kingdoms. For Olivares, these issues could only be resolved by integrating the kingdoms within the Crown’s jurisdiction. He warned the king in a secret document:

Your Majesty’s most important business for his Monarchy is to become King of Spain; by this, I mean that your Majesty should not be satisfied with being king of Portugal, Aragon and Valencia, count of Barcelona, but should think about and work with secret councils to reduce (reducir) these kingdoms of which Spain is composed to the style and laws of Castile, without any difference between them […] If your Majesty succeeded, he would be the most powerful Prince in the world.\textsuperscript{95}

But this policy and its implementation were far from being accepted in the other kingdoms. The political structure of the monarchy did not provide its members with a sense of corporate purpose, and the different territories did not share a sense of unity and identity.\textsuperscript{96}

The long history of Spain, and in particular Castile, as a defender of the Catholic faith played a role in contemporaries’ understanding of the perceived current

\textsuperscript{92} J.H. Elliott, ‘A Europe of Composite Monarchies’, \textit{Past and Present}, No. 137 (Nov., 1992), p. 52. The natives were nevertheless considered to be part of a different legal and political system: see this thesis, chapters 5-7.

\textsuperscript{93} Elliott, ‘A Europe of Composite Monarchies’, pp. 52–53.


\textsuperscript{96} Elliott, \textit{Spain and its World}, p. 86.
decline of the monarchy. The *Reconquista*, the discovery and subsequent conversion of the New World, the expulsion of the Jews (1492) and Moriscos (1609), all gave the Spaniards, and in particular Castilians, a sense of Christian mission and superiority. Many writers in Spain emphasised the primary importance of war with the Dutch and English in order to defend the true faith. This national clamour, to which many officials in the Council of State added their voice, led Spain to go to war in Germany in 1618, with the Dutch in 1621, and with the French in 1635. In the opinion of many officials, Spain’s power and authority could only be regenerated by domestic reforms and international military action. In order to preserve its reputation, Spain was to defend Catholicism on the European scene. But those who advocated reform and military action were also suspicious of the attempts at fiscal innovation in order to fund those wars. Economic reality could not live up to the moral ideals of the reformers. This insistence on the preservation of religion in a European context was the mirror image of Protestant religious universalism in England. The international conflicts in which Spain was engaged might have created an unbearable domestic burden, but they remained the priority for its rulers, and Spanish power on the European scene was still surprisingly resilient. Jesuit Jerónimo de Ceballos, confessor of the children of the king and extremely influential at court, defended this policy. Summarising the opinion of those who supported Spanish involvement in European wars, arbitrísta Jerónimo de Ceballos insisted in 1623 that it was necessary for the Spanish monarchy to ‘restrain the power and pride of the rebels in Flanders, the infidelity of the Moors and the Turks, the stubbornness and obstinacy of the Lutherans, the teachings of the Jews, and Gentiles […]’. It was also necessary to help ‘other Christian Princes, so that we can use them and their help when necessary […]’. Another reason for supporting other Christian Princes was that

the Catholic church is one, one flock, and many sheep, one Pastor, one Faith, one baptism, one Captain of the Church militant, who is the great Pontiff, vicar of Jesus Christ, under whose protection, and banner, are

---

enlisted all the Christians. [...] Although with regard to political
government, jurisdictions and terms differ, they become one same thing,
with respect to our sacred Religion, of which all Christian Kings and
Princes are vassals, and subjected to the Roman Pontiff, as head of the
Church militant [...].  

Different territories of the Spanish monarchy, even if not directly threatened, were to contribute to the war effort, as support would help prevent heresy from spreading to Spanish possessions. For Ceballos, ‘it is the same to fight for the motherland or for the faith’, as ‘the jurisdiction of the Church is universal’.

According to Olivares’ plan for a Union of Arms between the territories of the Spanish monarchy in 1625, each territory of the Spanish Crown would provide soldiers proportionally to its total population. The plan was ill received, especially by the cortes of Aragon and Catalonia. Forced involvement of Catalonia in the war against France (1635), in terms of manpower and taxes, led to fatal revolts in the province. Resentment spread, and the news of a revolt in Catalonia encouraged Portugal to revolt in turn. The Iberian Union ended in 1640. The revolts of Catalonia and Portugal in 1640 marked the fall of Olivares, and Spain’s collapse from its original position of supremacy to second-rate status. By 1648, Spain had thus lost its supremacy on the European scene, both in terms of political and economic power, thus paving the way for France’s rise to hegemony in the second half of the seventeenth century.

Tacitism, especially its emphasis on history, played an important role in Spanish thought through the influence of Justus Lipsius. The idea of decline triggered a renewed sense of nationalism: histories of Spain became important, among them Juan de Mariana’s, and affirmed the country’s Visigothic roots. Spanish political thought was characterised by its empiricism, and pragmatic focus on problems of conscience, neglecting abstract treatises in favour of maxims, emblems, or the

---

102 Jerónimo de Ceballos, Arte real para el buen gobierno de los Reyes, y Príncipes, y de sus vassallos, Toledo, 1623, fos. 109 r.–110 r.
103 Ceballos, Arte real para el buen gobierno, fo. 110 v.
105 See Elliott, ‘The Spanish Peninsula’, and Elliott, Spain and its World. See also Gil, ‘Spain and Portugal’.
instructional genre known as the Mirror for Princes (providing moral guidance to the ruler). The prince’s education, given the necessity for him to rule according to natural reason and divine law, was central in Spanish literature, one of the most prominent examples being Diego de Saavedra Fajardo’s writings. In Spain, by the seventeenth century, monarchy was generally considered to be the only political form guaranteeing liberty. As Xavier Gil has argued, ‘the corporate vision of politics was especially enduring in Spain and Portugal, and so were Catholicised Tacitism and reason of state. Equally enduring were ideas of the king as a pastor […] Thus politics was still seen primarily as a part of ethics’. Moreover, Spanish kings had substantial control over religious matters in their territories, which reinforced the moral vision of kingship. As the rights over the Inquisition as well as the patronage over ecclesiastical matters were papal grants (and provided the Monarchy with revenues), this also meant that the Monarchy tended to support Rome over its own episcopacy. But the Crown’s strong authority over ecclesiastical affairs could also be used to the detriment of Rome if necessary. This created internal divisions, which were, as we will see, exported to the New World, especially through rivalry between the secular clergy and regular orders. The papacy had little power over the church in Spanish colonies, and the Council of the Indies could hardly control such conflicts from a distance.

The fact that many Spaniards had settled in the Americas for over a century raises the question of cultural change. Some Spaniards were born in the New World (criollos), and their families had been there for a few generations. Even if, in the strict hierarchy imposed by the limpieza de sangre (purity of blood), they were still Spanish, it is quite likely that many had begun to develop a sense of identity based in the New World and not the Old. One important point of contention was that they competed for the highest offices with Spanish-born newcomers, and that the newcomers usually

107 Gil, ‘Spain and Portugal’, pp. 441, 446.
108 José-Antonio Maravall, La philosophie politique espagnole au XVIIe siècle, dans ses rapports avec l’esprit de la Contre-Réforme, Paris, 1995, p. 40. Spanish political writers had a strong influence in France, where theories of absolute monarchy were developed to a greater extent.
110 Wright, The Counter-Reformation, p. 16.
111 Wright, The Counter-Reformation, p. 147.
112 Wright, The Counter-Reformation, pp. 26–27.
took precedence. But the distinctions between the New World and the Old should not be exaggerated. Culturally speaking, texts travelled from Spain to the colonies and vice versa, and missionaries and church officials in the New World were usually Spanish-born, and participated in the discussions on decline and on the state of Christendom in Europe. *Criollos* and Spaniards, in their relationship to the colonies and their inhabitants, shared a sense of divine purpose for their homeland, and an attachment to the Spanish Monarchy. Education by Jesuits and Dominicans in the colonies offered a traditional Spanish education, and Spanish books and plays were widely circulated in the New World.

2. ‘The illness is extremely serious’: the Opinion of the Arbitristas

As we will see was the case in England, numerous political and religious thinkers demanded not only involvement on the European scene, but also reform at home, as they believed moral decay to be pervasive. Empiricism and pragmatism were prevalent in the writings of the *arbitristas*, economic and religious writers commenting on and complaining to the court about the situation of their country. Decline was often described in analogy with the disease of a human body. Numerous works were published, analysing the specific causes of this perceived deterioration. Moral decay, and in particular luxury and idleness, especially among nobles, were identified as a central issue. The presence of foreigners and foreign imports, as well as vagrancy, were also repeatedly addressed.

---

116 Elliott, ‘Spain and America’, p. 337.
117 Pedro Fernandez Navarrete, *Conservacion de Monarquías y discursos políticos sobre la gran consulta que el consejo hizo al Señor rey Don Felipe Tercero…*, Madrid, 1626, p. 306.
118 Elliott, *Spain and its World*, p. 249. See for example: Mateo de Lisón y Biedma, *Discursos y aportamientos de don Mateo de Lison y Biedma, señor del lugar de Algarineyo, Veintiquatro de la ciudad de Granada, y su Procurador de Cortes, en las que se celebraron el año pasado de 1621. dados a su Magestad en su Real mano…*, s.l. [Madrid], s.d. [1622], fo. 15 v., and Fernández Navarrete, *Conservacion de Monarquías*, pp. 306–308.
120 On the problem of foreigners and import, see for example Sancho de Moncada, *Restauracion politica de España, y deseos publicos…* (1619), Madrid, 1746.
A recurring theme in the writings of the arbitristas was the perverting effect of America.\textsuperscript{121} According to Martin Gonzalez de Cellorigo, writing in 1600, gold and silver coming from the Americas corrupted the kingdom, as ‘an abundance of money in Kingdoms perverts good customs (uso) and communication between men’.\textsuperscript{122} For Miguel Caja de Leruela, in his 1631 treatise on the restoration of the monarchy,

the riches and treasures that monarchies accumulate from other Provinces do not suffice to make up for the lack of native profits from the motherland (patria); rather they distract the natives, who leave their own lands uncultivated, and corrupt their praiseworthy old customs […] which is precisely what happened in Spain since so much gold and silver came from the Indies […].\textsuperscript{123}

Comfort perverted men and led to luxury and idleness. Arbitrista Jerónimo de Ceballos similarly claimed that ‘Wealth and comfort have corrupted the good customs of men, with a cumbersome (torpe) superfluity […]’.\textsuperscript{124} Augustine, in \textit{The City of God}, had used Sallust’s account of the Catiline conspiracy to discuss the legitimacy of empires. According to this account, the Roman Empire had been great not because of military power, but because of

diligence at home and a just rule abroad, and a free spirit in counsel, devoted neither to crime nor to lust. Instead of these, we have luxury and avarice; the public purse is impoverished while private citizens grow rich; we praise riches, but we follow idleness; we do not discriminate between good men and bad; and all the rewards of virtue are possessed by intrigue. And it is no wonder, when each of you takes thought only for his own good: when you are slaves to pleasure at home and to money and favour here in public life […].\textsuperscript{125}

Franciscan Juan de Santa Maria referred to the same account by Sallust when he argued in 1619 that the moral state of Spain was dangerously corrupt:

When a kingdom arrives to such a level of corruption of customs, that men dress up like women, and that they do not care about honesty, but treat it as just another saleable thing (cosa vendible); […] that they sleep before feeling tired […] that they do not wait to be hungry, or thirsty before they

\textsuperscript{121} Olivares himself claimed that the conquest of America had been detrimental to Spain, and brought it ‘to such a miserable state that a good case can be made for saying that it would have been more powerful without that New World’: quoted in John Huxtable Elliott, \textit{The Count-Duke of Olivares: the Statesman in an Age of Decline}, New Haven, CT, 1989, p. 430.
\textsuperscript{122} Martín González de Cellorigo, \textit{Memorial de la politica necessaria, y vitl restauracion à la Republica de España, y estados de ello, y del desempeño univerusal de estos Reynos}, Valladolid, 1600, fo. 15 v. See also Sancho de Moncada, \textit{Restauracion politica}, pp. 54–55.
\textsuperscript{123} Miguel Caja de Leruela, \textit{Restauracion de la abundancia de España, o prestantissimo, vnico, y facil reparo de su carestia presente} (1631), Madrid, 1713, pp. 30–31.
\textsuperscript{124} Ceballos, \textit{Arte real para el buen govierno}, fo. 32 v.
\textsuperscript{125} Augustine, \textit{The City of God}, p. 211. I owe this reference to Jonathan Scott, \textit{England’s Troubles}, p. 322.
eat or drink […] but do everything because of their evil ways, and before it is even necessary, then the kingdom can be seen as lost, and its empire at an end.126

From this perspective empire was only a valid option if it was carried out by a virtuous commonwealth.127 For Pedro Fernández Navarrete, writing in 1626, it was necessary to limit the growth of the Spanish empire, ‘because with further expansion, riches will increase at the beginning, which will awake ambition, which begs for greed, which is the root of all evil’.128

Numerous complaints about the decline of Spain were connected to the notion of despoblación, an idea which related both to depopulation and to the lack of cultivation of the land, and thus to the idea of idleness. Despoblación in Castile was usually associated with migration to the Americas and the expulsion of the Moors in 1609.129 But it was also linked to the presence of vagrants, as they did not settle down to cultivate the land, and to the great number of nobles coming to live at court, as they abandoned the management of their lands and vassals.130 For Pedro Fernández Navarrete, any foreigner coming to Spain would be able to see the problem, as he would ‘see the fertile fields of Spain, and see them covered in nettle and thorny bushes, because there is no one to cultivate them, most Spaniards being reduced (haviéndose… reducido) to idlers, some under the pretence of being nobles, others under the cloak of beggars’.131 Spanish political culture was essentially urban. Yet agrarian ideals were prevalent in the definition of the polis. The Aristotelian polis was usually thought to be the ideal social setting, but the city in those texts was not necessarily contrasted to the countryside. Civil life could be combined with agrarian lifestyle. This was translated, as we will see, into the shape native settlements took in

126 Fray Ivan de Santa Maria, Tratado de republica y policia christiana; para Reyes, y Principes, y para los que en el gouerno tienen sus vezes, Valencia, 1619, fo. 201 r.–v.
127 Hence the Augustinian argument that God gave their empire to the Romans because they were virtuous: see Anthony Pagden, Lords of All the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain and France C. 1500–C. 1800, New Haven, CT, 1995, pp. 98–99. On a similar association between empire and virtue in Republican writings, see Jonathan Scott, Commonwealth Principles: Republican Writing of the English Revolution, Cambridge, 2004, pp. 214–224.
128 Fernández Navarrete, Conservacion de monarquias, p. 60.
129 See for example: Anon., ‘Discurso breve y sumario de las caussas porque se han disminuido y despoblado muchas villas y lugares en estos Reynos [1621?]’, in Ángel González Palencia, La Junta de reformación: documentos procedentes del Archivo Histórico Nacional y del General de Simancas, Valladolid, 1932, p. 231.
130 Elliott, ‘Spain and America’, p. 329.
131 Fernández Navarrete, Conservacion de monarquias, p. 67.
the New World under the direction of missionaries. Lope de Deza’s vision of the ideal community was reminiscent of the Roman agricultural ideal. In his 1618 treatise, he claimed that

‘the best population of all is the one that consists of farmworkers, and it is obvious, that in any well-governed city (ciudad), with just and good citizens, it is better that neither skilled workers nor merchants be considered citizens (conviene que en ella no tengan nombre de ciudadanos), because their lifestyle is despicable and against virtue […]’. 132

Neglect of agriculture and attraction to city life was perceived as an essential reason for depopulation. Residency should also be imposed on bishops who stayed in Madrid.133 For Diego de Saavedra Fajardo, the attraction of the court raised great problems:

‘the splendour of Courts, their commodities, their delights, the benefits of the arts, the opportunity for rewards attract people […] they abandon their estates […] which become poor and depopulated, and would be much richer and populated if their Lord lived there.’ 134

For Jesuit Pedro de Guzmán, the court was full of idle people. People at court, said Guzmán, constituted a real

school of vices, sins, revolts, fights, and all ills of the Commonwealths (Republicas): and those who should labour the earth […] or practice some manual trade, fill up their time playing, strolling, and pilfering their masters, to finance these and their galas and their vices, and anything that idleness teaches.’ 135

Initiated by Olivares in 1619, the Committee on Reform was intended to analyse the problems of Castile and identify solutions. In 1622, it was turned into the Great Committee for Reform (Junta Grande de Reformación). Among the members of the Junta Grande were Olivares himself, Antonio de Sotomayor, confessor of the king, Jesuit Hernando de Salazar, Olivares’ confessor, as well as influential Jesuit

---


The report of the 1619 committee identified depopulation, especially in the countryside, as a major reason for the decline of Castile. The main solution would be to force those nobles who remained at Court in Madrid to return to their lands to take care of their vassals. Another suggestion was to ban foreigners from Castile. Excessive tribute to the king from peasants was believed to cause poverty.\textsuperscript{137} Sumptuary laws were also suggested to redress the numerous excesses in dress and lifestyle. The great number of people joining monasteries, and thus giving up on a productive life was identified as a cause of depopulation. The \textit{Junta} complained in 1620 of luxury and ‘effeminate’ clothing, which rendered ‘minds dull and effeminate’, and caused ‘idleness and laziness in life and civility’, and made the subjects ‘run away from activity and noble exercises, which are due to their rank’.\textsuperscript{138} A central issue, symbolising excesses in luxury, were the nobles’ ruffs, and in particular their size and colour. The resulting decrees, issued in 1623, focused on the limitation of extravagance at court and on the control of bureaucracy. Limitations were placed on ostentatious luxury in dress and furniture, and on the import of luxury goods. Emigration, as well as migration to big cities, was also regulated. Brothels were to be shut down.\textsuperscript{139} The enforcement of these decrees proved difficult, though, and they did not have the expected sweeping effect.\textsuperscript{140}

Roma were also a central target in the war against idleness. For \textit{arbitrista} Sancho de Moncada, members of the ‘gypsy sect’ (\textit{secta del gitanismo}) were in fact swarms of lazybones, atheistic men, without any law or religion […] enemies of Commonwealths where they roam, as spies and traitors to the


\textsuperscript{139} Felipe IV, \textit{Capítulos de Reformacion que sv Magestad se sirve de mandar guardar por esta ley, para el gouierno del Reyno}, Madrid, 1623.

\textsuperscript{140} Elliott, ‘The Spanish Peninsula’, p. 460.
Crown [...] idle and vagrant people, useless for the realm, without any commerce, occupation, or trade [...].

In 1614, Jesuit Pedro de Guzmán wrote a treatise entirely dedicated to the advantages of industry as opposed to idleness. According to Guzmán, idleness had ‘destroyed the greatest empires of the world: that of the Persians, the Greeks, [...] and the Romans’. Spain, said Guzmán, was ‘full of idle, useless, and ill-occupied people’. Among them, ‘Gypsies, children of idleness, are very detrimental in our Spain, [...] and certainly some remedy should be found, so that this kind of people would not wander around the whole kingdom [...]’. Roma were usually assimilated to vagrants. Numerous laws existed in the kingdoms of Spain to control vagrancy, but they were, according to Guzmán, not observed properly. As we will see, vagrancy was also a central preoccupation in the New World.

The colonies of the Americas also shared an intense sense of decline, as the seventeenth century was probably the hardest period in economic terms (partially because of the increasing financial demands from the Spanish Crown to finance the Thirty Years’ War). As we will see, missionaries addressed issues in the New World in terms similar to the complaints in Spain: greed and idleness of conquistadores, vagrancy, and general moral decay.

3. ‘The Perfection of a Christian’: The Jesuits in Spain

The Jesuits occupied a predominant place in Spanish history. They constituted the second wave of scholasticism, from the university of Coimbra, in Portugal, with scholars such as Francisco Suárez and Luis de Molina. They also influenced an important Italian writer on reason of state, Giovanni Botero. Botero and Suárez had a tremendous influence in Spain, as they both developed a form of ‘Christian’ reason of

---

141 Moncada, Restauracion politica, pp.130–131.
142 Guzmán, Bienes de el honesto trabajo, pp. 81, 120, 122.
143 Tomo Segundo de las leyes de recopilacion que contiene los libros sexto, septimo, octavo i nono, Titulo Once: ‘De los ladrones, i rufianes, I vagamundos, I egipcianos’, Madrid, 1772, pp. 371–378; Guzmán, Bienes de el honesto trabajo, pp. 120–121. On the problem of vagrants, see also Fernández Navarrete, Conservacion de monarqvis, Discurso IX, and see also Anon., ‘Discurso breve y sumario’, in González Palencia, La Junta de reformation, pp. 232–242, 256.
145 Luis de la Puente, De la perfeccion del christiano en todos svs estados, Valladolid, 1612.
state, which was contrasted to Machiavelli’s, as well as a defence of absolute government.  

But the traditional mendicant orders, and in particular the Dominicans, resisted the growing influence of the Jesuits on education, the unusual character of the Order, and the Society’s new status and institutions. The Jesuits were also resented because they challenged the power of the Spanish Inquisition, as they claimed exemption from it. The episcopacy feared the absolute obedience of the Order to the papacy, both in the Old and the New Worlds.

In addition, the Jesuits were suspected in Spain, because of the *Spiritual Exercises*, of *alumbradismo*, a form of mysticism banned by the Inquisition. Mysticism had been strongly present and highly influential in Spain since the early sixteenth century. This wave of mysticism was influenced in part by the Devotio Moderna, the particularly mystical shape of Franciscan piety, and Erasmianism. These Spanish mystics, the *Alumbrados* (illuminati), were persecuted by the Inquisition for their Erasmian influences, which had been condemned at the Council of Trent. Ignatius of Loyola attracted the attention of the Inquisition several times, and he was twice imprisoned on suspicion of *alumbradismo*, but was ultimately found innocent. Some aspects of the *Spiritual Exercises* were similar to the mystical practices of the *Alumbrados*, and his group, not endorsed by the Pope yet, seemed eccentric to the more traditional Dominicans. Despite rivalries and suspicions, the Jesuits, as in France, managed to closely associate themselves with monarchical power, and were influential at court.

*Alumbrados* emphasised the importance of mental prayer and of the spiritual union with God, through beatitude and ecstasy. This method of devotion stressed the personal relationship of the believer with God. Because of the emphasis on the union with God and the neglect of external rituals, those mystics were accused of being

---

149 On the dispute between Jesuit Luis de Molina and the Dominicans on free will, see Antonio Strain, *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. 4., New York, 1908, s.v. ‘Congregatio de Auxiliis’.
either Protestants or crypto-Jewish. This movement, although condemned by the Inquisition, had a tremendous impact on Spanish piety, and influenced mystics such as St John of the Cross and Saint Teresa de Avila, founders of the discalced Carmelites in 1593. This form of mysticism was still extremely influential in Spain in the seventeenth century, as well as in France, with numerous re-editions of mystic works circulating throughout the country, as well as works analysing those mystics’ experiences. Combined with the emphasis on prayer and personal relationship with God, suffering through mortifications and hard work was a way to forget oneself to reach out to God. For Jesuit Alonso Rodríguez, suffering was a means to prove one’s love of God, as ‘love is manifested through suffering and being afflicted with hard works for the loved one: the greater the works are, the more obvious the love is’.

As in France, this mystic intensity, which extended into the seventeenth century, was combined with an emphasis on practical piety. Thus numerous Jesuits composed works not only dedicated to the spirituality of their order, but also providing concrete spiritual and moral advice for lay people, emphasising prayer and the practice of virtue. For example, Jesuit Alonso Rodríguez’ *Exercicio de perfeccion y virtudes cristianas* dealt with ways to become a good Christian ‘very practically, so that anyone according to his condition, can carry it out and put it into practice’. As in France, numerous Spanish authors insisted, in contrast to the Tacitean scepticism of Justus Lipsius and Montaigne, that contemplation and action should be combined in order for one to live a truly moral life. This also applied to regular orders, and monastic ideals were contrasted to a more active understanding of the role of the priest. Mercedarian Gabriel de Santa Maria explained that for a priest to withdraw from the world to dedicate himself to prayer, and ignore evangelical preaching, was ‘an obvious mistake’. Santa Maria wondered: ‘The world is lost, souls are horribly

---

153 Discalced orders are reformed orders. The strictness of their rules is illustrated by the fact that they go barefoot or wear only sandals.
155 Alonso Rodríguez, *Exercicio de perfeccion y virtudes cristianas*, Sevilla, 1609, tomo 1, p. 584.
157 See for example: de la Puente, *De la perfeccion del christianos*; Gaspar de la Figuera, *Svma espiritual, en que se resuelven todos los casos y dificultades que ay en el camino de la perfección*, Madrid, 1634. On this, see Burrieza Sánchez y Revuelta González, *Los Jesuitas en España*, pp. 154–156.
spoilt with faults and sins, men are full of vice, and abominable customs, and you will retire to the solitude of the wilderness (monte)?

The Society of Jesus viewed its own ministry as different from the traditional monastic orders and focussed on the active life. Early Jesuit Jerónimo Nadal, whose writings were very influential, explained the purpose of the Jesuits as a ‘religious order that is contemplative as well as active. […] For the Society was instituted for preaching and hearing confessions, for other spiritual ministries, for the corporal works of mercy, and finally for study […].’ The Jesuits could actually be very critical of monasticism, or rather of the reasons why people would enter a monastery. French Jesuit Jean Cordier criticised those who put their daughters in a monastery for greed’s sake:

they deprive their children of the greatest of all gifts, freedom […] & they force them to enter a condition of life, that God does not want for them. […] How many Christians consider themselves happy, after having sacrificed their children to devilish greed (au diable d’interest)? […] They throw [their daughter] into Religion, as they would throw her in the arms of an idol […] they put an innocent person in a prison that is worse than those reserved for criminals.

For arbitrista Sancho de Moncada, in difficult economic times, many people entered religious orders to be fed and avoid work. In turn, these people depended on others to survive (if they entered mendicant orders) and were not productive for the kingdom anymore. This was also the opinion of the Junta de Reformación of 1619. These were not criticisms of the monastic life, but rather of people who did not have a vocation for monastic life and took vows anyway. But those comments were also related to the fact that lay people could live holy lives without shutting themselves off in a cloister. Thus, Jesuit Michel Le Nobletz, being accused of letting two widows

---


work with him for the education of peasants, claimed that lay people had a right to undertake these duties if regulars or priests failed to do so. ‘It is true’, said Le Nobletz, ‘that the right to teach belongs to clerics; but this does not change the fact that when the need is urgent, lay people, and even women, should be allowed [to do it] to make up for the absence of the ones who could or should do it’.164

The sense of decline in Spain produced a wide array of moral and economic proposals for redress. This pessimism was also present in the New World, where the descendents of the conquistadores were perceived by many missionaries as a decadent elite taking advantage of the labour of the natives, without care for their spiritual well-being. The themes of greed, luxury, and idleness were recurring in the New World as in the Old. The moralised conception of political power, as expressed in the Mirror for Princes literature was also present in Spanish missionary writings, which were particularly vocal about the duties of a Christian prince to care for his Amerindian vassals. The Jesuits were very influential and extremely useful for the Spanish empire, especially on frontier missions, where, as we will see, they were often more efficient than soldiers or settlers to pacify native populations.

IV. **Puritanism and Reformation in England**

The history of New England, and thus of its missions, is intrinsically linked to the history of Puritanism in England, for ideological and political reasons. First, the political climate in England in the 1620s and 1630s was a direct cause of the ‘great migration’ to America, and what Puritans ministers who migrated wished to accomplish in New England was closely related to religious and political developments in England. The ministers who settled in New England attempted to establish a civil and ecclesiastical polity which would reflect their belief in the doctrines of Calvinism, Covenant theology, and in the practice of piety. The different factions involved in the civil war in England followed their fate with interest, and many perceived the New England experiment as either a concrete realisation of their deeply held beliefs, or as an illustration of the issues that radical Calvinism could

---

raise. Second, as David Foster has shown, there was a strong filiation in ideological terms between the early Puritan movement in England and New England Congregationalists, who undertook missions among the American natives. This was in particular due to their shared conviction that polity was central to religious concerns. The institution of such a polity in New England shaped the form of the missions to the natives, and was at the same time the object of intense scrutiny in England.

1. ‘A Most Pernicious Sect’: Puritanism in England

The definition of Puritanism has been a central and ongoing concern in the study of English religious sectarianism and radicalism. Mostly a term of abuse, ‘Puritan’ was used to designate the ‘hotter sort of Protestants’, as Perceval Wiburn defined them. Even if a stable definition of Puritanism is elusive, religious reformers shared certain characteristics. Puritans insisted on the necessity to rid the Church of England of its ‘popish’ rituals and superstitions. They insisted on the obligation to evangelise, spread the Word and preach. And, finally, they believed in the necessity of implementing a moral reform throughout the country, which would be enforced by civil and ecclesiastical institutions, as well as by mutual supervision amongst the Godly.

Even if religion was not the sole ‘cause’ of conflict in seventeenth-century England, there is little doubt that political and social unrest were intensified by serious fears that the monarchy was not only unable and unwilling to support Protestantism in a European context, but was also trying to prevent the real substance of the Reformation from taking place in England, or more specifically, was trying to uproot what substance had taken root. At the accession of James I in 1603, both Catholics and

---

168 John Spurr, English Puritanism, 1603–1689, Basingstoke, 1998, pp. 17–22; Perceval Wiburn, in A checke or reproofe of M. Howlets vntimely shreeching in her Maiesties eares with an answeare to the reasons alleagde in a discourse therunto annexed, why Catholikes (as they are called) refuse to goe to church..., London, 1581, p. 9. The term was used by Patrick Collinson, for example in The Elizabethan Puritan Movement, London, 1967, p. 27, before it came under subsequent historiographical scrutiny.
Puritans were confident that the king would support their pleas: toleration for the former, a more radical Reformation for the latter. Until the outbreak of the Thirty Years War, the king was able to keep both parties relatively satisfied and to secure his authority successfully. But unity could not be maintained in the context of the events of 1618 and after: James’ refusal to support Frederick V in Bohemia and then in the Palatinate, as well as his support of the Spanish match, led many English divines to fear not only for Protestantism in Europe, but more specifically for the fate of Protestantism in England. Many divines perceived the Thirty Years War as a fight against the Antichrist, and believed that a failure to fight that war was a dangerous threat to Protestantism in England. By the early 1620s, James was increasingly suspicious of Puritanism, which he associated with seditious behaviour. In 1622, he addressed his Directions Concerning Preachers to the Archbishop of Canterbury. He complained of those who did ‘broach many times unprofitable, unsound, seditious, and dangerous doctrines, to the scandal of this church, and disquieting of the state and present government’. His Directions forbade preachers to ‘preach in any popular auditory the deep points of predestination, election, reprobation, or of the universality, efficacy, resistibility, or irresistibility of God’s grace’. In actuality, ministers were forbidden to preach Calvinism. They were also forbidden to meddle with ‘matters of state’.

Tensions increased under Charles, and over the second half of the 1620s, Puritanism became increasingly associated with political sedition. In 1628, Matthew Wren made before the king, in the words of Joseph Mede,

a bitter sermon against such as he stiled Puritans, saying, they were a most pernicious sect, and dangerous to a monarch; as bad as Jesuits in their opinions. That they held the same tenet, that their head Felton doth, viz., that it is lawful to kill any man that is opposite to their party: and that their whole doctrine tendeth to anarchy.

---

174 Scott, England’s Troubles, p. 103.
175 ‘Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville, Christ College, October 11, 1628’, in de Gamache, The Court and Times of Charles the First, vol. 1, p. 410. The sermon is Matthew Wren, A sermon preached before the Kings Maiestie on Sunday the seventeenth of February last, at White-Hall by Dor VVren, the Master
Under Archbishop Laud, the Church of England became increasingly anti-Calvinist. In 1628, a sub-committee on religion of the House of Commons issued a Resolution on Religion for ‘the preservation of God’s religion, in great peril now to be lost’. According to the committee, within the Three Kingdoms, there were problems in Scotland, where the ‘stirs lately raised and insolences committed by the Popish party’ threatened the Protestant church; in Ireland, which was ‘almost wholly overspread with Popery, swarming with friars, priests, and Jesuits, and other superstitious persons of all sorts’; and finally in England, where ‘we observe an extraordinary growth of Popery’, where recusants could publicly profess their faith ‘without control, and that even to the Queen’s Court’ (the French Catholic Henrietta Maria), and where there was a ‘subtle and pernicious spreading of the Arminian faction’. In this context ‘Arminian’ was a term of abuse to the same extent that ‘Puritan’ was, and had little, if anything, in common with Dutch Arminianism. Most problematic to Puritans was the anti-Calvinist (what Jonathan Scott terms ‘Counter-Reformation’) aspect of Laudian policy. As Julian Davies has argued, Laudian policies expressed a real recatholicization of Anglicanism.

What godly Protestants wanted was the unity of the Protestant creed in the face of popish threats. English Protestants perceived themselves as part of an international movement of Reformation. A major tension in English Protestantism was due to the fact that, as Anthony Milton has argued, ‘the Laudians effectively refused to endorse

---

179 Davies, The Caroline Captivity, p. 295; Scott, England’s Troubles, chapter 5.
the ideology of Protestant internationalism’. Milton, Catholic and Reformed, p. 524, and more generally chapter 8. See also Scott, England’s Troubles, p. 243.

180 Milton, Catholic and Reformed, p. 524, and more generally chapter 8. See also Scott, England’s Troubles, p. 243.

181 ‘Resolutions on Religion Drawn by a Sub-Committee of the House of Commons’, p. 79.

182 John Winthrop, ‘to his wife, May 15, 1629’, in Robert C. Winthrop, Life and Letters of John Winthrop, Governor of the Massachusetts-Bay Company at their Emigration to New England, Boston, 1864, p. 296.


184 On debates about ecclesiastical organisation in the Low Countries, and especially the role of Thomas Hooker and John Davenport, see Keith L. Sprunger, Dutch Puritanism: A History of English and Scottish Churches of the Netherlands in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, Leiden, 1982, pp. 100–121. The number of ministers leaving for New England is in Spurr, English Puritanism, pp. 91–92.
Arms on Catalonia. But if, in Spain, unrest was stirred by fiscal and military demands on its territories, the unity of religion was not at issue on the peninsula (unlike the Low Countries, where religious tensions had contributed to engulfing Spain in a war that lasted for eighty years). Unlike Spain, in the Three Kingdoms under Charles I, religious disunity was a central aspect of the troubles. In England, Scotland, and Ireland, as Conrad Russell has argued, Charles’ attempts at religious unity triggered intense reactions. In his Large Declaration of 1639, Charles recounted how his father had complained of the diversitie, nay deformitie, which was used in Scotland, where no set or publike form of prayer was used, but Preachers or Readers and ignorant Schoolmasters prayed in the Church, sometimes so ignorantly as it was a shame to all Religion to have the Majestie of God so barbarously spoken unto, sometimes so seditiously that their prayers were plaine Libels, girding at Soveraigntie and Authoritie; or Lyes, being stuffed with all the false reports in the Kingdome.

Thus for Charles it was only natural to try to impose ‘an unitie and uniformitie in the publike Prayers, Liturgie, and Service of the Church, established throughout the whole Kingdome’. For those who wrote the Grand Remonstrance of 1641, Charles had attempted to ‘reduce Scotland to such Popish superstitions and innovations as might make them apt to join with England in that great change which was intended’.

Charles’ support of Catholics at home and his affinities with Catholic powers, notably Spain, point to the fact that Puritans’ anxieties regarding the fate of Protestantism at home were not unfounded. Moreover, Protestantism seemed to be threatened all across Europe, and Puritans resented Charles’ lack of support of the Dutch, of the Huguenots in France, and the retreat from an alliance against the

---

187 Charles I, A Large Declaration concerning the Late Tumults in Scotland, from their first Originals..., London, 1639, p. 16.
189 Scott, England’s Troubles, chapter 5, esp. pp. 126–133.
Numerous New Englanders returned to England in the 1640s, and took part in the Civil War. The Godly who wrote pamphlets about conversion were acutely aware of the relationship between their own experience and the civil war in England, and perceived their task as correlated to the events in Europe, in a transatlantic perspective. Writing in 1650 to the Parliament, John Eliot, missionary to the natives, compared the providential circumstances in the New World with the events in England:

The peacable summer beginning to arise out of these distressed times of perplexity, all those signes preceding the glorious coming of Christ are accomplishing [...] Now this glorious work of bringing in and setting up the glorious kingdome of Christ, hath the Lord of his free grace and mercy put into the hands of the renowned Parliament and Army [...] And when the Lord Jesus is about to set up his blessed Kingdome among these poore Indians also, how well doth it become the spirits of such instruments in the hand of Christ to promote that work also, being the same businesse in some respect which themselves are about by the good hand of the Lord.

Eliot firmly believed in the providential aspect of the mission to the natives. His hopes were shared by many of the New England ministers who never returned to England and attempted to put into practice their congregational ideal in America, among both Englishmen and natives.

### 2. ‘Embraceinge True Religione’: The Ideological Origins of the New England Way

As J.C. Davis has shown, debates before, during, and after the civil war on religious freedom did not relate to the idea of human autonomy against external

---

190 Milton, Catholic and Reformed, p. 523.
194 ‘A breife confession of Faythe written by the authors of the firste admonition to the parliament to testefie ther persuasian in the Faythe againste the uncharitable surmises and suspiscons of Doctor Whitegifte, uttered in his answere to their admonition, in defence both of them and there Fawtors’ (December 4th 1572), in Albert Peel, ed., The Seconde Parte of a Register: Being a Calendar of Manuscripts Under That Title Intended for Publication by the Puritans About 1593, and Now in Dr. Williams's Library, London, Cambridge, 1915, vol. 1, p. 86.
authority, but were related to the source of that authority. Those who repeatedly used arguments against formalism demanded to be able to submit themselves to God alone, and not to ‘human inventions’, a theme that shaped most justifications on the part of New Englanders for their departure from England and for the form of their ecclesiastical and civil government. In England, Independent minister Peter Sterry complained of man’s ‘foure Masters; Our Humour; Our Lusts; Our Passions; The Examples of men’. Against those masters created by human sinfulness, Sterry claimed ‘This is the Christ, the true Master’.\(^{195}\) As Davis argues, demands for religious freedom on the part of different groups are to be understood in the sense that ‘freedom from inferior or inappropriate authority is preliminary to subjection to a higher and more appropriate and therefore more legitimately demanding authority’.\(^{196}\) This was where freedom came into play for Puritans: being free meant choosing to live in submission to God’s laws and nothing else. Freedom meant having the ‘liberty to enjoy the holy worship of God, not according to the fantasies of man, but according to the word of God’, as missionary John Eliot claimed.\(^{197}\) This is what godly Protestants had been denied in England, and had gone to find in the New World.

These beliefs often led in radical directions. John Eliot’s thought by the 1650s was strongly antimonarchical. He insisted that the king’s — any king’s — authority was illegitimate: the ‘glorious coming of the Lord Jesus’ implied that ‘that Antichristian principle for man to be above God, whether the Pope in the Church, or Monarchs in the Common-wealth, is thrown to the ground’.\(^{198}\) This was also what some of the Godly had tried to achieve in England. As John Milton wrote in defence of the regicide on the same year as Eliot’s comment,

Our liberty is not Caesar’s. It is a blessing we have received from God himself. It is what we are born to. To lay this down at Caesar’s feet, which we derive not from him, which we are not beholden to him for, were an unworthy action, and a degrading of our very nature. [...] Being therefore peculiarly God’s own, that is, truly free, we are consequently to be


\(^{196}\) Davis, ‘Religion and the Struggle for Freedom’, p. 523. See also Leo F. Solt, Saints in Arms: Puritanism and Democracy in Cromwell’s Army, Stanford, 1959, p. 25.

\(^{197}\) John Eliot, ‘The learned Conjectures of Reverend Mr. John Eliot touching the Americans, of new and notable consideration, written to Mr. Thorowgood’, in Thomas Thorowgood, Jewes in America, or, Probabilities, that those Indians are Judaical, made more probable by some additionals to the former conjectures..., London, 1660, p. 22.

\(^{198}\) Eliot in Whitfield, ed., The light appearing, p. 16.
subjected to him alone, and cannot, without the greatest sacrilege imaginable, be reduced into a condition of slavery to any man, especially to a wicked, unjust, cruel tyrant.\textsuperscript{199}

The ministers who fled to New England did so in order to escape ‘human inventions’ and the political and ecclesiastical system they established in New England was, according to them, a way to finally submit themselves to the laws of God and nothing else. Of course, for the Godly in New England, ‘human inventions’ meant any system other than their own, that they held to be based in Scripture.

When establishing their ecclesiastical and political system, New England ministers insisted on the centrality of the moral law. Indeed, even if only grace could operate regeneration in the elect, their soteriology was combined with an insistence on social reform and moral discipline.\textsuperscript{200} This is because they relied on Covenant theology, which had been elaborated in the 1560s by the Heidelberg theologians, in particular Ursinus and Olevianus, and developed in England by William Perkins, who was the first ‘systematic’ theologian of Puritanism, and had a great influence on New England Congregationalists.\textsuperscript{201} This theory claimed that God had entered into a covenant with Adam before the Fall. In the Covenant of Works, the Moral Law (the Ten Commandments) was equated to the Natural Law. This allowed Reformed theologians to base this notion which had no real biblical foundation on Paul’s declaration about the Gentiles: ‘For when the Gentiles which have not the Lawe, doe by nature, the things conteined in the Lawe, they hauing not the Lawe, are a Lawe vnto themselves, Which shew the effect of the Lawe written in their hearts, their conscience also bearing witness’.\textsuperscript{202}

Since the Fall, man’s corrupt nature made him utterly unable to follow the first Covenant’s Law. But men, by an ‘ingrained disposition’ transmitted by Adam to all his descendants, persisted in trying to follow it.\textsuperscript{203} Realising that they were utterly unable to follow the Law, the elect came to regeneration, and entered with God into a Covenant of Grace, which would not allow them to perfectly follow God’s

\textsuperscript{200} Foster, \textit{The Long Argument}, pp. 22, 48–49.
\textsuperscript{203} Cohen, \textit{God’s Caress}, p. 61. This whole part is based on Cohen, pp. 55–63.
injunctions, but by which they could escape reprobation. The unfaithful were excluded from the Covenant of Grace, but they continued to live under the Covenant of Law, which applied to all, be they reprobate or not yet regenerate. In practice Covenant theology thus required the establishment of a form of civility based on Scriptural injunctions. Indeed, the implementation of the Covenant of Law would trigger the humiliation necessary for regeneration among the elect, while at the same time control the unregenerate. From this perspective, as English Puritan clergyman William Bradshaw had affirmed in the early seventeenth century, the role of the pastor for Puritans was not only to preach the Word of God, but also to apply it ‘by exhortation and reproofe’ unto the congregation. If preaching was important for reasons that I will develop in a subsequent chapter, the ‘practice of piety’ was a concern inherent to ecclesiastical organisation.

Eliot’s and others’ rejection of the authority of the monarchy over the Godly did not involve a preference for liberty of conscience or for a potential separation of church and state. In their rejection of toleration, New England Congregationalists starkly differed from English Independents. As New English clergyman Nathaniel Ward explained in defence of the New England Way, such as are given or taken any unfriendly reports of us New-English, should doe well to recollect themselves. We have beene reputed a Colluves of wild Opinionists, swarmed into a remote wilderness to find elbow-roome for our phanatick Doctrines and practices. [...] I dare take upon me, to be the Herauld of New England so farre, as to proclaime to the world, in the name of our Colony, that all Familists, Antinomians, Anabaptists, and other Enthusiasts, shall have free liberty to keep away from us, and such as will come to be gone as fast as they can, the sooner the better.

---


208 Nathaniel Ward, *The simple cobler of Aggavvam in America willing to help ’mend his native country, lamentably tattered, both in the upper-leather and sole, with all the honest stitches he can take*, London, 1647, p. 3.
The centrality of discipline, implemented by both religious and civil authorities was one of the key features of early English Puritanism. According to David Foster, if they did not necessarily share views on ecclesiastical organisation, Elizabethan Puritans and later New England Congregationalists shared a belief that governmental institutions should be in the service of Christian morality, and that an effective polity, which could implement means of control and discipline over individuals, was central to reformation.209 As early Presbyterians Thomas Wilcox and John Field explained in their confession of faith,

the Churche of God is a company or congregacione of the faythfull called and gathered out of the worlde by the preachinge of the Gospell, who followinge and embraceinge true religione, do in one unitie of Spirite strengthen and conforte one another, dayelie growinge and increaseinge in true faythe, framinge their lyves, governmente, orders and ceremonies accordinge to the worde of God.210

Similarly, Christian solidarity, as expressed in the calls for a reformation of manners (charity, care of the poor and the sick, moral support) would be implemented or promoted by ecclesiastical and civil institutions.211

The emphasis on the importance of civil government for religious purposes was also related to millenarian hopes.212 Millenarian expectations in Old and New England led to the idea that the establishment of a godly commonwealth in which the Saints would control the unregenerate and institute mosaic laws was necessary in preparation for the Second Coming.213 As Independent Thomas Goodwin explained in 1641,

The Saints shall inherit all things. You see that the Saints have little now in the world; now they are the poorest and the meanest of all; but then when the adoption of the sons of God shall come in the fulness of it, the

209 Foster, The Long Argument, pp. 37, 47–49.
210 ‘A breife confession of Faythe’ (December 4th 1572), in Peel, ed., The Seconde Parte of a Register, vol. 1, p. 86.
world shall be theirs; for the world is purchased for them by Jesus Christ. Not only heaven shall be your kingdom, but this world bodily.\textsuperscript{214}

Because they believed in the establishment on earth of a godly form of government through biblical literalism, millenarians believed that God’s rule could be established by the Saints.\textsuperscript{215} Millenarian hopes made the conversion of one of the Lost Tribes of Israel (and Eliot came to believe that the natives were one of them) a providential sign of the coming of Christ, and this would come to have significant implications, as we will see in subsequent chapters.\textsuperscript{216}

In New England, government was in the service of a religious cause. In Massachusetts, the right to vote was limited to Visible Saints. The court justified its ruling as a desire to limit the vote to ‘honest & good men’.\textsuperscript{217} As Michael Winship argues, in Massachusetts, ‘the only reliable source of civic virtue was godliness. […] the best commonwealth, even on its own civic terms, was a saintly one such as was being set up in Massachusetts’.\textsuperscript{218} Regarding the role of the magistracy and its relationship to the church, John Cotton argued that the church was to submit to the authority of civil power in cases relating to civil peace. Among these were

the establishment of pure religion, in doctrine, worship, and government,

according to the word of God: as also the reformation of all corruptions in any of these […] magistrates address themselves thereto, partly by commanding, and stirring up the Churches and Ministers thereof to goe

\textsuperscript{214} [Hanserd Knollys], ‘A Glimpse of Sion’s Glory’ (1641), in Woodhouse, ed., Puritanism and Liberty, p. 240. Scholars seem to agree that the author is in fact Thomas Goodwin, see J. F. Maclear, ‘New England and the Fifth Monarchy: The Quest for the Millennium in Early American Puritanism’, The William and Mary Quarterly, Third series, Vol. 32, No. 2 (April, 1975), p. 228, n.6. See also anon., Certain queres humbly presented in way of petition, by many Christian people, dispersed abroad throughout the county of Norfolk and city of Norwich…, London, 1649, Thomason Tracts E.544[5], p. 8: ‘What right or claim meer natural and worldly men have to Rule and Government […]? How can the kingdom be the Saints, when the ungodly are electors, and elected to Govern? […] What facility appears in settling the kingdom in the hands of the Saints, and difficultly to settle it any other way, and not destroy the interest of the Saints’. On the influence of Goodwin on New England ministers, see Jeffrey K. Jue, Heaven upon Earth: Joseph Mede (1586–1638) and the Legacy of Millenarianism, Dordrecht, 2006, pp. 179–180.

\textsuperscript{215} Capp, The Fifth Monarchy Men, p. 182.

\textsuperscript{216} On the idea of post-millennialism (Christ’s second coming in judgement would take place after the setting up of an ideal state on earth), see J.C. Davis, Utopia and the Ideal Society: A Study of English Utopian Writing, 1516–1700, Cambridge, 1981, especially pp. 24 and 33. About the relationship between Eliot’s thought, Fifth Monarchism, and post-millennialism, see Maclear, ‘New England and the Fifth Monarchy’, pp. 223–260. On calls for spreading the Gospel, see Capp, The Fifth Monarchy Men, p. 189.


about it in their spirituall way: partly also by civill punishments upon the wilfull opposers and disturbers of the same.\textsuperscript{219}

Thus godly magistrates had a duty to enforce orthodoxy. Although all were to attend church sermons in New England, Cotton was careful to maintain visible sanctity as a condition to communion:

\begin{quote}
though we willingly acknowledge a power in the civill Magistrate, to establish and reform Religion, according to the word of God; yet we would not be so understood, as if wee judged it to belong to civill power, to compel all men to come and sit down at the Lords table, or to enter into the communion of the Church, before they be in some measure prepared of God for such fellowship. For this is not a Reformation, but a Deformation of Church, and is not according to the word of God, but against it […].\textsuperscript{220}
\end{quote}

The centrality of the moral law and the role of civil institutions in its enforcement was, as we will see in subsequent chapters, a central concern for Congregationalist John Eliot in his missions. For Eliot, the natives ‘shall be wholly governed by the Scriptures in all things both in Church and State’.\textsuperscript{221} The ‘praying natives’ in New England, when forming a town, officially entered not only into a church covenant, but also into a civil one.

Missionaries and pamphleteers who supported the cause of missions in New England thought about themselves and their role in relationship to their previous experience in England, and to the ongoing crisis in their home country. If English missions were undertaken on a much smaller scale than the French and Spanish missions, they nevertheless produced a large amount of literature that vividly engaged with Europe’s political and religious situation. For some, these missions were an implementation of the political and ecclesiastical order that had been denied to them in England. Their beginnings and development were intrinsically linked to the course of events in England, and were part of the ongoing debate about the nature and practical implementations of a legitimate political power, and the establishment a truly Christian polity.

\begin{footnotes}
\item[219] John Cotton, \textit{The keyes of the kingdom of heaven and power thereof according to the word of God: tending to reconcile some present differences about discipline} (published in England by Thomas Goodwin and Philip Nye), London, 1644, p. 50.
\end{footnotes}
V. ‘Iesuits are nothing but Puritan-papists’: Puritans and Jesuits Compared

The importance of the practice of piety raises the issue of merit in Calvinist and Catholic soteriologies. Indeed, if the ideal of an active Christian life was prominent in Puritan writings, how did it relate to soteriology? Theology was for Puritans a guide for human action. For William Ames, ‘Divinity is the doctrine of living to God’, for William Perkins, ‘Theologie is the science of liuing blessedly for ever’. Meritorious works could not earn one’s salvation, but righteous action was a testimony of one’s grace. The unregenerate possessed the impulse to follow the Law and to do good works, but their motives were hypocritical, and they could never truly perform godly deeds before entering into the Covenant of Grace. This very despair over their incapacity to perform truly good works would lead the elect to put all their trust in the Lord. The Fall had corrupted human capacities, and, without regeneration, an individual lacked the strength and capacity to perform godly actions. Puritan soteriology contrasted the weakness of the unregenerate with the activity of regenerate Saints: it was the Spirit that provided the regenerate elect with the strength to perform good works. As William Perkins explained, ‘the workes of men of what dignitie soever, are not to be esteemed by the shewe and outward appearance of them, but by the minde and condition of the doer’. The relationship between good works and assurance was reciprocal: good works could reassure the elect on their condition, but in turn the conviction on the part of the elect that they

---

222 James I, An apologie for the oath of allegiance first set foorth without a name, and now acknowledged by the authour, the Right High and Mightie Prince, Iames, by the grace of God, King of Great Britaine, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c.; together with a premonition of His Maisties, to all most mightie monarches, kings, free princes and states of Christendome, London, 1609, p. 44.
225 Cohen, God’s Caress, p. 123. This claim was central in the Antinomian crisis, as we will see in chapter 4.
226 Cohen, God’s Caress, p. 123.
227 Cohen, God’s Caress, p. 112.
228 Cohen, God’s Caress, p. 7.
229 William Perkins, The whole treatise of the cases of conscience distinguished into three bookes: the first whereof is revised and corrected in sundrie places, and the other two annexed. Taught and delivered by M. W. Perkins in his holy-day lectures, carefully examined by his owne briefes, and now published together for the common good, by T. Pickering Bachelor of Diuinitie..., Cambridge, 1606, p. 68. See also Stoever, ‘A Faire and Easie Way to Heaven’, p. 58.
were saved provided them with the necessary energy to perform godly labour.\textsuperscript{230} Charitable deeds were accomplished not to gain salvation, as was the case for Catholics, but as a consequence of it. Their central function was the glory of God and the conversion of others through the example of a holy life.\textsuperscript{231} Missions were part of the important idea of love for one’s neighbour, and of the impulse on the part of the elect to perform charitable deeds towards others.\textsuperscript{232} The Pauline example was particularly important in Puritan theology. Paul was archetypal for his good works and missionary activities.\textsuperscript{233} In New England, godly labour was also expected from native converts, and could be used by English observers as a material clue of regenerating grace in certain natives. Thus John Eliot could happily report about his catechumens in 1652: ‘In matters of Religion they goe on […] not onely in knowledge […] but also in the practice and power of Grace […] in the exercise of love to such as be in affliction, either by sicksnesse or povertie’. In this logic, hardship would be sent by God to test the natives: ‘I thinke the Lord hath done it [Eliot is discussing illness], for the tryall of their grace, and exercise of their love, and to traine them up in works of Charitie, and in the way of Christ to make Collections for the poore’.\textsuperscript{234}

Contrary to Calvinism, good works were a central element of Catholic soteriology. The Council of Trent had reaffirmed it against the heretics: ‘faith, unless hope and charity be added thereto, neither unites man perfectly with Christ, nor makes him a living member of His body. For which reason it is most truly said, that Faith without works is dead and profitless’.\textsuperscript{235} As I hope to have shown, the ideal of an active Christian life was as important in Catholic spirituality in the seventeenth century as in Puritanism. For Ignatius of Loyola, ‘love ought to manifest itself in deeds rather than words’.\textsuperscript{236} French Jesuit Julien Maunoir, preaching in Brittany in the second half of the century, was praised by his peers and was said to follow the ‘example of Jesus-Christ’, as he ‘started by acting before teaching’.\textsuperscript{237} Diego de Boroa,
praising the work of Blas Gutierrez in Paraguay, claimed that, he ‘combined the life of Martha and Mary’, by dedicating himself as much to the active life as to the spiritual one.\(^\text{238}\) Paul Le Jeune, missionary to New France, commented in 1636 on the nature of his vocation:

> for what is the point of so many exercises, so many fervent Meditations, so many eager desires? all these are nothing but wind, if we do not put them into practice. So old France is fitted to conceive noble desires, but the New is adapted to their execution; what one desires in old France is what one does in the New.\(^\text{239}\)

For Spanish Jesuit Luis de la Puente, good works were the fundamental aspect of the Christian life that differentiated Catholics from Protestants. For him Protestants ‘think they have holiness and knowledge […] but they only have sterile speeches without the fruit of good works, and without the two lives that Faith and Charity bring to man’.\(^\text{240}\)

Margo Todd has argued that ‘in Laudian sermons, as in Tridentine conciliar and papal declarations, passive obedience to constituted authority replaced the conscientious individual activism upheld by Erasmian humanists as the proper response to the needs of the commonwealth’.\(^\text{241}\) Todd has extended this diagnosis to Counter-Reformation Christianity in general and to the Jesuits. Yet her depiction of Catholicism as being fundamentally opposed to social reform in general, and in this sense radically anti-humanist, seems to be exaggerated.\(^\text{242}\) As Richard Tuck has shown, the Jesuits were not the radical anti-humanists that Todd depicts. What Todd qualifies as a straightforward or unequivocal ‘reaction against innovation, against lay initiative, against any new developments which could detract from the authority vested in the clerical estate’ in the Catholic church is in direct contrast with the work of the Jesuits,


\(^{239}\) Paul Le Jeune, Relation de ce qui s’est passé en la Nouvelle France, en l’année 1635 envoyée au R. Père provincial de la Compagnie de Jésus en la province de France par le P. Paul LeJeune de la mesme compagnie, supérieur de la résidence de Kébec, Paris, 1636, p. 230.

\(^{240}\) de la Puente, De la perfeccion del christianos, p. 111.

\(^{241}\) Todd, Christian Humanism, p. 20.

\(^{242}\) Todd, Christian Humanism, chapter 7.
but also of lay congregations and Sodalities in France and Spain. It is true that, to an extent, the Jesuits focussed on transforming individuals rather than established social institutions. But their Colleges, Sodalities, and to a greater extent, their missions in the New World, as we will see, were social institutions. As such, they were organised in ways that would guarantee the moral behaviour of their members as far as was possible. This was not so different from the goal of the Puritans’ civil and ecclesiastical polity. The Sodalities of Our Lady (Congrégations Mariales in French, Congregaciones Marianas in Spanish), for example, were created and directed by the Jesuits. They were associations of lay men who devoted their time to the observance of rules for good living, and to prayer, charity, and good works, under the supervision of Jesuits. These congregations were disseminated throughout France and Spain, and played a very important role in seventeenth-century lay spirituality. They were also established in Jesuit missions in the New World. Members of Sodalities were also dedicated to education and the transmission of their religious zeal and fervour to others, and to the surveillance of other members. These initiatives were in line, contrary to what Todd argues, with the ‘hope of Catholic humanists like Erasmus for a godly social order established through education and discipline’. As we have seen, the activity and piety of lay people was a central concern in seventeenth-century Catholic spirituality.

The Jesuits’ educational curriculum (first expounded in the 1559 Ratio Studiorum) put a great emphasis on the works of Cicero and stressed the importance for their pupils to prepare for active life and acquire the necessary civic values. The students were required to have ‘daily readings in the works of Cicero, especially those that contain reflections on the standards of right living’. The basic trends of Jesuit spirituality identified by Henry Evennett, ‘active struggle against self; activity on

243 Todd, Christian Humanism, p. 207.
behalf of others; frequent recourse to the sacraments; prayer found in work and action in the world rather than in eremitical retirement from it’, ultimately shaped and influenced Counter-Reformation Catholicism as a whole.250

A fundamental difference between Jesuits’ and Puritans’ calls for reformation was that, in England, religious demands were combined with political claims, due to Puritans’ involvement in Parliament. Yet, seen from a European perspective, both groups made the international success of their creed central to their pleas, and both groups attempted to act on political institutions in defence of their demands. James I once said that ‘Jesuits are nothing but Puritan-papists’.251 This was in reference to what James considered to be the fundamentally seditious nature of both groups, but this comment was not far off the mark. The Jesuits had no qualms about pushing governments for moral reforms and instituting lay societies that would guarantee that their members closely conform to their understanding of moral order, and support increased scrutiny of moral behaviour in others.252 When they were given enough leeway, such as in their missions in New France and New Spain and Peru, the Jesuits attempted to have as much influence as possible on colonial government, or even, as we will see, established a theocratic form of government entirely based on their understanding of the moral life.

Despite the Constitutions’ prohibition to intervene in political matters, the Jesuits acquired incredible political importance over the course of the seventeenth century, and were often the confessors of kings and princes.253 Because of their strategic position in governments as confessors, the Jesuits could claim to be well informed on the specificities of various political situations, and could claim authority over political matters.254 Despite their international character, as Harro Höpfl has shown, the Jesuits had a ‘recurrent […] propensity to “national” and other particularisms’.255 They adapted their thought to the national political contexts to which they belonged but retained substantial freedom of manoeuvre. Eric Nelson has

251 James I, An apologie for the oath of allegiance, p. 44. On James’ association of both Puritans and Jesuits to sedition, see Scott, England’s Troubles, pp. 98, 103; Foster, The Long Argument, p. 127.
253 Höpfl, Jesuit Political Thought, pp. 57–63.
254 Höpfl, Jesuit Political Thought, p. 180. See also p. 21.
255 Höpfl, Jesuit Political Thought, p. 2.
shown, for example, that, despite the interpretation commonly accepted in the historiography, the Jesuits in France were not automatically defenders of ultramontane positions pitted against the king’s authority.256

It is true that the Jesuits’ outlook on their own organisation and the world tended to support monarchy and hierarchy.257 Indeed, a central tenet of Jesuit theology was the idea that absolute obedience was the Christian virtue par excellence. This extreme form of obedience (complete submission of one’s will and liberty) was manifest in the institutional organisation of the Order, in which the Superior General was conceived as Christ on earth, and whose members were expected to obey blindly their superiors’ orders. Humility and obedience were contrasted to pride and self-will, and the Jesuits, as Harro Höpfl explains, ‘unhesitatingly made the manifestations of God’s will in “visible” superiority, institutions, and office-holders the object of obedience, not only for Jesuits but mutatis mutandis for all Christians’.258 But if obedience and order were central to the Jesuits’ cosmology, politics, and theology, the Order’s size and geographical expansion made individual members difficult to control, and meant that some of them could even openly, because of specific national contexts, disobey the Superior General’s orders, as they did in France in 1612, submitting themselves to royal authority and the Gallican church despite Acquaviva’s (their Superior General at the time) instructions.259 Their missionary ideal, as I will discuss in the next chapter, also offered a much more flexible understanding of the priesthood.

Across the confessional divide, religious men thought about both their individual relationship to God and their role in society. For Protestants, if the relationship to God was rather individualistic, and was actualised by a personal relationship to the Scriptures and an intensely emotional process of internal conversion, the political gathering of the Godly happened under intense collective scrutiny. For Catholics, service to the community implied a complete abnegation of the believer, who was to forget the world, his own body and passions for the sole love of God. The reformed man was to be entirely dedicated to the service of God and the community. But the emergence of silent prayer and the loneliness that these good works implied (a fact that was often addressed in missionary writings) also pointed to

256 Nelson, The Jesuits and the Monarchy, p. 201, p. 243; Briggs, Communities of Belief, p. 185. See also Phillips, Church and Culture, p. 106, p. 110.
257 Höpfl, Jesuit Political Thought, p. 2.
258 Höpfl, Jesuit Political Thought, p. 34. See also p. 53.
a more personal relationship to God, in which the holy was denied all his worldly attachments and was, to an extent, united to the divinity.

VI. Conclusion

Seventeenth-century missions were part of an intense movement of religious renewal, both in the Catholic and Protestant worlds. This renewal combined questions which intertwined political, social, spiritual, doctrinal, and most of all soteriological concerns. The calls for reform in Catholic and Protestant Europe shared many features. They focused on Christian humanist themes such as the practice of piety and the problems of luxury, greed, and idleness as opposed to frugality, industry, charity, and love for one’s neighbour. They were aimed at all levels of society. As we will see, these particular criticisms were echoed in the New World, not only through complaints about settler and European societies, but also through the shape given by missionaries to native Christian communities.

The political and religious experiments taking place in England and New England were based on similar anxieties and concerns to the ones in France and New France, Spain and New Spain and Peru: how to ensure the respect of the supreme authority of God on human affairs. The central concern was salvation, and it applied to both reformers and the ones they sought to reform. The questions missionaries addressed in their writings had a universal bearing for them, as they touched upon human nature and man’s relationship to God.

Thus, although the political and religious shape of reform movements took very different paths, they reflected common concerns, and the missions to the New World were part of these attempts. That is, the content of the reforms deemed necessary often coincided (charity, care of the poor, the sick, and the destitute, conversion), the shape those reforms should take, though, varied. These themes and relationships will be further explored in the following chapters.
Chapter 2
Religious Instruction, Education of the Clergy, and the Universal Mission of Reform

I. Introduction

Seventeenth-century religious reformers perceived the world as a spiritual battlefield in which they had the most active part to play. They were not only confronted with the fragmentation of Christianity, but with an increasing awareness that spiritual decay could be found in their own ranks. Their task was not only to convince others of the validity of their beliefs, but also to communicate their religious zeal and spiritual fervour to society as a whole. Because the need for change was so great and universal, they emphasised its process more than its object, bearing out the historian John Bossy’s contention that the word reform implied ‘rather a state of mind than a territorial region’.1 Willing to implement changes that would relate to every aspect of life, seventeenth-century reformers had a deep sense of the international dimension of their mission. Yet they perceived that some parts of society were in greater need of their help than others. The most destitute of their flock lacked not only religious fervour, but basic education as well. The peasants in the European countryside, as well as the natives of America, were amongst those most disadvantaged elements of society. These people, reformers claimed, had either been abandoned by their religious leaders, or had never been taken care of in the first place. From this perspective, missionaries perceived their mission as a dual task: they had a duty to educate those who had not been taught the rudiments of the faith, and they also had a responsibility to ensure that their pastoral care would continue to be provided by virtuous and well-educated priests, once the missionaries’ ‘shock-treatment’ was over.

This chapter will examine internal missions and their relationship to external missions. It will address the close association between these missions in the minds of religious reformers, and the common problem of ignorance and lack of education. The second part will address the issue of the clergy, and how reformers envisioned its role and duties, according to the standards of their own dedication to the faith. Finally, the

---

last part will discuss the missionaries’ sense of universal mission and their understanding of their work as a holy task. Their mission gave them a sense of their particular place in society, and required them to lead exemplary lives, which would encourage their brethren to emulate their apostolic way of life. Despite doctrinal differences, evangelical impulses were a central concern for both Jesuits and Puritans.

II. Peasants and Pagans

If, in their encounter with the natives, missionaries were faced with a particular kind of men, who had lived for centuries in complete isolation and ignorance of the word of God, seventeenth-century zealous Christians were well aware of the similarities between the natives’ pagan practices and the lack of religious education amongst European peasants. In French, English, and Spanish, the word peasant (païsan, paisano) shares a common etymology with the word pagan (païen, pagano). Both terms come from the Latin ‘paganus’, meaning ‘countryman, peasant, villager, rustic’. Indeed, the comparison of natives with European peasants, and vice-versa, was a frequent trope in missionary writings from all countries. Contemporaries usually agreed that the common problem of peasants and natives was their ignorance, and especially ignorance of what was absolutely necessary for their salvation.

Working in Brittany in the first half of the seventeenth century, Michel Le Nobletz complained that in the area he felt like ‘in the midst of Barbary, amongst a people as rude and ignorant as the Savages themselves’. The comparison of the French countryside with the Indies was indeed very common, especially to convince those friars who dreamt of far-away missions of the importance of similar work in rural France. Thus, the General of the Jesuit order reminded Father Bayol about the French countryside in 1633: ‘they are new Indies, dark and obscure not because of

---

people’s colour, but because of their ignorance’. The trope of ‘the internal Indies’ had been present in Spain since the middle of the sixteenth century, and had almost become a commonplace by the seventeenth century. Thus missionaries working in Corsica, Sardinia, Sicily, southern Spain and southern Italy all believed that they were working in ‘their’ or ‘other’ Indies (nuestras, or otras Indias), populated by ‘ignorant pagans’. England, too, was not immune to such comparisons. In 1628, sir Benjamin Rudyerd complained in the House of Commons that ‘divers parts of Wales’ and ‘the utmost skirts of the North, where the prayers of the common people, are more like spells and charms then deuotions’, were ‘scarce in Christendome, where God was little better knowne then amongst Indians’. Even as late as 1652, Roger Williams reported the comments of an ‘eminent person’ about England: ‘We have Indians at home — Indians in Cornewall, Indians in Wales, Indians in Ireland’.

Catholic missions in Europe and America were undertaken by the same orders, notably the Franciscans and the Jesuits, who communicated frequently amongst themselves. As Marc Fumaroli has argued, the published Relations (or Litterae Annuae) of the Jesuits established networks of communication between the varied Jesuit communities around the world, and provided them with a perspective that situated their own local work within a broader international framework constituted by their order.

Given the close relationship between internal and external missions in both Spain and France, the scholar Bernadette Majorana even suggests that those

terms should be replaced by a single one, ‘popular missions’. In Catholic Europe, the revival, or building, of popular Christianity was implemented by a process of double reform: first, missions to the poor and uneducated, then reform of the clergy according to the Tridentine decrees. Both processes can be considered as both reformative and counter-reformative endeavours: the Catholic faith needed to be consolidated, and pastoral action was necessary to ensure the orthodoxy and education of the majority of the population.

Ignorance was the principal concern of missionaries and of those pushing for missions. This issue was particularly associated with the countryside. For the director of the Company of the Blessed Sacrament in Paris, instruction was fundamental, as ‘the ignorance among people in the villages, due to their low level of instruction, is the cause of all the disorders that they commit, and of a gross ignorance (stupidité grossière) of the main articles necessary for their salvation, which is unworthy of the Christian spirit’. According to the Jesuit biographer of Julien Maunoir, who spent the second half of the century on missions in Brittany, people were so ignorant that ‘they could not even answer this question, how many gods are there’. Jesuit Jean-François Régis, working in the Vivarais, decided to dedicate himself to ‘poor villagers and common people (la petite populace)’, as well as to ‘servants (gens de service) and the poorest workers’. But issues were also present in urban centres. Even in big towns, Régis would focus on the ‘most despised people’. For Jesuit Miguel Ángel Pascual, missions were to be organised ‘where there are ignorant men, many vices, and few preachers […]’. According to Jesuit Alonso de Andrade, people living in ‘small villages, in mountains and valleys, and deserted areas (desiertos)’ were those who were ‘submerged (sepultados) by the darkness of ignorance, without the light of the Gospel, those whom the devil deceives the most’. The necessity to instruct the

---

14 Antoine Bonnet, La vie du pere Jean-François Regis, de la Compagnie de Jesus, Lyon, 1694, pp. 32, 54, 106.
15 Miguel Ángel Pascual, El Missionero instruido, y en el los demas operarios de la Iglesia, Madrid, 1698, p. 218.
ignorant had been stated by Jerónimo Nadal, one of the earliest Jesuits, whose spirituality had a great influence on the Society:

[...] this is indeed the distinctive mark of our vocation: That we accept from God and the orthodox Church the care of those for whom nobody is caring, even if there actually is somebody who ought to be caring for them. [...] To this end looks our vow that is made to the Supreme Pontiff, which specifically concerns ‘missions.’ This is a work that is at the same time of the greatest difficulty, labor, and danger, as well as the greatest utility and necessity. It is hence that the Society seems somehow to imitate the condition of the Church of the Apostles, in our humility in Christ’.17

In France, the intense movements of education and missions in the countryside and of missions to New France were concomitant. People, skills, and information went back and forth between Old and New France. Bernard Dompnier has shown that internal missions were based on the model of foreign undertakings, which were perceived as the ultimate prototype of missionary activity.18 For Jesuit Julien Maunoir, ‘the danger to work with Canadians seemed greater than with Bretons, & their terrible ignorance did not arouse his enthusiasm as much as their [the Canadians] idolatry’. Yet he ultimately decided to dedicate his life to the peasants of Brittany.19 Internal and external missions were also compared in Spain. Jesuit Miguel Ángel Pascual, reflecting on internal and external missions, claimed that they were both ‘admirable, glorious, worthy of a holy envy, for they are laborious, difficult, and praiseworthy; and because they are effective to move even the most obstinate hearts [...]’.’20 According to Mercedarian Gabriel de Santa Maria, Spanish bishops should thus ensure to have missionaries come on special missions in their diocese at least once or twice a year, to help ‘the most lost and hopeless’ among their parishioners.21

From this perspective, missions acquired a broad meaning, and the various offices of the missionary were not necessarily separated. French Capuchin Yves de Paris emphasised the variety of his order’s activities:

Pulpits are filled with our preachers, the work and success of those who hear confessions is great, the sick and indigent get consolation from our

19 Boschet, Le parfait missionnaire, p. 57.
20 Pascual, El Missionero instruido, p. 4.
21 Gabriel de Santa Maria, El predicador apostolico, y obligaciones de su sagrado ministerio, parte primera, Sevilla, 1684, p. 9.
visits, poor peasants from the countryside receive their instruction from
our charity, we cross the seas, & the furore of a barbarian people do not
prevent us from rescuing those who languish under their tyranny […]}.22

Spaniard Miguel Ángel Pascual claimed that Jesuit missions were admitted
not only in small areas, but also in Towns, and Cities, and even in
Universities, and in the most distinguished dioceses, and even in Courts,
thus obeying everywhere to the order of our supreme General: In omnem
Civitatem, & locum [into every city and place].23

Yet, the fact that missions were so needed in France and Spain could also lead
to a certain reluctance regarding foreign missions. Ten years before they started their
missions in New France, a Jesuit Provincial wrote (probably to the General of the
Society, Claudio Acquaviva) that

the success hoped for these missions [to New France] cannot be compared
to the success we have here (par deça) […] There are many towns in
France that have been hoping for so many years to have a preacher from
among us and never saw one. Two fathers gone would mean one or two
missions less in France, where success is great and assured, whereas [in
New France] it would be small and uncertain.24

As late as 1626, Charles Lalemant complained from New France to Mutio Vitelleschi,
the Superior General of the Society: ‘Our own Fathers in Paris, for some reason, put
difficulties in our way, and seem rather unfriendly to our mission’.25

The idea that missions in Europe were more secure and important was also
present in Spanish writings. Jesuit Pedro de León, working around Seville in 1615, did
not know ‘why we [the Jesuits] go search for souls to the Indies, as we have so many,
so close, and in so much need’. León recounted the words of a noble who told him,
talking about Andalusia, that he did not ‘know, for sure, for what reason the Fathers of
the Society go to Japan and the Philippines to look for lost souls, having […] so many

22 Yves de Paris, Les hevrevx svceez de la piete: ov Les Triomphes que la vie Religieuse a emportez sur
23 Pascual, El Missionero instrvido, p. 220. ‘In omnem Civitatem et locum’ is a reference to the Bible,
24 [Jean Gentil], ‘Mémoire sur le projet de mission canadienne’ [13 Mars 1605?], in Lucien Campeau,
218.
25 Charles Lalemant, ‘Epistola ad R. P. Mutium Vitelleschi, Praepositum Generalem Societatis Jesu,
Rome’, August 1, [1626], in Reuben Gold Thwaites, The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents.
Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610–1791, 71 volumes,
Cleveland, 1896, vol. IV, pp. 180, 182; hereafter JR. On this, see Marcel Trudel, The Beginnings of
here, who do not know if they believe in God or not, that a mission would be very useful'.

In England, ignorance of religious matters in the countryside was also a popular theme. The Scottish Highlands and islands, as well as Ireland, were cause for particular concern. Arthur Chichester, the Lord deputy of Ireland between 1604 and 1615 depicted the area as ‘that barbarous land where the people know not God, nor care not for man’. Barnaby Rich described the Irish in 1615 as ‘more barbarous and more brutysh in ther costomes and demeanures then in any other parte of the world that is knowne’. But these complaints were not limited to Ireland and the Scottish Highlands. In 1607, John Norden claimed that the people living in the heath and forest areas of England were ‘as ignorant of God or of any civil course of life as the very savages amongst the infidels in maner (sic), which is lamentable'.

These complaints were intrinsically linked to godly Protestants’ dissatisfaction with the Church of England. In 1640, minister Stephen Marshall had lamented:

What little care hath the State in generall taken to provide that Christ might ride in Triumph upon his white horse? that the Word of God might spread into every corner of the Land? But, oh the cruelty that hath been offered to many poore Congregations, in taking away the bread of Life from their mouthes, without any pity!

Such concerns would be addressed, although not entirely solved, during the Interregnum. Various acts were passed to encourage the propagation of the Gospel in England, and particularly in Wales and the four Northern counties, ‘which heretofore

---


28 The manuscript, ‘The Anothomy of Irelande In the maner of a dyalogue truly dyscoverynge the state of the country for hys Majestis especyall servyes By Barnabe Ryche gentyllman servant to the Kynges most excelent Majestie’ (1615) has been edited by Edward M. Hinton, ‘Rych's Anothomy of Ireland, with an Account of the Author’, Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, Vol. 55, No. 1 (Mar., 1940), pp. 73–101, citation on p. 82. See also Ohlmeyer, ‘Civilizinge of those Rude Partes’, p. 131.


abounded in Ignorance and Prophaneness’.

Those acts were passed between February and April 1650, six months after the ‘Act for the promoting and propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ in New England’ was passed, in late July 1649.

Justifications and appeals for missions often conflated ignorance and heresy: thus Protestantism in France, or Catholicism in England were frequently considered to be the result of ignorance and sin. In Spain, the monarchy actively supported missions in the Iberian countryside as well as in the Low Countries. By 1640, Spain had supported the settlement of forty-three missions of the Society of Jesus in the southern Netherlands and in the principality of Liège, as a rampart against Protestantism.

Gabriel de Santa Maria recalled the work of Vicente Ferrer, who had preached around Geneva in the fifteenth century, and who insisted that the only reason why Calvinism had spread was the lack of Catholic priests: ‘the origin of so many errors and heresies was the lack of Evangelical Preachers’. As pagans had to be ‘reduced’ to the faith, so did heretics. Missions and other undertakings to reinforce orthodoxy or to convert heretics were not necessarily differentiated. As Dominique Deslandres has shown, missionaries themselves, as well as the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, the Roman organ of missionary activities, founded in 1622, did not establish a clear difference between missions ‘ad fideles’ and ‘ad haereticos’, considering both as part of a single process of conversion. In 1600, Francis de Sales thought the Huguenots were simply ‘paganising’, and complained that numerous people did not even know what their religion was.

---

35 Santa Maria, El predicador apostolico, p. 62.
36 Santa Maria, El predicador apostolico, p. 225. As J.H. Elliott has shown, to reduce did not mean ‘to level down, but to bring back or to restore, and in particular to restore by persuasion or by argument’: Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America, 1492–1830, New Haven, CT, 2006, p. 66.
The greatest threat heresy posed was to uneducated people. Thus, according to his biographer, Father Le Nobletz in Brittany would ‘go out in the countryside to instruct the people (les peuples), whose own ignorance and the frequent visits that heretical Ministers made among them put in extreme danger regarding their salvation’.

The Company of the Blessed Sacrament’s avowed goal was to stop the ‘pernicious work of the atheists, of the impious, the heretics, and the sectarians with their new doctrines (sectateurs de nouvelles doctrines)’. In Spain, if the Inquisition ensured that Protestantism would not be a threat, Roma were, again and again, suspected of introducing dangerous ideas. Arbitrata Sancho de Moncada argued that the presence of gypsies in the country caused

[...] many errors, especially among ordinary people (en el vulgo), and superstitious beliefs [...] many serious men consider them Heretics, and many consider them Heathens and Idolaters, or Atheists, without any religion, although externally they accommodate themselves to the religion of the Province where they are, they are Turks with the Turks, Heretics with the Heretics, and when they are among Christians, they baptise one of their boys for appearances’ sake (por cumplir).

Protestants expressed similar anxieties. In England, reformers appealed for more and better educated priests in rural sectors, relentlessly associating the words ‘popish’ and ‘ignorant.’ Josias Nichols, on a visit in a parish, asked its members

[...] whether it were possible for a man to liue so vprightlie, that by well doinge he might winne heaven [...] skarce one, but did affirme, that a man might be saued by his own wel doing: and that he trusted he did so liue, that by Gods grace, he should obtaine euerlasting life by seruing of God & good prayers, &c. [...] the papist or any hereticke may easilie peruert them, who haue no better knowledge or iudgement, yea they may be taught any thing.

décembre 1596’, in Oeuvres, 1900, tome XI, p. 220. See also Deslandres, Croire et faire croire, p. 128 and Châtelier, The Religion of the Poor, p. 31.
39 Verjus, La vie de Monsieur Le Nobletz, p. 41. See also Boschet, Le parfait missionnaire, pp. 195–196.
41 Sancho de Moncada, Restauracion política de España, y deseos publicos... (1619), Madrid, 1746, pp.133–134.
43 Josias Nichols, The plea of the innocent wherein is auerred, that the ministers & people falslie termed puritanes, are iniurioslie slandered for enemies or troublers of the state: published for the common good of the church and common wealth of this realme of England as a countermure against all sycophantising papists, statising priestes, neutralising atheistes, and satanising scorners of all godlinesse, trueth and honestie, [Middleburg], 1602, pp. 219–221.
Moreover, they believed with good reason that the Jesuits were actively working in the most uneducated areas of the kingdom, and numerous pleas were sent to the House of Commons to counteract their supposed evil influence in the countryside.44 These concerns were of long standing, for as early as 1586, the ‘General Supplication’ of Puritans, submitted to the parliament, linked the Jesuit problem with the lack of ministers, and complained about the fact that the ‘Jesuits, Seminaries, and other priests, as grievous and hungrie wolves entring in among us, and finding us in a great part as shepe without shepheards, spoile and carie aweie at their pleasure the flocke of Christe’.45 The case was of course particularly problematic in Ireland. In 1610, Barnaby Rich, in his New Description of Ireland, complained that the Irish were ‘trained vp in Treason, in Rebellion, in Theft, in Robery, in Superstition, in Idolatry, and nuzeled from their Cradles in the very puddle of Popery’. But, here as in Catholic writings, heresy was associated with ignorance rather than sin. He continued:

There is yet a difference to bee made, of those faults that do grow from our weaknesse, and those that do proceed from our mallice: and the Irish in this are the more to be pittied, that are no better taught; whose educations, as they are rude, so they are blinded with ignorance.46

Joseph Hall, discussing England in 1628, affirmed that ‘the cause of the miscarriage of our People into Poperie, and other errours, was, their vngroundednes in the points of Catechisme’. Hall believed that those people only required ‘solid informations’.47

44 Hill, ‘Puritans and ‘the Dark Corners of the Land’’, p. 85.
46 Barnabe Rich, A New Description of Ireland: Wherein is described the disposition of the Irish whereunto they are inclined..., London, 1610, pp. 15–16.
III. **A Responsible Clergy**

The appeal for qualified pastors to accomplish missions in the New World was echoed across Europe. Ineffective conversion in rural areas was partly due to the lack of competent priests and ministers. Like the natives in America, it seemed that Spanish, French, and English peasants had been left to themselves, and that their ignorance was thus a responsibility of the Church (either the Catholic Church or the Church of England), which had abandoned them. As the Council of Trent reminded its bishops in reference to Lamentations 4:4: ‘Let not the watchful pastoral solicitude of the bishops be wanting, […] lest that word be fulfilled; The little ones have asked for bread, and there was none to break it unto them’. This metaphor came up repeatedly in Spanish writings about the natives of the New World. In France, Jesuit Michel le Nobletz changed the statement to emphasise the lack of education of the people: ‘The little ones were hungry, they have asked for bread to the Clerics, that God chose as their foster fathers (pour leurs peres nourriciers): but a great number of them have mercilessly turned their back on them […]’. The notion of giving bread to those who starve was also used in English writings to reaffirm the necessity to spread the Gospel in the New World. Both Independent and Presbyterian ministers in England wrote in a collective letter to promote missions in the New World: ‘there can be no reason why God should fence us, and suffer other places to lye wast, that we should be his Garden, and other places a Wildernes, that he should feed us with the bread of Heaven, and suffer others to starve’.

---

In France, missions to the countryside had two objectives: the redress of religious errors amongst the population, and the education of parish priests. The latter was often seen as even more difficult than the former. François Bourgoing (Superior General of the Oratory between 1641 and 1662) maintained in 1646 that there were two different types of missions: missions to the people and missions to the clergy ‘in which abominations are sometimes greater, spirits more blinded, and hearts more hardened and less disposed’. Jean-Pierre Camus, bishop of Belley between 1609 and 1628, noted in his manual on missions that missionaries should remind the priests in the countryside of their duties, as ‘sundry are in great need of those Instructions and Reprimands’. The members of the Company of the Blessed Sacrament put a particular emphasis on the moral control of priests. They complained in 1638 that there were ‘a great number of vagrant and mendicant priests who were a shame to good character’. The Company made sure these were arrested. As I mentioned in the first chapter, the extent of secular missions to priests and the subsequent seminaries organised to educate the clergy in seventeenth-century France was spectacular. According to his biographer, missionary Michel Le Nobletz believed that priests should study not only casuistry, but also

perfect their reasoning in the study of Philosophy, & sanctify it by the study of the holy Scriptures; & so they would be capable of catechising, preaching, & explaining the Word of God; & so they would not be one of these blind men who lead other blind men, & whose darkness does not excuse the faults they commit because of their criminal ignorance.

In Spain, the Jesuits relentlessly complained about the deplorable lack of knowledge of parish priests, and their inability to teach the fundamental points of doctrine to the people. Missions were aimed at both peasants and their parish priests. The synodical constitutions of the Archbishopric of Toledo insisted that, as was known by experience, ‘because of the lack of Masters and teachers, both children and

---


François Bourgoing, quoted in Deslandres, *Croire et faire croire*, p. 145.


Verjus, *La vie de Monsieur Le Nobletz*, p. 79.

adults forget and do not learn again things necessary to be a Christian (las cosas necesarias a los Christianos), and some are so ignorant that they can hardly be called Christians, or men’. Only priests well educated and aware of the Catholic orthodoxy could properly teach the ignorant. For Gabriel de Santa Maria, there was no doubt that ‘the whole ruin of the world comes from a lack of ministers’.

The Counter-Reformation put under increasing scrutiny not only the behaviour of ordinary people, but also that of the priests. The Council of Trent had reaffirmed that clerical conduct was to be exemplary and irreproachable:

There is nothing that continually instructs others unto piety, and the service of God, more than the life and example of those who have dedicated themselves to the divine ministry. For as they are seen to be raised to a higher position, above the things of this world, others fix their eyes upon them as upon a mirror, and derive from them what they are to imitate. Wherefore clerics called to have the Lord for their portion, ought by all means so to regulate their whole life and conversation, as that in their dress, comportment, gait, discourse, and all things else, nothing appear but what is grave, regulated, and replete with religiousness; avoiding even slight faults, which in them would be most grievous; that so their actions may impress all with veneration.

Regarding New World parishes, Alonso de la Peña Montenegro, Bishop of Lima, writing in 1668, reiterated the basic principles of both the Council of Trent and the third Council of Lima, with a great emphasis on the duties of priests and missionaries. By then, it seemed obvious that priests who behaved too harshly or uncaringly were the cause for numerous apostasies amongst the natives. The rules of the Council of Trent relating to the care of parishes were applied to the Viceroyalty of Peru by the decrees of the third Council of Lima, which took place in 1582 and 1583, and to New Spain by the decrees of the third Council of Mexico, which was held in 1585. The third councils of Lima and Mexico emphasised the importance of reform

57 Constituciones sinodales del Smo.... don Fernando, Cardenal Infante, administrador perpetuo del Arçobispado de Toledo ..., Madrid, 1622, fo. 6 r.
58 Santa Maria, El predicador apostolico, p. 62.
59 The Council of Trent, Session XXII: Decree on Reformation, Chapter I: The Canons relative to the life, and propriety of conduct of Clerics are renewed, in The canons and decrees, p. 162.
60 Alonso de la Peña Montenegro, Itinerario para parochos de indios: en que se tratan las materias mas particulares, tocantes à ellos, para su buena administracion (1668), Amberes, 1726.
of both the clergy and Christians in general. Regular ‘visitas’, dubbed in the decrees of the Council of Lima ‘the nerve of ecclesiastical discipline’ were to be organised by the bishops, with ‘paternal affection’, in order to insure the necessary obedience in the dioceses.

Complaints about the education of the clergy also relentlessly arose in England. Not only were priests lacking, but many of those who did preach were almost illiterate, and most of them did not speak the local language. Amongst numerous other complaints for lack of educated ministers in rural counties of England, the Herefordshire petition to the House of Commons in 1642 mentioned the insufficient, Idle and Scandalous Ministers, whereby the people generally are continued in Ignorance, Superstition, and prophanenesse, and are ready to become a prey to popish sunderers (sic), which Idolatrous profession hath of late yeares with much boldnesse appeared in this County.

Before the Civil War, as Christopher Hill has argued, many Puritans insisted that the education of the people was fundamental to resist Popery and necessary for the salvation of souls. In 1642, the House of Commons issued a declaration affirming that they would use their utmost Endeavours to establish learned and preaching Ministers, with a good and sufficient Maintenance, throughout the whole Kingdom; wherein many dark Corners are miserably destitute of the Means of Salvation; and many poor Ministers want necessary Provision.

The acts for the propagation of the Gospel in Wales and the Northern counties allocated funds for the employment of ‘godly and painful men, of able gifts and knowledge for the work of the Ministry, and of approved conversation for Piety’.

---


64 See Hill, ‘Puritans and ‘the Dark Corners of the Land’.


IV. The Ideal of Universal Mission and the Exemplary Role of the Missionary

Following the Counter-Reformation, the Catholic priesthood was thus required to lead its flock not only by speeches, but also by leading an exemplary life. This was all the more true for missionaries, who were the representatives of their faith to heretics, non-believers and ‘lukewarm’ believers. It has been argued that the Counter-Reformation reinforced the hierarchical structure of the church, the control of the clergy over the laity, and ultimately deepened the gap between the priesthood and the laity.\textsuperscript{69} The enforcement of orthodoxy was at odds with any attempt at social reform, since the latter was deemed to be threatening the established order.\textsuperscript{70} Margo Todd has contrasted this process with the humanist model of social reform, carried through the Puritan ideal of the active life of the faithful, and the Protestant notion of the priesthood of all believers. Yet the pastor also played a central role and possessed a position of authority in Puritan social organisation, especially in the congregational system of New England, and practical Christianity was not necessarily the exclusive preserve of the Puritans.

The emphasis on the practical aspects of Christianity in both Puritan and Jesuit thought seem to share a common Erasmian root. The influence of Christian humanism and Erasmus on the Jesuits does not appear to be self-evident at first glance. The Society’s absolute respect of hierarchy and authority, and its Thomist inclinations, would seem to be at odds with humanist ideals. Yet Margo Todd’s account of the Jesuits as ‘conservative crusaders’ neglects important aspects of the Society’s understanding of their role in society.\textsuperscript{71} If the early Jesuits expressed reservations about some aspects of Renaissance humanism, they nevertheless were deeply influenced by some of its features. According to John O’Malley, it would not be possible to understand the history of the Society without taking the influence of humanism into consideration.\textsuperscript{72}

The influence of humanist thought was apparent not only in the Jesuits’ system of education, with its emphasis on rhetoric and civic virtues, but also, at a more

\textsuperscript{71} Todd, \textit{Christian Humanism}, p. 208. Todd does not mention the works of O’Malley in her monograph.
fundamental level, in their understanding of spirituality as a whole. Their disdain for the monastic ideal of contemplation, and their insistence on apostolic duties applied not only to themselves, but to those they aimed to convert: as Robert Maryks argued, ‘the aim of Jesuit — and Erasmus’s — theology was to move hearts to love and serve God’. Jesuits and Puritans shared many features in their understanding of spirituality and morality, and of their role in society, despite important theological distinctions.

Against the idea of the priesthood of all believers, the Council of Trent had reaffirmed the notion that the Church was a visible institution, and thus that its authority had been transmitted to its episcopacy. The Apostolic tradition (the succession of popes and bishops) possessed as much authority as the Scriptures. The decrees of the Council of Trent strongly reinforced the bishop’s moral and administrative authority, as representatives of the power of the visible church. As with the education of the clergy, the advancement of qualified bishops in France was sponsored by both lay and clerical initiative. The Council also intensified the bishops’ pastoral duties, against the idea of the bishopric as an honorific (and lucrative) position. The Councils of Mexico and Lima strongly re-emphasised this vision of the bishops’ apostolic mission in New Spain and Peru: ‘The principal charge of Bishops is to teach God’s Gospel to the people, since as the successors of the Apostles they have to ensure the care of the holy Word with purity and rectitude’.

But there is another dimension to the Counter-Reformation apostolic exemplar. The ideal of an exemplary life based on the model of the Apostles was prominent amongst missionaries, and its main features were not associated with authority, but rather promoted a way of life that was altogether different from the ideal of the


\[77\] Libro Primero, Título I: De la predicacion de la palabra de Dios, Capítulo I: Así los obispos como los párrocos prediquen por sí mismos la palabra de Dios, según está prescrito por el Concilio Tridentino, á no ser que se hallaren con legítimo impedimento. See also Libro Tercero, Título I: Del ministerio de los obispos y de la pureza de su vida, Capítulo II: Establezcan los obispos un género tal de vida, que correspondá à la dignidad de los sucesores de los apostoles, in Galvan Rivera, *Concilio III Provincial Mexicano*, pp. 10, 165, and Tercera sesión del concilio provincial limeño, Capítulo 1: ¿Cómo deben ser los obispos?, in Lisi, *El Tercer Concilio*, p. 163.
authority of the bishops. The apostolic ideal was thus not only geared towards a reinforcement of the Church’s authority, but towards a more dynamic vision of the priesthood, and an understanding of the primarily missionary role of the Church.\textsuperscript{78} The emphasis put at Trent on the authority of the visible church and the Episcopal and territorial dimension that it implied was disputed by Diego Laínez, Loyola’s successor at the head of the Society of Jesus.\textsuperscript{79} The Society favoured a more flexible definition of the church, which would allow for greater scope for human activity. Against the emphasis on residency and territoriality, Laínez advocated the church’s missionary duties, thus insisting on the role and activities of the priesthood more than on their geographical situation.\textsuperscript{80} Early Jesuit Jerónimo Nadal explained the Jesuits’ understanding of their calling: ‘They consider that they are in their most peaceful and pleasant house when they are constantly on the move, when they travel throughout the earth, when they have no place to call their own’.\textsuperscript{81}

The Jesuits’ ministries, according to John O’Malley, included programs that were not addressed in the decrees of the Council of Trent. In addition to their missions to all sorts of people, as we have already seen, their tasks were incredibly varied. They had a primary role in the education of children through their colleges; they preached to the poor, the indigent, and the sick, to prisoners and workers of all kinds; they organised lay congregations, which promoted charity but also Scriptural and moral education; and they promoted spiritual retreats and prayer.\textsuperscript{82} This more dynamic understanding of the church, with a focus on activity rather than status, was central to the missionary ethos. The necessity for the bishops to keep residency within their dioceses did not allow for such a flexible vision of the priesthood.\textsuperscript{83} The Jesuits’ absolute respect for authority, in this perspective, could be seen not only as an emphasis on papal power, but also as a disregard for temporal contingencies, and a focus on a more individualistic sensitivity: the missionary’s geographical location and function did not matter, as the fundamental dimension of their work lay in their

\textsuperscript{78} Bossy, Editor’s Postscript, in \textit{The Spirit of the Counter-Reformation}, p. 140.


\textsuperscript{80} Bossy, ‘Editor’s Postscript’, pp. 135–137.


\textsuperscript{83} Evennett in Bossy, ed., \textit{The Spirit of the Counter-Reformation}, p. 99.
actions and exemplary lives. The vow of obedience was related to missions: Jesuits vowed to obey the Pope, wherever he sent them.\textsuperscript{84} The ministries of the Jesuits in the New World were no less varied. On the frontier area of Mexico, in New Spain, aside from ‘conversions of gentiles and conservation in our holy faith of those already converted’ and schooling of European children, the Jesuits would also apply themselves to ‘preaching, confessing, responding to cases [of conscience], hearing the confessions of the sick, visiting prisons and hospitals, and all other activities that can be of spiritual benefit to souls’.\textsuperscript{85}

Reform for the Jesuits was not centred as it was at Trent on offices in the Church, which did not directly concern them, but on individual reform. When they used the term ‘reformatio’, as John O’Malley has shown, the Jesuits meant the deep conversion that people experienced through the Spiritual Exercises, or which they intended to arouse in their pastoral activities. The meaning of the Jesuits’ missions could, O’Malley persuasively argues, be encapsulated in the term \textit{Christianitas}. This notion, for O’Malley, referred to the building of a Christian Character, which would prepare one to develop one’s internal spirituality, but also to perform works of mercy and behave in the world as a Christian.\textsuperscript{86} For O’Malley, this notion was related to the humanist concept of \textit{pietas}, which assimilated education to the ‘formation of Christian character’.\textsuperscript{87}

The Jesuit order understood all of its activities as an apostolic mission: the members of the Society had a duty to propagate the faith and reform the mores of the people they encountered, regardless of their specific function. This point was repeatedly emphasised by Claudio Acquaviva, General of the Society from 1581 to 1615.\textsuperscript{88} As the Constitutions claimed, ‘our vocation is to travel to any part of the world, where there is hope for the greater service of God and help of souls’.\textsuperscript{89} Their reforming impulse could take place at any time, and the Jesuits would preach

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{86} Works of mercy are enumerated in the introduction of this thesis, n.35. For the importance of works of mercy in the Jesuit ministry, see John W. O’Malley, \textit{The First Jesuits}, Cambridge, MA, 1993, pp. 88–89 and chapter 5.
\textsuperscript{87} O’Malley, ‘Was Ignatius Loyola a Church Reformer?’, pp. 180–182. The citation is on p. 182.
\textsuperscript{88} Dompnier, ‘La France du premier XVIIe siècle’, p. 627.
\textsuperscript{89} Ignacio de Loyola, ‘Constituciones’, #304 in \textit{Obras Completas de San Ignacio de Loyola}, transcripción, introducciones y notas de Ignacio Iparraguirre, Madrid, 1977 (2\textsuperscript{e} ed.), p. 509.
\end{flushleft}
anywhere and to anyone. Missions and the religious life of the members of the Company were two sides of the same coin. As explained in the Constitutions, the purpose of the Order was ‘the defence and propagation of the faith, and the advancement of souls in Christian life and doctrine by public preaching, conferences, and any other ministry of the Word, spiritual exercises, […] and works of charity […] for the glory of God and the common good’. The Jesuits, by their example and apostolic way of life, could conceive of their whole existence as missions to those whose faith was lukewarm or non-existent. Where they accomplished this apostolic mission was irrelevant, and they vowed to obey the Pope:

whatever His Holiness commands regarding the advancement of souls and the propagation of the faith we must immediately carry out, without any evasion or excuse, as far as in us lies, whether he sends us to the Turks or to the New World or to the Lutherans or to others be they infidel or faithful.  

As Giovanni Pizzorusso has shown with his study of the Jesuit’s ‘litterae indipetae’ (the letters sent by individual Jesuits to their General in Rome, asking to be sent on a mission), most Jesuits who were willing to undertake missions abroad, even though they were well aware of the different contexts in which those missions took place, were most of the time indifferent as to their specific destination. This highly flexible vision of the ministry was also of interest to secular priests who took part in the French school of Spirituality. Vincent de Paul was reported to long for foreign missions: ‘Happy, O happy is the condition of a missionary who has no other limits to his missions and works for Jesus Christ, than that of the whole inhabitable earth’.  


The Jesuits’ central tool for conversion, Loyola’s Spiritual Exercises, was adapted to this dynamic understanding of the members of the Company’s duties. The great flexibility of the Exercises allowed them to be used in any type of circumstance: they had to be adapted to the ‘disposition of the persons who wish to receive [them], that is, to their age, education or ability [...]’.

Similarly, the great emphasis put by the Jesuits on rhetoric reinforced their flexibility. The good use of rhetoric required the ability to adapt one’s speech to one’s audience. The art of casuistry, for which the Jesuits have been accused repeatedly of semi-Pelagianism, can also be traced to the importance of rhetoric in Jesuit thought. It was the adaptation of their work to the specificities of the penitent’s concerns. Marc Fumaroli has argued, for example, that the work of Jesuit casuists was based on the epistemic model of the Humanists’ writings, in the way they vividly depicted sins in a contextualised manner.

The Jesuits have often been accused of deception and manipulation in their use of casuistry, ‘the science of moral guidance’ (the study of cases of conscience). Casuistry supposedly allowed the Jesuits to excessively (or even deceptively) adapt their moral principles depending on the circumstances. Blaise Pascal, a famous Jansenist opponent of the Jesuits, accused them, with casuistry, to ‘disguise their humane prudence and policy under the notion of Divine and Christian wisdome’.

Puritans contrasted their work to Jesuit casuistry. Their treatises on Christian life, usually referred to as ‘practical divinity’, are usually evaluated by the historiography as a novelty, as they did not differentiate between spirituality and morality. The Jesuits, on the contrary, distinguished between their writings on casuistry, the access to which was limited to priests, and devotional literature, aimed at lay devout people and focused on the interior life. James Keenan has shown that, if they were not influenced by Jesuit casuistry, as has been argued by the historiography,

---

95 Ignacio de Loyola, ‘Ejercicios Espirituales’, 18ª anotación, in Obras Completas, p. 211.
99 Höpfl, Jesuit Political Thought, p. 89.
Puritan writers who wrote on practical divinity had amply read — and reluctantly acknowledged their debt to — Jesuit devotional literature. This specific type of religious literature, translated into English and published for English Catholics who did not have access to the usual priestly assistance one could expect in a Catholic country, was subsequently ‘puritanized’ (rid of Catholic ‘errors’). The English Jesuit Robert Parsons’ devotional work, *The First Booke of the Christian Exercise* (first edition in 1582) was similarly adapted for a Puritan audience. This book was based on the first week of Loyola’s Spiritual Exercises, and, by inviting the sinner to realise his sinful state, it was expected to trigger conversion. Jesuit devotional literature, and in particular Parsons’, was aimed at lay individuals and established the steps for an intense spiritual introspection. Self-control, so important in Jesuit morality, and the emphasis on the individual and experiential aspects of the faith typical of Jesuit devotional literature were suited to Puritan and Calvinist purposes.

The art of casuistry was particularly important for missionaries:

The savage women sometimes put forward doubts in spiritual matters, as difficult as those that could be raised by the most spiritual persons in France. The knowledge of the cases of conscience is often of good service here; without it we would be in danger of making many mistakes respecting proximate occasions, the baptism of adults, and marriages.

In New England also, Eliot repeatedly asked the Corporation for funds to train able ministers, as the natives asked difficult questions: ‘there is need of learning in Ministers who preach to Indians […] for these had sundry philosophicall questions, which some knowledge of the arts must helpe to give answer to’.

The Jesuits’ understanding of their own spirituality, as well as the devotional literature that they composed for the ‘help of souls’, was not far off Erasmus’ vision of the Christian’s duty, what Margo Todd defines as ‘positive individual action in

---


righteous response to specific moral dilemmas’. The examination of specific cases of conscience, in both Jesuit and Puritan manuals, aimed at helping the individual in the concrete application of general moral principles to particular situations. It emphasised the practical dimension of morality.

The importance of the zealous Catholic’s devout and exemplary life was emphasised by both secular and regular orders, in particular in France, were lay congregations flourished in the first half of the seventeenth century. The essential skills of a missionary, said Jean-Pierre Camus in 1643, were to preach, teach, administer the sacraments, and ‘give good example by holy virtues and pious deeds’. Indeed, for Paul Le Jeune, working in New France, the virtues and exemplary life of the missionary were more important than theory for conversion:

To convert the Savages, not so much knowledge is necessary as goodness and sound virtue. The four Elements of an Apostolic man in New France are Affability, Humility, Patience, and a generous Charity. [...] They do not comprehend our Theology well, but they comprehend perfectly our humility and our friendliness, and allow themselves to be won.

Alonso de la Peña Montenegro insisted in 1668: ‘What preaches better, what exhorts better, what moves them more efficiently are silent actions, rather than words only’. The Jesuits sent to New France were highly educated, and had often spent more than ten years studying philosophy and theology in French Jesuit colleges. For some of the Fathers, this could result at times in an intensely frustrating experience, as Jesuit Jean de Brébeuf explained in 1637:

leaving a highly civilized community, you fall into the hands of barbarous people who care but little for your Philosophy or your Theology. All the fine qualities which might make you loved and respected in France are like pearls trampled under the feet of swine.

For Jesuit missionary Eusebio Kino, working in the Sonora region, it was indeed more important to have

---

105 Todd, Christian Humanism, p. 31.
106 Camus, Des missions, p. 17.
charitable affection [...] towards these poor natives and their recent conversion, combined with good skills and a lot of suffering, work, and tolerance, than other human attires, such as cleverness, subtlety, eloquence, sublime ingenuity, or elaborate studies of subtle sciences.\footnote{111}

The centrality of the apostolic example was a recurrent theme of missionary writings both in the New World and in Europe. The third Council of Mexico had asserted that the bishops and priests, ‘so that the doctrine that they teach be more efficacious, [...] have to confirm it no less with their life and example than with words’.\footnote{112} For Alonso de la Peña Montenegro in 1668, the missionaries’ and priests’ exemplary life could help conversion much more than any miracle could: for this ‘heroic enterprise’, missionaries should ‘live like the Apostles’. Their sanctity and holy life would be the real miracle leading the natives to the Faith.\footnote{113} In order for the faith to have any authority over the natives, it had to be illustrated by the ‘good life and example of the Ministers who teach it’.\footnote{114}

The role of ministers was no less important for godly Protestants. It has been argued that, with the Reformation, ministers lost their particular status as mediators between God and man. Without auricular confession and absolution, the role of the priest in the believers’ daily life was greatly diminished.\footnote{115} Yet, as John Morgan has shown, Puritans put a great emphasis on the dignity of the ministry.\footnote{116} For Samuel Danforth, what characterised New England was ‘Not our transportation over the Atlantic Ocean, but the Ministry of God’s faithful Prophets, and the fruition of his holy Ordinances’.\footnote{117} According to New England minister Thomas Hooker, ‘Whatsoever any faithfull Minister shall speak out of the Word, that is also the voice of Christ’.\footnote{118}

\footnote{112}{Libro Primero, Título I: De la predicacion de la palabra de Dios, Capítulo VIII: Confirmen la doctrina con el ejemplo de la Buena vida, in Galvan Rivera, Concilio III Provincial Mexicano, p. 13.}
\footnote{113}{Peña Montenegro, Itinerario para parochos de indios, p. 135.}
\footnote{114}{Peña Montenegro, Itinerario para parochos de indios, p. 151.}
\footnote{116}{Morgan, Godly Learning, p. 81.}
\footnote{117}{Samuel Danforth, A brief recognition of New-Englands errand into the wilderness: made in the audience of the General Assembly of the Massachusetts Colony at Boston..., Cambridge, MA, 1671, p. 18.}
\footnote{118}{Thomas Hooker, The saints dignitie, and dutie. Together with the danger of ignorance and hardnesse, London, 1651, p. 135. For an English example, see Stephen Marshall, A sermon preached before the Honourable House of Commons, now assembled in Parliament, At their publike Fast, November 17. 1640..., London, 1641, p. 33.}
The minister was expected to be both godly and learned, and was perceived as an essential guide for his community. In the congregational system of New England, when the members of the church needed to make a decision regarding admission or discipline, the minister was responsible for exposing Scriptural and ecclesiological precedents.\(^\text{119}\) His pastoral functions were fundamental to initiate regeneration in the elect, and to relieve the perpetual anxiety of the Godly regarding their salvation.\(^\text{120}\) As native John Speen, teacher of the church at Natick, claimed in John Eliot’s fictional *Indian Dialogues*, ‘The Priests lips shall preserve knowledge, and thou shalt enquire the Law at his mouth’.\(^\text{121}\)

The congregational system of New England only accepted within the church ‘Visible Saints’, that is, those of the elect who had already been touched by saving faith. How then could the elect but not yet regenerate hope for salvation? Sermons should not only reassure the regenerate, but, more importantly, be the instrument of regeneration for those amongst the elect who had not yet been through the process.\(^\text{122}\) Ministers had a duty to spread the Word.

The Saints in New England answered that call in two ways: they made attendance to the preaching of the word mandatory for everyone who was not yet regenerate in the colonies, and they started missions to the natives.\(^\text{123}\) The Christian social organisation and moral ideals that New England ministers wanted to implement in the New World could not be limited to a group of privileged Saints, a restricted ‘community of believers’, but had to take into account society as a whole. This meant that the political implementation of moral principles and soteriological goals was intrinsically linked to congregational practice. The right to vote and hold office were


\(^{121}\) John Eliot, *Indian Dialogues, for their Instruction in that great Service of Christ, in calling home their Country-men to the Knowledge of GOD, and of themselves, and of IESUS CHRIST*, Cambridge, MA, 1671, p. 72. This is a quotation from the Bible, Malachi 2:7 (Geneva version): ‘For the Priester lippes shoulde preserue knowledge, and they shoulde seeke the Lawe at his mouth: for he is the messenger of the Lord of hostes’.

\(^{122}\) Cohen, *God’s Caress*, p. 163.

dependent on Church membership.\footnote{Morgan, \textit{Visible Saints}, p. 104.}

In New England, the church offices were divided between ‘teaching’ elders, both pastors and teachers, and the lay ‘ruling’ elders. According to Richard Mather, the New England Way was a kind of government which the Philosophers that write of the best Common-wealths affirm to be the best. For in respect of Christ the head, it is a Monarchy, and in respect of the Ancients and Pastors that Govern in Common, and with like Authority among themselves, it is an Aristocracy, or rule of the best men; and in respect that the people are not secluded, but have their interest in Church matters it is a Democracy, or Popular State.\footnote{[Richard Mather], \textit{Church-government and church-covenant discussed: in an answer of the elders of the severall churches in New England to two and thirty questions, sent over to them by divers ministers in England, to declare their judgments therein…}, London, 1643, p. 51. On this, see Cooper, \textit{Tenacious of their Liberties}, esp. pp. 23–24.}

The second undertaking, John Eliot’s preaching to the natives, responded to the same impulse of spreading the Word. In the epistle dedicatory to the Lords and Commons, the supporters of Eliot’s work emphasised the importance of the task, as ‘the Ministry is the Harbinger’ announcing the conversion of the natives.\footnote{Shepard, \textit{The clear sun-shine of the gospel}, ‘To the Right Honourable the Lords & Commons Assembled In High Court of Parliament’ (Epistle dedicatory). Also available in Clark, ed., \textit{The Eliot Tracts}, p. 105.}\footnote{John Eliot, \textit{The Indian grammar begun, …}, Cambridge, MA, 1666, p. 66. See also Shepard, \textit{The clear sun-shine of the gospel}, Epistle dedicatory and Epistle to the reader (also in Clark, ed., \textit{The Eliot Tracts}, pp. 104, 107).} Eliot himself did ‘believe and hope, that the Gospel shall be spread to all the Ends of the Earth, and dark corners of the World’.\footnote{Anon., \textit{New Englands first fruits; in respect, first of the conversion of some, conviction of divers, preparation of sundry of the Indians…}, London, 1643, p. 18. The ‘reed shaken in the wind’ is a reference to Matthew 11:7.}\footnote{Theodore Dwight Bozeman, \textit{To Live Ancient Lives: The Primitivist Dimension in Puritanism}, Chapel Hill, London, 1988, p. 39.} As noted earlier, Puritans constantly insisted in England on the importance of spreading the Word, and missionary work in New England was a continuation of this emphasis on pastoral duty: ‘Let the world know, that God led not so many thousands of his people into the Wildernesse, to see a reed shaken in the wind, but amongst many other speciall ends, this was none the least, to spread the light of his blessed Gospel, to such as never heard the sound of it’.\footnote{Anon., \textit{New Englands first fruits; in respect, first of the conversion of some, conviction of divers, preparation of sundry of the Indians…}, London, 1643, p. 18. The ‘reed shaken in the wind’ is a reference to Matthew 11:7.} The primitivist dimension in this apostolic ideal was especially important for New England Puritans. As Theodore Bozeman has argued, the New Testament was essential as a model for living for both the Catholic Reform and the Reformation.\footnote{Theodore Dwight Bozeman, \textit{To Live Ancient Lives: The Primitivist Dimension in Puritanism}, Chapel Hill, London, 1988, p. 39.} The emphasis on biblical exempla was central to Puritan writings. The Pauline model, central in
Augustinian theology, and in particular his apostolic work to the Gentiles, was omnipresent in Eliot’s writings. More generally, the Saints’ godly way of life in New England would be instrumental for the conversion of the natives, for as Eliot insisted in 1653:

*It is plainly to be observed, That one end of Gods sending so many Saints to NEW ENGLAND, was the Conversion of these Indians. For the Godly Counsels, and Examples they have had in all our Christian Families, have been of great use, both to prepare them for the Gospel, and also to further the Lords work in them.*

The sense of universal mission amongst Catholic missionaries also contained a certain apocalyptic vision of the state of Christianity in the seventeenth century. The soldiers of Christ, the militant arm of the Catholic Counter-Reformation, were to abandon the comfort of their rooms, their books, and to go out in the world and look for souls. Despite the frequency of the military metaphor (actually used more frequently by Erasmus than by Loyola), its significance should not be exaggerated. The image of the pilgrim was much more important to Jesuit self-image, as it had been essential in their founder’s religious experience. The Jesuit was first of all a traveller, spreading the Word. In this context of ‘universal mission’, the conversion of the European countryside and of American natives seemed to be a relatively easy and important counterpoint to the spread of heresy. Thus the ignorance of peasants and natives would often be presented as a simple lack of knowledge, which could easily be corrected, rather than as a willingness to openly reject the principles of the Catholic faith. Ignorance, as opposed to unwillingness, was something that could be corrected, especially if well-educated and trained ministers took on the task of reforming the uneducated. There was a certain innocence to peasants’ and natives’ paganism. Jean-Pierre Camus differentiated between the inhabitants of the countryside and those of the cities, ‘the one ignorant, the other vicious’, as ‘rural life is much more innocent than City life, where minds are more refined and it is more crowded, and sins

132 Claudio Acquaviva, in a manuscript instruction to the members of the Company, quoted in Dompnier, ‘La France du premier XVIIe siècle’, p. 631.
are more dissimulated and more numerous’.  

In the 1640s, Jesuit Jérôme Lalemant, mused on the Atikamekw, a tribe of the Algonquian people:

It seems as if innocence, banished from the majority of the Empires and Kingdoms of the World, had withdrawn into these great forests where these people dwell. Their nature has something, I know not what, of the goodness of the Terrestrial Paradise before sin had entered it. Their practices manifest none of the luxury, the ambition, the avarice, or the pleasures that corrupt our cities.  

Franciscan Gerónimo de Mendieta thought that the natives of the New World were the exact opposite of the *mortiscos* (Moors converted to Christianity in Spain), who were ‘not domesticated, neither peaceful, nor detached from temporal riches (*despegados de lo temporal*), but very greedy and not dedicated to the church’s rituals’.  

All manuals about missions that I have so far been able to read, either French, English or Spanish, either about the New or the Old World, repeatedly used the Christian pastoral imagery: once the seeds of Catholicism would be planted, the harvest of souls would be great.  

The optimistic hope that missionaries had about foreign missions did not render their results less important and spectacular.  

The sense of sacred mission went also beyond the ideals of pastoral work and exemplary life amongst New England Puritans. Eliot’s, and the New England Saints’ millenarian convictions also emphasised the notion of the Godly’s sacred mission, announcing the coming of Christ. New England Puritans tended to apply biblical prophecies to their own present, and they perceived eschatological themes unfolding in their own lives and times. As James Maclear has shown, ‘to them the cosmic

---

struggles of the Apocalypse were not so much a matter of study as of participation’.

The conversion of the natives was central in this universal battle against the Antichrist. Indeed, as they were thought to be one of the Lost Tribes of Israel, their conversion was the accomplishment of an essential prophecy, which would make the millennium possible. The two fundamental conditions for the coming of the middle advent were the conversion of the Jews (the natives), and the destruction of Roman Catholicism (the English civil war). Millenarian John Dury thus presented the natives’ conversion as a providential mission, in which New England ministers should be involved:

the godly persons who fled into America for shelter from Prelaticall persecution, doe now appeare to be carried there by a sacred and sweet providence of Christ, to make known his name to those poor soules who have been Captives to Satan these many Ages. The Christians when scattered abroad, went to and fro preaching the word. And I wish from my soul, that all these Ministers of the Dispertion (as I may call them) in New-England; would stirre up themselves to this work of the Lord, which (now it seems) he intended in his carrying of them thither.

V. Conclusion

Both Puritan and Catholic religious reformers set very high moral standards, for themselves as well as for the people they aimed to convert or whose religious zeal they attempted to revive. The process of conversion had an impact on both converter and converted. Catholic reformers, and the Jesuits in particular, elaborated a new, more active form of spirituality, in which priests were entirely dedicated to works of mercy, indeed considering the salvation of their neighbours as a condition of their own salvation. This reciprocal process led many seventeenth-century reformers to emphasise both the spiritual needs of Christians and the necessity of a virtuous and

142 J[ohn] D[ury] in Edward Winslow, ed., The glorious progress of the Gospel, amongst the Indians in New England... Wherein the riches of Gods grace in the effectuall calling of many of them is cleared up: as also a manifestation of the hungring desires of many people in sundry parts of that country, after the more full revelation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ..., London, 1649, p. 25. On Dury and his millenarianism regarding the natives, see Cogley, John Eliot’s Mission, pp. 83–85.
143 Evennett in Bossy, ed., The Spirit of the Counter-Reformation, p. 76. See also Clossey, Salvation and Globalization, p. 246.
exemplary church. In this process, missionaries were at the forefront of reform, and promoted a universal perspective on their mission and goals. Similarly, the Puritans’ millenarian beliefs, their perception of themselves as Saints having a special mission, and their emphasis on works after regeneration meant that giving access to conversion (if not converting, as we will see) to all men was essential.

Despite the sense of universal mission, the individual aspect of the faith was important for Puritans and Catholics alike. This highly experiential understanding of conversion and faith meant that missionaries had to adapt their methods to particular circumstances or individuals. The first step necessary to truly convince the American natives of the validity and necessity of learning the Gospel and following the law was for missionaries to evaluate their own religious practices. Missionaries also needed to account for the natives’ customs and paganism within the bounds of what we can anachronistically call Christian anthropology, and to analyse and affirm the possibility of their conversion. We now turn to the first aspect of the long process of conversion, the evaluation of the natives’ moral illnesses according to the scale(s) of Christian theology, and the means used to spark the first light of the Gospel into the natives’ hearts.
Chapter 3

Custom as *Ethos* and Habituation: Native Paganism and Idolatry

I. Introduction

A key argument of this thesis is that religion should be considered as the ultimate and fundamental goal of missionary strategies. This implies that all chapters discuss religious processes, in the sense that political experiments or social changes, for example, are considered as means to an end: salvation.¹ With this in mind, this chapter and chapter four analyse religious practices and conversion in particular: the pagan or idolatrous state of the natives before conversion, the individual experience of religious revelation and/or education, and the methods used to lead the natives to the faith.

Missionaries who came to the New World in the seventeenth century encountered an incredibly varied array of cults and rituals, which they did not perceive as religion, but as superstitions. Despite this variety, and despite doctrinal discrepancies, Calvinist and Catholic missionaries offered strikingly similar interpretations of the origins and causes of native idolatry. Their analysis of the mechanisms, both psychological and social, that underpinned not only the origins of pagan cults, but also the channels through which pagans could be led to the Christian faith relied on a similar analysis of custom and education. This perhaps reminds us that Roman Catholics and Protestants were not, as they perceived themselves, opposites, but rather historically recent variants of a long-established common religious tradition.

Idolatry was, understandably, a major issue for religious proselytisers. Those native practices could not be understood as religion in the proper sense of the term: they were superstitions, irrational beliefs stemming from a long tradition of ignorance, and reinforced by the tyrannical authority of religious and political leaders.² Rarely or

¹ See the introduction to this thesis.
² On the relationship between political and religious tyranny, see for example the Jesuit José de Acosta, *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*, En qve se tratan las cosas notables del cielo, y elementos, metales, plantas y animales dellas y los ritos y ceremonias, leyes y gouiero y guerras de los Indios, Barcelona, 1591, Libro VI, fo. 269 r. Acosta’s works were widely read in Europe, and incredibly influential in the seventeenth century (Anthony Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man: The American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology*, Cambridge, 1982, pp. 197–98, see also pp. 166, 174). See also John Eliot in Henry Whitfield, ed., *The light appearing more and more towards the perfect day. Or, a farther discovery of the present state of the Indians in New-England, concerning the progresse of
only loosely defined, idolatry implied confusion about the object of worship, and/or as to its expression through specific cults.\(^3\)

Missionaries analysed the mental processes underlying conversion according to their specific understandings of the relationship between human activity and God’s will. Catholics relied on a heavily Aristotelian/Thomist framework, while Puritans borrowed their understanding of human agency from both Aristotelian and Thomist psychology and the continental and English Reformed Protestant traditions. Catholic thinkers insisted on the ability of the will to freely follow the good, being the object of reason, while Protestants believed that man after the Fall was unable to understand God’s will and to live a moral life without regeneration.\(^4\) Yet, I will argue that in practice, both traditions implemented their conversion strategies through similar processes of habituation, which, ironically, were not completely different from the ways in which, according to these authors, idolatry had taken root in native societies.

If the process of making sense of native religious cults betrayed gross misunderstandings, it allowed religious reformers in the New World to focus on particular aspects of their anthropologies (to use a modern term) that had not been fully explored in a European setting. Confronted with peoples who lived outside the bonds of Christianity, Catholic and Calvinist missionaries provided explanations to account for the natives’ paganism; they articulated conversion strategies that illuminated similarities in their doctrines, similarities which were often obscured in a tense European context.

This chapter will situate descriptions of idolatry within their intellectual tradition, mainly through an analysis of the notion of custom, and analyse the mental processes that, missionaries suggested, underlay both the origins of idolatry and the ways to escape it and join the Christian community. The methods suggested by both Catholic and Protestant missionaries to ‘redress’ the natives’ customs shared numerous features.

---


II. The Nature of Idolatry

Native religious practices were invariably depicted, whether in New Spain and Peru, or New France, or New England, as superstitions that had alienated native populations from what missionaries considered to be commonly accepted customs. In missionaries’ eyes, those superstitions had become a second nature deeply ingrained in the natives’ character, and had been transmitted from their forefathers.

The natives’ radically different habits made the New World, according to the Jesuit Alonso Pantoja, ‘another world’, in which missionaries were confronted with ‘moral cases’ which were radically different from anything they could encounter in Europe.\(^5\) The Jesuit Bernabé Cobo argued in 1639 that the natives lived in darkness because of the ‘perversity of their customs’.\(^6\) In 1637, the French Jesuit Paul Le Jeune, when told by a Huron that the missionaries were ‘wrong to criticise their customs’, lamented about all those ‘impostures […] to which these Barbarians are attached by a habit very difficult to uproot’.\(^7\) Similarly, an anonymous Jesuit working in Peru wrote in 1600 that the natives’ idolatries and vices ‘were deeply rooted and ancient, as if they were innate and inherited from the beginning (connaturales y heredados ab initio)’.\(^8\) John Eliot, active as a missionary in New England from 1647 to his death in 1690, repeatedly noticed how difficult it was for the natives to abandon ‘the old customs of the ancient Heathen’ to take up the ‘ways of God’.\(^9\)

In Calvinist writings, Christianity was presented as an ancient knowledge among the natives, a knowledge that had disappeared because the natives’ forefathers had been, according to John Eliot, ‘a stubborne and rebellious children’. Thus God had

---

\(^5\) Alonso Pantoja, *Aprobacion*, in Alonso de la Peña Montenegro, *Itinerario para parochos de indios: en que se tratan las materias mas particulares, tocantes à ellos, para su buena administracion* (1668), Amberes, 1726. Translations are mine unless otherwise noted.
\(^6\) For Bernabé Cobo, the barbarians were those who, ‘without following the dictates of proper reason, live[d] outside the communication, usage and customs commonly accepted by other men’: Bernabé Cobo, ‘Historia del Nuevo Mundo’ (1639), in Francisco Mateos, ed., *Obras del P. Bernabé Cobo*, Madrid, 1956, tomo II, p. 17. I will discuss the idea that communication was an essential trait of humanity in a following chapter.
\(^7\) Paul Le Jeune, *Relation de ce qui s'est passé en la Nouvelle France en l'année 1637 envoyée au R. Pere provincial de la Compagnie de Jesus en la province de France*, Rouen, 1638, p. 276.
\(^8\) Francisco Mateos, ed., *Historia general de la Compañía de Jesús en la Provincia del Perú, Crónica anónima de 1600 que trata del establecimiento y missiones de la Compania de Jesus en los païses de habla espanola en la América meridional*, Madrid, 1944, Tomo II, p. 400. See also p. 446, and Peña Montenegro, *Itinerario para parochos de indios*, p. 150. The term ‘connaturalizado’ is frequently used, see for example p. 149.
forsaken them, left them ‘alone in sinne and ignorance’. On Martha’s Vineyard, the missionary Thomas Mayhew, Jr., explained in 1645 that ‘a long time ago the Indians had wise Men among them, that did in a grave manner teach the People Knowledge; but they are dead, and their Wisdom is buried with them, and now men live […] in ignorance’. Thus the natives were, according to John Eliot, ‘inheritors of a grievous and fearfull curse […] in nearest alliance to the wild beasts that perish […] so are curses entailed and come by naturall descent unto others’. All humans were in bondage to sin. But the natives were particularly disadvantaged because their forefathers had forgotten Revelation, and they themselves had no access to the Scriptures.

This understanding of idolatry as a set of ancestral customs embedded in the native’s hearts was also a common trope in French and Spanish writings. In 1668, Alonso de la Peña Montenegro, Bishop of Quito from 1653 to his death in 1687, commented on the natives’ idolatries:

This bad seed made so many deep roots in them, that it is as if it became their own blood and flesh [...] and thus, although they are born with free-will, vice comes through the blood, it feeds through the milk, and brings with it an internal empire, which tyrannises the whole republic of man. Similarly, in 1634, the French Jesuit Paul Le Jeune emphasised the difficulty of extirpating idolatry: ‘a disease of the mind (mal d’esprit) so great as is a superstition deeply-rooted for so many centuries, & suckled in with the nurse's milk, is not cured in a moment’. In order to understand these depictions of idolatry as a custom, we need to trace the use of the term back to Aristotle’s definition of ethos, since that was the tradition upon which missionaries themselves would build. In Aristotle’s nomenclature, two concepts could refer to custom: ethos and nomos. Ethos was part of the non-rational soul, it referred to the habits that humans internalised and which

---

13 Peña Montenegro, Itinerario para parochos de indios, p. 221.
14 Paul Le Jeune, Relation de ce qui s'est passé en la Nouvelle France, en l'année 1634 envoyée au R. Père provincial de la Compagnie de Jésus, en la province de France par le P. Paul le Jeune de la mesme compagnie, supérieur de la résidence de Kébec, Paris, 1635, pp. 95–96.
became a second nature. This was the term also used to describe the habits of animals, children, and barbarians. *Nomos* could also mean custom, but in a rational sense, as a convention turned into unwritten law.\footnote{In Aristotle, *logos* and *nomos* were closely identified: ‘The other animals for the most part live by nature (*physis*), though in some respects by habit (*ethos*) as well, while man lives also by reason (*logos*), for he alone has reason’: Aristotle, *Politics*, translated by H. Rackham, Cambridge, MA, 1932, 1332b2. On ethos, see James Bernard Murphy, ‘Nature, Custom, and Reason as the Explanatory and Practical Principles of Aristotelian Political Science’, *The Review of Politics*, Vol. 64, No. 3 (2002), p. 478. On the identification of nomos with logos, see James Bernard Murphy, ‘Habit and Convention at the Foundation of Custom’, in Amanda Perreau-Saussine, and James Bernard Murphy, eds., *The Nature of Customary Law: Legal, Historical, and Philosophical Perspectives*, Cambridge, 2007, p. 63.}

In Aristotle, *ethos*, if part of the non-rational soul, was nevertheless fundamental, especially in education, because it was how, by practice, some behaviours could be internalised so as to become indistinguishable from our original nature.\footnote{On the force of custom, see also Jean Bodin, *Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem*, Amsterdam, 1650, p. 147.} Habituation would help students internalise the right moral behaviours, and was the foundation of moral virtues.\footnote{16 Murphy, ‘Habit and Convention at the Foundation of Custom’, p. 61.} Thus, according to Aristotle in the *Nicomachean Ethics*, ‘the virtues therefore are engendered in us neither by nature nor yet in violation of nature; nature gives us the capacity to receive them, and this capacity is brought to maturity by habit’.\footnote{18 Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, translated by H. Rackham, Cambridge, MA, 1926, 1103a23.} Aristotle understood the relationship between nature, custom, and stipulated law as a ‘nested hierarchy’, as James Bernard Murphy calls it, in which elements were not mutually exclusive but presupposed each other.\footnote{19 Murphy, ‘Habit and Convention at the Foundation of Custom’, p. 61.}

Habits were thus fundamental in education, but also problematic because of their very persistence. For Aristotle, a society with bad customs and laws would make it very difficult for one to acquire the right moral habits.\footnote{17 Murphy, ‘Habit and Convention at the Foundation of Custom’, p. 61.} Missionaries discussed idolatry in this Aristotelian sense of *ethos*, insisted on the ancestral dimension of native customs, and recognised how difficult it would be for the natives to give up their idolatries to take up the demanding moral standards of Christianity.\footnote{20 Murphy, ‘Habit and Convention at the Foundation of Custom’, p. 61.} Alonso de la Peña Montenegro thought that ‘one should not be surprised that the customs of their


\footnote{16 Murphy, ‘Habit and Convention at the Foundation of Custom’, p. 61.}

\footnote{17 Murphy, ‘Habit and Convention at the Foundation of Custom’, p. 61.}

\footnote{18 Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, translated by H. Rackham, Cambridge, MA, 1926, 1103a23.}


parents and ancestors have become natural, as they are transmitted to their sons as if an inheritance; which is the main reason why the Indians are so inclined to idolatry […]’.

The French Jesuit Pierre Biard explained in 1616:

it is impossible to tell to how great a degree custom and influence can prejudice, even in the presence of ocular proof. For all your arguments, and you can bring on a thousand of them if you wish, are annihilated by this single shaft which they always have at hand, Aoti Chabaya, (they say) ‘That is the Savage way of doing it. You can have your way and we will have ours; every one values his own wares’.

Indeed, the natives themselves frequently reaffirmed their attachment to their customs.

In Maryland, a Wycomiss ambassador reminded a surprised governor that ‘[…] since that you are heere strangers, and come into our Countrey, you should rather conforme your selves to the Customes of our Countrey, then impose yours upon us’.

Many missionaries feared that the pervasiveness of religious practices in the natives’ lives would make them difficult to uproot. The French Jesuit Jérôme Lalemant explained in 1644:

The greatest opposition that we meet in these countries consists in the fact that their remedies for diseases, their greatest amusements when in good health; their fishing, their hunting, and their trading, the success of their crops, of their wars, and of their councils, almost all abound in diabolical ceremonies. So that, as superstition has contaminated nearly all the actions of their lives, it would seem that to be a Christian, one must deprive himself not only of pastimes which elsewhere are wholly innocent, and of the dearest pleasures of life, but even of the most necessary things, and, in a word, die to the world at the very moment that one wishes to assume the life of a Christian.

22 Peña Montenegro, *Itinerario para parochos de indios*, p. 221. On the importance of custom, see also Antonio de la Calancha, *Corónica moralizada del orden de San Augustin en el Perú*, Barcelona, 1639, p. 609.


24 ‘A Relation of Maryland; together with a Map of the Countrey, the Conditions of Plantation, with His Majesties Charter to the Lord Baltemore, translated into English’ (1635), in Clayton Coleman Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland, 1633–1684*, New York, 1925, p. 90.

In New England, a converted native explained to the Governor in 1652 that in order to enter the ‘Church of Christ’, he and his compatriots had to ‘part with all their sinnes, and to part with all their old Customes, and to part with their friends and lands, or any thing which hindereth them from coming to that place, where they may gather a Church’. In his fictive Indian Dialogues, John Eliot had the character of an unconverted sachem, Penoowot, express his anxiety about the demands of conversion: ‘I know that old customes of sin are very hardly left, and I have been so long accustomed to sin, that I am afraid of my self’.

Despite idolatry’s persistence, missionaries perceived it as a historical, contextual issue, a question of accidents rather than essence. Those ancestral customs could be explained in great part by lack of education. Godly Protestants systematically linked idolatrous behaviours with, as Richard Mather called it, ‘Pagan Blindness and Ignorance’. Eliot and other commentators often characterised the natives as ‘dry bones’, in reference to Ezechiel 37, in which the Lord brought the sons of Israel up out of their graves. Contrary to Catholic theology, ignorance did not excuse from sin, but was rather a consequence of it. Yet, Eliot argued, the fact that the natives had been ignorant rather than contemptuous of Christianity — and he contrasted them in that to

---

27 John Eliot, Indian Dialogues, for their Instruction in that great Service of Christ, in calling home their Country-men to the Knowledge of GOD, and of themselves, and of IESUS CHRIST, Cambridge, MA, 1671, p. 34.
28 Richard Mather, ‘To the Christian Reader’, in John Eliot and Thomas Mayhew, Jr., Tears of repentance: or, A further narrative of the progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New-England..., London, 1653 (also in Michael P. Clark, ed., The Eliot Tracts: With Letters from John Eliot to Thomas Thorowgood and Richard Baxter, Westport, CT, 2003, p. 263). The natives were included on a scale common to human history (as all humans were corrupt and degenerate), but they ranked low on that scale.
29 The reference to ‘Dry Bones’ is related to John Eliot’s belief that the natives were one of the Lost Tribes of Israel, see Bible, Ezechiel 37:11–13 (Geneva version): ‘Then he sayd vnto me, Sonne of man, these bones are the whole house of Israel. Behold, they say, Our bones are dried, and our hope is gone, and we are cleane cut off. Therefore prophecie, and say vnto them, Thus saith the Lord God, Beholde, my people, I will open your graues, and cause you to come vp out of your sepulchres, and bring you into the lande of Israel, And yee shall knowe that I am the Lord, when I haue opened your graues, O my people, and brought you vp out of your sepulchres’. See for examples of the use of ‘Dry Bones’: Anon., The Day-Breaking, pp. 15, 24; Shepard, The clear Sun-shine, p. 33; J[ohn] D[ury] in Edward Winslow, ed., The glorious progress of the Gospel, amongst the Indians in New England... Wherein the riches of Gods grace in the effectuall calling of many of them is cleared up: as also a manifestation of the hungring desires of many people in sundry parts of that country, after the more full revelation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ..., London, 1649, ‘Appendix’; Whitfield, ed., The Light Appearing, pp. 18, 23, 24; Eliot and Mayhew, Tears of Repentance, p. 40. On this, see Richard W. Cogley, John Eliot’s Mission to the Indians Before King Philip’s War, Cambridge, MA, 1999, chapter 4.
the Jews — meant that they particularly deserved all the time and effort that missionaries could put into their conversion.31

In the eyes of Catholic missionaries, a great problem amongst the natives was that they favoured visible things over spiritual ones. According to Paul Le Jeune, ‘they have no words to express the purely spiritual ideas’.32 The Jesuit José Arriaga thought that the natives adored their idols because they only cared about temporal and visible happiness, and had no appreciation or hope for spiritual and eternal felicity.33 Spanish Jesuit Francisco de Figueroa claimed that the Maynas (a tribe of the Jivaroan peoples) ‘confess[ed] that there is another life for men […] where no one dies. But they evaluate it only in relation to material things, ascribing it only pleasures related to their bodies and stomachs’.34 Thus the natives used their idols to obtain temporal favours, never for the good of their souls. Because of this obsession with visible reality, the natives ignored the true, invisible God.35 The numerous comments about the natives’ regard for only sensory experiences emphasized the missionaries’ belief that, before the arrival of Europeans, the natives of America were uninterested in intellectual and spiritual matters, which conditioned access to the knowledge of God, an idea which was, as we will see, related to the hardship of their lives.36 The major issue at stake, thus, was the natives’ alleged ignorance. The French Jesuit Paul Le Jeune captured this sense of native ignorance in 1634, when he insisted:

31 Cogley, John Eliot’s Mission to the Indians, p. 90. We do not find in English writings the lengthy, ethnographic depictions of the natives’ habits and mores that are omnipresent in Jesuit writings. Eliot’s and other godly writers’ Calvinist background might explain their relative lack of interest in native customs. The natives were, after all, one more example of man’s total depravity, and were thus not particularly original. Eliot, as we will see in detail later, was interested in conversion itself much more than in the natives’ original moral turpitude. Yet, the necessity of public confession to enter or form a congregation required from the natives that they mull over their sins, something native neophytes did at length.


33 Pablo José Arriaga, Extirpación de la idolatría del Piru (Cuzco, 1621), Lima, 1920, p. 6. See also Bernabé Cobo, who thought the natives ‘value[d] only the visible reality which is perceived through the senses’: Cobo, ‘Historia del Nuevo Mundo’, pp. 23–24. See also Fernando de Avendaño, ‘sermon 3’, in sermones de los misterios de nuestra santa fé católica, en lengua castellana y en la general del Inca impugnanse los errores particulares que los indios han tenido, Lima, 1649, p. 27.

34 Francisco de Figueroa, Relación de las misiones de la Compañía de Jesús en el pais de los Maynas (1661), Madrid, 1904, p. 241.


36 On the confusion of categories (sensible and intellectual), see Pagden, The Fall of Natural Man, p. 70.
All words related to piety, devotion, virtue [...] the language of Theologians, Philosophers, Mathematicians, and Physicians, in a word, of all learned men [...] the names of an infinite number of arts which are in our Europe [...] all these things are not found either in the thoughts or upon the lips of the Savages.37

Spanish Jesuit Bernabé Cobo likewise claimed in 1639 that the minds of the natives of both New Spain and Peru were impaired only because they had ‘no literature, sciences, or fine arts’.38

Numerous writers believed that the natives’ degenerate customs were a consequence of their origin and history. By the late 1640s, John Eliot was convinced that the natives were one of the Lost Tribes of Israel, which made their conversion instrumental in his millenarian scheme, a topic that I will address in a subsequent chapter. As a result of their dispersion, the natives had forgotten Revelation, which was the cause of ‘their misery while they are lost, and scattered in the world’.39 The Jesuit Paul Le Jeune also thought the natives had once known God, but by not following his injunctions, had come to forget Him.40 The Recollect Christien Le Clercq related in his Relation de la Gaspésie the idea that the natives were the descendants of a group of civilised people, shipwrecked on the shores of America before they could found a colony. According to this theory, ‘the knowledge which they had of the true God, of Letters & of their Origin, was thus little by little lost & erased from the minds of their unfortunate posterity by the passage of time’.41 This opinion was shared by Spanish jurist Juan de Solórzano Pereira.42 For Jesuit Alonso de

37 Le Jeune, Relation de 1634, p. 174. On the natives’ supposed lack of key concepts, see Pagden, The Fall of Natural Man, p. 181.
38 Cobo, ‘Historia del Nuevo Mundo’, p. 17. See also Peña Montenegro, Itinerario para parochos de indios, p. 86: ‘the darkness in which their understanding is’. For an opposite view and appreciation of the natives’ arts and skills, see Andrés Perez de Ribas, Historia de los triumphos de mostre Santa Fee entre gentes las mas barbaras y fieras del nuevo Orbe: conseguidos por los Soldados de la Milicía de la Compañía de IESVS en las Misiones de la Prouincia de Nueva-España..., Madrid, 1645, p. 411.
39 John Eliot, ‘The learned Conjectures of Reverend Mr. John Eliot touching the Americans, of new and notable consideration, written to Mr. Thorowgood’, in Thomas Thorowgood, Jewes in America, or, Probabilities, that those Indians are Judaical, made more probable by some additionals to the former conjectures..., London, 1660, p. 20.
40 Paul Le Jeune, Relation de ce qui s'est passé en la Nouvelle France en l'année 1636 envoyée au R. Père provincial de la Compagnie de Jésus en la province de France, Paris, 1637, p. 86.
42 Juan de Solórzano Pereira, Política Indiana: Dividida En Seis libros, En los que, con gran distincion, y estudio, se trata, y resuelve todo lo relativo al Descubrimiento, Descripcion, Adquisicion, y Retencion de las mismas Indias..., Libro I, cap. V, edited by Francisco R. de Valenzuela, Madrid, 1776, vol. 1, p. 17. See also: Solórzano Pereira, Disputationem de Indiarum jure sive de justa Indiarum Occidentalium inquisitione, acquisitione, et retentione, Madrid, 1629, p. 114; and the Dominican
Ovalle, the inhabitants of Chile had a vague idea of the Flood, but ‘because they do not use books, as they cannot read, what they keep in their memory, and know by transmission from father to son, became little by little more remote from the truth (degenerando de la puntualidad de la verdad) [...]’.

The idea that concern for survival had prevented the natives from maintaining or developing a civilised way of life was in line with the Aristotelian understanding of freedom and its relationship to moral choices. Catholic missionaries, especially French Jesuits, insisted that the natives’ sole concern for survival was a reason for their ignorance. Paul Le Jeune argued:

It was the opinion of Aristotle that the world had made three steps, as it were, to arrive at the perfection which it possessed in his time. At first, men were contented with life, seeking purely and simply only those things which were necessary and useful for its preservation. In the second stage, they united the agreeable with the necessary, and politeness with necessity. [...] In the third stage, men of intellect [...] gave themselves up to the contemplation of natural objects and to scientific researches [...] Now I wish to say that our wandering Montagnais Savages are yet only in the first of these three stages which I have just touched upon. Their only thought is to live, they eat so as not to die; they cover themselves to keep off the cold, and not for the sake of appearance. [...] In short, they have nothing but life; yet they are not always sure of that, since they often die of hunger.

In Aristotelian thought, freedom was not the ability to do what one wanted, it was, as...
James Bernard Murphy explains, the ‘rational ordering of one’s passions and actions’.\(^{45}\) But humans who could only think about their own physical survival did not have the opportunity to dedicate themselves to this rational task.\(^{46}\) In Aristotle, the two elements that could excuse someone from non-virtuous behaviour were ignorance and duress.\(^{47}\) Missionaries largely accepted this diagnosis. Thus, for Paul Le Jeune, the natives, because of the hardship of their way of life and their entire focus on survival, did not have the opportunity to dedicate themselves to higher spiritual ends, and to make responsible moral choices.

The baffling customs of the natives raised the essential question of their faculties of reason and will, and of the respective roles that knowledge and grace would play in their potential salvation. Did the natives, as Thomist philosophy implied, still possess a degree of natural reason that allowed them to follow God’s law without revelation? Or were they, as the Calvinist doctrine would imply, unable of any truly virtuous action without regeneration? Of course, the answer was, as always, complicated. Aristotelian and Thomist theories concerning reason and will, as well as Calvin’s teachings, played a major role in these discussions.

III. Natural Reason

As Quentin Skinner has argued, a basic tenet of the neo-Thomist anthropology (if we can use that term) that the Jesuits elaborated in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries was that,

> all men at all times are in fact equally capable of consulting and following the law which is ‘inscribed in their hearts’ [...] the scriptures, the Fathers and our natural reason all concur in assuring us that we possess ‘an inherent justice’ which enables us to apprehend the laws of God and employ them in the conduct of our lives.

In the neo-Thomist system of thought, even infidels possessed natural reason, which allowed them to establish legitimate forms of government.\(^{48}\)

But according to Catholic missionary accounts, native religious and moral practices were not lawful or even rational. Jesuit Bernabé Cobo claimed about the inhabitants of Peru: ‘because of the thick darkness of ignorance and the corruption of customs in which they live, they embrace and consider licit many things which are repudiated by the light of reason and the natural law of the people’. Yet, those customs were maintained for a long period of time, were established within entire societies, and respected by all, which pointed to their human, social aspect. In the New World, those utterly irrational beliefs, as missionaries saw them, were the rule rather than the exception. Yet because of the Thomist vision of human reason, pagan practices were still thought to stem from legitimate principles. They only displayed wrong conclusions.

If Aquinas and seventeenth-century neo-Thomists had great confidence in human reason and its ability to will the good, the Thomist corpus nevertheless allowed for such ‘exceptions’. Natural law, said Aquinas, is the same in all men. Its first principles are inscribed in every human being. But if the general principles are present in all, the conclusions drawn from them, their details, are sometimes unknown by some, ‘since’, said Aquinas, ‘in some the reason is perverted by passion, or evil habit, or an evil disposition of nature’. In terms of the moral law, Aquinas called the apprehension of practical axioms synderesis, which he defined as a ‘natural habit’ (that is, not a separate faculty, but a habit of practical reason), through which humans apprehended the general rules of moral behaviour, and which was universal. Conscientia was the complicated process of judging how to apply the principles of synderesis to particular cases. Conscientia was ‘an act, not a power’, and men could often fail to properly apply the general precepts to particular cases (hence the development of casuistry, as we have seen in the previous chapter). The general laws, said Aquinas, are known to all, and ‘cannot be blotted out from men’s hearts’. Nevertheless, the application of those principles could be hindered, he repeated, ‘by

---

50 Which, according to the neo-Thomist Francisco de Vitoria, should also point to their rational aspect, as ‘knowledge is that thing on which all men are in agreement’, quoted in Pagden, The Fall of Natural Man, p. 63.
vicious customs and corrupt habits’. This, missionaries concurred, was what had happened in the New World.

In line with the Thomist theory of natural law, missionaries tended to insist on the fact that the natives had in them an idea, although imperfect, of God, of the immortality of the soul, and of good and evil. As Giuseppe Bressani claimed in 1653, ‘in our Barbarians, who appear to be wholly uncultivated, there is nothing but corrupted nature alone, and yet they are very far from the opinions of our libertines, and from Atheism’. But, although the natives had a sense of these general principles, they did not draw the necessary conclusions: they worshipped idols instead of God, did not worship God even if they recognized his existence, considered that animals also had a soul, and did not possess the idea of Hell as punishment for worldly sins.

In New France, Jesuits Charles Lalemant and Paul Le Jeune insisted that Algonquian and Iroquois groups believed in the immortality of the soul and in a single God, although they did not perform any cult or prayer for Him. Likewise, for Alonso de la Peña Montenegro, religion was a ‘natural instinct of the soul […] universal in all nations’. The natives naturally sought God, but because of their lack of education, they wrongly sought Him in visible things. If the Bishop affirmed that it was always a sin to ignore God, who is visible to all men because of natural reason, he nevertheless insisted that the natives were an exception. They could not actualise this knowledge because of their great lack of instruction. The natives’ idolatries were not mortal sins (unless they had already been taught the Gospel), because they did not understand what their sacrifices and cults meant. These practices were only mortal sins if they were the result of an explicit pact with the Devil, not if they were the result of a lack

of knowledge.\textsuperscript{57}

Puritans also believed that, despite the persistence of nefarious customs, the natives possessed some measure of natural reason, as did other unregenerate human beings. It might seem surprising, given Puritans’ belief in the utter corruption of human faculties before regeneration, but this idea was not a complete novelty. Calvin himself argued that since ‘reason, whereby a man discerneth betwenee good and euell, whereby hee understandeth and iudgeth, is a natural gyfte, yt could not be altogether destroyed [by the Fall]’. He went on: ‘in the perverted and degenerate nature of manne, there shyne yet some sparkes (il y estincelle encore quelques flammettes) that shewe that hee ys a creature hauinge reason’.\textsuperscript{58}

Puritan ideas of the mind mainly relied on Aristotle’s \textit{De Anima}, but also on the Thomist understanding of conscience. Thus they perceived the soul of man as divided in the vegetative, sensitive, and rational parts. The rational soul was composed of reason and will. Man still possessed those faculties, as the human mind, according to Calvin, was ‘styll clothed and garnysheyd wyth excellent gyftes of God’, but, following in this the Augustinian tradition, Puritans agreed that such faculties had been incredibly attenuated by the Fall, and were incapable of recovering without regeneration.\textsuperscript{59} The basic principles of the moral law were infused in man through \textit{synderesis}, as part of practical reason. Like Catholics, Puritan thinkers thus relied in their understanding of conscience on the Thomist notions of \textit{synderesis} and \textit{conscientia}.\textsuperscript{60} Even ignorant and wicked men had access to the law of nature, but their \textit{conscientia}, because of the corruption of their faculties by sin, were unable to apply correctly those principles to particular cases.

\textsuperscript{57} Peña Montenegro, \textit{Itinerario para parochos de indios}, pp. 227–232.


\textsuperscript{60} Harald Braun and Edward Vallance, eds., \textit{Contexts of Conscience in Early Modern Europe, 1500–1700}, New York, 2004, p. XVI.
The idea of a divinity was part of the basic principles of natural reason. Thus, according to Calvin, ‘there is no nation so barbarous, no kind of people so saugne, in whom resteth not this persuasion that there is a God’. Even idolatry, said Calvin, was proof that ‘a feling (sic) of the godhead is written in the heartes of all men (quelque sentiment de diuinité engraué en leurs coeurs)’, he said, ‘by naturall instiction (d’vn mouuement naturel)’. This Calvinist diagnosis was powerfully taken up by Puritan divines in New England. John Eliot, Thomas Shepard, and William Wood all believed, for example, that the Massachusetts natives had some knowledge of the basic principles of religion. For the Presbyterian Edward Reynolds, who wrote a preface to one of Eliot’s tracts in 1659, all men had a desire for happiness, an idea of God, of the immortality of the soul, of good and evil, and a natural desire to serve God. According to Abraham Pierson, who preached to the natives in New Haven during the 1650s, the idea of God was an ‘inward light implanted in the minds of all men’. Yet, like Catholic missionaries elsewhere, Puritans thought the natives misapplied general concepts, by worshipping idols instead of God, or not performing proper rituals for the worship of God. Thomas Mayhew, missionary on Martha’s Vineyard, claimed that the Wampanoag had ‘an obscure Notion of a god greater than all, which they call Mannit, but they knew not what he was, and therefore had no way to worship him’. Roger Williams commented in his Key into the Language of America: ‘[…] there is a generall Custome amongst them, at the apprehension of any excellency in Men, Women, Birds, Beasts, Fish, &c. to cry out Manittóo, that is, it is a God […]’.

---

62 Anon., The Day-breaking, p. 7; John Eliot in Winslow, The glorious progress, p. 9; William Wood, Nevv Englands prospect: A true, lively, and experimentall description of that part of America, commonly called Nevv England..., London, 1634, p. 79. See also John White, The planters plea, or, The grovnds of plantations examined, and vsual objections answered: together with a manifestation of the causes mooving such as have lately undertaken a plantation in Nevv-England..., London, 1630, pp. 13–14.
64 For Pierson, proof of God’s existence could be found in the ‘universal and constant agreement of all Nations, and persons in the world, who are not void of right reason and humanity’: Abraham Pierson, Some helps for the Indians: shewing them how to improve their natural reason, to know the true God and the true Christian religion..., London, 1659, p. 26.
IV. Corrupted Will

For Catholic missionaries, the natives’ alleged ignorance had a negative effect on their wills. According to Bernabé Cobo, the natives’ customs were nefarious because they infect and debase the illustrious faculty of volition. [...] the human happiness that men can naturally reach in this life consists, as Aristotle says, partly in the operation of the will tempered with virtue, and partly in the search for truth (especulación de la verdad), the more one practises and improves in the use of these noble powers that give him the excellence which he possesses by being a man, the more he will take part in the accidental perfection which his nature requires and of which he is capable.67

Only ignorance, said Cobo, prevented the natives from ‘making [their] life worthy of a man who uses his free will as he should’.68 As Aquinas had affirmed, ‘although the intellect and the will are diverse powers, nevertheless they are joined together, inasmuch as the intellect so to speak moves the will according as the good apprehended is the object of the will’.69 Aquinas differentiated between voluntary, non-voluntary, and involuntary ignorance. Ignorance through negligence and non-voluntary ignorance did not excuse from sin:

Wherefore through negligence, ignorance of what one is bound to know, is a sin; whereas it is not imputed as a sin to man, if he fails to know what he is unable to know. Consequently ignorance of such like things is called ‘invincible’, because it cannot be overcome by study. For this reason such like ignorance, not being voluntary, since it is not in our power to be rid of it, is not a sin: wherefore it is evident that no invincible ignorance is a sin. On the other hand, vincible ignorance is a sin, if it be about matters one is bound to know; but not, if it be about things one is not bound to know.70

Non-voluntary ignorance was the ‘mere privation of the act of the will’, implying that if one’s will had not been ignorant, one would have acted in the same manner. Involuntary ignorance, on the contrary, meant ‘that the will is opposed to what is done’, that is, had the agent been aware of the sinful character of his action, he would not have committed it.71 Ignorance could thus be the cause of sin, but, said Aquinas,

---

69 Aquinas, On Evil, translated by Jean Oesterle, Notre-Dame, IN, 1993, Question 3, Article 6, Rp 2.
70 Aquinas, Summa Theologiae, IaIIae, Q76, A2.
71 Aquinas, On Evil, Question 3, Article 8. See also Aquinas, Summa Theologiae, IaIIae, Q76, A3. On the relationship between non-voluntary and involuntary ignorance, see Jeffrey Hause, ‘Aquinas on Non-
‘inasmuch as it removes or diminishes the voluntariness it excuses from sin and it is said to be the cause of mercy and innocence’. Involuntary ignorance for Aquinas was not a sin, but only a fault, since ‘in all created intellectual substances a deficiency in voluntary action is possible’. Thus, a lack of faith simply due to ignorance, and not to a refusal to accept it, was ‘no mark of sin but rather of punishment’. This excuse required that the subject be unaware of his own ignorance, and would, once made aware, feel repentance. People acting involuntarily were thus not morally responsible for the actions that they performed in ignorance of the proper norms. The absence of Christianity in the New World seemed to render the natives’ ignorance involuntary. Thus, Peña Montenegro, in 1668, urged the priests working in native parishes to be lenient with the natives as, ‘because they commit bad actions because of an imperfect knowledge, they do it less voluntarily, and freely, and thus the malice is lesser, and the punishment has to be smaller’. Peña Montenegro thought that the punishment had to be lesser even for those natives who sinned voluntarily, because the failure of their understanding meant that they did not really comprehend what they were doing. This was also the opinion of Jesuit Andrés Perez de Ribas, working on the northern frontier of Mexico. The French Jesuit Paul Ragueneau insisted that, in the context of the New World, it was important to differentiate between simply irrational and truly immoral customs:

One must be very careful before condemning a thousand things among their customs, which greatly offend minds brought up and nourished in another world. It is easy to call irreligion what is merely foolishness, & to take for diabolical working something that is nothing more than human; & then, one thinks he is obliged to forbid as impious several things that are done in all innocence, or, at most, are insolent, but not criminal customs, which would be abolished more gently, and I may say more efficaciously, by obtaining little by little from disabused savages that they laugh at them & abandon them, not through motives of conscience, as if they were crimes, but through their own judgement and knowledge (par iugement &


 Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, IaIIae, Q10, A1. See also Vitoria, ‘De Indis’, p. 266.


par science), as follies.\textsuperscript{77}

The fact that the natives’ actions were not really sins as long as they were not voluntarily sinful could also mean that their good actions were not really virtuous. Thus, Father Le Jeune thought he had never witnessed ‘one act of real moral virtue in a Savage’, as the actions that seemed virtuous were only performed for personal interest or convenience.\textsuperscript{78} Human actions could only be virtuous if they were voluntarily so, but, in the Thomist tradition, they could be good if man followed the natural law inscribed in their hearts without necessarily knowing the Gospel, even if this needed to be complemented by grace.\textsuperscript{79} On the contrary, for Puritans, unregenerate works were always hypocritical. In Reformed moral philosophy, human actions could only be good if the Spirit had completely transformed the human will, so that it could finally will the good. Man’s nature alone could not operate this transformation. Thus, for New England Puritans, the unregenerate could not perform, without the help of God, any morally good actions.\textsuperscript{80} Yet, they could establish collective mechanisms that would allow for an external control of man’s fallen nature. Moreover, in Covenant theology, the establishment of God’s laws and the awareness of one’s incapacity to follow them would trigger humiliation, which was necessary for regeneration in the elect.\textsuperscript{81}

Covenant theology was taught to the natives in New England. In 1654, during an examination of their knowledge of the Gospel, a neophyte, when asked ‘What Covenant did God make with Adam?’, replied ‘A Covenant of Works, Doe this and live, thou and thy Children, Sin, and dye, thou and thy children’. To questions about the new covenant, he replied: ‘ [Christ] giveth us the New Covenant. […] The


\textsuperscript{80} William K. B. Stoever, ‘A Faire and Easie Way to Heaven’: Covenant Theology and Antinomianism in Early Massachusetts, Middletown, CT, 1978, p. 100. See also p. 218, n.10 for the idea of ‘natural man’, meaning man after the Fall. This idea was also affirmed in the 1648 Westminster Confession of faith: Westminster Assembly, \textit{The humble advice of the Assembly of Divines now by authority of Parliament sitting at Westminster concerning a confession of faith with the quotations and texts of scripture annexed: presented by them lately to both Houses of Parliament}, London, 1648, (chap. XVI.VII), p. 29. On this idea in Calvin and other Reformed theologians, see Moriarty, \textit{Disguised Vices}, chapter 5.

\textsuperscript{81} Cohen, \textit{God’s Caress}, p. 77.
Covenant of Grace, Repent and believe in Christ, and be saved’. The remnants of natural law inscribed in men’s heart were the basis for the establishment of human communities. Covenant theology was central to Eliot’s work, and explains why, as I will discuss, Calvinist conversion strategies amongst the natives might also be conceived as a process of habituation.

V. Improving Reason

Unanimously, missionaries and other religious leaders in the New World insisted that the natives possessed the necessary human capacities for learning and conversion. For Bernabé Cobo, the natives’ absolute ignorance existed ‘not so much because they have short and limited reason, […] as it is because of their very limited mental activity (por el poco ejercicio y uso que de la virtud del alma tienen)’. Paul Le Jeune commented:

I believe that souls are all made from the same stock, and that they do not materially differ; hence, these barbarians having well formed bodies, and organs well regulated and well arranged, their minds ought to work with ease. Education and instruction alone are lacking. Their soul is a soil which is naturally good, but loaded down with all the evils that a land abandoned since the birth of the world can produce.

Missionaries occasionally compared their new parishioners to French peasants. The comparison sometimes turned to the advantage of the natives. In the early 1630s, Paul le Jeune commented about the Montagnais (a tribe of the Algonquian people):

I naturally compare our Savages with certain villagers, because both are usually without education, though our Peasants are superior in this regard; and yet I have not seen any one thus far, of those who have come to this country, who does not confess and frankly admit that the Savages are more intelligent than our ordinary peasants.

---

82 John Eliot, A late and further manifestation of the progress of the gospel amongst the Indians in Nerv-England declaring their constant love and zeal to the truth..., London, 1655, pp. 16, 18.
84 Cobo, ‘Historia del Nuevo Mundo’, p. 17. See also Perez de Ribas, Historia de los triunphos de nuestra Santa Fee, pp. 411–412; and Alonso Pantoja, who thought that the Infidels were ‘part of the body of the Church in potency, as they are rational creatures, they are capable to receive the Catholic Faith of Christ’: Pantoja, ‘Aprobacion’, in Peña Montenegro, Itinerario para parochos de indios. This is similar to Francisco de Vitoria’s claim that the natives’ rationality was still, for the most part, in potentia: see Pagden, The Fall of Natural Man, p. 94.
The fact that the natives’ moral flaws resulted from bad practices and customs, and not from a deficiency of their mental faculties, meant that they could be reformed and would ultimately be able to perform moral actions. In line with the Thomist tradition, emphasising the rational aspect of faith, Paul Le Jeune claimed about the natives: ‘When they are made to see the conformity of the law of God with reason, I do not think that much opposition will be found in their minds’. 87

Puritans also insisted that the good constitution of the natives’ minds was evident, although their rational faculties were, as in other unregenerate people, greatly decayed. ‘Their correspondency of disposition with us’, wrote Peter Vincent about the Pequot Indians, ‘argueth all to be of the same constitution, and the sons of Adam, and that we had the same matter, the same mould. Only art and grace have given us that perfection, which yet they want […]’ 88 For the English promoters of missions, the natives were ‘men of the same mould, [God’s] offspring as well as we’. 89 Roger Williams also claimed that ‘Nature knowes no difference between Europe and Americans in blood, birth, bodies, &c. God having of one blood made all mankind. Acts 17. and all by nature being children of wrath, Ephes. 2.’. 90 The duty to teach the natives echoed Calvin’s insistence that ‘al mankinde without exception is to be embraced with one affection of charitie: & that in thyse behalfe is no dyfference of Barbarous or Grecian, of woorthy or vnwoorthy, of friende or foe, bicause thei are to be considered in God and not in them selues’. 91

natives and peasants was also made by Perez de Ribas, Historia de los triunfos de nuesta Santa Fee, pp. 410–412.


89 To the Godly and well affected of this Kingdome of England, who pray for, and rejoice in, the thrivings of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus’, in Shepard, The clear sun-shine (Clark, ed., The Eliot Tracts, p. 109).

90 Williams, A key into the language of America, p. 61. This is a reference to Acts 17:26 (Geneva): ‘And hath made of one blood all mankinde, to dwell on all the face of the earth’, ‘children of wrath’ is in Ephes. 2:3. For English and natives being of the same blood, see also: Nathaniel Shurtleff, ed., Records of the Colony of New Plymouth in New England, Boston, 1856, vol. V: 1674–1686, p. 66.

91 Calvin, Institution, Book II, chapter 8, section 55, p. 174; Institutes, fo. 64 v. of book II, mispaginated 56. On Calvin’s vision of missionary activity, see Andrew Buckler, ‘Le programme missionnaire de
Mirroring the explanation for the origins of idolatry in native societies, habituation was central to Catholic missionaries’ educational program. Following the tenets of Christian humanism, example and the practice of virtue were often considered to be more important for conversion than theoretical learning and theology, as I have already discussed in chapter two.\(^9\)

For Aristotle and the scholastic tradition, humans must improve their innate capacities by practical training (\textit{ethos}) and learning. As Aristotle argued in the \textit{Nicomachean Ethics}:

Now some thinkers hold that virtue is a gift of nature; others think we become good by habit, others that we can be taught to be good. Natural endowment is obviously not under our control; it is bestowed on those who are fortunate, in the true sense, by some divine dispensation. Again, theory (\textit{logos}) and teaching (\textit{didake}) are not, I fear, equally efficacious in all cases: the soil must have been previously tilled if it is to foster the seed, the mind of the pupil must have been prepared by the cultivation of habits (\textit{ethos}) [...].\(^9\)

Aquinas also considered that moral virtues could be acquired through habituation, although they had to be complemented by moral and theological virtues infused by grace.\(^9\) Indeed, to grasp our ultimate end, God, it was ‘necessary for man to receive from God some additional principles, whereby he may be directed to supernatural happiness’.\(^9\) If grace also played an important role in missionaries’ work, they nevertheless emphasised the role of habituation to a much greater extent.\(^9\) Catholicism would thus be taught as a series of habits that would become internalised to the point where they became a second nature. Thus conversion was actually identified with moral reformation. As idolatry in the New World had been ‘drunk in with the nurses milk’, in France, according to Jérôme Lallemant, faith was natural because it had been


\(^9\) On the importance of habituation and education in neo-Thomist thought, see Pagden, \textit{The Fall of Natural Man}, pp. 102–104.
‘imbibed with one’s mother’s milk’. Indeed, for the Jesuits in Peru, native children ‘raised […] with the pure milk of the Gospel’ did not have such bad customs as their parents. Already in the sixteenth century, the humanist Bishop Vasco de Quiroga thought that, in time, the natives would ‘make a habit out of virtue’, which would ‘become converted in them into nature’. In 1661, Francisco de Figueroa declared that the Amazonians would ‘transform themselves almost completely with Christian examples […]’. In the New World, Pierre Biard insisted, education was an even more pressing concern for the process of conversion than in Europe:

How then do you think that they can maintain themselves in the faith & grace of God if they do not receive instruction, & twice as much of it as the others? For we who are part of the Regular orders, & are under the care of so many Pastors, & have such an abundance of good books, examples, laws & civility (police), can scarcely do it ourselves, who are old &, so to speak, naturalized Christians; then how can they do it, so recent to the faith as they are, alone, without care, without letters, without doctrine (institution), without practice (coutumé)?

The natives thus needed, according to Pierre Biard, to ‘become accustomed to be Christians, so that in time they will truly be (pour en son temps le bien estre)’. Catholic missionaries thus perceived their missions as long-term endeavours, during which the natives would be transformed ‘little by little’ through practice and imitation. Thus, for Le Jeune, the best way to obtain conversions would be to settle the natives down, so that ‘having received the Law of Jesus Christ, they would have to put it into practice (en faire l’exercice), & thus, little by little, they would become accustomed to the path of truth, and in a few years this would be a blessed people

98 Mateos, ed., Historia general de la Compañía de Jesús, Tomo II, p. 401. This is a reference to 1 Peter 2:2.
99 Vasco de Quiroga, ‘Carta del Licenciado Quiroga, Oidor de la Audiencia de Santo Domingo, Al Consejo de Indias, sobre la Venida de aquel Obispo à la Presidencia de Dicho Tribunal, y sobre otros Asuntos, 14 de Agosto de 1531’, in Luis Torres de Mendoza, ed., Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de América y Oceanía, sacados de los Archivos del Reino, y muy especialmente del de Indias, Madrid, 1870, Tomo XIII, pp. 422.
100 Figueroa, Relación de las misiones de la Compañía de Jesús en el país de los Maynas, p. 181.
For Calvinists, the natives were collectively unregenerate, because they had been left without the Word of God for so long. If regeneration in itself depended entirely on God’s will, the natives needed, like all degenerate human beings, to be given a chance to become regenerate by instruction of the Gospel, which would give them an opportunity to repent. In a collective letter, the elders of Massachusetts Bay explained: ‘the deepest degeneracies, & widest estrangements from God, shall be no bar or obstacle to the power and freeness of his owne grace when that time is come’. If there was a difference of degree between Englishmen and natives, it was not a difference in nature.

That will and reason could not be the cause of salvation was a premise of Calvinist theology: English Calvinism, strongly influenced by Beza, emphasised the power of grace over the human will, and minimised the role of the understanding in conversion. Against the Thomist intellectualist argument that upheld that the will was a human faculty through which man freely desired the good known by the intellect, Puritans maintained that the will did not have any role to play in one’s redemption, and that one could not merit salvation from good works. Neither man’s corrupted rational capacity, nor his will, could effect man’s regeneration. Salvation was a gift freely bestowed by God upon the elect, revealing a supra-natural truth that human understanding alone could not fathom. Yet, man still possessed rational faculties, and they would be instrumental in convincing the natives to prepare for conversion.

Although only grace could save the natives, their ‘naturall reason’ could at least help preachers convince them to prepare for redemption. Thus, the Presbyterian

---

104 Le Jeune, Relation de 1637, p. 102. This process could also apply to missionaries, whose life in Canada changed their habits. In 1658, Paul Le Jeune recalled: ‘I have known Fathers who could not take their sleep on a bed, because they had become accustomed to sleep like the Savages […] they were obliged, until they had regained their former habits, to spend a part of the night upon the paved floor of the room, in order to sleep for a little while more at their ease’: Paul Le Jeune, in Jean de Quen, Relation de ce qui s’est passé de plus remarquable aux missions des PP. de la Compagnie de Jesus en la Nouvelle France, és années 1657 & 1658, Paris, 1659, pp. 107–108.


106 Morgan, Godly Learning, p. 23.

Edward Reynolds affirmed in his preface to John Eliot’s *A further accompt of the progresse of the Gospel*:

*But certainly here may be much use made of naturall reason, to demonstrate unto Pagans the falsenesse of the way they are in, and so to prepare a way for entertainment of the Truth. Though the Doctrine of the Gospel be supernaturall, and not investigable by humane disquisition, being made known to men and Angells onely by the Revelation of the Holy Spirit [I Cor. 2.9, 10 Gal. 1.12 Matth. 16.17.]; yet when it is revealed, the awakening of Legall impressions in the naturall conscience, will provoke men to attend, & prepare them to entertain it, when it shall be preached unto them.*

Thanks to his natural reason, the heathen could be convinced to learn the Gospel and look into the Scriptures for his own salvation ‘by his own naturall and implanted light’, said Reynolds. Yet, the main problem, as missionaries saw it, was that the natives were disadvantaged, as they could not rely on the Scriptures to guide their depraved *conscientia*. They were different from other men in this regard because they had no literate culture, and thus no Scriptures in their own language or, according to Puritans, any arts to interpret them. Knowledge of the Gospel, and a possibility to access it individually and to interpret it was a prerequisite in Reformed theology. Because of this long lack of practice, as Catholic missionaries also claimed, the natives’ minds had to be trained more intensively, and missionaries of all confessions devoted substantial efforts to catechetical tools. Abraham Pierson’s catechism was meant to show the natives, ‘how to Improve their natural *Reason*, to know the True *GOD*, and the true *Christian Religion*’. Eliot, aside from translating the Bible in the Algonquian language, wrote a *Logick Primer*, ‘to initiate the INDIANS in the knowledge of the Rule of Reason’, which would open for them ‘the rich Treasury of the holy Scripture’. Yet, John Eliot also thought that the absence of arts amongst the natives could make them more receptive to the Christian message, as they had not been, like other nations, ‘adulterate with their Antichristian or humane wisdome’.

---

111 Pierson, *Some helps for the Indians*, title page.
112 John Eliot, *The logick primer some logical notions to initiate the Indians in the knowledge of the rule of reason and to know how to make use thereof: especially for the instruction of such as are teachers among them*, [Cambridge, MA], 1672.
It was particularly important to train the natives’ faculties because a great degree of independence was expected from them on the path to conversion. They were supposed to have their own ministers, teachers, and political leaders. Thus, said Eliot, one of his chief concerns was to teach them some of the Liberal Arts and Sciences, and the way how to analize, and lay out into particulars both the Works and Word of God; and how to communicate knowledge to others methodically and skilfully, and especially the method of Divinity.\textsuperscript{114}

Eliot thought the natives themselves would be the most likely to spread the Word effectively:

Their national customs are connatural to them. Their own nation trained up and schooled unto ability to the work, are the most likely instruments to carry on this work, and therefore a few schools among themselves, with true hearted governors and teachers, is the most probable way of advancing this work.\textsuperscript{115}

If all could achieve a basic level of education, the elect could accomplish much more because God was ‘their schoole-master’, according to William Perkins, a great influence on New England Puritans.\textsuperscript{116} Once regenerated, man’s rational capacities would be greatly increased.\textsuperscript{117} Indeed, Eliot, in a letter to Richard Baxter, alluded to his vision of an ideal commonwealth:

If unto all this, it may please the Lord to direct his People into a Divine Form of Civil Government, of such a Constitution, as that the Godly, Learned in all Places, may be in all Place of Power and Rule, this would so much the more advance all Learning and Religion, and good Government; so that all the World would become a Divine Colledge.\textsuperscript{118}

Thus, for John Eliot, New England and his praying towns could become an example of an ideal type of congregational system, where Visible Saints ruled the Christian polity, as I will explain in more detail in a following chapter.

\textsuperscript{116} William Perkins, \textit{A golden chaine: or The description of theologie containing the order of the causes of salvation and damnation, according to Gods word...}, Cambridge, 1600, p. 586. As Cohen notes in \textit{God’s Caress}, p. 79, this is an adaptation from Gal. 3.24: ‘Wherefore the Lawe was our scholemaster to bring vs to Christ, that we might be made righteous by faith’ (Geneva version).
\textsuperscript{117} Morgan, \textit{Godly Learning}, p. 56.
\textsuperscript{118} John Eliot, \textit{‘Letter to Richard Baxter, 6\textsuperscript{th} of the 5\textsuperscript{th} 1663’}, in Clark, ed., \textit{The Eliot Tracts}, p. 433.
VI. Transforming the Will

As already mentioned, missionaries thought that the natives were not only ignorant, but also voluntarily resisted conversion. ‘I do not believe,’ said Jérôme Lalemant in 1645, ‘that there is any people on earth freer than they, and less able to see their wills subjected to any kind of power’.¹¹⁹ For Catholics, the natives’ will had to be bent as much as their understanding had to be improved. As English Jesuit Thomas Fitzherbert had explained in his Treatise concerning Policy and Religion,

although reason, since the fall of our first father, doth stil retaine so much dominion ouer the sensual powers, that it may subdue them with the assistance of the wil, rectified & guyded by grace; yet when the wil is peruerted, reason either is wholy seduced and deceaued thereby, or at least remanieth (sic) so weake, and powerless, that it looseth the command & dominion which it ought to haue […] ¹²⁰

In 1636, Jesuit Jean de Brébeuf complained about the Huron: ‘the evil is, they are so attached to their old customs that, knowing the beauty of truth, they are content to approve it without embracing it. Their usual reply is, oniondechouten, “Such is the custom of our country”. We have fought this excuse and have taken it from their mouths, but not yet from their hearts’.¹²¹ The Christian faith was, according to the Jesuit superior Paul Le Jeune, ‘a faith of fear and servitude’, which made it difficult to abandon ‘the blameworthy liberty of the Savages, to be under the yoke of God’s law’.¹²² Submitting the natives to, as Peña Montenegro called it, the ‘sweet yoke of the law’ (meaning divine law) was not an easy task.¹²³ According to the Jesuit Alonso de Ovalle, writing in 1646, the peoples of Chile ‘were never gathered in cities, because they disliked anything that resembled any type of subjection, or constraint, they preferred to be free […]’¹²⁴ In New England, the convert John Speene expressed the difficulties of young converts in his public confession of 1652: ‘my heart run away

¹²⁰ Thomas Fitzherbert, The First Part of a Treatise Concerning Policy, and Religion..., Doway, 1606, p. 5.
¹²⁴ Ovalle, Historia Relacion del Reyno de Chile, p. 88. See also p. 103.
into the country, after our old ways, and I did almost cast off praying to God […] I did greatly love hunting, and hated labor’.\textsuperscript{125} Puritan ministers knew that ‘coming to Christ, and bearing his yoake’ was a difficult task.\textsuperscript{126} The long confessions of those natives who wished to form a church are a testimony to the psychological struggle that was Puritan conversion.\textsuperscript{127}

The combination of ignorance and corrupted will caused many difficulties for the work of conversion. Either because of lack of understanding, scepticism, or outright resistance, missionaries often struggled to convince their pupils. Repentance, the first step in the conversion process, did not come easily to Noël Tehondecouan, a Huron, who told a flabbergasted Paul Le Jeune that ‘It would be useless for me to repent of having sinned, since I have never sinned’.\textsuperscript{128} In Amazonia, the Jesuits grew incredibly exasperated because the natives, willing to please them, thought they were expected to mimic and repeat everything the Fathers did or said: ‘If the Fathers raise their hands to the sky’, said Francisco de Figueroa,

they raise their hands, if they lower them to signal hell, they lower theirs, if they open their arms to signify the death of Christ, they open theirs. And if, sometimes, the father yawns or slaps his face to kill a mosquito […] they slap their own face or stretch their mouths wide open.\textsuperscript{129}

On Martha’s Vineyard, the sachem Wompamog, confused by the aridity of Calvinist doctrine, logically asked the missionary John Cotton, Jr, ‘Why god commands sinners to turne from their evill wayes, seeing they have noe strength of their owne to turne’?\textsuperscript{130}

Despite intense pressure to do so, the natives often found, on religious grounds, that it was not in their interest to convert. A Huron told the Paul Le Jeune: ‘For my part, I have no desire to go to heaven; I have no acquaintances there, and the

\textsuperscript{125} John Speene in Eliot and Mayhew, Tears of repentance, p. 28.  
\textsuperscript{126} John Wilson in Whitfield, ed., Strength out of weakness, p. 19.  
\textsuperscript{127} The natives’ public confessions can be found in Eliot and Mayhew, Tears of Repentance and in John Eliot, A further account of the progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New England: being a relation of the confessions made by several Indians (in the presence of the elders and members of several churches) in order to their admission into church-fellowship..., London, 1660. This is something that I will address in detail in the following chapter.  
\textsuperscript{129} Figueroa, Relación de las misiones de la Compañía de Jesús en el país de los Maynas, p. 274.  
French who are there would not care to give me anything to eat’. An anxious neophyte, Nunnanemummuck, asked John Cotton, Jr ‘whether our fathers that died before they heard of God or knew him are saved or not?’ Another Huron was reported to have told the Jesuit Jean de Brébeuf: ‘Do you not see that, as we inhabit a world so different from yours, there must be another heaven for us, and another road to reach it?’

Political and religious leaders frequently put up the most resistance, given that their authority was at stake. John Eliot in New England repeatedly complained about the ‘Sachems opposing any that desire to submit themselves to the service of the Lord’. Miguel Ativaie, a political leader in Paraguay, rebuffed the superior José Cataldino: ‘I don’t care for mass. I do what I want, and follow the customs of my ancestors […] Hell seems pleasant to me, and there I will find many companions’. In New France, an Algonquian chief, annoyed by the comings and goings of the Jesuits on his territory, seized the Jesuit superior Lallemant and ‘had him suspended from a tree by the arm-pits, telling him that the French were not the masters of his country; and that he alone was acknowledged as chief, and they were all under his authority’.

Catholic missionaries thought that the natives’ wills were impaired by a lack of education and virtuous practices. Education alone (knowing the good) would thus greatly enhance the natives’ wills (willing it). Yet, as I have mentioned, the fact that the natives had been accustomed for so long to live without morals had made them attached to their customs, even though they were made aware of their irrationality.

134 Eliot in Whitfield, ed., The Light Appearing, pp. 40–41: ‘Thus’, Eliot continued, ‘Sathan seeketh to beat off these poore creatures from seeking after the Lord by opposing the highest powers they have against the Lord and this work of his’
The role of ministers would also be to persuade the natives, and to ‘attract their wills’ to the Catholic faith, by making, as José-Antonio Maravall terms it, ‘volition virtuous’.137 But this process required that the natives be persuaded rather than coerced. As Alonso de la Peña Montenegro explained, ‘faith is an act of understanding, desired freely by the will […] God does not want forced wills, but a spontaneous, and free will’.138 The French Jesuits, like the Spaniards, thought that, in the process of conversion, ‘the will must be softened and must give up its natural hardness’.139

If Catholics believed they could progressively overcome these obstacles and could turn the natives’ wills both ‘with fervent exhortation’ and habituation, in the Calvinist tradition, the corrupted will of man could only be turned by God if He had willed so.140 In Reformed theology, if men had the Moral Law implanted in their hearts, and thus a knowledge of the basic principles of Christianity and of the Ten Commandments, the answer to why they could not properly follow the Law was found in their corrupted will.141 This was the important Augustinian element of Reformed theology: here, as Norman Fiering has argued, the will was hardly a rational faculty, but the fundamental sinful core of man that would be radically transformed by grace.142 This, the natives shared with any other unregenerate human being, as the human heart, in the words of godly Elizabethan Richard Rogers, was:

ouerspread with vnbeleefe, deceitfull, vnruly, loose, wilfull, vaine, idle, blockish, cold in goodness, and without fauour, and soon wearie of it: high, big, proude, disdaineful, selfe-louing, vncharitable, vnkind, conceited, impatient, angry, fierce, enuious, reuenging, vnmercifull, forward and tuchie, churlish, sullen, medling, worldly, flithie and vnneane, louing pleasure more than godlinessse, vnprofitable, repining, earthie, greedie, or couetous; idolatrous, superstitious, vnreuerent, hypocritcall, disobedient to betters, judging rashlie, hardlie reconciled: and in a word, prone to all evill.143

137 Maravall, La philosophie politique espagnole, p. 42.
138 Peña Montenegro, Itinerario para parochos de indios, pp. 136–137. On coercion, see also Vitoria, ‘De Indis’, p. 344: ‘faith must be received voluntarily, no one can receive it by coercion’; and Silva, Advertencias importantes, fos. 9 r., 10 r.
139 Le Jeune, Relation de 1636, p. 45.
141 This was related to the lament of Paul in Romans 7:23 (Geneva Version): ‘But I see another Law in my members, rebelling against the Lawe of my minde, and leading me captive vnto the lawe of sinne, which is in my members’. On this, see Fiering, ‘Will and Intellect’, p. 530.
143 Richard Rogers, Seven treatises containing such direction as is gathered out of the Holie Scriptures, leading and guiding to true happiness, both in this life, and in the life to come: and may be called the practise of Christianitie…, London, 1603, p. 88. On this, see Cohen, God’s Caress, pp. 40–46.
Yet, the will had a limited role to play on the path to salvation. Man was expected to consent to this radical transformation: ‘The soule must be willing to receive Christ and grace, before it shall have Christ and Grace, God will not save a man against his will’, said the New England Puritan Thomas Hooker in 1638. According to William Ames, another great influence on New England Puritans, a man could ‘cast himselfe upon God in Christ, as a sufficient, and faithfull Saviour’ only ‘by a consent of the will’. In order to receive Grace, one had to be willing to prepare himself thoroughly. The praying Indians, according to Thomas Mayhew, ‘desired, That God would slay the rebellion of their hearts’.

But here we get to what I think is the heart of the matter, the question of habituation. In Catholic theology, habituation was possible because man still possessed free will and was able to discern and perform the good to some extent, even before the intervention of grace. Thus, by imitation and good example, man was able to progressively internalise the precepts of Christianity without being a hypocrite. The transition from paganism to Christianity could be gradual. In Puritan soteriology, on the contrary, one could not will or provoke salvation, and regeneration was expected to be as radical as it was sudden. Habituation was not even an option in moral philosophy. As the Puritan William Perkins claimed, the fact that Vertue [wa]s a gift of the Spirit of God, and a part of regeneration, whereby a man is made apt to liue well’ confuted ‘the receiued errour of the wisest Heathen Philosophers, which call Vertue an habite of the minde, obtained and confirmed by custome, vse, and practise’.

---


149 William Perkins, *The whole treatise of the cases of conscience distinguished into three booke: the first whereof is revised and corrected in sundrie places, and the other two annexed. Taught and deliuered by M. W. Perkins in his holy-day lectures, carefully examined by his owne briefes, and now published together for the common good, by T. Pickering Bachelour of Diuinitie...*, Cambridge, 1606, p. 470.
distorted, conversion could not be conceived as a process, and imitation was by
definition hypocritical. Yet, as we have seen, both will and reason had a role to play in
the preparatory phases to potential salvation.

Moreover, a Christian polity that included both regenerate and unregenerate
members was possible, and implied a process of learning and habituation of at least
external behaviours consistent with divine law. This process would teach self-
humility, and prepare the will for regeneration. Covenant theology helped solve the
tension between soteriology and moral philosophy: the establishment of God’s laws
and the awareness of one’s incapacity to follow them would trigger humiliation, which
was necessary for regeneration in the elect. This was why Eliot encouraged the natives
to build their towns independently, so they ‘might larne (sic) experience by practise &
my end being to civilize the wild people thereby to prepare them for religion’.150 Thus,
for Eliot and other godly Protestants, the establishment of the ‘praying towns’ and the
coming of the natives to the faith was expected to happen little by little, with humble
and progressive beginnings, a ‘day of small things’.151 In the congregational
commonwealth that John Eliot and other Puritan leaders conceived for the natives, not
all ‘praying indians’, as the Puritans called them, were Visible Saints, although they
were expected to be ruled by the Godly. Similarly, Perry Miller has claimed that only
one fifth of New England settlers were Visible Saints.152 But, both in English and
native towns, this did not necessarily imply that non-Saints were not pious Christians,
hoping for salvation. They were ‘civil men’, between the profane and the Godly.153 In
Praying towns, by 1674, out of 1100 praying natives, only 119 at most had full

150 John Eliot, ‘to the worshipfull Mr Steele president, with the rest of the Corporation for the
Propagation of the Gospel among the Indians in America, 8th of the 10th 1652’, The New England
Historical and Genealogical Register, Boston, 1882, vol. XXXVI, p. 296.
151 In reference to Zechariah 4:10 (Geneva Bible): ‘For who hath despised the day of the small things?’
See for example: Anon., New Englands first fruits, Cover page, and p. 19; Anon., The Day-breaking,
Cover page; Shepard, The clear sun-shine, ‘Epistle to the Lords and Commons’ (Clark, ed., The Eliot
Tracts, p. 106) and p. 38; Eliot in Winslow, The glorious progress, pp. 16, 18, 26; Whitfield, ed.,
218) and Eliot’s Letter, pp. 1, 5, 13; Eliot and Mayhew, Tears of Repentance, ‘Eliot’s Letter to the
Reader’ (Clark, ed., The Eliot Tracts, p. 261); Eliot, A further accompt, Edward Reynolds’ ‘letter to the
History of Ideas, Vol. 4, No. 3 (June 1943), pp. 254–255.
153 Richard P. Gildrie, The Profane, the Civil & the Godly: The Reformation of Manners in Orthodox
New England, 1679–1749, Philadelphia, 1994, p. 3. I will address the understanding and importance of
civility for missionaries in a subsequent chapter.
membership in a church. According to the superintendent in charge of praying towns, Daniel Gookin, numerous natives at Natick are catechized, do attend publick worship, read the scriptures, pray in their family morning and evening; but being not yet come so far, as to be able or willing to profess their faith in Christ, and yield obedience and subjection unto him in his church, are not admitted to partake in the ordinances of God, proper and peculiar to the church of Christ; which is a garden enclosed, as the scripture saith.

It seems that it was the converts themselves who were reluctant to apply for full membership, and requirements were indeed very strict until well into the eighteenth century, when they had been relaxed in other New England’s communities. Ironically, the anguish of self-scrutiny and an extreme form of humility could be a sign of true conversion, showing that holiness was not hypocritical. Among many examples, the convert Margaret Osooit, a resident of Martha’s Vineyard who died in 1723 never applied for full membership. Yet, as the minister Experience Mayhew reported,

She was looked upon as a Person so well qualified for Communion with the Church of Christ, that many wondered that she did not ask an Admission thereunto; and some discoursed with her about the matter, but she had such Apprehensions concerning the Holiness required of those who are admitted to fellowship with God in his Ordinances, that she could not be persuaded that she was herself qualified for so high Privilege.

Despite limited membership into the church, those natives who were members of the Praying towns considered themselves Christians, or, and this is my point, ‘Christians in the making’. Unregenerate Praying natives thus occupied an intermediate position in Calvinist soteriology, as did the unregenerate in New England towns, who were still expected to attend service. The establishment of divine law embraced all those

---

155 Gookin, Historical Collections, p. 42.
157 Experience Mayhew, Indian converts, or, Some account of the lives and dying speeches of a considerable number of the Christianized Indians of Martha’s Vineyard..., London, 1727, p. 199.
willing to institute the Covenant of Work in their polity and prepare little by little for the potential gift of grace. Puritan efforts thus converged in surprising ways with those of Catholic missionaries: the establishment of the praying towns by Puritan divines showed how the actual practice of conversion was a process, focussed on the reformation of the natives’ manners, especially through civility, which would precede a potential sudden moment of transformation.

VII. Conclusion

Conversion was a process of transformation of the self. If missionaries shared a unified and monolithic theoretical framework to address the conceptual nature of idolatry, and envisioned precise steps leading to Christianity, the idea of habituation actually allowed conversion to become an incredibly flexible process. Whether it led to salvation for Catholics or to the hope of salvation only for Puritans, habituation allowed, with its insistence on imitation and example, and its focus on the practical dimension of Christianity, for an array of astonishingly varied converted communities. Whether in New France, where the Huron and later the Iroquois came to define conversion as a reciprocal process of adoption that fit within their naturalisation system; in Paraguay where Guaraní converts waged war against Portuguese slavers under the leadership of a handful of Jesuit Fathers; or in New England, where until late into the eighteenth century, independent communities of praying Indians maintained stricter standards of admission in their congregations than in European settlers’ communities, conversion in the New World, despite its radically destructive effects and the cultural blindness of its leaders, was a process which allowed for creative and contextualised adaptations of the Christian message.¹⁵⁹

Missionaries, as religious reformers, brought with them an experiential version of Christianity which flourished in the New World, often to a greater extent than it could in a European continent ravaged by war. Their demanding ideals were put into practice and revitalised through the resilience and creativity of native converts, if only for short periods of time. Missionaries understood their task as the radical refashioning of human minds and hearts. Despite their pessimistic view of the fallen nature of all

¹⁵⁹ See chapters 6 and 7 of this thesis.
men, they had a great confidence in human beings’ ability to change, and believed they could turn the natives ‘from wolves, into Lambs’.

160 Claude Dablon, Relation de ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable aux missions des pères de la Compagnie de Jesus en la Nouvelle France, les années 1670 & 1671 envoyée au R.P. Jean Pinette, provincial de la province de France, Paris, 1672, p. 189: ‘Thus those people, from wolves become lambs, & and little by little, but with great patience, they are being won to JESUS CHRIST’; Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England, To our reverend brethren the ministers of the Gospel in England and Wales, London, 1649, fo. 1 r.: ‘They who were wilde and barabarous, are now civill and sociable; the Wolfe dwells with the Lambe’. These are references to the Bible, Luke 10: 3, and Isaiah, 11: 6.
Chapter 4  
Conversion: Will, Grace, and Good Works

I. Introduction

This chapter examines conversion as a spiritual process and evaluates the impact on their conversion strategies of missionaries’ understanding of the relationship between nature and grace, human activity and God’s will. As I have explained in the previous chapter, both Catholic and Calvinist missiologies emphasised the importance of establishing the moral law among the natives, through a process of habituation. But these processes were meant to trigger conversion in itself, conceived as a moment of spiritual regeneration and inspired belief in God. In Calvinist soteriology, if no human deeds could merit salvation, and if man was unable to choose or reject this metamorphosis, the very idea of a conversion strategy was problematic.

This chapter, by comparing Puritan and Catholic steps in the process of religious transformation, will show that New England Puritans’ understanding of conversion relied on a long Calvinist tradition, which attempted to emphasise both God’s free gift of grace and the necessity of human piety. This comparative exercise will also show that by the seventeenth century, mass-baptism and mass-conversion was not perceived as an option for Catholic missionaries, in particular the Jesuits.1 If, in the relationship between man and God, Catholics definitely emphasised human activity and free will, they nevertheless relied on God’s grace to help them accomplish the work of conversion, and were very self-conscious about the sincerity of their converts. Yet, the access to grace was not as problematic for Catholics as it was for Reformed Protestants. It was the maintaining of faith (perseverance), which was the critical problem for Catholic theologians. The study of religious education will also show that, despite a fundamental disagreement on the agent of salvation (human will and/or God’s will), Catholics and Puritans shared important features in the

---

implementation of their different conversion missions with the natives. Catholic and Calvinist beliefs, which were often opposed within confessional debates in Europe, when put into practice in the colonial context, shared more characteristics than their respective defenders would admit.

II. Preparation for Salvation

1. The Problem of Preparationism

In a now famous article of 1943 entitled ‘Preparation for Salvation in Seventeenth-Century New England’, Perry Miller contrasted the theology of seventeenth-century New England Saints with Calvin’s understanding of regeneration. For Calvin, Miller argued, regeneration was a ‘forcible seizure, a holy rape of the surprised will’, which excluded any notion of human preparation for that divine experience.² If the New England Saints continued to affirm that no works could merit grace, they nevertheless emphasised the importance of preparation for the unregenerate before God’s turning of the sinner’s will. This preparation, Miller argued, was conceived as a gradual process, and a ‘hopeful augury of ultimate success’.³ According to Miller, by elaborating on this doctrine, English, and especially New English godly Protestants, proposed an ‘altogether different philosophy from anything propounded in Geneva’.⁴ This doctrinal shift was partly shaped by the Antinomian crisis of 1636-38. During this crisis, Anne Hutchinson (with the support of John Cotton until he revised his opinions) claimed that none of the ministers of Massachusetts ‘did Preach the Covenant of Free Grace […] they did Preach nothing but a Covenant of Works’.⁵ By the end of the seventeenth century, said Miller, ministers could require preparation from their congregations, ‘as though John Calvin

---

Miller’s work has been the cause of intense historiographical debate over the last sixty years. John Eliot was active in the trial of Anne Hutchinson during the Antinomian crisis, and we may reasonably infer from this that he applied his views on preparation to his subsequent work with the natives. Was Eliot’s work with the natives in line with the supposedly radical aspect of the official stance on the Antinomian crisis, and in complete opposition to Calvinism and other strands of Reformed Protestantism? Re-examining the Antinomian controversy through the lens of John Eliot’s work with the natives might help answer two questions: how different were the New England Saints’ views on conversion from both Reformed Protestantism in general and John Calvin’s understanding in particular? And how much did John Eliot’s endeavours with the natives differ from the work of Catholic missionaries?

Regarding preparationism, the historiography has tended to exaggerate, in my opinion, the gap between, on the one hand, New England Puritanism and earlier Puritans, and on the other hand, between Puritanism and Reformed Protestantism. For Calvin, conversion was a supernatural act of God, repentance could not happen before faith, and the Law did not play any role in conversion. Yet Calvin did not reject the idea that one could prepare for salvation, although he elaborated the theory of predestination to emphasise God’s glory more than to address the question of conversion. Conversion for Calvin was not necessarily a ‘holy rape of the surprised will’, and could be gradual. As he claimed, ‘with his greate and manyfolde bountyfulnesse [God] sweetely allureth men to the knowledge of hym (conviant par ses benefices si doucement les hommes à sa cognoissance)’. In this process, the moral law was instrumental: ‘[…] being taught by the morall law, we are made more inexcusable, that our owne giltynesse maye moue us to craue pardon (pour nous soliciter (sic) à demander pardon)’. Calvin’s successors, and in particular Beza and

---

7 R.T. Kendall, Calvin and English Calvinism to 1649, New York, 1979, pp. 21, 26, 27.
9 I have used the last French edition and the first English translation by John Norton, which would have been available in the seventeenth century: Jean Calvin, Institution de la religion chrétienne. Nouvellement mise en quatre livres: et distinguée par chapitres, en ordre et methode bien propre: augmentée aussi de tel accroissement, qu’on la peut presque estimer un livre nouveau, Genève, 1560, Livre I, chap. 5, section 13, p. 15, and Livre II, chap. 7, section 3, p. 143; The Institution of Christian
the Heidelberg theologians, elaborated on the process of conversion more than did Calvin, and claimed that the Law was fundamental in conversion, by drawing one’s attention to one’s sins and leading the sinner to repentance.

The Heidelberg theologians elaborated on the importance of the Law, developed the idea of the two covenants, and depicted the steps of conversion. This trend in continental reformed Calvinism had a tremendous influence in England, and most of all on William Perkins, the most influential Elizabethan Puritan in New England. English Puritans, starting with Perkins, wrote at length about the pastoral aspects of reformed theology, and proposed a more casuistical interpretation of Covenant theology, centred on the experiential dimension of conversion. Eliot himself was, of course, particularly concerned with conversion. In a 1656 letter, he requested from Richard Baxter, with whom he corresponded, ‘a practical meditation upon all the chief steps and operation of spirit through the whole work of conversion’.

The particular context of Eliot’s work with the natives, their complete ignorance of the Gospel, provides us with a very detailed account of Congregationalists’ understanding of the methodological and mental stages in conversion. Faced with ‘natural men’, who had not received any form of religious education since childhood, in contrast to Europe, and who, missionaries believed, had no social or political structures to enforce moral standards, the Saints interested in the natives’ conversion detailed the experiential steps before and during conversion and elaborated on that particular aspect of Reformed theology more than Europeans would. But if they did elaborate on this specific question, they did not radically alter the basic structure already present in the works of the Heidelberg theologians and Elizabethan Puritans.

---

10 This part is based on Kendall, Calvin and English Calvinism, pp. 13–41.


The Antinomian crisis and Eliot’s work with the natives attracted a great deal of attention in England. They were set within the existing debate regarding the role of works and grace in soteriology. As J.C. Davis has brilliantly shown in his study of the myth of the Ranters, antinomianism (the belief that one is released by grace from the obligations of the moral law) was perceived by contemporaries as a danger inherent to solifidianism (the belief that faith alone is necessary to salvation). This was related to the tension in Calvinism linked to the idea of the absolute freeness of God’s gift of Grace, tension that shaped many of the Anglophone Calvinists’ debates of the seventeenth century. On the one hand, Covenant theology contained an inherent threat to the theory of double predestination. If one was too emphatic about the importance of the Covenant of Works and of a moral code to guide the Saints, one could be accused of being a mere legalist, and of believing that one could merit grace through good works and proper moral behaviour. This could lead to the accusation of formalism, the mere external application of religious forms and principles, but with no real spiritual content, thus, of hypocrisy. On the other hand, if one insisted on the absolute freeness of God’s grace, and rejected the soteriological validity of a moral code, one could be accused of antinomianism.

Tim Cooper has shown that early modern theological debates were often set within a rationale of ‘binary opposition’. Defenders of both sides of a debate tended to radicalise the position of their opponents, by emphasising the most extreme consequences that could be drawn from their stance. Of course this did not mean that the opponents held such positions, but it served to reinforce the positive values of their own beliefs. During the Antinomian crisis in New England, the elders were thus accused of being mere legalists, while they insisted that their opponents were antinomians. Such accusations were recurrent in religious debates both in Old and New England. But one of the main reasons why the Puritan elders left England in the 1630’s was that they considered the Church of England to be formalist and neglectful of the Covenant of Grace. For many sectarians in both England and New England, as double predestination meant that God had decided who would be saved and who would be reprobate, anything men did could not have any relationship whatsoever to

---

13 Stoever, A Faire and Easie Way to Heaven, pp. x, 11.
salvation, and thus doing good works and performing moral duties was irrelevant to regeneration. This did not mean that any kind of moral behaviour was rejected, but only that it was not relevant to salvation. But the sectarianists who emphasised the work of the spirit in election and justification (for example Familists, Anabaptists, and later Quakers) were usually accused by their opponents of either promoting licentiousness or of being antinomians, even though this did not necessarily follow. As J.C. Davis has shown, there were very few antinomians in the seventeenth century.\(^{16}\)

Both the reply of New England ministers and Eliot’s work with the natives must be understood within the context of this acrimonious debate. In 1644, John Winthrop published in England an account of the sectarian crisis. In the preface, Thomas Weld explained how the New England elders perceived the crisis. This account betrayed official anxieties regarding sectarianism in both England and New England:

if a man need not be troubled by the Law, before faith, but may step to Christ so easily; and then, if his faith be not going out of himselfe to take Christ, but only a discerning that Christ is his own already, and is only an act of the Spirit upon him, no act of his own done by him; and if hee, for his part, must see nothing in himselfe, have nothing, do nothing, only he is to stand still and wait for Christ to do all for him. And then if after faith, the Law no rule to walk by, no sorrow or repentance for sin; he must not be pressed to duties, and need never pray, unlesse moved by the Spirit: And if he falls into sin, he is never the more disliked of God, nor his condition never the worse. [...] Then their way of life was made easie, if so, no marvel so many like of it.\(^{17}\)

2. **The Steps of Conversion**

   a. **Language and Knowledge of the Gospel**

Conversion involved necessary ‘steps’ which were instrumental for salvation (God being the final and efficient cause) in both Catholic and Calvinist doctrines.\(^{18}\) For the elders of Massachusetts, and for Reformed theologians in general, salvation, although operated by God, occurred through natural means, and required knowledge

---


\(^{18}\) Stoever, ‘*A Faire and Easie Way to Heaven*’, p. 110.
of the Law and the Gospel. Reformed Protestants called this form of knowledge ‘general’ or ‘historical’ faith. It was only concerned with instruction of the basic doctrines of the faith, understanding of it, and intellectual assent. Congregational churches usually had a pastor and a teacher. As the 1648 Cambridge Platform of church government explained, ‘The Pastors special work is, to attend to exhortation, and therein to Administer a word of Wisdom: the Teacher is to attend to Doctrine and therein to administer a word of Knowledge’. Comprehension preceded conversion, but was not necessarily followed by it. By contrast, Catholic soteriology emphasised human faculties in the process of conversion. As moral action was considered to be willing the good apprehended by the understanding, the sincerity of conversion required both a grasp of the Gospel and moral law and a willingness to seek it.

For both Catholics and Protestants, the major ‘material’ impediment to the proper inculcation of the doctrine was language. Reformers in Europe had faced a similar profusion of dialects, but the problem was far more radical in the New World, since the natives lacked writing and possessed completely alien grammar and syntax systems. Missionaries usually contrasted oral and written cultures in their writings. Jesuit missionary Alonso de Ovalle acknowledged in 1646 that the Andeans’ Khipus ‘are their books of memory […] with these they account for what happened in such and such occasion and time, and for what they did, said, and thought’. But Ovalle did not consider Khipus as proper writing, but as mere ‘supports’ for their excellent memory, or mnemonics. Paul Ragueneau explained, also in 1646, that in their meetings, the natives told ‘the stories that they have learned from their ancestors […] so that the youth present can hear and memorise them […] in order to transmit to

---

22 Alonso de Ovalle, Historica Relacion del Reyno de Chile y de las misiones y ministerios que exercita en la Compania de Jesus, Roma, 1646, pp. 92–93. Translations are mine unless otherwise noted. On memory, see also Francesco Giosepppe Bressani, Breve Relazione de alcune missioni de’ PP. della Compagnia di Gies• nella Nuova Francia, Macerata, Italy, July 19, 1653, in Reuben Gold Thwaites, The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents. Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610—1791, 71 volumes, Cleveland, 1896, vol. XXXIX, p. 260, hereafter JR.
posterity the history & annals of the country’. Ragueneau contrasted this system to the reliability of the written word.

Missionaries responded to the problem of communication by emphasising the importance of learning the natives’ language rather than teaching their own language to the natives. In his Discourse of Western Planting, Richard Hakluyt had argued that, in order to convert the natives, the English had to ‘firste learne the language of the people nere adjoyninge […] and by little and little acquainte themselves with their manner, and so with discretion and myldenes distill into their purged myndes the swete and lively liquor of the gospel’. John Eliot believed it was essential to preach in the vernacular, as ‘all Languages shall see his Glory and […] all Nations and Kingdoms shall become the Kingdoms of the Lord Jesus’. Paul Le Jeune insisted repeatedly on the necessity for priests in New France to learn the natives’ tongues, asking in 1633: ‘Fides ex auditu, faith enters by the ear. How can a mute preach the Gospel?’ As jurist Juan de Solorzano Pereira claimed in 1648, ‘Faith, without which no one can be saved, comes by hearing and hearing is by the Word of God, and if we cannot tell it in their language, in such a way that they will understand us, we will be as barbarous to them, as they are to us’. For Andrés Perez de Ribas, who worked on the frontier of New Spain throughout the first half of the seventeenth century, ‘there is

24 This was also the case two centuries later in New Zealand: D.F. McKenzie, ‘Oral Culture, Literacy, and Print in Early New Zealand’, in Bibliography & the Sociology of Texts, Cambridge, 1999, p. 84.
27 Paul Le Jeune, Relation de ce qui s'est passe en la Nouvelle France, en l'année 1633 envoyée au R.P. Barth. Iacquinoit, provincial de la Compagnie de Jesus en la province de France par le P. Paul Le Jeune de la mesme compagnie, superieur de la residence de Kebec, Paris, 1634, p. 115. See also Alonso de la Peña Montenegro, Itinerario para parochos de indios: en que se tratan las materias mas particulares, tocantes a ellos, para su buena administracion (1668), Amberes, 1726, pp. 148–49.
28 Juan de Solórzano Pereira, Politica Indiana: Dividida En Seis Libros, En los que, con gran distincion, y estudio, se trata, y resuelve todo lo relativo al Descubrimiento, Descripcion, Adquisicion, y Retencion de las mismas Indias… (1648), Libro IV, cap. XV, ed. Francisco R. de Valenzuela, Madrid, 1776, vol. 2, p. 129. Faith comes by hearing is a reference to the Bible, Romans 10:17, and there is also a reference to 1 Corinthians 14:11: ‘Therefore if I know not the meaning of the voice, I shall be to him that speaks a barbarian, and he that speaks shall be a barbarian to me’.
no more powerful way to win them, and subject them, and have a great authority, which is necessary for evangelical work and for the doctrine to be effective, than to speak their language, and the authority is even greater if it is well spoken’.  

The first step undertaken by all missionaries was to put the language in written form. In his *Indian Grammar Begun*, Eliot attempted to ‘bring the Indian language into rules […] for the furtherance of the Gospel among them’. John Eliot translated the Bible into Algonquian over the period from 1655 to 1663, and also chose to translate Lewis Bayly’s *Practice of Piety*, first published in 1665, as well as Richard Baxter’s *A Call to the Unconverted*, first published in 1664. For John Eliot, translation of the Bible was a ‘sacred and holy work, and to be regarded with much fear, care, and reverence’, and required a profound knowledge of the Algonquian dialect. Modern linguists generally agree that Eliot’s work was of good quality.

For the Jesuits, learning the language and writing grammars to transmit this knowledge was fundamental. According to the decrees of the Council of Trent, reading the Bible was a collective exercise, and was meant to reaffirm, not explore, the basic tenets of the Catholic doctrines for its recipients, who were not supposed to

29 Andrés Perez de Ribas, *Historia de los triunfos de nuesta Santa fee entre gentes las mas barbaras y fieras del nuevo Orbe: conseguidos por los Soldados de la Milicia de la Compañía de IESVS en las Misiones de la Provincia de Nueva-España…*, Madrid, 1645, p. 22. See also pp. 413–414 on the difficulty of learning the language and the work of the Jesuits in that regard.

30 On the difficulty of doing this in the context of missionaries to New Zealand, see McKenzie, ‘Oral Culture, Literacy, and Print in Early New Zealand’, pp. 81–85.


32 Christopher Hill, ‘Puritans and ‘the Dark Corners of the Land’’, in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Fifth series, Vol. 13 (1963), p. 92: Dialects were a problem both in the Three Kingdoms and in New England. In 1630, as only expensive and inaccurate versions existed, two private London merchants decided to have the Bible translated in Welsh and produced in an affordable version, after which Lewis Bayly’s *The Practice of Piety* was also translated under their care.


actively participate in its reading. Yet if the enforcement of orthodoxy was considered essential, this could only be implemented if the flock knew and understood the fundamental points of Catholic doctrine. Thus, the council of Lima stated that: ‘each one has to be instructed in order for him to understand; the Spaniard in Spanish, the Indian, in his own language’. Alonso de la Peña Montenegro, Bishop of Quito, thought that any priest who did not speak the language of his parishioners was ‘incompetent to preach and confess’. Spanish and French missionaries are now, too, acknowledged to have had fine linguists within their ranks. Thus for Catholics, knowledge of the language was a pragmatic necessity: they needed to master it in order to properly preach to the natives and elaborate catechisms. The Bible was not translated, as the Vulgate remained the favoured version.

By contrast, for Protestants, translating the Bible was essential to fulfil the doctrine of sola scriptura. That the Catholic church did not provide its members with access to Scriptures was perceived by Eliot as an essential issue, and he compared the ‘Papists’ to tyrannical Sachems in his Indian Dialogues: Christian convert William explained to the Sachem Philip Keitassoot (a fictive Metacom) that the

Papists, whose Ministers and Teachers live in al manner of wickedness and lewdness, and permit and teach the people so to do […] will not suffer the people to reade the Word of God, and pretend the same reason as you do, Because they be ignorant. But the true reason is the same which you plainly speak out, lest by the knowledge of the Word, they [the people] should have light to see into their [the ministers’] vileness, and molest them in their lusts and sins. And they are so cruel, that if they finde any one that readeth the word of God, they will kill him. […]

---

37 Acción segunda del concilio provincial limense, Capítulo 6: Que los indio sean adoctrinados en su lengua, in Francesco Leonardo Lisi, El Tercer Concilio Limense y la Aculturacion de los Indígenas Sudamericanos, Estudio crítico con edición, traducción y comentario de las actas del concilio provincial celebrado en Lima entre 1582 y 1583, Salamanca, 1990, p. 129. See also Libro Primero, Título I: De la doctrina cristiana que se ha de enseñar a los rudos, Capítulo III: Del cuidado que deben tener los párocos de enseñar y explicar la doctrina, in Mariano Galvan Rivera, ed., Concilio Provincial Mexicano, México, 1859, p. 17.
41 Eliot, Indian Dialogues, pp. 56–57.
In the same *Dialogues*, another convert, Pium, explained to a heathen ‘Kinsman’: ‘The Book of God is no invention of English-men, it is the holy Law of God himself, which was given unto man by God, before the English-men had any knowledge of God; and all the knowledge which they have, they have it out of the Book of God: and this book is given to us as well as to them, and it is as free for us to search the Scriptures as for them’.

Missionaries realised the difficulty of mastering a language without written rules and grammars to help them. In 1636, Jean de Brébeuf explained how difficult the task would be in New France:

You must accept, as much of a great master and great Theologian as you were in France, to be here a humble Schoolboy […] The Huron language will be your saint Thomas, & your Aristotle, & clever man as you are, and smooth-talking among learned & capable persons, you must accept to be for a long time mute among the Barbarians; you will have accomplished much, if you begin to stammer a little after a while.

Translations could indeed be problematic, especially with regard to theological matters. John Eliot, for example, had to translate in his Bible ‘I am that I am’ (Exodus 3:14) into ‘I exist that I exist’, as the natives did not possess an equivalent of the verb ‘to be’. His adaptations went beyond purely linguistic concerns: the virgins of Matthew 25:1-13 became men in his translation, because chastity was a virtue associated with men in native societies. Jean de Brébeuf struggled to translate even basic prayers, and wondered if his adaptations were appropriate:

A relative noun with them includes always the meaning of one of the three persons of the possessive pronoun, so that they can not say simply, Father, Son, Master, Valet, but are obliged to say one of the three, my father, thy father, his father. […] On this account, we find ourselves hindered from getting them to say properly in their Language, *In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the holy Ghost*. Would you judge it fitting, while

---

waiting a better expression, to substitute instead, *In the name of our Father, and of his Son, and of their holy Ghost*.

In the 1640s, Jesuit Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, who wrote a Catechism in the Guaraní language was accused of heresy by Franciscan Bishop Bernardino de Cárdenas for his choice of words in his Guaraní translation. Specifically, among other issues, his use of the word *Tupã*, a term used to designate the natives’ ‘idols’, to signify the Christian God was judged inappropriate by the Bishop. Spanish missionaries used words from native languages to signify new concepts (such as the Christian God), but these words did acquire new meanings in a changing social and cultural context.

Roger Hart’s analysis of missionary translations in China applies to the New World case. In China, missionaries used neologisms, transliterations, loan translations, and were also selectively omitting certain concepts, in order to extend the semantic meaning of common notions in the target culture. Missionaries used similar techniques in the New World. Translation was never innocent.

All missionaries emphasised the need to teach the natives to read and write. It is difficult to know to what extent literacy spread among the natives, but the transition

---


from an oral culture to a print culture did raise difficulties. In New France, Jesuit Joseph-Marie Chaumonot explained in 1640 how one of his visits to a tribe went awry:

[…] they were convinced that we were sorcerers, impostors who had come to take possession of their country, after having made them perish by our spells, which were shut up in our ink-stands, in our books, etc., so much so that we did not dare, without hiding ourselves, open a book or write anything.  

This was a recurring phenomenon when oral cultures encountered written traditions. As D.F. McKenzie has shown in the case of missionaries to New Zealand in the nineteenth century, from the perspective of an oral culture, books were often perceived as magical objects. Despite the importance of the written word for European missionaries, most of their work involved oral performances. Not only sermons, but also the highly ritualised Catholic ceremonies in Spanish colonies, such as the Corpus Christi processions; the Jesuits’ interventions in the natives’ councils in New France and their focus on rhetoric; and the public confessions of faith and covenanting ceremonies in New England were oral and visual performances that could appeal to members of traditionally oral societies, and in which they could have a meaningful role to play.

For Puritans, knowledge of the Gospel was the first step in religious education, and was necessary before any interpretation could occur. Eliot wrote a catechism entirely in Massachusett to teach the natives the fundamental points of doctrine, which had the same form as the primers used to teach children: an alphabet and syllabarium, the Lord’s Prayer, the Apostles’ Creed, the Ten Commandments. There was also a list

---

49 Literacy seems to have picked up more or less successfully in many areas, see Linford D. Fisher, ‘Native Americans, Conversion, and Christian Practice’, Harvard Theological Review, Vol. 102, No. 1 (2009), pp. 110–111; Ives Goddard and Kathleen Joan Bragdon, Native Writings in Massachusetts, Philadelphia, 1988; Martin Lienhard, ed., Testimonios, cartas, y manifiestos indígenas (Desde la conquista hasta comienzos del siglo XX), Caracas, 1992; Roger Magnusson, Education in New France, Montreal, 1992, chapter 3.


53 Hall, Worlds of Wonder, p. 66. On the importance of catechising for Puritans in England, see Morgan, Godly Learning, pp. 86–87, and 152–155.
of ‘numeral letters and Figures’, and of the books of the Bible, so that the natives could find Biblical verses by themselves.\textsuperscript{54} The President of Harvard College explained in 1664 to the Company for the propagation of the Gospel in England that ‘there are two things that mainly conduce by way of preparation to the conversion of the Indians, the schooles for their education, and the printing presse to furnish them wth fit bookes, to bring up ther children in schooles, and catechisme’.\textsuperscript{55} In New France, Jean de Brébeuf translated the\textit{Christian Doctrine} of Diego Ledesma, a Spanish Jesuit, for the Montagnais natives. To it were added the Sunday prayers and the Ten Commandments, translated by the Jesuit Ennemond Massé. Ledesma’s catechism was used in both internal and external missions.\textsuperscript{56} On Sundays after mass, the converts could ask question and discuss points of doctrine.\textsuperscript{57} The Councils of Lima and Mexico also ordered the publication of a catechism, and anyone using a different one was to be excommunicated, ‘as for the salvation of the Indians, not only the concordance of deeds with words, but also the unity of discourse is very important’.\textsuperscript{58} This catechism also contained an alphabet and a syllabarium.\textsuperscript{59} The publication of a catechism was also required by Trent for European parishes, ‘which the bishops shall take care to have faithfully translated into the vulgar tongue, and to have expounded to the people by all parish priests’.\textsuperscript{60} In Peru, the ‘doctrina classes’ allowed the priest to

\textsuperscript{54} Hall, \textit{Worlds of Wonder}, pp. 37–38; Axtell, \textit{The Invasion Within}, pp. 223–224; and John Eliot, \textit{The Indian Primer: or, The way of training up of our Indian Youth in the good knowledge of God, in the knowledge of the Scriptures, and in an ability to Reade}, Cambridge, MA, 1669 (first edition 1654).
\textsuperscript{57} Jean Baptiste de la Croix Chevrières de Saint-Vallier, \textit{Relation des missions de la Nouvelle France par M. l’Évêque de Quebec}, Paris, 1688, p. 141.
\textsuperscript{59} Estenssoro Fuchs, \textit{Del paganismo a la santidad}, p. 266.
\textsuperscript{60} Council of Trent, Session XXIV, Decree on Reformation, chapter VII, The virtue of the Sacraments shall, before being administered to the people, be explained by Bishops and Parish Priests; during the solemnization of mass, the sacred oracles shall be explained, in \textit{The Canons and Decrees of the Sacred and Oecumenical Council of Trent}, trans. J. Waterworth, London, 1848, pp. 213–214.
clarify some points of doctrine, and the natives to ask questions.\(^6^1\)

In New England, a great degree of independence was expected from native converts. The lack of able English ministers, and difficulty of the language, led godly Protestants to use Indian converts to proselytize both in neighbouring villages and remote areas. But the lack of English pastors was not the only reason for the use of native priests. As Eliot argued, ‘they must be trained up to be able to live of themselves in the ways of the Gospel of Christ; and […] sundry of themselves who are expert in the Scriptures, are able to teach each other. […] they must […] be taught to be Teachers’.\(^6^2\) The first native priests in the New World, ordained in 1670, came from Martha’s Vineyard.\(^6^3\) If native priests were not ordained in French and Spanish colonies, the Jesuits did use young natives to help in their absence, for sermons, and also to spread the Word. As in Europe, the Jesuits involved lay people in their religious crusade. On the frontier missions of New Spain, these \textit{temastianes}, as they were called,

\begin{quote}

come from the entire province to learn to read, write, to play musical instruments, to sing, and what is more to learn the Christian doctrine and good manners (\textit{toda Buena policia}) so that they return to their lands very different from when they arrived, and are very important in helping to convert their fellow natives.\(^6^4\)
\end{quote}

In New France those helps were called \textit{dogiques}. A \textit{dogique} was a native who ‘organises the public prayers among these good people, & who instructs them in the absence of the Fathers’. They could be men or women, and ‘fulfilled the duties of apostles with great glory and benefit in their own country […] going into the cabins


\(^6^3\) Cogley, \textit{John Eliot’s Mission}, p. 177.

[...] to preach Jesus Christ crucified’. According to Jérôme Lalemant, working among the Hurons in 1642-43, the dogiques ‘imperceptibly open the door to several great nations who could not hear our name without a shudder, & who had considered us in the past only as persons who brought misfortune upon them’.

b. The Importance of Preaching

If sermons partially fulfilled the same task as catechising, by providing the natives with religious education, they also served another, and more important purpose: they had a hortatory function. For both Catholics and Protestants, sermons played an essential role in conversion and were universally relevant, as they were the primary access to the faith for converts-to-be.

In New England, once the faithful had been instructed in the rudiments of Christianity, they were to attend to the preaching of the Word, which was, according to Andrew Whitfield, ‘the only outward instrumental means to bring home these wandring sinners’. Given that ministers could not know who would be elect or reprobate, they had a duty to spread the Word to all. In order to reach the greatest number of potential converts, the simplicity and accessibility of sermons was important. Puritan preacher John Dod supposedly ‘took great care to speak to the meanest capacity’, and complained ‘that most Ministers in England usually shoot over

---


67 Whitfield, The Light Appearing, p. 44, with a reference to Psalms 136:2 (Geneva); ‘thou hast magnified thy Name above all things by thy word’. See also Arthur Hildersam, CLI Lectures upon Psalm LI, London, 1635, p. 501; William Perkins, A Treatise tending vnto a Declaration, whether a man be in the estate of damnation, or in the estate of Grace..., London, 1590, p. 33. See Cohen, God’s Caress, p. 91; Morgan, Godly Learning, p. 82.

the heads of their hearers’. Eliot made sure this would not happen with his native brethren, and started with simple sermons, ‘not medling with any matters more difficult, and which to such weake ones might at first seeme ridiculous, untill they had tasted and beleued more plaine and familiar truths’. He also repeatedly asked the natives if they understood his points. After each sermon, the natives were encouraged to ask questions ‘for more cleare understanding of what was delivered’, and were interrogated by Eliot and others to evaluate their understanding and disposition towards the faith. These events, called ‘Lecture-Days’, thus included not only sermons but also conversations between the preacher and the preached, and an evaluation of the natives’ spiritual state. Preachers were very passionate and attempted to provoke intense movements of the soul. English Puritan minister John Rogers was supposedly observed during preaching ‘taking hold with both hands at one time of the supporters of the canopy over the pulpit, and roaring hideously, to represent the torments of the damned’. For New England Puritan Thomas Hooker, ‘When the truth of God is delivered with a holy violence an a hearty affection by Gods servants, evermore it makes its way, it beats downe, and breaks all before it […]’

Sermons also acquired a particular significance in Counter-Reformation Catholicism, and specifically for the Jesuits, who were exempted from singing during mass in order to make it shorter, and to be able to dedicate themselves entirely to preaching and ‘the help of souls’. This was a radical break from the usual rules of regular orders. The Council of Trent had declared that adults were disposed to

---

72 Thomas Hooker, The Soules implantation into the natural olive, London, 1640, p. 79.
conversion by hearing the Word, ‘when, excited and assisted by divine grace, conceiving faith by hearing, they are freely moved towards God’. Missionaries emphasised the duty to preach the Word. Franciscan missionary Juan de Silva insisted that the task of preaching the Gospel to the natives, if difficult, was an obligation, as preachers were to spread the Word to all kinds of peoples, to the Greeks, the barbarians, the learned and the ignorant, and no one is so barbarous, so fierce, so brutish, that with education (cultivado) he would not be able to receive the Gospel, some to a greater extent, some less, as there are lands that are more fertile than others, and none so barren, that with cultivation it would not be able to bear fruit. The Jesuits in New France believed that rhetoric was all-important in Iroquois culture, and for Paul Le Jeune, ‘someone who knew their language perfectly would be all-powerful among them, however little eloquence he might have. There is no place in the world where Rhetoric is more powerful than in Canada […]’. Twenty years later, Joseph-Marie Chaumonot could use this to his advantage, and ‘preached in the Italian style: he had enough space to walk around, and to deliver with pomp the word of God’. To the elegance of discourse, the Jesuits wanted to add coherence. Jean de Brébeuf argued that the unity of the Catholic doctrine would be beneficial for missions: the harmony of all points of Christian Doctrine pleases them wonderfully; for, they say, you always speak with conformity, & consistently with what you have said; you never wander off, you never speak of things irrelevant; we, on the contrary, speak without thinking (à l’étourdy), not knowing what we say’. It is a characteristic of falsehood to embarrass itself in a multitude of contradictions.

74 Council of Trent, Session VI, Decree on Justification, chapter VI, The Manner of Preparation, in The canons and decrees, p. 33.
75 Juan de Silva, Advertencias importantes, acerca del bien gobierno, y administracion de las Indias, assi en lo espiritual, como en lo temporal..., Madrid, 1621, fo. 24 v. This is a reference to Romans 1:14, also used in Perez de Ribas, Historia de los triunfos de nuestra Santa Fee, p. 409, who emphasises the importance of preaching to all kinds of peoples. Perez de Ribas also uses a reference to Mark 16:15: ‘Go you into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature’. The necessity to preach to all is also emphasised in Antoine Boschet, Le parfait missionnaire, ou, Vie du R.P. Julien Maunoir de la Compagnie de Jésus, Missionnaire en Bretagne Paris, 1697, p. 455. On the centrality of the sermon as a means for conversion and reform, see Luis de la Puente, De la perfeccion del cristiano en todos svs estados, Valladolid, 1612, pp. 155–158.
77 Claude Dablou in Jean de Quen, Relation de ce qui s'est passé en la mission des peres de la Compagnie de Jesus, au pays de la Nouvelle France, es années 1635 & 1636 envoyée au R.P. Louis Cellot, provincial de la Compagnie de Jesus, en la province de France, Paris, 1657, p. 60.
The Bishop of Quito, Alonso de la Peña Montenegro, also insisted that not only ‘love’, but also ‘good reasons’ were necessary to convince the natives.\textsuperscript{79} In New Spain and Peru as in Spain, priests were instructed to ensure the good understanding of their parishioners during sermons, and to adapt to their particular audience, as had been recommended by the Council of Trent.\textsuperscript{80} The Council of Mexico stated that the priests were to adapt to the ‘class, condition, and quality of each one’, and to ‘completely abstain from difficult and conceited points, so that it does not seem that they want to flaunt their knowledge rather than to preach Christ’.\textsuperscript{81} These examples point to the importance of the Thomist and scholastic models for the Society of Jesus. As discussed in chapter three, Catholic missionaries appealed not only to the will, but also to reason in their attempts to convert. But the Jesuits’ emphasis on rhetoric also reveals their humanist influences. The Jesuits, in their pastoral work, used, in the words of John O’Malley, ‘an art of persuasion that entailed engagement of the imagination and emotions as much as the intellect’.\textsuperscript{82}

c. Conversion

Catholics and Protestants understood conversion according to very different soteriological traditions. Yet their perspective intersected in their appreciation of the centrality of the emotional dimension of preaching, and their conviction that conversion required a radical turning of the will. The intensity of the religious experience was a testimony to the sincerity of conversion.

Conversion for Puritans was a new birth, and an intense emotional experience.\textsuperscript{83} Sermons were, in theory, supposed to trigger two successive types of

\textsuperscript{79} Peña Montenegro, \textit{Itinerario para parochos de indios}, p. 140.
\textsuperscript{80} Council of Trent, Session XXIV, Decree on Reformation, chapter VII, The virtue of the Sacraments shall, before being administered to the people, be explained by Bishops and Parish Priests; during the solemnization of mass, the sacred oracles shall be explained, in \textit{The canons and decrees}, pp. 213–214. On the need for explanations during the Latin mass, see Council of Trent, Session XXII, Doctrine of the Sacrifice of the Mass, chapter VIII, On not celebrating the Mass every where in the vulgar tongue; the mysteries of the Mass to be explained to the people, in \textit{The canons and decrees}, pp. 157–158.
\textsuperscript{83} Bible (Geneva Version), John 3.3: ‘Iesus answered, and said vnto him, Verely, verely I say vnto thee, except a man be borne againe, he can not see the kingdome of God’. On this, see Charles L. Cohen, ‘Conversion Among Puritans and Amerindians: A Theological and Cultural Perspective’, in Francis J.
emotional response. The first response was preparatory for salvation, and thus accessible to all (even the reprobate). The second response expressed the real action of the Spirit on man’s will, thus it could only be experienced by the elect. The first step included knowledge of sin, contrition, and humiliation. It implied a command of the basics of Protestant doctrines, and a consecutive awareness of one’s sins. As William Perkins explained, ‘the manner that God vseth in the begetting of faith is this. First, he prepareth the heart that it maie be capable of faith. Secondlie, he causeth faith by little and little to spring and to breed in the heart. The preparation of the heart is by humbling and softening it […]’.  

John Wilson emphasised this new consciousness amongst the natives: ‘Now, they must sinne against knowledge, whereas before we came to them they knew not anything of God at all’.  

Aware of his fallen condition, and hating his sins, the sinner would try to earn salvation by his good works. The next step, humiliation, was essential to prepare the elect for God’s work on their will, and would lead men to hate evil, and feel sorrow for their sins.  

For Eliot, ‘our natures cannot live without Physicke, nor grace without affliction’. In his sermons, Eliot would try to elicit this sense of terror in the natives, and warn them about ‘the dreadfull torment and punishment of all such as breake any one of those holy commandments, and how angry God was for any sinne and transgression’. With contrition, man came to realise his fallen status; with humiliation, he was faced with his complete incapacity to earn and deserve salvation. Only when self-confidence was annihilated, and one realised one’s incapacity to redeem one’s sins could a sense of ‘holy desperation’ occur, which would make conversion possible.  

New England Puritans had good hopes for the natives, as many of them were ‘naturally sad and melancholly (a good servant to repentance,) and therefore there is the greater hope of great heart-breakings’.

---


89 William Perkins, *A golden chaine: or The description of theologie containing the order of the causes of saluation and damnation, according to Gods word...*, Cambridge, 1600, p. 117.

Eliot would exhort the natives to seek repentance. In order to do so, he thought that there was ‘no poynt more usefull than practical meditation’. He would encourage the natives, at least as long as they could not read the Bible by themselves, to ‘thinke, and meditate of so much as had been taught them; and which they now heard out of God’s booke, and to thinke much and often upon it [...] and to goe alone in the fields and woods, and muse on it’. The Saints would advise the natives that ‘if they did but sigh and groane, and say thus; Lord make mee know Jesus Christ, for I know him not, and if they did say so againe and againe with their hearts that God would teach them Jesus Christ’. After this intense introspection would come repentance, and the natives were urged to ‘fall downe and weepe, and pray, repent, and desire forgivenesse for Jesus Christ’s sake’. Only when one’s heart was completely humiliated could faith enter it. As New England Puritan Thomas Shepard mused in his journal, ‘the greatest part of a Christian’s grace lies in mourning for the want of it’. 

Regeneration, the reception of ‘saving faith’, was a free grace of God. The natives could seek repentance, but it would only be granted to the elect amongst them. Eliot insisted on the fact that, through human instruments, it was God who would convert the natives: ‘It is the Lord, the Lord only who doth speak to the hearts of men’. Eliot could only exhort the ‘praying Indians’ to ‘try their hearts by the word of God to finde out what change the Lord hath wrought in their hearts’. Regeneration was not an act of the human will, as in Catholic soteriology, it was the action of the Spirit upon man’s will, during which man was completely passive. Once saving faith...
was imparted upon man, sanctification, the radical transformation of human faculties, occurred, and the Saints would persevere in grace.\textsuperscript{99}

In Puritan soteriology, the will would thus be radically transformed by the intervention of the Holy Spirit in regeneration, but it had to be entirely passive in the process. By contrast, although Catholic missionaries would also insist on this complete transformation of the will, they emphasised that its freedom and activity were essential in the change from pagan to believer. For the Jesuit Matheo de Moya, writing in 1668, the priest would ‘not only enlighten understanding with doctrine, but also improve the will with fervent exhortation’.\textsuperscript{100} With a new emphasis in Counter-Reformation Catholicism on the role of sacramental confession and repentance, sermons were to arouse a new or renewed religious fervour in the sinner.\textsuperscript{101} Thus, the role of the ‘visitador’ (priests visiting small Indian communities with no priest in residence), according to the Council of Mexico, was to ‘stir people with exhortations and admonitions to religion, peace, and innocence’.\textsuperscript{102} In France, Antoine Boschet explained that Jesuit missionaries would choose subjects ‘most proper to move the soul, and to induce penance: death, judgment, hell & paradise’.\textsuperscript{103} French Jesuit Jean Pierron, working with the Agniès (a tribe of the Iroquois people) in the 1660s, claimed that, in order to convert the natives, ‘one must begin by touching their hearts, before one can convince their minds’. Pierron used any strategy he could devise: ‘I have used mildness and force, threats and prayers, labours and tears, to build up this new Church and convert these poor Savages’. This strategy could sometimes backfire. The natives of New France disliked being scared into Christianity, as one of them reminded Paul Le Jeune in 1637:

\begin{flushleft}
Cohen, \textit{God’s Caress}, p. 100.
\end{flushleft}
having spoken to them very fully of Hell & of Paradise, of punishment & of reward, one of them said to me, half of your discourse is good, the rest is worth nothing, do not talk to us of those fires, for that disgusts us, talk to us about the blessings of Heaven, of living a long time here (ça bas), of living at our ease, of the pleasures after our death, for it is how men are won, when you talk to us of those blessings, we think in our hearts that that is good & that we surely desire to enjoy it, if you speak like this, all the Savages will listen to you readily, but those threatening words you use do not serve at all to that end.104

For Jean Pierron, it was ultimately for God ‘to prepare their hearts, in order to triumph over their hardness’.105

As Calvinists expected ‘great heart-breakings’, Catholic missionaries also hoped for extraordinary reactions as a proof that their flock were sincerely convinced of the necessity of either baptism or confession. In Brittany, the preaching of the Jesuit Julien Maunoir was supposedly so intense that ‘the penitents’ grief was so strong, and they cried so many tears, that the confessors realised that their surplices were soaking’.106 Reactions could sometimes be radical. In New France, some natives, in order to resist bodily temptations, would use mortifications like the Jesuits. One of them rolled naked in the snow, while others ‘applied on their bodies burning charcoal and firebrands’.107 In Sonora, a Yaqui convert was so moved by the sermon that he felt as if his ‘heart was on fire’.108 The intensity of preaching and fear of hell caused anxiety among the converts. From Paraguay, Diego de Boroa explained in his relation of 1637 that it is not rare that some Indians would ask the fathers in secret to reprimand them in public, and punish them. They often have scruples, and are afraid that they did not follow the divine callings to the faith with the necessary promptness, or that they have not repented enough for their past sins yet, or that they have not followed divine inspiration.109

104 Le Jeune, Relation de 1637, pp. 112–113.
108 Perez de Ribas, Historia de los triunfos de nuesta Santa Fee, p. 330.
III. Justification

Justification occurred through different means in Catholic and Protestant soteriology. The Sacraments played a central role in the Roman Catholic tradition. In the Calvinist observance, the Sacraments were the outward expression of a mental transformation: regeneration. This turning of the will was best expressed in the public confessions required to enter a church, and demanded from all converts.

The work of God on the natives’ hearts would be expressed for Catholics in the sacraments of baptism and confession, followed by communion. Through the holy sacraments of baptism for the yet unconverted, or penance (confession) for the faithful yet sinful, grace could wash away one’s sins and allow one to repent and start afresh. The renewed emphasis on the sacraments provided a counterbalance to the more individualist aspects of Counter-Reformation spirituality: to the combat against self was associated the glory of God who worked his grace on the believer. The Jesuits in particular insisted on the need for frequent confession and communion. They envisioned confession as a way for the Christian to meditate on his past life and start anew, and also as an opportunity for the confessor to console and preach in private. In New France, the natives were expected to confess frequently, and felt ‘all renewed’ after confession. The Jesuits insisted on the necessity of frequent communion, at least weekly, when the norm had been monthly. The frequency of the sacraments was often seen with suspicion by other clerics. In early seventeenth-century Mexico, the Jesuits, who dedicated their work to both natives and Spaniards, started to establish frequent confession:

it was in this area little used and ill-received, as frequent confession and communion appeared to be a new and dangerous doctrine […] even though those who murmured against the Company about this were not lacking, seeing that ours were busy day and night in hearing confessions, and that the frequency of the Sacraments was advised in all manners from

---

the pulpits [...] finally they surrendered and gave a hand to establish the yoke of the Lord [...].

For Puritans, baptism and especially communion were important Sacraments, but they were simply outward expressions of an inward transformation. As John Cotton explained in a sermon in 1640, those who came up with ceremonies not to be found in Scriptures, ‘worship for their own Inventions. Those that will bring in their owne Invention will slight Gods Institutions […] Yow may better be a drunkard, Swarer, than to make Contience of a Ceremony’. New England Puritans considered baptism as a seal, and ‘a seale is not to make a thing that was not, but to confirme something that was before’. They baptised children of the regenerate members of the church, as they were part of the church covenant (the visible institution), but denied that baptism had any effect on the Covenant of Grace, and thus even if baptised, unregenerate members, those who had not given a public confession of their regeneration, could not take part in communion or have a vote in church matters.

Of course the real sign of affiliation to the Covenant of Grace for Congregationalists was regeneration. As John Speene, one of Eliot’s converts explained in his confession of 1658, in regeneration, the Spirit would ‘baptise you with the holy ghost, and with fire […] that doth more then water can doe, for the Spirit doth purge our soules [...]

---

119 John Speene, in John Eliot, A further accompt of the progresse of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New-England, and of the means used effectually to advance the same... as also some helps directing the Indians how to improve naturall reason unto the knowledge of the true God, London, 1659, p. 16. This is a reference to Matthew 3:11 (Geneva): ‘I indeed baptize you with water unto repentance: but he that
to communion for the regenerate, was public confession. New England Congregationalists attempted to build a Visible Church that would, as far as possible, closely fit the Invisible Church of the elect. The turning of the elect’s will would be appraised by a committee of elders and by the congregation as a whole. First, the elders of the Church questioned in private the applicants on their ‘knowledge in the principles of religion, & of their experience in the ways of grace, and of their godly conversation amongst men’. After that, the candidates were required to make a public confession manifesting the workings of grace and its effect on them, as well as their knowledge of the doctrines of Protestantism. Church members could require clarifications, after which they voted to either accept or reject the candidacy.

According to David Thomson, the role of John Eliot in the Antinomian crisis radically shaped his understanding of conversion, as the trials made it possible for him to consider that ‘some version of civilizing preparation’ could happen before regeneration in the natives. For Thomson, in line with Perry Miller, the ‘radical nature’ of John Eliot’s attempts to convert the natives was due to his preparationist stance on conversion. According to Thomson, the idea that pagans could prepare for salvation or ‘become ‘more’ Christian’, through what he terms a ‘new civil Gospel’, would have been an aberration to Calvinism before the 1630s. Thomson considers that, in his work with the natives, Eliot ignored the requirements of Congregationalism to only admit Visible Saints, and ‘admitted into the churches large numbers of praying people who fell short of salvation but worked consistently at preparing’. This could only happen because the Antinomian crisis had redefined the conditions of regeneration. In 1652, only eight of the Praying Indians presented a public confession in order to create a church (the minimal requirement was seven), which does not confirm the idea that Eliot’s ‘praying natives’ could bypass congregational

\[\text{cometh after me is mightier than I, whose shoes I am not worthy to bear: he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost, and with fire}\].

\[\text{120 John Cotton, }\text{The vway of the churches of Christ in New-England, or, The vway of churches walking in brotherly equalitie, or co-ordination, without subjection of one church to another measured and examined by the golden reed of the sanctuary...}, \text{London, 1645, p. 54.}\]


\[\text{123 Thomson, ‘The Antinomian Crisis’, p. 405.}\]

The natives knew like anyone else in New England that conversion was the working of the Spirit upon men’s hearts. In an examination of their knowledge of the Gospel in 1654, one neophyte explained that conversion was ‘not my owne work, but Christ sends his Spirit, and breaks my heart’. Another convert, Waban realised in 1659 ‘that I should desire Christ to break my heart by his spirit, none else in the world could do it; no man could work faith in me, but the Word which I heard doth it’.

The natives had to undergo the same process of examination to enter a church as anyone else in New England. In their case, regeneration was evaluated by a committee of elders, as they had no established churches yet, which was the common practice. The natives’ request to form a church was rejected once, in 1652, and it took several years for some of them to be finally allowed to form a church, in 1659. The natives’ confessions were meant, like for other New Englanders, to express the workings of the Spirit on their souls and to ‘give them acceptance among the Saints’.

The ‘preparatory’ confessions in the 1653 text that David Thomson uses to confirm that preparation rather than election mattered were in fact preparatory to public confessions, not to membership in the church. They were the confessions presented in front of the elders before being submitted in public, a practice that was common to natives and anyone else in New England. These particular confessions could not be presented in public for lack of time. Eliot was careful to note in the preface to the second confessions that only some of the Praying Indians were called in public. Thomson’s affirmation that ‘leaders from the white community heard these confessions, and could find nothing with which to quibble’ is directly contradicted by

---


126 Eliot, A late and further manifestation, p. 18. See also for example pp. 13, 19; and John Eliot, A further account of the progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New England: being a relation of the confessions made by several Indians (in the presence of the elders and members of several churches) in order to their admission into church-fellowship..., London, 1660, p. 18.


128 Morgan, Visible Saints, p. 88.


the fact that the elders voted against the formation of a native Church at that point. As we have seen, that unregenerate people would attend church service did not mean that they were members of the church. This stemmed from the necessity to spread the Word.

In 1660, English Independent Joseph Caryl did use the natives’ public confessions as examples that should be followed in England:

Wee have many who profess the Religion they were born in, but wee have (comparatively) only a few, who profess Religion upon the evidences of their New Birth. And that’s one great reason why the Church and the world, the precious and the vile, are in so lamentable a mixture in most places at this day. It were a very desireable mercy, that the practise and example of our native Brethren, yea, of the native Indians in New England might kindle in us the fire of a blessed emulation in this matter [...] .

It seems that in ecclesiological terms, Eliot was willing, by the late 1650s, to reconcile Congregational and Presbyterian principles. In 1657, replying to Richard Baxter’s request for advice regarding ‘Reconcilinge Principles’ for Presbyterians and Congregationalists in England, Eliot suggested a system of ‘twofold communion’, in which ‘the holy Saints, who are called higher by the grace of Christ, enjoy together a more strickt and select communion’, but ‘for the publik good of the parish [...] parochial communion be upheld so as to keepe the whole heape of chaff and corne together, only excluding the ignorant and prophane and scandalous’. Yet Eliot still desired to preserve a ‘pure’ church, and to limit communion to Visible Saints. In the late 1660s, he explained to Baxter:

The first act of a Parish in giving themselves up unto the Lord in the way of reformation [...] doth bring all members into a state of confirmation, or confirmed members of the Church [...] but they are not hereby admitted into a state of full communion, til some further fit manifestation of a worke in theire hearts be performed [...] only the duely manifested Godly do put forth a fraternal power of voting.


Eliot did not, however, discriminate between the converted and unconverted Praying Indians in his willingness to gather them in a town, that is, to establish God’s Law amongst them. As the 1680 Confession of faith reminded to its Anglophone and Algonquian speakers alike, ‘the Moral Law doth for ever bind all, as well justified persons as others, to the obedience thereof’.136 This civil aspect ran parallel to conversion, and this is where habituation took place. The fact that the natives were gathered together in ‘praying towns’ did not mean that they were members of a church, and was not David Thomson’s ‘preparationist fantasy’.137 As we will see in the following chapter, this particular concern with collective and political processes was linked to Eliot’s millenarian convictions.

For Catholics, faith alone was not sufficient in the process of conversion. Aside from the turning of the Spirit through both knowledge and grace, good works were essential in justification. Moral behaviour, as I said in the previous chapter, would be inculcated through processes of habituation. The Jesuits in New France emphasised the importance of good works for the native neophytes, and believed that the impossibility for good works to save was a fundamental error of Protestants. Jérôme Lalemant, in 1644, equated the Protestant doctrine with a total absence of moral duties:

if the Heretics, who claim that Faith without works can justify, were to come to this country to teach their error, they would find our savages quite in accordance with them. […] when we tell them that […] good works are needed with Faith, that is what seems difficult to them, what frightens and repels them from the holiness of our mysteries; & that alone makes them hostile to us.138

Whereas Catholics criticised the principle of Sola Fide, the elders of New England insisted that the fact that the Catholics did not require accounts of regeneration and assurance meant that their conversions were not real conversions.


Thus for Edward Winslow, the progress of the New England natives was ‘not in word only (as it was by the Spaniards among their Indians) but also in power, and in the Holy Ghost, and in much assurance’.\footnote{Winslow, \textit{The glorious progress of the Gospel}, p. 25. See also Grindal Rawson, in Boston Synod, \textit{Wunnamptamoe sampooaonk wassampoowontamun nashpe moeweheimunganash at New-England. Qushkenumun en Indiane Unnontowaonganit/A confession of faith owned and consented unto by the elders and messengers of the churches assembled at Boston in New-England, May 12, 1680…}, Boston, 1680, ‘The Epistle Dedictory’; and anon., \textit{The Day-breaking}, p. 15.} This illustrates what I think was the fundamental difference between Catholic and Protestant soteriology when it came to conversion: the difference between assurance and increasing justification (with good works).

The real locus of Puritan soteriology was assurance. The doctrine of double predestination meant that only a few would be saved, and the only way to know if one was part of the elect happened after regeneration, by an intense process of introspection. Because regeneration could only be known to God and the elect individual, even though the evaluation of candidates was thorough, New England Puritans knew that the equation between the Visible and the Invisible Church could not be perfect. As English Puritan Philip Henry explained in 1666, ‘without all doubt many whome wee now take to bee Godly shall at the last day bee found Hypocrites & many whome wee now condemn as Hypocrites shall be found godly’.\footnote{Matthew Henry Lee, ed., \textit{Diaries and Letters of Philip Henry, M.A. of Broad Oak, Flintshire, A.D. 1631–1696}, London, 1882, p. 187. See Spurr, \textit{English Puritanism}, p. 158.} One could not know if someone else was saved, but one could base one’s own assurance ‘on the inward evidence of those graces unto which promises are made’.\footnote{Boston Synod, \textit{Wunnamptamoe sampooaonk/A confession of faith}, pp. 86–89. See also Perkins, \textit{A Golden Chaine}, p. 177. See Muller, ‘Perkin’s \textit{A Golden Chaine}’, p. 80; and Cohen, \textit{God’s Caress}, p. 118. On the idea of assurance as a life-long process for William Perkins, see Michael P. Winship, ‘Weak Christians, Backsliders, and Carnal Gospelers: Assurance of Salvation and the Pastoral Origins of Puritan Practical Divinity in the 1580s’, \textit{Church History}, Vol. 70, No. 3 (Sep., 2001), pp. 462–481.}

Conversion for Puritans was thus a lengthy process of anguish and sorrow, culminating in saving faith for the elect, and in the formation of, or membership in, a Church. Once regenerate, the Saints would regularly doubt their election and undergo anxious introspections, but the doctrine of the perseverance of the Saints guaranteed that ‘once justified, for ever justified, once blessed, for ever blessed’, as John Cotton wrote.\footnote{John Cotton, \textit{The way of life, or, Gods way and course, in bringing the Soule into, keeping it in, and carrying it on, in the wayes of life and peace. Laid downe in foure several Treatises on foure Texts of Scripture}, London, 1641, p. 335.} Apostasy could happen in the preparatory stages, when one only had historical faith, but perseverance guaranteed that it would not occur after
Thus, the real struggle came before conversion. It was a long struggle, salvation was only hypothetical, and for some, it never happened. But the elect, after regeneration, could live a life of labour in the service of God without too many eschatological worries. For Catholics, on the other hand, the struggle was ongoing and continued after conversion. The difficulty in Catholic soteriology lay in maintaining faith more than in acquiring it. Catholics were never sure of their salvation. The Council of Trent, against the heretics, had declared that ‘each one, […] may have fear and apprehension touching his own grace; seeing that no one can know with a certainty of faith, which cannot be subject to error, that he has obtained the grace of God’.  

The possibility of apostasy meant that the Jesuits had to be particularly careful before administering the sacraments. The social context of New France rendered the possibility of living outside the boundaries of religious control more probable than in Europe. Sincerity on the part of the natives was thus scrutinised intensely, and the Fathers were sometimes confronted with the dilemma that the Catholic faith engendered when it came to free will. Paul Le Jeune, doubting the authenticity of a conversion in 1637, explained:

> seeing her sufficiently instructed, we granted her the baptism that she wished, at least in appearance. […] I confess that my soul felt a sort of disgust that it is not used to feel during the baptism of others. […] But what should we do, there is no reason for refusing this Sacrament to a person who shows a desire to make good use of it.

Indeed, justification in adults, according to the Council of Trent, occurred when the sinner voluntarily decided to turn from sin, repented, and asked for baptism, which could not be denied. Evaluating the natives’ sincerity was not always easy, and the Fathers of New France were parsimonious in their administration of baptism. Jean Pierron explained that in the mission among the Agniés in 1669,

> although, at the moment there is a quite large number who are asking for Baptism, & who have been sufficiently instructed in the mysteries of our Faith, I nevertheless postpone granting them this grace, until I see them

---

144 Council of Trent, Session VI, Decree on Justification, Chapter IX, Against the vain confidence of Heretics, in *The canons and decrees*, p. 37  
146 Council of Trent, Session VI, Decree on Justification, chapter VI, The Manner of Preparation, in *The canons and decrees*, pp. 33–34.
out of the danger in which they are, of taking part again in their debaucheries and in the superstitions of the country.\textsuperscript{147}

Although Puritans conceived of conversion as a more personal relationship between man and God, they evaluated it collectively through public confessions. The covenant between members of the church, effected by public confession, was an essential feature of Congregationalism. Unity between the members was vital.\textsuperscript{148} By contrast, in Catholic missions, where the ritual aspects and collective activities of the faith were more prominent, an individual confessor or a missionary would decide to grant baptism or not and perform the Sacraments. Against the Protestants, the Council of Trent had reemphasised the importance of private, auricular confession.\textsuperscript{149} This was also a sign that Counter-Reformation spirituality took on a more individualist perspective concerning the faith.\textsuperscript{150}

In New Spain, the Council of Mexico decreed that only those who had sufficient knowledge of the principles of the Catholic faith, and who repented for their sins, could be baptised.\textsuperscript{151} Sincerity was important for the Fathers. In Peru, Jesuit Diego de Samaniego, working on the mission of Santa Cruz de la Sierra ‘did not wish to baptize adults who asked for it, as there had been little time to catechise them and for them to abandon their vices’.\textsuperscript{152} Francisco de Figueroa, working in the Amazon River area, complained of penitents who simply repeated the questions asked by the Father during confession. When he came to take confession from an old lady who was about to die, ‘she called two girls who were around: come here, girls, she said, and


\textsuperscript{148} For the importance of unity among the Godly, see Michael P. Winship, ‘‘The Most Glorious Church in the World’’. The Unity of the Godly in Boston, Massachusetts, in the 1630s’, \textit{The Journal of British Studies}, Vol. 39, No. 1 (Jan., 2000), pp. 71–98.

\textsuperscript{149} Council of Trent, Session XIV, On the most Holy Sacraments of Penance and Extreme Unction, chapter V, On Confession, in \textit{The Canons and Decrees}, p. 99.

\textsuperscript{150} Evennett in Bossy, ed., \textit{The Spirit of the Counter-Reformation}, p. 36.

\textsuperscript{151} Libro Primero, Titulo I: No se han de administrar los Sacramentos á los que ignoran la doctrina cristiana, Capítulo I: Ninguno sea admitido al bautismo, si no entiende bien la doctrina cristiana, in Galvan Rivera, \textit{Concilio III Provincial Mexicano}, p. 20. See also Acción segunda del concilio provincial limense, Capítulo 4: Lo que cada uno debe aprender, in Lisi, \textit{El Tercer Concilio}, p. 125–126.

\textsuperscript{152} Francisco Mateos, ed., \textit{Historia general de la Compañía de Jesús en la Provincia del Perú, Crónica anónima de 1600 que trata del establecimiento y missiones de la Compania de Jesus en los países de habla espanola en la America meridional}, Madrid, 1944, Tomo II, p. 484. See also for example Perez de Ribas, \textit{Historia de los triunphos de nvestra Santa Fee}, pp. 243, 432.
answer what the father is asking me’, which did, indeed, defeat the purpose of confession.\textsuperscript{153}

If sincerity was important, harsh punishments were nevertheless discouraged, in order not to scare the natives away. Alonso de la Peña Montenegro explained in his 1668 guide for native parishes that if recent converts were not treated with compassion, ‘being so young in the faith, they will apostatise or will conceive a horror for it’. He insisted that force should not be used ‘as the weapons proper to the Workers of the Lord are prayers, flatteries, and nice affections (amorosos cariños)’. The natives’ old rituals and ceremonies, as long as they ‘were not clearly and openly repugnant to the Law of God’ should be considered ‘indifferent’, and be permitted.\textsuperscript{154}

Because of the theory of double predestination, Puritans achieved few conversions. Indeed, they knew few would be saved. But spreading the Word was central to them. Beyond the Congregationalist vision of the church of Saints, Eliot emphasised the missionary role of ministers, and the duty to give access to regeneration to all (access which did not guarantee election).\textsuperscript{155} That few would be converted was not problematic, and was a universal phenomenon. Indeed, regarding the natives, Eliot insisted that ‘it is not to be expected that they should be all Eminent, it is not so in any Society of men’.\textsuperscript{156} On the contrary, Catholics, because they rejected predestination and believed that everybody could be saved, worked relentlessly to convince the unbelievers and include them within the church.

The Jesuits were particularly good at adapting to specific situations, but Christianity for Catholics was a work in progress. Permanent scrutiny and discipline were enforced both before and after conversion. The instillation of good habits in the natives, by means of political and social institutions, would play an important role in guaranteeing discipline. In New England, the non-elect had to be controlled and submitted to Christian laws, which were thus applied to all. It seems clear from the evidence that Eliot did differentiate between the natives in preparation and the elect. The idea that preparation was a novelty has been exaggerated. Yet the specific context

\textsuperscript{153} Francisco de Figueroa, \textit{Relación de las misiones de la Compañía de Jesús en el país de los Maynas} (1661), Madrid, 1904, p. 230.
\textsuperscript{154} Peña Montenegro, \textit{Itinerario para parochos de indios}, p. 140.
\textsuperscript{156} Eliot in Eliot and Mayhew, Jr., \textit{Tears of repentance}, ‘To the Reader’ (also in Clark, ed., \textit{The Eliot Tracts}, p. 261).
of America demanded more preparation than was needed in England. Native societies
did not possess any official structure to enforce Christian commandments, or any
Christian educational system. This is why Eliot insisted that civilisation had to come
before conversion: awareness of the Law and of man’s incapacity to follow it would
trigger the emotional cycle of conversion in the elect, while at the meantime, it would
ensure control of both the elect but yet unregenerate and the reprobate (the majority)
amongst the natives.¹⁵⁷

IV. Conclusion

Europeans did not radically transform their worldview through their contacts
with the native peoples of America. Yet incorporating the natives within their
frameworks encouraged them to elaborate and explore problems that went far beyond
the challenges encountered in European societies. The steps of conversion had to be
addressed in more detail than they had been in Europe, and particular issues, such as
language, had to be taken into account. Yet as we have seen in chapter two, similar
complaints about the lack of education and of able ministers had been voiced in
Europe. Lack of instruction in America was in the eyes of missionaries of a more
radical nature than in Europe, but the issues were not as a whole qualitatively different
from what they understood was the situation in Europe.

Because they were confronted on a daily basis with peoples whom they
considered to be both innocent and wrong, missionaries developed a vision of their
work that was less theoretical and more oriented towards the practical resolution of
soteriological dilemmas. This can be related to a greater emphasis in European
Christianity on individual reform and piety, and on the concrete application of moral
and soteriological principles to daily problems, as the Jesuit casuistry and works on
practical divinity illustrate. Missionaries did not elaborate radically new theories based
on their experience with the natives, but for each particular problem, they tried to
deduce a course of action based on their general principles.

Beyond the question of individual conversion, the problem of Christian law
and morals arose again and again. In missionaries’ eyes, the natives seemed to lack
any collective institution that would at least guarantee the enforcement of moral

¹⁵⁷ Cohen, God’s Caress, p. 77.
regulations and the control of collective and individual behaviour. The individual reformation that conversion implied was to be supplemented by collective processes, which would habituate the convert to piety. Political and social means of control would have to be set up. These would on the one hand regulate the yet unconverted, and on the other hand accustom the converted to their new virtuous way of life. Timing was a central element of conversion, and both education and social changes would progressively transform native societies into Christian ones. Missionaries were acutely aware of the necessity to convert a radically new way of life — Christianity — into a tradition. This could not be accomplished in a day. The chronology of these implementations varied for Protestant and Catholic missionaries. Civility came before any possible conversion could occur for Puritans, as it was instrumental in the beginnings of the emotional cycle of conversion. For Catholics, the two processes were simultaneous. All missionaries were aware that the radical changes their societies needed could not happen in a day. The next chapter will address the mechanisms of political and social control that the missionaries attempted to implement within native societies, and their perception of the pre-existing conditions in those societies. The wide-ranging alterations missionaries intended to accomplish did not prevent them from adapting to circumstances on matters that were indifferent to the faith, or even from praising native examples when they were deemed in accordance with the faith. Yet Christian reform, especially for enthusiast and zealous missionaries, implied a reform of all aspects of society.
Chapter 5

Native Nomadic Lifestyles and Absence of Discipline: Civility, Law, and Godly Government

I. Introduction

The great variety of the climate and geography in the Americas meant that native peoples lived according to widely differing forms of social and political organisation, with varying levels of mobility. These forms were highly complex, ranging from hunting-gathering and semi-wandering bands keeping an established food storage area to semi and completely sedentary groups.¹ Missionaries repeatedly discussed nomadic behaviours, as they were believed to have a fundamental impact on all political and religious matters in native societies: they were thought to be preventing the establishment of real communities, which, in the Aristotelian tradition, were considered to be the only means through which man could actualise his essentially social nature. The natives’ nomadic way of life was thus persistently perceived as a major obstacle to conversion. Religious thinkers in the seventeenth century believed that groups in an incessant state of motion could not establish stable religious and political structures. Those groups could also easily escape the priests’ supervision, making moral discipline difficult. The subtleties of human ecologies in the New World were usually overlooked, as Christian writers tended to establish a strict dichotomy between supposedly completely sedentary and ‘wandering’ populations.

In order to grasp seventeenth-century concerns, the usual understanding of the term ‘political’ must be expanded. The necessity to implement civility amongst the natives thus witnessed missionaries airing a range of concerns, from personal cleanliness and politeness, moderation of the passions and respect of religious principles, to problems such as the hierarchical ordering of society and the enforcement of discipline in a given group. In order to create a truly Christian community, rational self-government on the part of its members as well as collective

discipline needed to be guaranteed.

Whereas Catholic missionaries strongly supported the monarchy as the best possible form of government, Puritans relied on Covenant theology to emphasise the importance of establishing a civil commonwealth based on Scriptural authority among converted natives. Spanish missionaries actively supported the monarchical system in their writings. Yet the ruling apparatus was so distant that they relied on a smaller scale element for political order, based on a particular Iberian, strongly Aristotelian, vision of the city as the main organic unit allowing for the creation of a community. French missionaries relied on a similar vision of the Christian community, which considered civility to be essential to the development of Christianity. Yet the French Jesuits, despite a strong reliance on the Aristotelian conception of man as a ‘political animal’, given their dependence on native groups and their limited authority over native communities, manifested an — often surprising — capacity to accept alternative forms of social and political structures as long as they did not contradict Christian principles. Puritans, and in particular John Eliot, used their work with the natives to make a strong political statement which was related to England’s political situation. Eliot, in his work with the natives, put into practice his vision of an ideal commonwealth, where the fallen nature of man could be best regulated, and his millenarianism and interest in the origin of the natives sparked his enthusiasm for the mission, perceived as a fundamental event in Christian history.

II. The Spanish Perspective: Nomadic Behaviours and the City

Catholic writers based their understanding of social and political organisation on the Thomist arguments of the School of Salamanca, and on Aristotle and Cicero, often mediated through the strict categorisation established by José de Acosta in the late sixteenth century. Translated in numerous languages, and reprinted multiple times, Acosta’s works were widely read in Europe, and incredibly influential in the seventeenth century. His *Natural and Moral History of the Indies*, originally published in Spanish and Latin, underwent multiple editions, and was translated in Italian, German, French, English, and Dutch. Throughout the seventeenth century,

missionaries applied Acosta’s taxonomy of native political forms in New Spain and Peru to the peoples they attempted to convert. According to Acosta, two groups were particularly problematic: the people who ruled by council, and elected a leader only in times of war, and, even worse, ‘indians without law, nor Kings, nor fixed settlements but who go in herds like wild animals and savages’. Thus Bernabé Cobo, in his 1639 History of the New World, used Acosta’s categorisation to discuss nomads, who in his eyes wandered ‘like animals’ (como brutos) with no form of government at all, and small sedentary groups, which were more ‘like a Republic’, but possessed no centralised form of authority. For Alonso de la Peña Montenegro, writing in 1668, the former were so barbaric that they possessed ‘no type of political organisation or sociability (sin genero de policía ni tan poco sociables)’.

Nomadic groups were numerous in the mountainous and remote regions of the Spanish American empire, and were of central concern for missionaries working in frontier areas. Their perceived minimal form of government was usually explained in terms of freedom: the natives loved liberty so much that they could not submit themselves to monarchical or even republican forms of government. Self-interest prevailed, and for Alonso de Ovalle, writing in 1646, the inhabitants of Chile not only resisted

the dominion of the Inga (sic), but they never admitted a King of their own nation nor of an alien one, because their love and esteem for their liberty always prevailed against all the reasons of state with which politics might persuade them of the contrary.

---


3 José de Acosta, *Historia natural y moral de las Indias, En que se tratan las cosas notables del cielo, y elementos, plantas y animales dellas y los ritos y ceremonias, leyes y gobierno y guerras de los Indios*, Barcelona, 1591, Libro VI, fo. 279 v. Translations are mine unless otherwise noted. Acosta’s theory was also used by John Locke, *Two treatises of government in the former, the false principles and foundation of Sir Robert Filmer and his followers are detected and overthrown, the latter is an essay concerning the true original, extent, and end of civil government*, London, 1690, II, chap. VIII, § 102, pp. 321–322.


5 Alonso de la Peña Montenegro, *Itinerario para parochos de indios: en que se tratan las materias mas particulares, tocantes á ellos, para su buena administracion* (1668), Amberes, 1726, p. 176.

6 Alonso de Ovalle, *Historica Relacion del Reyno de Chile y de las misiones y ministerios que exercita en la Compania de Jesus…*, Roma, 1646, p. 85.
Ovalle attributed the bravery and individualism of the Chileans to their geographical environment. They were ‘sons of the Andes (hijos de aquella cordillera), which seem to have passed on to them the harshness, and unconquerable aspect of their rocks and asperities’. This association between a particular geography and the disposition of the people had been made in Europe by former Jesuit Giovanni Botero, who claimed that ‘the inhabitants of mountaynes, by reason of the sharpnes of the place, which doth harden them, and by the bluntness of their maners, which doth accompanie them, they become of great courage and stubborne resolutions’. Botero associated these geographical differences with political organisation, and claimed that ‘flat’ countries (piane) were ‘by reason of the comformitie of their manners easily reduced and kept vnnder one gouernment without any difficultie’. For Botero, geography was the reason why in Spain, Castile was easily subjected to the monarchy, while Aragon and Biscay ‘lie under a king, but as if they were at libertie and in a free state (quasi in libertà, & in Republica)’. For Alonso de Ovalle, the Chileans, even if they did choose a leader in times of war, could not even sufficiently control their tempers to ‘have a Republican type of government (ni tan poco vsaron del gobierno de Republica), for their impatient and warlike temper could not adjust to the delays and attention necessary for the union of many opinions’.

Because of this temperament, the Chileans established a form of government that was not considered valid by the Jesuits. The caciques (native leaders), according to Ovalle, were the descendants of the fathers of the original families, who were the highest form of authority to which the Chileans had been willing to submit. According to the Jesuits, political legitimacy could not derive from domestic patriarchal authority. For the Jesuits, the origin of political authority inhered in the consent of the

---

7 Ovalle, Historica Relacion del Reyno de Chile, p. 83.
9 Ovalle, Historica Relacion del Reyno de Chile, p. 85. Thomas Hobbes used America as an example of how the absence of government could lead to perpetual war: Thomas Hobbes, Leviathan, or, The matter, forme, and power of a common wealth, ecclesiasticall and civill, London, 1651, p. 63.
people, who delegated it to a ruler. Thus, as Jesuit political thinker Francisco de Suárez, argued in 1612,

[... it is not the progenitor’s due, by the sole force of natural law, that he shall also be king over his posterity. [...] the power of political dominion, or rule over men has not been granted, directly by God, to any particular human individual. [...] the power in question resides [...] in the whole body of mankind (collectively regarded).]

From a neo-Thomist perspective, as the Chileans’ leadership stemmed from patriarchal roots, it was not a legitimate form of political authority.

The third group that Acosta identified in his taxonomy were the ‘Mexicans’ of New Spain and ‘Ingas’ of Peru, who, according to Acosta, possessed a genuine form of political organisation, a monarchy, considered by the author to be the best form of government. But these monarchs were tyrannical, as they treated ‘their inferiors like beasts and want[ed] to be treated like Gods’. Acosta insisted that this was an inversion of the rational order of government, which, he explained, required that ‘those who are kings and nobles conform and accommodate themselves to their vassals, recognising that they are equal by nature, and inferior only in the sense that they have less obligation to look after the public good’. Moreover, a form of religious tyranny supplemented the political despotism of the Incas: the tyrants maintained their power by generating in their subjects a fear of their gods, which allowed them to reinforce their own authority. Alonso de la Peña Montenegro, quoting José de Acosta, grouped the Mexicans, Peruvians, and Chileans under the same category: ‘although they have some sort of political organisation (alguna policía), it is all mixed with tyranny, with so many errors and superstitions’. Alonso de Ovalle explained that the Incas were tyrannical, as they wanted their tributaries to treat them ‘as if they were another species (como si fussenen de otra especie)’. The nomad Indians of Chile, said Ovalle,

---

11 Francisco Suárez, De Legibus ac deo legislatore, III.II.3–4, in Selections from three works of Francisco Suárez, S.J.: De legibus, ac deo legislatore, 1612; Defensio fidei catholicae, et apostolicae adversus anglicanae sectae errores, 1613; De triplici virtute theologica, fide, spe, et charitate, 1621, trans. Gwladys L. Williams and Henry Davis, Oxford, 1944, pp. 374–375.
12 Acosta, Historia natural y moral, Libro VI, fo. 269 r.
14 Peña Montenegro, Itinerario para parochos de indios, p. 176.
could never accept this type of tyranny, and valiantly resisted. The tyranny of the Incas and Mexicans was starkly contrasted with the Spanish monarchy.

Yet following the writings of Francisco de Vitoria, even if the Incas and Mexicans’ political systems were tyrannical, Catholic missionaries considered that these governments, by virtue of the law of nature, had been legitimately established. But men’s natural right to trade and communicate with each other and to spread the Gospel provided the Spanish Crown with a right to travel to those countries, and a duty to convert. Missionaries understandably presented evangelisation as the one positive outcome of the conquest. For Ovalle,

it seemed that God had decided to get rid of that monarchy of the Yngas (sic), and to remove that obstacle to the predication of his Gospel, and to put that land into hands that should increase with zeal the glory and propagation of his faith, as the Catholic Kings have done.

From a soteriological perspective at least, the conquest had been justified. Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, Bishop of Puebla de los Ángeles from 1640 to 1655, and defender of native rights, claimed that the conquest of the New World had been a just conquest and lawful action, to introduce those souls in the Church and rid them of many idolatries and human sacrifices and other barbarities that the devil taught them, and whom they served, and thus, to remove them from this most difficult servitude, they were brought to the sweet dominion of Your Majesty, and from sons of anger and outrage, by this means your Catholic power reduced them to the liberty of sons of the Church [...].

Religious writers, often in need of support from the Crown against other interest groups in the New World, tended to dissociate the actions of the Crown from those of the conquistadores. For Palafox y Mendoza, the conquest had only been spiritual, as

---

17 Vitoria, Political Writings, pp. 278, 284. See also Grotius, Mare Liberum, p. 29 (p. 3 of Latin text). The argument based on the right to trade and communicate was also used by Oliver Cromwell in his conflict with Spain: A declaration of His Highnes, by the advice of his council; setting forth, on the behalf of this Commonwealth, the justice of their cause against Spain. Friday the 26th of October, 1655, London, 1655, p. 123.
18 Ovalle, Historica Relacion del Reyno de Chile, p. 140. See also p. 105.
19 Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, Virtudes del Indio (1650), Madrid, 1893, p. 22.
the natives had ‘voluntarily submitted themselves’ to the Spanish Crown. As vassals of the Crown, the natives deserved its protection.\textsuperscript{20} For Franciscan Juan de Silva, writing in 1621, the Spaniards had only come to America for gold and silver, and ‘with wicked violence, they have devastated and destroyed the greatest part of the Indies, and have committed and provoked so many tremendous and evil damages’. Against those evils, the king had a duty to protect his vassals, and his main responsibility was evangelical.\textsuperscript{21}

These writings were set in the strongly anti-Machiavelian language of the neo-Thomist tradition of the school of Salamanca. The Jesuits supported pure monarchy as the best possible form of government, which was also the case of Castilian political writings in general.\textsuperscript{22} According to this tradition, the legitimacy of the monarchy stemmed from the consent of the people who had delegated their authority to the king, not as individuals, but as a community.\textsuperscript{23} Thus the king, even in a pure monarchy, was expected to follow natural law and to rule justly.\textsuperscript{24} From a Thomist perspective, positive law was a reflection of natural law, and, in the words of Jesuit Francisco de Suárez in his 1612 \textit{Treatise on Law and God the Lawgiver}, ‘a law not characterized by this justice or righteousness is not law, nor does it possess any binding force, indeed, on the contrary, it cannot be obeyed’.\textsuperscript{25} The ‘liberty of sons of the church’ that Palafox advocated meant that the natives would be governed by a Christian monarchy, which, in theory, followed natural law and based its policies on reason rather than caprice.\textsuperscript{26} This anti-voluntarist argument (a just government is based on reason rather than will) was common in early modern Spanish political thought, and was particularly

\textsuperscript{20} Palafox y Mendoza, \textit{Virtudes del Indio}, pp. 21–22.
\textsuperscript{21} Juan de Silva, \textit{Advertencias importantes, acerca del ben govierno, y administracion de las Indias, assi en lo espiritual, como en lo temporal...}, Madrid, 1621, quotation on fo. 7 v. See also Gaspar de Recarte, ‘Tratado del servicio personal y repartimiento de los indios de Nueva España, escrito por fray Gaspar de Recarte, terminado el 3 de octubre de 1584’, in Mariano Cuevas, S.J., ed., \textit{Documentos inéditos del siglo XVI para la historia de México}, México, 1914, p. 361.
\textsuperscript{23} Skinner, \textit{The Foundations}, vol. 2, p. 162; Höpfl, \textit{Jesuit Political Thought}, pp. 225, 227–230. This argument was used to explain the origin of the political community, but did not refer to a state of nature or to contractual theory: Höpfl, pp. 231–232.
\textsuperscript{25} Suárez, \textit{De Legibus ac deo legislatore}, I,IX.2, in \textit{Selections from three works}, p. 113.
emphasised by writers who advocated a policy of moral reform in Spain and insisted on the Christian duties of Princes. Carthusian reformist Juan de Madariaga claimed in his *Del Senado in de su Príncipe* (1617):

> to live in accordance to good and sound reason, free from passions, this is what freedom means. Just laws comply with just reason, natural and supernatural, and man could not act more in conformity to his rational nature than by using reason as a guide; in consequence, to live in conformity with the laws instituted by just human or divine reason is not slavery, but rather liberty (*sino libertad muy libre*).\(^{27}\)

Among the natives, the enforcement of ‘just laws’ could be best implemented in small, segregated communities. Missionaries put a great emphasis on the city as a political community. A city (*ciudad*) was defined in Spanish as a ‘group of citizens who have congregated to live in a same place under the same laws and government’.\(^{28}\)

In the New World, settlements of Spanish and native peoples were to follow a strict, Roman inspired, architectural pattern, with a rectangular square in the centre, overlooked by the church and official buildings.\(^{29}\) As in Spain, towns in the New World were granted the right to self-government through a municipal council (*consejo* in Spain, *cabildo* in the New World).\(^{30}\) The city, as the expression of sedentariness, was omnipresent in missionary writings. Here seventeenth-century Europeans still explicitly drew upon Aristotle’s claim that living in societies was a fundamental quality of the human race and necessary for human beings to actualise their potential: ‘man is by nature a political animal, and a man that is by nature and not merely by fortune citeless is either low in the scale of humanity or above it […] inasmuch as he is solitary, like an isolated piece at draughts’.\(^{31}\) People in perpetual movement could not create true communities, which would make the establishment of ordered, stable political and religious institutions possible.\(^{32}\) In Spanish political thought, to the

---


\(^{28}\) Sebastián de Covarrubias Orozco, *Tesoro de la lengua Castellana, o Española*, Madrid, 1611, fo. 288 r.


\(^{32}\) Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man*, p. 195. On the evolution of men from wanderers to city-dwellers, see Cicero, *On Invention. The Best Kind of Orator. Topics (De Inventione)*, translated by H. M.
Aristotelian conception of the city were added the Ciceronian and Christian conceptions. Cicero’s *De Officiis* reinforced the idea of the city as the basic natural community, and early modern humanists particularly embraced this lesson. From Augustine and Aquinas, Spanish thinkers inherited the notion of the Christian Republic.

Nomadism in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was often evaluated as a refusal to establish laws and norms within society, rather than an acceptable adaptation to the environment. The Indians of Cuyo, said Ovalle in 1646, consider it as a sort of prison or captivity, to get tied up to one place; this is why they do not want to have houses, or orchards, or plantations, or properties, which are like shackles which would prevent them from leaving, and hinder their liberty to go wherever they please, for they judge that the greatest good of all is to have the absolute, and entire use of their own free-will, living one day in a place, the next in another.

The word used in Spanish to refer to ‘political life’ was ‘policía’, and was very common in missionary writings, as the term ‘police’ was in French writings. By the seventeenth century, ‘police’ and ‘policia’ meant the good order and administration observed in a commonwealth. The natives, by contrast to the political life, were thought to live ‘alárabe’ (like an Arab, like a gypsy), that is, to be wanderers. As we have seen, the presence of Roma was a central preoccupation in Spain. Very similar to civility (civilité, civilidad) — originating from the Latin ‘civilitas’, which could mean both the art of government and politeness — ‘policia’ could also mean good manners at the individual level, and also applied to order in family life. As Anthony Pagden has shown, both terms, civil and politic, were used synonymously and were antonyms of the term barbarian. For example, the decree of the Council of Lima (1582-83)

---

33 Cicero, *On Duties (De Officiis)*, translated by Walter Miller, Cambridge, MA, 1913, 1.17.57.
38 Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man*, p. 15.
requiring that the parish priests teach the natives to ‘live politically’ (politicamente) specifically referred to the manners of the natives: they needed to be clean and decently dressed, to eat on tables and sleep in beds, to have ordered and clean houses, and to behave with care and gravity, and not violently. This was believed to be an integral part of the ‘political’ life: order was to be found from the simplest to the most complex units of society. Thus, Alonso de la Peña Montenegro insisted that the natives be taught a political way of life (enseñarles policía), ‘as those who lack good order (policía) and honest laws in their way of life, are men only in aspect, but are in truth beasts’. Parish priests were thus expected to teach the natives the ‘political style’ (estilo político), which included cleanliness, order, and moderation.

Spanish religious writers always connected the necessity of ‘policia’ with conversion. The exigencies of the faith required that the daily lives of native peoples be constantly regulated and scrutinised. Thus, the Jesuit Jacinto de la Serna, writing a manual for priests in charge of native peoples in 1649, insisted that the natives needed to be educated about all aspects of individual and collective behaviours:

it is necessary that the one who deals with [the natives] be a doctor, who directs them and teaches them bodily health; a philosopher who teaches them knowledge of natural things; an ethics guide who teaches them the knowledge of moral things; it is necessary to teach them domestic peace as an economist, and as a politician the way of life in public peace, and the regime of a commonwealth (regimen de la Republica): those miserable Indians need all this teaching, and the Ministers who are in charge of them take care of all this.

Only in small, separate cities, missionaries believed, could men actualise their true potential, establish hierarchical civil and religious institutions, and have rulers and magistrates who could guarantee the respect of established laws. In this Aristotelian vision of human communities, the mobility of non-sedentary groups meant that they were unable to develop industry, commerce, and religion. Industry allowed humans to cultivate the land rather than to rely on hunting and gathering. It allowed people to

40 Peña Montenegro, Itinerario para parochos de indios, pp. 89–90. See also for example p. 188: ‘the political conversation for which our rational nature has a native propensity’
41 Jacinto de la Serna, ‘Tratado de las supersticiones, idolatrías, hechicerías, y otras costumbres de las razas aborígenes de México’, (1649), in Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, ed., Tratado de las idolatrías, supersticiones, dioses, ritos, hechicerías y otras costumbres gentílicas de las razas aborígenes de México, México, 1953, Tomo I, Dedicatoria. For earlier use of the idea that the natives were like children see Pagden, The Fall of Natural Man, chapter 4.
tame the earth, and to develop tools necessary for this task. Nomadic tribes adapted themselves to the environment, rather than adapting the environment to their own needs, thus failing to actualise an essential trait of humanity: the ability to transform nature. Man was expected to actualise nature’s potential for his own purpose, rather than to simply endure the environmental and climatic conditions. As I mentioned in an earlier chapter, for missionaries, the preoccupation for survival of hunting and gathering tribes also prevented them from dedicating themselves to the liberal arts and intellectual concerns. This perceived absence of liberal arts was, for missionaries, confirmed by the fact that the natives had, in their eyes, no written language. Indeed, for José de Acosta, the signs (señales) that the natives of America used for written communication represented things and not words, and thus were not considered writing.

Mobility also prevented native groups from communicating and trading with other groups. Communication between men — the basis for friendship, an essential virtue — was believed to be intrinsic to human nature, and trade was an important part of it. As Jesuit political thinker Francisco Suárez explained in his 1612 Treatise on Law and God the Lawgiver,

The human race, into howsoever many different peoples and kingdoms it may be divided, always preserves a certain unity, not only as a species, but also as a moral and political unity (as it were), enjoined by the natural precept of mutual love and mercy; a precept which applies to all, even to strangers of every nation. [...] for these states when standing alone are never so self-sufficient that they do not require some mutual assistance, association and intercourse, at times for their own greater welfare and advantage (utilitatem), but at other times because also of some moral necessity or need.

---

42 The discussion about the Aristotelian understanding of the origins and nature of nomadism and sedentism relies on Pagden, The Fall of Natural Man, pp.67–79. Pagden discusses earlier writers, but the comments about nomadic tribes in the seventeenth century remained strikingly similar.
43 Pagden, The Fall of Natural Man, pp. 91–92. See also this thesis, chapter 3.
Nomadic behaviours also impeded the practice of religion, which required established places of worship. The third Council of Mexico (1585) mentioned both problems:

the indians live dispersed in mountainous and abrupt areas, where they avoid civil relations and the communication that other men have, which is why they neither give up their barbarian and cruel customs, nor learn the healthy doctrine, nor receive help from the remedy of the sacraments, nor can they abandon their vices, and even worse, many of them have not been made Christians.\textsuperscript{46}

Consequently, the Crown instructed multiple times that the natives be gathered without compulsion into villages (pueblos), where they would be peacefully converted by the religious orders.\textsuperscript{47} Those settlements would be financed by Indian tribute. A church was to be built even in the smallest villages. So-called ‘reduced’ Indians were not allowed to go live elsewhere.\textsuperscript{48}

Missionaries favoured small-scale settlements, as it made control and discipline easier and more efficient. From the point of view of missionaries, big cities could be nefarious for their converts. Indians living in European urban nuclei, by interacting with Spaniards, and adopting Spanish dress and language were for missionaries under the nefarious influence of European settlers, and were less easily subjected to their supervision.\textsuperscript{49} The natives were to be settled in tightly knit communities. Indeed, great distance between peoples was perceived as an impediment to good order. If the natives were isolated, they could avoid the surveillance of the priests. Pedro Sánchez de Aguilar, Bishop of Santa Cruz, complained in 1639 about the disorder and bad manner of government (mala maña de policía) that those nations have, as they are very dispersed, and scattered, as some of them are spread to four or five leagues; and because of this, it is impossible to account for what they do in these retired areas, and to oppose their sacrifices, or idolatries and drinking sprees, and although some come to hear the Christian doctrine on feast days, it is fruitless: as the distance

\textsuperscript{46} Libro Primero, Titulo I, Deben quitarse á los indios las cosas que sirven de impedimento á la salud de sus almas, § 3: Sujétese á los indios á la vida civil y social, y á este fin congrégueseles en pueblos, in Mariano Galvan Rivera, ed., Concilio Provincial Mexicano, México, 1859, p. 25.
\textsuperscript{47} Christlieb and Torres, ‘Los espacios del pueblo de indios’, pp. 148–149. On the influence of Francisco de Toledo, viceroy of Peru on this policy, see Prieto, Missionary Scientists, chapter 1, esp. pp. 15–16. For an overview of the impact of this policy, see Francisco de Solano, ‘Política de concentración de la población indígena: objetivos, proceso, problemas, resultados’, Revista de Indias, Núm. 36 (1976), pp. 7–29.
\textsuperscript{48} MacCormack, On the Wings of Time, p. 119.
gives them an opportunity to go back to their rites and customs, for they know they will not be heard or seen; and if we do not solve this impediment, the same will happen with their sons and descendants, who will inherit the idols and places were they commit their sacrifices (porque suceden en los idólos, y lugares, donde sacrifican).  

Indian reductions were to have a Spanish governor to supervise the relationship between Spanish and native peoples. Other governing matters would be left to native authorities. As jurist Juan de Matienzo had affirmed in the sixteenth century, if they were settled and paid for their labour, the natives would ‘take a liking to work and political life would develop among them (entrar en ellos la policía)’. He also explained about the reduction system in Peru that the holding of public offices by the natives would lead them to ‘understand the freedom they enjoy’. On the frontier of New Spain, the rules for the government of the missions established in 1610 by visitor Rodrigo de Cabredo specified that industry was important, and that the Fathers ought to

exhort, and induce the Indians to get used to work, which will improve them and eradicate laziness, which is the root and mother of all vices, and get them used to a more political way of life (vida mas politica) […] in this manner the natives apply themselves and become fond of labour, and disturbances and restlessness disappear from among them.

For Cabredo, violence was to be avoided, otherwise ‘gentile nations will take a horror of Christian living because they think it is only a way to put them to work or a sort of captivity’.  

Congregating the natives into villages was a difficult task, especially because church officials expected this to be done without compulsion, and because of the geography, which allowed the natives to hide in mountainous and remote areas. Missionaries understood that nomadic behaviours were sometimes a consequence of

---

51 Pablo Hernández, Organización social de las doctrinas Guaraníes de la Compañía de Jesús, Barcelona, 1913, vol. 1, p. 108.
52 Juan de Matienzo, in José Nicolas Matienzo, ed., Gobierno del Perú, Obra escrita en el siglo XVI por el licenciado Don Juan Matienzo, oidor de la Real Audiencia de Charcas (1567), Buenos Aires, 1910, pp. 16, 33. Matienzo’s work was influential in the establishment of a policy of congregation: Prieto, Missionary Scientists, p. 24. See also McCormack, On the Wings of Time, p. 121.
53 ‘Ordenaciones de Rodrigo de Cabredo, 1610’, in Andrés Perez de Ribas, Historia de los triumphos de nvestra Santa Fee entre gentes las mas barbaras y fieras del nuevo Orbe: conseguidos por los Soldados de la Milicía de la Compañía de IESVS en las Misiones de la Provincia de Nueva-España…, Madrid, 1645, p. 450 (also in Charles W. Polzer, Rules and Precepts of the Jesuit Missions of Northwestern New Spain, Tucson, 1976, p. 64). See also Perez de Ribas, p. 98: idleness is ‘the plague of the Commonwealth’. 

182
the climate and geographical conditions, but they also believed, as the monarchy did, that it would be impossible for them to Christianise wandering natives.\textsuperscript{54} Already in 1570, Jesuit Juan Rogel, working in the arid climate of Florida, explained about the Oristas (a tribe of the Muskogean family, now extinct):

The main obstacle to their conversion is their wandering scattered nine months a year. […] the Indians must join and live in settlements (en poblaciones) and cultivate the soil […] To unite them in this manner […] will be difficult and it will take a long time to do it lawfully and in the way that God requires, not by compulsion or armed force. […] for they have been accustomed (están habituados) to living in this way for many thousands of years, and to want to take them from it would be like death to them. […] even if they were willing, the land will not produce, being poor and miserable, and exhausting itself quickly, and thus they themselves say that this is the reason they go about so scattered, moving from so many places.\textsuperscript{55}

The Crown was aware of this problem, and insisted that native reductions be located in the original areas for groups who already cultivated the land, and in places where water and arable land was available for others. If they were to be relocated, the Crown ordered that the natives be transferred in areas with a similar climate as their original location, as moving them from a cold to a warm climate, and vice versa, was believed to be dangerous for their health.\textsuperscript{56}

Spanish missionaries focussed their attention on challenging the authority of native religious figures, and used the influence of political leaders (caciques) to further their goal. Both Spanish and French Jesuits focussed on the conversion of prominent members of a community, as was recommended by the Constitutions of the Society of Jesus: ‘preference ought to be given to those persons and places which, through their own improvement, become a cause which can spread the good accomplished to many others who follow their authority or take guidance from

\textsuperscript{54} Bushnell, ‘None of these Wandering Nations Has Ever Been Reduced to the Faith’, pp. 142–168.
\textsuperscript{56} Recopilacion de leyes de los reinos de las Indias mandadas imprimir y publicar por la magestad católica del Rey Don Carlos II, nuestro señor, Madrid, 1841, vol. II: Libro VI, Título Primero, De los Indios, Ley XIII, p. 219, and Libro VI, Título Tercero, De la Reducciones, y pueblos de Indios, Ley VIII, IX, p. 229. On the quality of the land allocated for pueblos, see Christlieb and Torres, ‘Los espacios del pueblo de indios’, p. 149.
them’. The priority, when encountering new tribes, was given to the conversion of native political rulers, so that they would teach their followers by their example. Religious leaders, on the other hand, were to be eradicated. One of the main issues with the native sorcerers, said Jacinto de la Serna, was that they were travelling from one village to another to escape the priests and preserve their ‘liberty of conscience’. Thus, the third council of Lima (1582-83) insisted that ‘the sorcerers and most wicked priests of the devil, whose evilness is so great that they destroy in a day what was built in a year by the pastors of Christ’ should be gathered and contained in a given area, ‘so that they will not infect the other indians with their contact’.

As late as 1678, the Bishop of Buenos Aires, Antonio de Azcona Imberto, still complained: ‘It has been observed in this kingdom that none of the nations that are wandering has ever been reduced to the faith’. Yet the Spanish never gave up the reduction system, and were incredibly successful in particular areas. With the monarchy’s strong theoretical support, but in a system that provided them with a great amount of independence in the organisation of native cities and villages, Spanish missionaries managed to successfully develop in some areas their vision of an ideal Christian commonwealth, as will be discussed in a following chapter.

---

58 Peña Montenegro, Itinerario para parochos de indios, p. 139.
59 de la Serna, Tratado de las supersticiones, p. 810. See also p. 17, and Pablo José Arriaga, Extirpación de la idolatria del Piru (Cuzco, 1621), Lima, 1920, p. 74.
60 Acción segunda del concilio provincial limense, Capítulo 42: Que se han de separar los ministros del Diablo de los otros indios, in Lisi, El Tercer Concilio Limense, p. 155. On this, see also Prieto, Missionary Scientists, pp. 41–42; 48–49.
62 For a more radical implementation of the reduction system in the late seventeenth century, see Peña Montenegro, Itinerario para parochos de indios, p. 188. Mountains and woods in discussions about nomadism did not necessarily refer to the geographical landscape – ‘montes’ could refer to any depopulated or uninhabited area: Tamar Herzog, ‘Terres et déserts, société et sauvagerie: De la communauté en Amérique et en Castille à l’époque moderne’, Annales HSS, No. 3 (mai–juin 2007), pp. 531–534.
The French Perspective: Eloquence and Flying Missions

Like Spanish missionaries, French Jesuits depicted native social and political systems within a recognisably Aristotelian framework. They also extensively addressed the problem of mobility, and the perceived absence of government in native tribes. The writings of José de Acosta were also very influential in France, and had been read by the French Jesuits.\(^\text{63}\) According to Acosta’s classification, the peoples that the French Jesuits encountered belonged to the second and third groups: they were either semi or completely nomadic. This was no more acceptable to Jesuits in New France than it was to Spanish missionaries in New Spain or Peru. In the early days of the missions, the Jesuits in the Laurentian Valley voiced complaints similar to those raised by Spanish priests elsewhere: the mobility of the natives prevented them from having any type of government and justice; leaders did not have any means to enforce their authority; the natives did not develop agriculture, industry and arts; and had no established religious cults.\(^\text{64}\)

Paul le Jeune claimed in 1637 that there was ‘nothing so difficult as to control the tribes of America. All these Barbarians have the law of wild asses, they are born, live, and die in a liberty without restraint […] The Law of our Lord is far removed from this dissoluteness; it gives us boundaries and prescribes limits, outside of which we cannot step without offending God and reason’.\(^\text{65}\)

As trade was a central aspect of the relationship between native and French communities, the natives of New France were not criticised, as in New Spain and Peru, for their inability to communicate through commerce with other human groups. Yet even if they traded with the French, the natives were sometimes considered to

---


\(^{65}\) Paul Le Jeune, *Relation de ce qui s’est passé en la Nouvelle France en l’année 1637 envoyée au R. Père provincial de la Compagnie de Jésus en la province de France*, Rouen, 1638, p. 191.
manage the supply irrationally, as they decimated the beaver population in their territories.66

The French term ‘police’ was similar to the Spanish ‘policía’, and denoted both collective government and government of the self. In 1634, Paul Le Jeune insisted that the most important thing to do to convert the natives was to make them sedentary. For that purpose, he suggested that French peasants be sent to live with the natives and teach them to cultivate the land and assist them until they were sufficiently trained to support themselves.67 In the eyes of some of the Fathers, the nomadic or semi-nomadic behaviour of the natives were combined with a complete absence of government. For these missionaries, instability reigned in native tribes, who apparently possessed no social or political order. Thus, Jérôme Lalemant complained in 1645:

I could hardly believe that there is any place in the world more difficult to subject to the Laws of JESUS CHRIST. […] Fathers here have no control over their children, or Captains over their subjects, or the Laws of the country over any of them, except in so far as each is pleased to submit to them.68

Paul Le Jeune affirmed that the natives had no words for ‘the regulation (police) and government of a city, a Province, an Empire, everything that concerns justice, reward and punishment’, as they had ‘no true religion, nor knowledge of the virtues, neither regulations (police), nor government, neither Kingdom, nor Republic’.69 This criticism was aimed at the Montagnais and Algonquin peoples, who were considered to be completely nomadic.70

The perceived absence of authority implied that discipline and justice were also absent from native societies. Although they recognised its efficiency, and had to

69 Le Jeune, Relation de 1634, pp. 174–175.
respect the custom at times, some Jesuits abhorred the native system of reparation, which meant that individuals were not punished for their crimes, but compensated the wrongs they caused by their action with gifts given to the offended family or tribe. As Jérôme Lalemant explained in 1645,

Now although this form of justice restrains all these peoples, and seems more effectually to repress disorders than the personal punishment of criminals does in France, it is nevertheless a very mild proceeding (c’est toutefois un procédé qui n’est remply que de douceur), which leaves individuals in such a spirit of liberty that they never submit to any Laws and obey no other impulse than that of their own will. This, without doubt, is a disposition quite contrary to the spirit of the Faith, which requires us to submit not only our wills, but our minds, our judgements, and all the sentiments of man to a power unknown to our senses, to a Law that is not of earth, and that is entirely opposed to the laws and sentiments of corrupt nature.71

Yet not all missionaries claimed that the natives lacked government or legitimate authority. Thus, Jean de Brébeuf, in 1636, wanted ‘to show that there is even among [the Huron] some sort of Political, and Civil life’. ‘If laws are like the governing wheel that regulates Communities’, said Brébeuf, ‘or to put it more clearly, are the soul of Commonwealths: it seems to me that I am right, in view of this perfect understanding that they have among them, in maintaining that they are not without laws’. Brébeuf had a certain admiration for the Huron system of election. Although they did not have real means to enforce their authority, the great eloquence of native chiefs usually guaranteed the respect of the group. Thus, Brébeuf explained:

They reach this degree of honour, partly through succession, partly through election; […] but only in so far as they have suitable qualifications, and accept the position, & are accepted by the whole Country. […] These Captains here do not govern their subjects by means of command and absolute power (par voye d’empire, & de puissance absolue); they have no force at hand to compel them to their duty. Their government is only civil; they only represent what is to be done for the good of the village, or of the whole Country. That settled, the one who wants to takes action. There are, however, some who know well how to be obeyed, especially when they have the affection of their subjects.72

---

72 Jean de Brébeuf in Paul Le Jeune, Relation de ce qui s’est passé en la Nouvelle France en l’année 1636 envoyée au R. Père provincial de la Compagnie de Jésus en la province de France, Paris, 1637, pp. 145, 149, 162–163.
On the northern frontier of Mexico, Jesuit Andrés Perez de Ribas similarly noted that, although the natives’ laws were not written, all respected them, more so than people did in Europe.\(^73\) Giuseppe Bressani, a Florentine Jesuit in New France, also commented on the Huron system of reparation, and thought their government was ‘admirable in this, that, being very different from ours, and therefore to many unknown, it is nevertheless quite as effective as our own, and even more so, since there appear, amid conditions of extreme liberty, very few disorders’.\(^74\) This admiration might have been calculated, to point to the possible future success of a mission amongst the Huron. Yet the Jesuits also quickly recognised the centrality and efficacy of native eloquence, and commended it. Given the centrality of oral preaching and rhetoric in the Jesuit apostolate, they would have had an eye for oratorical skills.\(^75\)

The emphasis on eloquence was significant, as in Cicero’s account the first human communities were gathered thanks to the eloquence of the first orator. Speech was also a central human characteristic in Aristotle, as it was unique to men, and was intimately correlated to the virtuous and political life:

> man alone of the animals possesses speech […] speech is designed to indicate the advantageous and the harmful, and therefore also the right and the wrong; for it is the special property of man in distinction from the other animals that he alone has perception of good and bad and right and wrong and the other moral qualities, and it is partnership in these things that makes a household and a city-state.\(^76\)

Thus, emphasising the oratorical qualities of native leaders pointed to their humanity and civility. The speeches of the ‘captains’ were compared by many missionaries to classical orators, as they would ‘pass in the judgment of many for one of those of Titus Livius’, they spoke ‘with such a delicate and sharp rhetoric that it might have come out of the schools of Aristotle or Cicero’, and had ‘an excellent style of narration, and great eloquence’.\(^77\) Spanish writings also contained long and eloquent speeches by natives caciques.\(^78\) In 1633, Paul le Jeune echoed Cicero’s depiction of

\(^73\) Perez de Ribas, *Historia de los triumpos de nuestra Santa Fee*, p. 412.


\(^75\) See this thesis, chapters 2 and 4.

\(^76\) Aristotle, *Politics*, book 1, 1253a. See also: Cicero, *On Invention (De Inventione)*, I.2.2. On this, see Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man*, p. 70.


language as central to political communities, although he pointed to the necessity of an added dimension. Rhetoric in Canada, said Le Jeune

has no other garb than what nature has given it; it is entirely simple and without disguise (*toute nue & toute simple*); and yet it controls all these tribes, as the Captain is elected for his eloquence alone, and is obeyed in proportion to his use of it, for they have no other law than his word. I think it is Cicero who says that all nations were once vagabond, and that eloquence has brought them together; that it has built villages and cities. If the voice of men has so much power, will the voice of the Spirit of God be powerless?\(^{79}\)

As in New Spain and Peru, the Jesuits in New France had a policy of relying heavily on the influence of native chiefs, and constantly mocked and derided the religious leaders.\(^{80}\) Yet the Fathers often faced difficulties in opposing the shamans, especially when they were by themselves, wintering with the natives and highly dependent on the native community. Thus, Le Jeune, during his stay with the Montagnais, was ‘in a state of open warfare’ with what he dubbed the natives’ ‘sorcerer’, and ‘did not lose any chance of proving his silliness and childishness, exposing the irrelevance (*impertinence*) of his superstitions’. The sorcerer, ‘knowing besides that I was a great enemy of his impostures, & that, if I could reach the souls of his flock, I would ruin him completely, he did all he could to destroy me & to make me appear ridiculous in the eyes of his people’.\(^{81}\) The Jesuits thought it was fundamental to discredit these ‘sorcerers’ in the eyes of the other natives. But they recognized the centrality of the councils and the oratory skills of the political leaders, and intended to use them: ‘If we could harangue as they do, and be present in their assemblies, I believe we would have there a lot of power’, said Paul Le Jeune.\(^{82}\) The native system of adoption, on which the Jesuits heavily relied and which will be discussed in a subsequent chapter, allowed the Fathers to be fully integrated within native political and social structures, especially when they were adopted in the lineage of a prominent leader.\(^{83}\)

---


\(^{82}\) Le Jeune, *Relation de 1635*, p. 22. On this, see Blackburn, *Harvest of Souls*, p. 88; and Axtell, *The Invasion Within*, p. 77.

The interests of trade in New France, central to the country’s presence in the New World in the seventeenth century, frequently clashed with missionaries’ ideals of sedentariness, in particular during the apostolate of the Recollects (a reformed branch of the Franciscan order), active in the Saint Lawrence valley between 1614 and 1625, and again from 1673 on. Their understanding of what was to be done for the good of the colony was indeed in contradiction with the necessities of trade. The Recollects thought it was essential to people the land with Frenchmen. A major reason for the lack of settlers in New France was that it was difficult to find people willing to undertake the expedition. But there was another reason, about which the Recollects repeatedly complained. For merchants who had a monopoly on trade, a massive settlement would mean possible competition and conflict. Similarly, making the natives sedentary was not in the interest of fur traders, as their whole undertaking depended on the natives’ hunting.

On the contrary, for the Recollects, the possibility of converting the natives would have to rely on a clear policy: the natives had to be made sedentary, the land peopled by Frenchmen who would furnish the natives with a good example, and Huguenots had to be banned from the colony. For Chrestien le Clercq, the problem at the beginning of colonisation had been that the members of the Company ‘to keep all trade for themselves, did not want to settle the land (habituer le pays), nor accept that we make the Savages sedentary, without which we could not do anything for the salvation of these infidels’. Problems arose when the monopoly was awarded to the de Caën family in 1620. Guillaume de Caën, a Huguenot, attracted the ire of prominent settlers. Recollect Georges le Baillif was sent to France in 1621 to express the colony’s grievances to the king. Because they were active during a time when the

88 Trudel, The Beginnings, p. 131.
governor was a Huguenot, Recollect pamphlets systematically associated trade with Protestantism. The owner of the patent in New France, Guillaume De Caën, was, for Georges le Baillif, a ‘pirate’ and a ‘privateer’, who favoured his ‘personal interest over the service of God, the King, and the Common Good’. Le Baillif closed his pamphlet with the words of Erasmus: ‘In fact the tribe of merchants hold nothing sacred except profit in cash, and to this alone they consecrate their whole selves as their god. For piety, for friendship, for honour, for reputation, for all things alike divine and human this is their only measure, and all else is nothing’. Conflict persisted and another Recollect, Joseph Le Caron, published a new pamphlet against the Company in 1626. For Joseph le Caron, the de Caën family was ‘a society of merchants’, whose management of the colony was characterised by ‘greed, disorder, and confusion’, and who did not attempt anything to people the country.

The Jesuits also insisted on the necessity to settle down the natives, but changed their perspective over time and managed to adapt their strategies to the necessities of trade. The Jesuits established a few missions similar to the reductions of New Spain and Peru with the semi-sedentary Huron people. In 1637, Paul Le Jeune established the Silléry mission, a village of native converts who were expected to settle down and take up agriculture. As in Spanish and English writings, French missionaries emphasised the natives’ supposed idleness. About his plans for the Silléry mission, Le Jeune declared:

As it happens that these poor Barbarians have been for a long time accustomed to be idlers, it is hard for them to settle and cultivate the land unless they are helped. […] It would be a great blessing for their bodies, for their souls, […] if those Tribes were settled, and if they became docile to our direction, which they will do, as I hope, in the course of time. If they are sedentary, and if they cultivate the land, they will not die of hunger, as often happens to them in their wanderings (leurs courses); we shall be able to instruct them easily […].

But the Jesuits quickly came to realise that this system was not particularly fruitful. The natives of New France considered farming as an exclusively female task, and

90 Le Baillif, Plaine de la Nouvelle France, pp. 8, 11, 13.
91 Le Baillif, Plaine de la Nouvelle France, p. 15. The quotation is from Erasmus’ Adagia, II, viii, 8: ‘Porro negotiatorum genus nihil habet sacram praeter unum pecuniae lucrum, cui se totos eeu deo consecrarunt: Hoc pietatem, hoc amicitiam, hoc honestum, hoc famam, hoc divina pariter et humana omnia metiuntur; reliqua nuga’. The translation (the text was quoted in Latin) is from Erasmus, Collected Works of Erasmus, translated and annotated by R.A.B. Mynors, vol. 34, Toronto, 1992, p. 52.
93 Le Jeune, Relation de 1635, pp. 102–103. On this, see Blackburn, Harvest of Souls, p. 94.
abandoned the village during hunting season. Moreover, disease and ongoing conflict between the Huron and Iroquois added pressure on the mission, and the natives regularly fled from the area when under attack.\footnote{Axtell, \textit{The Invasion Within}, p. 61; and Blackburn, \textit{Harvest of Souls}, pp. 17, 39–40, 95. See also Jean Baptiste de la Croix Chevrières de Saint-Vallier, \textit{Relation des missions de la Nouvelle France par M. l'Evêque de Quebec}, Paris, 1688, p. 167.}

The Jesuits had hopes not only for their native converts, but also for the French colony. Early in the establishment of Jesuit missions, Paul le Jeune claimed that there will arise here a Jerusalem blessed of God, composed of Citizens destined for Heaven. It is very easy in a new country, where families arrive all willing to observe the laws that will be established there, to banish the wicked customs (\textit{les méchantes coutumes}) of certain places in old France, and to introduce better ones.

But, despite his optimism, Paul le Jeune was also aware of the dangers brought by Europeans settling among the Indians: ‘I fear very much that vice will slip into these new colonies’.\footnote{Le Jeune, \textit{Relation de 1635}, p. 19. See also Saint-Vallier, \textit{Relation des missions de la Nouvelle France}, p. 29, for a similar statement.} Control was harder as the number of settlers increased: ‘It is to be feared that in the multiplication of our French in these countries, peace, happiness, and agreement may not increase in the same proportion as the number of Inhabitants of New France. It is much easier to control a few men than entire peoples’.\footnote{Le Jeune, \textit{Relation de 1635}, pp. 52–53.} Over time, the Jesuits came to regret the bad influence of French settlers on the natives, as they considered many of them to be unscrupulous merchants who tended to criticise the austerity of the Jesuits’ ethics.\footnote{Axtell, \textit{The Invasion Within}, p. 60; Deslandres, \textit{Croire et faire croire}, p. 286.}

By the 1640s, as the reductions encountered little success, the Jesuits partially revised their strategy. Aside from trying to gather natives from different tribes in villages, they also sent Fathers out to remote native settlements. This system of ‘flying missions’, as it was practised in Old France, turned out to be much more efficient.\footnote{Neal Salisbury, ‘Native People and European Settlers in Eastern North America, 1600–1783’, in Bruce G. Trigger and Wilcomb E. Washburn, \textit{The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas}, Cambridge, 1996, vol. I, part 1, p. 410; Deslandres, \textit{Croire et faire croire}, p. 282.} With the flying missions, the Fathers adapted themselves as much as possible to the customs of their hosts, on which they were dependent, as long as these customs did not contradict the Christian commandments. The fact that the Fathers followed the natives and adopted their way of life led to an awareness of the problematic aspects of
settled missions (not only because of external interferences, but also because of problems of climate and food production), and a willingness not to force the natives to necessarily adopt all aspects of French civility. This entailed that the natives could retain important features of their traditions and still be considered good Christians.\footnote{Axtell, The Invasion Within, p. 62.} In his 1642 Relation of the mission to the Algonquians, Jérôme Lalemant conveyed both the hardship and necessity of the flying missions, in particular to nomadic peoples, and brilliantly summarised both the problematic aspects of nomadic cultures according to the Jesuits, and the necessity to follow and understand the tribes as much as possible:

It is a wandering life of people scattered here & there, depending on where hunting and fishing leads them: sometimes in the woods, sometimes over rocks, or on Islands in the middle of some great lake, sometimes on the banks of rivers, without a roof, without a house, without a set dwelling-place, without collecting anything from the ground, except what it yields in an arid land to those who have never cultivated it. One has to follow those Peoples, if one wants to make them Christians: but as they are always splitting in groups, one can only help some, by getting away from others. […] if there are pains to suffer, in these mobile houses (maisons volantes). If, during the heat of summer, one is tired of undertaking journeys during which one finds no shelter, no food, no furniture, but the little that one carries on ones’ back […] if many other things even more painful are hard on ones’ constitution: Heaven does not fail in those times of need, & one can see from experience that it is not always true, that a tired body weighs down the Soul. […] But to make a Christian, out of a Barbarian, is not the work of a day. The seed that you sow one year, does not bear fruit right away: it is a great advancement, to get acquainted with all of them (de recognoistre son monde), to enter their minds, to get used to their language, to their customs, to their way of life; & if it is necessary, to become a Barbarian with them, to win them to Jesus Christ.\footnote{Jérôme Lalemant in Barthélémy Vimont, Relation de ce qui s'est passé en la Nouvelle France en l'année 1642 envoyée au R.P. Jean Filleau, provincial de la Compagnie de Jesus, en la province de France, par le R.P. Barthelemy Vimont de la mesme compagnie, superieur de la résidence de Kebec, Paris, 1643, pp. 151–153. The idea that a missionary had to become a ‘savage amongst the savages’ was expressed numerous times. See for example: François Le Mercier, Relation de ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable aux missions des pères de la Compagnie de Jésus, en la Nouvelle France, aux années mil six cens soixante-sept & mil six cens soixante-huit envoyée au R.P. Estienne Dechamps, provincial de la province de France, Paris, 1669, p. 110; Le Jeune, Relation de 1633, pp. 91–92; Le Jeune, Relation de 1634, pp. 124, 128.}

Following the natives in their hunts involved many sacrifices on the part of men who had been born and raised in Europe, but allowed the Jesuits to develop very close relationships with the tribes they attempted to convert, and, as Paul Le Jeune claimed, to ‘become a savage with the savages’. This hardship, for the Jesuits, was the
true apostolate, and, as Le Jeune insisted, ‘God will not let himself be vanquished […] the more you abandon, the more you find, the more you lose, the more you gain’.

When the Jesuits established new missions along the St. Lawrence, they tended to accept most of the native practices that did not contradict the Christian faith (they let women farm rather than men, maintained traditional housing and clothing, allowed for a seasonal system based on both agriculture and hunting, and established the missions at a distance from French settlements).

As Jérôme Lalemant showed in his Relation of 1646, the Fathers told their converted brethren that ‘as for acts of civility or of social discipline (police), they were free to follow their own ideas, provided they should not oppose the law of God’.

Still, as in Spanish reductions, native leaders were elected by their Christian peers, under the supervision of missionaries, and daily life followed a strict pattern.

Charity for the poor and the sick was common practice.

Despite stern comments about native social organisation — or absence thereof — the most striking characteristic of the French Jesuits’ writings, compared to Spanish and English works, is the evolution of the Fathers’ perspective on native societies over time, their capacity to observe and highlight aspects of native social organisation that they thought were coherent with the Christian message, and most of all their willingness to immerse themselves in native societies in order to adapt the message to their specific audience. The reasons for this are difficult to evaluate. The fact that, unlike in New Spain and Peru, they were at an early stage of colonisation, and were a minority amongst the natives, highly dependent on native groups for survival, and spent most of their time immersed in native cultures and isolated from European influences might account for their particular sense of observation. The promotional nature of their writings might also account to some extent for the positive

---

101 Le Jeune, Relation de 1633, p. 92.
102 Axtell, The Invasion Within, p. 62. For a very detailed account of daily life in Jesuit missions, see Saint-Vallier, Relation des missions de la Nouvelle France, pp. 131–149.
comments. The nature of Jesuit spirituality, and its particular emphasis on the individual’s own role, might account for their ability to adapt to native societies. The flexible character of the Spiritual Exercises and the great adaptability of the Jesuits’ methods of conversion that I addressed in chapter two were applied in New France. French or native societies were evaluated according to the demanding standards of their spirituality, and the innocence of native populations could be used to emphasise the decadent aspects of French culture, which missionaries criticised repeatedly, and which they thought was in need of moral reform. This particular type of criticism was also very common in English and Spanish writings, as we will see in the following chapters.

Yet contrary to Spain in that period, the Jesuits faced intense criticism in France, from both the Parliaments and Huguenot factions. These problems were also present in the colony. The Jesuits always presented eulogies for the king and Richelieu in their Relations, and benefited from strong support from the Crown, but they resented the possible opposition that Huguenot settlers and traders posed to both their work with the natives and their vision of New France as a New Jerusalem. In New Spain and Peru, as I will discuss in the following chapter, the Jesuits were in conflict with the secular clergy (priests and bishops), but were working within a Catholic framework that was not controversial, and were given much leeway within the reduction system. There was also in the French writings a clear sense of distinction between cultural and religious matters, things indifferent and things not, distinction that can also occasionally be found in the Spanish Jesuits’ writings, and in their experiments in native reductions. This distinction had indeed been advocated by José de Acosta in his De Procuranda Indorum Salute: ‘in the points where their customs are not opposed to religion or justice, I do not think it is convenient to change them’. The willingness to isolate native communities from the nefarious influence of

---

106 See this thesis, chapter 2.
107 Blackburn, Harvest of Souls, pp. 17, 23.
108 Prieto, Missionary Scientists, p. 39. See also Peña Montenegro, Itinerario para parochos de indios, p. 140; and see chapter 7 of this thesis for Spanish reductions.
European settlers was very strong both amongst Spanish and French Jesuits. In 1637, François le Mercier explained to a Huron captain that

as for our way of doing things, it was true, that they were completely different from theirs, that it was true of all nations, that indeed there were as many different customs as there are different nations on earth, that the manner of living, dressing, and building houses was completely different in France compared to here, & to other nations of the world, & that it was not what we considered wrong. But as to what concerned God, all nations must have the same feelings [...].

According to Carol Blackburn, the Jesuits’ ‘policy was subject to criticism by those who called for more rigorous — and, frequently, unattainable — standards of Christian piety and behaviour’. This frequent accusation, then and now, of laxity seems unfair. Indeed, as we have seen, the Jesuits maintained high standards for their own spirituality as well as that of their converts. Their adaptability stemmed from their conception of the universal potential of the faith, and their highly critical stance on European manners. It was because they were able to observe and analyse the customs of the natives that they managed to be relatively successful in gaining strong and dedicated conversions.

Yet the Jesuits admitted themselves that their faith was sometimes too demanding, and that not everybody could (or had to) experience the faith as intensely as they did:

we find that [...] in many things we can be less rigorous than in the past. This will doubtless open the road to Heaven to a great many persons who have not those abundant graces for displaying such extraordinary virtue, though they have enough to enable them to live as good Christians. The Kingdom of Heaven has crowns of very different value, and the Church cannot be equally holy in all its members.

Those diminished expectations did not apply to their own order, though, and many of them paid for their religious zeal with their lives, as will be shown in a subsequent chapter.

---

111 Blackburn, Harvest of Souls, p. 85.
113 Deslandres, Croire et faire croire, p. 286.
114 Paul Ragueneau in Jérôme Lalemant, Relation de ce qui s’est passé de plus remarquable és missions des peres de la Compagnie de Jesus, en la Nouvelle France, es annees 1647 & 1648 envoyée au R.P. provincial de la province de France par le supérieur des missions de la mesme compagnie, Paris, 1649, p. 63 (trans. JR, vol. XXXIII, p. 147). See also Juan de Silva, Advertencias importantes, fo. 24 v.: ‘there are lands that are more fertile than others [...].’
IV. The English Perspective: Lack of Industry and Godly Government

By comparison with the Spanish and French, English missionaries manifested less theoretical curiosity about native social and political structures, but they nevertheless paid great practical attention to political organisation in native societies. They perceived native social and political systems according to a pattern very similar to the one used by Catholic writers. For Puritans, the natives’ nomadic lifestyle was a hindrance to both civility and religion, which were, even more so than in Catholic writings, inseparable. Accordingly, it was from the outset believed fundamental to gather the natives in towns. According to Thomas Shepard, the ‘Cusco and Mexico Indians’ were ‘more civill then any else in this vast Continent that wee know of’ as they ‘were reduced by the politick principles of the two great conquering Princes of those Countries after their long and tedious wars from these wild and wandering course of life, unto a settling into particular Townes and Cities’. This made them easier to convert, and meant that the wandering natives of North America needed first and foremost to be settled in a town.

The fact that most of the tribes that the English encountered were semisedentary and had a well-developed agriculture based on corn, beans, and squash was overlooked, and the natives were believed to be ‘poor, naked, ignorant Indians, who lately knew no civill Order’, who lived ‘so unfixed, confused, and ungoverned a life, uncivilized and unsubdued to labor and order’. The legitimacy of English colonisation was also justified with arguments from the school of Salamanca. Indeed, English promoters of colonisation frequently used the Roman and natural law argument of vacuum domicilium: because the natives did not exploit the land, they did

---

not have any legal claim to it. This argument was used early by Reverend Cushman to justify land occupation by English settlers at Plymouth:

This then is a sufficient reason to prove our going thither to live, lawful: their land is spacious and void, & there are few and do but run over the grass, as do also the Foxes and wild beasts: they are not industrious, neither have art, science, skill or faculty to use either the land or the commodities of it, but all spoil, rots, and is marred for want of manuring, gathering, ordering, &c.

The natives’ lack of industry was an argument that repeatedly reappeared in English writings, and which had a particular significance for Puritan thinkers. Thus, for John Eliot, the only difference between English settlers and natives was that ‘First, we know, serve, and pray unto God, and they do not: Secondly, we labour and work in building, planting, clothing our selves, &c. and they do not’. The natives’ interest in ‘such poor things as hunting, wars, &c.’ prevented them from working, as God commanded: ‘Six dayes thou shall work &c.’ The imperative to work was one of the commandments given by God to Moses in Exodus 20:2-17 and reasserted in Deuteronomy 5:6-21.

The natives’ subsistence activities were considered unproductive for various reasons. As hunting privileges were reserved to the aristocracy in England, fishing and hunting, in English eyes, were considered status and leisure-related activities more than productive behaviours. Moreover, the fact that farming was a traditionally female occupation in native societies led English observers to target their accusations of laziness at male natives in particular. For Edward Johnson, who wrote a *History of...* 

---


120 Eliot in Shepard, *The clear sun-shine*, p. 27.
New England in 1653, ‘the Women […] are generally very laborious at their planting time, and the Men extraordinary idle […] [they] follow no kind of labour but hunting, fishing, and fowling’. Furthermore, the natives were thought to lack the basic industry that would render their agricultural practices more productive, such as the use of manure and fencing, and especially the possession of cattle. The lack of technology, as in Spanish writings, was a sign of the natives’ absence of civility. The idea that the natives had trouble stopping from ‘running wilde’ implied not only bodily, but also spiritual mobility. Native converts mainly used this term to express their difficulty to follow the Christian precepts.

Missions in New England started very late in the century. The king, in the charter to the company, explained that the conversion of the natives was ‘in our royall intencion, and the adventurers free profession, […] the principall ende of this plantacion’. The directors of the company reaffirmed this goal in 1629 in their letter of instructions to John Endicott, the first governor of the plantation:

for that the propagating of the gosple is the thing [wee] doe profess aboue all to bee our ayme in setling this plantacion, wee have bin carefull to make plentyfull provision of godly ministers, by whose faithfull preachinge, godly conversacion, and exemplary lyfe, wee trust, not only those of our owne nation wilbe built vp in the knowledge of God, but also the Indians may in Gods appointed tyme bee reduced to the obedyence of the gosple of Christ.

---


Missionary work in New England is often presented in the historiography as limited at most, and the settlers’ stated desire to convert the natives is generally considered hypocritical at best.\textsuperscript{126} It is true that the official beginning of the mission had to wait until 1646, when Eliot started preaching to the natives.\textsuperscript{127} The specific nature of Puritan soteriology delayed and limited the work: as already mentioned, the work of conversion only really started when the theory that the natives were one of the Lost Tribes of Israel became fashionable.\textsuperscript{128} Given the nature of Calvinist conversion, the Puritans could not — and would not — claim numerous baptisms as did Catholic missionaries.

Yet several clues in the primary sources point to the fact that the work of spreading the Gospel might not have been as limited as is often claimed. Because the task was not entrusted to a religious order, proselytising both to the English and the natives fell to the ministers. Before the creation of the Corporation for the promoting and propagating of the Gospel in 1649, there was no international corporation (such as the Society of Jesus in French and Spanish colonies) to coordinate and centralise the writings and publications related to the conversion of the natives. Thus, beyond the specific corpus of pamphlets intended for fundraising, references to the work of conversion are scattered throughout the writings of the Massachusetts Bay leaders and ministers, and not centralised as in the Jesuits’ writings. The fact that John Eliot and Thomas Mayhew are usually considered to be the only individuals to have been interested in the work of conversion, because they were among the very few who spoke native languages, is misleading. Others undertook similar missions, although they wrote little about it.\textsuperscript{129} Moreover, the work of spreading the Gospel to the natives

\textit{Missionary Society to the American Indians}, New York, 1962, p. 11. See also John Winthrop (attributed to), ‘Reasons to be considered for justifieinge the undertakeres of the intended Plantation in New England, & for encouraginge such whose hartes God shall move to ioyne wth them in it’, in Winthrop, \textit{Life and Letters}, p. 309.


should rather be read as a collective enterprise, as the elders of the colony supported the work of missions. This is evident from the fact that, when they applied to form a congregation, the natives had to be examined by a committee of elders, who were thus involved in the process. Numerous prevalent ministers, such as Thomas Shepard, Edward Winslow, or Henry Whitfield wrote or prefaced many of the pamphlets written for the promotion of the missions.

It was essential for Puritans that the natives themselves be active in the work of conversion. Both John Eliot and Thomas Mayhew, Jr., on Martha’s Vineyard encouraged their converts to carry on the work by themselves.  

130 It seems that, indeed, native leaders took up most of the work of Christian education. Unfortunately, we have no accounts directly written by those native proselytisers, but the partially fictive Indian Dialogues, in which Eliot depicted native converts visiting unconverted groups, points to the fact that the practice was common. Eliot’s fictional native missionary, Plumbuhhu, explained:

[…] the Lord hath raised up sundry of our young men (who were children when we first prayed unto God) unto good knowledge in the Scriptures, and are able to teach others the good knowledge of God, and are fit to be sent forth unto all parts of the Country, to teach them to pray unto God.  

131 Even after King Philip’s war (1675-1678), which dealt a heavy blow to the organisation of missions, a visitation to native converted communities still reported the existence of thirty congregations, with thirty-seven Indian ministers and teachers in Massachusetts alone.  

---


In 1641, seventy-six British Puritan divines, considering missions to be crucial in an imperial context, addressed a petition to Parliament for ‘the propagating of the Gospel in America’. This petition complained about England’s lack of involvement and support for the conversion of the natives in the New World, and insisted that missions were essential to counter the power of Catholic Spain in America.\textsuperscript{133} By 1649, conversion in New England became part of the English republic’s imperial design, with the creation in late July, just a few weeks before Cromwell’s invasion of Ireland, of the Corporation for the promoting and propagating of the Gospel of Jesus Christ in New England. The Corporation intended to provide the financial support that the Massachusetts Bay Puritans had so far lacked from their home country, and provided funds for converted natives, understanding that the work could not be prosecuted with that expedition and further success as is desired, unless fit instruments be encouraged and maintained to pursue it, Universities, Schools, and Nurseries of Literature set for further instructing and civilizing them, Instruments and Materials fit for labor, and clothing, with other necessaries […].\textsuperscript{134}

Involvement in the promotion of the conversion of the natives illustrates the Republic’s ideology of imperialism conceived as a moral duty to bring faith, civility, and justice to others.\textsuperscript{135}

If the advent of the Republic gave rise to imperialist goals, it also witnessed a multiplicity of millenarian expectations.\textsuperscript{136} Eliot’s millenarian hopes and his belief in the centrality of the natives in this scheme were sparked off by his conviction, by the 1650s, that the natives were one of the Lost Tribes of Israel.\textsuperscript{137} His millenarianism was

\begin{footnotes}
\item[137] About the fact that the natives were thought to be one of the Lost Tribes of Israel, see for example: Winslow, ed., \textit{The Glorious Progress of the Gospel}, Epistle to the Parliament & councell of State, Appendix (Clark, ed., \textit{The Eliot Tracts}, pp. 145–46, and 163–165); John Eliot in Henry Whitfield, ed., \textit{The light appearing more and more towards the perfect day. Or, a farther discovery of the present state}}
based on John Cotton’s, himself inspired by Thomas Brightman. Brightman’s ideas relied on the notion of the three comings of Christ, elaborated by Joachim de Fiore, a Cistercian monk, in the twelfth century.\(^{138}\) Unlike Brightman, Cotton only believed in one middle advent: the Second Coming of Christ would be preceded by the institution on earth of a Christian commonwealth ruled by divine law.\(^{139}\) Two preconditions for the middle advent to happen were the destruction of Roman Catholicism and the conversion of the Jews.\(^{140}\) Thus, the propagation of the Gospel was for Cotton a fundamental instrument for the institution of the middle advent on earth. Yet the conversion of the natives in this scheme was only secondary, as, according to the theory, the gentiles could only be converted after the Jews. The importance of the conversion of the Jews for the Millennium had been expounded by Theodore Beza, and supported in England by the Elizabethan Puritan William Perkins, who became an important reference for New England thinkers. Eschatological expectations and millenarian theories were particularly strong in New England, and not only for John Cotton: the New England experiment can be seen itself as an attempt to establish the rule of the Saints on earth, in preparation for the Second Coming.\(^{141}\) Once John Eliot heard of the theories of Hispano-Dutch Menasseh Ben Israel and Thomas Thorowgood claiming that the natives were Jewish, their conversion became central for him, and a sign of the imminent coming of the millennium.\(^{142}\) As ancient Jews,

---


\(^{140}\) See the Bible (Geneva): Romans, 11:26: ‘And so all Israel shalbe saued, as it is written, The deliuerer shall come out of Sion, and shall turne away the vngodlinesse from Iacob’.


they deserved conversion before contemporary Jews, as they had lived not in contempt, but in ignorance of Christianity.¹⁴³ Collectively, then, the natives became instrumental in the millennium, and were the locus of Eliot’s vision of an ideal commonwealth.¹⁴⁴

Civility, in English writings, was to come before Christianity in the conversion process. The natives should ‘first be Civilized, by being brought from their scattered and wild course of life, unto Civill Co-habitation and Government’.¹⁴⁵ As in Spanish writings, supervision was essential in the process of establishing civility among the natives. Indeed, Eliot thought that

until they were come up unto Civil Cohabitation, Government, and Labor, which a fixed condition of life will fix them upon, they were not so capable to be betrusted with that Treasure of Christ, lest they should scandalize the same, and make it of none effect, because if any should through temptation fall under Censure, he could easily run away (as some have done) and would be tempted so to do, unless he were fixed in an Habitation, and had some means of livelihood to lose, and leave behind him.¹⁴⁶

Beyond this practical concern with control, common to all missionaries, settlement was important in Calvinist soteriology because it was the only way to implement the Covenant of Law amongst the natives. The necessity of settling down before establishing a church was, for Eliot, ‘according to the will of God revealed in the Scriptures’.¹⁴⁷ Civilising was not a secular activity separated from religious concerns, but an injunction directly derived from the Bible. As John Eliot explained,

That which I first aymed at was to declare & deliver unto them the Law of God, to civilize them, which course the Lord took by Moses, to give the Law to that rude company because of transgression, Gal. 3.19 to convince, bridle, restrain, and civilize them, and also to humble them.

The reference to Paul’s epistle to the Galatians, ‘Wherefore then serveth the Law? It was added because of the transgressions, til the seed came, vnto the which the promise was made’, was clearly used in reference to the Puritan concept of the Covenant of

¹⁴³ Cogley, John Eliot’s Mission, p. 90.
¹⁴⁵ Eliot, A late and further manifestation, p. 1.
¹⁴⁷ Eliot, A late and further manifestation, p. 2.
Law, which was to precede the Covenant of Grace. As I mentioned in earlier chapters, the conversion experience that would make someone a Visible Saint was to be preceded by teaching, and most of all by an attempt, and failure, to follow the law. In civil as in church government, the natives needed to be independent, as the English could not rule over them because of language. Thus, for Eliot, ‘either they must have no government, as hitherto it hath been, or else they must have it among themselves’.

The necessity to establish a Covenant of Law was not only relating to individual conversion, but also to ecclesiastical matters and church discipline. Civility was a precondition to the covenant establishing a church: ‘In this order they have bene taught, they must have visible civility, before they can rightly enjoy visible sanctitie in ecclesiastical communion’. But civility, which in Eliot’s plan meant the establishment of a Scriptural form of rule in a community through a civil covenant, could also be a sign of potential grace. People who decided to receive from the Lord, both the platform of their civil Government, as it is set down (in the essentials of it) in the holy Scriptures; and also all their Laws [...] is some hopeful sign of some degree of faith in Christ, and love to God; and as a good preparative for a more neer approach to Christ in Church-fellowship, and Covenant: he that is willing to serve Christ by the Polity of the second Table civilly, is in some degree of preparation to serve him.

Industry could also be a sign of the work of grace among the natives. As Richard Mather explained in his letter accompanying the public confessions of those natives who wanted to enter into a church covenant in 1652,

---

149 Eliot in Whitfield, ed., *Strength out of weakness*, p. 9. For the wording of the natives’ civil covenants, see *ibid.*, pp. 9–10, and for Martha’s Vineyard, see Eliot and Mayhew, Jr., *Tears of repentance, ‘Mr Mayhew’s Letter to the Corporation’* (Clark, ed., *The Eliot Tracts*, p. 266). Before the civil covenants of 1652 and 1653, after the success of Eliot’s sermon at Nonantum on October, 28, 1646, the colonists drafted a code of laws for the native settlement. These laws, agreed upon by the natives themselves, were established at Nonantum in 1646, and Musketaquid in 1647: Anon. [Thomas Shepard?], *The Day-breaking, if not the sun-rising of the Gospell with the Indians in New-England*, London, 1647, p. 22; Shepard, *The clear sun-shine*, pp. 4–5. On this, see Cogley, *John Eliot’s Mission*, p. 53.

---
[...] if there be any work of Grace amongst them, it would surely bring forth, and be accompanied with the Reformation of their disordered lives, as in other things, so in their neglect of Labor, and their living in idleness and pleasure. [...] since the Word of God came amongst them, and that they have attended thereto, they have more applied themselves unto Labor than formerly [...].

English missionaries had an ambivalent view of native leaders. The religious leaders, called ‘Pawwows’, were systematically criticised, and made illegal by the first law of the 1647 code of Musketaquid. The Pawwows were healers, and thus particularly important given the wave of disease that European settlers brought with them. Thus, Eliot thought that in order to overcome the natives’ need for traditional healers the English should ‘informe them in the use of Physick’. This could be done by the establishment of a college, which would also be helpful for the English to learn from native healers ‘all these things which they know’ in terms of the healing virtues of native plants. This scheme would ‘confound and root out their Powwaws, and then would they be farre more inclined to leave those wayes, and pray unto God’. Thomas Mayhew, on Martha’s Vineyard explained that ‘though the Indians many of them were brought by the knowledge they had of God, to renounce the Pawwawes help in time of sicknesse or otherwise, yet they found it hard to get from under the yoake of cruelty that they and their forefathers had so long groaned under’. Consequently, Mayhew focused his work on evangelising the powwows, but also on discrediting their healing powers in the eyes of other natives.

If the powwows were the principal target of Eliot’s accusations, like Spanish and French missionaries, he aimed his evangelisation work mainly at the Sachems, the political leaders: ‘I doe endeavour to engage the Sachims of greatest note to accept the Gospel, because that doth greatly animate and encourage such as are well-affected, and is a damping to those that are scoffers and opposers’. The rulers elected in native towns assumed the responsibilities traditionally endorsed by Sachems, which meant that some could maintain their former authority, on the condition that they accept conversion. But it also meant that natives who had no authority in the

---

153 Shepard, The clear sun-shine, p. 4.
traditional community could suddenly access a position of great political power. Waban, for example, helped set up the code of laws at Nonantum, and was appointed ‘chief minister of justice’, and declared a ‘new sachem’. Eliot’s opinion of the sachems depended on the circumstances. In 1649, Eliot presented them as real tyrants:

the Sachems of the Country are generally set against us, and counter-work the Lord by keeping off their men from praying to God […] They plainly see that Religion will make a great change among them, and cut them off from their former tyranny; for they used to hold their people in an absolute servitude […] now they see that Religion teaches otherwise, and puts a bridle upon such usurpations.

157

As Richard Cogley notes, it is interesting that these comments were written in 1649, and mirrored Eliot’s strong antimonarchical sentiments and his approval of the regicide in England. According to Cogley, the fact that the sachems’ power would be discredited meant for Eliot that the natives were ready to enter into civil and church covenants, according to his millennial plan. Yet, at other moments, Eliot would try to attract and convince the sachems that Christianity would not infringe on their authority and on the tribute they expected from the praying Indians. In 1674, he made known to Uncas, sachem of the Mohegans, who always resisted the spread of Christianity in his territory, that he ‘did not meddle with civil right or jurisdiction’ or ‘intend to abridge the Indian sachems of their just and ancient rights over the Indians, in respect of paying tribute or any other dues’. But, of course, Eliot did more than meddle with native political systems. Eliot could not and would not separate his evangelical work from political matters, and his project for praying towns was all-encompassing.

In Eliot’s praying towns, the natives were ‘to be ruled by the Lord in all their affairs civilie, makeing the Word of God their only magna charta, for government, laws, and all conversation’. This understanding of the centrality of Scriptures in all

157 Anon., The Day-breaking, p. 20. On this, see Cogley, John Eliot’s Mission, p. 54.
159 Cogley, John Eliot’s Mission, p. 91.
161 On a similar disruptive effect on traditional political and social structures in New Spain, see Woodrow Borah, Justice by Insurance: The General Indian Court of Colonial Mexico and the Legal Aides of the Half-Real, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1983, p. 38.
aspects of human life was a common Puritan trope. For Eliot, ‘Godly consciences’ would not be satisfied until ‘all formes and Lawes of mans invention will shake, be unsettled’ and until rulers ‘produce Scripture grounds for all they do’.163

Many in the colony shared the ideal of a commonwealth entirely based on Scriptural authority. As Theodore Bozeman has shown, the founders intended to establish a polity based on biblical pattern and which would encompass civil and religious matters, considering that both related to the Christian destiny of man.164 Thus, John Cotton, basing his argument on William Perkins’ A Golden Chaine, claimed that

the word, and scriptures of God does conteyne a short […] platforme, not onely of theology, but also of other sacred sciences […] attendants, and handmaids thereunto, which [Perkins] maketh ethicks, economicks, politicks, church-government, prophecy, academy. It is very suitable to Gods all-sufficient wisdome, and to the fulnes and perfection of Holy Scriptures, not only to prescribe perfect rules for the right ordering of a private mans soule […] but also for the right ordering of a mans family, yea, of the commonwealth too.165

For Eliot, the work of building a Christian commonwealth amongst the natives required to ‘write and imprint no other but Scripture principles in the abrassa tabula scraped board of the naked people, that so they may be in all their principles a choice people unto the Lord’.166 The necessity to return to purity and simplicity, and to get rid of ‘human inventions’ in political and religious matters was, as we have seen, a common trope in Puritan writings.167 It had been the main reason for immigration to New England. As John Cotton explained, ‘Wee believe there is a vast difference betweene mens inventions and God’s institutions; wee fled from mens inventions, to

165 John Cotton, ‘John Cotton to William Fiennes, Lord Saye and Sele’ [After March, 1636], in Sargent Bush, Jr., ed., The Correspondence of John Cotton, Chapel Hill, 2001, p. 244. The reference is to William Perkins, A golden chaine: or The description of theologie containing the order of the causes of salvation and damnation, according to Gods word..., Cambridge, 1600, fo. 8. On the primitivist dimension of puritan thought, see Bozeman, To Live Ancient Lives, esp. p. 153. For Cotton, the church prevailed over matters of state, although both institutions should remain separated: ‘It is better that the commonwealth be fashioned to the setting forth of Gods house, which is his church: than to accommodate the church frame to the civil state’: John Cotton, ‘ibid., p. 245.
167 Bozeman, To Live Ancient Lives, p. 44. For Eliot’s criticism of ‘human inventions’, see for example: Eliot, Indian Dialogues, pp. 59–60.
which wee else should have been compelled; wee compel none to mens inventions’.\textsuperscript{168}

Eliot’s work amongst the natives gave him more freedom than a minister could expect in a New England church. He could experiment with the natives like no one could with English settlers who had certain expectations about their freedoms and rights: ‘as for these poore Indians they have no principles of their own, […] and therefore they most readily yeeld to any direction from the Lord, so that there will be no such opposition against the rising Kingdome of Jesus Christ among them’.\textsuperscript{169} Eliot believed that the system he implemented in ‘praying towns’ should be applied everywhere: ‘I apprehend it would be a mercy to England, if they should in this terme of lines, take up that forme of government, which is a divine institution’.

Once Eliot started his work with the natives, the colonists purchased land to settle the converted natives in towns.\textsuperscript{170} The early settlements culminated in 1650 by the foundation of Natick, where the natives entered into a civil covenant, which was followed by the establishment of thirteen other towns.\textsuperscript{171} Eliot’s idea of the natives’ political and religious community relied heavily on Old Testament patterns.\textsuperscript{172} Political and judicial organisation presupposed the depravity of man, and was thus highly focussed on control and discipline. For Eliot, even in a civil government composed of Visible Saints, ‘sin will grow apace, like ill weeds, if it be not always watched, and often weeded out’.\textsuperscript{173} Order was central to Eliot’s project, and discipline was to be enforced according to a Scriptural model, too. Eliot based the organisation of native ‘praying towns’ on God’s instructions to Moses in Exodus 18:21: ‘prouide thou


\textsuperscript{169} Eliot in Whitfield, ed., \textit{The light appearing}, p. 28. On this, see Bozeman, \textit{To Live Ancient Lives}, p. 268. Machiavelli made a similar comment about the mountaineers: ‘if any one in these days, would frame a Republique, he should find it easier to deale with rude mountaineers (huommi montanari), who had never knowne any civility, than with those, who had bin accustomed to live in Cities, where the government is corrupted’ — Machiavelli, \textit{I discorsi di Nicolo Machiavelli, sopra la prima deca di Tito Livio Con due tauole, l'vna de capitoli, & l'altre delle cose principali: & con le stesse parole di Tito Livio a luoghi loro, ridotte nella volgar lingua. Nouellamente emmendati, & con somma cura ristampati} (1517), Palermo, 1584, fo. 19 v. I have used the contemporary translation: Machiavels discourses. upon the first decade of T. Livius translated out of the Italian; vvith some marginall animadversions noting and taxing his errours, trans. Edward Dacres, London, 1636, p. 63.


\textsuperscript{171} Cogley, \textit{John Eliot’s Mission}, p. 52; Axtell, \textit{The Invasion Within}, p. 139.

\textsuperscript{172} Cogley, \textit{John Eliot’s Mission}, p. 140; Clark, ed., \textit{The Eliot Tracts}, p. 15. See also Gookin, ‘The Historical Collections’.

\textsuperscript{173} Bozeman, \textit{To Live Ancient Lives}, esp. p. 32.

among al the people men of courage, fearing God, men dealing truely, hating couetousnesse: and appoynt such ouer them to be rulers ouer thousandes, rulers ouer hundreths, rulers ouer fifties, and rulers ouer tennes’.175 Eliot’s belief that Mosaic Law was central in establishing a government was shared by some of his fellow ministers. John Cotton, asked to draft a code of laws for Massachusetts, relied almost completely on the Mosaic code. The proposal was not accepted, although it influenced the code of 1648, as well as the laws of New Haven.176 The capital laws of Massachusetts were based on Deuteronomy, and mentioned the Scriptural reference along with each act punishable by death.177

Eliot’s intervention in native political structures and the settlement of ‘praying towns’ had an incredibly disruptive effect on traditional allegiances. Yet these relationships had been shattered long before Eliot started his missionary work, and the election of rulers in praying towns as well as his interventions in favour of praying Indians allowed converted natives to negotiate with English power in their claims for land, which is something that I will address in a subsequent chapter.178 Over time, Eliot became less intransigent with native traditional practices. The great amount of independence he wanted for native converts (giving them authority over political, ecclesiastical, and judicial matters once they entered into a church and civil covenant), as well as his absence from native settlements for long periods of time (he was still pastor of the Roxbury church) meant that the natives were left with considerable leeway. Thus, the natives in praying towns still lived in wigwams and continued to perform traditional productive activities.179

Eliot’s vision of the ideal commonwealth entailed a strong criticism of Anglicanism and monarchism, which embroiled him in difficulties during the Restoration. Eliot’s support of the Christian natives in New England’s courts also

179 Cogley, John Eliot’s Mission, p. 244.
caused increasing resentment on the part of English settlers during King Philip’s war, as we will see in a subsequent chapter.\textsuperscript{180}

V. Conclusion

English, Spanish, and French missionaries evaluated native social and political structures according to a traditional model, which drew on Aristotelian, Ciceronian, and Christian ideas. The greatest impediment to Christianity, from this perspective, was the natives’ nomadic (or what missionaries considered to be so) lifestyle, which prevented them from creating truly human communities. A community was defined by a political organisation able to maintain discipline and order within the group, by man’s ability to tame the earth (industry, followed by arts), to trade, and most importantly, by religion. The Spanish emphasised both the legitimacy of the monarch as the conveyor of Christianity, and the centrality of the city as the locus of the Christian community. The French Jesuits worked within a similar framework, but adapted it to the particular context of New France. The harsh climate, ongoing tribal wars, and reluctance on the part of native groups to abandon their traditional practices led the Fathers to conform their mission to native political and social structures, which they came to recognise as valid to the extent that they did not contradict the basic principles of the Catholic faith. Puritan thinkers, and in particular John Eliot, emphasised most of all the necessity of industry. Their critique of native behaviours was very similar to that made by French and Spanish missionaries, but their vision of the mission differed in one important respect. Although on the surface, the establishment of praying towns seemed similar to French and Spanish reductions, the locus of authority radically differed: the Puritan insistence on godly government, and the centrality of Scriptural injunctions in the towns’ political and legal system, was unique among missionary endeavours.

In Catholic thought, political rule was believed to derive from natural law principles, which were themselves derived from God. This meant that there was a crucial difference in Catholic understandings of the political community compared to the Calvinist view: natural law was inscribed in all men’s hearts, and thus even the

heathen could have legitimate forms of government. Therefore, Spanish religious writers had to justify the conquest of the New World while taking natural law into account. They did so by insisting on the right of men to trade, communicate, and spread the Gospel. The French Jesuits started by affirming that the natives had no government at all. Yet, over time, they declared the question of ‘acts of civility or of social discipline’ indifferent, as long as it did not contradict the Christian teachings. Eliot, on the other hand, did not differentiate between political and religious matters. Although English writers did not usually rely on the Protestant argument that political authority should be founded in grace to justify conquest, the establishment of a government amongst converted natives needed to be, by definition, the establishment of a godly government. The natives, as a newly godly people, could relinquish their old heathenish allegiances, and enter into a new Covenant with God.

Despite a focus on classical sources and natural law to justify conquest and imperium, the practical experiments that the Catholic regular orders, and in particular the Jesuits, implemented in the reductions were also attempts at godly government. As we shall see, the Jesuits’ aim in their reductions was to implement a form of government closely tailored to Catholic morals, and in this they did not radically differ from John Eliot and the fervent Puritans of New England who supported him. These Christian communities, missionaries thought, might be easier to build among people who had not been tainted by the corruption and decadence of the European world, torn as it was by religious strife.

Spanish, French, and English writers all had a very specific vision of what the government of the natives should entail. As missionaries, they did not distinguish between political and social changes and religious needs. Yet, they operated within a highly complex context. Their vision of the missions did not always take into account the reactions of European political powers and their legal apparatus, doctrinal dissent, or the settlers’ interactions with the natives. It did not take into account, either, native resistance and their ability to use for their own benefit the very tools that had been put into place to dominate them. This will be the topic of the following chapters.

182 Armitage, The Ideological Origins, pp. 90–91; Pagden, Lords of All the World, pp. 75–76.
Chapter 6
Assimilation versus Segregation: the Missions in their Legal, Ecclesiastical, and Political Context

I. Introduction

Missionaries to the New World did not operate in a vacuum. As corporate groups under the authority of royal charters or patronage, they had to conform to the legal, ecclesiastical, and political apparatus of the colony. The social, political, and religious reforms that missionaries wished to implement amongst native societies often violently clashed with the interests of other corporate groups present in the New World. In this complex context, shaped by various influences in their mother country and by developments in the colonies, missionaries were competing with understandings of colonisation often different from their own. The monarchies supporting missions were frequently unable or unwilling to facilitate the implementation of their highly moralistic vision of their duty towards native peoples.

This chapter, as well as that which follows, will address the legal and ecclesiological context in which missionaries operated, and illustrate the extent to which, as religious reformers, missionaries dedicated their efforts not to national, patriotic or even doctrinal allegiances, but to the practical implementation of an ideal form of Christianity. Protestants and Catholics both embraced sweeping reformative and moral objectives, and focused on the over-arching goal of salvation, both for themselves and for their converts. If their work with the natives can be perceived as destructive of many cultural and social aspects of native societies, they nevertheless often found themselves, as pastors, to be the only defenders of what they considered to be native rights. In the very different contexts of the three colonies, missionaries reacted to widely distinct sets of issues and conflicts. Yet those who were in charge of the evangelisation and pastoral care of native tribes voiced similar criticisms, and intended to protect their recently converted natives from encroachments by settlers often judged to be greedy, unscrupulous, or immoral. They relentlessly condemned the European vices — among them greed, selfishness, and pride — that they claimed were threats to their missions. These tensions reveal that imperial and religious ideals in the New World did not necessarily coincide, and that missionaries, as a group, should be
differentiated from other settlers and colony officials. Ideally, missionaries perceived their work as the possibility to establish new, virtuous, commonwealths, which needed to be protected from the nefarious influence of European ills.

II. New Spain and Peru

1. The System of Royal Patronage and The Society of Jesus in Spanish Possessions

The legal, political, and ecclesiastical apparatus within which missionaries worked in the Spanish colonies was elaborate and incredibly complex. A series of papal bulls issued in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, related to the *reconquista* in the Kingdom of Granada, conferred upon the King of Spain what was called the patronage of the Indies on religious matters. The Crown oversaw the selection of the clergy, was beneficiary of all tithes, and approved or rejected papal decrees before publication in the Indies.¹ The king of Spain enjoyed power in ecclesiastical matters in the colonies that was almost absolute; he assumed the responsibilities endorsed by the Pope in Europe, as ‘Vicar of the Roman Pontiff’ in the Indies.²

In the early development of the colony, the Crown relied on religious orders, and in particular the mendicants, who were willing to travel and were well educated, for missionary work to the natives. As secular priests were scarce, the regulars (and in particular the Franciscans, who were present at a very early stage) were granted Episcopal powers in areas where no diocese had yet been created or where the


Episcopal seat was too distant, and were given license to perform the sacraments in 1522.³

As the Spanish empire expanded, missionaries, and in particular the Jesuits (who arrived late, in 1570) remained central to the colonial project, and were always in charge of missions on the frontier.⁴ But the regulars were relatively independent from the Crown: they depended on their orders’ rules and privileges, and vowed obedience to their superiors only (and to the Pope in the case of the Jesuits), and certainly not to any form of lay authority.⁵ As the colony developed and grew, the regulars increasingly resisted the bishops’ authority to oversee their work (through appointment or removal of missionaries and examination of their linguistic and theological skills) and were unwilling to abandon their doctrinas (organised native parishes) to a secular clergy that they believed was uneducated, immoral, and ignorant of native languages.⁶ They also considered that, as direct envoys from the Pope, not mediated by royal authority, they had an apostolic status that the secular clergy lacked.⁷ The secular members of the clergy, and in particular the bishops, resented the power of the orders in the New World and the fact that they were exempt from their supervision.⁸ In 1574, Philip II, with the Ordenanza del Patronazgo reinforced the authority of both the Council of the Indies and the bishops over the work of the

---

³ By the papal bull Exponi nobis fecisti (also known as Omnimoda). On this, see Shiels, King and Church, p. 211, which contains the full text of the papal bull (pp. 212–214). On the papal grant specific to the Jesuits, see Shiels, p. 214.
⁴ Elliott, ‘Spain and America’, p. 301.
By this legislation, Philip managed to reinforce his authority over both secular and regular clergy. Yet, the *ordenanza* did not eradicate the influence of the regulars, especially in distant and isolated native parishes. Even though the authority of the Crown was theoretically absolute over political and ecclesiastical matters in the colonies, the distance of the settlements from the nexus of power in Spain, the fragmented aspect of the Spanish bureaucracy in the Indies, and the ignorance of the council on local matters meant that the laws could and would be avoided or bypassed by various interest groups present in the New World.

The Society of Jesus in the New World performed two functions. They sent missions to remote areas, but they were also in charge of seminaries, training members of the secular clergy, and of colleges for the settler population’s children. Their function as educators insured that they played an important part in improving the quality of secular priests, which allowed them to remain influential throughout the seventeenth century, to a greater extent than other regulars. This was particularly the case in New Spain. The Society, like other orders, but possibly to a greater extent, was really an international corporation, and the general of the Society in Rome, and ultimately the Pope, coordinated its actions around the world. Their great mobility

---

implied that all nationalities were present in mission fields.\textsuperscript{16} Despite periodic reluctance, the Crown tended to facilitate the Society’s mobility within the colonies.\textsuperscript{17}

Despite an edict from the king in 1573, working in an established \textit{doctrina} was particularly problematic for the Jesuits, who preferred to establish colleges or residences that they would use as a base for their flying missions.\textsuperscript{18} First of all, the Constitutions, ‘because the members of this Society ought to be ready at any hour to go to some or other parts of the world where they may be sent by the sovereign pontiff or their own superiors’, prohibited the Jesuits from being in charge of a parish, or celebrating regular masses, ‘or similar burdens which are not compatible with the liberty that is necessary for our manner of proceeding in the Lord’.\textsuperscript{19} Moreover, the Jesuits were not allowed to request or accept any money for their work, ‘that thus it may proceed in the divine service with greater liberty and greater edification of our neighbours’.\textsuperscript{20} Nevertheless, the Order accepted the responsibility of working on \textit{doctrinas} in order to maintain their influence on the conversion of the natives,


\textsuperscript{20} Ignacio de Loyola, ‘Constituciones’, #565 in \textit{Obras Completas}, p. 566.
\end{footnotesize}
provided that their revenues be paid by the public treasury — and not by tribute — and that those revenues were used only for their basic needs.21 This would be combined with flying missions and colleges for the sons of caciques.22 They tended to establish those residences away from Spanish settlements, as they preferred to work exclusively with the natives.23

2. Assimilation or Segregation: The Idea of ‘Mal Ejemplo’

Fernando and Isabella, in the very early phase of colonisation, were confident that assimilation of the natives within the settler society was possible, and recommended that ‘some Christians marry some Indian women and that Christian women marry some Indian men, so the ones and the others will communicate with each other and the Indians will be instructed in the things of our Sacred Catholic Faith [...]’.24

Yet missionaries and secular members of the clergy in charge of native parishes quickly realised that the political and economic organisation of the colony would be a threat to native populations. Indeed, from the start of the colonisation of Hispaniola, the Crown relied on the encomienda system: the conquerors and their descendants were ‘entrusted’ (encomendados) with the care of the natives, and in exchange for their physical and pastoral care, would be allowed to collect tribute


23 Astrán, Historia de la Compañía de Jesús, tomo 3, p. 164.

24 Fernando y Isabella, ‘Instruccicon para el governador y los oficiales sobre el gobierno de las Indias’, Alcalá de Henares, 20 de marzo de 1503, y Zaragoza, 29 de marzo de 1503, in Richard Koneztke, Colección de documentos para la historia de la formación social de Hispanoamérica, 1493–1810, Madrid, 1953, tomo I, pp. 12–13. Translations are mine unless otherwise noted. See also Lyle N. McAllister, Spain and Portugal in the New World, 1492–1700, Minneapolis, MN, 1984, p. 156; Elliott, Empires of the Atlantic World, pp. 81–82.
and/or receive free labour (depending on the geographical area, circumstances, and needs) from the king’s vassals, the natives, in a given area. The *encomienda* meant that, in New Spain and Peru, as opposed to New England, the most important aspect of early colonisation was settlement in a densely populated area, rather than seeking out empty lands (which the *encomenderos* did not own in any case, as their reward was tribute or labour, not the land on which the natives lived). This system had been denounced since the early sixteenth century by missionaries, in particular Bartolomé de las Casas, who complained of the enslavement and bad care of the natives by the *encomenderos*. If the natives were supposedly free under the *encomienda* system (they owed labour or tribute, but were not the property of the *encomendero*), the early *encomiendas* usually were, as Charles Gibson has argued in the case of Mexico, particularly abusive. Indeed, if the system was, in theory, not meant to be harmful to the natives, labour extraction quickly trumped pastoral care. The Crown, ruling from a distant metropolis, was often unable to reconcile the needs of the settlers (especially in labour) with those of the natives.

The Spanish monarchy, as early as the sixteenth century, realised its lack of control over the conquistadores and attempted to protect the natives from abuse and enslavement on the part of Spanish settlers. Over the course of the sixteenth century, an increasing proportion of native groups were also put under direct royal authority.

---

and the natives were to provide personal service or tribute directly to the Crown, through the system of corregimiento (the Corregidor, a royal official, was to collect tribute for the Crown). This method was expected to limit abuses, but the great authority of Corregidores on native communities ultimately undermined the intended purpose of the system. Missionaries working in particularly poor frontier areas complained about royal tribute as much as about encomiendas. In 1637, Jesuit Tomás Basilio, working with the Yaquis in the frontier mission of Sinaloa in New Spain, pleaded on behalf of the indigenous people against the pressures generated by royal tribute:

In which part of the world do men who rely almost completely on alms, and have no houses, no room, no land, no money, nor the means to support their own lives, and are almost like beasts and game in the countryside, pay tribute to the king our lord? [...] In the world and cities of good government (policía) and manners, and in commonwealths, the poor beg to the rich [...] as the rich and poor are mixed together. But if all are poor and in need [...] where can they find rich people from whom they could earn something to pay the tributes and encomiendas?

The mistreatment of the natives by Spanish settlers led both the religious orders and the Crown, over the course of the sixteenth century, to switch from a perspective where interaction between Spaniards and natives would be beneficial to the latter, to a conception, especially held by the Jesuits, of the ‘bad example’ (mal ejemplo) of the Spaniards on native communities. The politics of assimilation was progressively replaced by a belief in segregation. As early as 1535, the Bishop of Michoacán, in Mexico, Vasco de Quiroga, had complained of ‘the bad examples in actions, of arrogance, lust, avarice [...] of traffics and all manners of profanities, hardly seeing in us the works of true Christians’. Vasco de Quiroga was, with

31 Gibson, The Aztecs Under Spanish Rule, p. 59; McAlister, Spain and Portugal in the New World, p. 161; Mörner, La Corona española y los foráneos en los pueblos de indios, pp. 162–163.
32 Elliott, ‘Spain and America’, pp. 311–313.
34 Vasco de Quiroga, ‘Información en derecho del Licenciado Quiroga sobre algunas provisiones del Real Consejo de Indias’ (1535) in Ministerio de Ultramar, Colección de documentos inéditos relativivos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de América y Oceanía, sacados de los Archivos del Reino, y muy especialmente del de Indias, Madrid, 1868, vol. X,
Bartholomé de las Casas, initiating a long tradition of Christian humanist and Erasmian thought regarding the protection and conversion of the natives. In terms reminiscent to Thomas More’s Utopia, the natives were praised for their disregard and contempt for everything superfluous [...] as if they were not subjected to fortune, pure, wise (prudentes) and innocent (simplecísimos) [...] being content with very little, and only what they need for the day, although it is very little, without care for the next day, contemptuous or oblivious of all those other things so beloved, sought after and coveted in our turbulent world (revoltoso), with all its greed, ambition, arrogance, ostentation, boasting, its labours and anxiety, so forgotten and disregarded by them in this Golden world of theirs (en este dorado suyo) [...].

Quiroga’s writings set a discursive pattern that would be powerful in Spanish writings through the seventeenth century. According to Quiroga, despite all their qualities reminiscent of the Golden Age, the natives needed to be organised in Christian congregations, so that ‘thanks to their humility, obedience, and great, incredible patience, what can hardly be reformed in us anymore because of our arrogance, will be reformed in them’. Quiroga thought that it was necessary to isolate...

37 Quiroga, ‘Informacion en derecho’, p. 463. On Quiroga’s vision of the natives as living in the Golden Age, their capacity for reformation, and his willingness to establish a church similar to ‘the primitive church of the Apostles’ amongst them, see: Quiroga, ‘Informacion en derecho’, pp. 489–493. On this, see Bernardino Verástique, Michoacán and Eden: Vasco de Quiroga and the Evangelization of Western Mexico, Austin, 2000, pp. 118–119, 121. There is a tension in Quiroga’s writings about his perception of the natives as living in a Golden Age (he claimed that More had used their example to write Utopia),
the natives from the bad influence of the settlers, in order to let their unspoiled disposition towards reform flourish, to better convert and protect them, and to establish a Christian society akin to the primitive church amongst converted natives. Quiroga’s *pueblo-hospitals* (native villages in which the poor, orphans, widows, and sick were taken care of and educated) were a real attempt at practical Christianity, and his system was directly — and explicitly — based on Thomas More’s *Utopia.* The natives would be organised in families of ten to twelve couples, under the ultimate authority of a rector, a priest chosen by Quiroga himself. They were to wear uniform, neutral clothing, work six hours a day for the common good, and learn the Christian doctrine as well as letters and farming. This particular missionary tradition, which envisioned the missions as an experiment in practical Christianity and primitivism, and insisted on the imitation of Christ, and on virtues such as charity and industry, was to find a new vigour in the seventeenth century with the Jesuits’ missions. The idea of a highly organised system, based on a communal lifestyle, and the criticism of European settlers and society, inspired by sixteenth-century Christian Humanists such as Erasmus and Thomas More, would in the seventeenth century become central elements of the Spanish Jesuits’ writings, and would also be used by Franciscans and members of the secular clergy in charge of native parishes.

and their need for reform because of their ignorance of Christianity and civility (he wanted to copy the overly disciplined and organised system proposed in *Utopia* for his villages) — On the relationship between the discovery of the New World and *Utopia*, see Alfred A. Cave, ‘Thomas More and the New World’, *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, Vol. 23, No. 2 (Summer, 1991), pp. 209–229.


3. **Missions on the Frontier**

In frontier missions such as the Rio de la Plata region and Northern Mexico, the Jesuits were confronted with a series of problems typical of what converters and new converts could face in a colonial setting. They were resented by the Spanish settlers as they resisted personal service from natives in the process of being converted; denounced by the local secular clergy against whom they competed; disliked by the civil authorities as they had obtained exemption from tribute for their neophytes; attacked by bands of slavers and settlers in search for labour; raided by bands of unconverted natives; and struck by famine and plague. In Paraguay, the Jesuits got caught in the middle of the conflict between Spain and Portugal over their possessions in the New World at the end of the Iberian Union (1640–1668). These issues would ultimately lead to their expulsion from Spain and its empires in 1767.

---


In 1607, a royal edict addressed the problem of the relationship between conversion and tribute or personal service: those natives who voluntarily converted and received baptism could not be submitted to personal service or tribute and were exempt of taxation for ten years. Yet Jesuit Provincial of Paraguay Diego de Torres still complained in his annual report of 1609:

the personal service that the Spanish encomenderos […] get from the Indians amounts to using them and their wives and sons as slaves […] and in many offices and labours, they put lost men to extort [the natives’] work and sweat, who treat them worse than slaves and, as they would for beasts, they separate them from their wives and sons […] and what is worse, those encomenderos […] have a specific obligation to teach sufficient [religious] doctrine to their indians but they do it minimally, preferring their temporal interests, they keep many occupied for their whole lives away from their villages and others they keep on their haciendas in the countryside, and do not keep them in separate reductions where the priests can teach them conveniently […]..

According to de Torres, ‘the Spaniards hate us, because we reprimand them for their greed, and defend the liberty of the indians’. As late as 1637, the Provincial

---


44 Diego de Torres, ‘Primera carta, 17 de Mayo de 1609’, in Valle Iberlucea, Documentos para la historia Argentina, vol. 19, p. 9. Francisco de Alfaro visited Paraguay and promulgated new ordinances in 1610. The ordinances are reproduced in Aldea Vaquero, El Indio Peruano: ‘Ordenanzas de Francisco de Alfaro para la Gobernación del Paraguay y del Río de la Plata’ (1611), pp. 497–521, and ‘Ordenanzas de Francisco de Alfaro para la Gobernación de Tucumán’ (1612), pp. 525–568. See also ‘R. aprobación de las ordenanzas arriba insertas que el licenciado don Francisco de Alfaro, oidor de la audiencia de Lima, hizo para el gobierno de los indios de las provincias del Paraguay y Rio de la Plata, con las declaraciones y limitaciones que van puestas al pie de algunos capitulos de las dichas ordenanzas’, Madrid, 10 de octubre de 1618, in Konetzke, Colección de documentos para la historia de la formación social de Hispanoamérica, tomo II.1, pp. 202–228. On the lack of success, see for example the new edict of 1633 on the same topic: Recopilacion, Libro VI, Titulo V, De los tributos y tasas, Ley XXV, vol. II, p. 245. On similar requests for exemption of tribute and repartimiento in New Spain, see Perez de Ribas, Historia de los triunfos de nuestra Santa Fee, p. 545. For a strong critique of personal service in New Spain, see Franciscan Juan de Silva, Advertencias importantes, acerca del bien gobierno, y administracion de las Indias, assi en lo espiritual, como en lo temporal,…, Madrid, 1621, fos. 13 r., 25 v., 26 r., 28 r., 32 r., 39 v. On similar complaints in Chile, see Prieto, Missionary Scientists, pp. 44–45.

Diego de Boroa still complained about the situation in Asunción, the Capital of Paraguay: the Fathers’ opposition to personal service and enslavement, ‘was the cause of so much hatred towards the Society, they loathed the Jesuits as if they were the plague of the commonwealth, asking loudly everywhere, that they be expelled from the city […].’

According to the Jesuits, a major issue was that those Spaniards lived in remote areas of yet incompletely discovered territory, where members of the clergy were scarce and schooling was not available. For Diego de Torres in 1614, ‘of this great shortage (of priests) it follows that they are maybe more evil than the infidels, and full of a bestial cruelty towards the indians, and that they commit with impunity all sorts of evil acts against God’. Thus, the Jesuits in Paraguay also held missions among the Spaniards: in Córdoba de Tucumán, for example, they preached numerous sermons, worked especially during Lent, and supposedly managed (in the words of a contemporary) to impress and reform many of the Spaniards with ‘the Spiritual Exercises, general confession, and the restitutions made to the natives (which is very hard for the Spaniards, which is why they avoid confession with Jesuits)’. In New Spain also, the Jesuits worked actively with the Spaniards, especially during Lent.

---


47 On lack of schooling in frontier areas of New Spain, see Andrés Pérez de Ribas, ‘Crónica y Historia Religiosa de la Provincia de la Compañía de Jesús de México, en Nueva España… hasta el año de 1654’, in Francisco González de Cossío, ed., Cronicas de la Compañía de Jesus en la Nueva España, Mexico, 1957, pp. 154.


they had been reluctant to accept native doctrinas, the Jesuits who worked on native missions did not want to be in charge of Spanish parishes, but they were willing, as in Spain, to go on ‘shock’ missions to the settlers. Work with the Spaniards was often presented as more difficult than the conversion of the natives. In 1611, Diego de Torres contrasted the Spaniards’ ‘wicked tyranny, daring robberies and greed so unworthy of a Christian’ to the natives’ behaviour: ‘docile, humble, and dispossessed of any temporal wealth’, which made them, according to the Provincial, easier to convert.51

Aside from the problem of personal service, the Jesuit reductions in Paraguay were also faced with a life-threatening issue: bandeiras, expeditions led by inhabitants of São Paulo to enslave natives. The raids on the reductions started from 1611, and intensified over the course of the first half of the seventeenth century.52 Finding little help from hostile Spanish settlers and authorities, the Jesuits decided in 1631 to relocate some of their converted brethren (around 15,000 people) to the west farther from São Paulo and closer to Spanish settlements.53 This did not stop the paulistas from attacking the new settlements, as well as reductions in areas surrounding Guayrá, Tape and Itatín.54 The Jesuits, believing that the attacks were not only a threat to the liberty of the natives, but also to the ‘authority of the ministers of the Gospel’ over the natives, considered armed resistance. The Jesuits wanted to openly support the natives, as many thought that the Fathers were gathering them to make them an easier prey for enslavement. It was necessary to:

remove from many heads this deep mistake, to think that the fathers were cowards who betrayed their religion in any case of emergency, that they were idle peoples and wanderers, nothing more than beggars […] And all their efforts in gathering the barbarians in reductions did not serve any purpose but to deliver them to their enemies more easily […]55

---

54 Astráin, Historia de la Compañía de Jesús, tomo 5, p. 556.
In 1640, Father Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, the head of the Guayrá missions, obtained an unprecedented authorisation from Philip IV to arm the natives for their protection.\textsuperscript{56} The purchase of weapons was funded by the Jesuits’ own salaries and the agricultural surplus generated by native labour at the missions.\textsuperscript{57}

The Jesuits often believed that the settlers’ behaviour was one of the reasons why the natives occasionally revolted. Slaving raids to get labour to work in surrounding silver mines were notoriously common practice on the frontier of New Spain.\textsuperscript{58} In the aftermath of a revolt of the Tarahumara people in Nueva Vizcaya in 1652, during which two missionaries lost their lives, Jesuit José Pascual explained that ‘the Tarahumara have only defended what they consider theirs and have revenged themselves on the Spaniards whom they thought had harmed them’. For Pascual, this happened because ‘although they had some reason for complaint, […] there was no way legally to redress their grievances’.\textsuperscript{59} Mistreatment of the natives by settlers generated deep suspicion of the priests on the part of the natives. In 1621, Franciscan Juan de Silva raised criticisms similar to those of the Jesuits about New Spain. For de Silva, ‘if the Indians kill the priests, it is not so much because of their ferocity, and barbarity (atrocidad), as it is the fault of the Spaniards, and of the reasonable fear [the natives] have of them and of their priests, whom they think are participant and coadjutant in their evil deeds (maldades)’.\textsuperscript{60} The violence of the Spaniards, and their demands for personal service, said de Silva, generated in the natives a complete ‘loathing and fatal hatred of our sacred Catholic faith’. ‘It is not surprising’, said de Silva, ‘that this way of preaching the Gospel had such a catastrophic outcome’.\textsuperscript{61}


\textsuperscript{57} Borah, ‘Latin America 1610–60’, p. 712.


\textsuperscript{60} Silva, \textit{Advertencias importantes}, fo. 13 v.

\textsuperscript{61} Silva, \textit{Advertencias importantes}, fo. 10 r. On similar complaints by Franciscans at an earlier date, see ‘Parecer del P. Provincial y otros religiosos teólogos de la orden de San Francisco, dado en México á 8 de Marzo de 1594, acerca de los Indios que se dan en repartimiento á los Españoles’, in Icazbalceta, \textit{Nueva colección de documentos para la historia de México}, vol. 1, pp. 170–173.
The criticism of settlers’ disruptive behaviours was not the sole preserve of the regulars. In 1654, secular priest Diego de Medrano, although his stance was very harsh on other native nations who revolted, judged the Tarahumara in a way similar to José Pascual’s perspective. Indeed, Medrano regretted the Spaniards’ ‘unquenchable thirst for quick riches’, which had led them to enslave the wives and children of those Tarahumara, a fact which has given them the occasion to become evil (malearlos) and given them a good reason to do so (habilitarlos), so much so that from meek lambs unskilled in the use of arms they have passed from this extreme to the opposite, and become extremely brave warriors, and it cannot be denied that, in having systematically waged war upon this nation which did not first make war on us, royal funds have been wasted and the kingdom as a whole has gone to perdition. It has always been understood and recognized that the Tarahumaras are justified in their wars because they have sought only to defend themselves […]

Many missionaries working with the natives heavily relied on the notion of a European ‘bad example’ and resorted to segregationist policies to keep their charges safe. They attempted to keep their reductions isolated from Spanish influences and settlements. They repeatedly complained about the tribute system, and especially about what they identified as European greed. By the seventeenth century, the term

---

62 ‘Relación del licenciado Diego de Medrano, cura de la ciudad de Durango, cabecera del reino de la Nueva Vizcaya… 31 de agosto de 1654’, in Naylor and Polzer, The Presidio and Militia, vol. I, p. 456. On similar criticisms from a bishop in charge of a campaign for the extirpation of idolatry, see Pedro de Villagómez, Carta Pastoral de Exortacion e instruccion contra las idolatrias de los indios del Arçobispado de Lima… A Svs visitadores de las idolatrias, y a svs vicarios, y cvras de las Doctrinas de Indios, Lima, 1649, fo. 21 r.–v. The Jesuits were not always comfortable in taking part in extirpation campaigns, as they considered it would jeopardise the relationship they had with their native neophytes. On Villagómez’ extirpation campaign and the Jesuits’ position, see Kenneth Mills, Idolatry and its Enemies: Colonial Andean Religion and Extirpation, 1640–1750, Princeton, NJ, 1997, chapter 5, and on the Jesuits, pp. 162–164. See also Alonso de la Peña Montenegro’s complaint that the Spaniards were ‘blind with greed’: Alonso de la Peña Montenegro, Itinerario para parochos de indios: en que se tratan las materias mas particulares, tocantes á ellos, para su buena administracion (1668), Ambers, 1726, p. 402.

63 The Jesuits had been chosen by Vasco de Quiroga to be in charge of the college dedicated to the education of the priests in charge of the pueblo-hospitals. Unfortunately, they arrived to New Spain after the death of Quiroga, but took over the administration of the College, San Nicolás: Verástique, Michoacán and Eden, p. 96.

‘Perulero’ (Spaniards who travelled to Peru) had become synonymous with greed.\(^{65}\) Pedro de Oñate, Provincial of Paraguay between 1615 and 1624, claimed that the Spaniards were ‘a hindrance to the natives concerning their salvation, and we have the experience that where there are no Spaniards, but only Indians, our work is successful (se goçan los trabajos de los nuestros), and where there are Spaniards, no matter our efforts, we fail’.\(^{66}\) These complaints did influence the Crown, and measures were taken to segregate Indian villages from Spanish encroachment, and to settle them in separate neighbourhoods in urban centres. ‘Spaniards, negroes, mulattos or mestizos’ were not allowed to live in Indian villages, and could not remain there for more than a day, as the Crown believed that the people who wanted to dwell amongst the natives were usually ‘restless, people of evil living, thieves, gamblers, dissolute and degenerate people’, who would teach their bad customs and vices to the natives.\(^{67}\)

If the Crown, under the influence of missionaries, had progressively changed its policies from assimilation to segregation in the sixteenth century, by the end of the seventeenth century, assimilation became prevalent again in Spanish policies. Intensified regalism (increased authority of the monarchy over ecclesiastical affairs) implied an insistence on the assimilation of the subjects of empire to Castilian culture, and an extended direct authority by royal officials over mission Indians.\(^{68}\) A series of laws were issued in the late seventeenth century to promote the teaching of Castilian to the natives, and of the Catholic doctrine in Spanish.\(^{69}\) The concept of residential


separation was progressively eliminated over the first half of the eighteenth century.\textsuperscript{70} By the second half of the eighteenth century, assimilation had become the usual practice. After the expulsion of the Jesuits, in 1767 Jesuit missions were put under the authority of royal officials.\textsuperscript{71} Assimilation was the order of the day, so much so that former Jesuit Bernardo Recio could affirm about the natives in 1773, in total contrast to his predecessors, that

although they have a royal privilege that prevents Spaniards from coming in their villages, however, one cannot deny that blending and trading with the Spaniards, mestizos, and negroes, drives them to abandon their roughness and barbarity and arouses faith in them, and they learn more easily the sacred dogmas, rites, and customs of Christians.\textsuperscript{72}

III. New France

1. The Birth of the Colony and Religious Conflicts

From the beginnings of exploration until 1663, the French Crown relied on trade monopolies granted to commercial companies whose members were expected to people and exploit New France for the monarch. As the Spanish Crown did with the conquistadores, the French monarchs did not directly fund explorations or settlement, but left it to the care of companies. Their members received monopoly rights in exchange for their investments.\textsuperscript{73} In his 1603 Commission, the king granted a monopoly on the fur trade (to Huguenot merchants), under the condition that the Company bring settlers and work for the conversion of the natives to the ‘Christian


\textsuperscript{71} Mörner, \textit{La Corona española y los foráneos en los pueblos de indios}, pp. 322–338.


\textsuperscript{73} Bernardo Recio, \textit{Compendiosa relaciónde la cristianidad de Quito} (1774), Madrid, 1947, p. 476. See also José Cardiel, ‘Breve relación de las Misiones del Paraguay’ (1770), in Hernández, \textit{Organización social de las doctrinas Guaraníes}, vol. 2, p. 543.
In Canada as in Acadia, the stipulation to ‘people, cultivate, & have the said lands inhabited (faire habituer lédites terres) as promptly, carefully, and skilfully as the time, place, and conveniences will allow’, was also demanded from the king to grant the monopoly, and was repeated in the following grants. Yet, it was never entirely respected. Initially, Pierre du Gua de Monts, the first monopoly recipient in 1603, was expected to bring a hundred settlers with him on his first voyage, but he managed to decrease the number to sixty. Even if the Crown did not have an elaborate colonial policy before 1627, having trading posts was probably the only way to guarantee the protection of the lands against foreign (Dutch and English) encroachments. The low numbers of emigrants were regretted by political thinkers in France such as Antoine de Montchrestien, who argued in 1615 that New France would be a solution to the problem of overpopulation in France. According to Montchrestien, ‘since peace, the population multiplied infinitely […] People stifle one another’, which was the cause of increasing poverty. Those calls were not heard in
France. By 1627, there were only 107 Frenchmen in New France. The numbers did not grow steadily over the course of the century: only 356 Frenchmen were in New France by 1640, 3,035 by 1663, and 10,725 by 1685. By contrast, Massachusetts already had nearly 20,000 immigrants by 1646, and the population steadily increased to over 160,000 by 1685.80 In New France, which was originally settled by individual merchants and trappers, natural increase was insignificant compared to New England, which was settled by families and thus benefited from endogenous increase. The French and English calls for emigration in the first half of the century were in stark contrast with the Spanish perception of emigration to America. In Spain, from whence about 450,000 Spaniards emigrated to the New World in the seventeenth century, and where population was generally in decline, the colonies were rather thought to be the cause of depopulation (which was related to a fear of empty lands, despoblados) and subsequent poverty of the country, an anxiety which also arose in the second half of the century in England.81

The Jesuits in France benefited from the help of powerful supporters at court, and two Jesuits first arrived in New France in 1611.82 After English attacks in 1612, few missions were undertaken in Acadia, about which there are very few sources.83 In the Saint Lawrence valley, it was only in 1614 that four members of the Recoll order (a reformed branch of the Franciscan order), with the support of Louis Houël, a

---


French dévôt, were sent to Canada. By 1625, the Recollects were overwhelmed by the magnitude of the task, and asked the Jesuits for help.

At the beginning of settlement, the Society of Jesus was not in favour within the colony. As I have already mentioned, the Society of Jesus was deeply suspected in France, especially by ‘erudite Gallicans’. The Order was no less under attack in Acadia. Marc Lescarbot, who had sailed to New France in 1606, was particularly suspicious of the Jesuits. Like many of the erudite Gallicans and politiques in France, he had received a classical education in Paris, and studied canon and civil law. A Roman Catholic, Lescarbot nevertheless cultivated friendships with several Huguenots. Lescarbot spent only one year in Acadia, but wrote extensively about New France, and made several acerbic comments about the Society of Jesus. Those comments illustrate the mood of the colony concerning the Order. Lescarbot’s work was very popular, widely published, and translated into English and German. In a thinly veiled attack against the Order, Lescarbot contrasted the usefulness of secular priests to the authoritarianism and puritanical outlook of the Jesuits in New France:

There are in that country (pardela) some men of the Church, of good knowledge, whom nothing but their zeal for Religion has taken there, and who will not fail to do all that piety requires in this respect. Now, for the present, there is no need of any awe-inspiring Doctors (ces Docteurs sublimes) who may be more useful in combating vices and heresies at home (pardeça). Besides, there are a certain kinds of men whom we cannot really trust (desquels on ne se peut bien assurer), who make it their profession of censuring everything that is not in harmony with their maxims, & wish to rule wherever they are. It is enough to be watched from abroad without having these fault-finders, who watch and record every single movement of your body and heart, from whom even the greatest Kings cannot defend themselves.

These terms express a general feeling in seventeenth-century France among erudite populations concerning the Jesuits. But the Jesuits had a different perspective, and in 1636, Paul le Jeune explained why he thought conversion had been non-existent in the

84 Deslandres, Croire et faire croire, pp. 238–39.
85 Trudel, The Beginnings, p. 135.
86 Trudel, The Beginnings, p. 107. See also: Factum du Procès entre Jean de Biencourt, Sr de Poutrincourt et les Pères Biard et Massé, p. 4.
87 See this thesis, chapter 1. Lescarbot claimed he was imbued with ‘Gallican freedom’, see Histoire de la Nouvelle France, p. 475.
89 Marc Lescarbot, La Conversion des Savvages qui ont esté baptizés en la Novvelle France, cette annee 1610, avec un bref recit du voyage du Sieur De Poutrincovrt, Paris, 1610, p. 25. Lescarbot also contrasted the utility of missions to the contemplative regular life, see p. 36.
early days of the colony: ‘you will not be surprised that the faith made no progress in these countries, while a heretic had the principal supervision of affairs here, & authority over those who might have devoted themselves to that work’. 90 Things were to change with the involvement in the conversion project of devout circles in France, and the reorganisation of the colony by Cardinal de Richelieu.

2. Reorganisation by Richelieu and the Influence of the Devout Movement

By 1627, the French colony in the St Lawrence valley was still in its infancy. 91 But Cardinal de Richelieu had plans for France’s colonial policy. The reason for his willingness to ‘establish a powerful colony’, was, according to the Cardinal, to ‘try, with divine assistance, to bring the peoples who live there to the knowledge of the true God, to make them civil (de les faire policer) and to instruct them in the faith and the Catholic, Roman apostolic religion’, a task which could only be accomplished by peopling the said land with Catholic French citizens (naturels), who would, by their example, ‘incline those nations towards the Christian faith and civil life’. According to Richelieu, the previous companies had completely failed to accomplish this task. 92 In exchange for a monopoly on trade, the new ‘Company of One Hundred Associates’, of which Richelieu was himself a member, was expected to settle four thousand colonists, to the exclusion of Protestants and foreigners. The Company was expected to guarantee the settlers’ subsistence for three years and provide them with land; and to maintain three ecclesiastics at each settlement. 93

But Richelieu’s plans were hindered by the attack on Quebec in 1629 of the brothers Kirke, Huguenot merchants, in the name of king Charles I of England. New France’s colonisation project was interrupted until the signature of the Treaty of St

---

Germain en Laye, in 1632, which restored the lands of New France to the French Crown.\textsuperscript{94} Paul Le Jeune commented on trade companies in New France before Richelieu’s intervention:

The Lilies [the symbol of the French crown] died here in their birth; the few French who dwelt here were Strangers in their own Land. In short, these immense Provinces could aspire to no higher fortune than to be made a storehouse for the skins of dead animals […] Behold to what height the glory of New France could attain under the bondage of the Foreigner, or under the administration of those who love it only for its spoils.\textsuperscript{95}

But this situation was to change once the Jesuits set foot in the Saint Lawrence valley in the late 1620s. The members of the Company of the Blessed Sacrament, discussed in chapter one, were critically involved in the development of missions in the New World. In 1625, Henri de Lévis, duc de Ventadour became Lieutenant General of New France. He supported and funded the mission of the Jesuits to New France. His interest in the missions seems to have been influenced by his confessor, the Jesuit Philibert Noyrot, who played an instrumental role in supporting the missions.\textsuperscript{96} Ventadour was also responsible for the founding of the Company of the Blessed Sacrament, created in 1629, and which was at the origin of the foundation of Montreal. His work for the missions of New France was intimately related to his involvement in the efforts for the reformation of Old France. The Company was particularly harsh towards Huguenots, and Ventadour seems to have had an influence on Richelieu’s decision to forbid their presence in New France from 1627 on.\textsuperscript{97} Jérôme Le Royer de la Dauversière and Jean-Jacques Olier, also both members of the Company of the Blessed Sacrament, created the ‘Société Notre-Dame de Montréal pour la conversion des sauvages’, which founded Ville-Marie (the future Montreal) in 1642. Charles Lalemant, the first superior of the mission in Quebec from 1625 to 1629, entertained friendly relationships with various members of the Company of the Blessed Sacrament. The first Vicar Apostolic of New France (a vicariate was considered a mission territory, Quebec only became a diocese, and thus only had a bishop, in 1674), François de Laval, was nominated in 1658 and was supported by the


Jesuits in New France. He was also a member of the Company of the Blessed Sacrament, and a pupil of the Jesuits. The Company was also responsible for the establishment of feminine religious orders in New France.  

In New France, not only did the Jesuits have a religious monopoly until the nomination of Laval as Vicar Apostolic in 1658, they were also deeply involved in civil affairs. The superior of the Jesuits in New France had an informal influence on the decisions of the governor, who had authority in civil and military matters, until 1647, when this role was formalised. The ‘Council of Three’, composed of the governor of Quebec, the governor of Montreal, and the superior of the Jesuits, guaranteed that the Society would have a prominent role in the regulation of trade and in legislative affairs. Jurisdictional conflicts between the Crown and the Holy See, and between orders, regularly occurred over the century, but the Jesuits’ powerful position prevailed until the colony was brought under royal administration in 1663.

3. Segregation versus Assimilation

The Jesuits were, as in New Spain and Peru, very critical of French settlers. The Recollects had also repeatedly complained, but the solution they offered was to reinforce the supervision of settlers so as to make assimilation advantageous, rather than to segregate the two groups. By contrast, the Jesuits, as in Paraguay, upheld a
policy of segregation for their native neophytes. They combined a system of reservations (although these were not very successful with the natives, as already mentioned) with flying missions.\textsuperscript{104} Settlers were forbidden to trade with domiciled natives.\textsuperscript{105} Here as in Paraguay and Nueva Vizcaya, there was no dichotomy between barbaric natives and pious settlers. The Fathers believed that the people who had been sent to New France were uneducated and in need of guidance, sometimes as much or even more so than the natives were. Pierre Biard complained about the sailors who peopled the shores of New France at the early stages of colonisation:

\[
[\ldots] \text{sailors, who form the greater part of our parishioners are ordinarily quite insensitive to the feelings of the soul (\textit{insensibles au sentiment de leur âme}), having no sign of religion except in their curses and blasphemies, nor any knowledge of God beyond the simplest conceptions which they bring with them from France, clouded with licentiousness and the cavilings and revilings of heretics (\textit{offusquée du libertinage et des objections et bouffonneries mesdisantes des heretiques).}}
\]

The Fathers were aware of the danger of bad example for conversion. As Superior of the missions, Paul le Jeune acknowledged in 1637:

\[
\text{I know there are dirty souls who with their brutal language scandalize the Savages; these Barbarians say to me quite often, You say one must not steal, & yet your French have taken from us such and such things; you say drunkards will go into the fires of hell, then so-and-so will be damned, for he is always drunk.}\textsuperscript{106}
\]

These complaints, as in New Spain and Peru had two consequences. The Jesuits, in this context, had to ‘perform the offices of the Curate’, which was, as we have seen with similar issues in Paraguay and New Spain, forbidden by their Constitutions. Biard complained that the Jesuits had to ‘say mass every day, and to solemnly sing it every Sunday and holidays, together with Vespers, and frequently the procession; to offer public prayers morning and evening; to exhort, console, administer the sacraments, bury the dead’ for Europeans. The second consequence was that, also as

\textsuperscript{104} Father le Jeune noted the influence of ‘Paraquais’, and compared the Hurons to the Guaranís: Paul le Jeune, \textit{Relation de ce qui s'est passé en la Nouvelle France en l'année 1637 envoyée au R. Pere provincial de la Compagnie de Jesus en la province de France}, Rouen, 1638, pp. 304–305.


\textsuperscript{106} Le Jeune, \textit{Relation de 1637}, p. 22. I translated the verb ‘offusquer’ as clouded, as the term meant in the seventeenth century ‘to prevent from seeing or being seen, to obscure’: \textit{Le Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française}, Paris, 1694, p. 147. For similar comments, see also Saint-Vallier, \textit{Relation des missions de la Nouvelle France}, pp. 84, 89.
in Spanish frontier areas, the bad example of the settlers was deemed to be very
dangerous for the authority of missionaries and the conversion of the natives:

[…] it can be seen what hope there is of establishing a flourishing Christian
church by such evangelists. The first thing the poor Savages learn are curses,
vile and insulting words; and you will often hear the women Savages (who
otherwise are very timid and modest), hurl at our people rotten and shameless
abuses (de grosses pourries et eshontées oppobres), in the French language;
not that they know the meaning of them, but only because they see that with
such words they get general laughter and amusement.¹⁰⁷

For the Jesuits, the natives were still innocent, as they did not utter these insults for
wicked reasons, and they needed to be preserved from the settlers’ nefarious influence
and remain under the authority of missionaries.

4. Changes in Policy

The Jesuits’ segregationist policy did not coincide with Louis XIV’s — and
Jean-Baptiste Colbert’s — colonial vision. The colony was put under royal
administration in 1663, and new policies were established.¹⁰⁸ The Jesuits, in their
missionary work, because they were seeking a degree of accommodation with native
customs, antagonised the court. If the Recollects regularly complained about the
behaviour of French settlers, this was more an appeal to the Crown to implement
policies that would suit their goals of assimilation than a clear policy of segregation or
any attempt at accommodation regarding native customs. The king was determined to
reinforce the Gallican position, and claimed that the Jesuits had ‘acquired an authority
that goes beyond their office, which should only be concerned with consciences’. In
1665, the royal intendant, Jean Talon, was informed that it was

absolutely necessary to keep a just balance between temporal authority,
which resides in the person of the King and his representatives, and
spiritual authority, which resides in the person of the Holy Bishop and the
Jesuits, in such manner, nevertheless, that the latter be inferior to the
former.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁸ On the new policy reinforcing royal authority, see Gilles Havard et Cécile Vidal, Histoire de
¹⁰⁹ ‘Instructions au Sieur Talon, Intendant, 27 mars 1665’, Collection de manuscrits contenant lettres,
mémoires, et autres documents historiques relatifs à la Nouvelle-France, vol. I, p. 176. On this, see
Cornelius Jaenen, ‘Church-State Relations in Canada (1604–1685)’, Canadian Catholic Historical
Association Study Sessions, No. 34 (1967), p. 16, although Jaenen uses a form of this quotation which
reads: ‘It is absolutely necessary to hold in just balance the temporal authority, which resides in the
person of the said Bishop and the Jesuits, in such a manner, nevertheless, that the latter be always
Whereas in New Spain, the conflict between ultramontane and royal authority played out between the secular and regular clergy, in New France, Bishop Laval remained supportive of the Society of Jesus and faced opposition from French officials.

The main disagreement broke out between Louis de Buade de Frontenac, governor general of New France between 1672 and 1682, and 1689 and 1698, and religious authorities, and was related to the sale of liquor to the natives. All religious workers perceived alcohol as a major impediment to conversion. Since 1633, multiple laws had been promulgated to prevent the sale of liquor to the natives. The natives themselves repeatedly complained about the nefarious effects of liquor on their peoples. In 1633, an Algonquian tribe protested against the imprisonment of one of their members for killing a Frenchman: ‘Put your wine & your brandy in prison, they say, it is your drinks that do all the evil, & not we’. In 1668, the law was changed, and the French were authorised to sell liquor to the natives. Instead, it was the natives themselves who would be punished if they were found inebriated. The justification for the new laws was that it was necessary for the natives to live amongst the French, and that the sale of liquor was important for the fur trade. The law on liquor was thus inferior to the former. The original quotation clearly contrasts temporal and spiritual power, and not secular and regular authority within the church. On the roles of the intendant and governor, see Havard et Vidal, Histoire de l’Amérique française, pp. 156–159.


113 The manuscripts, ‘Arrêt du Conseil souverain de Québec portant permission à tous les Français habitants de la Nouvelle-France de vendre et débiter toute sorte de boissons aux Sauvages’ and ‘Arrêt du Conseil supérieur de Québec qui permet à toute personne de vendre des boissons aux Sauvages, défense à eux de s'enivrer sous les peines y portées’, November, 10th, 1668 are available online: www.archivescanadafrance.org, Archives nationales d'outre-mer (ANOM, France), COL C11A 125/fos.44–45v, and COL C11A 3/fos.19–20v, date accessed: 04/07/2011. On this, see Ratelle, L’application des lois et règlements français, pp. 14–16.
linked to a new policy on assimilation, and the Jesuits became increasingly critical of European settlers after 1668. In 1671, the superior of the Sulpicians in Montreal complained: ‘if brandy were kept away from all the Indians, we should have thousands of conversions to report […] this liquor has so diabolical an attraction for them that it ensnares all the natives in proximity to the French, save for a certain number of Hurons that God miraculously protects’.  

In 1676, the law was again amended to condemn to corporal punishment those Frenchmen who gave enough liquor to the natives to make them drunk (jusqu’à Cet Exces).  

As late as 1694, Father Claude Chauchetière still complained on the frontier: ‘If the European nations did not, with their brandy and their licentiousness, destroy the missionaries’ work, we would have fine churches in this country’.

In New Spain, liquor was not as important an issue as in New France, for the natives of South and Central America had used alcohol in a controlled manner in a spiritual context before the coming of the Europeans, and especially, because trade was not a central element of the economic development of the colonies. Yet, missionaries still repeatedly complained about intoxication. They considered that it was directly related to native pagan practices, and not necessarily the responsibility of European traders, although they criticised those who sold liquor to the natives. The sale and use of pulque (a traditional native beverage of Mexico) was banned in the sixteenth century, and the laws were reiterated in 1607 and 1672. In New France and New England, the sale of liquor was essential for the trade in furs. Missionaries in New France repeatedly associated the sale of liquor with greed. To them, drunkenness was caused by ‘the greed of European traders’, who, ‘in order to strip the Savages to their Very Shirts, […] follow them everywhere, to make them drink and become

---

114 François Dollier de Casson, Histoire du Montréal, 1640–1672, Montréal, 1871, p. 114. On this, see Axtell, The Invasion Within, pp. 64–68. Part of the quotation is translated in Axtell, p. 65. See also Saint-Vallier, Relation des missions de la Nouvelle France, pp. 29, 205–206.


intoxicated’. The church and the Gospel were being compromised ‘for the sake of nasty Lucre’, drunkenness was ‘spread far and wide by the greed of European traders, and the corrupt morals and criminal examples of Europeans’. Alcohol was such an issue that, according to Chauchetière in 1694, the Fathers desired ‘to see ourselves so far away from the French with our beloved savages that we may no longer have such stumbling-blocks’.

The disagreement between the Jesuits and French officials was not limited to the problem of liquor. The Crown, by the 1660s, rejected the Jesuits’ general policy of accommodation (in the flying missions) and segregation (on the reserves). Colbert expected that, by ‘mixing’ the natives with the French, ‘over time, as they will have but one law and one master, they will thus become one people and one blood (un mesme peuple et un mesme sang)’. Thus, as had happened in Spanish colonies, the official policy went from assimilation to segregation and back to assimilation by the end of the seventeenth century. In his instructions to the new intendant in 1668, Colbert complained:

It seems that so far, the maxim of the Jesuits has not been to bring the indigenes (habitants naturels) of this country to live in community with the French, either by giving them common lands and dwellings, or by the education of their children and by marriages. Their reason was, that they thought they could uphold with more purity the principles and sanctity of our religion by maintaining the way of life (dans leur forme de vivre) of the converted savages rather than by bringing them together with the French. As it is very easy to see how this principle is far removed from any good policy (de toute bonne conduite), as much for religion as for the State, we have to gently change their attitude, and use all the temporal authority that we have to attract the savages amongst the French, which can be done by marriages and education of their children.


In order to ‘moderate the assiduousness (la trop grande application) of the Jesuits to maintain a perhaps too great authority’, and return to conversion practices that would better suit the absolutist purposes of the minister, the Recollects were sent again to New France in 1673. Indeed, for Recollect Chrestien le Clercq, ‘to humanise [the natives] it was necessary that the French mingle with them, and to accustom them to live among us (les habituer parmy nous)’. Yet this change in policy and the reinforcement of assimilation practices did not have the expected results, and soon some officials came to conclusions similar to the Jesuits’. In 1685, the Marquis de Denonville, governor general of New France, complained to the Marquis de Seignelay (son of Colbert and Secretary of State for the Navy), that it has been claimed for a long time that bringing the Sauvages to our habitations would be the best way to accustom those people to live like us and learn our religion, I realise, my Lord, that the contrary happened as, rather than accustoming them to our laws, I can ascertain that they transmit to us their worst traits and only take what is bad and vicious in us (ils nous communiquent fort tout ce qu’ils ont de plus mechant et ne prennent eux mesmes que ce qu’il y a de mauvais et de vitieux en nous).

Despite this claim, the Crown, when possible, maintained a policy of assimilation. As had happened in Spanish colonies, the increasing authority of the Crown over colonial matters was accompanied by a tendency to unify the disparate elements composing the monarchy and to consider the natives as obedient subjects, assimilated to French subjects in the service of the monarchy. This policy was particularly difficult to implement in frontier areas among nomadic tribes. In this context, the monarchy maintained a policy of treaties rather than assimilation, as these nations, according to Governor Vaudreuil in 1711, ‘are not yet sufficiently dependent

---

124 Le Clercq, Premier établissement de la joy, p. 96.
on us to get them to change their customs and mores’. But as will be discussed in the following chapter, the language of treaties evolved from one of alliance to one of paternalism. The Jesuits maintained their policy of segregation, but increasingly lost influence in the eighteenth century.

IV. New England

1. The Massachusetts Bay Charter

As with previous English commercial ventures, the charter of the Massachusetts Bay Company organised its members as ‘one body corporate and politique in fact and name’. The shareholders were granted the right to make laws and govern the ‘plantation’, ‘soe as such lawes and ordinances be not contrarie or repugnant to the lawes and statutes of this our realme of England’. Thus the governor and the board had ‘full and absolute power and authoritie to correct, punishe, pardon, governe, and rule all such the subjects of us, our heires and successors’ living in New England.

During the great migration, between 1620 and 1642, over twenty-one thousand Englishmen and women migrated to the ‘Bible Commonwealths’. Before departing for New England in 1630, the members of the Company had decided to ensure that ‘the whole governement together with the Patent for the said plantacion bee first by an order of Court legally transferred and established to remayne with us and others which shall inhabite upon the said plantacion’. For the first time the government of a

127 The manuscript, ‘Lettre Vaudreuil à Nicholson, 14 janvier 1711’, is available online: www.archivescanadafrance.org, Archives nationales d'outre-mer (ANOM, France), COL C11A 31/fos.121–125 v., quotation on folio 122 v., date accessed: 06/06/2012.
131 The true coppie of the Agreement of Cambridge, August 26, 1629’, in E. S. Morgan, ed., The Founding of Massachusetts: Historians and The Sources, Indianapolis, 1964, pp. 183–84. The agreement was signed by, among others, Richard Saltonstall, Thomas Dudley, and John Winthrop. On
The colony was not in the hands of a board in England, on which the monarchy could keep an eye, but of the settlers themselves. Three months after their arrival in New England, the Governor, deputy governor and assistants of the colony decided that non-shareholders could join as freemen. Thus, the Puritans effectively ensured that they could organise their civil and religious government according to their own congregational ideals. The Puritans established in New England a Congregationalist and Calvinist-republican system (in other words, a precise inversion of royal policy in England under the personal rule of Charles I). In 1631, the General Court in Boston decided that only Visible Saints could vote or hold office, ‘to the end the body of the commons may be preserved of honest & good men’.

Despite their support for the religious and parliamentary cause in England, tensions soon arose during the Civil Wars and Interregnum. The New England experiment was instrumental in the Presbyterian/Independent debates of the 1640s. New Englanders were frequently criticised by Presbyterians for their congregational views and supposedly sectarian tendencies. They were often accused of being separatists, which they claimed they were not. Presbyterian Thomas Edwards assimilated New England Congregationalists with the Independents in England, thus making the case for the rejection of Independents’ demands:

debates within the board concerning the transfer of government, see Adams, *The Founding of New England*, p. 138.


135 During the civil war, in 1643, during the deliberations to establish the New England Confederation (an alliance between Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven), ‘there arose a scruple about the oath which the governor and the rest of the magistrates were to take, viz. about the first part of it: “You shall bear true faith and allegiance to our sovereign Lord King Charles,” seeing he had violated the privileges of parliament, and made war upon them, and thereby had lost much of his kingdom and many of his subjects; whereupon it was thought fit to omit that part of it for the present’: John Winthrop, *The History of New England from 1630 to 1649*, ed. James Savage, Boston, 1853, vol. II, p. 121.

These independent men where they have power (as in New England) will not give toleration for any other Ecclesiastical Government or Churches but in their own way [...] so that these men who now would faine have a toleration in this great Kingdome will not allow any in a remote Plantation, nor in one of their small particular Congregations, for feare of disturbing the peace of their Church, and yet would have a toleration in this Kingdome.137

New England Congregationalists tended to support English Independents in their writings, but never accepted the kind of liberty of conscience that Independents advocated in England.138 At the Cambridge synod of 1648, the elders endorsed Presbyterian doctrine, but reaffirmed their adherence to the congregational way in church discipline and order.139

In terms of political sovereignty, after the beginning of the civil war, the General Court recognised Parliament’s authority but still reaffirmed the Court’s jurisdiction in Massachusetts.140 The Court’s Committee explained in their response to Presbyterian Robert Child’s ‘Remonstrance and humble Petition’ of 1646 we have no laws diametrically opposite to those of England, for then they must be contrary to the law of God and of right reason, which the learned in those laws have ancienly and still do hold forth as the fundamental basis of their laws, and that if any thing hath been otherwise established, it was an error, and not a law, being against the intent of the law-makers, however it may bear the form of a law [...].141

The Court insisted that their corporation was above usual corporations in England: ‘And among the Romans, Grecians, and other nations, colonies have been esteemed

137 Thomas Edwards, Reasons against the independant government of particular congregations: as also against the toleration of such churches to be erected in this kingdome. Together with an answer to such reasons as are commonly allledged for such a toleration..., London, 1641, p. 32.

2. **The Idea of Bad Example in Puritan Writings**

When he started his work, John Eliot was inclined to settle converted natives into segregated praying towns, but in the vicinity of English settlements, ‘neare unto good examples’, as ‘if the Indians dwelt far from the English, […] they would not so much care to pray, nor would they be so ready to heare the Word of God’.\footnote{Thomas Shepard, *The clear sun-shine of the gospel breaking forth upon the Indians in New-England. Or, An historicall narration of Gods wonderfull workings upon sundry of the Indians, both chief governors and common-people….*, London, 1648, p. 3.} This is what Cogley has termed the ‘affective model’ of conversion: the natives would be attracted to Christianity by the example of English settlers.\footnote{Richard W. Cogley, *John Eliot’s Mission to the Indians Before King Philip’s War*, Cambridge, MA, 1999, pp. 5–6.} As the Spanish monarchy had affirmed in the early days of colonisation, the king’s 1629 Charter of Massachusetts Bay used this affective model, as the inhabitants’ ‘good Life and orderlie Conversacon, maie wynn and incite the Natives of Country, to the Knowledge and Obedience of the onlie true God and Sauior of Mankinde, and the Christian Fayth’.\footnote{‘The Charter of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay’, p. 17.} In 1630, John White, a Dorchester Puritan minister involved in the New
England Company, insisted that settlers should be ‘men of piety and blamelesse life, especially in such a Plantation as this in New-England, where their lives must be patterns to the Heathen, and the especiall, effectuall means of winning them to the love of the truth’.147

Yet as early as 1624 in Plymouth Colony, Pilgrim Edward Winslow complained about ‘many profane men, who being but seeming Christians, have made Christ and Christianitie stinke in the nostrils of the poore Infidels, and so laid a stumbling blocke before them: but woe be to them by whom such offenses come’.148 As missionaries in French and Spanish possessions, Eliot quickly realised that cohabitation had its problems: a great impediment to the teaching of the Gospel was that the natives were not willing to live near the English, as

they have neither tooles, nor skill, nor heart to fence their grounds; and if it be not well fenced, their Corne is so spoiled by the English Cattell, and the English so loath to restore when they want fence, that its a very great discouragement to them and me [...].

The solution for Eliot was to settle the natives in places ‘some what remote from the English’.149 Like French and Spanish missionaries, Puritans repeatedly complained about the malign influence of immoral settlers on the work of conversion. This was caused, according to Winslow, by the ‘carelessness of those that send over supplies of men’, who sent individuals ‘endued with bestial, yea, diabolical affections’.150 For John White, ‘men nourished up in idlenesse, unconstant, and affecting novelties, unwilling, stubborne, enclined to faction, covetous, luxurious, prodigall, and generally men habituated to any grosse evill, are not fit members of a Colony’.151 In 1657, Eliot

---

148 Edward Winslow, Good nevves from New-England: or A true relation of things very remarkable at the plantation of Plimoth in New-England Shewing the wondrous providence and goodness of God..., London, 1624, ‘The Epistle Dedicatory’. The reference is from Matthew, 18:7 [Geneva version]: ‘Woe be unto the world because of offences, for it must needs be that offences shall come, but woe be to that man by whom the offence cometh’.
149 John Eliot, in Edward Winslow, ed., The glorious progress of the Gospel, amongst the Indians in New England... Wherein the riches of Gods grace in the effectuall calling of many of them is cleared up: as also a manifestation of the hungering desires of many people in sundry parts of that country, after the more full revelation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ..., London, 1649, pp. 6–7.
151 White, The planters plea, p. 35. In 1641, English Puritan divines also complained about colonists in Virginia, who supposedly ‘are become exceeding rude, more likely to turne Heathen, then to turne
lamented about these problematic settlers: ‘our poor Indians are much molested in most places, in their proceedings in way of civility’.  

An important hindering for the conversion of the natives was the settlers’ greed for land. Eliot, who during the establishment of his first ‘praying town’, Natick, entered in conflict with the neighbouring town of Dedham, pleaded to the United Colonies: ‘My earnest request unto yourselves, is, That in all your respective Colonies you would take care that due Accommodation of Lands and Waters may be allowed them, […] and suffer not the English to strip them of all their Lands […]’. The settlers’ aggressive quest for land led the natives to become distrustful of Christianity. In his series of dialogues, ‘partly Historical, […] and partly Instructive’, between native proselytisers and unconverted natives, Eliot depicted a sceptical kinsman reacting to Christian notions of sin, heaven and hell:

May not we rather think that English men have invented these Stories to amaze and scare us out of our old Customes, and bring us to stand in awe of them, that they might wipe us of our Lands, and places too? and be beholding to them for that which is our own, and was ours, before we knew them.  

In 1634, an order from the court prevented settlers from buying land from the natives without the court’s approval. But the problem would endure. Nearly a century later, in 1714, the Mohegans were still making similar claims against conversion, and ‘said they could not see That men were ever the better for being Christians, for the English that were Christians would cheat the Indians of their Land and otherwise wrong them, and that their knowledge of books made them the more Cunning to Cheat others & so did more hurt than good’. Similar comments were also heard in New France.

others to the Christian faith’: William Castell, A Petition of W.C. exhibited to the high Court of Parliament now assembled, for the propagating of the Gospel in America..., [London], 1641, p. 10.
153 John Eliot, Indian Dialogues, for their Instruction in that great Service of Christ, in calling home their Country-men to the Knowledge of GOD, and of themselves, and of IESUS CHRIST, Cambridge, MA, 1671, ‘To the Right Worshipful, the Commissioners of the United Colonies in N.E.’.
154 Eliot, Indian Dialogues, pp. 1, 7.
156 Experience Mayhew, ‘Journal of the Rev. Experience Mayhew during part of September and October 1714’, in John W. Ford, ed., Some Correspondence between the Governors and Treasurers of the Commissioners of the United Colonies in America between the Years 1657 and 1712..., London, 1896, p. 120.
157 Huron captain Aëbons explained in 1637 to Jesuit François Le Mercier: ‘when you tell us to obey & acknowledge as our master him whom you say has created Heaven & earth, I imagine you are talking about overthrowing the country’. An Algonquian chief, Agwachimagan, told Huron converts in 1643: ‘I
The sale of liquor, as in New France, was also believed to be an important problem, although responses changed over time. From 1633 on, anyone willing to sell liquor in New England needed a licence, and the sale of alcohol to the natives was completely forbidden. The law concerning the sale of ‘rum, strong waters, wine, strong beere, brandie, syder, or peurry, or any other strong liquors going vnder any other name whatsoeur’ was changed multiple times — including once at the request of John Eliot, in 1648 — from complete ban to toleration, and again to prohibition.\(^{158}\)

The General Court remarked in 1654 that the natives were ‘frequently overcome & therby guilty of swinish drunkness, which oft times they atayne by some such of the traders as too much affect & regard their owne profitt’.\(^{159}\) In 1674, John Gookin, the superintendent of Indian affairs, complained that, despite the ban on the sale of liquor,

> some ill-disposed people, for filthy lucre’s sake, do sell unto the Indians secretly [...] the English in New England have cause to be greatly humbled before God, that they have been, and are, instrumental to cause these Indians to commit this great evil and beastly sin of drunkenness.\(^{160}\)

As was the case in New France, William Hubbard claimed that ‘the more sober and prudent of the Indians have always most bitterly complained of the Trading of strong Liquor in our English [...] whose ordinary Custome is first to make them, or suffer them to make themselves drunk with Liquors, and then to Trade with them, when they may easily be cheated [...]’.\(^{161}\) According to John Eliot, ‘that adventitious sin which

---


\(^{160}\) Gookin, ‘The Historical Collections of the Indians in New England’ (Boston, 1674), *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, First series, vol. I, Boston, 1792, p. 11. ‘Filthy lucre’ is in reference to 1 Timothy 3:3 (Geneva version). The vulgate only uses the term ‘cupidum’.

\(^{161}\) William Hubbard, ‘A further Continuation of the Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians in New England, from April 1677 to June 1680’ (pp. 77–78), in Hubbard, *The history of the Indian wars in New England: from the first settlement to the termination of the war with King Philip in 1677*, Roxbury, MA,
we have brought unto them, Drunkenness, [...] was never known to them before they knew us English'. Eliot complained of the influence of the soldiers on converted natives during King Philip’s war (1675-1678), as they

made them drink, & bred thereby such an habit to love strong drink, that it proved an horrible snare unto us. They learned so to love strong drink; that they would spend all their wages, & pawne any they had for rumb (sic) or any strong drink; so drunckenesse increase & quarreling fighting & (sic) were the sad effects of strong drink. Praying to God was quenched, the younger generation being debauched by it, and the good old generation of the first beginers gathered home by death.

For Eliot, the main solution to this evil was to teach the natives to ‘bridele their own appetites’. For Eliot, it was ‘true Dominion, to be able to use [these things], and not to abuse our selves by them’.

Segregation was envisioned from the start as an option to avoid the nefarious influence of settlers upon the natives to be converted. The first council had asked the first governor, John Endecott to ensure that

there bee none in our precincts permitted to doe any iniurie (in the least kinde) to the heathen people; and if any offend in that way, lett them receive due correccion. [...] And for the avoyding of the hurt that may follow through over much familiaritie with the Indians, wee conceive it fitt that they bee not permitted to come to your plantation but at certain tymes and places to be appointed them.

Given that the instruction for limited contact directly follows a long paragraph about the need to deal promptly with unruly or immoral settlers, this precaution seems to have been stipulated at least as much to protect the natives from the English as the contrary. After King Philip’s war, as I will discuss in the following chapter, the

settlers’ animosity towards the natives became intense. By 1700, Samuel Sewall, secretary for the Corporation for the Propagation of the Gospel, insisted that convenient Tracts of Land should be set out to them [the natives] […] Upon which for any English man to encroach, should be accounted a Crime. Except this be done, I fear their own Jealousies, and the French Friers will persuade them, that the English, as they encrease, and think they want more room, will never leave till they have crouded them quite out of all their Lands. And it will be a vain attempt for us to offer Heaven to them, if they take up prejudices against us, as if we did grudge them a Living upon their own Earth.\textsuperscript{167}

John Eliot spent many years trying to prevent encroachment on the main praying town of Natick by the inhabitants of neighbouring Dedham.\textsuperscript{168} Segregation was also important in terms of agriculture. Because the English cattle were very detrimental to native crops, the Massachusetts court ordered that the settlers ‘shall keep their Cattle from destroying the Indians Corn, in any ground where they have right to plant, and if any of their Corn be destroyed for want of Fencing or Hearding; the Town shall make satisfaction […]’ . The towns and settlers were also instructed, ‘for incouragement of the Indians, towards the fening in of their Corn-fields’ to ‘Direct, Assist and help them, in felling of Trees, riving, and sharpening Rails, and holing of Posts […]’ . The natives, on their part, were instructed to fence their grounds, with the help of the settlers, and would be punished if they harmed the English’s cattle.\textsuperscript{169}

3. Influence of Religious Heterodoxy on Missions

In New Spain and Peru, heresy was virtually nonexistent, thanks to the Inquisition. In New France, the charter of the Hundred Associates in 1627 had banned Huguenots from the colony. But in New England, heterodoxy stemmed from doctrinal disagreements within Calvinism itself. As in Spanish and French colonies, the elders attempted to regulate dissent, but they soon found themselves overwhelmed and in conflict with groups having an influence in the English metropole. Between England

\textsuperscript{169} Edward Rawson, Secr., \textit{The General Laws and Liberties of the Massachusetts Colony: revised & Re-printed, By Order of the General Court Holden at Boston, May 15\textsuperscript{th} 1672}, Boston, MA, 1672, pp. 76–77 (laws of 1640, 1648).
and its colony, perspectives on toleration differed greatly by the 1640s. The Godly claimed that religious dissensions would be an impediment to conversion, and the council ordered the first governor, John Endecott to make sure that

our government & priuiledges bee not brought in contempt, wishing rather there might bee such a vnion as might drawe the heathen by our good example to the embracing of Christ and his gospyle, then that offence should bee giuen to the heathen, and a scandall to our religion, through our disagreement amongst ourselves.

In May 1637, the General Court forbade anyone to settle without the approval of the magistrates. John Winthrop explained the motive for this decision:

If we are bound to keepe off whatsoever appears to tend to our ruine or damage, then we may lawfully refuse to receive such whose dispositions suite not with ours and whose society (we know) will be hurtfull to us, and therefore it is lawful1 to take knowledge of all men before we receive them.

If the churches could reject applicants, Winthrop argued, then the commonwealth could, too. The Cambridge Platform of 1648 affirmed that if church membership was a matter of congregational discipline, the orthodoxy of both individuals and congregations should nevertheless be put under civil authority, and the magistrate could coerce or punish unorthodox individuals or congregations. Yet, the elders could not control the flow of migration or the amount of religious dissent, and frequently found themselves in conflict with various groups who disapproved of their increasingly autocratic tendencies.

During their dispute with the Gortonists, a group of radical spiritists led by Samuel Gorton, the colony wrote to the earl of Warwick and the English Commission

---

for Foreign Plantations to defend their position. In their letter, New England magistrates complained that the Gortonists were threatening the poore Indians, who, to avoyd their tyranny, had submitted themselves & their land vnder our protecon & government [...]; & some of them brought by the labors of one of our elders, Mr John Eliott, [...] to good forwardnes, in imbracing the knowledge of God in Xt Jesus; all which hopefull beginnings are like to be dashed, if Gorton, &c., shall bee countenanced & vpheld against them & vs [...].

On Martha's Vineyard, the natives were obviously aware of religious heterodoxy. The sachem Mittark asked John Cotton, Jr.: 'How many sorts of faith are there?' The missionary had to answer questions from neophytes who had clearly been in contact with other sects. Mary Amanhut asked: 'why children are baptised? If that wash [them] from sin, why does they sin any of them when growne up?' Nicodemus asked: 'why must not their Baptisme be throwne away?' Mr Sam, sachem of Chappaquiddick also wondered: 'How many parts of faith? How many sort of Belevers (sic)?'

But the behaviour of the natives during their encounter with radical sects could also be a sign of their true conversion. Daniel Gookin reported that in the 1650s, some Quakers approached the Wampanoag natives on Martha’s Vineyard, and told them that 'they had a light within them, that was sufficient to guide them to happiness; and dissuaded the Indians from hearing Mr. Mayhew, or reading the Scriptures [...]'). The natives were reported to have replied:

You are strangers to us, and we like not your discourse. [...] You tell us of a light within us, that will guide us to salvation: but our experience tells us, that we are darkness and corruption, and all manner of evil within our hearts. [...] Therefore we pray you, trouble us no farther with your new doctrines; for we do not approve it.
When asked in 1673 by an unidentified Englishmen if ‘any spirit or way of heterodoxy’ existed in converted native communities, Eliot replied: ‘Not any; they have a deep sense of their own darkness and ignorance, and a reverent esteem of the light and goodness of the English, and an evident observation that such English as warp into errors doe also decline from goodness […].’ William Leverich, who was working as a missionary around the town of Sandwich, on Cape Cod, complained about the nefarious influence of settlers on the natives, but insisted that ‘it pleaseth God to helpe some of these poore Creatures [the natives] to looke over and beyond the Examples of some of our looser sort of English: which I looke upon as a great stumbling blocke to many’.

4. From Segregation to Assimilation

At the Restoration, knowing that their support of the Republic and their strong congregational stance put them in a delicate situation, the magistrates of Massachusetts attempted to protect their charter. In May, the court ordered the destruction of all copies of John Eliot’s *The Christian Commonwealth*, aware that ‘sundry passages and expressions thereof [were] justly offensive, & in speciall relating to kingly gouernment in England’. John Eliot publicly acknowledged the English monarchy to be ‘not only a lawfull, but an eminent forme of government’, and did ‘at once for all cordially disoune’ the book.

The Magistrates of the colony petitioned the king for ‘protection of vs in those liberties for which wee hither came’. With the king’s protection, ‘these poore & naked
Gentiles, not a few of whom through grace are come and coming in, shall still see theire wonted teachers with the incouragement of a more plentifull increase of the kingdome of Christ amongst them’. The magistrates affirmed that they were ‘not seditious as to the interest of Caesar, nor schismatics as to the matters of religion’, but ‘could not liue without the publicke worship of God’.183 The king confirmed Massachusetts’ patent and liberties, but demanded that ‘all persons of good & honest liues & conversations be admitted to the sacrement of the Lords supper, according to the Booke of Common Prajer, & their children to baptisme’, and that ‘all freeholders of competent estates […] may haue their votes in the election of all officers’, which, in effect, would mark the end of both Congregationalism and godly republicanism in New England.184 Given the colony officials’ absence of response and reaction, the king sent a commission in 1664 to investigate the complaints about the colony’s abuses of power and congregational discipline, ‘that for which we are Out-casts at this day’.185 None of the commissioners were Puritan, and they presented a harsh picture for the king, claiming that the colony ‘did solicit Cromwell […] to be declared a Free State, and many times in their lawes stile themselves this STATE, this COMON-WEALTH, & now believe themselves to be so’. In terms of conversion, the commissioners declared that ‘they convert Indians by hiring them to come & heare sermons, by teaching them not to obey their heathen Sachims, and by appointing rulers amongst them, over tens, twenties, fifties &c. The lives, manners, & habits, of those whom they say are converted cannot be distinguished from those who are not […]’.186 Edward Randolph, sent to investigate Massachusetts’ affairs in 1676, claimed that the

clergy in Massachusetts were ‘generally inclined to Sedition, being Proud Ignorant & Imperious’, and that the governor claimed that ‘the lawes made by your Majestie and your parliament obligeth them in nothing but what consists with the interest of that colony’. The colony persisted in its congregational discipline, the charter was finally revoked in 1684, and liberty of conscience awarded to all Protestants.

The period between the Restoration and the revocation of the charter generated great anxiety among the second generation of godly ministers. In 1673, minister Thomas Shepard, Jr. enjoined his readers to ‘remember that a main design of Gods people’s adventuring into this wilderness was for progress in the work of Reformation’. John Eliot still noted in 1676: ‘it is the frequent complaint of many wise & godly that little reformation is to be scene of our cheife wrath provoking sins, as pride, covetousnesse, animosities, p’sonal neglecte of gospelizing our youth, & of gospelizing of the Indians &c. drinking houses multiplied, not lessened, quakers openly tolerated’. By the turn of the century, after King Philip’s war, the revocation of the charter, and the death of John Eliot in 1690, the work of conversion also proved more difficult. As in New France and Spanish colonies, when after the intervention of

---


189 Thomas Shepard, Jr., Eye-salve, or, A watch-word from our Lord Iesus Christ unto his churches: especially those within the colony of the Massachusetts in New England to take heed of apostacy: or, A treatise of remembrance of what God hath been to us, as also what we ought, and what we ought not to be to him, as we desire the prolonging of our prosperous dayes in the land which the Lord our God hath given us, Cambridge, MA, 1673, p. 37. On calls for reformation, see also: Samuel A. Green, ed., Diary by Increase Mather, March 1675–December 1676, Together with Extracts from Another Diary by Him, 1674–1687, Cambridge, MA, 1900, p. 18: 18 October 1675 and 14 October 1675; ‘3 November, 1675’, in Shurtleff, ed., Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay, vol. V: 1674–1686, pp. 59–64; The results of three synods held by the elders and messengers of the churches of Massachusetts province, New England: containing, I. The platform of church-discipline in the year 1648: II. Propositions concerning the subject of baptism in 1662: III. The necessity of reformation with the expedients subservient thereunto asserted, in answer to two questions in 1679, Boston, 1725, pp. 95–107; 107–117 for the suggested solutions; Samuel Torrey, An exhortation unto reformation: amplified, by a discourse concerning the parts and progress of that work, according to the word of God, delivered in a sermon preached in the audience of the General Assembly of the Massachusetts colony, at Boston in New-England, May 27, 1674, being the day of election there, Cambridge, MA, 1674; Boston Synod, Wunnamptamoe sampooaonk wussampowoontamun nashpe moeufwelkomunganash ut New-England. Qushkenumun en Indiane Unnontowaonganit…, Boston, 1680, Epistle Dedicatory. On this, see Richard P. Gildrie, The Profane, the Civil & the Godly: The Reformation of Manners in Orthodox New England, 1679–1749, Philadelphia, 1994, chapter 1. See also Stout, The New England Soul, pp. 96–99.

the monarchy, Frenchification and Castilianisation were thought to be the best way to convert the natives, missionary strategies changed in New England to a new focus on Anglicisation.\textsuperscript{191} The impossibility ‘to make a Distinction visible, betwixt our Friends the Christian Indians, and our Enemies the Heathens’ became a real issue during King Philip’s war.\textsuperscript{192} Numerous writings and policies (during and after the war) emphasised the anxiety of English settlers, who could not ‘know a Heathen from a Christian by his Visage, nor Apparel’.\textsuperscript{193} This tendency seems to have been translated into conversion strategies by the turn of the century. Thus, by 1710, Cotton Mather claimed, in a language very similar to claims made in New France:

The best thing we can do for our Indians is to Anglicise them in all agreeable Instances; and in that of Language, as well as others. They can scarce retain their Language, without a Tincture of other Salvage Inclinations, which do but ill suit, either with the Honor, or with the design of Christianity. The Indians themselves are Divided in the (sic) Desires upon this matter. Though some of their aged men are tenacious enough of Indianisme (which is not at all to be wondred at) Other of them as earnestly wish that their people may be made English as fast as they can.\textsuperscript{194}

This new style of conversion intended to ‘bring the Rising Generation of the Indians, unto a more general Understanding of the English Language, and more into the English way of Living’.\textsuperscript{195}

V. Catholics and Protestants on the Frontier

The Jesuits were the targets of intense criticism among New England Puritans when it came to conversion. New England and New France were frontier areas, and Puritans and Jesuits frequently heard of conversion attempts on the other side of the border, or encountered Catholic or Protestant converts. During the second half of the

\textsuperscript{195} Cotton Mather, \textit{India Christiana. A Discourse Deliverd unto the Commissioners for the Propagation of the Gospel among the American Indians which is Accompanied with several Instrumets relating to the Glorious Design of Propagating our Holy Religion in the Eastern as well as the Western Indies...}, Boston, 1721, p. 43.
century, despite some setbacks with the French government, the Jesuits were still intensely active in the frontier areas.\(^{196}\) After the decimation of the Hurons, they took an increasing interest in the Iroquois, and progressively advanced towards English settlements.

The Jesuits were first on the list of reasons advanced by John Winthrop for the plantation, which would help ‘raise a Bulworke against the kingdome of AnteChrist which the Jesuites labour to reaer up in those parts’.\(^ {197}\) In 1647, the Massachusetts Court passed a law so that ‘no Jesuite or Spiritual or Ecclesiastical person (as they are termed) Ordained by the Authority of the Pope or See of Room (sic), shall henceforth at any time repair to, or come within this Jurisdiction’. Jesuits breaking the law for the first time would be banished, and if they were caught a second time, they would be put to death.\(^ {198}\) In 1653, Giuseppe Bressani, who worked with the Hurons, mentioned that some natives ‘who had formerly traded with the English, Dutch, and other heretical Europeans’ had heard from them that the Jesuits were ‘wicked people, pernicious to the public weal, expelled from their countries, where, if they had us, they would put us to death; and that we had now fled to those lands in order to ruin them [the natives] as soon as possible’.\(^ {199}\)

Yet, relationships between individuals could also be friendly. In 1650, Jesuit Gabriel Druillettes came in embassy to Boston to discuss a possible alliance against the Mohawks. He spent the night in John Eliot’s house. Eliot mentioned the encounter in passing in a letter to Richard Baxter: ‘[…] a French Fryar was sent Imbassador from Canada to o(u)r Massachusetts. He was both witty, ingenuous, and learned. He


\(^{197}\) Winthrop (attributed to), ‘Reasons to be considered for justifieinge the undertakeres of the intended Plantation in New England’, p. 309.


\(^{199}\) Francesco Gioseppe Bressani, *Breve Relazione.d’alcune missioni de’ PP. della Compagnia di Gies• nella Nuova Francia*, Macerata, Italy, July 19, 1653, in *JR*, vol. XXXIX, pp. 138, 140 (trans. *JR*, vol. XXXIX, p.141). On the fact that the English reinforced the rumours that baptism was the cause of the natives’ illnesses, see François Le Mercier, ‘Relation de ce qui s’est passé dans le Pays des Hurons en l’année 1637. & 1638.’, in Paul Le Jeune, *Relation de ce qui s’est passé en la Nouvelle France en l’année 1638 envoyée au R. Père provincial de la Compagnie de Jésus en la province de France*, Paris, 1638, pp. 11–12. In 1674, Father Jean Pierron, who travelled to New England in disguise, was discovered (‘owing to the unusual knowledge that he displayed’, according to the Jesuit Claude Dablon) and managed to flee before being interrogated by the Court: Claude Dablon, ‘Lettre au R. P. Pinette, Québec, 24 Octobre, 1674’, in *JR*, vol. LIIX, p. 72. There were some Jesuits in Maryland, but their missions were driven out in 1644 and in 1655. They remained in disguise afterwards. See *ibid.*, pp. 72–75, and note 13.
and I had much discourse. He lay one night at my house […]’. Druillettes was also satisfied with the encounter: ‘[…] Master heliot, who was teaching some savages, received me at his house […] he treated me with respect and kindness […]’.

By the 1690s, the Company for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England (successor of the Corporation at the Restoration) hired a Huguenot minister, Daniel Bondet, with the explicit purpose of countering the work of the Jesuits. In the preface to a pamphlet uncovering the supposedly heretical conversion practices of the Jesuits, Cotton Mather claimed the Jesuit missionaries had only brought to the natives a ‘part of the Christian faith, disguised and corrupted by the abominations of popery, which is at bottom Nothing but a true copy of paganism’. ‘The conversion of one Indian among us’, claimed Mather, ‘is a greater production, than that of a thousand of those bragged of so much elsewhere; because our design is not to do the thing halfway but to bring the work to its perfection’. After the Restoration and King Philip’s war, as Mather admitted, the New Englanders had neglected conversion, and should ‘work more strongly at the propagation of the faith’. For this, he conceded the Jesuit missions might have ‘prepared the way for some Thing more sincere and salutary’.

The Society of Jesus, given the strength of their missions and their extended field of operations, had less to fear from Puritan missionaries. They could even recognise the greater effort at conversion on the part of Puritans compared to other (English and Dutch) colonies. Thierry Beschefer, in 1683, related the baptism of several of Eliot’s ‘praying Indians’ (‘who all belonged to a nation near Baston’) who were captives amongst the Iroquois. These natives, said Beschefer, had been ‘Taught

204 Haefeli and Stanwood, ‘Jesuits, Huguenots, and the Apocalypse’, Appendix, p. 109. On how Cotton Mather also learned French and Spanish and published books in those languages for the purpose of attracting converts to Protestantism, see ibid., pp. 92–95 and the introduction to this thesis.
the principal articles of our faith by some Englishmen, who are very different from those of Orange, and from the other heretics of America’. The Father in charge, François Vaillant, ‘without speaking to them, however, of Controverted points’, had ‘no trouble in preparing them for Baptism’. As for other Englishmen, according to Beschefer, ‘those heretics do not take care of [the natives’] salvation, saying that they look upon them only as beasts; and that Paradise is not for that sort of people’.

VI. Conclusion

Despite extremely varied geographical, demographic, political, and economic contexts, missionaries’ complaints about colonisation relied on common themes. In all areas, two competing tendencies were at play. The first one was assimilation, and the idea that, by mixing the two groups (settlers and natives), conflicts could be avoided. This view was often related to economic interests. Whether to favour trade in New France, to supply a labour force in New Spain and Peru, or to get easier access to land for settlers in New England, absorbing native populations into the settlers’ societies could somehow make the problematic risk of resistance disappear. Opposed to this perspective of assimilation was the idea that the natives could be taught into the ways of the Gospel without having to suffer from the excesses and problems of settler populations. Isolating the natives would allow missionaries to instruct them in a purer form of Christianity, and many missionaries often hoped to build some form of utopian Christian communities, which they would then use to criticise European decadence. Missionaries identified different issues in their particular contexts, for example the encomienda in New Spain and Peru, trade and the sale of liquor in New France, and land issues and liquor sale in New England. Yet they all related these issues to one common problem: greed. This criticism was reiterated over and again, in all sources. What was expected from settlers, as well as from natives, were behavioural changes, an adoption of Christianity as the practice of virtue. Missionaries not only attempted to erect a Christian society amongst the natives, but also claimed that this could not be achieved with a settler society that did not undertake a radical

reformation of manners, implemented by public laws and individual change. This is why laws implemented within native communities were frequently similar to those applied to European settlers by like-minded reformers, as will be shown in the following chapter.

At the very beginnings of settlement, assimilation was usually envisioned but quickly replaced by an ideal of segregation in the face of colonial challenges. But by the late seventeenth century, when the French, Spanish, and English monarchies attempted to reaffirm their control over the colonies, assimilation was once again enforced, through linguistic and settlement policies. As will be discussed in the next chapter, citizenship as understood by European monarchies focussed on the notion of the natives as obedient subjects, rather than as active members of a commonwealth. In Spain, the monarchy attempted to protect the natives with the idea of the two republics, a separation which in effect could never really exist. But they also maintained the notion that the natives were vassals of the Crown, playing an essential role in the mystic body of the monarchy as labourers, as thus should be able to interact with Spanish officials and settlers. In New France, Louis XIV and Colbert attempted to take over the management of the colony and to transform the natives, in a Bodinian perspective, into ‘frenchified’ subjects of an absolute sovereign. In New England, a similar process occurred at the Restoration and culminated in the revocation of the charter in 1684 and in the ‘anglicisation’ of the natives. These ideas about citizenship also competed with missionaries’ idea of what belonging to a community really meant. This will be the topic of the next chapter.
Chapter 7
Community Building and Conflict: Native Communities Between Two Worlds

I. Introduction

The previous chapter studied the place of missionary projects in their colonial contexts. This chapter will examine the role native converts were expected to play in both the political and Christian community. Political authorities had a specific vision of the necessary structure of the colonial community, and of the role that the natives should play within it. If missionaries’ own projects sometimes coincided with this vision, their own definition of what they considered a true community and of the Christian’s duties also frequently diverged from imperial designs. This chapter will also explore the actual space that converted communities or individuals occupied amongst settler and unconverted communities. This position was often precarious and their ‘multicultural’ identity put them under an incredible amount of pressure not only from natives who were unconverted — and often unwilling to convert — but also from European settlers, who did not necessarily differentiate between converted and hostile bands of natives. Converts were frequently distrusted by both groups, and were regularly caught in the middle of conflicts between settlers and natives, perceived as ruthless savages by Europeans, and as traitors by their unconverted compatriots.

Colonisation required a conscious attempt on the part of both political and religious actors to integrate and define the role of the natives within their conception of the community. In order to understand how the natives were assimilated or ostracised from settler communities, one needs to consider the language of citizenship in the early modern period, and the specificities of ‘national’ identities. Missionaries adopted the language of national community, but distorted and adapted it to serve their own purpose. This chapter will compare and contrast the place allocated to the natives in these nascent theories of nationalism, and the ways in which missionaries made sense of the place and role of native converts within the Christian community. These differing perceptions reveal recurring tensions in the colonial world, not only between monarchical and religious interests, but also between the settlers’ and the missionaries’ stance on the natives’ rights.
II. New Spain and Peru

1. ‘Vecindad’ and ‘Naturaleza’

Citizenship in early modern Spain was expressed by two different concepts, which have been studied by Tamar Herzog. The notion defining the place that individuals occupied within their community was ‘vecindad’, of Castilian origin. The quality of ‘vecino’ had always been defined locally, and conditioned people’s privileges and duties within the community.¹ It was what determined residency and one’s subsequent rights within the entire kingdom.² In order to be or become a ‘vecino’, one did not necessarily have to be born in the community or to be born from parents belonging to it. As Herzog has shown, ‘people became citizens from the moment in which they decided to become part of the community and in which they demonstrated their wish to do so by acting as citizens, mainly by complying with both privileges and duties’. Individuals were not considered citizens by reason of blood or geographical origin, but by reason of their belonging and involvement in a specific community. This meant that foreigners (by the fifteenth century, only Catholic foreigners) could become citizens without problems.³

Beyond — but dependent upon — ‘vecindad’, was the concept of ‘naturaleza’. ‘Naturaleza’ (nativeness) was originally related to the various kingdoms of the Spanish monarchy: people were not considered Spanish natives, but natives of Castile, Aragon, and so on, where ‘naturals’ were granted specific privileges. This concept evolved with the development of the Spanish colonies in the New World: the notion of Spanish nationality acquired a new importance, because the Crown prevented foreigners from settling and trading in the Spanish colonies. By 1596, all Spanish natives, and only they, were allowed to trade and settle in Spanish America.⁴ In order

---

² Herzog, Defining Nations, p. 11.
⁴ Recopilacion de leyes de los reinos de las Indias mandadas imprimir y publicar por la magestad católica del Rey Don Carlos II, nuestro señor, Libro IX, Título XXVII, De los extranjeros, Ley XXVIII, Madrid, 1841, tomo IV, p. 15. The Portuguese were not considered Spaniards even during the Iberian union.
to be considered Spanish, one had to be born of Spanish or Spanish American parents. Those born of Spanish parents outside of Spain or Spanish possessions were considered foreigners. The notion of ‘Spanishness’, which emerged as a consequence of the ban on foreigners in the colonies, led in the New World to a greater differentiation between Spaniards and natives, who, by the seventeenth century, acquired a defined place in the emerging colonial caste system, based on ethnic differences and one’s proportion of Spanish blood. Before the seventeenth century, given the absence of relationship between ethnicity and citizenship (vecindad) in Spanish political thought (as it was residency that really mattered), natives in America living in Spanish settlements could, and would, become citizens. But, by the early seventeenth century, with the growing importance of the notion of naturaleza, natives living on European settlements were usually denied citizenship.

This greater ethnic differentiation at the local level between Spaniards and natives was reinforced by the notion of the two republics, which had been developed in the middle of the sixteenth century, following the insistence on the part of the regular orders and some members of the secular clergy that the settlers were a bad influence for the conversion of the natives. Thus the natives were ‘subjects and vassals’ of the Crown, like other members of the Spanish monarchy, and as such deserved protection and good treatment, but according to the idea of the two republics, they were not part of the Spanish political community in the New World, and possessed their own laws, customs and regulations.

Missionaries did not hesitate to use the idea of the two republics to criticise forced labour. In New Spain, the assembly of Franciscan friars declared in the late sixteenth century that the existence of the two republics meant that the Spaniards could not demand work from the natives. For the Franciscans, New Spain consisted of two nations, namely the Spanish one and that of the Indians. That of the Indians is indigenous (natural), as they are in their own lands, where the Holy Gospel is being propagated and they receive it with great willingness. [...] The nation of the Spaniards is foreign and growing (advenezida (sic) y acrecentada), and came to try its luck in those realms [...] those republics are independent from each other, and it is an injustice, that one would rule over the other, and that the indigenous nation would be slave of the foreigners and outsiders [...] 10

Yet segregation was never completely possible, and the natives were under permanent European influence and pressure, both in political, economic and demographic terms. 11 Missionaries frequently lamented the pressure exercised by one group over the other, and often strikingly contrasted the two groups. Thus, in the late sixteenth century, another Franciscan friar, Gaspar de Recarte, claimed that a relationship between the two groups was nefarious, because for the same reason that there cannot exist a good manner of republic and friendship between wolves and sheep, there cannot exist a good manner of republic, confederation, and league between Indians and Spaniards, because they are of the most different humours and conditions: the Spaniards, insolent and extremely proud and [fond] of magnificence and great pomp; [...] the Indians, the opposite, timid and miserable, spending their lives with almost nothing. 12

If the idea of the two republics applied to the relationship between Spaniards and natives in the New World, the bond between the Crown and the natives was set in the language of the family. Thus, one of the emblems of Philip IV’s catafalque claimed that the Spanish monarchs had, with the conquest, ‘adopted [the natives] as their sons’. Thanks to Philip IV’s ‘paternal care’ (afectos paternales), from adopted,
they had become true sons (naturales). By the seventeenth century, the concept of ‘miserables personae’ had been integrated into the law dealing with the Indian. This category had been defined in the Middle Ages by canon law, and was deliberately vague and usually applied to widows, orphans, sick, poor and oppressed individuals.

As part of a weaker and vulnerable group, miserables benefited from special legal protection against possible oppression caused by more powerful members of society. It seems that the principal model used to discuss the wretchedness of the natives was that of minors of age, children in need of guardians, who were considered wards of the Crown. The natives, as miserables personae, deserved protection from both the king and the ecclesiastical authorities, and benefited from certain legal advantages in temporal and ecclesiastical matters. Because the natives had not been raised from the beginning in Spanish customs, they needed special care and education. For

---

13 ‘Rex Pivs, et Misericors’. The emblem is in Isidro de Sarriñana y Cuenca, Llanto del occidente En el Ocaso del mas claro Sol de las Españas. Funebres demostraciones, que hizo, Pyra Real, que erigio En las Exequias del Rey N. Señor D. Felipe III. El Grande, Mexico, 1666, see fos. 53-54.


18 Silva, Advertencias importantes, acerca del buen gobierno, y administracion de las Indias, fos. 5 r.—v.
Gerónimo de Mendieta, the king should treat the natives as ‘a commonwealth of free children (muchachos), adopted sons of the Heavenly King’. But this language of assimilation was difficult to maintain, considering the disparity of the Spanish composite monarchy.

By the seventeenth century, Spanish thinkers frequently discussed the great variety of the Kingdoms of Spain. This diversity was unified through the language of the mystic body of the monarchy. For Jesuit Baltasar Gracián, writing in 1640,

There is a great difference between establishing a particular (especial) and homogenous kingdom within a single province, and constituting (componer) a universal empire with various provinces and nations. In the first, the uniformity of laws, similar customs, a single language and climate unite individuals and separate them from foreigners. […] But in the Spanish monarchy, with many provinces, different nations, varied languages, opposed inclinations and conflicting climates, a great ability is necessary to preserve [the kingdom], and even more to unite [it].

Given the variety of peoples under the rule of the Spanish monarchy, according to the theory of the mystic body, the great unifier was the king, who was depicted as either the kingdom’s head (which rules over the body and must be obeyed) or its heart (which is the seat of justice, on which the survival of the commonwealth depends). The members of the Committee on Reformation, in their 1619 report on the problems of the kingdom, used such metaphors to remind Philip III of his necessary role:

the King is the heart of the Commonwealth (Republica), because as the heart is one, and through him the other members receive the unity which makes them a body, thus all the members of the Kingdom, despite being many, because the king is and must be one, they therefore must all be one with him, to serve him and help him […].

---

20 Baltasar Gracián, ‘El politico D. Fernando el Catholico’ (1640), in Obras de Lorenzo Gracián, dividad en dos tomos..., compuestas por Baltasar Gracián, Amberes, 1669, tomo I, p. 497.
21 Silva, Advertencias importantes, acerca del buen govierno, y administracion de las Indias, fo. 43 v. Cañeque, The King’s Living Image, pp. 21–22.
22 ‘Consulta hecha por el Consejo Real a Su Magestad sobre el remedio universal de los daños del Reino y reparo de ellos, Madrid 1.o de Febrero de 1619’, in Ángel González Palencia, La Junta de reformación: documentos procedentes del Archivo Histórico Nacional y del General de Simancas, Valladolid, 1932, pp. 15–16. See also for example: Andrés Mendo, ‘En el Principe, como en Cabeza, han de estar los sentidos de todos los Vassalos’, in Príncipe perfecto y Ministros Auxilados, Documentos Políticos y Morales. En Emblemas, Leon de Francia, 1662, pp. 47–53, esp. p. 48. See also Aquinas, On Kingship, translated by Gerald B. Phelan and revised by I. Th. Eschmann, Toronto, 1946, p. 6: ‘[…] among the members of a body, one, such as the heart or the head, is the principal and moves all the others’. 
Defenders of the natives usually insisted on their subservience as ‘most useful and faithful vassals of the Indies’, who were ‘worthy of royal protection’.\textsuperscript{23} According to Jesuit Andrés Mendos in his book of emblems, it was the ‘harmony between its members, and with its head’ that allowed the ‘Empire to maintain itself’.\textsuperscript{24}

In the language of the mystic body, especially in terms of labour, the natives were thought to be an important element in the corporate vision of society, the ‘feet that sustain all the weight of the republic’, or the ‘blood of the mystic body of the monarchy’.\textsuperscript{25} In this, the natives were similar to peasants in Spain. The image of the feet of the republic was indeed very commonly used in seventeenth-century Spanish political thought to refer to peasants. If peasants occupied the lowest position in society, they nevertheless played an essential role as they fed the whole commonwealth. Thus, Jerónimo de Ceballos explained in 1623 in his Mirror for Princes: ‘the head needs the feet, and the feet need the head, and those who seem to be inferior members of the body, are always the most necessary’. Thus, said Ceballos, the kings ‘must protect their vassals, as inferior as they might be, because without them their monarchy and majesty could not be maintained […] and the superiors would have no one to give orders to’.\textsuperscript{26} Spanish peasants, said Ceballos, were the ‘Indians and vassals’ of constables and magistrates.\textsuperscript{27} The idea of harmony and order, which was reached when everyone occupied their assigned position within the body, was an important aspect of this theory.\textsuperscript{28} For Franciscan Juan de Silva, writing in 1621, the fact that converted natives were part of the ‘mystic body of Christ’ to the same extent that the Spaniards were meant that solidarity and friendship should reign.\textsuperscript{29}

Thus the relationship between the feet and the rest of the mystic body needed to be balanced, and missionaries who believed that the demands in native labour were oppressive also used this image. In 1621, Franciscan Juan de Silva depicted the plight of the natives as disproportionate compared to other members of the body. The

\textsuperscript{23} Palafox y Mendoza, \textit{Virtudes del Indio}, pp. 8, 34. See also pp. 4, 21–22, 33, 94.
\textsuperscript{24} Mendo, \textit{Principe perfecto y Ministros Atustados}, p. 53.
\textsuperscript{26} Jerónimo de Ceballos, \textit{Arte real para el ben govierno de los Reyes, y Principes, y de sus vassallos. En el qual se refieren las obligaciones de cada vno, con los principales documentos para el buen govierno dirigido a la catolica magestad del Rey don Felipe III...}, Toldeo, 1623, fo. 2 v. See also fos. 171 r.–172 v.
\textsuperscript{27} Ceballos, \textit{Arte real para el ben govierno de los Reyes}, fo. 173 r.
\textsuperscript{29} Silva, \textit{Advertencias importantes, acerca del buen gobierno, y administracion de las Indias}, fo. 43 r.
relationship would be like ‘seeing a man go out to the square fabulously dressed, wearing a rich hat with a feather, a medallion, a spotless white ruff, a sumptuous cape, amber jerkin and gloves […] and being barelegged, barefooted, his feet covered with mud and sores, and bleeding’. In truth, harmony between the members of the empire was an aspiration more than a reality. The idea of a national sense of community, a sense of ‘Spanishness’, seems to have become increasingly important in seventeenth-century Spanish political thought. In the New World, by that stage, the two republics did not share a common sense of purpose, or a notion of common identity. J.H. Elliott has shown how complex and idealised allegiances to specific and often local communities were in early modern Europe. This attachment was often based on a sense of unity contrasted to the outside world, but also of shared history and common rights and liberties. In the writings of the Jesuits from Paraguay, the sense of national pride and belonging referred to the nucleus of reductions rather than to the Spanish monarchy. Thus, during the conflicts with Portuguese and Spaniards, according to the Fathers, the natives defended ‘the faith and the motherland’ (la religion y la patria), and when they had to be relocated because of attacks, the natives tearfully parted with ‘their beloved motherland’ (su querida patria). For the Jesuits, the real locus of the natives’ patriotic feelings was their system of reductions, which were similar to the small-scale villages and communities to which vecindad applied in the case of Spaniards.

Indeed, despite the fact that they were believed to belong to a different political community, Spanish ideas about the place of the individual within the community had a great influence on native communities, and their exclusion from ‘Spanishness’ did not prevent them from being part of what the Jesuits considered to be truly political communities. If they were excluded from citizenship in Spanish settlements, the sense of belonging in their own communities, in the pueblos, congregaciones, and reducciones which constituted the República de Indios, was highly influenced by the

---

30 Silva, Advertencias importantes, acerca del buen gobierno, y administracion de las Indias, fo. 43 v.
31 On the idea of national identity in early modern Spain, see Maravall, La philosophie politique espagnole, chapter 3.
32 On the lack of a common identity, see Mcalister, ‘Social Structure and Social Change’, p. 364.
Spanish concept of *vecindad*. In the sixteenth century, the belonging and social ranking of the natives within their community was defined first and foremost by descent. But progressively, the natives’ status became more and more defined by residence, as was the case with *vecindad*, rather than by birth. Natives were allowed to change communities, and were admitted as members of the village in which they resided and paid taxes. The real outsiders, on the other hand, were migrant workers, often perceived as vagrants.

2. Empty Lands and Vagrants

In Spanish political thought, *vecindad* was not a mere formality. It had an important social and cultural significance. As I mentioned in chapter five, living in a city, in communication with other human beings, was an essential aspect of human life for Castilian political thinkers. *Vecindad* expressed the sense of belonging to a human community, and was considered both a necessity and a natural right. The size of the Spanish colonies in the New World exacerbated this contrast between human communities and wastelands: all sorts of excesses were committed ‘in the uncultivated and uninhabited places, by the many idle, vagrant, and lost people who live there’. Tamar Herzog has shown with multiple examples throughout the Spanish colonies that the willingness to gather the natives into villages, to reduce them, was similarly applied to Spaniards and other populations in the New World who lived dispersed in deserted or isolated areas, and were encouraged and sometimes compelled to congregate in fixed settlements. Francisco de Toledo, viceroy of Peru, claimed in the 1580s that in the frontier areas the settlers became ‘barbarised with the Indians (*quedan barbarizados con los mismos indios los pobladores de ellas*)’. Gerónimo de Mendieta complained in the late sixteenth century that the problem with vagrant...

---

40 Francisco de Toledo, ‘Memorial que D. Francisco de Toledo dió al Rey Nuestro Señor, del estado en que dejó las cosas del Perú, después de haber sido en él Virey y Capitan General trece años que comenzaron en 1569’, in *Relaciones de los Vireyes y audiencias que han gobernado el Perú*, Tomo I: Memorial y Ordenanzas de D. Francisco de Toledo, Lima, 1867, p. 11.
Spaniards in the New World was that ‘one cannot know if they are Spanish or French or English […] if they are Christians or pagans, as they can be who they want (cada cual puede ser el que quisiere), and live in the law they choose’.\footnote{Gerónimo de Mendieta. ‘Carta del Padre Fray Jeronimo de Mendieta al ilustre señor licenciado Joan de Ovando, del Consejo de S.M. en la santa y general inquisicion y visitador de su real consejo de Indias’ [1571?], in García Icazbalceta, Nueva colección, vol. 1: Cartas de Religiosos de Nueva España, p. 111.} In the seventeenth century, Diego de Boroa complained that the settlers in Itatín (Paraguay), a frontier zone, were ‘as ignorant of the Christian doctrine as the natives, because they have not had a priest for eight years’.\footnote{Boroa, ‘Décima cuarta carta anual’, in Valle Iberlucea, Documentos para la historia Argentina, vol. 20, p. 538.} Multiple laws were passed in the New World to ‘reduce into villages’ Spanish vagrants.\footnote{Recopilacion, Libro VII, Titulo IV, De los vagabundos y gitanos, vol. II, pp. 319–320.} As the need to reduce people applied to both natives and vagrant settlers in the New World, so in the Old World idle and vagrant people needed to be civilised and Christianised in a very similar way. In a census on the population of parishes in the late sixteenth century, the Bishop of Tuy, in Galicia, complained that the inhabitant did not for the most part live next to the church or close to it (circunvecinos), […] and [live] separated from each other […] and if His Majesty reduced them into towns (reducirlos á poblaciones) […] it would be for the greater service of God and His Majesty, so that this barbaric people would become politic and domestic (política y doméstica), and taught the Christian doctrine, which is impossible if they keep living in the way they do.\footnote{‘Memoria de las Feligresías que hay en el Obispado de Tuy y de los feligreses que tiene cada una d ella…’ (cinco de Marzo de 1587), in Tomás González, ed., Censo de Población de la provincias y partidos de la Corona de Castilla en el siglo XVI, con varios apéndices para completar la del resto de la peninsula en el mismo siglo…, según resulta de los libros y registros que se custodian en el real archivo de Simancas, Madrid, 1829, p. 350.}

The idea of nomadism discussed in chapter five was thus intrinsically linked to the concept of citizenship: in Spain as in the New World, being a citizen meant belonging to a legally recognised local community, which was both a right and an obligation, and entailed both duties and privileges (such as paying taxes and using communal land). From this perspective, anyone who did not fit in a local community was considered a vagrant.\footnote{Herzog, ‘Terres et déserts, société et sauvagerie’, p. 525. On the formation of Spanish villages and towns in the New World, see Recopilacion, Libro IV, Titulo V, De las poblaciones, vol. II, pp. 102–103.} As I have mentioned in chapter one, in seventeenth-century Spain, wastelands (called despoblados) were perceived as a major reason for the decline of the country. These areas were considered uncultivated because of
depopulation. In the province of Salamanca, a Spanish official related the situation in 1621:

Many places are depopulated and desolate (despoblados y perdidos), sometimes fifty and sixty places in some provinces, temples in ruins, houses collapsed, estates abandoned, lands uncultivated, the vassals who lived there wander on the roads (andan por los caminos) with their wives and children, going from one place to another, looking for help (buscando el remedio), eating herbs and roots to survive.\(^{46}\)

One of the main causes of depopulation, according to one of the Juntas de Reformación appointed to consider the causes of Spain’s perceived decline, was the excessive amount asked in tribute by the Crown, which forced poor people to abandon their land in search for sustenance.\(^{47}\) Court life was also greatly criticised: luxury at court attracted all sorts of parasitical nobles who, in their attempts to obtain grants or honours from the king (grants which were also perceived as a reason for excessive demands in tribute), abandoned their lands and vassals to seek fortune in Madrid. Luxury, greed, and idleness amongst nobles were thought to be the main reason for extreme poverty and vagrancy amongst commoners.\(^{48}\) In a different context, but in similar language, in Paraguay, missionaries insisted that idle settlers exploited the natives’ labour and caused their misery because of their ‘disordered greed’.\(^{49}\) The salvation of the natives mattered more, said Alonso de la Peña Montenegro, discussing the viceroyalty of Peru, than ‘the temporal rest and pleasure of the Encomendero, being idle, giving orders, eating and drinking from the blood and sweat of the

\(^{46}\) Mateo de Lisón y Biedma, Discursos y apvontamientos de don Mateo de Lison y Biedma, señor del lugar de Algarinexo, Veintiquatro de la ciudad de Granada, y su Procurador de Cortes, en las que se celebraron el año passado de 1621. dados a su Magestad en su Real mano..., s.n. [Madrid], s.d. [1622], fo. 3 r. See Bienvenido García Martín, El proceso histórico de despoblamiento en la provincia de Salamanca, Salamanca, 1982, p. 74.

\(^{47}\) ‘Consulta… Madrid 1.o de Febrero de 1619’, in González Palencia, La Junta de reformación, pp. 12–17.


\(^{49}\) Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, Conquista Espiritual hecha por los religiosos de la compañía de Jesus en las provincias del Paraguay, Paraná, Uruguay y Tape (1639), Bilbao, 1892, p. 100.
Indians’. Thus, as we have seen, numerous religious workers strongly criticised demands for personal service, and the Jesuits, such as Diego de Torres, relentlessly complained about and fought ‘this wicked tyranny, those daring thefts, and greed so unworthy of a Christian person’. As hunting in Spain was a recreation for the nobles, said Torres, Castilians and Portuguese in the New World hunted natives for pure entertainment.

In the New World as in the Old, the uncultivated aspect of both lands and peoples was believed to be the main reason for moral decadence, and missionaries strove to rectify this problem. Individuals who did not remain within their own communities, where they had obligations to fulfil, were considered vagrants. Thus, the Spaniards residing in Indian villages were claimed to be vagrants, who lived ‘freely and licentiously’, and taught the natives ‘their idleness’. All Indian, Spanish, and mixed blood ‘vagrants’ were to be reduced into villages and put to work. Idleness, for both natives and Spaniards, was not permitted. The natives were segregated from Spanish settlers, but inculcated with similar understandings of citizenship and the role of the individual within the community. The non-hispanicised natives and the remote areas in which they lived were believed to be uncultivated peoples and places par excellence, as I have shown in a previous chapter.

---


54 In Spanish, the term ‘baldios’ was referring both to uncultivated lands and idle men: Sebastián de Covarrubias Orozco, *Tesoro de la lengua Castellana, o Española*, Madrid, 1611, fo. 117 r. In French and Spanish, the adjectives ‘inculto’ and ‘inculte’ both come from the Latin term ‘incultus’, and can refer to land or to a person: uncultivated land or a non-educated, rude, savage or wild person: Charlton T. Lewis, Charles Short, *A Latin Dictionary. Founded on Andrews’ edition of Freund's Latin dictionary*, Oxford, 1879, s.v. ‘incultus’.


54 In Spanish, the term ‘baldios’ was referring both to uncultivated lands and idle men: Sebastián de Covarrubias Orozco, *Tesoro de la lengua Castellana, o Española*, Madrid, 1611, fo. 117 r. In French and Spanish, the adjectives ‘inculto’ and ‘inculte’ both come from the Latin term ‘incultus’, and can refer to land or to a person: uncultivated land or a non-educated, rude, savage or wild person: Charlton T. Lewis, Charles Short, *A Latin Dictionary. Founded on Andrews’ edition of Freund's Latin dictionary*, Oxford, 1879, s.v. ‘incultus’.
3. The Christian Community

Missionaries thus shared to a great extent the conception of the Crown regarding the political community. One had to be sedentary, settled in an established community, and be put to work in order to truly belong to a community. But the Crown’s ambiguous and difficult position regarding the place of the natives in the community, relying on both the separating principle of the República de indios and the assimilating idea of adopted sons through the unifying agency of the King, did not necessarily correspond to the role assigned to the natives in the local, segregated communities that the Jesuits created. By contrast to both non-reduced natives and wandering Spaniards, Jesuit missions on the frontier were highly organised and regulated. The reduction system in Paraguay envisioned for the natives a ‘great and universal reformation of their customs’. In their missions, the Jesuits did not differentiate between civil and religious means to moral reformation. The idea that secular government should support religious purposes was not uncommon in Jesuit political writings. For example, Francisco Suárez, in his Treatise on the laws and God the Lawgiver (1613), suggested that civil laws should promote temperance and moderation in pleasures and luxury. Nicolas Mastrillo Durán, writing about the Paraná missions, explained that the Fathers were not only in charge of the spiritual needs of the neophytes, but also cared for ‘the government and culture of their reductions, which consists not only in being in charge of the Indians’ souls, but also (and this is not what requires the least work) of their bodies and of everything that relates to matters of industry and human politics (la policia humana)’. In the missions, the natives were ‘reduced in the form of a commonwealth (a forma de republica)’ and the structure and sociability of the community was extensively cultivated. Village life was prevalent over anything else, and the natives were segregated both from other

missions and external influences: they were not allowed to leave the village without direct authorisation from the Jesuits in charge of the mission and could not marry someone from another *doctrina* without authorisation. Unconverted natives or even natives from Spanish towns were not welcome on the missions. The Fathers themselves, who were usually at least two in charge of a mission, were to limit their travels. Limited mobility and isolation were less successful in the more arid areas of Northwestern Mexico.  

The direct authority of the Fathers on the villages, shared with elected native officials, ensured that order would be enforced, and daily life was thoroughly regulated. All villages were built according to the same grid pattern, and the houses were of the same size. Converts were simply dressed and all participated in agricultural work. The land was divided into individual and common plots. For part of the week, the natives worked on their own plots, which would provide sustenance for themselves and their families. The rest of the time, they worked on communal land.

---


61 See for example: Hernández, *Organización social*, vol. 1, pp. 592–598: ‘1689 – Reglamento general de Doctrinas enviado por el Provincial P. Tomás Donvidas, y aprobado por el General P. Tirso’. On discipline, see also Claudio Acquaviva, ‘Instrucción para afervorizar en el ministerio de los indios, 1603’, and ‘Reglamento de Doctrinas hecho por la 6.a Congregación provincial del Paraguay y aprobado por el P. General Mucio Vitelleschi, 1637’, in Hernández, *Organización social*, vol. 1, pp. 579–580, 589–592. See also: Diego de Torres, ‘Segunda instrucción del P. Torres – Para todos los misioneros de Guayrá, Paraná y Guaycurú’, in *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 587; ‘The Regulations Made by the Visitors General for the Whole Province, and by the Provincials for the Missions, 1662’ in Charles W. Polzer, *Rules and Precepts of the Jesuit Missions of Northwestern New Spain*, Tucson, 1976, pp. 66–75; Perez de Ribas, *Historia de los triumphos de nuesta Santa Fee*, pp. 339, 435–436, 448–451; Gradie, *The Tepehuan Revolt of 1616*, p. 127: Measures to ease conversion, to ensure order, and to guarantee the authority of native leaders were also taken. In recently established doctrinas, the Fathers were not allowed to punish not yet converted or recently converted natives, ‘so as not to render faith detestable to these infidels’. The Fathers had to follow a strict hierarchical system, and could not innovate in ‘both spiritual and temporal matters’ without the approval of their Superiors. They were also forbidden from punishing city officials in public.


when it was available, which was used for the sustenance of weaker people on the reductions, such as widows, orphans, or infirm individuals.\textsuperscript{64} Each village had a hospital and house for widows or single women, financed by community chests, and medical care was provided by the Fathers.\textsuperscript{65} Children were taught to read and write, and to play musical instruments and sing.\textsuperscript{66} The Fathers in charge ensured that the neophytes would receive constant instructions, both in private and in public, explanation of the catechism, and take part in solemn ceremonies according to the Roman rites for the administration of the Holy sacraments, as such simple souls are very impressed by the magnificence of the service (\textit{la esplendidez del aparato externo}).\textsuperscript{67}

In Paraguay, said Nicolas Mastrillo Durán, the Fathers fulfilled ‘all the duties of a paterfamilias in his home’.\textsuperscript{68} In the eyes of the Jesuits, their mission system was ‘a garden full of the flowers of heaven, and a new, and primitive Church’ .\textsuperscript{69}

It seems indisputably the case that, as Fernando Camargo has argued, ‘the process of constituting the social, political, and economic system called “guaraní-missionero”, before being a Spanish endeavour, was a Catholic endeavour’.\textsuperscript{70} But I would go further. In their definition of the political community both in Paraguay and in Northern Mexico, the Jesuits relied on Spanish notions regarding sedentariness and the role of the individual in the community, but by insisting on the local community and on absolute segregation, they emphasised the fault lines of both the idea of the two


\textsuperscript{69} Lorenzo de Mendoza, in Ruiz de Montoya, \textit{Conquista Espiritual}, ‘Aprovacion’. For the same imagery in New Spain, see Perez de Ribas, \textit{Historia de los triunfos de nuestra Santa Fee}, pp. 243, 334.

republics and of the mystic unity constituted through the monarchy. Because of the highly moralistic outlook of reductions, and the identification of secular and religious goals, community building in frontier missions was closer to the Spanish idea of vecindad, a localised understanding of belonging into a community, which had a highly moral component, rather than to the emerging notion of Spanishness, a more morally neutral understanding of the citizen as a subject, which ultimately led to more regalist and assimilationist tendencies in the eighteenth century.

4. Conflict

As a Catholic endeavour, frontier missions put missionaries and converted natives at odds with other colonial forces. The mission system challenged both European and unconverted native groups’ social, political, and economic structures. The reductions, by keeping the natives isolated from Spaniards, protected the neophytes from settlers and enabled them to compete with them. The missions were economically successful, taught the natives European agricultural techniques, and at the same time deprived the settlers of necessary native labour. The natives could learn the terms and skills according to which they were to resist Spanish supremacy, while in the meantime being able to preserve their native identity. Away from Spanish settlements, the missions constituted urban nuclei (contrasted to the settlements of unconverted natives) in rural areas, thus excluding Spanish encroachments. As members of almost independent political units, the natives in the reductions also learned how to secure land, establish mechanisms to face royal tribute when necessary or finance the costs of maintaining the missions (through community chests, which raised revenues through the work of communal lands), and use the colony’s legal apparatus to defend themselves.71 Numerous natives seem to have taken advantage of the Spanish judicial system.72 The concept of gathering the natives in their own congregations, which was meant to Christianise them while isolating them from Spanish influences, contained an inherent contradiction. Indeed, the República de Indios could never be completely segregated from Spanish endeavours. For Spanish settlers, native settlements constituted an important source of labour, which they could

72 Cañéque, The King’s Living Image, p. 219.
not afford to lose.\textsuperscript{73} The very success of the missions meant they were doomed: in the context of the colonial world, a \textit{República de indios} could only be desirable if it served the needs of the \textit{República de Españoles}. Jesuit Jacinto de la Serna expressed in 1649 the dependence of the Empire on native labour:

it is a nation so useful to the political life of this Spanish Monarchy, on which its conservation depends, because everyone’s life depends on indian labour (\textit{todos viven eslabonados con el trabajo destos indios}) [...] because they are the blood of the mystic body of the Monarchy [...] all are wondering how to remedy their toil, illnesses, and servitude, there is no remedy attempted, that is not harmful to them.\textsuperscript{74}

At the same time as they maintained numerous aspects of their native identity (by having political authority in their missions, and maintaining aspects of native culture that did not directly contradict the Christian faith), converted natives found themselves alienated from other groups of unconverted natives, for, again, social, political, and economic reasons, as they no longer participated in native structures but held an advantageous position in relationship to colonial authorities. Thus, in Paraguay, aside from raids by Portuguese and ‘Spanish tigers’ full of ‘greedy tyranny’, reductions were also the target of unconverted natives, who attacked and derided Christian symbols in particular.\textsuperscript{75} Religion was clearly threatening the authority of indigenous religious leaders, who retaliated in kind. The ‘sorcerers’ who tortured and killed Jesuit Cristobal de Mendoza in the mid-1630s in Paraguay asked him: ‘\textit{Yro oroyuca imbae tacupoa tupa} [...] Do you think your God can save you from our hands?’\textsuperscript{76} Native unrest was also frequently steeped in strong millenarian themes replete with Christian symbolism, and native revolts in Nueva Vizcaya adopted Christian symbols for their own ends. Thus the natives justified their rebellion by appropriating the Christian religion and excluding Europeans from its protection. In 1601, the Acaxee rebelled under the leadership of one Perico, who convinced the natives ‘that he was God the Holy Spirit, and that he had come down from heaven and

\textsuperscript{74} de la Serna, ‘Tratado de las supersticiones’ (1649), in del Paso y Troncoso \textit{Tratado de las idolatrias}, Tomo I, p. 39.
that his name was ‘bishop’. 77 Perico claimed that he had come to teach them ‘how to be saved because the doctrine that the religious of the Society of Jesus taught them was false and that he would teach them a better one […] He said mass and taught them prayers other than the Catholic ones’. 78

Still in Nueva Vizcaya, in the present-day state of Durango, another group, the Tepehuán, revolted in 1616. The revolt lasted until 1620, and eight Jesuits, as well as friendly natives, lost their lives. At its head was a previously baptised shaman (hechizero) named Quautlatas. Quautlatas also called himself the Bishop, used a cross made of clay, and declared he was the son of the sun God. He claimed that he had received two letters from God, exhorting the natives to revolt against the Spaniards and kill them all, in particular the Fathers. Quautlatas maintained that those who died in battle would be resurrected after seven days, that the elders would be rejuvenated, and that God would prevent Spanish ships from ever landing on American shores again. If they did not revolt, the shaman claimed, God would punish the Tepehuán with plagues, pestilences, and famine. 79 During the revolt, the natives destroyed religious artefacts, burned churches, and mocked the priests and Catholic rituals. 80

In Paraguay, European raids to enslave natives only made unconverted groups more defiant of anything European. The perpetual conflict between the Fathers and Spanish settlers was also perceived as a threat to the missions. Jesuit missionary José Cataldino explained in 1614:

I am amaze […] that they [the neophytes] would still be patient with us and have some affection for us. Since the Spaniards utter so many atrocities about us, it seems marvelous to me, and almost a miracle of God, that they still let us live, and that they have not already cruelly

79 Francisco Figueroa, Francisco de Figueroa de la compañía de Iesus, procurador de las Prouincias de las Indias, dize: Que por quanto acerca del alçamiento, y rebelion de los Indios Tepehuanes, Zinaloas, y otras naciones, que sucedio por fin del año de mil y seiscientos y deziseis, se hã esparcidovarias relaciones, mezclan dose en ellas algunas cosas que causan confusion, s.l [Madrid?], s.d. [1617?], fos. 2 r.–3r.; Perez de Ribas, Historia de los triumphos de nvestra Santa Fee, pp. 598–599 (the general account of the revolt is in book X, chapters 17–32); Susan M. Deeds, ‘First Generation Rebellions in Seventeenth-Century Nueva Vizcaya’, in Susan Schroeder, ed., Native resistance and the Pax Colonial in New Spain, Lincoln, NE, 1998, pp. 8–9; Gradie, The Tepehuan Revolt of 1616, pp. 149–151.
murdered us a thousand times, or at least expelled us from their lands.\textsuperscript{81}

On frontier missions, the Jesuits were frequently perceived as representatives of destructive Spanish forces. In the Paraguayan reduction of Santa Teresa, a ‘sorcerer’ told the people

that the Fathers were not men, but ghosts, or, as they say, \textit{imbaë}, who had come to their lands for no other reason than to make indigenous peoples abandon their ancestors’ customs (apartar a los indígenas de las costumbres de los antiguos), and make them give up all their enjoyments, and with them their peace and tranquillity.\textsuperscript{82}

Those natives who had chosen to be friendly with the Fathers were also the targets of attacks. In Paraguay, after killing the head of a mission, Father Mendoza, the attackers started to

mimic all the rites of the Christians, building temples, in which they gathered people as to preach to them, making mock baptisms […] they began to spread panic amongst people, telling them that the ruin of the Christians was imminent […] another made people believe, that they could transform themselves into tigers, and would quickly devour all the Christians, and before them the missionaries and their sacristans.

The attackers then performed mock ceremonies, washing people from head to toe, and singing ‘\textit{Taytin decara ybagué, which means, I un-baptise you (Yo te bautizo para quitarte el bautismo)’.\textsuperscript{83} As we will see, converted natives in New England and New France were caught in a similar intermediate position, and were also subjected to violence from both settlers and unconverted natives.

\begin{flushright}
\end{flushright}
III. New France

1. The Royal Perspective on Imperialism

When the colony was put under royal administration in 1663, the Crown’s willingness to reinforce its imperial designs was made clear in the instructions given to the successive governors and intendants. Both Jean-Baptiste Colbert and the king were willing to encourage the colony to be self-sufficient and to expand on its own. In order to do so, it was essential to further agriculture and settlement. As in New Spain and Peru (and as in England), clearing the land to establish crops and settlements was a recurring concern. Scattered populations and empty lands were perceived as a key problem. Thus, the intendants, sent to New France since the colony became under royal control, were instructed to ‘reduce the inhabitants in the form of our parishes and villages’. By favouring agriculture, the king hoped that the colony could feed itself, and with close-knit settlements, could resist attacks from the Iroquois better than if they were established in a scattered pattern. At the same time, the king found it necessary to ‘encourage people to trade’ (exciter les habitans au commerce).

But the two main goals of the monarchy, to favour trade and territorial

---

expansion, did not necessarily coincide. Maintaining a balance between agriculture and trade proved difficult, and colony officials, as well as the Crown, found it hard to control the ‘coureurs de bois’ (woods runners). They were men who, rather than wait for the natives to come and trade in European settlements, ventured in the forests in order to get more advantageous bargains for furs. Both the civil authorities and missionaries perceived them as ‘vagrants’, uncontrollable and dangerous. Those people, explained the secretary of Jean Talon (the first intendant of New France) in a report to Colbert, are ‘vagrants, who do not marry, who never work to clear the land, which must be the main activity of a good Settler, and commit an infinity of disorders due to their licentious and debauched lifestyle (leur vie licentieuse et Libertine)’. Their behaviour ‘ruin[ed] the good opinion that those peoples [the natives] should have of our nation’. They were also resented because they were willing to trade furs with ‘foreigners’ (English and Dutch). This uncontrolled form of trade, by which some settlers ‘give themselves over to vagrancy in the woods (se rendent vagabonds dans les bois)’ was banned multiple times in New France, but was difficult to control in practice.

---


92 The manuscript, ‘Mémoire de Patoulet demandé par le ministre’, 25 janvier 1672, is available online: www.archivescanadafrance.org. Archives nationales d'outre-mer (ANOM, France), COL C11A 3/fol.274–279, date accessed: 25/10/2011, fo. 274 r. See also ‘Mémoire de Duchesneau adressé au ministre sur les désordres causés par les coureurs de bois et sur le commerce frauduleux avec les Anglais, 13 novembre 1681’, available online: www.archivescanadafrance.org. Archives nationales d'outre-mer (ANOM, France), COL C11A 5/fol.320–323v, date accessed: 03/11/2011, fo. 321 r: ‘[they] have become debauched libertines, who have abandoned their families and the cultivation of their lands and who have in this way become accustomed to libertinism’.


The Jesuits were vocal about woods runners when these interfered with their frontier missions. As late as 1702, Jesuit Etienne de Carheil, working at St Ignace in the Great Lakes region, complained about the presence of coureurs de bois, which served but to depopulate the country of all its youth; to reduce the number of people in the houses; to deprive wives of their husbands, fathers and mothers of the help of their children, and sisters of the aid of their brothers; [...] to accustom them not to work, so that they for ever become repulsed by labour and live in Continual idleness; to make them incapable of learning any trade, and thereby to make them Useless to themselves, to their families, and to the entire country, through having made themselves unfit for the occupations that are most Common and most useful to man. [...] It Takes them away from all the holy places; it separates them from all Ecclesiastical and religious persons; It abandons them to a total deprivation of all Instruction, both public and private, of all devotional Exercises, and, finally, of all the spiritual aids of Christianity.\(^\text{95}\)

The attempt by the Crown to assimilate the natives to French society after their conversion was clearly set in the logic of submission: the natives’ only option was to convert and become subjects of the king, working for the growth of his colonies. The King’s instructions to the Governor in 1665 were clear: his intention was to make ‘the Indians his subjects, working usefully for the increase of trade [...]’. Trading with the natives was, according to the king, ‘in conformity with the Indians’ inclinations’.\(^\text{96}\) Those who refused to submit (in particular the Iroquois), and who ‘prevented the peopling of the land (ayant [...] empesché que le pays ne se soit peuplé plus qu’il l’est à present)’ were to be ‘entirely exterminated’.\(^\text{97}\) As unregulated trade offset settlement plans, soldiers sent to frontier areas to take care of the Iroquois problem could also prove to be difficult to control, and reinforced the scattered, unsettled aspect of the colony.\(^\text{98}\) They, like woods runners, traded directly with the natives (in exchange for


liquor), escaped the control of the authorities, and were considered by the Jesuits to have a detrimental effect on the natives.

From the monarchy’s perspective, the Jesuits proved to be successful tools for expansion on the frontier, but the Order was jealous of its prerogatives, as the king knew. As discussed in the previous chapter, by the turn of the century, the Society lost some of its influence in New France. Commandants of the garrisons posted in frontier areas, who represented the authority of the king, had the power to deal with indigenous populations in his name, and their vision of colonial society was often in contradiction with that of the Jesuits. Members of the Order frequently complained about the presence of soldiers in frontier areas, whose sole occupations, according to Father Carheil, were drinking, trading, whoring and gambling. ‘If you want to keep us among [the natives], and to keep and support us there as missionaries’, said Carheil, ‘[...] we must be delivered from the Commandants and from their garrisons, which, far from being necessary, are, on the contrary, so pernicious that we can truly say that they are the greatest scourge of our missions’. Carheil complained that the Commandants and all the traders conspire together, with a Common Agreement, to complain of the missionaries to the higher authorities, and to denounce them as much as possible, so as to make them odious to all the people, hoping to make sure that the charges that the missionaries might bring against their misconduct will not be listened to (esperant dempecher par la que les acusations qu’ils pourroient former de leurs dereglemens ne soient Ecoutes). And indeed they are not; the missionaries are reduced to silence, to inaction, to impotence, and to general deprivation of all authority.

Complaints about the behaviour of soldiers were also frequent among both Spanish and English missionaries. Contentions between the Jesuits and soldiers marked the

---

103 See for example: Francisco Mateos, ed., Historia general de la Compañía de Jesús en la Provincia del Perú, Crónica anónima de 1600 que trata del establecimiento y misiones de la Compañía de Jesús en los países de habla espanola en la América meridional, Madrid, 1944, Tomo II, p. 433; Silva, Advertencias importantes, acerca del buen gobierno, y administracion de las Indias, fos. 13 r., 27 r.; Diego de Medrano, ‘Relación del licenciado Diego de Medrano, … 1654’, in Naylor and Polzer, The
beginning of a tendency to decrease the authority of the Jesuits in favour of representatives of the French monarchy over the first half of the eighteenth century.

2. The Subject in the French Community and the Christian in his Community

In a corporate society such as old regime France, being a citizen did not entail equality with all other citizens, but, as in Spanish political theory, a common subjection to a monarch. The absolutist theory of French citizenship had been best elaborated by Jean Bodin in the sixteenth century in his *Six Livres de la République*. As Spanish thinkers had argued about the Spanish empire, despite the great diversity of the French kingdom, all its members had one thing in common, said Bodin: they were under the authority of the same king. A citizen, for Bodin, was thus nothing else than a ‘free subject depending on the sovereignty of an other (*le franc subiect tenant de la souueraineté d’autray*)’. This definition of citizenship downplayed the political role of the subject in the commonwealth. Citizens were defined in opposition to foreigners, or rather, as opposed to those who were not under the authority of a common king.

In New France, Richelieu established citizenship as an incentive for emigration when he reorganised the colony in 1627. Thus, those who were Frenchmen and Catholics and who were willing to settle in New France, as well as their descendants, would automatically be considered French (*’seront censés et repute naturels françois’*). More surprisingly, converted natives would also be considered French, and, as such, they would be entitled to ‘come and live in France whenever they please’, and once there, to own, receive as gift, bequeath, and inherit property. This was not very significant for the natives, as not many sailed to France, but these property rights for

---


104 Jean Bodin, *Les six livres de la république*, Paris, 1583 (fourth edition), Livre I, Chapitre VI, p. 68. See also p. 70. The monarchy was above human positive law, but not above natural and divine law, see p. 128.


converted natives were extended to Canada itself in 1648. In 1651, the Hurons were
granted ownership of the land of the Silléry reserve, ‘with all seigneurial rights’,
including exclusive hunting and fishing rights. The land would be under the authority
of the ‘Christian captain’ (the native leader). This procedure was to be repeated in
other settled areas, where the natives, even though they were said to be lords, would
be under the supervision of the Jesuit Fathers, and could not sell or alienate the land
without their consent.

Thus the natives would be considered French (‘naturels et régnicoles’) on the
sole condition of their conversion. Being a citizen of a kingdom meant being
subjected to, and protected by, the same political authority. Thus the natives could
perfectly be considered French, as long as they accepted the role assigned to them by
the French monarchy in its imperial scheme. The mention that the natives could
inherit, will, or own property referred to the legal concept of droit d’aubaine. By this
rule, foreigners living in France could not bequeath their belongings to their
descendants, as the king had a right ‘of removing the freedom to dispose of their
goods by testament, which goods become the possession of the Sovereign, to the
exclusion of their heirs & kin, even if natives of the country’. Foreigners who
received letters of naturalisation in France would obtain the same rights as French
citizens, and be exempted from the prerogatives of the king over their property. People
living in areas conquered by France would usually be assimilated as French citizens,

---


108 ‘Concession de la Seigneurie de Silléry faite aux sauvages, le 3e mars 1651, par l’ancienne Compagnie seigneurie de Canada’, and ‘Lettres patentes qui confirment la concessi
proceedings concerning land in Massachusetts were similarly operated by John Eliot, ‘in the behalfe of
the Indians’, see for example: ‘14 October 1651’, in Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, ed., Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, Boston, 1853–1854, vol. III: 1644–1657, p. 246. In Spanish colonies, the natives were not allowed to sell their land to Spaniards. See Juan de Matienzo, in José Nicolas Matienzo, ed., Gobierno del Perú, Obra escrita en el siglo XVI por el licenciado Don Juan Matienzo, oidor de la Real Audiencia de Charcas (1567), Buenos Aires, 1910, chap. XV and XX, pp. 37–38, 43–45; Mörner, La Corona española y los foráneos, pp. 48, 149.


and did not have to seek letters of naturalisation in order to obtain those privileges. The mention of the *droit d’aubaine* thus meant that New France was considered as a conquered area, but with certain peculiarities. As opposed to the usual rule in conquered lands within Europe, only those natives who accepted conversion (‘domiciled’ natives) in New France were integrated into conquered territory and considered French. Other groups, such as the Iroquois in the mid-seventeenth century were treated as foreign nations.

In New Spain and Peru, the main metaphor used to depict the monarchy was that of the mystic body, the king being the head or the heart. The relationship between the king and the natives was depicted as that of a father and his children. This paternalist image was also very common in France. In the Bodinian tradition, the hierarchical structure of the commonwealth was based on the family model. The government of the house was the ‘true model of the government of the Republic’. Jurists discussing naturalisation in the seventeenth century used a strong ideology of assimilation to depict citizenship, embedded in the language of adoption. To become a French citizen was to be adopted as a child of the kingdom. Naturalisation letters were also called adoption letters. As Neo-Stoic writer Pierre Charron explained, ‘the prince ought to love, cherish, to be vigilant and carefull of his state, as the husband of the wife, the father of his children, the shepheard of his flock, having always before his eies the profit and quiet of his subjects’. A prince had to be ‘both loved and

---

111 Sahlins, *Unnaturally French*, pp. 51, 82. In French letters of naturalisation, the applicants were expected to profess the ‘Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman faith’. Yet, it seems that it was not an absolute requirement and that some Protestants could indeed obtain letters (Sahlins, pp. 96–99). The process of obtaining letters of naturalisation in France was, by the seventeenth century, increasingly a — costly — bureaucratic procedure with an automatic positive outcome. This was unique in Europe, as, to obtain the privileges of French citizens, foreigners did not have to prove in any way their assimilation or their appropriate behaviours and customs (Sahlins, pp. 70, 106). This reinforced the idea that the French subject under absolutism was more and more a legal fiction rather than a subject with political power (who would have required virtues to assume this privilege).


feared’, said Charron.116

In the early days of trade in New France, native leaders clearly understood their relationship with the king as one of equality and alliance. As Marc Lescarbot recounted, in Acadia, Mi’kmaq leader Membertou ‘consider[ed] himself equal to the King and his Lieutenants, and often told sieur de Poutrincourt [governor of Port-Royal] that he was his great friend, brother, companion and equal’.117 During trade agreements, Pierre Biard explained, the natives sang that they were ‘the good friends, allies, associates, confederates, & partners of the King, & the French’.118 But from the 1640s on, and in an even more pronounced way after the colony was brought under royal administration in 1663, the notion of paternalism progressively replaced that of alliance and fraternalism in the minds of French officials. In 1665, the king declared that he ‘consider[ed] all his subjects in Canada, from the first to the last, as if they were all his own children (comme s’ils étoient presque ses propres enfants)’.119 In 1682, when allied tribes negotiated with Montmagny, the governor of New France, native leader Kondiaronk put his tribe under the protection of the French, and agreed that his relationship with the governor had changed, as he used to call himself your brother, but has ceased to be, as he is now your son, and you have fathered him (tu l’as engendre) with the protection that you gave him against his enemies, you are his father and he acknowledges you as such, he obeys you as a child obeys his father, He listens to you, he only does what you want, because he respects his father and obeys him.120


As I have discussed in the previous chapter, assimilation was mainly a way to further the Crown’s imperial project. Thus, for Jacques Duchesneau, intendant of New France between 1675 and 1682, it was important to behave with the natives so as to ‘be in all things their arbitrator and protector, and drive them into a great dependence […] we also need to make them aware that all their happiness consists in being linked to the French […]’. 121

If the Jesuits did not recognise patriarchalism as a valid form of political authority, the language of adoption was powerfully taken up by missionaries to discuss the natives’ belonging in the Catholic community. But their understanding of the community did not always coincide with the Crown’s, and they developed a reciprocal vision of adoption which was at odds with the authoritarian vision of imperialism. Frontenac complained in 1672 that the Jesuits should have been careful, ‘when making the savages subjects of Jesus Christ, to also make them subjects of the King’. 122

Adoption and naturalisation had a strong meaning for Jesuit missionaries, a meaning which implied a great involvement on the part of the ‘adopted’ or ‘naturalised’, but which was also quite flexible. This conception resonated with native practices of adoption. Adoption was a central element of Huron and Iroquois cultures, as the Jesuits were quick to recognise. Prisoners of war were, by decision of the tribal council, given to families who lost members in the war and were adopted by them. Usually, women and children were easily integrated and assimilated within the family. As for males, the family could decide to either adopt them, or have them tortured and killed by the tribe. 123 This decision depended on the skills and disposition of the captive. If the captive behaved well, he would be treated like any other member of the tribe, and given the rank and titles of the warrior he replaced. He could even, after


assimilation, go to war against his own tribe. During the war between the Huron and the Iroquois, the Jesuits had direct experience of this practice. For example, Iroquois warriors captured Jesuit Giuseppe Bressani in 1644, tortured him (he lost almost all of his fingers), and gave him to a woman who had lost her grandfather to the Huron. She finally sold him to the Dutch, who sent him back to France. Adoption increased to unprecedented levels during the Iroquois wars. This conflict went on throughout the seventeenth century, and opposed the Iroquois Confederacy, also known as the Five Nations (Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca nations), and supported by the English and Dutch colonies, to the Huron and Algonquian speaking peoples (notably the Montagnais). The major issue was the fur trade, and the French sided against the Iroquois. Conflicts and diseases compelled the Iroquois nations to practise adoption at an unprecedented level to replenish their numbers of male hunters and warriors, sometimes adopting entire Huron villages who had surrendered. It was also a way to absorb the enemy within the Confederacy’s ranks. When important members of a tribe died, raids were also organised to take captives in compensation for the deceased, even if the attacked group was not responsible for their death. The Fathers were aware of the frequency of the practice, and used the term ‘naturalised’ (naturalisé) when they discussed the adoption of both natives and themselves either after capture or for acceptance within the group. The native practice of adoption was described in terms similar to the terms used to depict the French practice of naturalisation.

---

If the king did indeed grant French citizenship to converted natives, in the context of New France, adoption of French settlers by native groups was a much more common and important practice. As foreigners, French missionaries on flying missions, in order to proselytise within a tribe, needed to be adopted first. Early in the missions, this system seemed problematic to some missionaries. In 1634, Paul le Jeune, wintering with the Montagnais, refused adoption. The Montagnais treated the French badly, he claimed, because

we do not want to ally ourselves with them as brothers, something they really desire […] but as we are not able to hunt like them (nous n’entendons rien à leur chasse), and we do not consider this process praiseworthy, we do not want to take part in it. This is why they do not consider us as part of their nation […] If any foreigner, whoever he may be, becomes part of their party, they will treat him as one of their own.\(^{130}\)

But the Fathers quickly understood that they needed to accept the ritual, as the ceremony of adoption that ‘naturalised’ them into the native nation was ‘a mark of great confidence amongst these Peoples’ and as without it, they could not receive the help essential for their survival.\(^{131}\) They were officially adopted during a ceremony, and given an Indian name, which would be transmitted to another Father at their death.\(^{132}\)

For the natives as well as for the Jesuits, adoption was a spiritual process as

\(^{130}\) Paul Le Jeune, Relation de ce qui s'est passé en la Nouvelle France, en l'année 1634 envoyée au R. Père provincial de la Compagnie de Jésus, en la province de France par le P. Paul le Jeune de la mesme compagnie, supérieur de la résidence de Kébec, Paris, 1635, p. 122.


much as a social and political one. The language of adoption was repeatedly used by the Jesuits to describe conversion and baptism: Pierre-Joseph-Marie Chaumonot, on his arrival among a tribe of the upper Iroquois in 1656, ‘adopted the people of Oiogoën as his children’.

If the Fathers ‘adopted’ the tribes in which they were to work, native converts were considered ‘adopted children of God’. In French, the term ‘adoption’ was commonly used to mean ‘action making men the children of God’. For the Fathers, the notions of adoption and naturalisation were more than simple metaphors, and related to the idea of second nature that I addressed in chapter three. Just as the natives’ customs were bad ethos, Catholicism was also perceived as a series of habits internalized to the point when they became a second nature. Similarly, when someone became a ‘naturalised’ citizen, he adopted this civic identity as a second nature, by habit. Thus foreigners living in France were ‘habituated in this Kingdom’.

Through the same process, by practice, people could become ‘naturalised Christians’.

133 Dablon, in de Quen, Relation de 1655 & 1656, p. 57.
136 Sahlins, Unnaturaly French, p. 68.
The Fathers clearly understood that in Huron and Iroquois cultures, naming was considered to be a form of resurrection of the dead, and that, by being adopted, an individual was taking on the qualities and social functions of the dead, and they accepted this practice of requickening.\textsuperscript{139} Father Joseph Poncet, captured by the Iroquois in 1652, recounted: ‘then I realised that I was given in return for a dead man, for whom these women were renewing the last mourning, resuscitating the deceased in my person (fa\'issant resusciter le trespass\'e en ma personne), according to their custom’. Once the decision was made to adopt the captive, he was treated like a member of the family.\textsuperscript{140} Father Poncet was treated by ‘that family, into which [he] saw [him]self also adopted’, he claimed ‘with so much savage kindness and so great affection, that I have not experienced more cordiality among the Savages who are friendly to us’.\textsuperscript{141} This ritual was a sign that, according to Barthélémy Vimont, ‘the desire for immortality reigns in the minds of the savages as well as in the minds of the most civilized nations (nations plus polici\'ees)’\textsuperscript{142} Adoption was a way to accomplish that: ‘when a man of quality among them is removed by death, they resuscitate him & bring him back to life’ by ‘reviv[ing] their name as soon as they can (ressuscitent leur nom le plustost qu\’ils peuvent)’.\textsuperscript{143}

The Jesuits perceived the naming ceremony and baptism as somewhat equivalent. Thierry Beschefer explained about his arrival in a Huron village:

I have changed my language and my name, and at present I am called Ondessonk, which means a bird of prey. This is the name that the Hurons have given me, and which was borne by Father Isaac Jogues, who was killed by the Iroquois, after having been cruelly tortured. Pray God that he may make me inherit his virtues, as I have his name. My baptism took place on the feast of St. Francis Xavier, after I had myself baptized 2 savages.\textsuperscript{144}

\begin{footnotes}
\footnotetext[139]{On requickening, see Richter, \textit{The Ordeal of the Longhouse}, pp. 32–33.}
\footnotetext[140]{Richter, \textit{The Ordeal of the Longhouse}, pp. 68–69.}
\footnotetext[141]{Joseph Poncet, in François Le Mercier, \textit{Relation de ce qui s’est passé en la mission des peres de la Compagnie de Jesus, au pays de la Nouvelle France, depuis l’été de l’année 1652 jusquès à l’été de l’année 1653 envoyée au R.P. provincial de la province de France}, Paris, 1654, pp. 69–70.}
\footnotetext[142]{Barthélémy Vimont, \textit{Relation de ce qui s’est passé en la Nouvelle France, es années 1643 & 1644 envoyée au R.P. Jean Filleau, provincial de la Compagnie de Jesus, en la province de France}, Paris, 1645, p. 249.}
\end{footnotes}
By the 1640s, then, the Jesuits understood that they did not have the upper hand in New France, and that, if they wanted to survive and make converts, they would have to some extent adopt the natives’ rituals and traditions. When they did not, as for example with the adoption of children, which was a common practice amongst the natives, their hosts were quick to point it out. The Captain of Tadoussac complained at a public meeting between the French and the natives in 1636:

As to children, said he, one does not see anything else but little Savages in the houses of the French; there are little boys there and little girls; what more do you want? I believe that some of these days you will be asking for our wives. You are continually asking us for our children, & you do not give yours: I do not know any family among us which keeps a Frenchman with it.\(^\text{145}\)

The Jesuits’ language of kinship within the family of God did not rely on national, but on religious allegiances. Algonquian convert Ignace Amiskouapeou explained that

some of my people accuse me of becoming French, of abandoning my nation, & I answer, that I am not French, nor savage, but that I want to be God’s child. All the French or their Captains could not save my soul, I do not believe in them, but in the one who created them.\(^\text{146}\)

If French authorities wanted to make ‘one people and one blood’ of the natives and French, for the Jesuits, the real ties of kinship lay in the Christian, rather than the French, community. Whereas the absolutist and imperial design of the French Crown favoured national assimilation, for the Jesuits, incorporation into the Christian community did not necessarily imply assimilation in the French community. The language of adoption was also used in New England writings to describe the regenerate’s relationship to God. Thus, through grace, as the bilingual 1680 Confession of Faith explained, the believers

are taken into the number, and enjoy the Liberties and Priviledges of the Children of God, have his Name put upon them, receive the Spirit of Adoption, have access to the throne of Grace with boldness, are enabled to cry Abba Father, are pitied, protected, provided for and chastned (sic) by him as by a Father.\(^\text{147}\)

\(^{145}\) Le Jeune, *Relation de 1636*, pp. 219–220 (trans. JR, vol. IX, p. 233). On this complaint, the French governor (Montmagny) confided to Le Jeune: ‘I do not know what a Roman Senator could have answered that would have been more appropriate to the subject under discussion’.

\(^{146}\) Le Jeune, *Relation de 1639*, pp. 93–94.

3. **Conflict**

After a rather successful period of conversion, by the late 1630s tensions arose in some Huron communities. Epidemics, bad crops, and war ravaged the population. The opposition between converted and unconverted individuals increased exponentially. The unconverted claimed that the abandonment of old Huron customs, and the adoption of Christianity, was the cause of their downfall. Assimilation in the Christian community could seriously endanger traditional ties of kinship. These issues could arise in families. A Christian woman in Silléry disowned her family because they gave up praying. In 1643, a convert of Silléry told an Abenaki captain: ‘We pray to God, & only recognise as friends and brothers those who pray like us. How could we love those that God hates? And God hates those who do not pray: if you want to be our brother & friend, you must learn how to pray […]’.

Increasingly, baptism and extreme unction were thought to be the main cause of death, as was the case in Spanish colonies. Previously, baptism had been believed to be just another ritual used to try to heal the sick. But, as diseases spread, some Hurons became more and more suspicious. In Saint Joseph, the wife of a recent convert, Charles Meiachkwat, warned him: ‘Can’t you see that we are all dying since they told us to pray to God; where are your relatives, where are mine, most of them are dead, it is no longer a time to believe’. The Jesuits readily admitted that the

150 Vimont, *Relation de 1643 & 1644*, p. 11.
151 See for example: Figueroa, Francisco de Figueroa de la compañía de Jesus, procurador de las Provincias de las Indias, fo. 2 v.; Estevan de Perea, Segunda relacion, de la grandiosa conversion que ha avido en el Nuevo Mexico... dandole cuenta des estado de aquellas conversiones, y en particular de lo sucedido en el despacho que se hizo para aquellas partes, Sevilla, 1633, fo. 2 v.; Francisco de Figueroa, *Relación de las misiones de la Compañía de Jesús en el país de los Maynas* (1661), Madrid, 1904, p. 20; Pedro de Oñate, ‘Novena Carta, 1617’, in Valle Iberlucea, *Documentos para la historia Argentina*, vol. 20, p. 76; Perez de Ribas, *Historia de los triumphos de nvestra Santa Fee*, p. 331. On this, see Javier Burrieza Sánchez, *Jesuitas en Indias: Entre la utopía y el conflicto. Trabajos y misiones de la Compañía de Jesús en la América moderna*, Valladolid, 2007, p. 346.
153 Paul Le Jeune, in *Relation de ce qui s'est passé en la Nouvelle France, es années 1640 et 1641 envoyée au R. Pere provincial de la Compagnie de Jesus, de la province de France par le P. Barthelemy Vimont de la mesma compagnie, superieur de la residence de Kebec*, Paris, 1642, p. 59. See also Thomas Mayhew in Henry Whitfield, ed., *The light appearing more and more towards the perfect day. Or, a farther discovery of the presente state of the Indians in New-England, concerning the progresse of the Gospel amongst them...*, London, 1651, p. 4: ‘I wonder [...] that you are a young man, having a wife and two children, should love the English and their wayes, and forsake the PawWawes; what would you do if any of you should be sick? Whither would you go for help?’
correlation made sense. Barthélémy Vimont reported that, from a purely rational perspective, faith did not seem to be the best option for the Huron people:

I wish to say […] that the Savages have all the reasons which purely human argument (raisonnement) can suggest to them, for having an aversion toward the faith, or rather, for rejecting it: it is in this point that God shows that the conversion of these peoples is his own work. Since we have published the law of Jesus Christ in these regions, plagues have rushed in as in a throng. Contagious diseases, war, famine, these are the tyrants that have sought to wrest the faith from the faithful, and that have caused it to be hated by the infidels. How many times have we been reproached that, wherever we set foot, death came in with us? How many times have they told us that they had never seen calamities like those which have appeared since we speak of Jesus Christ. You tell us (exclaim some) that God is full of goodness; and then, when we give ourselves up to him, he massacres us. The Iroquois, our mortal enemies, do not believe in God, they do not love the prayers, they are more wicked than the Demons, & yet they prosper; and since we have forsaken the usages of our ancestors, they kill us, they massacre us, they burn us, they exterminate us, root and branch (de fond en comble). What profit can there come to us from lending ear to the Gospel, since death and the faith nearly always march in company? 154

Thus many amongst the Huron believed that the Jesuits were sorcerers, and some natives thought that they were intentionally trying to exterminate them. Some were convinced that the Holy Sacrament kept in the church was a corpse brought from France, which was at the origin of the ‘pestilence’. They were certain that the Catholic rituals ‘were supersitions which [the Jesuits] practised in order to destroy them’. This, said Father Bressani, ‘was not simply a popular opinion with people of small account, but it was that of the Captains themselves, and of the most intelligent men, who several times called a council to resolve upon the death of all of ours […]’. 155

In Saint Jean Baptiste, a mission to the Arendaronons, a Huron tribe, some declared that ‘they had seen black gowns in a dream […] who were unfolding certain books, out of


which sparks of fire sprang and which spread everywhere, and no doubt caused this pestilential disease'.

The belief that baptism was lethal aroused terror in the neophytes, who seemed to be trapped between the authority of the Fathers and that of their traditional leaders. From Saint Jean Baptiste, Jérôme Lalemant reported:

the truths of our Faith no longer find access to their mind; their affection for us is changed into hatred. This spirit of deceit, whom they honor as the master of their land, having assured them that we alone were the cause of their ruin, the doors of the cabins begin to be closed to our Fathers; the sight of them is dreaded, as if a single one of their looks caused all the children to die; they are held in abomination, and they hardly find any one who tolerates them.

The terror also spread in Tadoussac where, Jérôme Lalemant reported, the neophytes were terrified by the Chapel, and only came to mass ‘with a bearing which indicated fear & terror […]’.

Those who were opposed to the presence of the priests among them directly challenged converted natives and reproached them for causing the ruin of their country: The Captain of the converts in Saint Joseph,

having said in open assembly that he was a Frenchman, since he had embraced their belief, a certain Unbeliever, an impudent man, wishing to affront him and all his people, walked around his cabin, and cried aloud to him: ‘Go then, thou Frenchman, that is right, go away into thine own country. Embark in the Ships, since thou art a Frenchman; cross the sea, and go to thine own land; thou hast for too long a time caused us to die here’.

As in Paraguay and Mexico, some resistance movements had a strong millenarian component. Some natives appropriated the Catholic faith while rejecting the authority of the Europeans who had brought it with them. In the mid-40s, the story of a

---

156 Jérôme Lalemant, ‘Relation de ce qui s'est passé dans le pays des Hvrons, Pays de la Nouvelle France’, in Barthélemy Vimont, Relation de ce qui s'est passé en la Nouvelle France en l'année M. DC.XL. envoyée au R.P. provincial de la Compagnie de Jésus de la province de France, Paris, 1641, p. 156.


159 Le Jeune, in Relation de 1640 et 1641, p. 180 (trans. JR, vol. XXI, p. 77). For a similar example on Martha’s Vineyard, see Mayhew in Whitfield, ed., The light appearing, p. 4: ‘they scoffed at him with great laughter, saying, Here comes the English man’.
converted woman spread in Huronia. She was said to have been resurrected from the
dead to warn Christian natives of the terrible fate that awaited them if they continued
in the Christian way. She, said the story, had been to heaven, which was in fact a
terrible hell for Christian natives, where they were endlessly tortured by the French.
On the contrary, the natives who refused to convert were taken after death into a
‘place of delights’. She warned the natives that they must stop believing in ‘the
impostures of the French’. In Saint Jean-Baptiste, a man claimed to have seen an
apparition of ‘the one whom the French wrongly call Jesus’. The apparition claimed
that it was ‘the strangers who alone are the cause of [their misfortune]; they now travel
two by two throughout the country, with the design of spreading the disease
everywhere’. The only way to prevent this catastrophe was to expel the black gowns
from the village.

By the late 1640s, despite intense opposition, conversion amongst the Huron
people rose steadily. At the height of the crisis with the Iroquois, almost one in two
were Christians. During the war, the Iroquois also attacked the Christians in
particular, and openly mocked the Christian religion. Former Huron individuals who
had been adopted into the Iroquois community seemed to be particularly aggressive.
When Jean de Brébeuf and Gabriel Lalemant were caught and tortured, an apostate,
    hearing him speak of Paradise and Holy Baptism, was irritated, and said to
    him, “Echon”, that is Father de Breboeuf’s name in Huron, “you say that
    Baptism and the sufferings of this life lead straight to Paradise; you will go
    soon, for I am going to baptise you, and to make you suffer well, in order
    for you to go the sooner to your Paradise”. The barbarian having said that,
    took a kettle full of boiling water, which he poured over his body three
different times, in derision of Holy baptism. And, each time that he
baptized him in this manner, the barbarian said to him, with biting
mockery, “Go to Heaven, for you are well baptised”.

By 1649, a group of Huron, mostly Christians, relocated with the Jesuits onto
Christian Island (Gahoendoe), where living conditions were so harsh that by 1650,

---

160 Ragueneau, ‘Relation de ce qui s’est passé de plvs remarqvable… Avx Hvrons’ (1645 & 1646), pp. 44–47.
161 Lalemant, ‘Relation de ce qui s’est passé dans le pays des Hvrons’ (1640), pp. 152–153.
162 Trigger, The Children of Aataentsic, p. 739.
163 Christophe Regnaut, ‘Recit veritable du Martyre et de la Bien heureuse mort, du Pere Jean de
Breboeuf et du Pere Gabriel L’Aleman En la Nouvelle France’, s.l., s.d. [1649?], in JR, vol. XXXIV,
pp. 26, 28. See also Paul Ragueneau, Relation de ce qui s’est passé en la mission des peres de la
Compagnie de Jesus aux Hvrons, pays de la Nouvelle France, és années 1648 & 1649 envoyée au R.P.
Hiersome Lalemant, superieur des missions de la Compagnie de Jesus, en la Nouvelle France, Paris,
1650, pp. 48–49. Aside from Jean de Brébeuf and Gabriel Lalemant, six other Jesuits were killed by the
Iroquois during the war: Noël Chabanel, Antoine Daniel, Charles Garnier, René Goupil, Isaac Jogues, and Jean de Lalande.
most of them had died of cold and starvation or been killed by the Iroquois on the mainland while looking for food. By 1651, all these Huron were either dead, dispersed, or adopted into Iroquois families. After the dismantlement of the Huron confederacy, the Jesuits continued to preach to nomadic tribes, and also focused on the conversion of the Iroquois themselves, which seems to have been made easier by the adoption of Christian Huron into their communities during the war.

IV. **New England**

1. **Royal Authority and the General Court**

In New England, based on royal grants, both English and foreigners who decided to settle in the colonies would become naturalised. The Massachusetts charter guaranteed that

all and every the subjects of vs, our heires or successors, which shall goe to and inhabite within the saide landes and premises […], and every of their children which shall happen to be borne there […] shall have and enjoy all liberties and immunities of free and naturall subjects within any of the domynions of vs […] as yf they and everie of them were borne within the realme of England.'

Foreigners were allowed to settle in Massachusetts, and would ‘become our loving subjects, and live under our allegiance’. Nothing was said of the native inhabitants of New England.

At first sight, questions of citizenship appear not to have been directly relevant to the natives. The colonies usually interacted with native leaders through treaties. The relationships between the New England Court and native leaders betrayed the tense relationship between the colony and the monarchy. New England sought subjection from native tribes rather than alliance, and through its treaties, tended to consider itself as an independent government, as it omitted any reference to the English monarchy. This proved to be a double-edged game. The balance of power was not necessarily always in favour of the settlers, who feared native raids. The sachems consciously

---

used that fact, and seem to have been well aware of the principles of a monarchy, and
of the status of the colony, supposed to be subjected to the King of England. In their
relationships with the Massachusetts Bay leaders, the natives clearly differentiated
between the Massachusetts Bay General Court and Royal authority, and used this
difference for their own interests.

The treaty Massachusetts made in 1644 with five sachems did not mention the
King of England. The natives agreed to ‘put ourselves, our subjects, lands, and estates
under the government and jurisdiction of the Massachusetts, to bee governed and
protected by them’, and promised ‘to bee true and faithfull to the said government’. 168
Samuel Gorton, who was in the middle of a dispute with Massachusetts over
jurisdiction, used this opportunity, and allied with other Narragansett sachems who
shared his resentment. When he travelled to London in 1644 to plead his cause in front
of parliament, he brought with him a letter signed by Narragansett Sachems Pessicus
and Canonicus. In that letter (most probably under the guidance of Gorton), the two
sachems submitted to the king of England, ‘upon condition of His Majesties’ royal
protection’, claiming that they could not ‘yield over ourselves unto any, that are
subjects themselves in any case; having ourselves been the chief Sachems or Princes
successively, of the country, time out of mind’. The letter pointed out that protection
was not necessary in their dealings with other natives, but was rather needed to defend
them from ‘some of His Majesty’s pretended subjects’. 169 The sachems then sent a
letter to the Massachusetts Bay colony, informing them that they were ‘subjects now
(and that with joint and voluntary consent), unto the same King and State yourselves
are’. 170

This move can be perceived as mere manipulation on the part of Gorton rather
than a clear political statement on the part of the natives. Yet on numerous occasions,
the sachems reaffirmed their authority, and their perception that their relationship with

168 ‘Submission of the Massachusetts sub-tribes to the Massachusetts Bay Colony, 8 March, 1644’,
reproduced in Alden T. Vaughan, New England Frontier: Puritans and Indians, 1620–1675, New York,
1979, p. 342. The following paragraph follows the argument in: Jenny Hale Pulsipher, Subjects Unto
the Same King: Indians, English, and the Contest for Authority in Colonial New England, Philadelphia,
169 ‘The Act and Deed of the voluntary and free submission of the chiefe Sachem, and the rest of the
Princes, with the whole people of the Nanhigansets, unto the Government and protection of that
Honorable State of Old England; set downe, here. verbatim.’, 19th of April, 1644, in Records of the
Colony of Rhode Island, and Providence Plantations, in New England, Providence, RI, 1856, vol. I: 1636 to
170 ‘Copy of a letter sent to the Massachusetts, by the Sachems of the Narragansetts’, May, 24th, 1644,
Massachusetts was one of alliance rather than subjection. The sources also show that the natives had a clear understanding of monarchy, and of the subservient position of the Massachusetts rulers in relationship to the Crown. During the Pequot war in the mid-1630s, Miantonomi, Narragansett sachem, explained that the English ‘are no Sachems, nor none of their children shall be in their place if they die; and they have no tribute given them; there is but one king in England, who is over them all’.

Metacom (Philip) during King Philip’s war (1675-1678) claimed that he ‘The Governour [of Plymouth] was but a Subject, and that he would not Treat except his Brother King Charles of England were there’. Native leaders also repeatedly reaffirmed their own authority. When summoned to present himself in front of the United Colonies about a dispute with another tribe, Ninigret, the Niantic Sachem desired ‘the English would lett him alone’, claiming that ‘I doe but Right my owne quarell’. Similarly, Pinchen, Sachem of the Pocomptucke, summoned by the same court in 1659, declared that he did not know of ‘any engagement that lyes on them to come to the meetings of the English Sachems; and they doe not send for the English Sachems to theire meetings’.

When Narragansett sachem Canonchet was captured during King Philip’s war, he refused to answer questions, claiming that ‘he was born a Prince and if Princes came to speak with him, he would answer them, But none of those present being Princes, he thought himself oblig’d in honour to hold his Tongue’. This confidence and refusal to be treated as inferiors was also common in New France and other English colonies. Pierre Biard complained that the natives were ‘considering themselves so highly that they greatly despise (déprisent) us, regarding themselves as superior to us (se magnifient par dessus nous)’. On the Gaspé Peninsula, a native leader declared that he and his people believed that the French were ‘incomparably poorer than we, & that you are only simple journeymen, valets, servants, and slaves,

---

175 Biard, Relation de la Novelle France, de ses terres, natvrel dv Païs, & de ses Habitans, p. 39.
all masters and grand Captains though you may appear’. Over the course of the seventeenth century, such affirmations of political authority were often confirmed by superiority in survival skills and military techniques.

2. Civil and Church Community

In Massachusetts, admission to freemanship in the colony, which was dependent on admission into a church, was much more relevant in terms of political power and participation for settlers than English naturalisation or the King’s approval. For Puritans, what constituted real citizenship was the creation of a civil and religious covenant in which the members would independently manage their political, ecclesiastical, and judicial affairs. Thus, if by treaties the natives were never really integrated in New England’s community building, as in New France, the settlers differentiated between domiciled and other natives. Domiciled natives were considered to have willingly submitted to the colonies’ government and laws. Those natives would be allowed to settle a town and a church, and this is what really constituted the creation of a human community for the leaders of the Bay. In particular, for John Eliot, instituting rulers of tens, fifties, and hundreds amongst the natives was to be the basis of their civil polity. For Eliot, if the natives showed some signs of grace, and a willingness to enter into a church covenant, they should be entitled like English settlers to do so. Given the incredible opposition the natives faced in their community when they decided to become praying Indians, ‘it cannot but appear’, said Eliot,

there is some work of God upon their hearts, which doth carry them through all these snares, and add to this, if upon some competent time of experience, we shall find them to grow in knowledge of the principles of Religion, and to love the ways of the Lord the better, according as they

---

176 Le Clercq, Nouvelle relation de la Gaspésie, p. 81. See also Nicolas Perrot (1644–1717), Mémoire sur les meurs, coutumes et religion des Sauvages de l’Amérique septentrionale, ed. R.P.J. Tailhan, Paris, 1864, pp. 95–96: they ‘even regard us a people who are in some manner dependent on them’.


come to understand them, and to yeeld obedience to them, and submit to this great change, to bridle lust by lawes of chastity, and to mortifie idlenese by labour, and desire to traine up their children accordingly; I say if we shall see these things in some measure in them, what should hinder charity from hoping that there is grace in their hearts, a spark kindled by the Word and Spirit of God that shall never be quenched; and were these in a fixed cohabitation, who could gain-say their gathering together into a holy Church-Covenant and election of officers? And who can forbid they should be baptized?

Those natives who were willing to learn the ways of civility and religion would be allowed to establish a civil community as English settlers could. By 1652, the laws of Massachusetts guaranteed for natives, as individuals who wanted ‘to live in an orderly way’ amongst the English, that they would have land allotted to them (as was the practice with English settlers). As for groups of natives ‘brought on to civilitie, so as to be capable of a townshipp, vpon theire request vnto the Generall Court, they shall haue graunt of landes vndisposed off for a plantation, as the English haue’. Establishing a township involved a series of duties and privileges, such as the building of a church and a town hall, the construction of a school, and the exercise of justice. Natick became a township in 1651, and was granted two thousand acres by the General Court. If the natives needed to show signs of grace to form a church, their willingness to become civil and pray to God was enough to grant them civil liberties. As I argued previously, it was necessary that the Covenant of Law be established amongst them to make the Covenant of Grace possible. Thus, when Natick was founded, the natives entered ‘into a Covenant with God, and each other, to be the Lords people, and to be governed by the word of the Lord in all things’.

As early as 1647, the natives who were ‘brought to some civility’, and ‘desirous to have a course of ordinary judicature set up amongst them’ were allowed to establish a court amongst themselves, where they would be able to ‘heare & determine all causes, both civill & criminall […] concerning the Indians onely’.

---

Capital cases were to be sent to the General Court. The ‘Sachims’ would be allowed to send their people to the said court. All the fines collected from those cases could be allocated to public use among them.\(^{185}\) In 1658, the supervision of magistrates was put into effect by the appointment of a superintendent, who was authorized to ‘constitute and appointe Indian Commissioners in theire seueral plantations to heare and determine all such matters that doe arise amongst themselves, as one magistrate may doe amongst the English’.\(^{186}\) The natives did not have a deputy sent to the General Court, although John Eliot submitted petitions on their behalf on multiple occasions. He was, like the Jesuits in New France, the intermediary between the native towns and the government.

By 1674, there were fourteen praying towns in Massachusetts.\(^{187}\) Given that John Eliot was also minister of the Roxbury church, and that there was only one superintendent, the praying natives had a great degree of independence within their communities.\(^{188}\) Not only Eliot, but also the leaders of the United colonies believed it was important to train natives to teach their compatriots, and, for the allocation of tools and other commodities, would ‘consider with a speciall Respect such Indians as soe Improue theirre opportunities to learne as that they may bee fit to teach others’.\(^{189}\) In praying towns as in English communities, only a small minority, the Visible Saints, participated in the Sacraments.\(^{190}\) On Martha’s Vineyard, Thomas Mayhew, Sr. differentiated between those ‘as are of the Churche, and those that are praying Indians’. Both, said Mayhew ‘Doe in a Comfortable manner uphold the publique worshipp and service of God’.\(^{191}\)


\(^{188}\) I use this term to refer to both converted natives and those willing to hear the word of God.


Converted natives struggled with English settlers in the establishment of their towns. The neighbouring settlers of the town of Dedham constantly encroached upon the lands allotted to the town of Natick. This, for the surveyors sent by the General Court to evaluate the land repartition in 1660, ‘tendeth much to the discouragement of the poore natives’.\textsuperscript{192} At a meeting between the elders of Roxbury (where Eliot was minister) and Dedham, the elders considered that Dedham’s claims over the land were justified, but that they hoped that the settlers,  

\begin{quote}
will from gracious Gospell principles of selfe Deniall, Love, peace, & desire to further Christs work among the Indians & Considering how grievous (sic) it will bee to those poore natives to bee put from the Lands which they have so long possessed: be perswaded to yeild (sic) up those Lands & the right they have there in.\textsuperscript{193}
\end{quote}

The conflict continued, and the inhabitants of Dedham presented the case to the General Court. John Eliot fought aggressively for the natives’ rights. In his defence, Eliot claimed that the settlers tried to drive the natives into ‘the untyld wildernesse’. The fact that the natives had improved the land, said Eliot, ‘doth give them an orderly and lawfull title to them, by the Gen: Court. they having fenced, planted orchards, & corne upon them’. Because the meetinghouse and public buildings were on the contentious land, Eliot continued, ‘If these lands now sued for be taken from us Natik is overthrowen from being a Towne’. Eliot was furious and claimed that the trial was detrimental to conversion: ‘these actings of the English doe make the prophane Indians laugh at the praying Indians, & at praying to God, […] to Natike they [the non praying Indians] dare not come because of Dedhams actings’.\textsuperscript{194} The verdict of the General Court betrayed the difficulty for rulers to comply with settlers’ needs and

\textsuperscript{192} Don Gleason Hill, ed., \textit{The Early Records of the Town of Dedham, Massachusetts, 1659–1673…}, Dedham, MA, 1894, vol. IV, p. 246. The surveyors were Simon Willard, Humphrey Atherton, and Thomas Danforth. This part is based on Jean O’Brien, \textit{Dispossession By Degrees}. O’Brien studied Natick’s land issues over 140 years.

\textsuperscript{193} ‘An Expedient for the Ishuing of the Case Depending Betweene the Church of Dedham & the Elders of the Church of Roxbury propounded unto then by those of their Christian frinds & Neighbors that were present at the debateing thereof Sept. 17th: 60’, in Hill, ed., \textit{The Early Records of the Town of Dedham}, vol. IV, pp. 247–250, citation on p. 249.

\textsuperscript{194} John Eliot, ‘Natik case drawen up in defence of the pore Indians of Natik in theire rightfull enjoiyment of theire houses orchards cornelieuds (sic) & other labours, against the Towne of Dedham, who sued them at Court to take them away from them, & drive them into the unttyld wildernesse, to begin againe’, in Hill, ed. \textit{The Early Records of the Town of Dedham}, vol. IV, pp. 255–261, citations on pp. 255, 259, 260. Eliot was thus using the argument used by the English to occupy America in favour of the natives: if they improved the land, they had a right of property over it. See this thesis, chapter 5. This argument was also used by Locke: John Locke, \textit{Two treatises of government in the former, the false principles and foundation of Sir Robert Filmer and his followers are detected and overthrown, the latter is an essay concerning the true original, extent, and end of civil government}, London, 1690, II, chap. V, esp. § 32–35, pp. 250–252.
demands while at the meantime acting in conscience with regard to the natives:

although the legall right of Dedham thereto cannot in justice be denyed, yet such haue binn the incouragement of the Indians in their improovements thereof, the which, added to their native right, which cannot, in strict justice, be utterly extinct, doe therefore order, that the Indians be not dispossessed of such lands as they at present are possessed of there [...].

The conflict between Dedham and Natick continued for years. Tensions between settlers and praying natives increased dangerously when King Philip’s war broke out, and ultimately led, after the revocation of the charter in 1684, to greater animosity towards the natives and attempts by missionaries still interested in their conversion to assimilate them in English culture (for example through language and dress), which would help control their alien and threatening features in the eyes of the settlers.

3. **Liberty and Order**

Much has been made by historians of the very strict regulations imposed on praying natives, used ‘to reduce them to civility of life’, in particular of the death penalty in case of blasphemy. Yet as Richard Cogley has shown, no native was ever sentenced for blasphemy. The laws established for the natives followed Scriptural injunctions, but they were used as a guide rather than being strictly implemented. The laws on blasphemy equally applied to European settlers, and implied a voluntary act:

no person [...] whether Christian or pagan, shall *wittingly & willingly* presume to blaspheme his holy name, either by *willfull or obstinate* dening of the true God, or his creation or government of the world, or shall curse God, or repach (sic) the holy religion of God, as if it were but a politick device to keepe ignorant men in awe [...].

Four more pages of laws aimed at ‘heretics’ and European settlers disturbing the peace follow this regulation. Capital offences in Massachusetts were based on Deuteronomy, and John Eliot wanted a biblical form of government for the natives.

---

198 See this thesis, chapter 5.
As he claimed, with reference to Isaiah 33:22, the natives ‘shall be wholly governed by the Scriptures in all things both in Church and State; they shall have no other Law-giver; the Lord shall be their Law-giver, the Lord shall be their Judge, the Lord shall be their King, and he will save them’. John Cotton used the same biblical reference on the cover page of the Mosaic code that he proposed to the Massachusetts Court. This strict vision of law did not entail a rejection of liberty, and the General Court claimed their ‘utter disaffection to arbitrary government’. As New England minister Samuel Torrey argued in a sermon: ‘Liberty and Order are inseparable, in the conversation of a Christian: it is the Liberty of Order, our Liberty is laid out, and limited by Order; those therefore that do plead for Liberty, unto the subversion of Order, are Libertines, and dangerous Enemies unto Liberty’.

Justice in the Puritan covenantal tradition implied the necessity to follow the law of God, but also the understanding that, because human laws could always be imperfect, equity and leniency were important in their application. English magistrates in charge of Indian affairs were expected to ‘carefully endeavor to make the Indians understand our most useful laws, & those principles of reason, justice, & equity whereupon they are gounded’. The superintendant for the natives was

199 ‘The Generall Laws of the Massachusetts Colony, revised and published, by order of the General Court in October 1658: Capital Laws’, in William H. Whitmore, ed., The Colonial Laws of Massachusetts: reprinted from the edition of 1672, with the supplements through 1686... together with the Body of Liberties of 1641..., Boston, 1890, pp. 14–16; Eliot in Whitfield, ed., The Light Appearing, p. 23. This is a reference to the Bible (Geneva version), Isaiah 33:22: ‘For the Lord is our Judge, the Lord is our lawgiver: the Lord is our King, he will save us’.

200 John Cotton, An Abstract of Laws and Government. Wherein as in a Mirror may be seen the wisdome & perfection of the Government of Christ's Kingdom. Accomadable to any State or form of Government in the world, that is not Antichristian or Tyrannicall, London, 1655.


204 ‘26 May 1647’, in Shurtleff, ed., Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay, vol. II, pp. 188–189. This was also the opinion of Spanish specialist in Indian law, Juan de Solórzano Pereira, Politica Indiana, Libro III, cap. VIII, vol. I, p. 272: ‘although the law is fixed and stable, equity, which is the daughter of natural reason, tempers, moderates, and alters it at times, according to what is required by specific cases’. The principle of ‘se obedece pero no se cumple (obey but no
required to ensure that ‘all such Indjans [the praying Indians of Natick and Ponkapoag] liue according to our lawes as farr as they are capable’.

Intense social control did not only apply to the natives. As in Spanish and French writings, the term ‘reduce’ was equally applied to settlers. The deputies of the Company, in their instructions to the first governor of the colony, John Endecott, reminded him that it was necessary that ‘all bee kept to labour, as the only meanes to reduce them to civill, yea, a godly lyfe, and to keepe youth from falling into many enormities which by nature wee are all too much enclyned vnto’.

Similarly, the centrality of towns to establish Christian communities was emphasised equally for both settlers and natives. If social control was well established within the colony, the elders of Massachusetts Bay tended to be very anxious about the patterns of settlement of surrounding colonies, which they perceived as a cause of social laxity. Put under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts in 1652, Maine was a case in point. According to William Hubbard, minister of Ipswich,

> it hath been observed of many of these scattering Plantations in our Borders, that many were contented to live without, yea, desirous to shake off all Yoake of Government, both sacred and civil, and so transforming themselves as much as well they could into the Manners of the Indians they lived amongst.

Increase Mather complained about the inhabitants of Maine, and had ‘sad Apprehensions concerning the Inhabitants in those parts of the Country, in that they were a scattered people, and such as had many of them Scandalized the Heathen, and lived themselves too like the Heathen, without any Instituted Ordinances’. This type of scattered settlement could have a nefarious influence even on the most pious settlers. Mather, discussing the life of Thomas Wakely, explained:

> This old Wakely was esteemed a godly Man. He would sometimes say with tears, that he believed God was angry with him, because although he came into New-England for the Gospels sake, yet he had left another place

---


in this country, where there was a Church of Christ, which he once was in Communion with, and had lived many Years in a Plantation, where was no Church, nor Instituted Worship.\footnote{Increase Mather, \textit{A brief history of the wvar with the Indians in Nevv-England, (from June 24, 1675, when the first Englishman was murdered by the Indians, to August 12, 1676, when Philip, alias Metacomet, the principal author and beginner of the warr; was slain)}, Boston, 1676, pp. 12–13. On this, see Pulsipher, \textit{Subjects Unto the Same King}, p. 42.}

When disorder was threatening, the idea that settlers behaved like the ‘Indians’ was common. Increase Mather claimed that King Philip’s war had been caused by such laxity: ‘No doubt but one reason why the Lord hath let loose the Heathen against us’, said Mather,

hath been, because some Plantations have been erected and yet no publique acknowledgement of God amongst them, but they have lived like Heathen, without Sabbaths, without the Word of God and prayer, which are moral duties that all are bound to attend: and it is therefore incumbent on the Magistrates to see that they do so. People are ready to run wild into the woods again and to be as Heathenish as ever, if you do not prevent it.\footnote{Increase Mather, \textit{A Discourse Concerning the Danger of Apostacy. Especiall as to those that are the CHILDREN and POSTERITY of such as have been eminent for God in their Generation. Delivered in a Sermon…}, Boston, 1685, p. 104.}

Settlers would thus be naturally unruly without official control, and in that they were frequently compared to the natives. For Cotton Mather, who wrote about King William’s war (1689-1697), the Quakers (usual targets of intense animosity on the part of the Massachusetts elders) were similar to the natives who waged war on New England: ‘If the Indians have chosen to prey upon the Frontiers, the Out-Skirts, of the Province, the Quakers have chosen the very same Frontiers, and Out-Skirts, for their more Spiritual Assaults […]’.\footnote{Cotton Mather, ‘Decennium Luctuosum’ (1699), in Charles H. Lincoln, ed., \textit{Narratives of the Indian Wars, 1675–1699}, New York, 1913, pp. 277–278. See also Bartlett Burleigh James and J. Franklin Jameson, eds., \textit{Journal of Jasper Danckaerts, 1679–1680}, New York, 1913, p. 156: ‘The Indians hate the Quakers very much on account of their deceit and covetousness, and say they are not Englishmen, always distinguishing them from all other Englishmen, as is also done by almost all other persons. The Indians say ‘they are not Christians, they are like ourselves’.}

Interestingly, as the English could become like Indians if they did not correspond to the elders’ ideal of godliness, converted natives could abandon their ‘Indianisme’ to live godly lives. William French reported that an unnamed native, when asked if he had any hope to escape God’s punishment, replied: ‘While I went on in the way of Indianisme I had no hope, but did verily believe I should goe to that place [Hell], but now I have a little hope, and hope I shall have more’. The convert acknowledged that ‘all the while I went on Indianisme I was going...
from God, but now the Lord hath brought mee to him backe againe’. The idea of ‘Indianisme’ seems to smack of European arrogance, presupposing that anything stemming from Indian culture is to be discarded. Yet, when ministers used that vocabulary, they referred to a specific set of virtuous and sinful behaviours which could be displayed by anyone. William Leverich, who, as I mentioned in the previous chapter, had problems with the settlers around Sandwich, claimed that his praying natives acknowledged that there is no difference between the worst Indians, and such English, saying, *they are all one Indians*, yea and further, [...] put a like difference between such Indians amongst themselves here and elsewhere, as appeare to be more serious in their Inquiries after God, and conscientious according to their light, and such others that are more slight, and meere pretenders to Religions (sic).²¹²

John Eliot’s brother explained to John Wilson abou the natives that ‘there was a difference between them as between the English, some being lesse serious then others, and lesse spirituall; but that there was a considerable Company of solide ones that were constant and forward in good duties’.²¹³ In these writings, missionaries evaluated both natives and Europeans according to their virtuous or sinful behaviour rather than according to their ethnic affiliation.

4. Conflict

As Jenny Hale Pulsipher has shown, Christianity was an important element in the outbreak of King Philip’s War (1675-1678). The murder of a praying Indian, Sassamon, precipitated the events that led to a conflict over political authority.²¹⁴ King Philip, also known as Metacom, was Grand Sachem of the Wampanoag confederacy. His warriors killed Sassamon because he warned Plymouth that some tribes were planning attacks on English settlements. The culprits were tried and sentenced to death by the Massachusetts government. Feeling his authority over his subjects was challenged, as ‘the English Authority have Nothing to do to Hang any of his Indians

for killing another’, Philip retaliated, and the conflict escalated.\textsuperscript{215}

The ‘praying Indians’ were caught in the middle of the conflict, and suffered huge losses as a result. Native converts benefited from certain advantages due to their position. Eliot managed to provide them with arms and ammunition in the 1660s, ‘to bee employed only for their necessary defence against the Mohawks which are professed Enemies to all our neigbouring Indians’. They were also provided with arms to fight against non-praying Indians during the war. The settlers believed they might be more efficient in the war, as they could engage in battle ‘according to the Indian manner of fighting’.\textsuperscript{216} Thomas Mayhew, Sr. reminded the Sachems on Martha’s Vineyard in 1671 that ‘they had acknowledged our king to be theirs & to fight for him and with his subjects against his & theirs enemies’.\textsuperscript{217} Philip clearly felt that, by submitting themselves to the colonies, the praying Indians had undermined his authority, and endangered his status within the native community. Philip explained that ‘they had a great fear to have any of their Indians be called or forced to be Christian Indians. they said that such war in every thing more mischievous, only dispersers, and then the English made them not subject to their kings, and by their lying to rong [wrong] their kings’.\textsuperscript{218} According to Superintendant Gookin, during the war, Philip ‘had given strict order to all his soldiers to surprise, as they could, certain of the praying Indians […] and that they should bring them unto him alive, that he might put them to some tormenting and cruel death’.\textsuperscript{219} The natives suffered particular animosity from both non-praying Indians and settlers. Gookin recounted that non-praying natives

\textsuperscript{215} N. S. [Nathaniel Saltonstall], \textit{The Present State of New-England with Respect to the Indian War. Wherein is an Account of the true Reason thereof (as far as can be judged by Men)…}, London, 1676, p. 3.
\textsuperscript{217} ‘From the Rev. Thomas Mayhew to the Commissioners of the United Colonies, 23.6.1671’, in Ford, ed., \textit{Some Correspondence between the Governors and Treasurers of the New England Company in London}, p. 40. As we have seen, the Guaraní people who lived under the Jesuit Fathers in Paraguay were also provided with weapons for protection. This was also the case with the Hurons in New France: see Trigger, \textit{The Children of Aataentsic}, pp. 699–702; and Vimont, \textit{Relation de 1642 & 1643}, Paris, 1644, p. 270.
\textsuperscript{219} Gookin, ‘An Historical Account of the Doings and Sufferings’, p. 489.
did very industriously endeavour to bring the Christian Indians into disaffection with the English, and to this end raised several false reports concerning them, as if they held a correspondency with them, and on the other side sent their secret messages to the Christian Indians that the English designed, in the conclusion, to destroy them all [...].

Native minister Joseph Tuckapawillin, pastor of the praying town of Hassanamesit, recounted that the non-praying natives ‘mock and scoff at me, saying, “Now, what is become of your praying to God?”’ The English also censure me, and say I am a hypocrite’. As in Spanish colonies and New France, religion played an important role in the development of conflict, and was a central element in the rhetoric of war. One witness insisted that ‘the Damnable antipathy they [unconverted natives] have to Religion and Piety’ caused them to ‘Signallize their Cruelty and gratifie their enraged Spleen chiefly on the promoters of it’. In Rhode Island, William Harris reported that the natives were ‘bosteing that god was departed from the English, & was with them’. In Dover, an anonymous settler reported that ‘Our Enemies proudly exult over us and Blaspheme the name of our Blessed God; Saying, Where is your O God?’

But the worst enemies the praying natives had to face were settlers. Four months after the war broke out, because of the settlers’ defiance, the General court ordered that the praying Indians be relocated on Deer Island (as the Huron had to be relocated on Christian Island, and the Guaraní missions had to be relocated to distance themselves from bandeirantes), where they remained for two years. Those who left the island would be sentenced to death, but settlers were not allowed to attack them on the island, and provisions were to be supplied for them. Nathaniel Saltonstall reported about the relocation:

Care now is taken to satisfie the (reasonable) desires of the Commonality, concerning Mr. Eliots Indians, and Capt. Guggins Indians. They that wear the name of Praying Indians, but rather (as Mr. Hezekiah Usher termed Prying-Indians) they have made Preys of much English Blood, but now they are all reduced to their several Confinements, which is much to a

---

222 Anon., News from New-England, p. 3.
general Satisfaction in that respect.\textsuperscript{225}

This perspective was intolerable for Daniel Gookin, who could not ‘join with the multitude, that would cast them all into the same lump with the profane and brutish heathen who are great enemies to our Christian Indians as they are to the English’.\textsuperscript{226} The natives were, according to John Eliot, ‘hurried away to an Iland at half an hours warning, pore soules in terror they left theire goods, books, bibles […]’.\textsuperscript{227} On Deer Island, many natives starved and died of cold.\textsuperscript{228}

The praying natives were not the only targets of the settlers’ animosity. John Eliot’s and Daniel Gookin’s constant support for the natives’ cause irritated the Bostonians: ‘the Commonality were so enraged against Mr. Elliot, and Captain Guggins especially, that Captain Guggins said on the Bench, that he was afraid to go along the streets; the answer was made, you may thank your self’. Gookin seems to have been particularly vocal with ‘his daily troubling them with his Impertinences and multitudinous Speeches’.\textsuperscript{229} In Boston, anonymous placards were posted against those who supported the praying Indians, with the following threat:

Reader, thou art desired not to suppress this paper but to promote its designe, which is to certify (those traytors to their king and countrey) Guggins and Danford, that some generous spirits have vowed their destruction. As Christians we warne them to prepare for death, for though they will deservedly dye, yet we wish the health of their souls. By the new Society, A.B.C.D.\textsuperscript{230}

By the end of the war, because the praying natives had helped the English during the conflict, the Court felt that they should be entitled to the colonies’ protection: ‘wee haue reason to take care of them, who were true to us in all the time

\textsuperscript{226} Gookin, ‘An Historical Account of the Doings and Sufferings’, p. 462. See also pp. 449, 454.
of our warre, and ventured their liues for us […] wee will protect & defend our freind (sic) Indians’.231 After the war, however, the praying natives lost many of the rights they had gained in their towns. All natives, Christians or not, were to live in English homes or in a praying town, and were not allowed to receive ‘foreign Indians’.232 In 1689, after the outbreak of King William’s War (1689-1697), those who still desired to remain with the praying natives were not allowed to leave their towns any longer, as the English could not differentiate between friendly and hostile natives.233 Many of the Godly also lost faith in the possibility of converting the natives. Edmund Browne, minister of Sudbury, who had preached to the neighbouring natives of Okommokhamesit before the war, developed a radical distaste and distrust of all natives during the conflict. Browne claimed that ‘(as to the generallity of those called praying Indians) I have found them to be persons nullius veracitatis, very false what ever they pretend’. Browne affirmed about conversion: ‘after many years indeavours their aversion from the Gospel, their deriding yea blaspheming the blessed name of Christ and his wayes declare such unworthy of the grace of the Gospel’.234 Despite little support after the war, and other difficulties that I have mentioned in the previous chapter, native Christian communities continued to flourish more or less independently in the eighteenth century.235

V. Conclusion

This chapter has addressed the place of converts within the colonial, Christian, and native communities. There often existed a significant difference between the ideal place of the natives, in political terms, in the monarchy and/or in the commonwealth, and the actual place missionaries attributed to their converts in the political and religious spheres (which were often believed to be one and the same thing). Being a

233 O’Brien, Dispossession By Degrees, pp. 68–70.
234 The letter is edited and contextualised by Jenny Hale Pulsipher, ‘‘Our Sages are Sageless: A Letter on Massachusetts Indian Policy after King Philip’s War’, The William and Mary Quarterly, Third series, Vol. 58, No. 2 (Apr., 2001), pp. 431–448, citations on pp. 443, 446.
convert in the colonial world put the natives into a very delicate situation both in relationship to European settlers and native traditionalists, and conflict was often triggered by the important role of religion in the disruption of native traditional social organisation and ties of kinship. The inclusion of converted natives in settler societies was also often feared and resented by Europeans in the New World.

Missionary experiments implied the integration of native peoples into a system which was completely foreign to their traditional society, and show that the place and role of individuals in colonial ‘worlds in the making’ in the seventeenth century was a very complex matter. People endorsed various identities, which often overlapped or contradicted each other. It was very hard indeed to remain ‘Indian’ while becoming a Christian, and in the eyes of most unconverted natives and European settlers, those two identities could not be combined. Similarly, being a subject of a king and a Christian was not always manageable either. On questions of tribute, for example, missionaries saw these two roles as irreconcilable. That some natives still assumed these identities, and often managed to simultaneously fully endorse their cultural inheritance and their new conversion, is amazing indeed. Evidently, social and economic pressures played an important role in their choice, but if assuming the identity of a Christian came with some advantages, it also came with many inconveniences. The natives, converted or unconverted, quickly acquired a clear idea of the political powers at play within each colony, and were able to use it to their advantage. In the struggle for survival, conversion or rejection were two valid options. The political and economic benefits that natives could obtain in times of peace by converting, though, put them in the most difficult situation in case of conflict.
Missionaries frequently contrasted their idealised version of the natives and native communities to their vision of European society. By doing so, they used themes emphasising positive characteristics in the peoples and societies they encountered, and insisted on the instrumentality of the missions in the establishment of a better society. These themes were equally used to underline European flaws. Such comments reveal their debt to European intellectual traditions, but also the specificity of their writings. J.C. Davis, in his *Utopia and the Ideal Society*, has identified some ‘types’ to be used as heuristic devices for the analysis of writings concerned with the ideal society.\(^1\) According to Davis, works exploring the possibilities of the ideal society usually attempt to reconcile individual desires with social harmony.\(^2\) Davis has elucidated five different ways of addressing the issue: The ‘land of Cockaygne’ emphasises the bountifulness of nature; ‘Arcadia’ underlines the benevolence of nature and the goodness of man; the ‘perfect moral commonwealth’ focuses on the reformation of individuals; the ‘Millennium’ relies on supernatural intervention; and ‘Utopia’ gives prominence to an ideal of control, of both nature and man. Davis’ categorisation can to a certain extent be applied to missionary writings from all countries, in which such tropes frequently overlapped and converged.

The ‘land of Cockaygne’ presupposes an abundance of natural resources sufficient to satisfy the desires of all.\(^3\) This trope was rarely present in seventeenth-century missionary writings, as man’s virtues and moderation were almost invariably combined with discussions about nature’s benevolence. This combination, ‘Arcadia’, occasionally occurred in Catholic writings, and to a lesser extent in the writings of New England dissenter Roger Williams.\(^4\)

Catholic missionaries, when they witnessed behaviours that they considered praiseworthy in the natives, tended to present their character as innocent and untainted by the excesses of European civilisation. From this perspective, the natives were

---
\(^3\) Davis, *Utopia and the Ideal Society*, pp. 20–22.
\(^4\) ‘Nature is generously benevolent rather than hostile to man, but at the same time men’s desires, in particular sociological ones, are assumed to be moderate’: Davis, *Utopia and the Ideal Society*, pp. 22–26, quotation on p. 22.
virtuous because their nature had been untouched by the pomposity and decadence of European manners. The natives could be used as examples to emulate, embodying all the virtues that came with innocence and purity, to which Europe’s artificiality was contrasted. This type of argument usually presented the manners of the natives as freer than European customs, and yet the natives were also less sinful than Europeans. For Gerónimo de Mendieta, who was mostly active in New Spain in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, the natives had all the qualities of innocence:

They are gentle, domestic, and peaceful, so much so that irrational animals gather around them and accompany them more than with any other nation, and they hardly know how to argue [...] They are humble, neglectful of their own interests (despreciados de si mismos), obedient, and of incredible patience.5

Roger Williams, exiled from Massachusetts and founder of Rhode Island, contrasted the natives’ ways with Europe’s:

I could never discern that excesse of scandalous sins amongst them, which Europe aboundeth with. Drunkenness and gluttony, generally they know not what sines they be, and although they have not so much to restraine them (both in respect of knowledge of God and Lawes of Men) as the English have, yet a man shall never heare of such crimes amongst them as robberies, murthers, adulteries, &c. as amongst the English.6

Father Biard mused on the natives’ simple lifestyle: ‘They are never in a hurry. Quite different from us, who could never do anything without hurry and worry (sans presse & oppresse); worry, I say, because our desire tyrannises us & banishes peace from our actions’.7 These comments about the moderate nature of the natives, their simplicity and innocence, were almost invariably contrasted to the decadence of the European world. This peaceful and worry-free life was also the result of the uncultivated and generous nature of the land, which seemed infinitely preferable to the luxury,

6 Roger Williams, ‘A Key into the Language of America or an Help to the Language of the Natives in that part of America called New-England’ (London, 1643), Collections of the Rhode-Island Historical Society, vol. I, Providence, 1827, p. 121.
decadence, and excess of urban and courtly life. In New France, said Paul Le Jeune, people come to cast themselves into our big forests as if into the bosom of peace, to live here with more piety, more rights (franchise), & more liberty. [...] how sweet is life remote from the gehenna of a thousand superfluous compliments, of the tyranny of lawsuits, of the ravages of war, & of an infinite number of other savage beasts that we do not encounter in our forests.

According to Paul Ragueneau, writing in 1652, the natural state of the New World made its inhabitants even more receptive to the sacred: ‘The Spirit of God is everywhere holy and everywhere adorable, but it is not listened to everywhere equally. The stillness of the woods seems more adapted for the reception of its influence than the great noise of the Louvres and Palaces’.

Disinterest in earthly riches was a common trope in the writings of members of Catholic orders who vowed poverty, and was considered a sign of a certain predisposition for religion. Franciscan Gerónimo de Mendieta, in 1587, thus commented approvingly on the natives’ disinterest for riches:

They are liberal with the little they have and not at all greedy; thus they care neither to accumulate things, nor to build sumptuous houses, nor to leave estates to their sons (ni dejar mayorazgos), nor about the dowry they will give to their daughters, content with what they need for their daily 生活.

An example of this Arcadian trope depicting a carefree and natural life contrasted to the artificialities of Europe can be found in an English anonymous tract: A Paradox: Proving the Inhabitants of the Island, called Madagascar or St. Lawrence (in Things temporal) to be the happiest People in the World, published in The Harleian Miscellany, or, A Collection of Scarce, Curious, And Entertaining Pamphlets And Tracts..., vol. 1, London, 1744, pp. 256–262, mentioned in Davis, Utopia and the Ideal Society, p. 24.

Paul Le Jeune, Relation de ce qui s'est passé en la Nouvelle France en l'année 1636 envoyée au R. Père provincial de la Compagnie de Jésus en la province de France, Paris, 1637, pp. 149–150. See also Jérôme Lalemant, Relation de ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable és missions des pères de la Compagnie de Jésus, en la Nouvelle France, es années 1647. & 1648 envoyée au R.P. provincial de la province de France par le supérieur des missions de la mesme compagnie, Paris, 1649, p. 112; Paul Le Jeune in Barthélémy Vimont, Relation de ce qui s'est passé en la Nouvelle France en l'année M. DC.XL. envoyée au R.P. provincial de la Compagnie de Jésus de la province de France, Paris, 1641, p. 18; and Christien Le Clercq, Nouvelle relation de la Gaspésie qui contient les mœurs & la religion des sauvages gaspésiens Porte-Croix, adorateurs du soleil, & d'autres peuples de l'Amérique septentrionale, dite le Canada: dédiée a Madame la princesse d'Épinoy, Paris, 1691, pp. 85–89.

The Franciscans were a mendicant order, and the Jesuits especially insisted on not being paid for their services. See John W. O’Malley, The First Jesuits, Cambridge, MA, 1993, pp. 348–351.
sustenance (contentándose con su día y victo): this is a most suitable quality for a Christian and apostolic life.\textsuperscript{12}

Diego de Torres believed that the conversion of the natives was particularly easy, because they did not possess anything, and thus did not need to abandon their belongings to ‘embrace the holy Gospel and follow Christ our Lord’.\textsuperscript{13} Working with these poor people, said Torres, was a much more rewarding experience than ‘what one finds in princes’ courts, and the one who travels around these empty lands (despoblados) […] lives a healthier and happier life (vive con mas salud, y gozo) than in Europe where the contrary happens and where one can find all the comfort that we know’.\textsuperscript{14}

Recollect Chrestien Le Clercq’s rendition of a speech given by an unidentified native Sachem to some Frenchmen contrasted the natives’ simple lifestyle to the excesses and decadence of European society:

you reproach us quite inappropriately, that our country is a little hell in relation to France, which you compare to paradise on earth […] you also tell us that we are the most miserable and most unhappy of all men, living without religion, without manners (civilité), without honour, without social order (sans société), & in a word, without any rules, like beasts in our woods & our forests […] Well, my brother, you do not yet know the real feelings which our Savages have towards your country (de ton païs, & de toute la nation), it is proper that I inform you today: I beg you now to believe that, all miserable as we seem in your eyes, we consider ourselves nevertheless much happier than you are, in that we are very content with the little that we have, & believe also once for all, I pray, that you are greatly mistaken if you think you can persuade us that your country is better than ours. […] Now tell me this one little thing, if you have any sense (de l’esprit), which of these two is the wisest & happiest; he who labours constantly, & only obtains, with great trouble, enough to live on; or he who rests in comfort & finds all that he needs in the pleasure of hunting & fishing? […] there is no Savage who does not consider himself infinitely more happy & more powerful than the French.

This speech clearly stressed the moderate nature of the natives and the benevolence of the New World, which provided them with what was necessary for their daily

The natives considered themselves happier because they lived a simpler, and more frugal, life. Le Clercq indeed agreed with the Sachem, and ‘consider[ed] [the natives] incomparably more happy than ourselves […] for after all, their lives are not full of a thousand worries (chagrins) as are ours’. Thus in Arcadia, men’s desires were in harmony with what nature could provide. This emphasis on the simplicity and innocence of the natives was frequently used to highlight the decadence of Europe. But this trope insisted on the benevolent nature of the natives rather than on a potential virtuous behaviour, which would have been voluntarily embraced.

Deliberate moral conduct was only praised in already converted natives. The ‘perfect moral commonwealth’ was relatively frequent in both Catholic and Calvinist writings on missions. For Davis, in the perfect moral commonwealth tradition, ‘society is to be made harmonic by the moral reformation of every individual in society […]’. What mattered was the ‘moral effort of individuals in emulation of the exemplars provided by Jesus, the Son of Man, or by the saints […]’. This vision could also be used to criticise the moral ills of a society or group. Missionaries frequently used their experiments with conversion and their established missions to criticise what they believed were the flaws of their own society, and to discuss the shape of the ideal commonwealth according to their views. Native converted communities, over which missionaries had an almost absolute control, could be used in their writings as examples of self-discipline and collective control, which were contrasted to the — often unruly — world of the settlers. This process of inversion was common, and redistributed the roles attributed by the rulers to the actors of a complex colonial world. From this perspective, the voices of converted natives were used to illustrate how the social experiment of the missions allowed for the best possible form of self-discipline, and how virtuous people could flourish in this setting.

In the French Jesuits’ writings, comments about the positive qualities of native converted communities became increasingly common by the late seventeenth century. Perhaps because of their loss of influence on New France’s settler society, the Jesuits

---

15 See Davis, *Utopia and the Ideal Society*, p. 38: in Arcadia, ‘nature is idealised but at the same time man is naturalised’.
17 See this thesis, chapter 3.
tended to present their missions on the frontier as ideal civilised and Christian spaces threatened by unruly and sinful settlers. Father Chauchetières emphasised the natives’ disposition for the Christian religion:

If liquor were banished from among the savages, it is admitted that they would shame the old christians of Europe by their manner of living, and by their noble practice of virtue. […] We see in these savages the fine remains of human nature which are entirely corrupted in civilized nations (dans les peuples policés). Of all the 11 passions they experience two only; anger is the chief one, but they are not carried away to excess by it, even in war. Living in common, without disputes, content with little, guiltless of avarice, and assiduous at work, it is impossible to find people more patient, more hospitable, more affable, more liberal, more moderate in their language. In fine, all our fathers and the French who have lived with the savages consider that life flows on more gently among them than with us. The faith, finding all these predispositions, makes astonishing progress with them. They wish that they had never seen any but the black gowns; and they repeat this to the confusion of our French Christians!

In the remote and isolated lands of Paraguay, the Jesuits, in their well-organised missions, oftentimes perceived the relationship between natives and settlers as inverted: in the reductions, the natives were civilised and sedentary, and the Spaniards raiding their settlements were perceived as vagrants living outside of any form of civility, and roaming the land to satisfy their cruel appetites. In 1614, Diego de Torres reproduced in his annual letter a speech supposedly given by Miguel Atiguaiec, the cacique of Itamaraca, directed at Spanish and Portuguese settlers who enslaved the natives or required personal service:

[…] With what authority and power do you dare committing such crimes, never heard of amongst us Christians, in a foreign country? […] Imagine, if we committed such things in Europe against your own. How could you suffer this? […] You call yourselves by the glorious name of Christians with no good reason, staining it improperly with your crimes. You, the famous followers of Christ, want to throw our bad customs in our face […] saying that we are not Christians, that we do not believe in God, that we do not know anything about him, that we are like animals. […] But what about you? Are you maybe real Christians, do you really believe in Christ? I don’t think so. It is a joke to call you with such a great name, you

---

are proud, and more than proud, raving lunatics (locos rematados), accomplished criminals (malhechores consumados). […] One only needs to take a quick look at your way of life; […] for all your life you roam the jungle like wild animals […] without a priest, living not as Christians but as savages, never hearing the word of God. […] And while we enjoy a good life thanks to our priests, something that you lack because of your detestable corruption and greed, while we docilely hear the word of God and get accustomed to living a Christian life, you come full of crimes to mistreat and disturb us. No, in no way are you Christians or do you believe in God, you are rather a bunch of perverted criminals (perversos criminales), unworthy of bearing his illustrious and glorious name.21

These words, whether pronounced by the native leader or put in his mouth by the priest, are set in the Father’s cultural framework: the long text contrasts nomadism and peaceful life in villages, and pits simplicity and virtue against greed and corruption. The roles are inverted, and the cultural traits usually used to depict the barbarity of the natives are turned against the Europeans: nomadism, ignorance, greed, and violence. The Portuguese and Spaniards who attacked and enslaved converted natives were depicted in the terms usually applied to the ‘savages’.

Thus in Jesuit writings the nature and identity of Europeans and natives was not fixed. Two types could be emphasised: the fallen and improvable condition of individuals who lost their way because of a lack of proper guidance, and the astonishing progress of those who were put into the care of virtuous leaders. These types were applied to Europeans and natives equally. Both natives and Europeans were reformable, their flaws could be corrected by education and preaching. Human nature was, by definition, transient, and dependent on the subject’s willingness to operate the transformation necessary for his/her salvation. Conversion from this perspective was a process, and virtue, once reached, had to be maintained and cultivated. The system of social control wished for by the Jesuits was an answer to this issue, as will be discussed below.

Converted natives in New England were also used as a contrast to the perceived lack of godliness in England. Joseph Caryl, a renowned Independent minister in England who wrote the introductory epistle to the natives’ confessions to enter a church, published in 1660 as A Further Account of the progress of the Gospel Amongst the Indians in New England, compared the work of conversion with the

natives to the state of England. Here the willingness of the natives to embrace the Gospel was contrasted to the neglect of Englishmen for religion, and the shame that it should inspire in them:

Surely, what these late Aliens from the Common-wealth of Israel have found and declared (as their spiritual experiences) about the dealings of God with their hearts, in bringing them off from sin, and home to himself, may shame many among us, who have been born and bred up in the aire and sound of the Gospel all their dayes. [...] The Lord hath begun to provoke us to Jealousie by them that were no people, and by a foolish nation he hath angred us, hee is found of them that sought him not, hee is made manifest to them that asked not after him, but all the day long hath hee stretched out his hands unto us a disobedient and gainsaying people.22

Both Presbyterian and Independent English ministers writing the Epistle to the reader in a 1648 tract on the conversion of the natives presented them as willing to follow the rule of God and as an ideal case to emphasise the ‘decay’ of England and its need for a reformation of manners:

We have as many sad symptomes of a declining, as these poor outcasts have glad presages of a Rising Sun among them. The Ordinances are as much contemned here, as frequented there; the Ministery as much discouraged here, as embraced there; Religion as much derided, the ways of godliness as much scorned here, as they can be wished and desired there; generally wee are sick of plenty, wee surfe of our abundance, the worst of Surfets, and with our loathed Manna and disdained food, God is preparing them a Table in the wildernes; where our satieties, wil be their sufficiencies; our complaints, their contents; our burthens, their comforts; if he cannot have an England here, he can have an England there; & baptize & adopt them into those priviledges, which wee have looked upon as our burthens. We have sad decayes upon us, we are a revolting Nation, a people guilty of great defection from God.23

In the perfect moral commonwealth, men thirsted for the knowledge of God and his

22 Joseph Caryl, ‘To All, That love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, and have a zeal for the propagation of Gospel-light, to those who sit in darkness, Grace and peace be multiplyed’, in John Eliot, A further account of the progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New England: being a relation of the confessions made by several Indians (in the presence of the elders and members of several churches) in order to their admission into church-fellowship..., London, 1660 (also in Michael P. Clark , ed., The Eliot Tracts: With Letters from John Eliot to Thomas Thorowgood and Richard Baxter, Westport, CT, 2003, p. 359). There is a reference to Romans 10: 19–21 (Geneva Bible): ‘But I demaund, Did not Israel knowe God? First Moses sayth, I will prouoke you to enuie by a nation that is not my nation, and by a foolish nation I will anger you. And Esaias is bolde, and saith, I was found of them that sought me not, and haue bene made manifest to them that asked not after me. And unto Israel hee sayth, All the day long haue I stretched forth mine hand vnto a disobedient, and gainsaying people’.

ordinances. As the — easily convinced — fictional Sachem Penoowot in John Eliot’s *Indian Dialogues* acknowledged, the ‘business of praying to God […] changes men and advances them into a condition above other men’.  

Thus in their writings, and especially when they discussed the ideal moral commonwealth (their missions), missionaries addressed topics that were universally relevant, and went beyond concerns such as the nature of the natives or the necessities of the mission. Their writings touched upon human nature and the ways to cultivate its most virtuous aspects. Contrasts between natives and Europeans highlighted the reformers’ insistence that Europe was decayed and bred greed, luxury, idleness, and pride, which were, as we have seen in chapter one, criticisms commonly voiced by religious reformers in Europe. This admiration for simplicity relied on an understanding of Christian piety that had its roots in late medieval Christianity and the humanist tradition. Both Jesuits and Calvinists manifested a clear Christocentrism (in the necessity to follow the example of Christ and to surrender to his power), as well as primitive ideals (in the necessity to return to the purity of the primitive church), which were influenced by the Devotio Moderna and Thomas à Kempis’ *Imitation of Christ*.  

Although the influence of humanism and erasmianism on the Society of Jesus was complex and ambiguous, humanist motives recurred in both Catholic and Calvinist missionaries’ understanding of piety. Both Puritans and Jesuits addressed themes such as the importance of piety in daily life, of pastoral care, of education, and of the active, rather than contemplative, dimension of the faith. Hence their experience in the New World reveals how *in practice* the demands of religious reformers in Europe were to be implemented. As already mentioned, Paul Le Jeune believed that ‘old France is fitted to conceive noble desires, but the New is adapted to their execution; what one desires in old France is what one does in the New’.

---

The ‘Millennium’ was manifest in John Eliot and others’ writings insisting on the instrumental aspect of the missions in the establishment of the reign of Christ on Earth. According to Davis, millennial thought is characterised by ‘a phantasy of salvation which is to be collective (enjoyed by the faithful as a group), terrestrial, imminent, total (utterly transforming life on earth, not merely to improve but to perfect) and accomplished by agencies which are consciously regarded as supernatural’.

John Eliot believed that Christ’s Second Coming could only happen after two conditions were fulfilled: ‘First, To overthrow Antichrist by the Wars of the Lamb, and Secondly, To raise up His own Kingdom in the room of all Earthly Powers which he doth cast down, and to bring all the World subject to be ruled in all things by the Word of His mouth’. Eliot’s millenarianism was particularly intense in the 1650s, as he believed that this course of events was taking place in England, partially through the agency of Oliver Cromwell, and that the mission was fulfilling the second condition amongst the natives.

The fact that ‘these people [the natives] are Hebrews’, as well as the cataclysmic events occurring in England confirmed Eliot’s Millenarianism and his belief that the Second Coming was near, as these events were an indication that ‘all those signes preceding (sic) the glorious coming of Christ are accomplishing’. In the process, God would ‘bring Nations into distresse and perplexity, that so they may be forced to the Scriptures’, and this was what was happening in England. When this would be accomplished everywhere, ‘Government shall be in the hands of the Saints of the most high’.

For Davis, millenarian thought was usually not very specific about the new society to come, as it emphasised the process leading to the Millennium rather than the type of social order that would be established. This depended on God only and men could not presume to know His plan. Moreover, millenarian thought was mainly

29 Davis, *Utopia and the Ideal Society*, p. 32.
30 John Eliot in John Eliot and Thomas Mayhew, Jr., *Tears of repentance: or, A further narrative of the progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in N ev-England..., London, 1653, ‘To his Excellency, the Lord General Cromwell’ (also in Clark, ed., *The Eliot Tracts*, p. 260). Wars of the lamb is a reference to the Bible, Revelation 17:14: ‘These shall fight with the Lambe, and the Lambe shall ouercome them: for he is Lord of Lordes, and King of Kings: and they that are on his side, called, and chosen, and faithful’.
descriptive and interpretative, as it attempted to elucidate signs of the approach of the millennium in current events. But it also had a prescriptive dimension. John Eliot was quite specific about the nature of the Middle Advent, which was to precede the Second Coming. As Theodore Bozeman has argued, ‘few if any theorists of the 1640s and 1650s saw the millennial order as the creation of an instant. It was the way of the Middle Coming both to build upon previous beginnings and to propel events toward completion through a process of gradual development’.\(^{34}\) For Eliot, the conversion of the natives should not be rushed, and was ‘the Lords work [...] and he will suit the work in such a time and place as shall best attain his appointed ends and his great glory’.\(^{35}\) The Second Coming necessitated the establishment of the Government of the Saints on earth, and its shape was clearly defined for Eliot, as has been discussed throughout this thesis.

To establish the government of the Saints, and to maintain the perfect moral commonwealth in Catholic missions, these writers went beyond assertions of a benevolent nature (human and environmental, as in Arcadia), of human virtue (as in the perfect moral commonwealth), or of divine intervention (Millennium). Indeed, there was what might appear as an inherent tension in missionaries’ recourse to ideal society themes: they emphasised the natural innocence of the natives or the wonders of the Lord’s workings on men’s spirit, but ultimately wanted to change this natural condition or intervene in the process of regeneration by concentrating the natives in new types of human communities. Their task was to combine their benevolent human nature with the social apparatus prescribed by Christianity, or, alternatively (or simultaneously), to prepare the world for the Second Coming. Missionaries always remembered that man, any man, was fallen. As mentioned in chapter five, even when the Saints governed, the unregenerate needed to remain under their control, and even in an ideally Scriptural form of government, ‘sin will grow apace, like ill weeds, if it be not always watched, and often weeded out’.\(^{36}\) Missionaries thus conceived of their missions as an idealised space for their already converted brethren, a space where the defects of nature could be controlled by proper institutions. Whereas with the Arcadian trope, missionaries contrasted the benevolence of nature pitted against the

\(^{34}\) Bozeman, \textit{To Live Ancient Lives}, p. 244.  
artificiality and decadence of Europe, when they discussed their social experiments, what was emphasised was the need of artifices to control man’s fallen nature. This meant above all education and the implementation of civility among the natives, an important part of which was repression of idleness.37

As I hope to have shown throughout this thesis, missionaries insisted (as far as was possible) on the necessity of a perfectly contained and controlled human nature. ‘Utopia’ is defined by Davis as ‘a set of strategies to maintain social order and perfection in the face of the deficiencies, not to say hostility, of nature and the wilfulness of man’. Missionaries wanted to establish communities in which both church and state institutions could control the fundamentally sinful nature of man. For Davis, the main goal of Utopia ‘is not happiness, that private mystery, but order, that social necessity’.38 Hence the uniformity of architecture and dress, and the strict schedule of work, devotion, and leisure in the Jesuit reductions of Paraguay.39 Hence the formal and solemn nature of the civil and church covenants established among the natives of New England, through which they vowed to submit themselves to the Laws of God. Missionaries attempted to implement ideal forms of control and organisation among native converted communities, accompanied by a call to similar reforms amongst settler and European societies.

Thus conversion in missionary writings was not only an act of faith, but also a process of transformation of the self, through the institution of civility, of habits and mechanisms of control that would allow for the enforcement of Christian morality and create a setting where responsible Christians could bloom. Whether they were regenerate or unregenerate under the guidance of the Saints, men could establish a commonwealth in which decayed human nature would be under control. This transformation could be put into practice amongst all peoples, and thus what missionaries implemented with the natives illustrates the practical application of a reformation of manners hoped for by so many in Europe. Their writings were not only

37 Compare with More: Davis, Utopia and the Ideal Society, p. 57: ‘More emphasises his concern with the institutional/legal/educational pressures on men and with the need for their rearrangement if law and social pressure are to be confirmatory of conscience’. See also p. 54: Utopia is the ‘twofold disciplining of men’: work is enforced but the desires of men are moderated, and p. 82.
39 This is where the influence of Thomas More on the idea of reductions is most visible. See this thesis, chapter 6, and Davis, Utopia and the Ideal Society, pp. 52–53: ‘every aspect of the Utopian’s daily life is subject to some form of regulation’. On the influence of the monastic model on More’s Utopia, see Davis, pp. 58–59, 371.
religious, but also intensely social and political, and they reveal how these questions were essentially intertwined in the early modern world.

This process implied a great confidence in the power of education. As missionary Andrés Perez de Ribas claimed in 1645,

If human art is powerful enough to take out and shape a beautiful image out of a rough, thorny, and hideous tree trunk; and to carve a beautiful figure, pleasant to the sight out of rough material: how much more powerful will the grace of Christ be, to imprint his image on their souls when the doctrine of the Gospel, teaching, talks and catechisms enter it?40

For London preacher Robert Gray, who was supporting colonisation, ‘it is not the nature of men, but the education of men, which make them barbarous and uncivill, and therefore change the education of men, and you shall see that their nature will be greatly rectified and corrected.41

For missionaries and religious reformers in general, the establishment of rational self-government and its collective implementation would allow for the fulfilment of true human freedom.42 As reformist Juan de Madariaga insisted in his Del Senado y de su Principe, ‘to live according to what our reason, clear and dispassionate, tells us, this is to live with freedom. [...] those who live with just laws, and even more those who live according to the laws of Evangelical perfection, are much freer, than those who live according to their whims (como quieren)’.43 This process emphasised the virtuous life of converts above all, and insisted on the ability of all to live a Christian life (be they regenerate or not for Calvinists) under the proper

40 Andrés Perez de Ribas, Historia de los trivmphos de nvestra Santa Fee entre gentes las mas barbaras y fieras del nuovo Orbe: conseguidos por los Soldados de la Milicia de la Compania de IESVS en las Misiones de la Provincia de Nueva-España..., Madrid, 1645, p. 412. Optimism about the power of education was common in early modern Spanish political thought. See for example: Juan de Torres, Filosofia moral de principes para su buena crianza y gobierno y para personas de todos estados, Burgos, 1596, p. 28: ‘What sin destroyed can be re-established by grace, and the wounds of a corrupted nature can be healed by the use and application of a good education’. The point was also made by Francisco de Monzon, Pedro de Rivadeneyra, Diego Saavedra Fajardo, and Jeronimo Fernandez de Otero. On this topic, see José-Antonio Maravall, La philosophie politique espagnole au XVIIe siècle, dans ses rapports avec l’esprit de la Contre-Réforme, Paris, 1995, pp. 37–43.

41 Robert Gray, A Good Speede to Virgina, London, 1609, p. 9. Virtually nothing is known about Gray, who has no entry in the Oxford DNB. A focus on education was also a humanist theme: Todd, Christian Humanism, pp. 30–31.

42 J.C. Davis contrasts Utopian thought to classical Republicanism: ‘in the name of participation and the freedom necessary to it the classical republican risks corruption and thereby instability, but to avoid corruption and achieve permanence the utopian, by contrast, tends to reject participation and risk freedom’: Davis, Utopia and the Ideal Society, p. 43. See also p. 379. On the totalitarian aspect of Utopian thought, see p. 374.

43 Juan de Madariaga, Del Senado y de su Principe, Valencia, 1617, p. 478. See also: Lalemant, Relation de 1647. & 1648, p. 156.
guidance of Christian political and legal institutions. As New England minister Samuel Torrey explained:

There is a Spirit and Principle of Liberty in the hearts of all sincere Christians [...] Our Christian Liberty is regulated most exactly and strictly, by Rules and Precepts in the Word of God: there is a compleat directory for the exercise of our Christian Liberty in the Word of God, which is the *Perfect law of liberty*, Jam. 1.25. Our habitual conformity to this Law of Liberty, is the chief Principle of Liberty; and our Practical Subjection to the Law of Liberty, is the chief Practice or Exercise of our Liberty.\(^44\)

A comparative method helps to elucidate the fundamental communalities and differences in Catholic and Calvinist approaches not only to conversion, but also to social organisation. It allows one to escape exceptionalism (affirming the radical nature of the differences) but also overgeneralisation (overemphasising the similarities). Essential differences emerge in their soteriology: their evaluation of the roles of will and grace radically differed and Catholic confidence in the ability to will the good implied that they could define conversion as processes of habituation through which the catechumen could become accustomed to Christianity. Calvinists, by contrast, did not believe in man’s ability to be active in conversion, and stressed the hypocritical nature of works before regeneration. Yet, as discussed in chapters three and four, education and habituation conditioned, to an extent, God’s regeneration in the elect.

Calvinist soteriology insisted on the independence of the believers, and on a personal relationship between God and the elect, which would be expressed by direct access to the Word of God through Scripture. By contrast to Calvinism, Catholic soteriology was characterised by confidence in the ability of the individual to will the good and reform his ways independently. Yet Catholic theology also emphasised the authority of the priesthood over matters of orthodoxy, downplayed the believers’ access to Scriptures, and demanded close scrutiny of the believers’ behaviour, as one could always apostatise. Calvinists were very pessimistic about human nature and believed that man’s reason and will were ultimately completely passive in the process of conversion, and also believed that the unregenerate needed to be controlled, but had

\(^{44}\) Samuel Torrey, *An exhortation unto reformation: amplified, by a discourse concerning the parts and progress of that work, according to the word of God, delivered in a sermon preached in the audience of the General Assembly of the Massachusetts colony, at Boston in New-England, May 27, 1674, being the day of election there*, Cambridge, MA, 1674, p. 25. The reference to James 1:25 (Geneva version) is: ‘But who so looketh in the perfect Lawe of libertie, and continueth therein, hee not being a forgetful hearer, but a doer of the woorke, shalbe blessed in his deede’.
great confidence in the abilities of the Saints after conversion. Ultimately, both traditions had confidence in the necessity and efficacy of education, but also emphasised the need for collective means to control individual morality. Despite different emphases, in practice, both groups also attempted experiments in which the whole social and political structure was dedicated to the observance of the Word of God. Despite the divergence of their soteriological apparatuses and missiologies, missionaries shared common concerns.

If we take their religious motives seriously, strong correlations appear in the work of Catholic and Calvinist missionaries. Because the Christian polity was their main concern, their missions sometimes displayed striking similarities, and their — frequently tense — relationship to imperial practices were also informed by comparable anxieties. Remarkably, missionaries and their converts all over America were faced with hostility not only from unconverted natives, but also from settlers who rejected their ideal of segregation and protection of the natives. The insistence by all missionaries on segregation illustrates their belief in the possibility of elaborating a Christian polity outside of what they perceived as the decadent influences of European society. Through this process, they all uttered harsh criticisms of settlers’ behaviours. Prominent among these criticisms were greed and pride, themes that were central to political and religious critiques in Europe. These comments are part of a long intellectual tradition of social commentary condemning immoral European behaviours. These behaviours were likewise criticised in settlers. Reproofs were not only targeted at sinful individuals, but also at common practices which were believed to perpetuate these traits, such as personal service in New Spain and Peru, uncontrolled trade in New France, or indiscriminate purchase of land and settlement in New England. Lack of charity towards native converts was a common trope. These similarities demonstrate that missionary writings should be considered as a specific genre, a genre which was strongly influenced by a European tradition of social commentary and distinguished them from official writings on the colonies or from other settlers’ writings. But these writings also show how these European concepts were deployed and transformed in the New World.

By the end of the seventeenth century, the French, Spanish, and English monarchies were willing to increase their authority over the colonies as part of broader projects of state building. This tendency generally undermined the authority of missionaries not only over their converts but also over the world of the settlers.
study of missions thus sheds light not only on religious demands for a reformation of manners in the seventeenth century, but also on practices of state-building, imperial projects and their relative difficulties, and the complexities of the colonial world.

Because the process of establishing a Christian polity was accessible to all, missionaries could use converted natives to illustrate the benefits of Christianity in a striking way. In this process, complex and rich voices can sometimes be heard, which remind us that, then as now, people’s identities are not monolithic, but made of a patchwork of cultural, spiritual, political, and social allegiances. Many individuals managed to negotiate these allegiances in a world as complex and confused as the early colonies.

I would like to end with a poignant example from Onnontagué in 1682, which concerns a native spokesman welcoming a Jesuit Father in his village. By the late seventeenth century, in New France, consumption of liquor among the Iroquois had reached particularly problematic heights. The Fathers were often threatened and molested by drunken natives. Those natives had in turn been provided liquor by European settlers. In these circumstances, the Fathers had to flee their mission and seek protection and help from a neighbouring native settlement. This is what happened to Father Carheil, who had to abandon his mission after being beaten by drunken natives, and was welcomed in another village, where the native spokesman gave a speech upon his arrival. This speech illustrates how a ‘native’ and a ‘Christian’ worldview could be combined, and reveals the complexity of human relationships on the New World’s frontier: the spokesman consoled the Jesuit Father, a role which was central in the apostolate of the Jesuits, in words that emphasised Christian virtues and were at the same time set in the traditional Algonquian process of gift giving. To this orator belongs the last word:

I did not know why over the past days, the Sky was extraordinarily clouded, and The star that gladdens the whole earth hid itself from our eyes. It refused to Shine upon The insolence of the drunkards who have ill-treated you. We grew pale at the narration that was given to us of what had happened to you, we felt compassion for you, We have railed against the Sellers of brandy, who are the cause of so many evils, and we rejoice that you have found an asylum here. […] It is true that your Cabin has been pillaged; that your Holy house, wherein you prayed, has been profaned. But what has done it? Brandy. Your life has been attempted; what caused that crime? Brandy. Brandy is a pernicious evil, which you Europeans have brought to us.

Teach us by your example to practise patience. When our nephews, rendered furious by drinking brandy, beat us, sometimes kill us, and compel us to leave our cabins to place ourselves in safety. Be not angry; be a man; and remember that in the prayer that you make us say to God you pronounce these words: *Ousa sannigon rhënhä non gouarihouanderagouan tonnariaouenha itsiongouan igourhens stenchoua ou Rienne unik:* Forget our offenses, as we forget the evil that has been done to us. […] With this present [a porcelain necklace] I brighten the sky; I reassure your Mind; I wipe away the blood, if any has been shed. I place this dressing on the Wounds, if there were any. Take courage. Remember that life is subject to many Unforeseen afflictions. We disavow Oréouahé’s action. Rest on our mat until calm returns after the storm. I have finished speaking.\(^{46}\)

\(^{46}\)Jean de Lamberville, 'Lettre à …, 2 Août, 1682’, in *JR*, vol. LXII, pp. 98, 100, 102.
Bibliography

Primary Sources

Manuscripts available online at http://collectionscanada.gc.ca/

- ‘Lettre de Denonville au Ministre, 13 novembre 1685’, R11577-4-2-F (MIKAN 3049318).
- ‘Règlement de 1647 pour établir un bon ordre et police au Canada’, R11955-0-0-F (MIKAN 158388).

Manuscripts available at www.archivescanadafrance.org

- ‘Arrêt du Conseil souverain de Québec portant permission à tous les Français habitants de la Nouvelle-France de vendre et débiter toute sorte de boissons aux Sauvages’, Archives nationales d'outre-mer (ANOM, France), COL C11A 125.
- ‘Arrêt du Conseil supérieur de Québec qui permet à toute personne de vendre des boissons aux Sauvages, défense à eux de s'enivrer sous les peines y portées’, November, 10th, 1668’, Archives nationales d'outre-mer (ANOM, France), COL C11A 3.
- ‘Lettre de Colbert à Talon, 5 avril 1667’, Archives nationales d'outre-mer (ANOM, France), COL C11A 2.
- ‘Lettre de Frontenac au ministre, 2 novembre 1672’, Archives nationales d'outre-mer (ANOM, France), COL C11A 3.
- ‘Lettre de Talon au ministre’, 4 octobre 1665, Archives nationales d'outre-mer (ANOM, France), COL C11A 2.
- ‘Mémoire de Duchesneau adressé au ministre sur les désordres causés par les coureurs de bois et sur le commerce frauduleux avec les Anglais, 13 novembre 1681’, Archives nationales d'outre-mer (ANOM, France), COL C11A 5.
- ‘Mémoire de Patoulet demandé par le ministre’, 25 janvier 1672, Archives nationales d'outre-mer (ANOM, France), COL C11A 3.
- ‘Mémoire du Duchesneau au ministre concernant les nations indiennes qui fournissent les pelleteries et contenant une description des colonies anglaises et de l'Acadie, 13 novembre 1681’, Archives nationales d'outre-mer (ANOM, France), COL C11A 5.
- ‘Paroles échangées entre Frontenac et les alliés hurons, outaouais et miamis, Août 1682’, Archives nationales d'outre-mer (ANOM, France), COL C11A 6.
- ‘Relation de divers événements survenus au Canada et en Acadie, 1695’, Archives nationales d'outre-mer (ANOM, France), COL C11A 13.

Primary Source Collections


- *Collection de manuscrits contenant lettres, mémoires, et autres documents historiques relatifs à la Nouvelle-France recueillis aux archives de la province de Québec, ou copiés à l'étranger mis en ordre et édités sous les auspices de la Législature de Québec avec table, etc.*, 4 vols., Québec, 1883, volume I.


- Ford, John W., ed., *Some Correspondence between the Governors and Treasurers of the Commissioners of the United Colonies in America between the Years 1657 and 1712...*, London, 1896.


- Paso y Troncoso, Francisco del, ed., *Tratado de las idolatrías, supersticiones, dioses, ritos, hechicerías y otras costumbres gentílicas de las razas aborígenes de México*, 2 vols., México, 1953: Gonzalo de balsalobre, ‘Relación auténtica de las idolatrías, supersticiones y vanas observaciones de los indios del Obispado de Oaxaca’ (Mexico, 1656); Hernando Ruiz de Alarcón, *Tratado de las supersticiones y costumbres gentílicas que hoy viven entre los indios naturales de esta Nueva España*, (1629); Pedro Sánchez de Aguilar, ‘Informe contra los adoradores de ídolos del Obispado de Yucatán: año de 1639’; Jacinto de la Serna, ‘Tratado de las supersticiones, idolatrías, hechicerías, y otras costumbres de las razas aborígenes de México’, (1649).


- Pièces diverses (originaux et copies) concernant l'Allemagne, la guerre de Succession d'Espagne et les affaires intérieures et extérieures de la France aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, available online on http://gallica.bnf.fr.
- Recopilacion de leyes de los reinos de las Indias mandadas imprimir y publicar por la magestad católica del Rey Don Carlos II, nuestro señor, 4 vols., Madrid, 1841.
- Relaciones de los Vireyes y audiencias que han gobernado el Perú, Lima, 1867, Tomo I: Memorial y Ordenanzas de D. Francisco de Toledo.
- Tomo Segundo de las leyes de recopilación que contiene los libros sexto, septimo, octavo i nono, Madrid, 1772, pp. 371–378.
- Toppan, Robert Noxon, ed., Edward Randolph: Including His Letters and Official Papers from the New England, Middle, and Southern Colonies in America, With
Other Documents, Relating Chiefly to the Vacating of the Royal Charter of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, 1676–1703, 7 vols., Boston, 1898, vol. II.


- Woodhouse, A.S.P., ed., Puritanism and Liberty, Being the Army Debates (1647–9) from the Clarke Manuscripts, with Supplementary Documents, Chicago, 1951.

Printed Sources

- Abelly, Louis, Vie de S. Vincent de Paul... (1664), 5 vols., Paris, 1823, vol. V.

- Acosta, José de, De Natura novi orbis libris duo et De promulgatione evangelii apud Barbaros, sive, De procuranda indorum salute, Libri sex, Cologne, 1596.

- ——— Historia natvral y moral de las Indias, En qve se tratan las cosas notables del cielo, y elementos, metales, plantas y animales dellas y los ritos y ceremonias, leyes y gouierno y guerras de los Indios, Barcelona, 1591.


- Andrade, Alonso de, Varones Ilvstres en santidad, letras, y zelo de las almas. De la Compañía de Jesus, Tomo Sexto, Madrid, 1667.

- Anon. [Jean-Jacques Olier], Les veritables motifs de Messieurs et Dames de la Société De Nostre Dame de Monreal, pour la conversion des Sauvages de la Nouvelle France, s.l., 1643.

- Anon. [César de Plaix], Anticoton ov refvtation de la lettre declaratoire dv pere Cotton, s.l., 1610.


- Anon., *A Farther Brief and True Narration of the Late Wars risen in New-England, Occasioned by the Quarrelsome Disposition and Perfidious Carriage of the Barbarous and Savage Indian Natives there...*, London, 1676.


- Anon., *Certain quaeres humbly presented in way of petition, by many Christian people, dispersed abroad throughout the county of Norfolk and city of Norwich, to the serious and grave consideration and debate of His Excellency the Lord General and of the General Councel of War...*, London, 1649, Thomason Tracts E.544[5].

- Anon., *Histoire de Nicolas I. roy du Paraguai et empereur des Mamelus*, s.l. [Fictive publication place: Saint Paul, Brazil], 1756.


- Aquinas, *Compendium of Theology*, Translated by Cyril Vollert, St. Louis, 1947.


- ——— *Nicomachean Ethics*, translated by H. Rackham, Cambridge, MA, 1926.


- Arnauld, Antoine, *Plaidoyé de M. Antoine Arnavld Advocat en Parlement & cy deuant Conseiller & Procureur general de la defuncte Roine mere des Rois: Pour


- Avendaño, Fernando de, Sermones de los misterios de nuestra santa fé católica, en lengua castellana y en la general del Inca impugnanse los errores particulares que los indios han tenido, Lima, 1649.


- Barlow, Arthur, The First Voyage Made to the Coasts of America, with Two Barks, wherein Were Captains M. Philip Amadas and M. Arthur Barlowe, Who Discovered Part of the Countrey Now Called Virginia, anno 1584, Boston, 1898.


- Benavides, Alonso de, Memorial qve fray Ivan de Santander de la orden de San Francisco, comissario general de Indias, presenta a la Magestad catolica del rey Don Felipe Qvatro, Madrid, 1630.

- Bertrand, M., Lettre Missive, tovchant la Conversion et baptefme du grand Sagamos de la nouvelle France, Port Royal, June 28, 1610.

- Biard, Pierre, Relation de la Novvelle France, de ses terres, natvrel dv País, & de ses Habitans, Item, Du voyage des Peres Iesuites ausdictes contrées, & de ce qu’ils y ont faict iusques à leur prinse par les Anglois, Lyon, 1616.


- ——— Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem, Amsterdam, 1650.

- Bonnet, Antoine, La vie du pere Jean-François Regis, de la Compagnie de Jesus, Lyon, 1694.


- Caja de Leruela, Miguel, *Restavracion de la abvndancia de España, o præstantissimo, vnico, y facil reparo de su carestia presente* (1631), Madrid, 1713.

- Calancha, Antonio de la, *Corónica moralizada del orden de San Augustín en el Perú*, Barcelona, 1639.


- Carrè, Ezechiel, *Echantillon de la Doctrine que les jésuites enseignent aux Sauvages du Nouveau Monde, pour les convertir tirée de leurs propres Manuscrits trouvés ces Jours passes en Albanie Proche de Nieuworyke Examinée Par Ezechiel
Carré cy deuant Ministre de la Rochechalais en France, à présent Ministre de l'Église Française de Boston en la Nouvelle Angleterre, Boston, 1690.


- Ceballos, Jerónimo de, *Arte real para el buen govierno de los Reyes, y Principes, y de sus vassallos*, Toledo, 1623.


- Charles I, *A Large Declaration concerning the Late Tumults in Scotland, from their first Originals...*, London, 1639.


- Complaincte de l’Université de Paris contre aucuns estrangers nouvellement venus, surnommmez Iesuites, Paris, 1610.

- Concilio Provincial de Lima, *Confessionario para los curas de indios: Con la instrucion contra sus ritos: y exhortacion para ayudar a bien morir: y summa de

- Constituciones sinodales del Smo. ... don Fernando, Cardenal Infante, administrador perpetuo del Arçobispado de Toledo ..., Madrid, 1622.

- Cordier, Jean, La famille saincte, ov il est traicté des Deuoirs de toutes les personnes qui comosent une Famille, Lyon, 1662.


- ——— An Abstract of Laws and Government. Wherein as in a Mirrour may be seen the wisdome & perfection of the Government of Christs Kingdome. Accomodable to any State or form of Government in the world, that is not Antichristian or Tyrannicall, London, 1655.


- ——— The bloudy tenent washed and made white in the bloud of the Lambe: being discussed and discharged of bloud-guiltinesse by just defence ... London, 1647.


- ——— The controversie concerning liberty of conscienace in matters of religion: truly stated and distinctly and plainly handled: wherein you have, ... London, 1649.

- ——— The keyes of the kingdom of heaven and power thereof according to the word of God: tending to reconcile some present differences about discipline, London, 1644.

- ——— The powring out of the seven vials, or, An exposition of the 16 chapter of the Revelation, with an application of it to our times..., London, 1642.
- The way of the churches of Christ in New-England, or, The way of churches walking in brotherly equalitie, or co-ordination, without subjection of one church to another measured and examined by the golden reed of the sanctuary, containing a full declaration of the church-way in all particulars, London, 1645.

- The way of life, or, Gods way and course, in bringing the Soule into, keeping it in, and carrying it on, in the ways of life and peace. Laid downe in foure severall Treatises on foure Texts of Scripture, London, 1641.

- Covarrubias Orozco, Sebastián de, Tesoro de la lengua Castellana, o Española, Madrid, 1611.

- Crashaw, William, A Sermon Preached in London before the right honorable the Lord Lavvarre, Lord Governour and Captained Generall of Virginia, and others of his Maiesties Counsell for that Kingdome, and the rest of the Adventurers in that Plantation..., London, 1610.

- Cushman, Robert, ‘Reasons & considerations touching the lawfulnesse of remouing out of England into the parts of America’, in Mourt's relation or journal of the plantation at Plymouth (1622), Boston, 1865.

- Dablon, Claude, Relation de ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable aux missions des pères de la Compagnie de Jesus en la Nouvelle France, les années 1670 & 1671 envoyée au R.P. Jean Pinette, provincial de la province de France, Paris, 1672.

- Relation de ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable aux missions des pères de la Compagnie de Jésus en la Nouvelle France, les annés [sic] 1672 et 1673, Nouvelle York, 1861.

- Relation de ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable aux missions des pères de la Compagnie de Jésus en la Nouvelle-France és années 1676 & 1677, Albany, 1854.

- Danforth, Samuel, A brief recognition of New-Englands errand into the wilderness: made in the audience of the General Assembly of the Massachusetts Colony at Boston..., Cambridge, MA, 1671.

- Deza, Lope de, Govierno Polytico de Agricultura, contiene tres partes principales..., Madrid, 1618.


- Druilletes, Gabriel, *Narre du voyage faict pour la mission des Abnaquiois et des connaissances tirèz de la Nouvelle Angleterre et des dispositions des magistrats de cette république pour le secours contre les Iroquois, ès années 1650 & 1651*, s.l., s.d. [Albanie, N.Y?, 1855?].


- Edwards, Thomas, *Reasons against the independant government of particular congregations: as also against the toleration of such churches to be erected in this kingdome. Together with an answer to such reasons as are commonly allledged for such a toleration...*, London, 1641.


- ——— ‘Letter to his much Honoured and Respected friend, Major ATHERTON, at his House in Dorchester, these present, at Roxbury, this 4th of the 4th, 57’, *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, First series, vol. II, Boston, 1793, p. 9.


- ——— ‘The learned Conjectures of Reverend Mr. John Eliot touching the Americans, of new and notable consideration, written to Mr. Thorowgood’, in
Thomas Thorowgood, *Jewes in America, or, Probabilities, that those Indians are Judaical, made more probable by some additionals to the former conjectures...,* London, 1660.


- *A further accompt of the progresse of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New-England, and of the means used effectually to advance the same... as also some helps directing the Indians how to improve naturall reason unto the knowledge of the true God*, London, 1659.

- *A further account of the progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New England: being a relation of the confessions made by several Indians (in the presence of the elders and members of several churches) in order to their admission into church-fellowship...,* London, 1660.

- *A late and further manifestation of the progress of the gospel amongst the Indians in New-England declaring their constant love and zeal to the truth...,* London, 1655.

- *Indian Dialogues, for their Instruction in that great Service of Christ, in calling home their Country-men to the Knowledge of GOD, and of themselves, and of IESUS CHRIST*, Cambridge, MA, 1671.

- *Manitowompae pomantamoonk sampwshanau Christianoh uttoh woh an pomantog wssikkitteahonat God (The Practice of Piety)*, Cambridge, MA, Printed for the right honerable Corporation in London for the gospelizing the Indins (sic) in New-England, 1685.


- *The Communion of Churches: or, The Divine Management of Gospel-Churches by the Ordinance of Councils Constituted in Order according to the*
Scriptures. As also, The Way of bringing all Christian Parishes to be particular Reforming Congregationall Churches..., Cambridge, MA, 1665.

- ——— The Indian grammar begun..., Cambridge, Mas],1666.

- ——— The Indian Primer; or, The way of training up of our Indian Youth in the good knowledge of God, in the knowledge of the Scriptures, and in an ability to Reade, Cambridge, MA, 1669 (first edition 1654).

- ——— The logick primer some logical notions to initiate the Indians in the knowledge of the rule of reason and to know how to make use thereof: especially for the instruction of such as are teachers among them. [Cambridge, MA], 1672.


- Felipe IV, Capitvlos de Reformacion qve sv Magestad se sirve de mandar guardar por esta ley, para el gouiero del Reyno, Madrid, 1623.

- Fernandez Navarrete, Pedro, Conservacion de Monarquias y discursos politicos sobre la gran consulta que el consejo hizo al Señor rey Don Felipe Tercero..., Madrid, 1626.

- Figuera, Gaspar de la, Svma espiritual, en que se resuelven todos los casos y dificultades que ay en el camino de la perfección, Madrid, 1634.

- Figueroa, Francisco de, Francisco de Figueroa de la compañia de Iesus, procurador de las Prouincias de las Indias, dize: Que por quanto acerca del alçamiento, y rebelion de los Indios Tepehuanes, Zinaloas, y otras naciones, que sucedio por fin del año de mil y seiscientos y deziseis, se hâ esparcido diversas relaciones, mezclan dose en ellas algunas cosas que causan confusion, s.l [Madrid?], s.d. [1617?].

- ——— Relación de las misiones de la Compañía de Jesús en el país de los Maynas (1661), Madrid, 1904.

- Fitzherbert, Thomas, The First Part of a Treatise Concerning Policy, and Religion..., Doway, 1606.

- Galvan Rivera, Mariano, ed., Concilio Provincial Mexicano, México, 1859.
- García, Gregorio, *Historia ecclesiastica y seglar, de la Yndia Oriental y Occidental, y predicacion del Sancto Euâgelio en ella por los Apostoles*, Baeça, 1626.


- Gillespie, George, *A sermon preached before the Honourable House of Commons: at their late solemn fast, Wednesday, March 27. 1644*, Edinburgh, 1644.


- Gonçalez de Cellorigo, Martin, *Memorial de la politica necessaria, y ytíl restauracion à la Republica de España, y estados de ello, y del desempeño vnuersal de estos Reynos*, Valladolid, 1600.

- Gonzalez, Tomás, ed., *Censo de Población de la provincias y partidos de la Corona de Castilla en el siglo XVI, con varios apéndices para completar la del resto de la peninsula en el mismo siglo..., según resulta de los libros y registros que se custodian en el real archivo de Simancas*, Madrid, 1829.


- Gracián, Baltasar, ‘*Obras de Lorenzo Gracián, diuididas en dos tomos..., compuestas por Baltasar Gracián*, Amberes, 1669, tomo I.


- Hale, Matthew, *The primitive origination of mankind, considered and examined according to the light of nature*, London, 1677.

- Hall, Joseph, *The Olde Religion: A Treatise, Wherin is laid downe the true state of the difference betwixt the Reformed and Romane Church; and the blame of this schisme is cast vpon the true AVTHORS...*, London, 1628.


- Hutchinson, Thomas, *The History of the Colony of Massachuset’s Bay, From the First Settlement Thereof in 1628, until its Incorporation with the Colony of Plimouth, Province of Main, &c. ...*, London, 1765.


- James I, *An apologie for the oath of allegiance first set foorth without a name, and now acknowledged by the authour, the Right High and Mightie Prince, Iames, by the grace of God, King of Great Britaine, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c.; together with a premonition of His Maisties, to all most mightie monarches, kings, free princes and states of Christendome*, London, 1609.


- Lalemant, Charles, Relation de ce qui s'est passé en la Nouvelle France en l'année M. DC.XXVI. envoyée au Père Hierosme L' Allemant, D'après la Copie dans le Mercure François, Tome 13, 1626, Paris, 1629.

- Lalemant, Jérôme, Relation de ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable és missions des pères de la Compagnie de Jésus, en la Nouvelle France, es années 1645 & 1646 envoyée au R.P. provincial de la province de France par le supérieur des missions de la mesme compagnie, Paris, 1647.

- ——— Relation de ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable és missions des pères de la Compagnie de Jésus, en la Nouvelle France, sur le grand fleuve de S. Laurens en l'année 1647 envoyé e au R.P. provincial de la province de France, Paris, 1648.

- ——— Relation de ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable és missions des peres de la Compagnie de Jesu, en la Nouvelle France, es années 1647 & 1648 envoyée au R.P. provincial de la province de France par le supérieur des missions de la mesme compagnie, Paris, 1649.

- ——— Relation de ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable aux missions des pères de la Compagnie de Jésus en la Nouvelle France és années mil six cent cinquante neuf & mil six cent soixante envoyée au R.P. Claude Boucher, provincial de la province de France, Paris, 1661.

- ——— Relation de ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquables [sic] aux missions des peres la Compagnie de Jesus, en la Nouvelle France, és années 1662 & 1663 envoyée au R.P. André Castillon, provincial de la province de France, Paris, 1664.

- Le Baillif, Georges, Plainte de la Nouelle France dicte Canada, a la France sa Germaine. Pour seruir de factum en vne cause pandente au Conseil, s.l., s.d. [Paris?, 1622?].


- Le Clercq, Chrestien, Nouvelle relation de la Gaspésie qui contient les moeurs & la religion des sauvages gaspésiens Porte-Croix, adorateurs du soleil, & d'autres
peuples de l'Amérique septentrionale, dite le Canada: dédiée a Madame la princesse d'Épinoy, Paris, 1691.

- Premier établissement de la foi dans la Nouvelle-France: contenant la publication de l'Evangile, l'histoire des colonies françaises, & les fameuses découvertes depuis le fleuve de Saint Laurent, la Louisiane & le fleuve Colbert jusqu'au Golphe Mexique, achevées sous la conduite de feu monsieur de la Salle: avec les victoires remportées en Canada par les armes de sa majesté sur les anglois & les iroquois en 1690, Paris, 1691.

- Le Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française, Paris, 1694.


- Relation de ce qui s'est passé en la Nouvelle France, en l'année 1634 envoyée au R. Père provincial de la Compagnie de Jésus, en la province de France par le P. Paul Le Jeune de la mesme compagnie, supérieur de la résidence de Kébec, Paris, 1635.

- Relation de ce qui s'est passé en la Nouvelle France, en l'année 1635 envoyée au R. Père provincial de la Compagnie de Jésus en la province de France par le P. Paul LeJeune de la mesme compagnie, supérieur de la résidence de Kébec, Paris, 1636.

- Relation de ce qui s'est passé en la Nouvelle France en l'année 1636 envoyée au R. Père provincial de la Compagnie de Jésus en la province de France, Paris, 1637.

- Relation de ce qui s'est passé en la Nouvelle France en l'année 1637 envoyée au R. Père provincial de la Compagnie de Jésus en la province de France, Rouen, 1638.

- Relation de ce qui s'est passé en la Nouvelle France en l'année 1638 envoyée au R. Père provincial de la Compagnie de Jésus en la province de France, Paris, 1638.

- Relation de ce qui s'est passé en la Nouvelle France en l'année 1639 envoyée au R. Pere Provincial de la Compagnie de Jésus en la province de France, Paris, 1640.
- Relation de ce qui s'est passé en la Nouvelle France, es années 1640 et 1641 envoyée au R. Pere provincial de la Compagnie de Jesus, de la province de France par le P. Barthelemy Vimont de la mesme compagnie, superieur de la residence de Kebec, à Paris, 1642.

- Relation de ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable aux missions des peres de la Compagnie de Jésus, en la Nouvelle France, és années 1660 & 1661 envoyée au R.P. provincial de la province de France, Paris, 1662.

- Le Mercier, François, Relation de ce qui s'est passé en la mission des peres de la Compagnie de Jesus, au pays de la Nouvelle France, depuis l'été de l'année 1652 jusques à l'été de l'année 1653 envoyée au R.P. provincial de la province de France, Paris, 1654.

- Relation de ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable aux missions des peres de la Compagnie de Jesus, en la Nouvelle France, aux années mil six cent soixante cinq & mil six cent soixante six envoyée au R.P. Jacques Bordier, provincial de la province de France, Paris, 1667.


- León, Pedro de, Grandeza y miseria en Andalucía: testimonio de una encrucijada histórica (1578–1616), edición, introducción y notas de Pedro Herrera Puga según el ms. de la Universidad de Granada, Granada, 1981.

- Lescarbot, Marc, Histoire de la Nouvelle France contenant les navigations, découvertes, & habitations faites par les françois és Indes Occidentales & Nouvelle-France... 3e éd., enrichie de plusieurs choses singulières, outre la suite de l'histoire, Paris, 1617.

- Lisón y Biedma, Mateo de, *Discursos y apvntamientos de don Mateo de Lison y Biedma, señor del lugar de Algarinexo, Veintiquatro de la ciudad de Granada, y su Procurador de Cortes, en las que se celebraron el año passado de 1621. dados a su Magestad en su Real mano...,* s.l. [Madrid], s.d. [1622].
- Locke, John, *Two treatises of government in the former, the false principles and foundation of Sir Robert Filmer and his followers are detected and overthrown, the latter is an essay concerning the true original, extent, and end of civil government*, London, 1690.
- Loyola, Ignacio de, *Obras Completas de San Ignacio de Loyola*, transcripción, introducciones y notas de Ignacio Iparraguirre, Madrid, 1977 (t° ed.).
- Madariaga, Juan de, *Del Senado y de su Principe*, Valencia, 1617.
- Marshall, Stephen, *A sermon preached before the Honourable House of Commons, now assembled in Parliament, At their publike Fast, November 17. 1640. Upon 2 Chron. 15. 2. The Lord is with you, while yee bee with him: and if yee seek him, he will be found of you: but if yee forsake him, he will forsake you*, London, 1641.
- Mackey, Benedict, ed., *Oeuvres de Saint François de Sales, Évêque de Genève et Docteur de l’Église*, Annecy, 1842, tomes II, XI.
- ——— *Obras del P. José de Acosta*, Madrid, 1954.
- ——— ABC des Chrétiens, Boston, 1711.

- ——— India Christiana. A Discourse Delivered unto the Commissioners, for the Propagation of the Gospel among the American Indians which is Accompanied with several INSTRUMENTS relating to the Glorious DESIGN of Propagating our Holy RELIGION, in the EASTERN as well as the WESTERN Indies..., Boston, 1721.

- ——— La Fe del Christiano: En Veyntequatro Articulos de la Insittucion de CHRISTO. Emiada a los Españoles, Paraque abran sus ojos, y paraque se Conviertan de las Tinieblas a la luz, y de la potestad de Satanas a Dios: Paraque reciban por la Fe que es en JESU CHRISTO, Remission de peccados, y Suerte Entre los Sanctificados, Boston, 1699.

- ——— Le vrai patron des saines paroles, Boston, 1704.

- ——— The Triumphs of the Reformed Religion in AMERICA. The Life of the Renowned JOHN ELIOT; A Person justly Famous in the Church of GOD..., Boston, 1691.

- ——— Une grande voix du ciel a la France, Boston, 1725.

- Mather, Increase, A brief history of the vvar with the Indians in Nevv-England, (from June 24, 1675, when the first Englishman was murdered by the Indians, to August 12, 1676, when Philip, alias Metacomet, the principal author and beginner of the warr, was slain), Boston, 1676.

- ——— A Discourse Concerning the Danger of Apostacy. Especiall as to those that are the CHILDREN and POSTERITY of such as have been eminent for God in their Generation. Delivered in a Sermon..., Boston, 1685.

- ——— Diary by Increase Mather, March 1675–December 1676, Together with Extracts from Another Diary by Him, 1674–1687, edited by Samuel A. Green, ed.Cambridge, MA, 1900.

- Mather, Richard, Church-government and church-covenant discussed: in an answer of the elders of the severall churches in New England to two and thirty questions, sent over to them by divers ministers in England, to declare their judgments therein..., London, 1643.

- Matienzo, José Nicolas, ed., Gobierno del Perú, Obra escrita en el siglo XVI por el licenciado Don Juan Matienzo, oidor de la Real Audienca de Charcas, Buenos Aires, 1910.
- Mayhew, Experience, *Indian converts, or, Some account of the lives and dying speeches of a considerable number of the Christianized Indians of Martha’s Vineyard*, ... London, 1727.
- *Mémoire pour répondre aux plaintes faites par Messieurs les Ambassadeurs plénipotentiaires d'Espagne, d'Angleterre et d'Hollande, contre la déclaration du Roy du 22 juillet 1697*, s.l., s.d.
- Mendieta, Gerónimo de, *Historia eclesiástica indiana, obra escrita á fines del siglo XVI por Fray Gerónimo de Mendieta* [1596], edited by Joaquin Garcia Icazbalceta, México, 1870.
- Moncada, Sancho de, *Restauracion politica de España, y deseos publicos...* (1619), Madrid, 1746.
- Nichols, Josias, *The plea of the innocent wherein is auerred, that the ministers & people falslie termed puritanes, are iniusiouslie slaundere for enemies or troublers of the state; published for the common good of the church and common wealth of this realme of England as a countermure against all sycoephantising papists, statising priestes, neutralising atheistes, and satanising scorners of all godlinessse, trueth and honestie*, [Middleburg], 1602.

356
- Norden, John, *The surveyors dialogue Divided into fiue books: very profitable for all men to peruse, that haue to do with the reuuenues of land, or the manurance, vse, or occupation thereof, both lords and tenants: as also and especially for such as indeuor to be seene in the faculty of surueying of mannors, lands, tenements, &c. By I.N.,* London, 1607.

- Ovalle, Alonso de, *Historica Relacion del Reyno de Chile y de las misiones y ministerios que exercita en la Compania de Jesus,* Roma, 1646.

- Palafox y Mendoza, Juan de, *Virtudes del Indio* (1650), Madrid, 1893.


- Pascal, Blaise, *Les Provinciales ou les lettres escrites par Louis de Montalte à un provincial de ses amis & aux RR. PP. Jesuites sur le sujet de la Morale, & de la Politique de ces Peres,* Cologne, 1657.


- Pascual, Miguel Ángel, *El Missionero instrvido, y en el los demas operarios de la Iglesia,* Madrid, 1698.

- Peña Montenegro, Alonso de la, *Itinerario para parochos de indios: en que se tratan las materias mas particulares, tocantes à ellos, para su buena administracion* (1668), Amberes, 1726.

- Perea, Estevan de, *Segunda relacion, de la grandiosa conversion que ha avido en el Nuevo Mexico... dandole cuenta des estado de aquellas conversiones, y en particular de lo sucedido en el despacho que se hizo para aquellas partes,* Sevilla, 1633.

- Perez de Ribas, Andrés, *Historia de los triumphos de nvestra Santa Fee entre gentes las mas barbaras y fieras del nuevo Orbe: conseguidos por los Soldados de la Milicia de la Compania de IESVS en las Misiones de la Prouincia de Nueva-España...,* Madrid, 1645.

- Perkins, William, *A golden chaine: or The description of theologie containing the order of the causes of saluation and damnation, according to Gods word...,* Cambridge, 1600.

- ——— *A Treatise tending vnto a Declaration, whether a man be in the estate of damnation, or in the estate of Grace...,* London, 1590.
- The whole treatise of the cases of conscience distinguished into three bookes: the first whereof is revised and corrected in sundrie places, and the other two annexed. Taught and deliuered by M. W. Perkins in his holy-day lectures, carefully examined by his owne briefes, and now published together for the common good, by T. Pickering Bachelour of Diuinitie..., Cambridge, 1606.


- Pierson, Abraham, Some helps for the Indians: shewing them how to improve their natural reason, to know the true God and the true Christian religion..., London, 1659.

- Puente, Luis de la, De la perfeccion del christiano en todos svs estados, Valladolid, 1612.

- Purchas, Samuel Purchas his Pilgrimage, or, Relations of the world and the religions obserued in all ages and places discouered, from the Creation vnto this Present... The 4th ed., much enlarged with additions..., London, 1626.

- Ragueneau, Paul, Relation de ce qui s'est passé en la mission des peres de la Compagnie de Jesus aux Hurons, pays de la Nouvelle France, és années 1648 & 1649 envoyée au R.P. Hierosme Lalemant, superieur des missions de la Compagnie de Jesus, en la Nouvelle France, Paris, 1650.

- Relation de ce qui s'est passé en la mission des peres de la Compagnie de Jesus, aux Hurons & aux pais plus bas de la Nouvelle France, depuis l'esté de l'année 1649 jusques à l'esté de l'année 1650 envoyée au R.P. Claude de Lingendes, provincial de la Compagnie de Jesus en la province de France, Paris, 1651.

- Relation de ce qui s'est passé en la mission des pères de la Compagnie de Jesus au pays de la Nouvelle France, depuis l'été de l'année 1651 jusques à l'été de l'année 1652 envoyée au R.P. provincial de la province de France par le superieur des missions de la mesme compagnie, Paris, 1653.

- Quen, Jean de, Relation de ce qui s'est passé en la mission des peres de la Compagnie de Jesus, au pays de la Nouvelle France, és années 1655 & 1656 envoyée au R.P. Louis Cellot, provincial de la Compagnie de Jesus, en la province de France, Paris, 1657.

- Relation de ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable aux missions des PP. de la Compagnie de Jesus en la Nouvelle France, és années 1657 & 1658, Paris, 1659.


- Rich, Barnabe, *A New Description of Ireland: Wherein is described the disposition of the Irish whereunto they are inclined...*, London, 1610.


- ——— *Exercicio de perfecion i virtvdes cristianas*, Sevilla, 1615, tomo 2.

- Rogers, Richard, *Seuen treatises containing such direction as is gathered out of the Holie Scriptures, leading and guiding to true happines, both in this life, and in the life to come: and may be called the practise of Christianitie...*, London, 1603.


- Ruiz de Montoya, Antonio, *Conquista Espiritual hecha por los religiosos de la compañía de Jesus en las provincias del Paraguay, Paraná, Uruguay y Tape* (1639), Bilbao, 1892.


- Sales, François de, *Traicté de l’amovr de Diev*, Lyon, 1617.


- ——— *The Present State of New-England with Respect to the Indian War. Wherein is an Account of the true Reason thereof (as far as can be judged by Men)...*, London, 1676.

- Santa Maria, Gabriel de, *El predicador apostolico, y obligaciones de su sagrado ministerio, parte primera*, Sevilla, 1684.

- Santa Maria, Ivan de, *Tratado de republica y policia christiana; para Reyes, y Principes, y para los que en el gouierno tienen sus vezes*, Valencia, 1619.

- Sariñana y Cuenca, Isidro de, *Llanto del occidente En el Ocaso del mas claro Sol de las Españas. Funebres demostraciones, que hizo, Pyra Real, que erigio En las Exequias del Rey N. Señor D. Felipe IIII. El Grande*, Mexico, 1666.


- Shepard, Thomas Jr., *Eye-salve, or, A watch-word from our Lord Iesus Christ unto his churches: especially those within the colony of the Massachusets in New England to take heed of apostacy: or, A treatise of remembrance of what God hath been to us, as also what we ought, and what we ought not to be to him, as we desire the prolonging of our prosperous dayes in the land which the Lord our God hath given us*, Cambridge, MA, 1673.

- The works of Thomas Shepard: first pastor of the First Church, Cambridge, Mass., with a memoir of his life and character, Boston, 1853, Volume 3.

- Silva, Juan de, Advertencias importantes, acerca del bven goyerno, y administracion de las Indias, assi en lo espiritual, como en lo temporal..., Madrid, 1621.

- Simon, Pedro, Noticias Historiales de las Conquistas de Tierra Firme en las Indias Occidentales (c. 1627), Bogota, 1891.


- Solórzano Pereira, Juan de, Disputationem de Indiarum jure sive de justa Indiarum Occidentalium inquisitione, acquisitione, et retentione, Madrid, 1629.

- ——— Politica Indiana: Dividida En Seis Libros, En los que, con gran distincion, y estudio, se trata, y resuelve todo lo relativo al Descubrimiento, Descripcion, Adquisicion, y Retencion de las mismas Indias.... [1648], edited by Francisco R. de Valenzuela, 2 vols., Madrid, 1776.

- Sterry, Peter, The teachings of Christ in the soule. Opened in a sermon before the Right Honble House of Peers, in Covent-garden-Church, upon the solemne day of their monthly fast, March 29. 1648..., London, 1648.

- Suárez, Francisco, Selections from three works of Francisco Suárez, S.J.: De legibus, ac deo legislatore, 1612; Defensio fidei catholicae, et apostolicae adversus anglicanae sectae errores, 1613; De tripli virtute theologica, fide, spe, et charitate, 1621, trans. Gwladys L. Williams and Henry Davis, Oxford, 1944.

- ——— Tractatus de Legibus ac Deo Legislatore in decem libros distributus, Antwerp, 1613.

- Techo, Nicolás del, Historia de la provincia del Paraguay de la Compañia de Jesús (1673), trans. Manuel Serrano y Sanz, Madrid, 1897, 5 vols.

- The compact with the charter and laws of the Colony of New Plymouth, together with the charter of the Council at Plymouth, Boston, 1836.

- The results of three synods held by the elders and messengers of the churches of Massachusetts province, New England: containing, I. The platform of church-
discipline in the year 1648: II. Propositions concerning the subject of baptism in 1662: III. The necessity of reformation with the expedients subservient there-undo asserted, in answer to two questions in 1679, Boston, 1725.

- Torrey, Samuel, *An exhortation unto reformation: amplified, by a discourse concerning the parts and progress of that work, according to the word of God, delivered in a sermon preached in the audience of the General Assembly of the Massachusetts colony, at Boston in New-England, May 27, 1674, being the day of election there*, Cambridge, MA, 1674.

- Torres, Juan de, *Filosophia moral de principes para su buena crianza y gobierno y para personas de todos estados*, Burgos, 1596.


- Villagómez, Pedro de, *Carta Pastoral de Exortacion e instruccion contra las idolatrias de los indios del Arcobispado de Lima... A Svs visitadores de las idolatrias, y a svs vicarios, y cvras de las Doctrinas de Indios*, Lima, 1649.


- ——— *Relation de ce qui s'est passé en la Nouvelle France, és années 1644 & 1645 envoyee au R. pere provincial de la Compagnie de Jesus en la province de France par le P. Barthelemy Vimont de la mesme compagnie, superieur de la residence de Kebec*, Paris, 1646.
- Vincent, Peter, ‘A Trve Relation of the late Battell fought in New England, between the English and the Peq
- Ward, Nathaniel, The simple cobler of Aggavvam in America willing to help 'mend his native country, lamentably tattered, both in the upper-leather and sole, with all the honest stitches he can take, London, 1647.
- White, John, The planters plea, or, The grounds of plantations examined, and usuall objections answered: together with a manifestation of the causes mooving such as have lately undertaken a plantation in Nenv-England..., London, 1630.
- ——— The light appearing more and more towards the perfect day. Or, a farther discovery of the present state of the Indians in New-England, concerning the progresse of the Gospel amongst them..., London, 1651.
- Whitmore, William H., ed., The Colonial Laws of Massachusetts: reprinted from the edition of 1672, with the supplements through 1686... together with the Body of Liberties of 1641..., Boston, 1890.
- Wiburn, Perceval, A checke or reproofe of M. Howlets vntimely shreeching in her Maiesties eares with an answeare to the reasons alleadged in a discourse therunto annexed, why Catholikes (as they are called) refuse to goe to church..., London, 1581.
- Williams, Roger, ‘A Key into the Language of America or an Help to the Language of the Natives in that part of America called New-England’ (London, 1643), Collections of the Rhode-Island Historical Society, vol. 1, Providence, 1827.
- ——— The blovdy tenent, a persecution, for cause of conscience, discussed, in a conference betweene truth and peace..., s.l. [London?], 1644.
- ——— The Hireling Ministry None of Christs, or a discourse touching the Propagating the Gospel of Christ Jesus, London, 1652.
- Wilson, John, Life of John Eliot, the Apostle of the Indians, Edinburgh, 1828.
- Winslow, Edward, Good nevves from New-England: or A true relation of things very remarkable at the plantation of Plimoth in Nevv-England Shewing the wondrous providence and goodness of God..., London, 1624.
- Winslow, Edward, ed., The glorious progress of the Gospel, amongst the Indians in New England... Wherein the riches of Gods grace in the effectuall calling of many of them is cleared up: as also a manifestation of the hungring desires of many people in sundry parts of that country, after the more full revelation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ..., London, 1649.
- Winthrop, Robert C., Life and Letters of John Winthrop, Governor of the Massachusetts-Bay Company at their Emigration to New England, Boston, 1864.
- Wren, Matthew, A sermon preached before the Kings Maiestie on Sunday the seventeenth of February last, at White-Hall by Dor VVren, the Master of St Peters Colledge in Cambridge, and his Maiesties chaplaine, Cambridge, 1628.
Secondary Sources

- Aldea Vaquero, Quintín, El Indio Peruano y la defensa de sus derechos (1596–1630), Madrid, Lima, 1993.
- Araya Espinoza, Alejandra, Ociosos, vagabundos, y malentretenidos en Chile colonial, Santiago, 1999.
- Astrán, Antonio, Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la asistencia de España, vols. 3, 4 and 5, Madrid, 1909.


- Fortea Pérez, José Ignacio (ed.), *Imágenes de la diversidad: el mundo urbano en la Corona de Castilla (s. XVI–XVII)*, Santander, 1997.
- García Martín, Bienvenido, El proceso histórico de despoblamiento en la provincia de Salamanca, Salamanca, 1982.
- Jue, Jeffrey K., *Heaven upon Earth: Joseph Mede (1586–1638) and the Legacy of Millenarianism*, Dordrecht, 2006


- Ronda, James P., ‘‘We are well as we are’: An Indian Critique of Seventeenth Century Christian Missions’, *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third series, Vol. 34, No. 1 (Jan., 1977), pp. 66–82.


- Trigger, Bruce G., and Wilcomb E. Washburn, *The Cambridge History of the


