JESUIT MISSIONARY ACTIVITIES IN NORTH AMERICA FROM 1572-1773

by

Sister Claire Lynch B.A.

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of the
Graduate School, Marquette University
in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree
of Master of Arts

Milwaukee, Wisconsin

April, 1934

Preface.

My interest was aroused in the part the Jesuit missionaries played in the transmission of European culture to the natives of America while taking a course on Jesuit missionaries from Father William Shiels, S.J. at Marquette University.

In attempting to give a narrative of the Jesuit missionaries of North America I wish to present a new survey of a field in which John Gilmary Shea was the pioneer; and Hughes, Bancroft, and Thwaites have compiled valuable sources.

I have followed a chronological sequence but not with a rigidity which characterizes some of Shea's works. As the work advanced it became evident that a delimitation of the subject was imperative; consequently, merely a portion of the mission fields was selected for the French and English and but a few missionaries typical of each section are discussed.

To Father Raphael Hamilton, S. J. who guided me in this thesis, and to Professor John A. Chrystal who through his various history courses furnished me inspiration, I express my sincere appreciation.

Sister Claire Lynch

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction.

The story of the Spanish Jesuits and of the Jesuits of New France has been told and retold but usually in form of indirect biographies or treatises on Spain or France, I propose to give a brief chronological narrative of the missionary activity of the Spanish, French, and English Jesuits in the Southwest, Northeast and on the Atlantic seashore of North America. I wish to deal only with the missionary's work among the Indians and to consider but a section of the various mission fields - namely, the labors of the Spanish Jesuits on the western coast of Mexico and in Lower California, and those of the French along the St. Lawerence and the Great Lake region. The only mission of the English Jesuits I consider in this story is the one in Maryland. In each mission field, I have not attempted to include all the laborers but have selected one or two as types of the workers in that section of the country. The narrative follows chronologically from the coming of the Jesuits to New Spain in 1572, followed by the French missionary to Canada in 1625 and lastly the entrance of the English Jesuit into Maryland in 1633. The narrative ends in 1773 with the suppression of the Jesuit Order throughout the world.

CHAPTER I

Coming of the Jesuits to the Pacific Slope.

One needs but examine a modern map of Mexico to find sufficient proof of the permanency of the effect of the Catholic missionary of the pioneer days. The names of its cities, rivers and mountains form a veritable litany of the Saints, dear to the Spanish pioneer. Spain is stamped on the old mission churches, countless shrines are found along the highways once traversed by the saintly missionaries.

I wish to consider one chapter of this great drama of the Catholic missionaries of New Spain, namely that of the Jesuits on the Pacific Coast of North America. Some fifty years before my story opens the Franciscans and Dominicans entered New Spain; but the harvest for souls being plentiful, there were several requests by laymen as well as ecclesiastics for missionaries of the Society.

A certain wealthy gentleman, Alonso de Villaseca, of Mexico City, vainly tried to bring the Jesuits to America at his own expense. Finally in 1571 King Philip sent orders to the Provincial in Spain to dispatch priests of his order to New Spain. On September 8, 1572, twelve Jesuits with Doctor Pedro Sanchez as their Provincial arrived in Vera Cruz. After resting a while they started for the City of Mexico, journeying on foot with great humility and poverty, though surrounded by people eager

to extend them aid and comfort. (1)

---

(1) H. H. Bancroft, History of North Mexican States, Vol. I, p. 700

To avoid public demonstration they entered the city at nine o'clock at night, September 25. Next morning every man in authority and an immense concourse of people tendered them a cordial welcome and provided them with supplies. In a short time they were well established, due to the generosity of a number of wealthy Spaniards. Since other religious orders were devoting most of their time to the natives, little was done for the education of the Spaniard. The Provincial resolved to found colleges in several cities, for by educating the young and preaching against the vices of the Spaniards, they would aid indirectly in the spiritual conquest of the natives. Bancroft says this was a master stroke of policy, since the natives were fast declining and the Spaniards were increasing. (2)

---

(2) Ibid., p. 705

Father Sanchez believed that by educating the Spaniards to be missionaries, he could throw the largest number of missionaries into the field in the shortest period of time. Through his efforts an ecclesiastical college was founded in the City of Mexico in 1573. It became a very flourishing institution and was followed by the

founding of others. About this time, the mendicant orders opposed the building of a Domus Professa proposed by the Jesuits. After considerable discussion in New Spain, it was referred to the Council of the Indies and finally to Rome, where the decision was rendered favorable to the Jesuits. (3)

---

(3) Ibid., p. 705

During the great epidemic of 1575-8 the Jesuit Fathers labored assiduously in caring for and administering the sacraments to the sick and dying. In 1576 there was an accession of priests and brothers, and the ranks were further recruited from both colonists and natives. There was another increase in 1579. Although in 1574 two Jesuits were sent to New Galicia, and in 1586 Saltillo in Coahuila was established and then Durango in 1589 the mission activity proper may be said to have only begun with 1591, with the entrance of Father Tapia and Father Perez into Sinaloa. As was stated before, the far-sighted Jesuit Provincial wished to prepare his men well before sending them into the missionary fields. During that twenty year interval, 1572-1591, not only were colleges and seminaries built, but the missionary Fathers applied themselves diligently to the difficult task of learning the language spoken by the Indians around Mexico City. With this knowledge as a background it was not at all unusual for the missionary to acquire in a few days a speaking knowledge of the language of the partic-

ular locality to which he was sent.

Northward Movement of Missionaries into Sinaloa, Durango, Coahuila.

The Jesuit missionaries entered Sinaloa and went slowly northward, converting tribe after tribe, healing the wounds of the conquered, attracting the natives to them and gradually collecting them in villages about the mission church, where the Padre not only taught them the truths of religion, but likewise the simple arts and crafts. The mission fields extended along the Pacific coast from about 22° north latitude to 32°, a distance of about 800 miles.

Experiences on the Atlantic coast and in other parts of Mexico had convinced the Spanish government that the methods of the conquerors were not successful. As Bolton says,

> "Spain wanted to have the Indians preserved and rendered docile wards of the government. She needed their toil because of the dearth of Spanish laborers. She wished to have the Indians gathered into permanent villages, civilized, and thus to be used as a bulwark against other European powers who might seek to plant colonies on her territory. The missionaries were chosen by the government to do what her soldiers failed to do. They were expected to convert, civilize and control the Indians without the abuse of exploitations." (4)

---

(4) H. E. Bolton, Spanish Borderlands, p. 191

Six other Jesuits were sent to San Felipe, Sinaloa, to labor with Father Tapia and Perez. They found the natives well disposed to Christianity. Eight permanent churches and sixty temporary structures were erected during this period. 2000 were baptized during the first year and 4000 before 1597.

From Sinaloa, Father Tapia visited 119 tribes on Rio Tamotchala and penetrated quite far into the mountainous Topia. In 1593 he made a trip to Mexico City, a distance of about 800 miles, in the interest of the missions. Shortly after his return to Sinaloa he was murdered by a native who had some influence as a sorcerer---an Indian who had been chided and flogged publicly for drunkenness. Urged on by the native priests he got a following who attacked the mission house, mutilated the body of the Padre, taking his head and using the skull for a drinking cup. Thus Father Tapia, at the age of thirty-three, has the honor of being the first martyr of his order in Sinaloa. His death caused many converts to abandon the faith. Not only was their faith shattered in losing the representative of their religion, but also the fear of the soldiers who took measures to find the murderers caused many Indians to flee from the settlements. By patient efforts, Tapia's successors soon won them back. In 1594 there were 6100 converts; in 1595, 6700; and in 1597, 8400.

Previous to this time Tapia and his successors had made visits to the mining regions of Acaxees, where they

found the natives so eager for Christianity and so desirous of having the priests remain with them that the missionaries had to depart secretly by night. A further proof of the interest of these Indians in Christianity is the fact that $1200 was collected from these miners for the Jesuit church at San Felipe in 1597. (5)

---

(5) H. H. Bancroft, History of North Mexican States. Vol. I, p. 123

By the year 1678 there were under the care of ten missionaries 1400 neophytes in thirty eight towns with a Spanish population chiefly in these mining camps, estimated at about 500 each. (6)

---

(6) H. H. Bancroft, History of Pacific States, California. Vol. I, p. 16

The mission of Santa Maria de Parros in Parros in southwest Coahuila was founded in 1594. By the year 1600 there were 1500 converts in this region. In the annals of this mission one finds many incidents illustrating the zeal and high spirituality of native converts. The story of the young convert who suffered death rather than sacrifice her chastity is an example of heroism which must have given fresh ardor to the priest's labors among people who too frequently abandoned their faith on the slightest pretense. Likewise the annals tell how pagan tribes would of their own accord come from great distances bringing with

them a store of maize in return for which they would ask for the Padres. Returning to their homes, they would build churches and make other preparations for the expected change of faith. (7)

---

(7) H. H. Bancroft, History of North Mexican States. Vol. I, p. 225

There are many examples of hostile tribes who made the petition for a priest to come to them as a missionary one of the terms of surrender. Likewise a threat of abandonment of the mission was often one of the most effectual means of checking anti-Christian tendencies. In the insurrection of 1601, a mining region where laborers had been enslaved despite royal orders, the soldiers were unable to quell the natives. After a series of massacres, the natives fled to a stronghold in the mountain, where Padre Santaren was sent to urge submission. Before long he marched into Topia at the head of 3000 natives, who were ready to submit and eager to be pardoned for their wrongs. Bishop Matia happened to be travelling through the country at that time, and a sermon preached by him on this occasion was directed no less against Spanish oppression than against the Indian revolt.

Bancroft in his History of North Mexican States Vol. I, p. 319 wonders "at the facility with which the Aborigines of these regions generally submitted to the Spaniards, and at the uniform readiness of the latter to accept excuses and

> accord pardon, and the fact that the natives under such circumstances often kept their pledge for years until aroused by new oppression, real or fancied."

Epidemics, earthquakes, tornadoes and draughts were very common in the territory of Sinaloa and Sonora. Often the missionaries were able to impress upon the natives the power and strength of God as portrayed by the elements during earthquakes and storms, but at times this proved to be disastrous as the medicine men would tend to prove that their pagan gods were displeased if a calamity were to occur after the destruction of a pagan idol.

One of the greatest trials of the missionary was the sorcerer, medicine men or native priests. Countless insurrections may be traced to the instigation of these men, who were apparently often in communication with the evil spirit. They were ever ready to prove that the misfortunes and calamities that occurred were a direct evidence of the displeasure of the Great Spirit at the presence of the Christians. These sorcerers were apt pupils and quickly imitated and used the tactics they observed to be successfully used by the missionary. In a terrible massacre when a whole district was destroyed, one of them had told the natives about supposed promises the gods had made, such as that an Indian slain in battle should rise to life after seven days. When this and other predictions failed, the natives, tired and starving, came again

to the mission at the request of the Padre to be reconciled. (8)

---

(8) Ibid., p. 329

Nevertheless it was during times of plague and famine that the missionary reaped a rich harvest of souls. In 1613 when the missionaries entered the Mayo territory where a famine was raging, they baptized in fifteen days 3100 souls. Baptism of adults rarely occurred before months of instruction, the only exception as in this occasion being made in the case of serious illness. In 1600 the Bishop visited Sinaloa, where he confirmed over 8000. He spent five days at San Felipe, where he was delighted with Jesuit management. In 1631 he went as far north as Nacaria, a distance of about 1000 miles from Mexico City.

In 1645 Ribas published the Triumph of the Faith, a very complete history, in fact, the only account extant of this early period of Sinaloa and Sonora. At this date according to him, there were thirty-five missions in Sinaloa and Sonora, each including from one to four towns, each mission under the care of a Jesuit. The mission field was divided into three districts, San Felipe, San Ignacio on the river Mayo, and San Francisco Xavier to the north. Each district was under a superior. The mission book showed a total of over 300,000 baptisms. The Presido had a force of only forty-six soldiers, which fact in itself proves sufficiently how completely and easily the natives had

surrendered themselbes to missionary control. Each Padre lived alone protected by a military escolta only when threatened by an especial danger. Visited only at rather infrequent intervals by his superior, the missionary usually managed to call on his nearest neighboring priest for Confession once a year.

In 1645 the Parras Mission of Durango was secularized. This incident is the beginning of a struggle which culminated in the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767 from New Spain. There was an underlying motive running through the entire story; namely, the presence of the Jesuits prevented the covetous Spaniard from exploiting the natives and taking possession of the rich mines in Parras or of the pearl industry in California. Hence the Jesuits had to be expelled and in their place were put secular priests, who did not offer such resistance to exploitation of the natives. The neophytes openly revolted in Durango at the withdrawal of the Jesuits and refused to resume town life unless the missionaries came back. By the middle of the century there was not a trace of any Catholic mission save Parras, where the Jesuits remained. (9)

---

(9) Ibid., p. 343-4

Other attempts at secularization in different localities occurred in 1652. In 1681 when the Bishop tried to have a Provincial Vicar appointed at San Felipe, the

decision rendered by the government after the Jesuits' protest was that the country was not ready for a change.(10)

---

(10) Ibid., p. 252

> To understand the position taken by the Jesuits one need only read of the abuses of exploitation in districts where the Jesuits did not have control and to study the rapid decline of mission activity in regions from which they were removed.

Bancroft says the history of the old Sonora missions during the last twenty-five years of the seventeenth century is almost a blank, the accounts preserved being very meagre. However, the truth of the matter is, he did not have access to these annals which are in reality preserved in the Mexican archives. Bancroft very frankly admits that "to feel a deep interest in missionary annals, one must have all the padre's faith in the incalculable benefit conferred by conversion on each savage." (11)

---

(11) H. H. Bancroft, History of North Mexican States,

And why should the missionary not record every detail of the work for which he had consecrated his life? No event was trivial which in any way contributed to the supreme task his order had undertaken, namely the conversion of these Indians. Consequently, his annals were written to assist his successors in the technique of handling these people and bringing to them the light of faith.

Kino, a Typical Missionary of this Section.

With this rather brief survey of the march of the Padres northward through Sinaloa and Sonora, one may follow the story of the priest who labored in Sonora not only as a missionary and church builder, but also as an explorer and ranchman, Eusebio Francisco Kino, one of the most heroic figures of American history. In fact, the history of Sonora from 1687 to 1711 may be said to be a biography of this saintly missionary.

Father Kino, born of Italian parentage near Trent in 1645 was educated in Austria. He distinguished himself as a student at Freiberg and Ingolstadt and was offered a professorship in mathematics at the Royal University of Bavaria. He rejected this offer and during a serious illness he promised St. Francis Xavier to dedicate his life to mission work if his health were restored. He hoped to follow the footsteps of this saint to India; but in 1681, a call having come for missionaries in New Spain he was sent thither. Here his mathematical knowledge brought him into prominence, when shortly upon his arrival he entered into a public discussion concerning a recent comet. Two years after his arrival in Mexico he was made rector of the missions, and in 1683 he went with an expedition designed to colonize the peninsula of California.

The events of this expedition will be told in the story of Lower California.

But this enterprise was abandoned and Father Kino's attention was directed to Pimeria Alta, the home of the upper Pima, now northern Sonora and southern Arizona. Bancroft tells why the government consented to Kino's persistent requests for permission to go into this virgin country;

> "The sum required by Kino from the royal coffers was so small and the absence of so persistent and logical a beggar so desirable that the viceroy gave him an allowance for two new missions."(12)

---

(12) Ibid., p. 252

During Kino's temporary stay in lower Sonora, he noticed a flagrant disregard of royal orders bearing on native laborers. He stopped at Guadalajara on his way to Sinaloa where he demanded and obtained from the audiencia an order exempting new converts from all work in mines and haciendas for five years. About the same time a royal cedula fixed the time at twenty years, previous ones having prohibited labor for ten years. Bancroft says,

> "A cedula strictly obeyed perhaps in districts where there were neither mines nor haciendas."(13)

---

(13) Ibid., p. 252

Armed with this document and clothed with the most ardent Jesuit zeal, Kino arrived in Pimeria Alta, March, 1687, and began a work which lasted twenty-four years, without the loss of a single day's labors. The frontier

mission station Cucurpe, where he arrived still exists, a quiet little Mexican pueblo, inhabited by descendants of Indians who were there in Kino's time. From the very first Kino had to contend with exaggerated and absured rumors of the ferocity of these natives, whereas he persistently maintained that they were the most intelligent and docile people found in Sonora. Some fifteen miles above Cucurpe, Kino founded the mission of Nuestra Sonora de los Dolores, Our Lady of Sorrows. The location a promontory protected on three sides and offering a magnificent view of the valley was one of remarkable beauty and fitness. From this station he pushed the frontier of missionary work and exploration across Arizona to the Gila and Colorado Rivers where he found villages of a population of some 2000 people. The remains of many miles of aqueducts which have been found here are indicative of the system of irrigation used by the inhabitants for the raising of cotton, maize and beans. (14)

---

(14) Kino's Historical Memoirs, Vol. I, p. 52

The natives were attracted to Kino by gifts of religious pictures and images, the infants and sick alone were baptized; the others were gradually collected into villages about the mission church, where they were catechized and then received into the church. Blackmer lists the steps in the formation of a mission:

1) The padre is sent out to instruct the tribes, to prepare the natives, and secure their consent to erect a mission. A neophyte of the established mission accompanies the missionary.
2) A site is chosen in easy communication with other missions.
3) At first a few rough buildings are erected which soon give way to more substantial ones.
4) The work is then extended by making itineraries to surrounding ranches.
5) These are organized into pueblos, each having an Indian alcalde as a governor. (15)

---

(15) Frank Blackmer, Spanish Institutions of the Southwest. p. 81

The following quotation shows this system in operation

> "We arrived at a great ranchierra which we named San Geronimo because it was the day of this saint. They received us with crosses and arches erected, with a little house and with provisions prepared, 280 Indians being drawn up in line. An hour after nightfall 150 other Indians of another ranchierra came to see us and extend to us a welcome. Because it was night neither the women nor the children had come. Upon inquiry we learned that in this vicinity into which we had never before entered, there were more than a thousand persons who had never seen a father or any Spaniard. On October 1, they gave us seven infants and three adults to baptize - if we had stayed another day they would have given us more than 100 infants to baptize." (16)

---

(16) Kino's Historical Memoirs, Vol. I, p. 245

Kino's diary gives us a perfect picture of a true missionary devoting all his time and energy to the conversion of souls, no task being too trivial if it contributed to this end. Loving the natives with a real affection, he was always ready to defend them against false charges or harsh treatment. He took sincere delight in instructing children and satisfying their curiosity. It was in the young that he was particularly interested.

In 1691 Kino began his explorations into what is now Arizona. Accompanied on his first journey by Father Salvatierra, who had come from the south as a Visitor, he went as far north as Tumacacari, a village on the Santa Cruz River, now the site of a venerable mission ruin. In the following year he reached San Xavier del Bac. Two years later he descended the Onate River to Casa Granda, the famous ruin on the Gila River, of which we have our first description in his writings.

By 1696 Kino had begun to prepare for resident missions in Arizona by founding stock ranches in the Santa Cruz and San Pedro valleys. Four years later he began the building of San Xavier del Bac near the present Tucson.

First mission in Southern Arizona was San Gabriel De Guevavi built between 1687-91.

In his diary of 1700 he relates how 3000 Indians gathered at San Xavier to meet him and to beseech him to

remain with them. Kino was by no means unwilling because this was a strategic point in his plans for advance. He asked permission to move his headquarters here, but since he was needed elsewhere Father Gonzalvo was sent in his stead. For the support of the missions Kino started large stock and grain farms. His work as a ranchman or stockman would alone stamp him as an unusual business man. Stock raising at about twenty places owed its beginning to him. At one time he sent 7000 cattle to his brethren in lower California. (17)

---

(17) H. E. Bolton, Spanish Borderlands, p. 199

As stated before, Kino had to contend with exaggerated rumors about the hostility of his Pima children; and so little he was told, was being accomplished that it was a useless expense for the government to maintain the missions. Upon any insurrection or revolt in the country round about, some one was always ready to accuse the Pimas for having been the instigators of it. One may trace this silent warfare to the avaricious Spaniards, who saw in the Jesuit missionary a barrier to their desire to exploit the natives. In 1696 he went to Mexico City to defend his children from unjust charges and to get permission and missionaries to go farther north. He got permission for five, but only one came. At different times just when an order was sent out by a Provincial for new missionaries to go to Pimeria, some

Spaniard would falsely report that a revolt was in process, and the missionaries would be sent elsewhere. (18)

---

(18) Kino's Historical Memoirs, Vol. II, p. 132

Even the Jesuit Provincials themselves did not give full credence to Kino's reports of the favorable disposition of the natives of Pima. But the apostle was indefatigable in his efforts to set things right.

> "Any one who came to Dolores was sure to be taken on a tour to the Gila as long as the Padre could walk or sit on a mule." (19)

---

(19) H. H. Bancroft, History of North Mexican States, Vol. II, p. 271

Suspicions of Kino's converts led to a military expedition in 1697. Kino and Lieutenant Mange accompanied this expedition on a tour to the Gila to determine the real disposition of the natives. It was a journey of 260 leagues and the explorers received every token of welcome. Forty seven hundred natives were registered and eighty-nine, baptized. As far as the members of this party were concerned, all doubts regarding the friendliness of the Pimas were removed. Kino rightly contested that the insurrections were in most cases the result of some injustice done them and that the Spaniards made no efforts to conciliate with the natives.

> "In all the annals of the Northwest, hardly an instance can be found when the Spanish settlers

in time of peace, however precarious their situation, took any pains to conciliate the good will of the natives. They bravely met danger when it became necessary to fight, but rarely sought either from a sense of justice or policy to avert it." (20)

---

(20) Ibid., Vol. I, p. 356

Summing up the work of this great missionary:

1) He first traversed in detail and accurately mapped the whole of Pimeria Alta. A map published in 1705 based on actual explorations for nearly a century and a half was the principal map of the region in existence.

2) During the years from 1687-1711 he made fifty journeys, varying from 100 to 1000 miles, made either on horseback or on foot, chiefly the latter. His endurance in the saddle was worthy of a seasoned cowboy. When fifty-one years of age, he made a journey 1500 miles in fifty-three days, an average of thirty miles a day. One of the routes was over a forbidding waterless waste, which has since become the graveyard of scores of travelers who have died of thirst because they lacked Father Kino's pioneering skill. (21)

---

(21) Kino's Historical Memoirs, Vol. I, p. 25

---

3) One of his absorbing interests was the search of

a land route to California, which he proved possible in 1702 after several expeditions. On these expeditions he was accompanied at one time by Salvatierra and military aid but more than once he went without a single white man, though he was well supplied with horses, having at one time as many as 130.

4) He established twenty-nine missions and seventy-three visitas, and baptized 48,000 neophytes. Eight of these missions were in what is now southern Arizona. Venegas says:

> "If Kino could have obtained the auxiliary missionaries whom he repeatedly solicited and was not hampered by constant impediments, calumnies and false reports, he would easily have converted all the tribes between the Sonora and Colorado and Gila rivers." (22)

---

(22) John Shea, Catholic Church in the United States, p. 532

---

5) More than once Kino mustered his Pima children and sent them out to war against the unsociable Apaches. In fact, when Kino had permission to transfer his labors to California the government refused to allow him to go, saying he was worth twenty armies.

For himself he cherished hardships; he ate sparingly, drank no wine, and went meagerly clothed. On his journeys he carried no other food than toasted corn. He never omitted to celebrate Holy Mass, never slept on a mattress,

and as he wandered along he prayed incessantly or sang hymns and psalms.

Kino died in 1711 at one of his foundations, Magdalena, where he went to assist at the dedication of a church. He was not yet seventy, having labored among his Pima children for twenty-four years. His successor and companion for the last eight years of his life says:

> "He died as he had lived with extreme humility and poverty. His deathbed, as his bed had always been, consisted of two calfskins for a mattress, two blankets such as the Indians use for covers, and a pack saddle for a pillow. No one ever saw in him any vice whatsoever, for the discovery of lands and the conversion of souls had purified him. He was merciful to others but cruel to himself." (23)

---

(23) Kino's Historical Memoirs, p. 64

Westward Movement of the Missionaries.

Meanwhile an extensive missionary system was being established across the Gulf in Lower California. This gulf region became the principal resort of Dutch free booters who kept the natives of the Mexican coast in constant anxiety. Greed induced adventurers to cross the gulf secretly in search of gold and pearls. In 1615 such an expedition returning with beautiful gold and pearls aroused the cupidity of other adventurers. From the year 1615 on there were some half a dozen attempts either by the government or by private individuals to establish a Spanish settlement in Lower California. Missionaries, either secular priests or Jesuits, accompanied these various expeditions and the priests would have been only too willing to remain among the natives as the Indians took kindly to the missionary; but the captains and soldiers were disappointed with both the climate and the resources of the land.

Finally in 1683 the government made a determined effort with the expedition of Admiral Otondo. By a royal decree the spiritual affairs were intrusted to the Jesuits, and Fathers Kino and Gagni and Jose Guyosa, of the Order of St. John of God, were the clergy chosen for this journey. There were a thousand well-armed men with abundant provisions. On entering the Bay of La Paz they landed, gave thanks to God for their safe arrival, and took possession of the land in the name of the King, calling it

Province de la Sanctisima Trinidad Californias. The record of the proceedings was drawn up and signed by the priests and four officers. For five days the Indians did not appear, so deep was their aversion for the white men created by former expeditioners. When the savages finally approached, the kindness of the missionaries soon calmed their fears, and they accepted the gifts offered them. However the place had to be abandoned again after three months, because of lack of provisions. Several months later Otondo returned to the expedition with Fathers Kino and Gagni and landed at San Bruno. Within two hours the Indians began to approach in a most friendly manner. A few days later one of the ships sailed back to the mainland asking the viceroy for more men and money to which request the government consented. Conditions looked very hopeful; the Indians were very well disposed towards the missionaries and in two years they had four hundred native catechumens, but only thirteen were baptized,

---

Because the missionaries feared that this mission would have to be abandoned as had the previous ones in this locality they hesitated to baptize the natives excepting in cases of serious illness.

Otondo and his men soon heartily disapproved of the land and they suffered from lack of food before a ship came with provisions. The Spaniards became more disgusted with a drought which lasted nearly eighteen months. Otondo who explored the coast line looking for a more favorable site,

found no hopes for any material gain. In vain the missionaries pleaded for a continuance of their work. Otondo presented both views to the Council in Mexico which decided that if possible San Bruno should be continued, but that no other settlements should be made on the coast of California. Finally San Bruno was abandoned after two years and six months, and the Jesuits promised their disconsolate catechumens that they would return at a later date. The undertaking cost $225,400, and the Viceroy decided that California could not be colonized by this method.

The Viceroy of Mexico, having learned that at San Bruno the missionaries had effected more than an armed body of men, summoned his council, and it was resolved to entrust the spiritual and temporal reductions of the country to the Jesuits, offering them an annual subsidy of $40,000. The offer was declined by the Provincial General on the grounds that the temporal cares of the mission would involve grave difficulties. A second time they were urged, but they refused-saying, however, that they would furnish missionaries for purely spiritual work.

As a member of the Otondo expedition mentioned above, Father Kino had developed an enthusiasm for a Jesuit occupation of California, which became one of the abiding aims of his life. While founding his mission in Pimeria Alta he met Father Salvatierra, a visitador or inspector, whom he imbued with enthusiasm for the conversion of California.

But this occurred at an unpropitious time, for Spain was at war with France.

Father Kino and Salvatierra strained every nerve to influence their superiors; but the Society did not favor the undertaking, and three provincials in succession opposed the plan. Salvatierra appealed to the Viceroy and then to the King, but received no encouragement anywhere, the project being considered humanly impossible. After ten years of fruitless efforts a Provincial came, Father Santaella by name, who favored the plan. With this Jesuit Superior's approval of the plan of converting California it was not hard for the missionaries to get permission from the government, for the Viceroy of Mexico had for a long time approved the venture provided the Jesuits would furnish the funds.

Salvatierra Typical Missionary of California: Preparation.

The founding of Jesuit missions in California was in no small part due to Father Juan Maria Salvatierra. This illustrious missionary was born in Milan in 1648 of pious and illustrious parents. As a mere child Juan was filled with a desire to consecrate himself to a religious life among the heathens, but he met with considerable opposition especially from an older brother who preferred to have him serve in a more brilliant manner at court.

His early training under his mother and sister was of a profoundly religious nature. Finally he was permitted to follow his holy calling; he became a Jesuit, receiving Holy Orders at the age of twenty-seven, several years before the usual time in that Society. He came to Mexico in 1675. Several years in teaching and studying and practical experience with the Indians culminated in his long-coveted appointment to mission work among the Indians northwest of Mexico City. For ten years he worked at St. Francisco Xavier at Cerroahui, during which time he was Father Visitor of the missions; and it was while on these inspections that he became intimately acquainted with Father Kino and imbibed some of his enthusiasm for the California mission.

In 1693 he was appointed rector of the college at Guadalajara. In this position, his biographers tell, he was a model superior, doing hundreds of things to spare his subjects hardships and humiliations; but always re-

serving the humiliating and laborious tasks for himself. In this way he prepared himself for the supreme task he was to accomplish in California.

In 1697 the royal license was granted, giving the Jesuits authority to establish missions in Lower California. The following are the terms of the contract:

1) The royal treasury was not to pay any expenses of this expedition with out direct order from the King.
2) The territory was to be taken in the name of the King of Spain.
3) The Jesuits had the right to enlist guards at their own expense, who in the time of war had the same rank as regular soldiers.
4) The Jesuits had absolute authority in temporal as well as spiritual matters, and were authorized to select suitable men for the administration of justice.

In giving the Jesuit missionaries such absolute authority and at the same time the assistance of Spanish soldiers, the government embarked on a policy new in the history of California missions, but one which had been tried and found successful in Paraguay. Salvatierra having been appointed superior of the California missions began to collect funds. On his first begging tour he was treated like a fool by the people. After a few days, Rev. Juan Caballera donated $20,000 for two missions, and the

Confraternity of Our Lady of Sorrows supplied $10,000. This money became the nucleus for the famous Pious Fund.

This fund was founded by the efforts of Salvatierra and Juan Ugarte in 1697. It reached a sum of from 500,000 to 1,000,000 pesos and produced a rate of five percent interest. How large the fund was at the time of the expulsion of the Jesuits is not certain, but it is generally spoken of as one million dollars with an annual income of $50,000.

At the very beginning the method of handling money proved that the donors pay over merely the interest on sums they had given, but retain the funds in their possession. A grant of 10,000 pesos, usually regarded as a capital required for the support of a mission, gave a payment of 500 pesos a year as interest; but from the year 1716, funds were paid over in entirety and reinvested usually in ranches or haciendas. The greatest benefactor of the Pious Fund was Marques de Villa puente, for in addition to providing funds, he gave several hundred thousand acres of land. The fund reached a total of 500,000 to 1,000,000 pesos and produced a rate of five per cent interest. A Jesuit Procurator bought and shipped goods to the missions. After the expulsion of the Jesuits, the fund was taken over by the government; in some instances it was applied to other religious orders.

Salvatierra had many discouragements in getting his expedition under way; for insufficient provisions had been provided, and Father Kino did not join him, having been

detained because of a revolt in Pima Alteria. Father Francisco Piccolo was sent in Kino's place. After a delay of two months Salvatierra embarked on October 10, 1697, in two small vessels with a military escort of six soldiers. The padre at Yaqui gave thirty cattle, one horse, ten sheep and four pigs as a contribution to the California mission. They did not reach their destination until November the fifteenth, having been caught in a storm.

Salvatierra's work at Loreto.

The site chosen by Salvatierra was about a third of the way up the peninsula, a league from the shore, a place called Loreto. The natives had not forgotten the lessons taught them by Kino and Coparte, and more than fifty knelt to kiss the crucifix at the landing of Father Salvatierra. A tent was erected as a temporary chapel, and to this the statue of Our Lady of Loreto was borne in procession from the ship. Salvatierra had a great devotion to the Blessed Virgin and had dedicated this missionary undertaking in a very special manner to Our Lady of Loreto. Besides being a priest Salvatierra often found it necessary to serve as an officer, sentry, governor, or cook. Yet he found time to study the natives' language.

Soon another missionary joined Father Salvatierra. There were now eighteen in the mission: two priests, seven soldiers, five sailors, and four Christian Indians. And so began the conquest of California which had been vainly attempted by kings and princes for two centuries ever since the time of Cortez. But as the historian Venegas says, in reference to this the means they used were not those which God intended. He wished religion to be the principal, not the secondary, motive. (24)

---

(24) Rev. B. Engelhardt, Missions of California, Vol. I, p. 71

The California mission was governed on a different basis from that of Sinaloa. The missionary was the ruler, but he appointed a captain to take charge of temporal affairs. Each mission was the capitol of its own community of Indian villages termed Pueblos de vista, each under the control of an Indian governor appointed by the mission Padre and authorized to maintain order. In each pueblo there was also an Indian called the rezador, who supervised the praying, catechism lessons, and other religious exercises of the natives. At the mission there was a regular routine; the day began with the celebration of the Holy Sacrifice,after which came breakfast consisting of porridge, then came a few hours' work in the fields which was followed by the noon day meal, consisting of pozale and jerked meat. Another session of manual labor

followed and then the evening meal. During the day the children were gathered together for religious instructions and after the days work all young and old were gathered for religious exercises in the little mission church.

Salvatierra did not interfere in the government of the Captains. They were allowed to carry on their own affairs unless they were found to exceed the limits of justice. In this way, the force and severity of the captains were combined with the kindness and patience of the Padre. The Captain had authority to command others, and it was his duty to see that all obeyed Father. The command of ships and sailors was also under the Captain. The soldiers and marines were absolutely forbidden to engage in the search for pearls; this, however, did not restrict those who came with express permission from the government for such purpose.

There were inevitable quarrels between Salvatierra and the military authorities when the latter tried to use severe measures with the Indians and especially when men like Mendoza wanted to use the soldiers for pearl divers. In spite of the risk involved, Salvatierra dismissed eighteen of his thirty soldiers. (25)

---

(25) Charles Chapman, History of California, p. 177

But as a whole, the soldiers were of much consolation to the poor missionaries. They lived exemplary Christian

lives. Of course this was due in a great part to the type of soldier selected by the Jesuits. Salvatierra watched vigilantly the type of settlers that came in to the colony, and he knew from past experience the evils of exploitation. As was stated above, the material needs of the natives were well taken care of. The natives learned how to cultivate the land and raised crops suitable to the soil and climate. They were taught stock raising, saddlery, shoemaking, and improved methods of weaving. It was customary to send a few Indians to the mainland at each trip of the transports to see how other Indians were living in mission life.

There were times, however, which were very trying to the good missionaries - occasions when the native seemed to forget all that had been done for them and turned upon their benefactors. There were numerous revolts of the natives, and frequently they occurred just at the time when provisions were low and the fort poorly protected - at a time when some of the colonists had gone to the mainland for provisions. On such occasion the good priests who always tried to mitigate the punishment the captain would wish to enforce on the rebellious natives would give orders to the soldiers to hold out as long as they could before firing on the Indians.

The medicine man here, as in Sinaloa, was a constant menace to the missionary, and was often responsible for instigating the natives to revolt. The strong faith of the

saintly missionary in the protection of his advocate, Our Lady of Loreto, was rewarded on countless occasions. Often just when all humans seemed to have abandoned the Spaniards and they were about ready to give up in an Indian attack some very remarkable coincident would occur, such as the arrival of military aid and provisions from the continent. Affection for the missionaries alone prevented soldiers and sailors many times from abandoning the country.

After two years' time the Fathers had acquired the language and resolved to enlarge the missionary field; the second mission to be founded was at San Francisco Xavier. Some fifteen missions were ultimately established in Salvatierra's domain. In the year 1700 Loreto had seventy colonists, but since the land was so sterile most of their supplies had to come from Sonora. While visitador of Sonora, Salvatierra had often discussed with Kino plans for an expedition to prove that California was a peninsula and not an island. Since practically one ship a year was lost, Salvatierra became convinced that a land route was not only necessary but that steps should be taken to see if it were possible.

In 1698 Kino made a northward voyage thru Sinaloa to prove the existence of the Gulf of California, he saw the mountains across the Gulf but did not cross the waters. Again in 1679 and in 1700 Kino traversed this route and at the latter date saw

distinctly the sandy shores of Lower California from the mountains of Sinaloa. By 1702 Salvatierra had explored from the mouth of the Gila to the Gulf. The expedition never quite reached California.

In 1698 Salvatierra appealed to the royal council in Mexico for assistance, as the colonists believed it impossible for them to support themselves without government aid. He drew up a memorial signed by the priests and thirty men of the colony, stating the conditions of the colony, telling what had been accomplished, and asking to have soldiers paid out of the royal treasury. He told them emphatically that the missionaries would remain alone at the mission whether aid was given or not. The viceroy offered $1000, but the missionary declined the offer, because he knew the sum was insufficient and the acceptance of it would cause benefactors to discontinue further assistance. The excuse offered by the government for not assisting the missionaries was that in the original contract there was to be no aid given by the government.

When it became evident that the Jesuits could not sustain themselves the King came to their aid. In a royal decree of 1701 he said under no circumstances should the mission be abandoned, and ordered $6000 to be paid a annually. Unfortunately little of this ever reached the missionary. The principal reason was the constant increasing Mexican-Spanish jealousy toward the Society of Jesus because of missionary opposition to the attempt of envious pearl adven-

turers among the Spaniards to exploit the natives. These Spaniards even accused the Jesuits of acquiring great wealth by their own secret exploitation in pearls. Moreover, it was humiliating to the government to admit that penniless religious had made a success of a region where, despite lavish sums, the government had failed. These missionaries were not envied because of the hardships they endured but they were begrudged the contributions of benefactors made to the missions. There were enemies even in their midst among the soldiers at the fort, especially Mendoza who spread false reports about the missionaries.(26)

---

(26) Rev. Z. Engelhardt, Missions of California, Vol. I, p. 92

In the midst of his labors Salvatierra was called to Mexico to serve as Provincial. He pleaded not to leave his mission, but his friends consoled him by saying that he could do much for the missions in his new position; and this he certainly did, although he met with much opposition in his efforts to have carried out the royal decree of 1701 concerning the sum to be paid annually to California missions. Bancroft says:

> "One shouldn't blame the viceroyal government too much, for it was easy for a pious king to order money to be paid, if the treasury didn't have it and besides was being pressed for funds for the king's wars. All they could do was to delay as they did in one instance by holding a meeting

when they knew Salvatierra would be absent and then, because of that fact, be unable to do any business." (27)

---

(27) H. H. Bancroft, History of North Mexican States, Vol. II, p. 431

After the expiration of his term, Salvatierra returned to California and continued his work until 1717. In the history of lower California Salvatierra takes rank with Fernando Cortez for the priest developed what the conqueror had discovered. Engelhardt gives us a picture of the tasks of a missionary:

> "He had to induce the savage by means of food and flattery to attend catechism, Rosary and Holy Mass, and at the same time drop the pagan practices and abandon fear of the medicine man. He had to teach a people unacquainted with labor to cultivate the soul and care for cattle and domestic animals, and by degrees to form human beings of people who acted like brutes. The existence of a new mission depended upon his ability to raise enough provisions to maintain the neophytes without having recourse to Mexico." (28)

---

(28) Rev. Z. Engelhardt, opus cit., p. 97

Summing up the work of this apostolic conqueror of California.

1) He reduced the government of the mission to a regular system. Each district had a rector to whom all padres were subject, and the rector in turn was subject to a visitador appointed by the provincial every three years; to him the rectors

made reports. The hierarchy consisted of missionary - rector - visitador - visitador general - provincial general.

2) He went to Mexico City from California, more than 600 leagues, several times in the interest of his mission.

3) He made three trips with Father Kino to discover a land passage, between Lower California and the Sinaloa, a distance of 300 leagues.

4) He permanently established and endowed six missions in Lower California and laid down the best possible regulations for the proper training of the Indians.

Salvatierra's missionary career ended in March of the year 1717, when he received word from the Provincial to come to Mexico. During part of this trip he had to be carried by the natives, but although feeling so weak and indisposed, he did not hesitate to make the arduous journey. After two long months of terrible pain he died at Guadalajara. The respect and reverence paid him along that journey of nine days as well as the remarkable manifestations shown at his death by immense crowds of people testify to the fact that they considered him a saintly soul. Bancroft says,

> "Even his bitterest enemies cannot deny the beauty of his character and the disinterestedness of his devotion to California." (29)

---

(29) H. H. Bancroft, op. cit., p. 438

Juan de Urgarte's Work in California.

If Father Salvatierra was the greatest of the California Jesuits; second to him was Juan de Ugarte, who organized the work of the Pious Fund and then came as an active toiler to California in 1701. He was a giant in strength, and his customary patience could exhibit a picturesque wrath. The instance is told of his taking an Indian and swinging him around by his hair. At Salvatierra's death he succeeded him as superior in California. By his encouragement of stock raising, many missions were made self-supporting. It was he who solved the riddle of the Gulf of California. With timber hauled for one hundred miles over the mountains he built a ship; and, naming it the Triumph of the Cross, he made a perilous voyage of four months up the Gulf convincing the world by that journey that Lower California is not an island but a peninsula. Again and again his tact, pertinacity, and courage saved the mission from destruction. He stands forth bold, shrewd and aggressive, one of the most heroic figures of California history. He died at the age of seventy, thirty years of which were spent in California. Bancroft says he had in an eminent degree the qualities indispensable to a leader of pioneers. (30)

---

(30) H. H. Bancroft, op. cit., p. 456

Summing up the work of the Jesuits in California during their seventy years' sojourn:

1) They explored the east and west of the Peninsula, and the interior to the 31° of north latitude, made a network of trails, took scientific and geographical notes on the country, and prepared ethnological reports on the native races.
2) They established a chain of twenty missions which extended from Cape San Lucas to 31° north latitude, fourteen of which proved successful.
3) The mission system they established has seldom been surpassed. They instructed the Indians in religion, taught them useful arts, and had great influence in giving shape to the policy of domesticating the Indian.
4) Of the fifty-six members who came to the Peninsula sixteen died as martyrs.
5) They established the Pious Fund. (31)

---

(31) A. W. North, Mother of California, p. 45

Expulsion of the Jesuits From New Spain.

Despite their unselfish work extending over a period of one hundred and fifty years the Jesuits were accused of avarice, of utilizing the missions to enrich themselves, and of aiming at independent control of the country. To appease the enemies in Mexico, the Provincial General in 1766 offered to surrender the missions and go wherever the King wanted them to go; but no action was taken. In the same year the Society refused a legacy of $6,000,000 bequeathed by a wealthy Mexican lady for California missions, but the enemies attributed it to acute politics. (32)

---

(32) Rev. Z. Engelhardt, Missions of California, Vol. I, p. 273

Similar unjust charges were being circulated against the Society in Spain, and on the 27th of February, 1767, King Carlos III. issued a mandate to his minister of state, the conde de Aranda, for the expulsion from his dominions in Europe, America, and Asia of all the members of the Society of Jesus.

The details of this struggle can be found in reliable histories of Spain and need not form a part of this paper.

The King's order was confirmed by the pragmatic sanction of April 2, published the same day, briefly it states:

> "that the exiled would be allowed, out of the income of the suppressed society's property, a yearly pension of one hundred pesos to each ordained priest, and ninety pesos to each lay-brother. It was strictly forbidden them to write anything savoring of rebellion against the royal act, under penalty, in the event of violation of that clause, if it were only by a single member, of the forfeiture of the pensions of all his brethren. Nor was this all. Any Jesuit who should, without the king's express leave, return to the Spanish dominions under any pretext whatsoever, even that of having resigned from the society and being absolved of its vows, would be treated as a proscript, incurring if a layman the penalty of death, and if a priest, that of confinement, at the option of the ordinaries." (33)

---

(33) H. H. Bancroft, History of North Mexican States, Vol. III p. 438

North says a more ungrateful act cannot be imagined than the expulsion of the Jesuits from California. The Spanish government had been unsuccessful in its efforts to colonize the Peninsula, and the Jesuits had undertaken the task only at the special request of the Spanish authorities. The method of carrying out the decree is vividly told by Bancroft.

> "Early in the evening of the 24th of June 1767, the viceroy, marques de Croix, received in the palace the audiencia, the archbishop of Mexico, and the rest of the high officials, when he had summoned to a meeting for the consideration of an important and confidential affair of state. Croix then produced a sealed package which he had received from the supreme government. Upon removing the outer envelope there was found another, upon which was written the following words: 'Under the penalty of death you will not open this despatch till the 24th of June at nightfall.' This cover being removed there were found instructions concerning the measures to be adopted in the arrest of the Jesuits, naming the

> men who were to do the work and telling how they should do it. On removing the last wrapper the full order was found expressed in the following terms: 'I invest you with my whole authority and royal power that you shall forthwith repair with an armed force--a mano armada--to the houses of the Jesuits. You will seize the persons of all of them, and despatch them within twenty-four hours as prisoners to the port of Vera Cruz, where they will be embarked on vessels provided for that purpose. At the very moment of such arrest you will cause to be sealed the records of said houses, and the papers of such persons, without allowing them to remove anything but their prayer-books, and such garments as are absolutely necessary for the journey. If after the embarkation there should be found in that district a single Jesuit, even if ill or dying, you shall suffer the penalty of death. Yo el Rey,' these last words being the sovereign's autograph signature, and meaning I, the King." (34)

---

(34) Ibid., p. 438

The viceroy of Mexico gave his orders; and on the 25 of June, a little before daybreak, the Jesuits were arrested in their residences, and their papers and effects seized. Fifty soldiers were sent to compel the Jesuits to leave California, for there were exaggerated ideas of the wealth of that colony. There was great disappointment when extreme poverty of the missions in California was discovered the only wealth being found in the churches. After visiting one or two missions, the Captain sent word to the others to take inventory of all the missions and then to come to Loreto, bringing with them only their breviary, one book of theology, and one on science. The departure of the missionaries from California was touching.

The soldiers knelt with the natives, to kiss the feet of the missionaries while they chanted the Litany of Loreto.

Much of the journey of the departing missionaries across Mexico was on horseback or on foot, the aged and sick suffering keenly. Though the missionaries were guarded as prisoners by the soldiers, their entrance into many cities was a triumphal march, and the faces of the people that crowded around them reflected thoughts they dared not utter. For the viceroy had warned the king's vassels

> "of their duty to respect and obey his ever just decisions, which they were bound to venerate and aid to carry out with the utmost fidelity, or incur his Majesty's displeasure, and the severest punishment, should they by word of mouth or writing manifest any disapproval or hostility to the measure. The people were told once for all that they were born to obey and hold their peace." (35)

(35) Ibid., p. 440

Because of the hardships of the journey thirty-four Jesuits died at Vera Cruz, and another twenty-six died later on. The Jesuits began work in New Spain in 1571, and prior to their expulsion in 1767 they numbered 678 members, 468 of whom were natives. Forty colleges had been established, five residence and six missionary districts, with ninety-nine missions. (36)

(36) H. J. Pollen, Society of Jesus. Vol. XIV. Catholic Encyclopedia, p. 102

CHAPTER II

The Coming of the Jesuits to New France.

The French Kings were as sensible of their duty of converting nations as were the Spanish Kings. In 1534 Francis I in his commission to Cartier authorized him to explore

> "in order the better to do what is pleasing to God, our Creator and Redeemer and what may be for the increase of His holy and sacred Name and of our Holy Mother the Church." (37)

---

(37) John G. Shea, History of the Catholic Missions Among the Indian Tribes of United States. p. 123

France began its colonization of North America by the settlement of Acadia in 1603. One half of the first group of settlers were Catholics, but many were tainted with heresy. A Recollect priest named Josue Flesche was assigned to them. After incredible hardships the Recollects realizing that their forces were too weak for such a vast undertaking asked the Jesuits to assist them in the missionary work in New France, to which request the Jesuits consented. Many of the officers, being Huguenot, were decidedly opposed to the coming of the Jesuits. In 1625 when the Jesuits, Pierre Biard, Enemond Masse, and Jean Brebeuf landed they were told to go back to France. For though the Recollects had been tolerated the officials feared that the Jesuits might carry complaints to the French court at which these missionaries had many influential friends. Slanderous pamphlets against the order

had been circulated, and Catholics as well as Huguenots refused to receive them. The Recollects came to their aid and gave them half of their friary on the Charles River. With the exception of Brebeuf they all remained in the territory around Quebec, while he with the Recollect Friars went to the Huron country north of the present city of Toronto. The Recollects returned to Quebec after a short time, and Brebeuf alone remained until the fall of Quebec in 1629.

The missionaries soon realized that the spread of the Catholic religion was impossible so long as the Calvinistic St. Malo and Rouen group controlled affairs. The Jesuits appealed to France, as at this time Richelieu was trying to check Calvinism in the mother country. The St. Malo and Rouen lost its charter and in its place was founded the Company of a hundred Associates. By terms of this document the king bestowed upon the Company Canada and Florida and granted to it a monopoly of the fur trade on condition that the company send out to Canada none but French Catholics.(38)

---

(38) Lewis L. Drummond, Church and Colony, pp. 390-99 also T. G. Marquis, Jesuit Missions, p. 31

It was stipulated that in 1628 it should send out two or three hundred, and four thousand in the course of the following fifteen years. During the fifteen years it should defray the expense of public worship and support three priests. All converted savages were to be treated as nat-

uralized French subjects.

In 1629 when Acadia was taken by England the Jesuit priests and brothers were taken as prisoners to England; they were freed at the request of Queen Henrietta and sent to Belgium. Yet there was no thought of missionary work while England controlled Canada.

In 1632 when Canada was restored to the French, the Jesuits alone, not the Recollects, returned to Canada. Richelieu had offered the task of evangelizing New France to Capuchins but they declined. Fathers Le Jeune, Daniel, Brebeuf, and others returned to New France to spend their lives among the savages. The history of Jesuit missions really begins in 1632 - For forty years missions were,under incredible hardships, established among the Indians on the Atlantic coast, along the St. Lawerence, on Hudson Bay, and among the tribes along the Mississippi River as far south as the Gulf.

Nearly all that was distinctive in the life of old Canada links itself in one way or another with the Catholic religion. The coming of the Jesuits was a landmark in the history of colonization.

> "Their dogged zeal and iron persistence carried them to points which missionaries of no other religious order would have reached. They were above all things else the harbingers of a militant faith. Their organization and their method admirably fitted them to be pioneers of the Cross in new lands. If Jesuits could not achieve the spiritual conquest of the new world it is certain that no others could. The whole course of the Catholic missionaries' effort throughout the

western Hemisphere was shaped by members of the Jesuit Order." (39)

---

(39) William Munro, Crusaders of New France, p. 116

It was due largely to the winning personality of Brebeuf that the governor of New France grew ashamed of his treatment of the Jesuits and granted them a strip of land on the banks of the Lairet. The Jesuits dedicated their residence to Notre Dame des Anges. In 1632 the first Jesuit superior, Father Le Jeune, was assigned to Quebec at Notre Dame des Anges, the parent establishment of missions of New France.

Le Jeune spent the first winter among the Hurons, returning to Quebec utterly exhausted, but rich in experience. This experience determined his later missionary policy. In his Relation for that year he tells what hardships a missionary must be prepared to suffer while living with the savages.

> "Imagine now a great ring or square in the snow, two, three, or four feet deep, according to the weather or the place where they encamp. This depth of snow makes a white wall for us, which surrounds us on all sides, except the end where it is broken through to form the door. The framework having been brought, which consists of twenty or thirty poles, according to the size of the cabin, it is planted, not upon the ground, but upon the snow; then they throw upon these poles, which converge a little at the top, two or three rolls of bark sewed together, beginning at the bottom, and behold, the house is made.... .....You cannot stand upright in this house, as much on account of its low roof as the suffocating smoke; and consequently you must always lie down, or sit flat upon the ground, the

usual posture of the Savages. When you go out, the cold, the snow, and the danger of getting lost in these great woods drive you in again more quickly than the wind, and keep you a prisoner in a dungeon which has neither lock nor key. This prison, in addition to the uncomfortable position that one must occupy upon a bed of earth, has four other great discomforts, ---cold, heat, smoke, and dogs. As to the cold you have the snow at your head with only a pine branch between, often nothing but your hat, and the winds are free to enter at a thousand places. .....When I lay down at night I could study through this opening both the Stars and the Moon as easily as if I had been in the open fields. Nevertheless the cold did not annoy me as much as the heat from the fire. A little place like their cabins is easily heated by a good fire, which sometimes roasted and broiled me on all sides, for the cabin was so narrow that I could not protect myself against the heat. You cannot move to right or left, for the Savages, your neighbors, are at your elbows; you cannot withdraw to the rear, for you encounter the wall of snow, or the bark of the cabin which shuts you in. I did not know what position to take. Had I stretched myself out, the place was so narrow that my legs would have been half way in the fire; to roll myself up in a ball, and crouch down that way, was a position I could not retain as long as they could; my clothes were all scorched and burned. You will ask me perhaps if the snow at our backs did not melt under so much heat. I answer, "no"; that if sometimes the heat softened it in the least, the cold immediately turned it into ice. I will say, however, that both the cold and the heat are endurable, and that some remedy may be found for these two evils. But as to the smoke, I confess to you that it is martyrdom. It almost killed me, and made me weep continually, though I had neither grief nor sadness in my heart. It sometimes grounded all of us who were in the cabin; that is, it caused us to place our mouths against the earth in order to breathe; as it were to eat the earth, so as not to eat the smoke. I have sometimes remained several hours in that position, especially during the most severe cold and when it snowed; for it was then the smoke assailed us with the greatest fury. How bitter is this drink! How strong its odor! How hurtful to the eyes are its fumes! I sometimes thought I was going blind; my eyes burned like fire; they wept or distilled drops like an

alembic; I no longer saw anything distinctly. I repeated the Psalms of my Breviary as best I could, and waited until the pain might relax a little to recite the lessons; and when I came to read them, they seemed written in letters of fire, or of scarlet; I have often closed my book, seeing things so confusedly that it injured my sight. Some one will tell me that I ought to have gone out from this smoky hole to get some fresh air; and I answer him that the air was usually so cold at those times that the trees, which have a harder skin than man, and a more solid body, could not stand it, splitting even to the core. Nevertheless I occasionally emerged from this den, fleeing the rage of the smoke to place myself at the mercy of the cold, against which I tried to arm myself by wrapping up in my blanket like an Irishman; the trouble was, the snow had no more pity upon my eyes than the smoke. As to the dogs, which I have mentioned as one of the discomforts of the Savages' houses, I do not know that I ought to blame them, for they have sometimes rendered me good service. These poor beasts, not being able to live outdoors, came and lay down upon my shoulders, sometimes upon my feet, and as I only had one blanket to serve both as covering and mattress, I was not sorry for this protection, willingly restoring to them a part of the heat I drew from them. These animals, being famished, as they have nothing to eat any more than we do, do nothing but run to and fro gnawing at everything in the cabin. They have often upset for me my bark dish, and all it contained, in my gown; there was not one of us who did not hold his plate down with both hands on the ground, which serves as table, seat, and bed both to men and dogs.....When I first went away with them, as they salt neither their soup nor their meat, and as filth itself presides over their cooking, I could not eat their mixtures, and contended myself with a few sea biscuit and smoked eel; until at last my host took me to task because I ate so little, saying that I would starve myself before the famine overtook us. Meanwhile our Savages had feasts every day, so that in a very short time we found ourselves without bread, without flour, without eels, and without any means of helping ourselves. .....When I could have, toward the end of our supply of food, the skin of an Eel for my day's fare, I considered that I had breakfasted, dined, and supped well. At first I had used one of those skins to patch the cloth gown that I wore, as I forgot to bring some pieces with me;

but, when I was so sorely pressed with hunger, I ate my pieces; and, if my gown had been made of the same stuff, I assure you I would have brought it back home much shorter than it was. Indeed, I ate old Moose skins, which are much tougher than those of the Eel; I went about through the woods biting the ends of the branches, and gnawing the more tender bark..... As to the food, they divide with a sick man just as with the others; if they have fresh meat they give him his share, if he wants it, but if he does not eat it then, no one will take the trouble to keep a little piece for him to eat when he wants it; they will give him some of what they happen to have at the time in the cabin, namely, smoked meat, and nothing better, for they keep the best for their feasts. So a poor invalid is often obliged to eat among them what would horrify him even in good health if he were with our Frenchmen. A soul very thirsty for the Son of God, I mean for suffering, would find enough here to satisfy it.....I had gone in company with my host and the Renegade, on condition that we should not pass the winter with the Sorcerer, whom I knew as a very wicked man. They had granted my conditions, but they were faithless, and kept not one of them, involving me in trouble with this pretended Magician, as I shall relate hereafter. Now this wretched man and the smoke were the two greatest trials that I endured among these Barbarians. The cold, heat, annoyance of the dogs, sleeping in the open air and upon the bare ground; the position I had to assume in their cabins, rolling myself up in hunger, thirst, the poverty and filth of their smoked meats, sickness,---- all these things were merely play to me in comparison to the smoke and the malice of the Sorcerer,.....To relate in detail all his attacks, gibes, sneers, and contempt, I would write a Book instead of a Chapter. Suffice it to say, that he sometimes even attacked God to displease me; and that he tried to make me the laughing stock of small and great, abusing me in the other cabins as well as in ours." (40)

---

(40) Edna Kenton, The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents. pp. 75 - 83

His winter's work taught him that little could be done among the wandering tribes - if the savages were ever to be

christianized it could be done only by getting them into fixed abodes. Even living with wandering savages was not a profitable way to convert them.

Le Jeune was not only a Jesuit priest, he was a Frenchman of nobility, and he appealed to France to maintain her ancient glory. The Jesuit Relations were printed and circulated widely in order to stimulate interest in mission work. Interest became so keen that to save this strange world for the faith and for France, men and women not only offered their fortunes but themselves. There was a rivalry for the honor of going to the perilous work among the Indians.

The missionary movement was supported by almost every class in France; the king himself bestowed land and an annual stipend upon the Jesuit missions. The aristocracy aided the missionary projects and made large donations to the funds. But it was among the upper middle class, who were sober, steadfast, and religiously inclined, that most contact and efficient help was obtained. From their ranks was recruited the personnel of religious orders. To them a martyr was a hero. In their eyes who left all for the service of God, who voluntarily resigned all that civilization offered for the sake of preaching to the heathens, who suffered untold discomforts, rendered the highest service not only to God but to his king and country. Such motives appealed to the noblest souls among the French youth.

The Jesuits had ample material for missionary recruits,

and their activities were followed with an interest hardly paralleled in the history of the missions. The Jesuit went alone, where no other cared go to face unknown dangers which had all the possibilities of martyrdom. He was a member of an efficient organization, guided by inspired leaders with a machine-like thoroughness.

The Royal authorities appreciated the loyalty of the missionaries, who never forgot their king nor shirked their duty to the cause of France among the tribes. Every mission post became an embassy, and every Jesuit an ambassador of his race, striving to strengthen the bonds of friendship between the French and the Indians. As one governor said.

> "Although the interests of the Gospel do not require us to keep the mission in all the Indian villages, the interests of the civil government and the advantage of trade must induce us to manage things so that we may always have at least one of them there." (41)

---

(41) William Munro, Crusaders of New France, p. 120

The Publication of Jesuit Relation stopped in 1673 because of the struggle of the French king with the papacy. The Pope said all reports of mission work should have the authority of the Propagation of Faith, and the French government forbade publication under that title. As a result interest and enthusiasm for the missions after that date suffered a sharp decline in France.

When the Jesuits returned to Canada in 1632, they

spent the winters of the first few years in Quebec, ministering to the colonists. Each spring they went to Tadousac to meet the summer trading parties. It was an anchoring place for vessels and a trading station which attracted the Algonquins and Montagnais Indians from the North and West. The mission of the Holy Cross established there was maintained for a long time by the Duchess d' Aiguillon. This mission was the scene of the most assiduous labors; often a thousand Indians of different tribes would be encamped there. And though nothing could be done to check the errant life of the Algonquins, ideas of faith and Christian morality were inculcated and some reformation of their morals was apparent. But that was not sufficient for the zealous missionaries; eager for the spread of God's kingdom upon earth, they began to follow the Indians on their winter hunts, enduring privations and hardships.

The arrival of the Europeans among the savages always spread new diseases. Small pox together with the constant raids of the Iroquois upon the settlement reduced the Indians so that in 1670 Tadousac was almost deserted; scarcely one hundred Indians remained, whereas when Bishop Laval had visited Tadousac in 1667 he had been welcomed by four hundred Christians, and confirmed one hundred and forty nine. (42)

---

(42) J. Winsor, Narrative and Critical History of America, Vol. IV, p. 270

The Jesuits resumed the instruction of the wandering Montagnais near Quebec in 1632. It soon became evident that the small pox, their precarious mode of life, the dimunition of game in their midst would soon sweep away this tribe, unless they could be made sedentary. In 1637 the missionaries began a kind of reduction at a place above Quebec called St. Joseph, but which was soon known as Sillery from the pious and benevolent commander de Sillery in France who gave means for the good work. Two families, twenty souls in all, settled here in houses built for them and began to cultivate the ground. Soon others joined them. The Indians elected chiefs, and a form of government was adopted.

A day at the Indian center of St. Francis Xavier Mission, opposite Montreal is typical of the life led by the neophytes:

> "On working days....., they passed the time holily. At daybreak the first mass is said for those who are in the greatest haste to get to work; and some time after sunrise the second is said for all the people. There are none who do not hear one of these two masses, and nearly all hear both of them.... .....After the two masses have been said, each one attends to his work almost without discontinuing his prayers.....For, as their most usual occupation here is to go into the woods or their fields, they have always observed the pious custom, which all openly follow, of saying the Rosary while going and coming, which they carry in their hands for this purpose, as they also do on other and longer journeys." (43)

---

(43) Jesuit Relations, Vol. LX pp. 277 - 278

The daily order on Sundays and great feasts was somewhat as follows: on Saturday, or on the vigil of the feast, many went to Confession to prepare themselves for the morrow. On the following day, Mass was celebrated at 8:00, at which all attended. A sermon was preached, and the Indians sang the Mass. At ten, a bell was rung for all to repair to the church to recite the Rosary. At one in the afternoon a meeting of the more fervent was held at which a short exhortation was given. At three Vespers and Benediction called all to the church. (44)

---

(44) Jesuit Relations, Vol. LX pp. 274 - seq.

The Indians were induced to cultivate the ground, but they still depended on their fishing and the winter hunt which carried them off to great distances. This the missionary could not prevent as the hunts supplied the furs for the trade of the company which controlled Canada, nor could the missionary do much by way of instruction at this time. One of the Jesuits wrote:

> "To try to follow them as many religious would be needed as there are cabins and still we would not attain our object; for they are so occupied in seeking their livelihood in these woods that they have not time so to speak to save themselves." (45)

---

(45) William Kip, Early Jesuit Missions in North America. p. 51

Another factor working against the priests' civilization plan was the constant raiding by Iroquois war parties which drove the new agriculturists from their fields. In 1684 Sillery was abandoned in favor of the settlement of St. Frances De Sales.

The missionary found it a hard task to set up Christian traditions among the Indians. Lent came at the season when the hunters secured the most abundant supply of meat; hence it was almost futile to talk about days of abstinence when meat was their only source of food. To rest on Sunday from the hunt for game long sought was likewise asking an imposibility of the savage. Practically the only thing that could make an impression on them was the fear of hell since the Indians had a most cowardly fear of the supernatural. The missionary work was constantly hindered by the powerful medicine men. When the sorcerers found their fantastic means of healing merely laughed at, they turned in savage fury against both convert and teachers.

In regard to morals not only were the habits of the savages diametrically opposed to the missionaries' teachings, but their very natures seemed to the missionary an unsurmountable barrier.

> "Nothing is more difficult than the conversion of these Indians, it is a miracle of the Lord's mercy - as they are absolute masters of themselves without being subject to any law, the independence in which they live enslaves them to the most brutal passions. - It is the independence indeed which is the origin of all

> kinds of vices which rule them. They are lazy, treacherous, fickle and inconstant, deceitful- gluttony and the love of pleasure above all those vices which are most prominent among our Indians." (46)

---

(46) William Kip, Early Jesuits Missions in North America. p. 194

The missionaries' efforts were at first conducive to the interests of the fur trade by bringing far distant tribes within the sphere of French influence, but soon the Jesuits sought to change the habits of the natives and caused them to become agriculturists instead of hunters; they likewise opposed the rum traffic. As a result the Indians began to lead a less nomadic life and to study the art of agriculture. Then the grasping commercial companies saw in the Jesuit one of their enemies. (47)

---

(47) Edna, Kenton, The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents. p. 33

Abenakis Mission.

The earliest Christian mission begun by Jesuits among the Abenakis in Maine and Acadia in 1603 lasted only a few months. In 1634 a mission was founded on the Kenebec which lasted for nearly eighty years. But the work was done rather spasmodically; sickness, constant attacks by the English or their allied Indian tribes almost nullified the efforts of the missionaries. In 1694 a Jesuit missionary was sent to labor among the Abenakis, and in spite of the constant accusation by the English that the missionary was responsible for the outrages perpetuated by the Indians against the English and the repeated demands of the New England governor, the Indians refused either to send their missionary away or to accept Protestant teachers; consequently he remained with them over twenty-five years.

This priest who won the hearts of these Indians was Pere Sebastian Rale, called the Apostle of the Abenakis. He was born in French Comte 1657 and entered the Society of Jesus in 1675. From the earliest days in that society there were manifested in him many qualities which made him remarkable throughout his career. He was a profound thinker and scholar.

In 1689 he accompanied Frontenac's party to New France and soon after his arrival he went to the Abenaki tribe and began studying their language. From 1691 to 1703 he

labored among the Illinois, but at the request of the government, he was sent back to the Abenaki where he labored for thirty years until his heroic death in 1724.(48)

---

(48) Sister Celeste Indian Missions in Maine. p. 77

Most of his energy was spent in trying to make the tribe sedentary. He encouraged agriculture, but at the same time he realized that economic and climatic conditions were such that dependence upon crops alone would mean starvation. Whenever the savages were ready to start out on their seasonal migration for food he was prepared to accompany them with his portable chapel. He gives the following example of the petition made to him by the Indians prior to their departure.

> "Our Father, thou knowest us and thou knowest that we are in need of provisions. We have been able to give the last work to our fields, and we have no other resource, until harvest, but to go to the shore of the sea in search of food----It would be hard for us to give up our Prayer; therefore we hope that thou wilt be disposed to accompany us." (49)

---

(49) Sister Celeste Indian Missions in Maine. p. 78

In 1705 and again in 1721 Father Rale narrowly escaped death when his life was sought by the English; in 1724 he was massacred with many other Abenakis at Narantsouac.

The thirty years of his life on the Kennebec are

identified with the relations between the Indians of Maine and the English. The inscription on the shaft erected in his memory in 1833 gives a fitting eulogy of his life.

> "Rev. Sebastian Rale, a native of France, member of the Society of Jesus, performed his first missionary labors among the Iroquois and Huron tribes. After a few years he came to the Abenaquis, where during a period of thirty-four years he proved himself a true apostle in faith and charity. He was fearless in the presence of his armed foe, constantly proclaiming his readiness to lay down his life for his flock. On the twenty-third of August, 1724, while the village of Naratsouac was being sacked, his people slaughtered, his church burned, this most devoted pastor was slain on this very spot. To him and his departed children in Christ, this monument was erected and dedicated by Benedict Fenwick, Bishop of Boston, August 23, A.D. 1833. A. M. D. G." (50)

---

(50) Sister Celeste, Indian Missions In Maine. p. 81

Huron Mission.

In 1634 Brebeuf, Daniel, and Davost went to the Huron mission, the greatest of the Jesuit missions in Canada, which numbered about 16,000. Their reason for choosing the Hurons was that these Indians lived in palisaded towns of bark cabins, whereas the nomad Algonquins found it almost impossible to cultivate corn, beans, and pumpkins. The missionaries' opportunity for instructing people here was much greater than among the nomadic tribes. But even among them - though hunting and fishing excursions were comparatively short it was not easy to secure continuous attendance of the young, who were always the missionaries' first care. This condition led to the project of a school at Quebec, to which some of the promising boys were sent. The results were only temporary as the pupils on returning to their tribe threw aside their slight civilization.

The priests divided Huronia into missionary districts and usually worked in pairs. The two Fathers lodged in a central village from which other villages of the area could be reached. A chapel was built and every inducement was offered to attract the Hurons to service.

Sainte Marie, their chief station, was built in 1639 as a result of a grant by Richelieu of 30,000 livres. To this center the scattered Jesuits came together, three or four times a year, for rest and counsel. Their food was chiefly porridge, made from Indian corn and sprinkled with

smoked fish. Despite privations

> "This house", wrote a missionary in 1648, "was an earthly paradise where dwelt peace and joy and love and zeal to win souls." (51)

---

(51) George M. Wrong, Rise and Fall of New France. Vol. V. p. 300

From incidental allusions in the Relations one gets a picture of this Fort of Sainte Marie.

> "The fortified work which enclosed the buildings was in the form of a parallelogram, about a hundred and seventy feet long, and from eighty to ninety wide. It lay parallel with the river and somewhat more than a hundred feet distant from it. On two sides it was a continuous wall of masonry flanked with square bastions, adapted to musketry, and probably used as magazines, storehouses or lodgings. The sides towards the river and the lake had no other defense than a ditch and a palisade, flanked, like the others, by bastions over each of which was a large cross. The buildings within were, no doubt, of wood, and they included a church, a kitchen, a refectory, places of retreat for religious instruction and meditation, and lodges for at least sixty persons. Near the church, but outside the fortification, was a cemetery. Beyond the ditch or canal which opened on the river was a large area still traceable in the form of an irregular triangle, surrounded by a ditch and, apparently, by palisades. It seems to have been meant for the protection of the Indian visitors who came in throngs to Sainte Marie, and who were lodged in a large house of bark after the Huron manner." (52)

---

(52) Francis Parkman, The Jesuits in North America in the 17 Century. pp. 382 - 63

In 1648 the Huron missions, numbering seventeen Fathers under the authority of Father Ragueneau, were established in

ten villages. Their material wants were entrusted to servants who were not members of the religious community but had voluntarily offered themselves for life to the service of the Society of Jesus. These servants, called donees, fished and hunted to provide food for the missionaries, and they were armed to defend them against attack. Goupil and LaLande and Couture, who with Jogues were captured by Iroquois in 1642, were donees. Because of their skill in preparing the guns and other weapons of the Indians, lay brothers trained as smiths and workers in metals were likewise powerful auxiliaries in winning the good will of the aborigines.

Among the group of Jesuit missionaries that first labored in New France Paul Ragueneau and John De Brebeuf may be considered as typical.

Among all the Jesuit heroes of Canada John De Brebeuf is most cherished. This heroic man was born of noble parentage in 1593. Convinced that he did not possess the qualities necessary for the priesthood, he wished to become a lay brother in the Jesuit Order. However, he entered the novitiate in Rouen in 1617 at the age of twenty-four, was ordained a priest, and in 1625 arrived in Quebec in company with Masse and Lalemand. Because of his remarkable personality, Brebeuf succeeded in breaking down the dislike of the colonists for the Jesuits; he was then able to secure from them the site of St. Charles for a residence. On October 25, 1625 Brebeuf went with some Algonquins to their

winter abodes. For five months he lived with them in the filth and vermin of their tepees, travelled with them in quest of game, sustaining himself on their disgusting fare or starving when there was nothing to eat. He returned to Notre Dame des Anges at the end of Holy Week, without converting any Indians; but he had learned their language. He had even composed an Algonquin grammar and dictionary.

One of the first tasks of the Jesuit in New France was to learn the native tongue. Biard and Masse made it their

> "first concern to learn the language of the country." (53)

---

(53) Edna Kenton, The Jesuit Relations. p. 4

Father Brebeuf did the same. So all through their history this was a factor in the Jesuit method of carrying on the missions. As they widened the field from Tadoussac to Quebec to the Huron country and down the Mississippi valley, always we find recorded their efforts to learn the Indian tongue and to reduce it to a grammar for future laborers.

In 1630 Brebeuf went to Europe to pronounce his final vows as a Jesuit. But in 1633 he was back in America working for a short time among the Algonquins around Quebec, and in 1635 he headed a group of missionaries to the Huron village at the southern end of Georgian Bay. This journey of some thirty days was one of constant danger. Abandoned

by the savages for several days, he found his way to a village where he had labored six years before. Having thus learned through painful experience that to travel with the improvident savages is one of the greatest trials of a missionary, Brebeuf drew up instructions for the Fathers of the Society who should be sent to the Hurons.

> "To conciliate the Savages, you must be careful never to make them wait for you in embarking. You must provide yourself with a tinder box or with a burning mirror, or with both, to furnish them fire in the daytime to light their pipes, and in the evening when they have to encamp; these little services win their hearts.
>
> "You should try to eat their sagamite or salmagundi in the way they prepare it, although it may be dirty, half-cooked, and very tasteless. As to the other numerous things which may be unpleasant, they must be endured for the love of God, without saying anything or appearing to notice them.
>
> "It is well at first to take everything they offer, although you may not be able to eat it all; for, when one becomes somewhat accustomed to it, there is not too much.
>
> "You must try and eat at daybreak unless you can take your meal with you in the canoe; for the day is very long, if you have to pass it without eating. The Barbarians eat only at Sunrise and Sunset, when they are on their journeys.
>
> "You must be prompt in embarking and disembarking; and tuck up your gowns so that they will not get wet, and so that you will not carry either water or sand into the canoe. To be properly dressed, you must have your feet and legs bare; while crossing the rapids, you can wear your shoes, and, in the long portages, even your leggings.
>
> "You must so conduct yourself as not to be at all troublesome to even one of these Barbarians.

"It is not well to ask many questions, nor should you yield to your desire to learn the language and to make observations on the way; this may be carried too far. You must relieve those in your canoe of their annoyance, especially as you cannot profit much by it during the work. Silence is a good equipment at such a time.

"You must bear with their imperfections without saying a word, yes, even without seeming to notice them. Even if it be necessary to criticize anything, it must be done modestly, and with words and signs which evince love and not aversion. In short, you must try to be, and to appear, always cheerful.

"You must not be ceremonious with the Savages, but accept the comforts they offer you, such as a good place in the cabin. The greatest conveniences are attended with very great inconvenience, and these ceremonies offend them.

"Do not undertake anything unless you desire to continue it; for example, do not begin to paddle unless you are inclined to continue paddling. Take from the start the place in the canoe that you wish to keep; do not lend them your garments, unless you are willing to surrender them during the whole journey. It is easier to refuse them at first than to ask them back, to change, or to desist afterwards.

"Finally, understand that the Savages will retain the same opinion of you in their own country that they will have formed on the way; and one who has passed for an irritable and troublesome person will have considerable difficulty afterwards in removing this opinion.

"It is almost incredible, how they observe and remember even the slightest fault. When you meet Savages on the way, as you cannot yet greet them with kind words, at least show them a cheerful face, and thus prove that you endure gayly the fatigues of the voyage.

"This is a lesson which is easy to learn, but very difficult to put into practice; for, leaving a highly civilized community, you fall into the hands of barbarous people who are 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, or rather mules, which utterly despise you when they see that you are not as good pack animals as they are. If you could go naked, and carry the load of a horse upon your back, as they do, then you would be wise according to their doctrine, and would be recognized as a great man, otherwise not." (54)

---

(54) Edna Kenton, The Jesuit Relations. pp. 118 - 121

Brebeuf gives a vivid picture of his winters among the Hurons.

> "The winter is almost unendurable. As for your leisure time, the savages will give you no rest night or day, and will be particularly assiduous at meal time. If you have anything special to eat, they must have a share; otherwise your reputation is lost. You may expect to be killed at any moment, and your cabin, which is very inflammable, may often take fire either on account of the carelessness or malice of the savages. You are responsible for fair and foul weather, and if you do not bring rain when there is a drought you may be tomahawked for your ill-success." (55)

---

(55) T. Campbell, Pioneer Priests of North America. Vol.II p.105

Brebeuf had an amazing influence with the Indians for though they dreaded him as the Great Sorcerer, they paid him many tributes of admiration. They called him Echon, the man that drags the load. His herculanean strength was manifested on all occasions.

> "He was the first to leap into the water to drag the canoe through the rapids, and was the last to leave it no matter how icy cold the torrent might be. It was he who prepared the morning meal, and when others were buried in sleep, he was still toiling; and all the while with such

> apparent ease that is seemed to cost him nothing; and what is more noteworthy, no matter how he was crushed with work or wearied with plodding over roads that were full of terror for others, often compelling the bravest to give up in despair, he would keep at it day after day for a month at a stretch, without rest, without relaxation, sometimes without stopping to eat, except to snatch a bite when he could, and nevertheless finding time to perform all the religious duties the rule enjoined. He never omitted a single one of the ordinary devotions, beginning them early in the morning, before others were out of their blankets, and continuing them late into the night when everyone else was buried in sleep. One almost shudders to hear that he was not satisfied with all these privations, hardships and sufferings, but that he scourged himself to blood with disciplines, sometimes twice a day, and that he continually wore on his body, haircloth and sharp pointed iron cinctures." (56)

---

(56) T. Campbell, Pioneer Priests of North America. Vol.II p. 154

From 1641-44 Brebeuf was in Quebec assisting in the general direction of the missions because of the valuable experiences he had had.

Several unsuccessful attempts were made to reach the missionaries of Huronia. In 1644 Brebeuf started up the river with an escort of twenty soldiers. They finally reached St. Ignatius, and Brebeuf was privileged to spend the last four years of his life among his beloved Hurons, he finally merited the crown of martyrdom at the mission of St. Louis.

The brutality of the savages at this massacre is hardly conceivable. Brebeuf was placed over a raging fire while his executioners plunged hot prongs into his flesh, cut off

pieces, and devoured it before his eyes; but not once did he groan or utter a word of reproach. Scalding water was poured on his head in mockery of baptism. Finally they cleve his head with a tomahawk and then tore out his heart and drank his blood so as to imbibe as they fancied some of his wonderful courage.

One of the most heroic of the band to arrive in New France in 1636 was Paul Ragueneau. He entered the Society of Jesus in 1626 and distinguished himself by his profound learning. In 1636 at the age of thirty-one, he was sent to Canada where he labored in the Huron mission until its close, having been superior from 1645 to 1649.

During one of the terrible pestilences among the Hurons all the Indians from the district assembled to discuss the death of the missionaries. Meanwhile, the little band of missionaries knelt in Ragueneau's bark cabin and prayed. Their time had apparently come, and they wrote what they thought to be their last message to their friends. It was signed by each and placed in the hands of a trusty Indian, who carried it to Quebec. But the savages changed their plans, and the priests were allowed to labor for another six years. (57)

---

(57) T. Campbell, Pioneer Priests of North America. Vol. I p. 148

In 1649 the Iroquois came in great numbers to Georgian Bay. The Hurons were completely annihilated by this

implacable foe. After the massacre of Brebeuf and Lalemant at St. Louis, Ragueneau led a small band of four hundred survivors, the remnants of a nation of 10,000 to a refuge on St. Joseph Island, where the missionary directed the savages to fortify their village against further attacks. But hardly was the fort completed when Indian rumors brought news of more disasters.

At last the Huronia territory had to be abandoned, and Ragueneau led three or four hundred souls, the remnants of the Huron tribe, to Quebec, some of the tribe having wandered as far West as the Mississippi River.

In 1650 Ragueneau was appointed Vice Rector of Quebec. The duties of the office brought him into frequent contact with Governor De Lauson, and a strong personal friendship developed between the two men with the unfortunate result that whatever the Governor did was ascribed to Rageneau, so that a great deal of discontent and jealousy arose. In 1656 he was removed and sent to an obscure mission, that of Three Rivers.

It was a fine test of his virtue, but he was found equal to it - for though no one has written more than he about the Canadian mission, not a word appears in his voluminous publication which shows that he resented in the least what might seem unnecessarily harsh treatment. He undertook new work with enthusiasm.

The following year he was sent to the Iroquois mission at Onondaga. It was due to his strategic plan that

every white man escaped the massacre that was planned. When he returned to Quebec after the wreck of the Onondaga mission, he was again marked out for honors by civil authorities. He was put at the head of the Council in 1661, but again jealousy and envy arose which resulted in his being sent to France in 1662, where until his death in 1680, he acted as Procurator of the missions.

The Iroquois had likewise almost swept away the Montagnais tribe on the St. Lawerence, and cut to pieces most of the bands of the Algonquins. And thus ended after thirty-five years the flourishing Huron mission at which eighteen missionaries had toiled for nearly twelve years. Seven of the twenty nine missionaries employed had lost their lives in their work. It seemed a hopeless failure. It is true that the Hurons, scattered as they were over the Lake regions, carried with them the lessons inculcated by the Fathers. Nevertheless, the missionaries were plainly disheartened; they felt that the catastrophe of giving up the mission might have been avoided, had it been possible to maintain a small well disciplined force of soldiers to keep back the Iroquois scourge. The missionaries appealed to France, a regiment was sent to Canada, and the Jesuits were thus given an opportunity of extending their labors. (52)

---

(52) Lewis Drummond, Church and the Colony in Canada and its Provinces. Vol. II, p. 408

The coming of the Jesuits to the Hurons at this time seemed to be to assist at the death agonies of that tribe. It was not difficult for the missionaries to meditate on death, for the terrors of these massacres were before them almost constantly. On occasions when a general massacre was expected these missionaries would calmly sit in their cabins either penning a farewell letter to their brethren or attempting to pacify the Hurons by discoursing on spiritual subjects. One of the consolations of the missionaries in the midst of the ruins of the Hurons was the constancy with which converts kept their faith, even to the point of exhorting their executioners to embrace Christianity.

With the fall of the Hurons fell the best hope of the Canadian mission. They had been the rude material from which the Jesuits would have formed the Christian Empire. There was still work to do, many heathens to convert; but it was vain to look for the same solid and decisive results among other tribes. Several of the Huron missionaries having returned to Europe; a new missionary field suddenly presented itself in the midst of the ferocious Iroquois.(53)

---

(53) Francis Parkman, The Jesuits in North America in the Seventeenth Century. p. 446

Mission to the Iroquois.

War with the Iroquois had been almost uninterrupted since the settlement of Canada. Because of the ferocious character of this tribe, and because their territory was in New York within the sphere of English influence, no permanent Catholic mission was ever established within their limits. It is true that as early as 1642 missionaries entered their country, but here as in Maine, the missionary efforts among the Iroquois were spasmodic. Jogues was a prisoner among them during the years of 1642-3, and early in the spring of 1646, he was sent to them as a special messenger for a peace treaty. He spent a short time among them and promised to return, which he did in August. But by October the fickle barbarians had cruelly martyred this noble missionary. In 1654 Father Le Moyne had been invited to the Onondagas and the Mohawks as an embassy to make peace. There was already a Christian element in the Iroquois cantons - each of the cantons contained Hurons, who had been instructed in the fundamental doctrines of Christianity by the Jesuit missionaries in Huronia. Through the efforts of Father Le Moyne a line of missions was established in the very country of the Iroquois, but it was of a very short duration. It extended all along the Mohawk from near the Hudson to the vicinity of Lake Erie. Many of the Iroquois were converted, the most notable of whom was the Indian girl, Tegakwitha ,

who fled from the Mohawk to Caughnowaga, a settlement on the St. Lawerence, opposite Lachine, which the Fathers had established for the Iroquois converts.

A monument has been erected for this valiant missionary in the city of Syracuse.

In 1656, ten soldiers and six Jesuits went to the territory within the limits of the present state of New York and with a solemn ceremony took possession of the land at cite of the present city of Syracuse. At the close of 1656 missionaries had visited each of the five nations; each seemed ready for the establishment of thriving missionary work. The next year there were signs of danger; a group of Hurons was massacred by the Iroquois who had merely feigned interest in Christianity in order to draw the Hurons and French to them. Early in 1658, Ragueneau, as Superior of the Iroquois missions, having received secret information that the Indians planned a general massacre, the missionaries were called in from the various stations. On March the twentieth all the savages of the neighborhood were invited to a solemn banquet, where they gorged themselves into a stupor. At the feast everyone vied with each other in piercing cries to drown the noise of the people outside who were launching the boats. The feast was concluded, and the guests were soon overpowered by sleep and the Frenchmen slipped away in the boats that had been built secretly. They cut their way through the ice of Lake

Ontario, flung themselves over the rapids of St. Lawerence, and finally after a month of terror reached Quebec. When the savages awoke from their stupor, they were astonished at the silence around the missionaries' home. Knocking at the door and hearing the sound of a dog barking they thought that his masters were not far off. But when at night the savages entered the house, they were astonished to find it empty. Never imagining that the Frenchmen would be so foolhardy as to face the rapids, they conducted a search through the woods. And when no one was found, the superstitious Indians concluded that the Frenchmen had made themselves invisible and would just so suddenly as they vanished, reappear. (54)

---

(54) T. R. Campbell, Pioneer Priests of North America. Vol.I pp. 143 - 146

The New York missions were finally ruined by the stupidity and treachery of the governor of Quebec in conjunction with Protestant England which disputed the ownership of that territory with the French. The missions were totally abandoned in 1677. A number of Iroquois were persuaded to move to La Prairie near Montreal. One of the chief reasons why missionaries urged this migration was to eleminate some of the prevailing excesses due to intoxicating liquour. In their new homes the Iroquois by their exemplary lives were a great consolation to the missionaries. During the period that the Jesuits worked among the Iroquois about two

hundred and fifty were baptized yearly, but about eighty of these were infants or adults in danger of death. No permanent church was ever erected in the Iroquois territory. By the year 1710 there were no longer any missionaries in New York except an occasional one who made his way hither in disguise as an Indian to visit the scattered flock.

Ottawa Mission.

Some time after the abandonment of St. Mary's of Huronia it was thought desirable to seek the Hurons who had sought refuge in the forests of Wisconsin. The earliest western missions were a direct outgrowth of this desire. Excepting southern Illinois and Indiana, all the territory of the northwest up to the year 1763 was under the French and was entrusted to the Jesuit missionaries. It was six years after the final abandonment of Huronia before an opportunity offered itself of sending missionaries to the far West.

In 1656 an opportunity offered itself. An Ottawa flotilla that came to Montreal agreed to carry two black robes with them to their winter refuge, but the fickle

savages soon changed their mind and killed one of the missionaries; the other priest escaped and found his way back to Montreal. The following year the veteran, Father Menard, accompanied another Ottawa fleet up the great river through Lake Huron to Keweenau Bay, on the southern shore of Lake Superior.

The two missionaries that are most closely identified with the Ottawa mission are Rene Menard and Claude Allouez.

Rene Menard was born at Paris in 1605. He entered the Jesuit Order in 1624 and distinguished himself as a professor in various colleges. He came to Canada in 1639, spent a year studying the Algonquin language, and in 1640 was sent to the Hurons, where he remained until that mission broke up. He was then sent to Three Rivers about one hundred miles from Quebec. He was one of the missionaries to go to the Iroquois in 1656, and after the abandonment of that mission he returned again to Three Rivers. At the age of fifty-five in 1659 he started with three hundred Ottawas for the Far West. The missionary had no illusions concerning the dangers of this life. Before starting on this journey Menard wrote to a friend.

> "In three or four months you may include me in the memento for the dead, in view of the kind of life led by these people and of my age and delicate constitution." (55)

---

(55) Jesuit Relations. Vol. VI. p. 81

The journey was one of unparallel hardships for a man of such a delicate constitution. He was forced to carry heavy burdens in spite of the fact that his feet were cut and bruised so that each footprint was marked with blood. Throughout the journey he was treated with inhuman brutality, he was forced to paddle all day and night without a morsel of food. Any indication of weakness made him the butt of contempt. He was robbed of all his personal belongings; his breviary was contemptuously thrown into the river.

Upon his arrival at the Ottawa country the brutality continued. He was not allowed so much as the shelter of the Indian cabins, but was forced to take up his abode in a hut of fir branches. He suffered not only from the intense cold but had scarcely any food. His meal often consisted of a kind of a moss growing on the rocks, a handful of which when thrown into a kettle of water, formed a foam or slime like that of snails.

> "It is necessary to close one's eyes when one begins to eat it." (56)

---

(56) Wisconsin History Collections. Vol. XVI. p. 25

The Hurons, who had fled to the depths of Wisconsin forests at the head of the Black River, implored Menard to come to them. Three Frenchmen who had gone ahead to report conditions found that the Indians were starving. In vain they tried to persuade Menard from going in 1661,but

burning with zeal for the salvation of souls, he started out with a few Hurons and a Frenchman by the name of L'Esperance as guide.

The Huron guides, impatient at the slow progress of the old man along the wilderness road, soon abandoned him; they promised to send guides to meet the Frenchmen at Lake View Desert. There the tired travelers waited for a fortnight; then realizing that their provisions were dwindling away, they continued their journey in a frail craft. The stream being full of rapids, Menard stepped ashore above one of these falls to lighten the labors of his companion. Safe in quiet water, L'Esperance, waited in vain for the Father to come out of the dense forest. Running back through the woods, he himself became lost and reached the Huron village two days later. Though he could communicate only by signs, he managed to tell them of the loss of Black Robe. Some of the Hurons offered to go in search, but after a brief absence they returned. Rumors of the approach of the enemies had caused them to give up the search. L'Esperance went back to Chequamagon Bay, where he told of his loss. Though nothing more is heard of him, it is probable that Father Menard survived a few days after his separation from his guide, since he had in his possession a piece of smoked meat the size of a man's head. (57)

---

(57) H. Campbell, Menard, p. 24

Claude Jeane Allouez, whom Shea calls the founder of Catholicity in the West, was born in 1620; he entered the Jesuit order in 1639, when only seventeen years old. At the age of thirty-five, he received permission to go to New France, where he labored for thirty-five years. In the Jesuit archives in France a fine picture of this heroic figure is left us by Allouez' superior.

> "He is possessed of a vigorous constitution of a fine mind and disposition of good judgment and great prudence. He is firm in purpose, proficient in literature and theology and eminently fitted for missionary work." (58)

---

(58) J. S. La Boule, Claude Jean Allouez, Apostle to the Ottawa, p. 185

Allouez reached Quebec in 1658 where he began at once to study the Huron and Algonquin languages. He spend seven years at Three Rivers and other missions along the Great Lawerence. He considered four elements essential for apostleship in New France namely condescension, humility, prudent perseverance and heroic magnanimity. (59)

---

(59) Ibid., p. 186

The tragic death of Menard among the Ottawas convinced the Jesuit superior that a missionary had to be younger and stronger so Allouez was chosen for the missions of the West. He left Three Rivers for the so called Ottawa mission on August 8, 1665 accompanied by a group of Algonquins who came to Three Rivers for trading purposes. This voyage of

about one thousand miles was made in frail bark canoes. The missionary was abandoned by the savages but a few days later on was rescued by some Frenchmen. The flotilla landed October 1, at the head of Chequamegon Bay. The missionary called the site the Mission of the Holy Ghost. Because of the policy of the missionaries to baptize only those infants that were in danger of death he found a strong superstition among the savages regarding the effect of baptism. But by baptizing some children who were strong and healthy Allouez gradually dispelled the fears of the people. The Ottawas had a devil worship of the rudest kind, all sorts of licenticusness and vice prevailed. Allouez called their village

"Babylon of libertinism and abomination." (60)

---

(60) J. S. La Boule, Claude Jean Allouez, Apostle to the Ottawa, p. 202

He made a daring almost incredible voyage across Lake Superior to Lake Nepigon where he was received with open arms. The Nepissings had been baptized some twenty years before when they lived among the Hurons. Some two thousand leagues were covered by Allouez in attempting to preach the gospel to the scattered Hurons. Allouez after two years experience alone in the wilderness became convinced that if real progress were to be made he must have assistance. He needed to establish the missions on an economic basis with husbandmen to sow and harvest, carpenters to build more

adequate homes and above all companions to share his labors. In 1666 Allouez returned to Quebec for more missionaries as he wanted to establish a permanent mission, but the obstinate Indians refused to take more than a single Jesuit companion and a layman with them when they returned to the West. All the provisions and equipment for a chapel that Allouez had collected had to be left behind.

In 1669 on December 3, Feast of St. Francis Xavier, Allouez arrived at Green Bay and offered up the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass for the first time in that section of the country. This mission at once became headquarters of some six hundred Indians.

Allouez was present at the formal ceremony at Sault Ste Marie on June 4, 1671 when St. Lusson in the name of the King of France took possession of the territory from Montreal to the South Sea. There were representatives of fourteen different tribes present. First the Cross was raised and then the royal standard. Allouez and then St. Lusson addressed them. The ceremonies closed with a bonfire with the assembled group singing the Te Deum. (61)

---

(61) T. Campbell, Pioneer Priests in North America. Vol.I p. 120

The last fourteen years of his life Allouez was practically alone again traversing the western wilderness, of what is now Illinois and southern Michigan, following

his neophytes to their wintering camps and removing the missions as the savages changed their village sites.

Allouez labored for thirty-two years among the Indians, founded missions at Sault Ste Marie - Green Bay - Miami - Kaskaskia. His mission at Mackinac became the largest and most flourishing of the northwest. Most of the harvest was reaped during the years 1671-2 but between 1670-80 the Ottawa mission numbered five hundred Hurons and thirteen hundred Ottawas. Allouez' life was one alternation of triumphs and defeat. He had the consolation of preaching the gospel to twenty different tribes, baptizing 10,000 neophytes. He was first vicar general of United States. He died at the age of seventy-six.

With regard to the Ottawa mission of which Allouez may be regarded as founder, it was estimated that by 1676 three hundred and sixty seven persons only sixty of whom were adults, had been baptized. Three years later however, baptisms had doubled, and then new missions had been established. The mission at Point St. Ignace opposite Mackinac became the largest and most successful in the northwest, about five hundred Hurons and thirteen hundred Ottawas being encamped there in 1676. At this period the high tide of the mission work in the northwest Territory was reached. From this date both the number of workers and the number of conversions declined. In 1683 there were but seven missionaries in the entire northwest, four of whom were almost disabled with age and disease. By 1771 the

the missionaries were reduced to two.

The missionary wanted to preserve the west from exploitation; he wanted to cultivate the missions for natives only, he wished to keep the flock free from the demoralizing influence of lawless and licentious French traders as well as the domination of French.

The missionary had just cause of complaint against the liquour traffic introduced by white traders and soldiers. The white man's vice and liquour did more harm than all the Jesuit teaching did good. The chaplains said that the garrisons were entirely useless serving only as liquour shops, gambling houses, and dens of debauchery. It is a historical fact that the missions remotest from the French settlement showed the best spiritual results. (62)

---

(62) G. M. Wrong, Rise and Fall of New France. p. 421

The soldiers tried to justify their conduct by saying that the Indians were bound to get brandy and if the French did not give it to him, the savages would go to the English and the Dutch, and consequently the French would lose the valuable trade. The Jesuits were accused of exaggerating the evils of brandy, with the aim of securing the trade for themselves. This was of course false, and to their credit be it said that the Jesuits everywhere and unalterably opposed the liquour traffic, the licentiousness of the coureur de bois, and the unjust exploitation of the Indians

by the traders. And their motives in so doing were always the highest.

The beaver skins produced an effect on the French akin to that of gold on the Forty-niners. The deepest recesses of the wilderness were invaded by eager seekers after gain. First came the riotous coureur de bois and then a garrison. Discipline was very weak; soldiers were allowed to eke out their pay by trading, brandy being the chief article of barter. One of the missionaries wrote to his friend.

> "Our missions are reduced to such extremities that we can no longer maintain them against the infirmity of disorder, brutality, violence--which the deplorable and infamous brandy has spread universally among the Indians of these parts." (63)

---

(63) Francis Parkman, Old Regime in Canada. p. 384

The demoralizing effect of lawless and licentious French traders upon the Indian, and the constant migration of the various tribes of this section of North America reduced the influence of the Jesuit missionary so that by 1721 the Jesuit mission work had sharply declined.

Other probable reasons for the decline of the missions may be found in the conditions in France namely: Due to the struggle of the French crown with the church, the government was indifferent to the activities of the Church and hence interest and enthusiasm for missionary effort suffered a sharp decline in France. Likewise the heresy of Jansenism

weakened the faith so that few of the better class entering Jesuit order; consequently the missions were not as well manned as in the earlier days.

Suppression of the Jesuits in New France.

There had arisen about the middle of the eighteenth century a strong governmental opposition to the Jesuits, based partly on the hostility to the order which had always prevailed in France, but the force of which was heightened in Canada by the fact that in the struggle of the Bishop with his clergy in regard to the selling of liquour the Jesuits were on the side of the Bishop. (64)

---

(64) J. G. Shea, Jesuit Recollects and Indians in Winsor History of America. Vol. 4, p. 287

The Jesuits were not only accused of being hostile to royal authority but also to the rights of the bishop; and hence, disturbing to the public peace and safety. This feeling came to a head with the suppression in France of the Jesuit Order in 1761-62 and led to similar proceedings in New France.

In other sections of New France outside of Canada proper the order of suppression was drastic, and in many instances was carried out with brutality. It was prohibited to these Jesuits, hitherto thus styled, to take that name hereafter or to wear the customary garb, orders being given to assume that of secular ecclesiastics. Excepting their books and some wearing apparel which was allowed to them, all their property, real and personal, was to be seized and sold at auction, the chapel ornaments and sacred vessels of New Orleans were to be delivered up to the Reverend Capuchin Fathers. The chapels were then to be demolished and the Jesuits were to return to France, embarking upon the first ship ready to depart. Meanwhile, they were prohibited from remaining together. (65)

---

(65) Jesuit Relations. Vol. 70. p. 220

During the execution of the order the more intelligent of the inhabitants asked by what right the government took possession of the property of the Jesuits.....It was also asked why the Jesuits were excepted from the privilege of having eighteen months to choose either to remain in this country or to go elsewhere. (66)

---

(66) Ibid., Vol. 70. p. 275

At the time of the suppression there were twenty-one

Jesuits in Canada. The Bishop of Quebec, Mgr. Briand, refused to promulgate the Brief. He informed some of his intimate friends that he had no fear of excommunication; for he was in communication with Pope Clement XIV, who approved of his course of action. Associated with the Bishop was Governor Carleton who was interested in the matter for his own personal reasons. His rival, General Amherst, was anxious to see the Jesuits driven out, so as to secure their property for himself. Carleton, on the contrary, proposed to keep it for future educational purposes. The property could not be seized immediately for the treaty of conquest had guaranteed the Canadians protection in their religion. Hence the Fathers were not molested though Carleton refused to allow any accession of either novices or former Jesuits to their ranks. The result was that they gradually died out. (67)

---

(67) Thomas Campbell, The Jesuits, p. 594

During the whole period of nearly a century and a half one hundred and fifty men ministered to the whole of Canada and the Mississippi Valley. (68)

---

(68) J. R. Shea, History of Catholic Missions Among Indian Tribes. pp. 499 - 502

It must be admitted that the apparent fruits of these missions were small, except in the virtues practiced by the

missionaries themselves. Yet the external results of the missions are not to be despised. The Jesuit missionary kept the Indians in alliance with the French, and he succeeded in this all the better because the savage saw clearly by the conduct of the missionary that he was not in their midst to make a fortune. This disinterestedness established his credit. The savages often kept the faith taught them by Allouez long years after his departure, and many refrained from brandy even when it was offered to them free of cost. The complaint that the Jesuits had only taken care to extend their estates was groundless, as they were obliged to maintain their estates in order to provide for their necessary expenses.

The French Jesuits of the Great Lake Region never grouped their faithful neophytes around fixed mission centers with the same success which was had in the Spanish American Colonies, but even though their influence on the Indians was not always directly exerted, their presence as chaplains in garrisons in the western country was a help in as much as it tended to restrain the lawless conduct of French traders.

CHAPTER III

Coming of the Jesuits to Maryland.

In striking contrast with the government's patronage of mission activity in the Spanish and French colonies, the English government barely tolerated the Jesuit missionary, when it was not actually persecuting him. It was on behalf of the Catholics who formed a large proportion of the first group of colonists who came to Maryland that Lord Baltimore applied to Father Richard Blount, provincial of the Jesuits in England, for missionaries for this colony. Lord Baltimore made it clear to the Jesuit Provincial that the priests would have to be self supporting, as the Catholic settlers were for the most part too poor to contribute to the support of the church. This factor as well as the imminent danger to Catholic priests in such close proximity to the hostile Virginians seemed to some of the Jesuits in England entirely too hazardous an undertaking. However, it was finally decided that the Jesuit Fathers were to go as gentlemen adventurers, taking artisans with them and acquiring land, as did the other settlers, from which they were to draw their support. Money for the expense of the missionaries' journey is believed to have been supplied by Father Thomas Copley. (69)

---

(69) John G. Shea, Catholic Church in Colonial Days, p. 38
also
T. Hughes, History of Society of Jesus in North America. Vol I. pp. 249 and 255

Father Andrew White, Father John Althan, Father Timothy Hayes, and a lay-brother, Thomas Gervase, were the four Jesuits to accompany this first group of some 200 settlers. Father White who had served in England at one of the missions as a seminary priest, was soon imprisoned for his faith and after spending several years in prison was banished from England in 1606. On the continent he entered the Jesuit Order where he filled professorial chairs in several colleges. He was fifty years old when he was selected as the Superior of the group of missionaries to Maryland. In Father White's Relation preserved in the archives of Georgetown is given a detailed account of his journey to America.

The Annual Letters of the Provincials of the Society of Jesus are the reports which they were required to make to the General of the Society at Rome of the chief events of the province during the preceding year and particularily of the work accomplished by the Fathers in that missionary field.
cf also printed account in original Narrative Series.

They set sail from England in the Ark and Dove on the Feast of St. Cecelia, November 22, 1633. The voyage was placed under the protection of St. Ignatius and that of the guardian angel of Maryland but especially under the patronage of the Immaculate Conception. After a stormy voyage of some three months they touched the shores of the West Indies, where they attempted to procure articles of

trade from the English colonists on the island of Barbados; but by conspiracy the English refused to sell a bushel of corn, which was so plentiful, for less than four times its value. Continuing on their journey they stopped eight or nine days at Point Comfort in Virginia. Father White attributed the hospitality shown them here by Harvey, the governor, to the letters. Calvert brought him from the King. Harvey thought that Calvert must be held in high esteem by the King, and that any courtesy shown him might increase his own chance of getting large sums owed him by the King. (70)

---

(70) T. Hughes, History of the Jesuits in North America. Vol. I, pp. 275 - 279

The Catholic character of Maryland from its very beginning is clearly seen from its Catholic nomenclature - for as these early voyagers sailed up the Chesapeake and into the Potomac they assigned to each landmark a name drawn from the Catholic calendar. The mouth of the river they called St. Gregory; farther up, a sharp promontory was named St. Michael; and the island on which they landed was called St. Clement's. Here on March 25, the Feast of the Annunciation, the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass was offered for the first time in this part of the North American continent. After Mass a huge cross was borne in procession and was solemnly erected while the Litany of the Holy Cross was chanted. Calvert and all the officers took part in

these ceremonies.

The Maryland tribes of Indians consisted of several branches of the great Hurons: the Susquehannas or Conestogues were the dominant tribe; the Algonquins were their allies. Tribes of which the early colonists speak most frequently were the Wicomacoes or Yoacomocas, among whom they settled; the tribe of the Piscataway, and that of the Patuxent. Very soon after the English landed at St. Clement, the Governor and Father Althan paid a visit to the chief of Piscataway. The savages having fled into the interior the two missionaries went on to an Indian village called Potomac, where this tribe held a powerful sway over a great tract of land. When Father Althan explained (through an interpreter) that they had come not for purposes of war but for the sake of benevolence, that they might show the Indians the way to heaven, Archihu, the chief said, "This

> "This is agreeable to my mind; we will use one table; my attendants will hunt for you, and all things shall be common among us." (71)

---

(71) Jared Sparks, Lives of Leonard Calvert, Samuel Ward, and Thomas Posey in Library of American Biography, Vol. IX. p. 60

The friendliness of Archihu was indicative of the peaceful conquest of the Indians in Maryland to Christianity by the zealous missionaries.

Calvert purchased thirty acres of land from the

Yaocomocas tribe, a territory about a mile from the eastern shore of the Potomac. The Indian town taken possession of was named St. Mary's. One of the oblong huts of the Indians which was assigned to the priests was soon transformed into a chapel, the first shrine of Catholicity in Maryland. Father White attributed this easy acquisition of land to the fact that the Susquehannas were by frequent incursions so devastating the homes of the Yaocomocas that the latter were willing to abandon their lands and seek other habitations. (72)

---

(72) Ibid., p. also
T. Hughes, Society of Jesus in North America. Vol. I, p. 325

The Indians hunted and fished for the colonists. Father White says the Yaocomocas came of their own accord and offered what they had taken in hunting and fishing, altogether their relations with the white were most amiable. (73)

---

(73) Force, Relation of Father White in Collection of Historical Tracts, Vol. IV. p. 23

The missionaries began at once to study their language, a difficult task, because it was found that each little tribe had a distinct dialect. The records of the early labors of the Jesuits are full of accounts of the difficulty of the Europeans to master their language. As late

as 1642 Father White complained that the missionaries were hindered in their labors because of their ignorance of the language.

> "For, considering that the difficulty of this language is so great that none of us can yet converse with the Indians without an interpreter (though Father Rigby has made a little progress, so that he hopes he will be able by a short time to converse with them upon things of ordinary importance, and to instruct them as far as may be necessary for admission to baptism; for he has composed a short catechism, by the aid of an interpreter), these things, I say, being considered, it appears miraculous that we have been able to effect anything with them; especially when we have no interpreter except a young man who is not himself so well acquainted with their language but that he sometimes excites their laughter; so that for a time we seemed almost to despair in mind, but by patience we are succeeding, and in a gradual way are bringing them over to what we desire." (74)

---

(74) Clayton Hall, Extracts from Annual Letters of the English Province of the Society of Jesus in Narratives of Early Maryland. p. 137

Mission Activity.

The missionaries found the natives very receptive to Christianity and desirous of civilization and the refined intercourse with the Europeans. Father White found exemplified here among the Indians the universal truth that all races recognize a Supreme Being although they may not pay Him external worship.

> "They are most patient of troubles, and easily endure contumely and injuries, if they do not involve danger of life.---- They rarely think of the immortality of the soul, or of the things that are to be after death. If at any time they meet a teacher clearly explaining these things, they show themselves very attentive as well as docile; and by and by are seriously turned to think of their souls; so as to be ready to obtain those things which they perceive conduce to the salvation of the same. They are readily swayed by reason, nor do they withhold their assent obstinately from the truth set forth in a credible manner. This natural disposition of the tribe, aided by the seasonable assistance of divine grace, gives us hope of the most desirable harvest hereafter, and animates us to continue our labors in this vineyard with the greatest exertion." (75)

---

(75) Force, Relation of Father White in Collection of Historical Tracts. Vol. IV. p. 34

> "They keep themselves as much as possible from wine and warm drinks, nor are they easily induced to taste them except in cases where the English have infected them with their vices.---- I have not observed in man or woman, I confess, as far as relates to charity any action which might savor of levity---- Notwithstanding they keep many wives, they preserve conjugal faith inviolate.---- the countenances of women are grave and modest.---- If once they are imbued with Christian principles (and I see nothing to hinder it except our want of acquaintance

with the language) will become worthy promoters of virtue and humanity." (76)

---

(76) Ibid., p. 23

As soon as Father White had mastered the rudiments of the language of the Patuxents, he went to live among them. Maquacomen, their chief, seemed very kindly disposed towards Christianity, and gave the missionary a valuable tract of land called Matapaumen. His example led several of the tribe to listen to the missionary, and they were baptized after being carefully instructed. But Maquacomen himself hesitated and was very unstable in his attitude. Finally his hostility became so marked that Calvert recalled Father White, and the first attempt to have a permanent Indian mission was abandoned. The missionaries had to confine themselves to visits to the town.

The position taken by Lord Baltimore - that the Catholic priests who went to Maryland were not to look to him or to the settlers for support - left them no alternative but to maintain themselves. The missionaries took steps at once to place the affairs of the Jesuit community on a self supporting basis. Under the condition of Plantation issued by Lord Baltimore August 8, 1636 every one of the gentlemen adventurers of 1633 was entitled to one thousand acres of land for every five men brought over and the same

quantity of land for every ten men brought over in the two succeeding years. (77)

---

(77) Clayton Hall, Extracts from Annual Letters of the English Province of the Society of Jesus in Narratives of Early Maryland. p. 91 also
T. Hughes, History of the Society of Jesus in North America. Vol. I, p. 252

Father Fisher (using the name of Thomas Copley) entered a claim for Mr. Andrew White and Mr. John Althan and others to the number of thirty brought over by him in 1633 as well as for himself and Mr. John Knowles and others to the number of nineteen brought over in 1637.

> The last two priests assigned to the Maryland mission were Father Thomas Copley (Father Philip Fisher) and Father John Knowles. They arrived in 1637, but because of the intolerant spirit of the age, the missionaries were known by fictitious names often by different names in the different colonies. Had the records shown the real names of these property owners, their relatives in England would have suffered from the penal laws of the times against Catholics in England.

The lands taken, were cleared, and put under cultivation by the missionaries, and may be said to have met the expense of maintaining Catholic worship in Maryland for two centuries. (78)

---

(78) J. G. Shea, Catholic Church in Colonial Days. p. 47

At first the ministrations of the missionaries were confined to the Wicomacoes (whose town they occupied) and the colonists themselves. Previous to 1638 Calvert and his associates thought it was not safe for the priests to go among the Indians on account of the prevailing sickness and the hostile acts committed by some of the natives in retaliation to the injustice done them by some English traders. During these years it was quite remarkable how harmoniously the Protestant and Catholic settlers lived together. In fact the zeal of the clergy was so marked that most of the Protestants who came in 1638 were converted to Catholicism. (79)

---

(79) L. G. Tyler, England in America in American Nation Series. p. 139

By 1638, the colony had become so large and the settlers had spread over the province so that it was no longer considered dangerous for the missionaries to dwell among them. The priests established a missionary station at their plantation Matapaumen, where they built a kind of a storehouse; this they made a starting point of their expeditions into the country. These expeditions were made almost entirely on water. Father White in his Relation gives us a vivid picture of the priest, a servant, and an interpreter starting out on one of these journeys.

> "We are carried in a pinnace or galley, to wit; the Father, the interpreter, and a servant-- for we use an interpreter, as will be stated

hereafter. Two of them propel the boat with oars, when the wind is adverse or fails; the third steers with the helm. We take with us a little chest of bread, butter, cheese, corn, cut and dried before it is ripe, beans and a little flour--another chest, also, for carrying bottles, one of which contains wine for religious purposes, six others holy water for baptism; a box with the sacred vessels, and a slab as an altar for the sacred function; and another casket full of trifles, which we give the Indians to conciliate their affection--such as little bells, combs, knives, fish-hooks, needles, thread, and other things of this kind. We have, besides, a little tent, when we are obliged to lie out in the open air, which is frequently the case; also a larger one, which is adapted to keep out the rain. The servants also bring other things, which are necessary for hunting, and preparing for food whatever they have taken in hunting.

In our excursions we endeavor, as much as we can, to reach by evening some English house, or Indian village, but if not, we land and to the Father falls the care of mooring the boat fast to the shore, then of collecting wood and making a fire, while in the meantime the two others go to hunt--so that if they take anything it may be prepared. But if not, having refreshed ourselves with our provisions, we lie down by the fire and sleep. If fear of rain threatens, we erect our hut and cover it with a larger mat spread over; and, praise be to God, we enjoy this humble fare and hard couch with a not less joyful mind, than more luxurious provisions in Europe, with this present comfort that God now imparts to us a foretaste of what He will give to those who labor faithfully in this life, and mitigates all hardships with a degree of pleasantness; especially because His Divine Majesty appears to be present with us, in an extraordinary manner." (80)

---

(80) Clayton Hall, opus cit., pp. 136 - 137

During epidemics and famines the missionaries showed the savages in a special way the beauties of the Christian religion by their self sacrificing energies. On several

occasions Divine Providence gave the missionary the power of miracles to strengthen the faith of the new converts or to convince the obstinate pagan. Calvert found these missionaries most powerful auxiliaries in maintaining peace and prosperity in his colony. The history of Maryland during those first years is unique in this regard, for in none of the other English colonies do we find the relation between the white and savage so amiable, these friendly relations seem to have existed between the colonists and natives for a long time.

Governor Harvey of Virginia who visited Calvert a few days after his arrival was apparently also friendly at that time but before a year had passed settlers in Virginia, under Claiborne, the ruler of the island of Kent, began to spread discord. Claiborne was impelled to a hatred of the Maryland colonists only because of his enmity towards Catholics, but also because he felt that Calvert was a usurper of lands belonging to the Virginians. Previous to Calvert's arrival Claiborne had occupied the island of Kent, which now formed part of the Maryland colony. Claiborne began his evil work by casting word among the Indians that the Europeans were Spaniards and his enemies; by this means he alieniated the minds of the natives so that they did not receive them in so friendly a manner as formerly. (81)

---

(81) T. Hughes, History of the Society of Jesus in North America. Vol. 1, p. 324.

Supplies of provision were stopped, and there was an entire change in the demeanor of the Indians.

By 1639 the storm clouds had cleared away and the annals of that year relate that the four Jesuits settled in places far distant from each other, so as to spread the gospel more widely. Throughout the history of the Jesuit missions one finds that the Fathers very diplomatically approached the chief or ruler first for after his conversion, the rest of the tribe was easily won. Father Brock was stationed at Mattapany, Father Althan was at Kent some sixty miles away. Father Fisher stayed at St. Mary's, whereas Father White entered a new field, that of the Patapsco or Pascatoes. (82)

---

(82) Ibid., p. 344 - 345

He visited chief Tayac at Kittamaquendia some 120 miles from St. Mary's. The chief's ready acceptance of Father White was probably due in part to several dreams Tayac had in which Father White appeared to him and a voice told him that these missionaries would bring many blessings to the whole tribe. Father White was treated very kindly by both the king and queen; each tried to outdo the other in their marks of hospitality to the missionary. Father White lived among the Pascatoes for about a year, during which time the king and queen were among the most faithful catachumens; they were unwilling that Father White should accept

hospitality from any other than those of their palace. Finally Tayac asked for baptism. He would like to have been baptized at St. Mary's, but Father White did not wish to lose the effect such a ceremony would have on Tayac's subjects at Kittamaquido.

Accordingly the baptism of Tayac and his wife took place on July 5, 1640 in a little bark chapel constructed for the occasion. Governor Calvert and the principal men of the colony travelled a distance of about one hundred miles through the wilderness from St. Mary's to be present at this ceremony. In the afternoon the King (baptismal name Charles) and his queen (Mary) were solemnly united in marriage. From that time on Tayac lived a model Christian life. He put away his concubines, and took a keen interest in learning the English language, to be better able to understand the Catholic religion. His daughter and son were sent to St. Mary's to be educated. They were put under the care of the Jesuits for seven years. (83)

---

(83) Ibid., p. 344

In 1642 the Emperor of Piscataway was finally won over to the church, and during the same year 130 of his tribe followed his example. Father White speaks of several other tribes who he knows were eager for the true faith; but fears that their recent converts would be too prematurely neglected were they to enlarge their missionary endeavors at this time.

Trouble with Baltimore and Virginia.

Those from whom the Jesuits should have expected protection were often the ones who caused them suffering; for instance the Secretary of the assembly of Maryland, although a Catholic, was unacquainted with the canons of the church and passed certain laws which, though in force in England, violated the immunities of the church. Father White says:

> "that occasion of suffering has not been wanting from those from whom rather it was natural to expect aid and protection; who, too intent upon their own affairs, have not feared to violate the immunities of the Church, by using their endeavors, that laws of this kind formerly passed in England and unjustly observed there, may obtain like force here," (84)

---

(84) Clayton Hall, opus cit., pp. 139 - 140

Laws regarding marriage and the proving of wills then regarded as within the province of ecclesiastical courts were passed. But the principal point of dispute was that regarding property namely, it was decreed that it shall not be lawful for any person or community under an ecclesiastical superior, even by gift to acquire or possess any land, unless the permission of the civil magistrate first be obtained. Of course the Jesuits objected to this infringement of their rights. The Secretary put the matter in such a light to Lord Baltimore that he determined to force the Jesuits to abandon the mission at Mattapany. Baltimore applied to

the Congregation of the Propagation of Faith in Rome asking for secular priests, but failed to state that a Jesuit mission had already been established. (85)

---

(85) T. Hughes, opus cit., pp. 428 - 432

The Jesuits remonstrated. They did not object to other laborers coming, but considered it unjust to remove those who had been first in the field and who had labored for seven years at their own expense. The memorial of the Jesuits arrived too late; the Propaganda had already acted. Two secular priests came in 1644. The Jesuits however remained and Father White says,

> "But the reverse of what was expected happened; for our reasons being heard, and the thing itself being more clearly understood, they secular priests easily fell in with out opinion, and most of the laity." (86)

---

(86) Clayton Hall, opus cit., p. 140

The controversy finally ended with the Jesuits' ceding the tract at Mattapany, retaining only the lands they had acquired by condition of plantation. The conditions by which Baltimore became reconciled may be briefly stated:

1) The missionaries resigned all lands ceded by the Indian king and agreed to take no others.
2) They agreed to take no lands except by special permission of Baltimore.
3) No missionary was to be sent to Maryland without

special permission of Baltimore.

4) Any missionary in the colony could be recalled within a year at the request of Baltimore.

5) Each missionary had to take an oath of allegiance to Lord Baltimore.

Throughout the history of Maryland one finds reflected the rise and fall of the monarchy of England. Calvert's authority declined as that of Parliament increased in England. There was a strong feeling in Virginia against the Catholics of Maryland because of their religion and because of their political affiliations.

In 1645, under cover of their political differences, a band of marauders from Virginia plundered the Jesuits' estates; three of the missionaries escaped to Virginia. Two died there in 1646. Father White and Copley fell into the hands of a Captain Ingo, who loaded them with heavy chains and sent them to England. Here they were accused of treason, being priests on English soil, an act contrary to statute 27 of Elizabeth. Having pleaded their innocence on the ground that they were brought to England against their will, they were freed. But the judge who acquitted them sent them out of England under an order of perpetual banishment. Father White reached Belgium, where he vainly tried for some time to return to his beloved Maryland. Having succeeded in getting back to England, he spent the last years of his life in Hampshire district, the residence of St. Thomas of Canterbury.

Calvert regained control of Maryland in 1648. He again asked for secular priests, but he failed to obtain them, and the Jesuits returned from Virginia. Father Copley was sent over again from Belgium. The flock was collected together and once more the Holy Sacrifice was offered, but everything had to be done secretly. Efforts to revive the missions were only temporarily successful, owing to the hostilities of the Protestant element in the population and the rapid wasting away of native tribes.

The hardships of the climate and the unsettled political condition were a severe tax on the missionaries. Five priests died within a period of twelve years. Father Althan, one of the first to come over, had contracted the fever while at Kent in 1640, two died in Virginia in 1646, and Father Copley died in 1652. Father Poulton and Brooke were shot in 1641. (87)

---

(87) T. Hughes, opus cit., p. 492

To preserve the Catholic missions among the native tribes Baltimore in 1651 set apart 10,000 acres of land at Calverton manor on the Wicomico River for the remnant of the Mattapany, Wicommuonio, Patuxent, Lamaseconions, Highahwixones and Chapticon Indians. Thus the first Indian reservation in present limits of the United States was formed by a Catholic. But before 1700 the remnant of the

Piscataway removed themselves entirely from Maryland and sought refuge in the north among the Iroquois. (88)

---

(88) John G. Shea, Catholic Church in Colonial Days. p. 73

In 1652 the Governor of Maryland was again overthrown by the hostile Virginians. The Jesuits escaped again to Virginia, where they suffered from the greatest want. The annual of 1656 described their hardships:

> "With almost the entire loss of their property, private and domestic, together with great peril of life, they were secretly carried into Virginia; and in the greatest want of necessaries, scarcely and with difficulty do they sustain life. They live in a mean hut, low and depressed, not much unlike a cistern, or even a tomb, in which the great defender of the faith, St. Athanasius, lay concealed for many years. To their other miseries this inconvenience was added, that whatever comfort or aid this year, under name of stipend, from pious men in England, was destined for them, had been lost, the ship being intercepted in which it was carried. But nothing affects them more than that there is not a supply of wine, which is sufficient to perform the sacred mysteries of the altar. They have no servant, either for domestic use, or for directing their way through unknown and suspected places, or even to row and steer the boat, if at any time there is need. Often, over spacious and vast rivers, one of them, alone and unaccompanied, passes and repasses long distances, with no other pilot directing his course than Divine Providence."(89)

---

(89) Clayton Hall, opus cit., p. 142

During the first period of the Jesuit Missions the number of those resident in the colonies had averaged four

members, but this was gradually increased to twelve and finally there were at times as many as twenty priests in the colonies. Besides the missions in Maryland there were two in New York, and chaplains frequently ministered at the forts and among the settlers all along the frontier. (90)

---

(90) J. H. Pollen, Society of Jesus, Catholic Encyclopedia. Vol. 14, p. 95

When the penal laws of 1692 began to be enforced in Maryland, the clergy was forced to officiate in secret, and Indian missions became almost impossible. The priest's work was restricted to the care of the white settlers in Maryland, New York, and Pennsylvania.

Suppression.

It is not difficult to picture the sorrow of the missionaries in Maryland when the ship arrived from England bringing a letter explaining the Papal Brief which suppressed the entire Society of Jesus throughout the world. Briefly it is here stated:

> "To Messrs. the Missioners in Maryland and Pennsylvania:
> To obey the orders I have received from above, I notify to you by this the Breve, of the total dissolution of the Society of Jesus; and send withal a form of declaration of your obedience and submission, to which you are all to subscribe as your brethren have done here; and send me back the formula with the subscriptions of you all, as I am to send them up to Rome.
> Ever Youre,
> Richard Deborne, V.Ap." (91)

---

(91) Rev. W. P. Treacy, Old Catholic Maryland and Its Early Jesuit Missionaries. p. 132

But since the Maryland and Pennsylvanion missions were ministered to entirely by members of the now suppressed order, Cardinal Castelli, prefect of Propaganda, in a letter to Bishop Challoner August 25, 1773, conceded the privilege to the ex-Jesuits of remaining in the places where they were if they submitted fully and sincerely.

Maryland formed a part of the London District which was under jurisdiction of Bishop Challoner.

The Act of Submission sent to America was signed by

twenty-one members of the suppressed Society. As ex-members they continued their labors; but only two, Molyneux and Balton, lived to see the restoration of their society in 1814. Though Bishop Challoner ignored the order he had received from Rome to confiscate all the property, goods, appurtenances belonging to the Society , it was a long time before the American ex-Jesuits recovered from the fear that the Sacred Congregation would confiscate all. (92)

---

(92) Peter Guilday, Life and Times of John Carroll p. 51 - 52

Sparks says

> "The Catholics have generally been successful as missionaries among the heathen. Their peculiar dress and imposing ceremonies are found to make a deep impression upon the minds of savages. Their celibacy, self-denial, and entire devotedness to their official duties, give barbarians a high idea of their peculiar sanctity." (93)

---

(93) Jared Sparks, American Biography Vol. IX. p. 83

The glorious period of the Jesuit missionaries among the Maryland Indians may be said to have been during the first fifteen years. During that time priests had converted nearly all the Indians on both Peninsulas along the Potomac to Piscataway and up the Patuxent to Mattapany.

Conclusion.

The story of the English Jesuits in Maryland has never attracted as much attention as have the martyrs of New France or the Jesuit missionaries who blazed the trails in New Spain; yet however obscure their labors may have been, the life of the missionary in this English Colony called for magnanimous souls such as Father Andrew White and his Contemporaries.

The record of the Jesuit missionaries in North America is full of personal devotion, energy, courage and perseverance. The French missions did not equal those of the Spanish in New Mexico and California, not because of lack of personal ability or devotion of the workers, but because of the attitude of the trading companies which allowed them scanty stipends. Neither company nor government made sufficient outlay to enable missionary work to be carried on effectually. The Spanish government on the other dealt directly with the missions and did much to insure their success. When a mission was to be established in a Spanish colony a party of soldiers went with them to erect a presido or garrison for the protection of the mission.

The French method of working among the Indians seems to have differed widely from that of the Spanish. Whereas the French mission at best was a stockade protecting neophytes against hostile attack and inclosing a church, mission house and machine shed the French priest left his

neophyte free----setting him no task. While the Spanish mission contained its workshops and stores. At most the Indians of New France grouped nearby and entered the village only in time of danger.

The Jesuit missionaries were cultured men, men who appreciated the better things of life. To surrender all and to live among the uncouth degraded Indian was a sacrifice which few can really appreciate. Their pure lives were nobly devoted to an unselfish purpose. For the sake of a religious ideal, they abandoned the comforts of civilization and plunged into a pathless wilderness with an almost certain assurance of bitter hardships and a cruel death. Men do not sacrifice their all for such hardships and utter lack of natural comforts unless something is to be gained, and who will say that they did not gain much for themselves and for mankind.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bancroft, H. H., History California, Vol. I, Bancroft and Co., 1884, San Francisco, pp. 743

The history of various religious orders who labored in both Upper and Lower California are treated quite fully in this volume. Gives a biased interpretation of facts.

Bancroft, H. H., History of Mexico, Vol.II and III, Bancroft and Co., 1887, San Francisco, pp. 780

One of the best general description of Mexican life and institutions. There are five volumes in this series.

Bancroft, H. H., History of North Mexican States and Texas, Vol. I, Bancroft and Co., 1886, San Francisco, pp. 773

A vast and invaluable source of information for the mission fields of the Spanish Jesuits along the Pacific coast of Mexico.

Blackmar, F. W., Spanish Colonization in the Southwest, (John Hopkin's University Studies in historical and political science) John Hopkin's Press, 1891, Baltimore, pp. 353

Works such as this are suggestive rather than scholarly. This work has been improved upon by later monographs.

Bolton, H. E., Kino's Historical Memoirs of Pimeria Alta, 2 Vols., Clark Co., 1919, Cleveland, pp.

A history of Pimeria Alta and of explorations therein with considerable attention given to California affairs. It was written by Kino at the request of the Father General of the Order.

Bolton, H. E., Outposts of An Empire, Knopf Co., 1931, New York, pp. 334

The story of the founding of San Francisco is vividly told by one who knows his sources and geography. The work is based on the diaries and correspondences of Anza and those who accompanied him on his expedition.

Campbell, T. J., Menard, Parkman Club Publication, No. 17, Parkman Club, Milwaukee, pp. 24

A brief account of Menard's missionary activity based upon the Relations.

Chapman, C. E., History of California, the Spanish Period, Macmillan Co., 1921, New York, pp. 527

Popular and comprehensive history of the state.

Engelhardt, Zephyrin, Rev., California Missions, Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. 3, Appelton Co., 1908, New York, pp. 178-9

The account of the Jesuits in Lower California is valuable.

Engelhardt, Zephyrin, Rev., Missions and Missionaries of California, Vol. I, Barry, 1908, San Francisco, pp. 654

Organized into 4 units: Introduction; Jesuit Period; Franciscian Period; and Dominican Period. It is a reliable work for it was compiled from source material drawn from mission records and ecclesiastical documents.

Force, Peter, Tracts and Other Papers, Relative to the Origin, Settlement and Progress of Colonies of North America, Vol. 4, Peter and Wm. Force Co., 1846, Washington, pp. 47

Relating principally to the Origin, settlement and progress of colonies of North America from the Discovery to 1776. 4 vols. Is a convenient location of original documents illustrative of the early history of the English colonies some of which were early out of print. Father White's Relation forming document No. 12 of the 4th volume is a reprint of a report made by Father White to his general and is interesting for its account of the relations of the settlers to the Indians.

Bolton, H. E., The Spanish Borderlands, (Vol. 23 of The Chronicles of America Series), Yale University Press, 1921, New Haven, pp. 320

Summarizes in popular form the results of work based on extensive documentary research.

Bolton, H. E., and Marshall, T. M., The Colonization of North America, Macmillan, 1925, New York, pp. 609

This work portrays the whole process of the colonization of North America and the West Indies with adequate presentation of Hispanic American movements. The subject is divided into three sections: I. The Founding of the colonies; II. Expansion and International Conflict; III. Revolt of English Colonies.

Bourne, Edward G., Spain in America 1450-1580, (Vol. 3 of The American Nation Series) Harper and Bros., 1904, New York, pp. 350

This is a clear presentation of Spanish work in Early America. Though written in popular style it contains a very good bibliography on the subject. The work of the Catholic missions might have been given more prominence. It barely touches the period after 1580.

Campbell, T. J., Pioneer Priests of North America 1642-1710, Vol. I, Fordham University Press, 1908, New York, pp. 333 Vol. 2, American Press, 1910, New York, pp. 411

Volume one contains the biographies of the eighteen priests who labored among the Iroquois Indians in what is now the State of New York. A chronological order is followed so as to correspond with the general history of the missions. The second volume treats of the chief apostles of the Hurons.

Campbell, T. J., The Jesuits 1534-1921, Encyclopedia Press, 1921, New York, pp. 930

A comprehensive history of Jesuits dealing with the rise of the Society, its suppression and restoration.

Forrest, Earl, Mission and Pueblos of the Old Southwest, Clark Co., 1929, Cleveland, pp. 386

Deals chiefly with Pueblo Indians and Spanish missions in a series of separate sketches, historical and descriptive, arranged geographically in groups.

Guilday, Peter, The Life and Times of John Carrol Archbishop of Baltimore, Encyclopedia Press, 1922, New York, pp. 864

The archives of Rome, Paris, London, and Brussels were searched for documentary material of John Carrol, the first bishop of the Catholic Church in United States. Contains a splendid critical essay on the Sources.

Hall, Clayton C., Original Narratives of Early American History 1633-1684, Scribner, 1910, New York, pp. 460

A collection of original sources among which is Father White's Relation.

Hughes, S. J. Rev. T., History of the Society of Jesus in North America, Vol. I, Burrows Bros., 1908, Cleveland, pp. 647

In two volumes from 1580-1773, the first up to year 1645. The notices of sources listed in these volumes makes it one of the most important contributions to Catholic American bibliography in recent years.

Kellog, Louise, Early Narratives of the Northwest 1634-1699, Scribner and Sons, 1917, New York, pp. 382

A narrative of the discoverers, explorers and founders of the French Empire in North America. The Jesuit Relations and Wisconsin Historical Collections were freely borrowed.

Kellog, Louise, French Regime in New France, Wisconsin Historical Society, 1925, pp. 474

Describes the influence of the missionary during the early fur trading period.

Kenton, E., The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, Boni, 1925, New York, pp. 527

This volume is a selection of Jesuit Letters or Relations arranged in chronological order and covers a period of 128 years. It is an abridgement of the great work of R. Thwaites and contains 38 documents telling the story of the beginning of the missionary labors in New France in 1611, the development of the Huron missions, the Huron martyrs, the description of the western expansion of the missions and the banishment of the Jesuits.

Kip, Rev. W. I., Early Jesuit Missions in North America, John Wiley Pub. Co., 1846, New York, pp. 320

John W Is a translation of parts relating to America "Lettres edifiantes et curieuses ecrites des missions etrangeres." Deals with missionary life among the Abnakis, the works and death of Father Rasle, Father Marest's travels

La Boule, Joseph Stephen, Claude Jean Allouez, Apostle to The Ottawas, Parkman Club Publication, No. 17, 1897, Milwaukee, pp. 28

An interesting study of the missionary activity of Allouez based largely upon his diary and letters.

Lumholtz, Carl, New Trails in Mexico, Scribner, 1912, New York, pp. 411

An account of one year's exploration in northwestern Sonora, Mexico and southwestern Arizona.

Messmer, Sebastian, Early Jesuit Missions in Fox River Valley, Wisconsin Historical Society Proceedings for 1899, pp. 147-152

A brief study of the early history around the vicinity of Green Bay Wisconsin.

Mooney, James, Catholic Indian Missions of the United States, Catholic Encyclopedia Vol. 10, Appelton Co., 1911, New York, pp. 384

Contains statistics and valuable data in a brief summarized report.

Munro, W. B., Crusaders of New France, (Vol. 4 of The Chronicle of America Series), Yale University Press, 1918, New Haven, pp. 237

One of the Chronicles of the America Series, An interesting account of the political, social, and religious life in Canada during the French regime.

Murray, John, Lives of the Catholic Heroes and Heroines of America, James Sheehy, 1881, New York, pp. 878

A biographical sketch of twenty-four famous personages representative of Catholic leaders among the ecclesiastics as well as the laity. The works of Francis Parkman are cited frequently.

North, Arthur, Mother of California, Elder Co., 1908, San Francisco, pp. 169

Treats of the early missionaries in California. A detailed account of the expulsion of the Jesuits from Lower California.

Parkman, Francis, The Jesuits in North America in the Seventeenth Century, Little & Brown Co., 1908, Boston, pp. 463

Graphically pictures the self denials of Jesuit missionaries and the adventures of explorers of New France, and the life of the Indian in which both were interested. Although entitled The Jesuits of North America it does not treat of either the Spanish or English Jesuits.

Parkman, Francis, The Old Regime in Canada, Little & Brown Co., 1907, Boston, pp. 508

A description of the political and social system of the French administration in Canada.

Pollen, J. H., Society of Jesus, Catholic Encyclopedia Vol. 14, Appelton Co., 1912, New York, p. 96

A good survey of the French missions in Canada from their beginnings until the time of the suppression.

Rochemonteix, Camille de, Les Jesuits et la Nouvelle France an XVII^{e} Siècle, Letouzey et Ane', 1896, Paris, Vol 2, pp. 536, Vol. 3, pp. 694

A detailed account in several volumes of the work of the Jesuits in North America based on documents many of them unpublished. A section of each of these volumes is given to documents on which the material in that volume is based. Volume 2 covers years 1640 to 1670 and volume 3 the years 1670 to first part of the 18th century.

Shea, John Gilmary, History of the Catholic Church, McBride & Co., 1886,88, New York, Vol. I pp. 663, Vol. 2 pp. 695

Shea was a pioneer in the field of Catholic historians, he was one of the first to recognize the necessity of going back to sources. For some 30 years his volumes were the most comprehensive account accessible of the history of the Catholic Church in America. He lacks bibliographical lists.

Shea, John Gilmary, History of the Catholic Missions Among the Indian Tribes of the United States, Kennedy & Sons, (no date), New York, pp. 514

A general history of the missionary efforts of the Catholic Church among the American Indians within the present territory of United States from the discovery to 1854. Archives in France, Spain, and Mexico were visited to compile the data. The research extended over a period of ten years.

Sparks, Jared, Lives of Leonard Calvert, Samuel Ward, and Thomas Posey, (Vol. 9 of the Library of American Biography, Little & Brown Co., 1846, Boston, pp. 403

These three lives are essays rather than biographical sketches.

Thwaites, R. G., The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, Burrows Brothers Co., 1896-1901, Cleveland

A 73 volume collection of relations and documents written by early Jesuits in New France giving the original French, Latin, and Italian texts together with the English translations of the same. The whole is annotated.

Tyler, L. G., England in America, (Vol. 4 of The American Nation Series), Harper, 1904, New York, pp. 355

One of the American Nation Series. The author gives a detailed account of the formative period of the English colonies in the United States, briefly sketching their social, political, and religious life.

Treacy, Rev. Wm., Old Catholic Maryland and Its Early Jesuit Missionaries, 1927, Swedesboro, pp. 183

A biographical sketch of Calvert and Father White. The suppression of the Society in the English colonies is given in detail.

Venegas, Miguel, Juan Maria de Salvatierra of the Company of Jesus, (Vol. 5 of Spain in the West Series) Clark Co., 1929, Cleveland, pp. 350

This is an annoted translation of Father Miguel Venegas work published in Mexico in 1754. Though a biography of this one man the work nevertheless covers the early work of Jesuits in Lower California.

Verwyst, Rev. C., Missionary Labors of Father Marquette, Menard, and Allouez, Hoffman Co., 1886, pp. 262

An appreciation of the missionaries of Wisconsin.

Winsor, Justin, Narrative and Critical History of America,
Vol. IV Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1884, Boston pp.516
Vol. II Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1886, Boston pp.640

Is valuable for its bibliographical and cartelogical aids. Each of the chapters is accompanied with a mass of valuable bibliographical information respecting sources, Brings out facts overlooked by other authors.

Wrong, George M., Rise and Fall of New France, Vol. I
Macmillan, 1928, New York, pp. 491

Vol. I of this work brings the Spanish to America, sets forth the English and French claims, studies Indian life, and pictures the life of the Church in Canada. This book closes with the death of La Salle.

Wynne, S. J. Rev. J., The Jesuit Martyrs of North America,
Universal Knowledge Foundation, 1925, New York, pp. 245

This is a story of the martyrdom of eight Jesuits - Jogues, Brebeuf, Chabanel, Daniel, Garnier, Lalemant, Goupil, and Lalande.

Periodicals.

McDonald, William E., "The Pius Fund of the Californias", The Catholic Historical Review, Vol. 19 (January, 1934), pp. 427-438

A fine account of the history of Pious Fund. It shows a considerable amount of research.

Rigault, Georges, "The Martyrs of New France," Mid-America, Vol. 13 (July, 1930), pp. 3-25

Martyrs of New France. A well documented paper showing a considerable amount of research work for the story of the Huron and Iroquois Missions.

Ryan, Rev. Edwin, "Diocesan Organization in Spanish Colonies", The Catholic Historical Review, Vol. 4 (July, 1918), pp. 170-185

A summary of the relations maintained between the parish of St. Augustine and its bishops from 1565 to 1819