

Vivre comme frères:
Native-French Alliances
in the St Lawrence Valley, 1535–1667

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Table of Contents

Abstract	iii
Résumé	iii
List of Illustrations	iv
List of Tables	iv
Acknowledgements	v
Abbreviations	vi
Chapter 1 How Ethnohistorians Think	1
Chapter 2 Elements of French Political Culture, <i>circa</i> 1600	30
Chapter 3 Political Cultures of the Northeastern Woodlands, <i>circa</i> 1600	131
Chapter 4 Kings, Captains, and Kin: Native-French Encounters in the Sixteenth-Century Atlantic World	225
Chapter 5 An Alliance of Brothers in the St Lawrence Valley, 1603 to 1633	345
Chapter 6 Brothers and Children: The Native-French Alliance in the Era of the 'Beaver Wars'	453
Chapter 7 Conclusion	495
Appendix	504
Bibliography	613

Abstract

This dissertation addresses the question of how the Native peoples of the St Lawrence River valley and the French colonizers who entered the region in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries formed and maintained intercultural alliances. It explores the political cultures of the French and of the northern Algonquian and Iroquoian peoples who occupied the region in this period as well as sixteenth-century patterns of Native-French interaction in the Atlantic world before turning to an analysis of the symbolic and institutional aspects of the alliance established between the Innu, Algonquins, Hurons, and French in the early seventeenth century. This study's attention to the classifications employed in Native and French political discourse and to Native and French actors' manipulations of symbolic capital—a notion borrowed from sociologist Pierre Bourdieu—leads to an emphasis on the centrality of the metaphor of brotherhood in this Native-French alliance. The history of this metaphor and its transformations are traced through the extensive geopolitical changes of the mid-seventeenth century, up to the French-Haudenosaunee treaties of 1665–67.

Résumé

Cette dissertation se penche sur la question des moyens par lesquels les peuples autochtones de la vallée du Saint-Laurent et les colonisateurs Français qui pénètrent dans la région aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles ont formé et entretenu des alliances interculturelles. Elle examine les cultures politiques des Français et des peuples algonquiens et iroquoiennes ainsi que les précédents créés au XVI^e siècle par les relations franco-amérindiennes dans l'espace atlantique, avant d'entreprendre une analyse des aspects symboliques et institutionnelles de l'alliance établie au début du XVII^e siècle impliquant les Innus, les Algonquins, les Hurons, et les Français. Cette étude porte une attention particulière aux classifications qui se manifestent dans les discours politiques des Amérindiens et des Français et aux façons dont les acteurs manipulent le capital symbolique (notion empruntée au sociologue Pierre Bourdieu); elle souligne en conséquence le rôle central de la métaphore de la fraternité dans cette alliance franco-amérindienne. La thèse suit l'histoire de cette métaphore dans la rhétorique des diplomates durant les changements géopolitiques du milieu du siècle, jusqu'aux traités franco-iroquois de 1665–67.

Illustrations

1. Men smoking long-stemmed pipes around a council fire	204
2. Strings ('branches') and a belt ('collier') of wampum	213
3. Innu sibblingship according to Father Pierre Laure (1726)	217
4. Iroquois degrees of consanguinity (female ego) as described in Morgan's <i>Systems of Consanguinity</i> (1871)	220
5. Iroquois degrees of consanguinity (male ego) as described in Morgan's <i>Systems of Consanguinity</i> (1871)	224
6. Dates and probable locations of encounters between Native peoples and Cartier's ships in the Gulf of St Lawrence in the summer of 1534	263
7. Approximate locations of selected Native nations and confederacies in 1605	369
8. Native nations with diplomatic contacts with the French in the mid-1640s	476

Tables

1. Innu leaders named in French sources, 1603– <i>circa</i> 1650	153
2. Books on the Americas printed at Lyons, Paris, and Rouen, 1493–1610	230
3. Ethnonyms in the St Lawrence Valley Trade Pidgin, <i>circa</i> 1600	339
4. Leadership terms in the St Lawrence Valley Trade Pidgin, <i>circa</i> 1600	340

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Abbreviations

- DCB* *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 15 vols. to date (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966–).
- HNAI* *Handbook of North American Indians*, gen. ed. William C. Sturtevant, 20 vols., vols. 4–12, 15 and 17 published to date (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1978–).
- JR* *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610–1791*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites, 73 vols. (Cleveland: Burrows Brothers, 1896–1901).
- HNF* Marcel Trudel, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, vols. 1–4 published to date (Montreal: Les Éditions Fides, 1963–96).
- MNF* *Monumenta Novae Franciae*, ed. Lucien Campeau, 8 vols. to date (1967–96).

1

How Ethnohistorians Think

'I am a woman, and carry the Hurons and Algonquins upon my braid of hair.' So stated the Mohawk ambassador Tegarihogen in council with Pierre Le Voyer d'Argenson, governor of New France, in late November 1658. More precisely, these were the words that a French interpreter understood him to have said.¹ They, along with summaries of sixteen other propositions and accompanying gifts made by Tegarihogen at the meeting, were recorded in a journal kept by the superior of the Jesuits at Québec alongside other happenings deemed worthy of the institutional memory of the Society of Jesus in New France. Unfortunately, the chronicler failed to explain what these words meant. In the annual published *Relations* that recounted the progress of the seventeenth-century Jesuit missions in New France, Jesuit authors often took pains to explain the metaphors in the Native speeches they reported—both to inform European readers and to display (sometimes boastfully) their success in piercing the veil of otherness that made

¹ 'Je suis femme et porte sur ma queue de cheveux les hurons et Algonquins.' 'Journal des Jésuites,' in *JR*, 44:122. The interpreter was probably Father Simon Le Moyne, who was recorded as having accompanied the six Mohawk ambassadors to Québec from Trois-Rivières (44:120).

Native North Americans seem so different from the French. But the Jesuit journal was not intended for publication; it may be for this reason that no explanation of Tegarihogen's 'I am a woman' was proffered. Or perhaps the Jesuit chronicler was unsure of the meaning of the woman's braid metaphor and saw fit merely to record the figure of speech. Among the nearly three hundred Native-French councils of the period 1603–1667 for which some record exists, Tegarihogen's is the only evocation of this figure of speech.² Nor does it figure in scholarly analyses of late-seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Iroquois political rhetoric.³ As a result, Tegarihogen's words are difficult to fathom at a remove of three hundred and fifty years. We can only guess at their meaning.

The questions raised by the metaphorical braid of hair hint in microcosm at the challenges scholars face in attempting an interpretation of Native-European relations in the early colonial era. The documentary evidence is one-sided; the ethnographic or linguistic expertise of the writer is unclear; the author's own view of the world—a view partly his or her own, and partly shared with other Europeans of the time—shapes the record of Native speech and behaviour in ways that are in turns both familiar and foreign to the modern analyst. These challenges are not unique to the study of past Native-newcomer relations, but they often seem amplified in that context by our presumption of significant cultural distance between the peoples of early modern Europe and their contemporaries in eastern North America. Much recent ethnohistory—the

² These councils are listed in the appendix.

³ See, for example, Francis Jennings, William N. Fenton, Mary A. Druke, and David R. Miller, eds., *The History and Culture of Iroquois Diplomacy: An Interdisciplinary Guide to the Treaties of the Six Nations and Their League* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1985), esp. chap. 6, 'Glossary of Figures of Speech in Iroquois Political Rhetoric'; and Nancy Shoemaker, 'An Alliance between Men: Gender Metaphors in Eighteenth-Century American Indian Diplomacy East of the Mississippi,' *Ethnohistory* 46, no. 2 (1999): 239–263.

'common-law marriage of history and anthropology'⁴ that has shaped scholarly interpretation of the topic for over a generation—has sought to overcome the biased and fragmented nature of European sources by sifting the latter for evidence of concrete behaviours, eschewing the motives European writers imputed to Native actors. Studies of Native participation in the subarctic fur trade in the 1970s and 1980s, for example, significantly revised our understanding of Native economic practices.⁵ This study follows in this vein, but shifts the focus to the speech acts and symbolic exchanges between Natives and newcomers. It presupposes that *how* people did things was as important as *what* they did. A thorough analysis of both these dimensions of intercultural relations is a necessary prelude to an attempt to answer the question of *why* people acted as they did. Such an analysis is arguably of especial importance in gauging the motives of past actors whose voices have not survived in any concrete form.

This dissertation examines the symbolic and institutional aspects of the alliances formed between the Native peoples of northeastern North America and the French colonizers who came there in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. It makes two distinct original contributions to our understanding of Native-newcomer relationships in this period. First, it traces the evolution of French conceptions of Native American political organization in the sixteenth century and the impact of this evolution on Native-French relations on the ground in Canada by showing how the tendency for French expeditionaries to view Native leaders as kings shaped French policies in a variety of colonial

⁴ James Axtell, *The European and the Indian: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America* (New York: Oxford Press, 1981), vii (quotation).

⁵ See, for example, Arthur J. Ray and Donald B. Freeman, *'Give Us Good Measure': An Economic Analysis of Relations between the Indians and the Hudson's Bay Company before 1763* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978); and Daniel Francis and Toby Morantz, *Partners in Furs: A History of the Fur Trade in Eastern James Bay, 1600–1870* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1982).

situations. Second, it highlights the role of the metaphor of fraternal kinship in early seventeenth-century Native-French alliances in eastern Canada and its centrality in the numerous intercultural negotiations of the period. These ideas have been given form in separate publications⁶ and are here revised, expanded, and integrated into a more general interpretation of early Native-French relations that follows the transformation and eclipse of the metaphor of brotherhood in the 1660s and 1670s. The basic unit of analysis for this study is the council—the face-to-face meetings of accredited representatives of Native and French groups, formal situations in which special forms of ritualized conduct and speech were required. The appendix lists 298 councils that took place between 1603 and 1667 and that either involved one or more Native groups and the French or were otherwise relevant to Native-French alliances of the period. In addition to the details of speech and deportment that are revealed in the council record, this study pays careful attention to the ways in which Native peoples and French colonizers categorized various facets of the experience of encounter—how they classified beings, experiences, and relationships. My analysis of these data proceeds from the premise that the actions of an individual engaged in a diplomatic encounter are best examined in the context of the political culture from which he or she has come.

Political culture is a concept that has been embraced by many historians over the past several decades and is particularly important in recent English-

⁶ See Peter Cook, 'Vivre comme frères: le rôle du registre fraternel dans les premières alliances franco-amérindiennes au Canada (vers 1580–1650),' *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec* 30, no. 2 (2001): 55–65, and *idem*, 'Kings, Captains, and Kin: French Views of Native American Political Cultures in the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries,' in *The Atlantic World and Virginia, 1550–1624*, ed. Peter Mancall (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 2007), 307–341.

language scholarship on both early modern France and on colonial America.⁷ The concept is not without its detractors, however, and a brief review of its history and the debates associated with it is in order here. The modern concept of political culture emerged in political science in the 1950s and 1960s, in tandem with the new pre-eminence of culture as an explanatory concept in the social sciences and humanities. At its inception, it was used to refer to the unique constellation of attitudes, beliefs, symbols, and values deemed to be characteristic of a particular political system. By the 1970s it had become both a common term among intellectuals and the target of criticism within political science, for two reasons. Some critics suggested that the concept was imprecise, vague, and, at worst, risked being used as a buzzword or ‘as a “garbage can” variable to explain anything which cannot be accounted for in any other way.’ Others argued that those who employed the concept wound up promoting conservative ideologies through their tendency to assume that the most prominent symbols in political life were widely shared by, and equally meaningful to, all members (or all classes) of a society.⁸

In his review of historians’ use of the concept in English-language American scholarship, Ronald P. Formisano notes its early adoption by colonialists like Bernard Bailyn and Jack P. Greene in the 1960s and, in the 1970s and 1980s, the influence of cultural anthropologist Clifford Geertz and of the

⁷ For colonial America, see Ronald P. Formisano, ‘The Concept of Political Culture,’ *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 31, no. 3 (2001): 393–426, here 410–411 and the citations on 411–418 *passim*. For early modern France see, for example, Keith Michael Baker, ed., *The Political Culture of the Old Regime*, vol. 1 of *The French Revolution and the Creation of Modern Political Culture* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1987), or the June 2007 number of *French History* (vol. 21, no. 2) entitled ‘Political Culture in Early Modern France.’

⁸ Formisano, ‘The Concept of Political Culture,’ 396–7 (origins of concept), 399–401. The ‘garbage can’ characterization is from Wyn Grant, ‘Political culture,’ *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Politics*, ed. Iain McLean and Alistair McMillan (N.p.: Oxford University Press, 2003), in *Oxford Reference Online*, www.oxfordreference.com (11 October 2007), par. 1.

cultural historian J. G. A. Pocock on scholars employing the concept. Historians' embrace of the concept of political culture was, in many ways, concomitant with the emergence of the new cultural history and the linguistic turn in the social sciences. Unlike many political scientists, historians 'tended not to oppose values and beliefs to "interests," often conflating them under the heading of political culture, sometimes with even institutions and behavior added to the mix. Nor,' adds Formisano, 'did historians worry much about the causal status of political culture. Most frequently, they interpreted political culture as a preexisting inheritance of ideas, beliefs, attitudes, etc. that shaped actions and processes and that changed over time.'⁹ Formisano views historians' 'holistic and evolutionary' approach to the concept as salutary, but expresses a concern that a preoccupation with rhetoric, performance, rituals, symbols, and other markers of 'culture' may all too frequently mask a neglect of the economic and social bases of power relations operating within a given society as well as of the contingent factors that may constrain or favour the exercise of power. Students of political culture who emphasize the participation of non-elites in political rituals may overemphasize the agency of these participants by failing to attend to 'consideration of the few who reap the materials benefits "Agency" has trumped "hegemony," almost to the latter's vanishing point. Balance needs to be restored.'¹⁰ For Formisano, political culture is far from being a complete theory of political behaviour and practice; it nevertheless 'remains a powerful organizing concept and approach to political and social life'; historians employing the concept would do well to strive for 'greater rigor in identifying the political cultures that they discuss and in recognizing the inherent comparativeness of the concept,' in addition to

⁹ Formisano, 'The Concept of Political Culture,' 410–411 (colonialists), 414–415 (influence of Geertz and Pocock, quotation).

¹⁰ Formisano, 'The Concept of Political Culture,' 418, 419 (quotation); see also 420–422.

attending to the ways in which language and symbols are connected to competition over tangible resources¹¹—in other words, the relationship between ritual and *realpolitik*.

Jay M. Smith's critique of the political culture concept in the context of scholarship on early modern France underlines, by contrast, its potential to become divorced from a broader conception of culture. Noting the centrality of discourse analysis in studies of patron-client relations in the *ancien régime* and of the French Revolution—such approaches having come to overshadow the analyses of economic and social conflict that characterized such studies before the 'linguistic turn'—Smith discerns in recent works a tendency to reduce language to a tool that agents manipulate for purely strategic purposes. For some historians, he suggests, the content of any discourse—and whatever ideas it expresses—has become secondary to the strategies and 'games' that its creator was playing. 'Language is . . . understood to be a strategic instrument used to obtain "other" objectives that necessarily remain unexamined and taken for granted.'¹² The usual assumption is that the objective sought is power of some kind, and the effect is to reduce political culture to a set of tools—'codes, discourses, games, representations, or other linguistic constructions'—that actors wield in the pursuit of a goal which is itself assumed to be extra-linguistic (or extra-cultural). Smith argues that only through attention to the 'realm of beliefs' expressed through language can historians provide a satisfying account of any political culture. In particular, he advocates investigating the semantic histories

¹¹ Formisano, 'The Concept of Political Culture,' 423, 424 (quotation).

¹² Jay M. Smith, 'No More Language Games: Words, Beliefs, and the Political Culture of Early Modern France,' *The American Historical Review* 102, no. 5 (1997): 1413–1440, here 1421. Smith traces this tendency to the influence of Norbert Elias's focus on competition in court society (1419–1421), as well as to the influence of Ludwig Wittgenstein's language-game analogy as employed by Quentin Skinner and J. G. A. Pocock (1421).

of words—the evolution of the social meanings attached to particular terms or phrases—as a means of recovering the values of past political actors.¹³

In this dissertation I employ the concept of political culture as a shorthand term to refer to symbols, practices, discourses, assumptions, expectations, and dispositions, both conscious and unconscious, that characterize the ways people express and enact claims upon each other. This set is not understood to be coherent, unitary, static, or unambiguous, but rather heterogeneous, contradictory, and controversial; nevertheless, certain widely held assumptions and, more fundamentally, shared classificatory schemes, make possible the articulation of ideologies that will seem immediately plausible to bearers of the same culture. Obviously, an important aspect of political culture is the production and reproduction of symbols that legitimate power and the exercise thereof by dominant groups within a society.¹⁴ ‘Political’ culture is, in this sense, only a subset of ‘culture’ as a whole—a selection made by the analyst who is interested in investigating issues of authority, governance, legitimacy, and power in a given society. No less than culture itself, a society’s political culture should not be conceived of as a bounded, monolithic entity: it is, rather, by nature changing, porous, and not infrequently paradoxical. Thus, for example, in chapter 3 my discussion of French kingship explores a multiplicity of meanings and resonances associated with that institution. The same chapter, together with a section of chapter 4, heeds Smith’s advice by shedding light on the historical semantics of the term *roi* in late-sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century France

¹³ Smith, ‘No More Language Games,’ 1426–1427, 1438–1439.

¹⁴ For works by historians that inspire this definition, see Baker, ed. *The Political Culture of the Old Regime*, esp. xii; Randolph C. Head, *Early Modern Democracy in the Grisons: Social Order and Political Language in a Swiss Mountain Canton, 1470–1620* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), esp. 5–7 (quotation); and Laurier Turgeon, ed. *Les productions symboliques du pouvoir, XVIe–XXe siècles* (Sillery: Septentrion, 1990), esp. 9–15.

through the prism of travel writing and discourses on Native American leadership.

A broad conception of political culture is especially useful in bridging the gap between politics in small-scale and politics in large-scale societies. The study of the former was long the preserve of anthropologists, some of whom have declared that in small, kin-based, non-state societies—especially bands of foragers—there are in fact no ‘politics’ to speak of, only the workings of personal and kin relationships and tradition.¹⁵ The study of politics in large-scale societies, organized as states, has long been the preserve of political scientists, some of whom are convinced that political life is best explained by institutions, a few political actors, and the rational choices of a greater number of political participants.¹⁶ These extremes, while not fully representative of the disciplines of anthropology and political science, are nevertheless suggestive of tendencies in modern scholarly thought that make comparisons between small- and large-scale cultures difficult. To be sure, at first glance, the institutional complexity of the early modern French state might seem utterly incommensurable with the simpler political organization of a seventeenth-century Algonquian band. The concept of political culture, however, makes possible a rapprochement at the level where actors manipulate symbols in order to assert their authority, influence others’ behaviour, legitimate a practice or an institution, or create new allegiances. While the particular institutional and social contexts in which such acts take place remain important, the process of using symbols and ritual for these purposes

¹⁵ Barbara D. Miller, Penny Van Esterik, and John Van Esterik, eds., *Cultural Anthropology*, 3rd Canadian ed. (Toronto: Pearson, 2007), 235–236.

¹⁶ Proponents of rational choice theory have occasionally been harsh critics of the political culture concept; see Formisano, ‘The Concept of Political Culture,’ 406–407. The division of labour between anthropologists and political scientists is also alluded to in David Kertzer, *Ritual, Politics and Power* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), x.

may be, as David I. Kertzer suggests, universal. They are integral to any political system.¹⁷

As noted above, critics of the political culture concept have questioned its relevance to answering questions about power. The exercise of power through symbols may be necessary and ubiquitous, but does analysis of those practices explain anything about who ultimately succeeds in bringing about, or forcing into being, a desired outcome? Simply put, does political culture tell us anything about who wins and who loses, and why?¹⁸ Are not the answers to such questions best sought in the realm of the material—a society's demographic makeup, its economic organization and productivity, its technological development? And if this is the case, then should not analysts also focus their efforts on the ways in which past individuals organized themselves to increase their material advantages? The tension between two analytical approaches, one emphasizing the values and beliefs of actors, the other placing greater importance on actors' rational pursuit of material interests, has significantly influenced the recent ethnohistorical literature on Native-European interactions in northeastern North America. This dichotomy—one that sets 'reason' against 'culture' as the factor that best explains human behaviour—is not unique to this field, of course; rather, it reflects a tension that is deeply rooted in the theoretical underpinnings of modern social science.¹⁹ The negotiation of such basic dichotomies has been a preoccupation of French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu since

¹⁷ Kertzer, *Ritual, Politics, and Power*, 3.

¹⁸ For Jeffrey Ostler, the emphasis on Native agency and resistance in much of the 'new Indian history' and 'ethnohistory' has resulted in a relative neglect of 'questions of power, ideology, and the state.' See *The Plains Sioux and U.S. Colonialism from Lewis and Clark to Wounded Knee* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 3–5, 4 (quotation).

¹⁹ There are several examples of scholarly debates referenced later in this dissertation that exhibit the signs of this dichotomy; see, for example, my discussions of the 'first contact' and Sahlins-Obeyesekere debate in chapter 4 and of the historiography of the 'beaver wars' in chapter 6.

the 1970s, and his ideas go some way toward permitting a critical and reflexive approach to the system of oppositions sustaining the antinomy between 'reason' and 'culture' as explanatory concepts. In general, Bourdieu has sought to explain practices in a manner that recognizes on the one hand the rationality, or interestedness, of actors while emphasizing on the other hand the socially constructed sources of meaning and of rationality itself. The remainder of this introductory chapter examines the influence of the reason vs. culture dichotomy on key debates in the ethnohistorical literature on northeastern North America, outlines Bourdieu's approach to the analysis of practice and its relevance to this issue, and situates this dissertation in the context of other recent works emphasizing the symbolic dimensions of Native-newcomer relations.²⁰

The last century's studies of the early North American fur trade showed obvious signs of this interpretive dichotomy. The behaviour of European traders was rarely been seen as a problem; the profit-mindedness of individuals and the intense competition that often resulted between rival nations and companies are clear enough in the documentary record.²¹ But why did Native Americans

²⁰ For a thoughtful challenge to the use of rigid oppositional categories in ethnohistory, see Bruce M. White, 'Encounters with Spirits: Ojibwa and Dakota Theories about the French and Their Merchandise,' *Ethnohistory* 41, no. 3 (1994): 369–405, esp. 370–371, 393–396. A more tentative approach is taken by David Murray, 'Through Native Eyes? Indian History/American History,' in *Visions of America since 1492*, ed. Deborah L. Madsen (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994), 57–72. An earlier version of this discussion of the influence of oppositional categories in ethnohistory and of Bourdieu appeared in Peter Cook, 'Symbolic and Material Exchange in Intercultural Diplomacy: The French and the Hadenosaunee in the Early Eighteenth Century,' in *New Faces of the Fur Trade: Selected Papers of the Seventh North American Fur Trade Conference, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1995*, ed. Jo-Anne Fiske, Susan Sleeper-Smith, and William Wicken (East Lansing, Mich.: Michigan State University Press, 1998), 75–100.

²¹ Selma Barkham has offered a thoughtful reflection on the worldview of early Basque traders that goes beyond the stereotype of the rapacious Atlantic merchant; see Selma Huxley Barkham, 'The Mentality of the Men behind Sixteenth-Century Spanish Voyages to Terranova,' in *Decentring the Renaissance: Canada and Europe in Multidisciplinary Perspective, 1500–1700*, ed. Germaine Warkentin and Carolyn Podruchny (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 110–124.

participate in the trade? For early and mid-twentieth-century scholars like Harold A. Innis and George T. Hunt, the transhistorical imperatives of market forces and technological improvement determined the political behavior of Native groups in the period of European colonization.²² The unique political cultures of Native groups had little explanatory importance.²³ The later formulation of Abraham Rotstein, working under the influence of theoretical developments in economic anthropology, reversed the tables by insisting that within North American Native societies, as within pre-capitalist societies generally, 'trade functioned within the context of political relations . . . and was subordinated to the over-riding requirements of security.'²⁴ Although Rotstein spent little time studying Native political practices for their own sake, his approach accorded them prominent explanatory weight, since 'primitive' economies were alleged to be embedded within properly sociopolitical institutions. What was formerly understood as economic behavior was now deemed to be essentially political.²⁵

With the emergence of ethnohistory in the post-war period, the subtle effect of oppositional categories continued to make itself felt—no longer strictly with respect to the validity of economic models, but rather to the broader

²² George T. Hunt, *The Wars of the Iroquois: A Study in Intertribal Trade Relations* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1940); Harold A. Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada: An Introduction to Canadian Economic History*, rev. ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1956).

²³ See chapter 6 below for further discussion of Hunt's interpretation of the mid-seventeenth-century wars of the Iroquois.

²⁴ Abraham Rotstein, 'Trade and Politics: An Institutional Approach,' *Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology* 3, 1 (1972): 1.

²⁵ The formalist-substantivist debate of the 1960s and 1970s was considerably more complex than this, but was to some extent determined by uncritical definitions of the 'economic' and the 'political.' For a reflection on the theoretical and ideological context of the debate, see Barry L. Isaac, 'Retrospective on the Formalist-Substantivist Debate,' *Research in Economic Anthropology* 14 (1993): 213–233.

question of practice.²⁶ When in 1985 Bruce Trigger summed up the debate between formalists and substantivists and reviewed the evidence relating to the fur trade in the St. Lawrence lowlands in the first half of the seventeenth century, he concluded that Native trading practices were embedded in political and social institutions, but nevertheless exhibited important elements of economic rationalism insofar as the Hurons, Montagnais and Algonquins 'sought to profit by exchanging goods with other tribes for more than they had paid for them, by playing off foreign trading partners to lower the price of goods, and by asking for more than the standardized rate of exchange as evidence of friendship and goodwill.' And if other Native behaviors suggested the absence of an economic consciousness—such as the observed inelasticity of Native demand for goods—Trigger explained this by reference to subsistence patterns which, among hunter-gatherers, discouraged the accumulation of surplus goods, or to internal social obligation which, among the Hurons, meant that chiefs and traders were expected to redistribute profits in the form of presents given in various ceremonial contexts.²⁷

In thus ascribing Native trading practices and to an overarching rationalism exercised within the constraints of traditional subsistence patterns and social customs, Trigger was quite deliberately reacting to interpretations which portrayed Native people as exotic Others and their lifeways as incommensurable with those of Europeans—such views usually entailing claims

²⁶ Over two decades ago Sherry Ortner suggested that 'a new key symbol of theoretical orientation is emerging, which may be labeled 'practice' (or "action" or "praxis").' The central concern of this broad trend was to understand how everyday human behavior related to the reproduction of social systems, and to develop an adequate theory of human motivation. 'Theory in Anthropology since the Sixties,' *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 26, 1 (1984): 126–166, esp. 144–160, 127 (quotation).

²⁷ Bruce G. Trigger, *Natives and Newcomers: Canada's 'Heroic Age' Reconsidered* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1985), 183–194, 193 (quotation).

that Natives were totally impervious to European influences, were not dependent on trade goods, and were impressed by the symbolic rather than the utilitarian value of European trade goods. Trigger labeled these views 'romantic,' in contrast to his avowed intent of showing that Native peoples were as rational as the Europeans they encountered in seventeenth-century North America.²⁸ In Trigger's writing, the elaboration of this distinction gives rise to a series of oppositions, whereby the terms 'rational,' 'universal,' 'utilitarian,' and 'literal' find their antitheses in the 'cultural,' the 'specific,' the 'non-utilitarian,' and the 'metaphorical.' Universally rational calculations are associated with problem-solving, strategy, adaptation, experience and observation, while culture is viewed as exerting a constraining effect upon actors.²⁹

According to Trigger, 'rationalist explanations seek to account for human behavior in terms of calculations that are cross-culturally comprehensible.' Strategies and calculations are the products of this rationality operating within individual minds, and are especially evident 'with respect to those matters that relate most directly to ... material well-being.' Economic behaviors are consequently more susceptible to rational re-evaluation and change than religious beliefs and customs, which are inherently conservative. This position was grounded in a materialist view of culture inspired by Karl Marx's thesis that modes of production determine the general characteristics of social life.³⁰ An explicit corollary was that economic practices and technology, or more generally the nature of a society's relations to the natural world, are the driving forces of

²⁸ Bruce G. Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660*, rev. ed. (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987), xix-xx, xxvi-xxvii. See also Trigger, 'Early Native North American Responses to European Contact: Romantic versus Rationalistic Interpretations,' *Journal of American History* 77, no. 4 (1991): 1195-1215.

²⁹ Trigger, *Children*, xx-xxi; 'Early Native Responses,' *passim*.

³⁰ Trigger, *Children*, xxi (quotation), xxii.

social change.³¹ In a distinguished lecture in archaeology published in 1991, Trigger advocated the marriage of this Marxian principle with the rationalist philosophy of Jean-Paul Sartre. For Trigger this meant that social scientists should 'view human behavior as the product of an interaction between the ability of individual human beings to foresee at least some of the consequences of what they do and the sort of constraints on human behavior, both physical and imagined, that such calculations must take into account.' These constraints, which include external forces as well as cultural constructions, operate 'through the individual consciousness and ability to calculate, not in some automatic way.'³² Trigger wrote that 'practical reason has the ability to transcend culture'³³ and argued that over the long term, the basic human cognitive ability to reason pragmatically allows people to 'adjust cultural perceptions so that they accord sufficiently with the real world.'³⁴ I infer from these arguments that, for Trigger, 'practical reason' is pre-cultural, transhistorical, and universal in human beings. It follows that human cultures are 'historical precipitates'³⁵ of a pragmatically determined mode of production that is itself a consequence of the encounter between practical reason and certain external, objective realities.

By the mid-1980s Trigger's research interests had shifted to the comparative culture of early civilizations. At the same time, then-current scholarship on Native-newcomer relations in the northeast increasingly

³¹ 'Although it is impossible for a society to distinguish clearly between its own technological knowledge and other forms of belief, it is the former that has transformed humanity's relations with the natural world, and by doing so, the nature of human society and values.' Trigger, 'Hyper-relativism, Responsibility, and the Social Sciences,' *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* 26 (1989): 787.

³² Bruce G. Trigger, 'Constraint and Freedom—A New Synthesis for Archaeological Explanation,' *American Anthropologist* 93, no. 3 (1991): 555–556.

³³ To which he adds, 'some societies are more consciously oriented toward such a privileging of reason than are others.' Trigger, 'Early Native Responses,' 1196.

³⁴ Trigger, 'Constraint and Freedom,' 555.

³⁵ Trigger, 'Constraint and Freedom,' 559.

displayed the influence of American cultural anthropology, a development that prompted Trigger to plead the rationalist case in the pages of the *Journal of American History*.³⁶ Although many specific influences could be cited, Marshall Sahlins's provocative interpretation of the reaction of Hawaiians to their first contact with Europeans in the late eighteenth century was of particular significance. In arguing that Hawaiians experienced this encounter largely as an instantiation of a set of indigenous myths and that their behaviour towards the British could best be explained through reference to these 'mythical realities,' Sahlins places the idiosyncrasies of Hawaiian culture—categories of experience, beliefs, narratives, and attitudes—at the very centre of his interpretation.³⁷ Marshall Sahlins begins, like Trigger, with a note from Karl Marx: namely, that 'production [is] the appropriation of nature within and through a determinate form of society. It follows that a mode of production itself will specify no cultural order unless and until its own order as production is culturally specified.' A particular social formation is thus the 'cultural assumption of external conditions,' producing a 'definite symbolic scheme which is never the only one possible.' While Sahlins and Trigger might agree that culture must conform to material constraints in order for a society to be viable, Sahlins departs from this consensus by rejecting the possibility of a practical reason, or a sense of self-interest, that is somehow prior to culture. Rather, 'it is culture which constitutes utility.'³⁸ Sahlins' interpretation of late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Hawaiian history depends heavily on the concept of cultural logics which

³⁶ Trigger, 'Early Native Responses.'

³⁷ See chapter 4 below for a more detailed exposition of Sahlins' thesis.

³⁸ Marshall Sahlins, 'Cosmologies of Capitalism: The Trans-Pacific Sector of 'The World System,'" in *Culture/Power/History: A Reader in Contemporary Social Theory*, ed. Nicholas B. Dirks, Geoff Eley, and Sherry B. Ortner (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 413; Sahlins, *Culture and Practical Reason* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976), viii.

determine the positions taken by actors in various situations. If for Trigger, the dynamic force in history was, in the long term, the encounter between an external reality and the practical reason of humans who are capable of regularly transcending cultural constraints, for Sahlins it is the dialectic between culturally constituted categories and the social effects of putting those categories to work in changing circumstances.³⁹ Trigger and Sahlins by no means represent wholly opposite viewpoints. Both reject rigid notions of social evolution, ecological determinism, and historical materialism. Both emphasize the ability of actors to determine their own history through meaningful action, and in their empirical work both scholars have sought to produce sympathetic historical accounts of indigenous peoples in the context of European expansionism. But they are opposed along the lines of a basic antinomy that, at the risk of gross simplification, might be referred to as the question of whether people are all the same or whether they are all different.⁴⁰

Despite the geographic and cultural distance between Hawaii and the St Lawrence valley, Sahlins appeared in the footnotes of two self-consciously revisionist studies of Native-newcomer relations in the seventeenth century

³⁹ See Marshall Sahlins, *Historical Metaphors and Mythical Realities: Structure in the Early History of the Sandwich Islands Kingdom* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1981). An important aspect of Sahlins' project is the integration of structure and historical process: while structuralist analyses elucidate cultures, historical analyses demonstrate how actors put structures into practice and, in the process, transform them. Some of the issues raised by this and similar projects are obviously connected to questions of practice and to the reason/culture dichotomy I have outlined here: see Nicholas Thomas, *Out of Time: History and Evolution in Anthropological Discourse* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

⁴⁰ 'The dual messages of anthropology . . . have in part to do with the efforts on the one hand to show that "primitive" people are rational, despite the manifest conflicts between their beliefs and what we "know" to be true, and on the other hand to maintain the otherness of the people studied, either out of respect for their concrete way of life or as a mirror for our own.' Craig Calhoun, 'Habitus, Field, and Capital: The Question of Historical Specificity,' in *Bourdieu: Critical Perspectives*, ed. Calhoun, Edward LiPuma, and Moishe Postone (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 61–88, 65 (quotation).

Northeast. Richard White's *The Middle Ground* (1991) and Matthew Dennis' *Cultivating a Landscape of Peace* (1993) share the goal of elucidating Native decision-making relating to war, alliance, and trade with Europeans. Dennis' study of Haudenosaunee-Dutch and Haudenosaunee-French relations emphasizes the vastly different cultural worlds to which each of these groups belonged and seeks to show how the first two-thirds of the seventeenth century bore the imprint of the distinct cultural projects of three groups. While Dutch traders sought profits in the fur trade and French Jesuits and governors sought to dominate the Haudenosaunee religiously and politically, the Five Nations themselves were constantly motivated by the desire to achieve peaceful relations with the intruders by means of the logic of the Great League of Peace. As embodied in the Deganawidah Epic, the Haudenosaunee concept of peace was founded upon the ideal of domestic harmony, and was thus predicated upon consanguinity and shared values. The metaphor of the Longhouse sheltering the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas under one roof could be extended to encompass new peoples—in particular, the European invaders. The Deganawidah Epic, for Dennis, is the functional equivalent of the Hawaiian myths used by Sahlins to interpret early contacts between Hawaiians and Europeans.⁴¹ Dennis proceeds to re-interpret the political history of the northeast before 1664 in the light of these respective projects. The Haudenosaunee endeavour to incorporate the French into the Longhouse seemed most promising when Jesuits came among them but soured when these men refused assimilation and intermarriage. For, according to Dennis, the Haudenosaunee sought to establish kinship and domesticity in purely literal terms, as evidenced by their

⁴¹ 'The work of Marshall Sahlins has influenced my ideas on these matters.' Matthew Dennis, *Cultivating a Landscape of Peace: Iroquois-European Relations in Seventeenth-Century America* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1993), 85 n. 20.

reluctance to release French captives. Naturally this emphasis on a culturally-driven quest for peace makes it difficult to explain Haudenosaunee warfare—in particular, events such as the massive attacks that led to the dispersal of the Hurons, Neutrals, and others the late 1640s and early 1650s. Dennis' solution is to explain Haudenosaunee attacks as a response to the 'rebuffs' they received from the French and the latter's Native trading partners: 'Satisfied with their autonomous way of life and their separate prosperity, and hard-pressed by New France to reject peace with the Iroquois, [the Hurons] snubbed the Five Nations in favor of New France's affections. Consequently, the Huron-Iroquois conflict continued, amid numerous attempts by the Five Nations to effect a peaceful amalgamation, until the Hurons were eventually devastated by poor harvests, famine and disease, French-induced factionalism, and, by 1649, Iroquois assaults.'⁴² The period closes with the Haudenosaunee weakened by European diseases, politically isolated, subject to aggressive Jesuit proselytization, and understandably frustrated by their lack of success in assimilating the French into the Longhouse. In an epilogue, Dennis affirms that the multiple crises of the 1660s and 1670s compelled the Five Nations to recognize 'that a mechanical application of traditional formulas would not allow them to construct the peace they sought Holding firmly to the essence of Deganawidah's dream, and forging new mechanisms to make it manifest in their world, the Iroquois began to develop a new *foreign* policy [which involved] accepting fictive, or symbolic, over literal kinship, and social separation rather than amalgamation.'⁴³ The Haudenosaunee appear here as a monolithic society of 'cultural dopes' alternating between optimistic overtures of peace and violent fits of

⁴² Dennis, *Cultivating a Landscape of Peace*, 224, 227 (quotation).

⁴³ Dennis, *Cultivating a Landscape of Peace*, 268. Marshall Sahlins is again on hand to consecrate this alleged ideological transformation (269).

peevishness.⁴⁴ In sympathetically seeking to overturn the historiographical myth of Haudenosaunee bellicosity and to emphasize the sophistication of Haudenosaunee political culture, Dennis imposes a straitjacket-like conception of culture upon historical actors, reducing practice to little more than stubborn attempts to achieve a literally-defined cultural project and rationality to a dim awareness of its success or failure. Nor is the notion of ideological transformation any more sophisticated: Dennis' thesis that the Haudenosaunee finally ceased trying to 'mechanically' apply the formula of literal domesticity and kinship may simply be a product of his own mechanistic conceptualization of culture.

Richard White's broad synthesis of Native-European relations in the Great Lakes region before 1815 parallels Sahlins's project of demonstrating that the articulation of indigenous economies with a global European market (e.g., the fur trade in North America, or the sandalwood trade in the Hawaiian islands) was frequently mediated by the impact of local cultural schemes. In the Great Lakes region, this meant that Europeans were obliged to accommodate Native models of exchange and alliance in order to fulfill their own mercantile and imperial aims. But where Sahlins addresses the possibility of structural transformations in Hawaiian symbolic schemes and society, White's focus is the process of mediation—a process that allegedly had a structure unto itself. This was the 'middle ground': a 'common conception of suitable ways of acting,' 'a mutually comprehensible, jointly invented world, rather than a traditional set of procedures.' This 'customary world' rested on a 'bedrock of common life'—for thus White characterizes the coexistence of French traders and Native peoples in the Great Lakes region—and 'resulted from the daily encounters of individual

⁴⁴ "'Cultural dope" is a term used by [Anthony] Giddens to refer to the image of the actor as a robot in the work of the sociologist Talcott Parsons.' Stanley R. Barrett, *The Rebirth of Anthropological Theory* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 12 n. 1.

Indians and Frenchmen with problems and controversies that needed immediate solutions.' Formal elements of the middle ground were 'cultural fictions' because they emerged from the often crude attempts of two groups to manipulate each other's cultural forms. These transformed forms were nevertheless authenticated through negotiation and practice. Consequently, the middle ground had a logic of its own which was neither fully Algonquian nor fully European.⁴⁵

White's model aims to transcend the 'pervasive dichotomy' of acculturation or resistance which marks accounts of Native-European interaction, and in so doing avoids explanations which hinge either on 'rational' Native responses to the fur trade, or on cultural persistence for its own sake. But it does so by positing the creation of a new symbolic and institutional order which mediated between Native and European societies. In formulating the concept of 'the middle ground,' White is obviously sensitive to current theoretical concerns about describing cultural systems in processual rather than static terms.⁴⁶ Yet the focus on the 'middle ground' as a buffer between the world economy and Native lifeways obviates any need to investigate ideological transformations in Native societies. Native rationality—understood as the exercise of culturally determined preferences—apparently retained its pre-contact contours, just as Natives in the Great Lakes region allegedly remained technologically independent vis à vis European traders, at least during the French regime.⁴⁷ As an interpretive device, the 'middle ground' merely delays

⁴⁵ *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 50, 56 (quotation), 80–82, 87, 90, 93, 323 (quotation). White also likens the customary world of the middle ground to the notion of an 'invented tradition' (323 n. 16).

⁴⁶ For reference to this dichotomy, see White, *The Middle Ground*, ix. For theoretical orientations, see 52 n. 4.

⁴⁷ For the argument against material dependence, see *The Middle Ground*, 128–141. The 'subversive' nature of European goods adopted by Natives is mentioned (103–4), but does not become a central part of the analysis.

the inevitable narratives of acculturation and resistance evoked in the book's epilogue.

My point in this brief exposition is not to discount interpretations that are considerably more complex than I have allowed here, but to flesh out the current dichotomization of ethnohistorical approaches. Insofar as analyses of the fur trade incorporate the perspectives and methods of ethnohistory, they are likewise bound to display the influence of oppositional categories. But various strands of recent social theory, of which Pierre Bourdieu's is one, would seem to support a theoretical middle ground between notions of universal rationalism and cultural relativism.⁴⁸

Social reproduction rather than culture contact has provided the context for Pierre Bourdieu's efforts toward developing an adequate theory of practice and of the subject. Nevertheless, his critique of existing theories is germane to Trigger's contrast between rationalistic and romantic interpretations of Native-European relations. Bourdieu addresses the antinomy which opposes the objectivist viewpoint (in the structuralist tradition of Lévi-Strauss) to the subjectivist viewpoint (in the tradition of Sartre). In discerning the continuity, regularity, and patterned nature of social practices, the objectivist defines the homologies and oppositions which seem to govern them, frequently resorting to the language of laws, codes, and rules. And yet, argues Bourdieu, it is clear that the actors themselves are not consciously obeying laws or rules, except in those limited areas of social practice where rules are actually made explicit and enforced. So what then motivates an agent to produce practices which nevertheless seem to harmonize with the actions of others? The rational actor

⁴⁸ For a bibliography of Bourdieu's works and discussion of his methods, see Richard Harker, Cheleen Mahar and Chris Wilkes, eds., *An Introduction to the Work of Pierre Bourdieu: The Practice of Theory* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990), and Craig Calhoun, Edward LiPuma and Moishe Postone, eds., *Bourdieu: Critical Perspectives* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993).

theory of the subjectivists would locate the principle of action in the constant exercise of logic or reason by individuals who somehow all share the same preferences. Presumably, this is the principle of practice implicit in Trigger's rationalism. But Bourdieu balks at the notion of a 'subject "without inertia,"'⁴⁹ that is, without durable dispositions, or ingrained habits of doing or thinking a certain way. What looks rational to the observer may in fact be a matter of unthinking habit for the actor, while the 'rational' calculations of an actor may seem absurd to the outsider. One cannot simply assume the universality of any subset of possible human preferences.

Bourdieu has developed methods of accounting for social practices which avoid on the one hand constant reference to the concept of culture as being itself a motivating principle, and on the other hand, the dualism of Trigger's rationalist formulation which relies upon the distinction between reason and cultural beliefs.⁵⁰ There are two aspects of Bourdieu's thought which I have found useful in getting around this opposition. First is the concept of habitus, or ways of being that are inculcated in each actor as he or she grows within a community. These are not rules that we follow consciously; instead, they are classificatory schemes which are transmitted, internalized, and put into practice everyday without attaining the level of discourse: they are implicit in the social organization of space, time, and of the body itself.⁵¹ The ongoing application of these schemes

⁴⁹ Pierre Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*, trans. R. Nice (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990), 56. See also Charles Taylor, 'To Follow a Rule...', in *Bourdieu: Critical Perspectives*, 45–60.

⁵⁰ Having made this analytical distinction between reason and culture, Trigger notes that it is not always possible to distinguish the effects of one from the other: over time, recurrent rational decisions may become culturally encoded, while 'irrational' conventions may actually serve utilitarian ends (Trigger, *Children*, xxi). Clearly, the exercise of reason, or the attuning of actions with objective possibilities, is bound up with the many manifestations of culture, such as myths, proverbs, legends, scientific theories, etc.

⁵¹ Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. R. Nice (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 80–94. Gender is deeply implicated in the elaboration of many such schemes, as indicated in Bourdieu's interpretation of the Kabyle house (*The Logic of Practice*, 271–

produces the regularity or patterned nature of society which the outsider may observe, but which the actor experiences as the flux and uncertainty of everyday life. What distances this even further from the principle of the rule, or custom, or tradition, is that the calculation of interest enters into the determination of practices. There is no predetermined fit between schemes and types of situations, especially new situations: actors are constantly engaged in correcting the results of practice by developing new strategies.⁵² Strategy, or interest, is not understood by Bourdieu in terms of universal tendencies toward maximizing productivity or economic well-being. But Bourdieu does employ an economic analogy in viewing strategies as calculated efforts to manipulate various forms of capital. He is a materialist in the sense that he views social hierarchies and the structure of the symbolic order as being ultimately grounded in the distribution and control of material capital. But he sees actors as principally concerned with struggles over what he terms symbolic capital.

The notion of symbolic capital subsumes what people subjectively feel as honor, prestige, respectability, authority, etc. Part of what makes symbolic capital valuable is that it may be converted into economic capital, or 'invested' in order to produce material effects. In an example drawn from his early fieldwork in Algeria, Bourdieu shows how symbolic capital in the form of prestige and renown attached to a family name help the family maintain networks of relationships with kin and clientele that come in handy during peak labor periods: rather than maintain a large workforce all year round, the family merely 'cashes in' on its symbolic capital and draws in clients when time comes for the

283). See also Françoise Héritier, *Masculin/féminin: la pensée de la différence* (Paris: Odile Jacob, 1996).

⁵² Bourdieu, *Outline*, 76–78, 123–124. Thus Bourdieu's model of practice is situated between the possibility of 'unpredictable novelty' which is implicit in rationalist models, and on the other hand the model of near-mechanical cultural reproduction. It is 'invention within limits.' *Outline*, 95–96.

harvest. But the amassing of symbolic capital clearly involves considerable effort and important symbolic and material investments, in the form of courtesies and gifts. Paradoxically, the 'means eat up the ends: the action necessary to ensure the continuation of power and prestige themselves help to weaken it.'⁵³ In order to maintain honor, prestige, or simply to achieve recognition for acting in an officially approved manner, one must constantly renew symbolic and material investments. Bourdieu refers to this as a gentle mode of domination or as a form of symbolic violence which actors themselves speak of in terms of credit, confidence, obligation, personal loyalty, or honor.⁵⁴

It is the notion of symbolic capital and its convertibility that is most relevant to my analysis of Native-French diplomatic relations. Bourdieu's approach calls for the analyst to be attentive to the culturally-specific schemes—what I term political cultures—that determine what people view as symbolic capital and the most appropriate methods of converting it into economic capital, as well as to the strategies actors develop to amass, redistribute, and convert capital. According to Bourdieu, 'symbolic capital is always *credit*, in the widest sense of the word, i.e. a sort of advance which the group alone can grant those who give it the best material and symbolic *guarantees*.'⁵⁵ But the recognized modes of transforming economic capital into symbolic capital and vice versa differ from society to society and from time to time; in these differences lie the potential both for conflict and for innovation. Bourdieu's theory of practice enables the analyst to achieve a measure of anthropological parity in the study of

⁵³ Bourdieu, *Outline*, 184.

⁵⁴ Bourdieu, *Outline*, 183–194. Here Bourdieu echoes the classic statement of reciprocal gift giving as a feature of societies everywhere, but 'primitive' societies in particular: see Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*, foreword by Mary Douglas, trans. W. D. Halls (London: Routledge, 1990).

⁵⁵ Bourdieu, *Outline*, 181.

early Native-newcomer relations by shifting our focus toward common processes of symbolic categorization and conversion and away from the obvious disparities of scale, complexity, differentiation and institutionalization that distinguished the societies of precolonial Native North America from those of early modern Europe. Such differences were not, of course, unimportant. But the recognition that the Native Americans and French who met in council in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were engaged in parallel efforts to manipulate symbolic capital in various ways creates the basis for a comparison of Native politics with French politics at the level of process rather than at the level of structure.

A number of other recent studies relating to Native-newcomers relations in North America display the influence by Bourdieu's thought.⁵⁶ More generally, several recent studies have accorded particular attention to ritual and symbol in the intercultural diplomacy of the colonial era and what these can tell us about Native experiences of the encounter.⁵⁷ This dissertation is, however, the first to

⁵⁶ See, for example, Patricia Galloway, 'The Unexamined Habitus: Direct Historic Analogy and the Archaeology of the Text,' In *Representations in Archaeology*, ed. Jean-Claude Gardin and Christopher S. Peebles (Bloomington and Indianapolis: 1992), 178–95; David Murray, *Indian Giving: Economics of Power in Indian-White Exchanges* (Amherst, Mass.: University of Massachusetts Press, 2000), 33–34; and Susan Sleeper-Smith, *Indian Women and French Men: Rethinking Cultural Encounter in the Western Great Lakes* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001), 3–4.

⁵⁷ George Sabo III, 'Rituals of Encounter: Interpreting Native American Views of European Explorers,' in *Cultural Encounters in the Early South: Indians and Europeans in Arkansas*, ed. Jeannie Whayne (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1995), 76–87; Shoemaker, 'Gender Metaphors in American Indian Diplomacy'; Cary Miller, 'Gifts as Treaties: The Political Use of Received Gifts in Anishinaabeg Communities, 1820-1832,' *American Indian Quarterly* 26, no. 2 (2002): 221-45; Benjamin Ramirez-Shkwegnaabi, 'The Dynamics of American Indian Diplomacy in the Great Lakes Region,' *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 27, no. 4 (2003): 53–77; Juliana Barr, 'A Diplomacy of Gender: Rituals of First Contact in the "Land of the Tejas,"' *William and Mary Quarterly* 613 (2004): 393–434; Roger M. Carpenter, *The Renewed, The Destroyed, and the Remade: The Three Thought Worlds of the Huron and the Iroquois, 1609-1650* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2004); Peter M. Whiteley, 'Bartering Pahos with the President,' *Ethnohistory* 51, no. 2 (2004): 359-414.

adopt such a perspective on Native-French relations in northeastern North America in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

As its title suggests, this dissertation may be seen in a general way as the history of a metaphor—specifically, the kin metaphor of ‘brother’ that characterized Native-French alliances in the St Lawrence valley and lowlands in the early seventeenth century. Chapters 2 and 3 explore, respectively, the political cultures of early modern France and of the Algonquian and Iroquoian peoples of seventeenth-century northeastern North America. Neither of these aims at an exhaustive or complete description of institutions or ideologies; rather, they seek to identify key symbols and practices that ramified in many different contexts, underlining where possible their complexity and mutability. In the political cultures both of early modern France and of seventeenth-century Native America, political actors frequently justified their actions in the name of a traditional order of things; this, however, did not prevent the occasional creative redefinition of that order. But what makes one symbol key as opposed to another? Both of these chapters begin by sounding a group’s collective view of the politics of the Other: early modern French views of Native American political culture in chapter 2, and the reverse in chapter 3. Working from the principle that one’s discourse on the Other is highly revealing of one’s own attitudes and values, I suggest that the obsessions and critiques that surface in these discourses outline the most prominent elements of the observer’s own political culture.

Chapters 4 through 6 present the history proper of the metaphor of Native-French brotherhood. The first of these places the earliest recorded Native-French encounters in northeastern North America within an Atlantic perspective, demonstrating the tendency of sixteenth-century French observers to conceptualize Native American societies as monarchies and the effect of this categorization on French diplomatic strategies in dealing with the indigenous

peoples of Canada, Brazil, and Florida. The fragmentary nature of the sources for this period renders any assessment of Native categorization of the newcomers a highly speculative exercise; chapter 4 offers a critical examination of existing scholarly literature on this topic and proceeds to elucidate the diplomatic behaviour of one indigenous group whose reactions are, comparatively speaking, well documented—the sixteenth-century Iroquoians of the St Lawrence valley—by setting it against the diplomatic practices of culturally similar groups of the seventeenth-century whose political cultures are more amply detailed in the sources. I hypothesize that sixteenth-century Iroquoians sought, through ritual means, to make kin of the French newcomers but that the disposition of the latter to seek Native kings rendered this difficult if not impossible. Only with the establishment of a regular North American fur trade in the closing decades of the century did conditions emerge which favoured the emergence of enduring Native-French relationships that gradually came to be characterized, through the shared idiom of trade pidgin languages, as a form of brotherhood.

In chapters 5 and 6, the scope of the dissertation narrows to the St Lawrence valley and its border regions. Chapter 5's principal contribution to the existing scholarly literature is to highlight the centrality of the kin metaphor of 'brother' in the alliance that tied Innu, Algonquin, Huron, and French nations together in the early seventeenth century, a period corresponding more or less neatly to the North American career of Samuel de Champlain, whose writings serve as a principal source for this chapter. It also examines the ways in which this metaphor was invoked and manipulated in moments of crisis, when various groups made claims upon each other or sought to impose a resolution to intercultural disputes. The epidemics and warfare of the later 1630s and 1640s dramatically altered the geopolitical landscape of the region at the same time as

Jesuit missionaries intensified their missionary efforts in Canada and assumed a preponderant political influence in the colony and in the conduct of diplomacy with the Native allies of the French. Chapter 6 describes these developments and their impact on the alliance of brothers. The missionaries' effort to promote the notion of the symbolic kinship of all Christians above the conventional metaphor of brotherhood between established kin-groups was taken up by small but significant numbers of Native people whose traditional political communities had dissolved in the wake of disease and warfare and who sought, in the 1640s and 1650s, to create new, viable communities from a patchwork of survivors. In its final section, chapter 6 shows how the metaphor of French fatherhood emerged from the discourses of mid-century French-Haudenosaunee diplomacy and documents the eclipse of the 'brother' metaphor in Native-French alliances by the late 1660s and early 1670s.

2

Elements of French Political Culture, *circa 1600*

*Aye doncques compassion
De tant de peuples qui périssent
Sans loix et sans Religion,
Et de leur misère gémissent.*

—Marc Lescarbot

Thus in 1607 did the Parisian lawyer and poet Lescarbot implore Henri IV, king of France and Navarre, to pursue the colonization of northeastern North America. Lescarbot knew something of the place, having wintered at Port-Royal in Acadia (present-day Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia) in 1606–1607 and having met there many Mi'kmaq people, characterized in his ode to the King as a multitude of miserable folk lacking laws and religion. Lescarbot foresaw that, through Henri's agency, their conversion to the Catholic faith could be achieved: 'Si tu veux, grand Roy, tu les peux / Joindre avec nous en mêmes vœux, / Et faire de tous une Église.' It was not merely a matter of will, but of destiny: 'Une

antique destinée' had ordained that Henri IV 'regiroit en justice / Par une sainte police / Conjointe aux divines loix / Les nations infidèles.'¹

At the time he penned these words, the French colony in Acadia—in fact, the only official French colony anywhere in the Americas—consisted of several dozen men and a small wooden fort. Soon to be abandoned, the fledgling settlement at Port-Royal hardly betokened an imperial destiny for France in America. But Lescarbot's colonialist rhetoric, woven through the poems and the dramatic fictions he created while at Port-Royal, was intended to amply compensate for French weakness on the ground. As he and many early modern promoters of colonialism well knew, 'language has ever been the companion of empire.'² In his writings, the lawyer and humanist elaborated a fantasy of French imperialism for the benefit of his fellows, and in the process spoke tellingly of the key political symbols that would consecrate and validate French claims to possess that part of Europe's New World. The government of a just king, a unifying faith, and a marriage of temporal regulation and divine laws: these were, for Lescarbot, the finest expressions of what it meant to be French and, at the same time, the vehicles by which the Mi'kmaq would be rescued from their misery.

Colonialist propaganda? Evidently. Ethnocentric? Without a doubt. But Lescarbot's texts have a unique value for those who are interested in understanding Native-newcomer political relations in early seventeenth-century

¹ 'Au Roy (Ode Pindarique),' in *Les Muses de la Nouvelle-France* (Paris, 1609), reprinted in Marc Lescarbot, *Histoire de la Nouvelle-France*, ed. Edwin Tross, 3 vols. (Paris: Librairie Tross, 1866), 3:12–13. On Lescarbot, see Éric Thierry, *Marc Lescarbot (vers 1570–1641): un homme de plume au service de la Nouvelle-France* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2001).

² '[S]iempre la lengua fue compañera del imperio . . .,' wrote Antonio de Nebrija in his *Gramática de la lengua castellana* [1492], ed. Antonio Quilis (Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1980), 97; see also 81. This phrase has been quoted by Patricia Seed as 'language was the companion of empire'; see *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World, 1492–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 8.

eastern America. While Lescarbot's contemporary Samuel de Champlain tends to garner the admiration of modern scholars for the pragmatism of his colonial program,³ his undeniable artistic and cartographic skills, his adaptability, and the detailed narratives he composed,⁴ Lescarbot himself is typically remembered for having written the first play in North America.⁵ Yet Lescarbot's works, which brought him modest fame in his own time,⁶ have the virtue of making explicit what his contemporaries, those practical colonizers and zealous missionaries, often did not: the key political symbols and values that underpinned French colonial endeavours in this period. By stating clearly—indeed, by celebrating in

³ See, for example, Marcel Trudel's enthusiasm for Champlain's famous *requête* to the Chambre du Commerce in Paris in 1618: 'le plaidoyer le plus imposant et le programme de colonisation le plus organique; l'exposé le plus vaste et le plus coherent jamais présenté avant 1627'; see Trudel, *HNF*, 2:250.

⁴ Current scholarship on Champlain no longer presents him as the heroic masculine progenitor of French Canada, but the tone of admiration remains palpable in Denis Vaugeois's preface to a lavish publication commemorating the quatercentenary of Champlain's North American career: 'Champlain a tous les talents de son temps: les plus communs comme le commerce ou l'art de combattre, les moins répandus comme l'art de naviguer ou la diplomatie et les plus rares comme la capacité de raconteur et de dessiner. . . . Il est difficile d'imaginer la naissance de l'Amérique française sans Champain.' Preface, in Raymonde Litalien and Denis Vaugeois, eds., *Champlain: la naissance de l'Amérique française*, (Québec: Les Éditions du Septentrion; Paris: Nouveau Monde éditions, 2004), 9, 10. Conrad Heidenreich similarly identifies Champlain's 'attitude and flexibility,' his ability 'to create bridges' between French and Native cultures, as the key factors that 'permitted a relatively peaceful beginning of French activities in Canada.' Conrad Heidenreich, 'The Beginning of French Exploration out of the St Lawrence Valley: Motives, Methods, and Changing Attitudes toward Native People,' in *Decentring the Renaissance: Canada and Europe in Multidisciplinary Perspective, 1500-1700*, ed. Germaine Warkentin and Carole Podruchny (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 236–251; here 250, 251. For an analysis of the limits of Champlain's flexibility, see chap. 5 below and the references therein.

⁵ Lescarbot's *Theâtre de Neptune en la Nouvelle-France* is ' . . . reputedly the first theatrical production in North America.' John G. Reid, 'Lescarbot, Marc,' *The Canadian Encyclopedia* (2007) www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com (1 July 2007). Claims about Lescarbot's precocity routinely fail to take into account developments in Mexico, which (in geographic terms) is part of North America. In fact, there were a number of well-known dramatic productions in sixteenth-century Spanish Mexico, including one in 1539 in which Nahuas allied to the Spanish enacted the (fictitious) conquest of Jerusalem by an army from New Spain.

⁶ Paolo Carile, *Le regard entravé: littérature et anthropologie dans les premiers textes sur la Nouvelle-France* (Sillery : Septentrion; Rome: Aracne Editrice, 2000), 52–53.

prose and verse—the political symbols and values that Champlain and the missionaries often took for granted, Lescarbot helps us make connections between the political culture of early modern France and the behaviour of French expeditionaries in colonial settings, between the ideas that powered colonialism and the actions of colonizers on the ground. One work in particular provided the clearest outlines of what Lescarbot seems to have felt were the ideas that legitimated and redeemed⁷ the French mission in America: the *Théâtre de Neptune en la Nouvelle-France*.

The *Théâtre de Neptune en la Nouvelle-France* was one of the longer works in Lescarbot's *Les Muses de la Nouvelle-France* (1609). (The longest was an epic poem celebrating a Mi'kmaq victory at war.) Occupying eleven of the sixty-odd printed pages that make up *Les Muses*, the *Théâtre* differed significantly from the dozen poems that surrounded it. Complete with stage directions and costume descriptions, the *Théâtre* presents itself as a dramatic work that was performed 'sur les flots du Port-Royal' in November 1606 by the all-male contingent of colonists and traders then in the colony.⁸ The work—which Lescarbot referred to elsewhere as a 'gaillardise'—was ostensibly staged to celebrate the return of an expedition led by Jean de Biencourt de Poutrincourt, Port-Royal's seigneur and commandant.⁹ It was not simply a play put on by lonely frontiersmen desperate

⁷ 'The conquest of the earth, which mostly means the taking it away from those who have a different complexion or slightly flatter noses than ourselves, is not a pretty thing when you look into it too much. What redeems it is the idea only. An idea at the back of it; not a sentimental pretense but an idea; and an unselfish belief in the idea—something that you set up and bow down before, and offer a sacrifice to . . . ' Joseph Conrad, *The Heart of Darkness*, (N.p.: Plain Label Books, n.d.), 12–13.

⁸ The number of colonists who wintered at Port-Royal in 1606–1607 is unknown (Trudel, *HNF* 2:486); likely, there were several score.

⁹ ' . . . je m'avisay de représenter quelque gaillardise en allant audevant de lui, . . . ' (Lescarbot, *Histoire*, 552). Carile notes that this term is 'sans rapport avec un genre théâtral et . . . indiquait plutôt, à l'époque, un discours licencieux' (Carile, *Le regard entravé*, 89 n. 3). Champlain says only that 'a nostre arrive l'Escarbot qui estoit demeuré en l'habitation nous fit

for entertainment (although it did have comic, even burlesque, elements that may have served this purpose). Modern scholars have noted the *Théâtre's* relation to Renaissance masques and the tradition of pageants and tableaux vivants that were staged by early modern cities when receiving the king, a royal governor, an ambassador, a feudal lord, or any other important personage.¹⁰ Like those genres, the *Théâtre* was about the celebration of the Renaissance prince and the praising of his (or her) power. In this case, the individual at the centre of the pageantry was Poutrincourt, who had just returned from a bitterly disappointing naval expedition to the south.¹¹

The *Théâtre de Neptune* was structured as a series of speeches addressed to Poutrincourt by various mythological or allegorical figures. 'Arrête, *Sagamos*,' intoned an actor playing Neptune, as Poutrincourt was rowed ashore from his barque. (*Sagamos* was the term the local Mi'kmaq used to designate their leaders.) 'C'est moy,' explained the bearded god of the sea, 'qui . . . / ay cent fois garenti toy, les tiens, et ta barque. / Ainsi je veux toujours seconder tes dessins, . . . / Puisque si constamment tu as eu le courage / De venir de si loin rechercher

quelques gaillardises avec les gens qui y estoient restez pour nous resjouir'; see Samuel de Champlain, *Voyages* (1613), in *The Works of Samuel de Champlain*, ed. H. P. Biggar, 6 vols. (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1922–36; reprint University of Toronto Press, 1971), 1:438.

¹⁰ On the *Théâtre de Neptune* and questions of genre, see Rick Bowers, 'Le Théâtre de Neptune en la Nouvelle-France: Marc Lescarbot and the New World Masque,' *Dalhousie Review* 70, no. 4 (1991): 483–501, here 484–485; Carile, *Le regard entravé*, 89–93; and Thierry, *Marc Lescarbot*, 126. I am grateful to Germaine Warkentin for focusing my attention on the masque-like features of the work.

¹¹ Lescarbot tells us that *Le Théâtre de Neptune en la Nouvelle-France* was performed on 14 November 1606 to mark the expedition's return. A month earlier, Poutrincourt's expedition had been involved in a bloody conflict with an Algonquian nation near present-day Stage Harbor in Nantucket Sound, Massachusetts, effectively dashing his hopes of finding a suitable southern site for the colony. Three of the French had been killed and several others wounded. In short, the men for whom Lescarbot prepared his triumphant spectacle had suffered a decisive setback. The survivors were nursing arrow wounds, and one would soon die because of them; yet another had lost a hand when his musket exploded. In this context we can only guess whether Lescarbot's 'gaillardises' would have soothed or embittered Poutrincourt, Champlain, and the others. Champlain, *Voyages* (Paris, 1613), in *Works*, 1:415–438; Lescarbot, *Histoire*, 2:543–552.

ce rivage, / Pour établir ici un Royaume François.’ As in Lescarbot’s ode to the king cited above, destiny was invoked as a guarantor of success: ‘Je voy le destin / Préparer à la France un florissant Empire / En ce monde nouveau.’ After Neptune’s harangue, a half-dozen Tritons came forward and spoke in turn, lauding Poutrincourt’s efforts on behalf of the crown. ‘Vive Henry le grand roy des François,’ cried the last, ‘Qui maintenant fait vivre souz ses loix / Les nations de sa Nouvelle-France.’ Nothing could have been further from reality: the Mi’kmaq who controlled the territory around Port-Royal were in no way subject to French laws. But, as Bowers has pointed out, the *Théâtre* was, like other masque-like entertainments of the day, essentially escapist.¹² Lescarbot’s seemingly sought to provide the French colonists with a keen sense of purpose and control in an uncertain environment.

After the Tritons, four ‘Sauvages’ approached with gifts for Poutrincourt. The first claimed to speak for all the nations of the country:

Nous venons rendre les hommages
 Deuz aux sacrées Fleurs-de-lis
 Ès mains de toy, qui de ton Prince
 Représentes la Majesté,
 Attendans que cette province
 Faces florir en piété,
 En mœurs civils, et toute chose
 Qui sert à l’établissement
 De ce qui est beau, et repose
 En un royal gouvernement.

The second, third, and fourth ‘sauvages’ all pursued the theme of Poutrincourt’s greatness and liberality, acknowledging him to be their *Grand Sagamos*. ‘Vivre

¹² Bowers, ‘New World Masque,’ 499.

toujours en ta grâce / C'est tout ce que nous désirons,' was the concluding statement of the first 'sauvage'.¹³

The trope of the welcoming, awestruck, and worshipful native, ripe for political or religious assimilation, was, by Lescarbot's time, well established in European travel writing. It had appeared in Columbus's description of the Tainó in his famous letter of 1493; it would soon appear in graphic form in the seal of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, founded in 1629: the seal depicted a semi naked Native man with the words 'Come Over and Help Us' emerging from his lips.¹⁴ As Stephen Greenblatt has noted of Columbus's writing, the underlying premise is that Europeans are bringing to the Americas a gift of incalculable value. To be sure, hints the text of Columbus's 1493 letter, the natives face the loss of their autonomy, their land, even their bodies, but in return they will gain full humanity and, above all, the chance of eternal salvation.¹⁵ In the *Théâtre* Lescarbot's 'sauvages' go one better than the timid Tainó of the Columbus letter: like the man in the Massachusetts seal, instead of passively demonstrating a readiness for conversion and political assimilation, they actively seek these 'gifts' from Poutrincourt.¹⁶ In the context of the *Théâtre de Neptune*, the gift in question

¹³ Lescarbot, *Le Théâtre de Neptune en la Nouvelle-France*, in 'Les Muses de la Nouvelle-France,' in *Histoire*, 3:19–29.

¹⁴ As noted by a number of scholars of Native-newcomer relations in New England; for a recent mention, see Jill Lepore, *The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1998), xvi–xvii.

¹⁵ Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 70–72.

¹⁶ Scholars have noted the florescence of similar discourses among Protestant colonial promoters in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, in tandem of the rise of the Black Legend indicting Spain for its cruelty in the New World; see chapter 4, below, for a note regarding this trope and for further examples in Lescarbot's writing. English colonists in New England were similarly concerned with rhetorically distancing their relations with local Algonquians from patterns of Spanish conquest in Mexico and Peru; see Lepore, *Name of War*, xiv.

is not Christianity, or at least not only Christianity.¹⁷ Instead, the playwright evokes the precious gift of all the elements of the ideal polity: law, justice, piety, civil order, and monarchy—all things that he apparently believed the Mi'kmaq of Acadia to lack. For Lescarbot, the Native peoples of the Americas were without religion, without law, and without kingship—*sans foi, sans loi, sans roi*.¹⁸ His ideology of empire was therefore premised on a gift, from Europe to America, of all that is good ('ce qui est beau')—a supreme act of liberality, from those with a king, a law, and a faith, for the benefit of those without.

The *Théâtre's* rhetoric of colonialism, spun within a fantasy of empire that corresponded but tenuously with the reality of the French colony in Acadia, is grounded in a negative portrait of Mi'kmaq culture that had as its counterpart an idealization of French culture. The principal features of the poet's

¹⁷ Lescarbot was a fervent Catholic (his family supported the Catholic League during the wars of religion), and later in life he devoted his energies to translating Latin histories supporting the primacy of Rome; see Thierry, *Marc Lescarbot*, 30–34, 82. In the *Théâtre* and in the poems in *Les Muses*, the extension of French sovereignty is at least as important a theme as religious conversion—perhaps even more so. This may have been due to the absence of clergy in Acadia at the time; missionary work during Lescarbot's sojourn was simply not a priority. When one did finally make it to Acadia, three years after Lescarbot's return to France, the lawyer relied on secondhand accounts to celebrate the fact in a new work, *La conversion des sauvages qui ont esté baptizés en la Nouvelle-France* (Paris: Jean Millot, 1610).

¹⁸ There are numerous variations of this formula in French writing of the seventeenth century: the form 'ni foi, ni roi, ni loix' is from Chrestien Le Clercq, *Nouvelle relation de la Gaspésie* (Paris: Chez Amable Auroy, 1691), 378. For a contemporary example from New England, see Thomas Morton's characterization of the Algonquian nations as '*since fide, since lege, & since rege*' in *New English Canaan* (quoted in Lepore, *Name of War*, 111–112). This formula was but one iteration of a widespread rhetoric of lack that was a long-term characteristic of European discourse on the Native peoples of the America. For a discussion of the 'negative formula' employed in European descriptions of Native cultures, see Margaret T. Hodgen, *Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1964, 1971), 196–201, and Robert F. Berkhofer, *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978), 10. Note that in the sixteenth century, French writing recognized the existence of Native American kings; see Peter Cook, 'Kings, Captains, and Kin: French Views of Native American Political Cultures in the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries,' in *The Atlantic World and Virginia, 1550–1624*, ed. Peter Mancall (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 2007), 307–341, and chapter 4 below for more on this.

characterization of Native American cultures are the exact opposite of the key symbols of contemporary French political culture. In Lescarbot's time, the trinity of king, faith and law—*roi*, *foi*, and *loi*—resonated with particular force. Fresh in the minds of all was the time of troubles known to historians as the wars of religion (1559–1598). In the early decades of that conflict, the Catholic party and their champions, the powerful Guise family, were the first to popularize the formula *une foi, une loi, un roi*, which was taken to mean that French Calvinists (the Huguenots) had no place within a polity characterized by one faith, one law, and one king. 'Vive la catholicque religion / Vive le Roy et les bons parroysiens, / Vive fidelles Parisiens, / Et jusques à tant n'ayons [*sic*] cesse / Que chascun aille à la messe / Un Dieu, one Foy, un Roy,' went one variation.¹⁹ As we shall see, each of these terms buttressed the two others, often with an ambiguous circularity: legitimate kingship was in part defined by law (the Salic law); the true king was 'Most Christian' and 'eldest son of the church'; the king was a maker of law and guarantor of its unity; and, finally, both the vitality of the Catholic faith in France and the miraculous thaumaturgical ability of the true king were understood to be proof of the divinely sanctioned nature of the French monarchy. The Huguenot propaganda machine did its best to undermine this tangled symbolic knot of mutually reinforcing ideologies by developing political theories that attacked its various doctrinal strands, especially after 1572 when the party lost its principal supporters near the throne in the bloodshed of Saint Bartholomew's Day. By the end of the century, however, a series of dynastic accidents having brought a Protestant next in line to the throne, the situations were reversed. The radical Catholic League of the 1580s and 1590s abandoned the slogan and instead advocated what amounted to the subordination of both

¹⁹ The song is quoted in Natalie Zemon Davis, 'The Rites of Violence: Religious Riots in Sixteenth-Century France,' *Past & Present* 59 (1973): 51–91, here 60 n. 24.

kingship and law to religious orthodoxy. This orientation was exemplified by the resolutions of the Guise- and Catholic-dominated Estates General of 1588, following which Henri III felt constrained to decree that the king of France must be Catholic. For Henri himself, this was not a problem, but his lack of male heirs meant that his distant relative, Henri de Bourbon, a Protestant, became next in line to the throne according to the Salic law. The king's edict created an uncomfortable situation for supporters of the traditional monarchy: not only did it threaten to contradict the Salic law, but it was embarrassing and awkward for the crown to be pressured into articulating fundamental constitutional principles by a highly politicized representative assembly. In this context, *un roi, une loi, une foi* now became the formula behind which rallied moderate Catholic loyalists who, fearful of the unraveling of the sociopolitical order after the death of Henri III in 1589, sought to reconcile royalism, constitutionality, and Catholicism. Rather than denouncing Henri III's successor, the Protestant Henri IV, as an illegitimate and heretical tyrant, they recognized his legitimacy according to law, but urged him to convert to Catholicism in order to restore civil and moral order. Some Catholic moderates like Étienne Pasquier, humanist and *avocat général* at the Chambre des Comptes (and an older contemporary of Lescarbot) were even willing to countenance the official coexistence of two religions, thus significantly attenuating the principle of unity of faith. The conversion of Henri IV to Catholicism in 1593, the defeat of the radical (pro-Spanish) Catholic League, and the Edict of Nantes (1598) eventually gave political substance to the loyalists' interpretation of the slogan.²⁰ But even before the formula became embroiled in

²⁰ For the formula, see Myriam Yardeni, *La conscience nationale en France pendant les guerres de religion (1559–1598)* (Louvain/Paris: Editions Nauwelaerts/Béatrice-Nauwelaerts, 1971), 77, and Michael Wolfe, *The Conversion of Henri IV: Politics, Power, and Religious Belief in Early Modern France* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), 63–64. For Pasquier's opinions, see F. E. Sutcliffe, *Politique et culture, 1560-1660* (Paris: Didier, 1973), 20–26. Emmanuel Le Roy

the polemics of the various warring factions, its three terms were inseparably connected in the political consciousness of contemporaries. When Gilles de Gouberville, a minor noble from the Norman countryside, was summoned before a royal official in October 1562 to profess his loyalty to the king ('vivre en l'obéissance du Roy, et selon ses loys'), the uncomfortable country gentleman added, spontaneously, 'que je vouloys vivre en la loy et foy de nostre Seigneur Jésus-Christ, et selon les loys de la Sainte Église romaine, catholique et apostolique.'²¹

In conjunction, then, the terms *foi*, *loi*, and *roi* expressed a sense of harmonious order that was both religious and political. Their appearance in early French 'negative' descriptions of native North American societies, like Lescarbot's, suggests that we should understand these terms as discursive reference points; they served as markers of difference, symbolizing and simplifying a range and depth of cultural differences. By unpacking each of these terms in turn, exploring their resonance in late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century France, we may hope to turn French discourse on the Other to a study of the key symbols of French political culture.

Ladurie explains that the formula was originally derived from a biblical aphorism—'one Lord, one faith, one baptism' (Eph. 4:6)—and became almost completely secularized, with *patrie* replacing *foi*, by the end of the sixteenth century; see Le Roy Ladurie, *The Royal French State, 1460–1610*, trans. Juliet Vale (Oxford and Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1994), 285. In the reign of Louis XIV, the formula was revived with a renewed emphasis on *foi* in support of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685). For an explanation of the formula as a shorthand for complex constitutional principles underpinning the sovereignty of the monarch, see François Bluche, *Dictionnaire du Grand Siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 1990), 602.

²¹ Gouberville is best known today for the detailed diary he kept. This passage is quoted in [Alexandre] Tollemer, *Analyse du journal manuscrit d'un sire de Gouberville*, 2 vols. (1873; reprint ed., Village du pont Neuville [France]: Éditions des Champs, 1993), 2:766–767. Gouberville's awkwardness was due to his well-known flirtation with *la religion réformée* in spring of that year and his associations with local Huguenots. The abbé Tollemer's commentary underlined the spontaneous nature of Gouberville's evocation of *foy* and *loy*: 'Il est à remarquer que . . . les réponses de G. de G. vont bien au-delà de la demande; après sa profession politique, sa

UNE FOI

'Qu'est-ce que la Foi?' asks the catechist in a catechism prepared by the bishop of Quebec for use in New France. The correct response: 'C'est une vertu par laquelle nous croyons tout ce que Dieu a révélé à son Eglise.' It involved public adherence to and internal belief in the entirety of Holy Scripture, the Creed and Catholic dogma. Faith was deemed necessary for salvation in the afterlife.²²

The term faith as used by early modern French writers thus pointed to a set of complex and intertwining ideas and institutions. Most early seventeenth-century French observers saw no parallel to this in the indigenous societies of eastern America. 'They have no temples, sacred edifices, rites, ceremonies or religious teaching,' stated Biard after only a few months among the Mi'kmaq at Port-Royal.²³ Appreciating the theological and institutional dimensions of religious faith in France is, of course, central to any effort to understand the religious dimension of the encounter between Native Americans and Europeans in the early colonial era. Our concern here, however, is more properly the political implications of the concept of faith in late sixteenth-century France. Two such implications, each involved in shaping early French views of Native peoples, are examined here: the connection between faith and violence and the conceptual link between faith and law.

Violence can be justified in the name of the sacred, as the sixteenth-century wars of religion in France (among other episodes) demonstrate. For a while, the fashion in historical interpretation of these conflicts swung toward material factors. Recently, however, historians on both sides of the Atlantic have

profession de foi religieuse, dont le lieutenant ne lui avait pas dit un seul mot: manière d'agir en ces sortes de caractères!' (767).

²² [Saint-Vallier], *Catéchisme du diocèse de Québec, 1702*, facsimile ed., ed. Fernand Porter (Montreal: Éditions Franciscaines, [1958]), 69–72.

taken steps toward 'putting religion back into the Wars of Religion'; that is, toward reconsidering the role of faith in political action in France in the last half of the sixteenth century. The deep-rooted European conviction that a harmonious sociopolitical order was premised upon religious unity—a principle expressed at Augsburg in 1555 with the maxim *cujus regio, ejus religio*—had particular resonance in France, where the monarchy, as we shall see below, was inextricably bound up with religious symbols that provided both divine legitimation and popular support. Reconsidering the importance of religious mentalities has prompted reinterpretations of the maneuverings and pronouncements of elite factions, like those of the Bourbon and Guise families, once explained as simple opportunism and politicking.²⁴ It has also involved a reflection upon the patterns of popular violence during the wars in France. What motivated the repeated pogrom-like violence of the wars of religion (of which the massacre of Protestants in Paris beginning on Saint Bartholomew's Day, 1572 and continuing for several days thereafter is the most well known)? Where earlier interpretations emphasized the manipulation of elites or class struggle, other scholars have suggested that the popular violence was 'authentic' in that it sought a purely religious, rather than political (or secular), end: a purification of society and the establishment of truth. Eschatological in inspiration, the violence of the religious pogroms was ritualistic in nature, aiming to protect the boundaries between the sacred and the profane and to debase and disfigure the bodies of heretics in order to unambiguously mark their separation from God. In an age when faith signified a body of believers as much as it did a body of

²³ Pierre Biard, *Misso canadensis: Epistola ex Portu-Regali in Acadia* (1611), in *JR*, 2:75.

²⁴ Mack P. Holt, 'Putting Religion Back into the Wars of Religion,' *French Historical Studies* 18, no. 2 (1993): 524–551; Holt, *The French Wars of Religion, 1562–1629* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Wolfe, *The Conversion of Henri IV*; Stuart Carroll, *Noble Power*

beliefs, a compelling response to the threat of pollution and contamination was to cut off the offending member(s). If the king and the magistrates did not act to do so, then the people themselves—men, women and children—must act to defend the truth and punish polluters.²⁵ Such behaviour was but an extreme example of the sixteenth-century reality that faith was not only a private matter of individual conscience, but was constantly externalized through collective rituals, including (when necessary) rituals of violence.

Few Europeans saw examples of Native American violence—such as, for example, the public torture of captives by men, women, and children of a community—as having a sacred dimension—that is, as being akin to the violence of the wars of religion. Michel de Montaigne’s famous condemnation of European cruelties compared to Brazilian practices, in his essay ‘Des Cannibales,’ was based on the assumption that Tupinambá ritual cannibalism was essentially political in nature—‘it is to betoken an extreme revenge.’²⁶ Montaigne’s attitude was not typical. When the French in New France became aware of the patterns of prisoner torture by Iroquoian and Algonquian groups in the Northeast, they explained these by reference to the essential barbarity of the savages, without

during the French Wars of Religion: *The Guise Affinity and the Catholic Cause in Normandy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 1–7.

²⁵ Davis, ‘Rites of Violence,’ *Past & Present* 59 (1973): 51–91; Denis Crouzet, *La nuit de la Saint-Barthélemy: une rêve perdu de la Renaissance* (Paris: Fayard, 1994). Crouzet emphasizes the millennial fervour of the age rather more than Davis, who focuses upon the collective practices and rituals that structured religious violence. Susan Juster has underlined the similarities between the violence of the wars of religion and the violence of colonial conquest: ‘[Native Americans] were clearly the victims of violence perpetrated in the name of God. . . . Whether construed as heathens, infidels, apostates, or devil worshippers, Indians and Africans occupied a position of spiritual significance for their European neighbours, and acts of violence directed against these religious and racial outsiders were, I would argue, always acts of sacred violence.’ See Juster, ‘What’s “Sacred” about Violence in Early America?’ *Common-Place*, 6 no. 1 (2005), www.common-place.org.

²⁶ Michel de Montaigne, ‘Of cannibals,’ *Essays*, 31, in *The Complete Works of Montaigne*, trans. Donald M. Frame (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1958), 155.

offering comparisons to European practices.²⁷ Perhaps what shocked the French about the Native practice of torturing prisoners of war was the apparent lack of motive for this violence. How could people without any authentic religion—without dogma or priests or powerful symbols like the cross or the Eucharist or saintly relics—derive anything other than sadistic and purely temporal satisfaction from such violence? Unable to easily recognize Native American religion, the French were equally unable to contemplate a parallel between Native practices of torture and the purifying religious violence of the wars of religion. A people *sans foi* had no justification for cruel warfare and popular violence.²⁸

Faith was closely intertwined with the concept of law. The covenant between the people of Israel and God, the Old Testament Commandments, and the complex body of quasi-international canon law were so many manifestations of the legalistic dispositions of the Judeo-Christian religious tradition. It is perhaps therefore not surprising to find that French observers of Native peoples of North America repeatedly conflated the absence of religion with the absence of law. ‘All of this Canadian people . . .,’ wrote André Thevet in his *Cosmographie universelle* (1575), ‘is without any law or religion whatever, living as guided by the instinct of nature, since they have no ceremonies or form of praying to

²⁷ Cornelius J. Jaenen, *Friend and Foe: Aspects of French-Amerindian Cultural Contact in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), 120–152, esp. 139–147. For similar reactions in seventeenth-century New England, see Lepore, *Name of War*, 111–121, esp. 116–119.

²⁸ For this reason, the Jesuit chroniclers of the 1640s, 1650s, and 1660s went to great lengths to define New France’s conflict with the Iroquois as a Holy War since this justified the violence of the French and especially of their native allies, who continued to torture Iroquois prisoners.

God.²⁹ A similar connection emerged from the writing of Samuel de Champlain a generation later. Champlain prefaced his account of a religious discussion with the Algonquin headman Anadabijou with the comment, 'Ce sont la pluspart gens qui n'ont point de loy'; he then reported Anadabijou's story of God's creation of human beings, and other tales, apparently considering these as proof of this assertion. In another work, Champlain's description of the Montagnais near Québec underlined the association between religion and law: 'Ce sont gens dont la pluspart n'ont point de loy, selon ce que j'ay peu voir, avec tout plain d'autres fauces croyances. Je leur demanday de quelle sorte de cérémonies ils usoient à prier leur Dieu, ils me dirent qu'ils n'en usoient point d'autres, sinon qu'un chacun le prioit en son cœur, comme il vouloit. *Voilà pourquoi il n'y aucune loy parmy eux, et ne sçavent que c'est d'adorer et prier Dieu.*' After his visit to the Huron country in 1615, Champlain wrote that the former were 'sans aucune religion, ny loy, soit divine, politique, ou civile, establie parmy eux.'³⁰ Unlike the Jesuit missionaries whose carefully constructed *Relations* emphasized an interior, personal Christianity for the benefit of their readership of *dévots*, Champlain's writings illustrate a rather pragmatic view of religion as an integral part of an orderly society. Law was to be a pillar of religion, and vice versa. In the sixteenth century, this connection was particularly explicit in the execution of heretics and witches. By Champlain's time, the Edict of Nantes and changing attitudes of the magistracy toward witchcraft meant that the courts no longer colluded with popular sentiments in this way. In numerous other fashions, however, positive law—that is, the work of legislators and magistrates, as opposed to natural law

²⁹ André Thevet, *André Thevet's North America: A Sixteenth-Century View*, trans. and ed. Roger Schlesinger, and Arthur P. Stabler (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1986), 45.

³⁰ Champlain, *Des Sauvages* (1603), in *Works*, 1:117; *Voyages* (1613), in *Works*, 2:46–47 (my emphasis); *Voyages et descouvertes* (1619), in *Works*, 3:258.

or divine law—continued to uphold principles of religion, the punishment of blasphemers being a prime example.

As part of his colonialist edifice, Lescarbot argued in his *Histoire de la Nouvelle-France* (published the same year as *Les Muses*) that those who observed the proper religious laws (i.e., Christians) were justified in the dispossession of those who did not (i.e., Native peoples): ‘Et comme ainsi soit que Dieu le Créateur a donné la terre à l’homme pour la posséder, il est bien certain que le premier tiltre de possession doit appartenir aux enfants qui obéissent à leur père et le reconnoissent, et qui sont comme les ainez de la maison de Dieu, tels que sont les Chrétiens, auxquels appartient le partage de la terre, premier qu’aux enfans désobéissans, qui ont esté chassez de la maison comme indignes de l’héritage et de ce qui en dépend.’³¹ And among Christians, who better than the subjects of the king of France, the eldest son of the Church, to claim this newly discovered part of Adam’s heritage?

UNE LOI

Early French observers who described the native societies of northeastern North America as being *sans loi* were partly contradicted by later accounts that related in detail the workings of native legal systems. Even so, first impressions, as we have seen, stuck, and not without reason. If, at one level, the ancient oral *coutumes* of France might have seemed commensurable with native practices structuring social reproduction and regulating internal conflict, the actual exercise of justice in seigneurial, ecclesiastical, and royal courts, and the complex edifice of royal legislation and codification that had assimilated the old oral *coutumes* by the sixteenth century, were completely without parallel in the non-literate small-scale stateless societies of the Northeast. Hence, for early modern

French observers, Native Americans were *sans loi*. A century after Lescarbot, the baron de Lahontan had Adario, his fictionalized Wendat interlocutor (and idealized figure of the Noble Savage), acknowledge that his people had no term for 'law': 'c'est un mot comme tu sçais que nous ignorons dans nôtre langue.'³²

Lahontan's perspective need not be ours. All societies past and present have or had legal systems, of which legal anthropologists have identified some 10 000. Current legal anthropology prefers to view written codes, courts, and related developments as an 'intensification' of preexisting legal systems. Rather than a great divide between 'primitive' and 'modern' systems, scholars recognize a continuum of legal complexity as well as the possibility that customary and formal legal systems may coexist within a given society. A key indicator of legal complexity is the institutionalization of third-party decision-making in the resolution of disputes; not surprisingly, this as well as various other forms of institutionalization correlates broadly with the degree of social inequality (i.e., stratification) within a society. The substance of the law follows a similar pattern: whereas legal systems in small-scale societies are typically concerned with murder, witchcraft, and marriage, more complex societies develop additional laws dealing with property, inheritance, labour, rent, and the privileges of elite 'classes.'³³ Crudely put, in ranked societies, the law helps dominant groups maintain their dominance. It should be remembered, however, that the complexity of legal institutions is not a predictor of the sophistication, systematicity, or rationality of legal systems.

³¹ Lescarbot, *Histoire*, xvii.

³² Louis-Armand de Lom d'Arce, baron de Lahontan, 'Dialogue ou entretiens entre un sauvage et le baron de Lahontan,' in *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Réal Ouellet, 2 vols., Bibliothèque du Nouveau Monde (Montréal: Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1990), 2:829.

³³ Norbert Rouland, *Legal Anthropology*, trans. Philippe G. Planel (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 1-4, 104-111; Katherine S. Newman, *Law and Economic Organization: A Comparative Study of Preindustrial Societies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

In early modern France the term *loi* had a large semantic field. Derived from the Latin *lex*, which tended to refer to religious law and which had at its root the idea of a convention or contract, by the Middle Ages *lei* or *loi* was used to refer to both divine law and to the legislation of secular princes. In the sixteenth century, the term could mean institutionalized, codified law and the study thereof (*droit*); it could signify custom (*coutume*); it could refer to legislation (positive law) and, more broadly, to administration (*police*); and it could also stand in for religion.³⁴ In addition, 'natural law' was an important concept that referred to a set of universal and unchanging principles structuring God's creation. The term 'fundamental law,' referring to unwritten constitutional principles, became especially widespread in the later sixteenth century. These various meanings of the term law occupied very different dimensions of the social experience of the people of early modern France. In the daily lives of most people, the operations of *droit privé*, the realm of customary law codes, and of *droit public*, the cumulative legislative activity of French kings since the Middle Ages (including criminal justice), were the most immediate and concrete manifestations of law. By contrast, articulations of fundamental, natural, and divine law flowed from the pens of jurists, philosophers, and theologians and nourished the polemics of politicians and ideologues, but were detached from the concerns of everyday life.

³⁴ *Dictionnaire historique de la langue française*, 2 vols. (Paris: Dictionnaires Le Robert, 1992), 1:1142–1143; Algirdas Julien Greimas and Teresa Mary Keane, *Dictionnaire du moyen français: la Renaissance* (Paris: Larousse, 1992), 387.

*Customary law*³⁵

The sixteenth-century kingdom of France was a complex patchwork of systems of *droit privé*. In principle, the realm was divided into regions under *droit coutumier* and those under *droit écrit*. The former characterized northern France, where *coutumes* had their origins as oral law codes based on common usage and consent, whereas the regions south of a sinuous line between La Rochelle and Geneva operated under written Roman law codes. The actual situation was much more complicated. A royal *ordonnance* of 1454 had announced the project of transcribing and codifying the hundreds of *coutumes* (a task which was only completed at the end of the following century); the result was a written code, heavily influenced by the principles of Roman jurisprudence in which the royal juriconsults of the Renaissance were steeped. Conversely, in the regions of *droit écrit*, hundreds of oral *coutumes* had sprung up to deal with matters not covered by Roman law—feudal questions, in particular—while on the ground the written law was frequently applied as custom.³⁶

These muddy juridical waters become much clearer when the myriad of legal systems is viewed from the perspective of the role of law in social reproduction. A central concern of customary law was the inheritance and disposition of property according to kinship. Scholars examining customary law from the perspective of inheritance patterns have proposed dividing the hundreds of *coutumes* in early modern France into three basic types,

³⁵ On the notion of ‘custom’ in early modern western Europe, see Donald R. Kelley, ‘“Second Nature”: The Idea of Custom in European Law, Society, and Culture,’ in *The Transmission of Culture in Early Modern Europe*, ed. A. Grafton and A. Blair (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990), 57–78, reprinted with original pagination in Kelley, *The Writing of History and the Study of Law* (Aldershot, GB: Variorum, 1997), chap. 11.

³⁶ Roger Doucet, *Les institutions de la France au XVIe siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris: A. and J. Picard, 1948), 1:59–65; Jean Hilaire, ‘Droit coutumier’ and ‘Droit écrit,’ in Bluche, *Dictionnaire*, 493–497.

corresponding broadly to the geographic regions where three different models of family organization predominated. The picture can be simplified further by contrasting the generally egalitarian practices of northern and western France with the nonegalitarian practices of the south.³⁷ The connections between, on the one hand, notions of family and kinship and, on the other, the workings of customary law offer insight into the deeply rooted dispositions of early modern French society and enable a comparison with analogous dynamics in the Algonquian and Iroquoian societies of the Northeast.

A few prefatory comments on French kinship are in order. Descent in French society, as in Western Europe generally, was traced bilaterally (meaning that it was traced through both ego's father and mother). The key features surrounding this kinship system included a religiously sanctioned ideal of strict monogamy, dowry marriage, general 'class' endogamy, a double sexual standard that tolerated male promiscuity while punishing that of women, a tendency for the honour of a kin group to be vested in the premarital virginity of its female members, and, finally, a patrilineal emphasis in matters of filiation, in particular once the use of last names became common after the fourteenth century.³⁸ The term *famille* could refer either to the household (*ménage*)—in which case it not only included relatives by blood and marriage, but domestic servants and other associates—or to the pseudopatrilineage, or *lignage*. In the Middle Ages, the *lignage* provided protection to all its (male) members, each of whom was expected to avenge injuries suffered by his kin. In the early modern period, the lineage functioned less for the physical protection of its members than as 'a unit

³⁷ André Burguière, 'Les fondements d'une culture familiale,' in Burguière, ed. *Les formes de la culture*, vol. 4 of *Histoire de la France*, ed. Burguière and Jacques Revel (Paris: Seuil, 1993), 25–64.

³⁸ Linda Stone, *Kinship and Gender: An Introduction* (Boulder, Co.: Westview Press, 1997), 225–247.

for the conquest of social advantages': members provided mutual assistance under the nominal leadership of the head of the lineage; patronage and loyalty flowed along its branches.³⁹

This pseudopatrilineage was present to some degree at all levels of society,⁴⁰ but was most remarkable among groups in which consanguineal control and indivision of property were most pronounced. The unequal inheritance practices which characterized the peasantry of southern France, and the nobility everywhere, reflected the importance of the idea of the lineage. Among the nobility, the rule of primogeniture (*droit d'aînesse*) ensured the transmission of the preponderance of the family's property and symbolic capital (in the form of titles, coats of arms, and family portraits) to the eldest surviving son and his heirs—that is, the senior branch of the pseudopatrilineage.⁴¹ At the other end of the social spectrum, in the villages of the Alps and Pyrenees of southern France the principle of consanguineal control was asserted overtly in inheritance customs that allowed the household head to designate an heir—usually, but not necessarily, the eldest son—ensuring that property remained within the 'house' (the *domus*, defined by agnatic filiation and frequently by association to a particular building and exploitation). Here, conjugal relations, rather than being the basis of property holding, constantly threaten to undermine it by alienating the goods of the 'house.' This explains in part the importance of

³⁹ Roland Mousnier, *The Institutions of France under the Absolute Monarchy, 1598–1789*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer and Brian Pierce, 2 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979–1984), 1: 49 (quotation); Jean-Louis Flandrin, *Families in Former Times: Kinship, Household and Sexuality*, trans. Richard Southern (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 5–7, 15–16.

⁴⁰ As suggested by the presence of *livres de raison* in families of varying wealth and status, from nobles to bourgeois to peasants. The *livre de raison* was a kind of account book that combined details of property management with statements of moral principle and the origin and history of the family. 'Implicit in the *livre de raison* is the idea of lineage.' Mousnier, *Institutions*, 50.

the dowries, as they served to compensate daughters for their exclusion from inheritance (in addition to being markers of status). Siblings were placed in a hierarchy which distinguished heirs from the heirless, and the bilateral character of filiation was subjugated to an overriding assertion of patrilineal continuity. By contrast, in the Paris basin and in northern and western France generally, inheritance customs were predicated upon the formation of a conjugal community from which all children would inherit more or less equally, in theory. Such practices favoured the reproduction of nuclear family households and were better adapted to the acquisition and transmission of property. When, however, egalitarian practices threatened to undermine the viability of a farm or an inheritance, endogamous marriage strategies ensured that consanguineal control was maintained. As well, the sense of the lineage was perpetuated in legal customs such as the *retrait lignager*, which made provision for consanguineal heirs to assert control over property that was threatened with alienation.

These markedly different inheritance patterns, although motivated in part by differing notions of kinship, did not reflect two different cultural systems. As André Burguière notes, inheritance practices exemplify the compromises that must be reached between specific social and material conditions and the dispositions embodied in a system of kinship. The mental categories and rules of European kinship constituted 'un pôle de référence, une syntaxe toujours disponible pour traduire en termes juridiques les exigences de l'organisation domestique. . . . Chaque règle successorale incarne, à sa manière, une solution de compromis entre un désir d'équité et le souci d'assurer la continuité d'une exploitation, d'un lignage ou de préserver l'intégrité d'un

⁴¹ See *âmesse* in Marcel Marion, *Dictionnaire des institutions de la France aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles* (1923; Paris: A. Picard, 1968), 12–13.

patrimoine.⁴² It was precisely those areas of France where egalitarian inheritance practices predominated that produced the majority of seventeenth-century immigrants to the St Lawrence valley where, from 1664 onward, they were subject to the *coutume de Paris* (the customary law of the region of the Paris basin). Louise Dechêne noted in this context the spontaneous emergence of this egalitarian reflex among settlers in the Montreal region.⁴³ More recently, Sylvie Dépatie has demonstrated the extent of the compromises and flexibility Burguière alludes to: although subject to a single customary law, French colonists in practice transmitted property in a variety of ways, some of which favoured a single heir.⁴⁴ Customary law provided a formal framework through which people reconciled the values of family and kinship with material concerns, but did not dictate their solutions.

The crown's policy of recognizing local and regional customary laws during the drawn-out process of their transcription in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries contributed to their institutionalization and legitimization. Consequently, for the three centuries of the *ancien régime*, the regulation of private matters based on customary law, as interpreted (and therefore further

⁴² This explanation oversimplifies matters somewhat, in that inheritance practices in western France were fiercely egalitarian and individualist: ego claimed a double descentance, from father and mother, each of whom transmitted their own property to their children, according to the maxim *materna maternis, paterna paternis*. By contrast, in the region around the Paris basin, this radical egalitarianism was muted under the influence of practices that had sprung up around the tacit community, a type of family organization that proliferated in the late Middle Ages but which, by the sixteenth century, was restricted to the centre of France. The concept of a conjugal community, a central feature of the *coutume de Paris*, was a legacy of the late-medieval tacit community. For all of this, see André Burguière, 'Les fondements d'une culture familiale,' 25–64, (quotations, 48, 53).

⁴³ Dechêne notes, however, that other elements of the legal systems of the western France did not take root in the Canadian colony; see Louise Dechêne, *Habitants et marchands de Montréal au XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Plon, 1974), 424–433. The royal letters patent creating the Compagnie de l'Occident in 1664 made the *coutume de Paris* the colony's exclusive law code for civil matters.

⁴⁴ Sylvie Dépatie, 'La transmission du patrimoine au Canada (XVIIe-XVIIIe siècle): qui sont les défavorisés?' *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 54, no. 4 (2001): 557–570.

entrenched) by the royal courts, was exceptionally stable and efficient.⁴⁵ Over the course of the sixteenth century, juristic thought—especially that of Parisian legists, armed with the maxims of Roman law and the concept of *imperium*, or the all-powerful nature of the prince—tended to subordinate customary law to the royal legislative prerogative. Ancient juristic maxims were dusted off and given new vigour: *rex Franciae est imperator in suo regno* (the king of France is emperor in his realm); *princeps legibus solutus est* (the prince is not bound by law); *quidquid principi placuit legis habet vigorem* ('si veut le roi, si veut la loi'). 'Car tel est nostre plaisir' was added to the text of royal ordinances to show that their force derived from the sole will of the monarch, who, according to a medieval maxim, was *lex animata*—literally, living law. In practice, too, the process of codifying the *coutumes* and the influence of Parisian commissioners and Roman law therein, the interpretation of customary law through royal edicts and ordinances, and the extension of royal legislation to nontraditional domains, such as marriage and inheritance practices, tended to undermine the independent status of custom. Yet in spite of these trends, the *coutumes* generally survived intact throughout the life of the *ancien régime*, becoming, for all intents and purposes, part of the fundamental legal infrastructure of the realm. They were neither divine nor royal in origin; they sprung from the common consent of the people. By acting as the guarantor of the codified local legal systems, the king appeared in his traditional role as protector of a timeless constitution.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Burguière, 'Les fondements d'une culture familiale,' 34–35. Stability did not signify a lack of change; in Canada, for example, the *coutume de Paris* evolved considerably over the course of the French regime, under the influence of the intendants and of court judgements (Louise Dechêne, personal communication).

⁴⁶ William Farr Church, *Constitutional Thought in Sixteenth-Century France: A Study in the Evolution of Ideas* (Harvard University Press, 1941; reprint ed., New York: Octagon Books, 1969), 101–120; Robert Descimon and Alain Guéry, 'Un État des temps modernes?' in *L'État et les pouvoirs*, ed. Jacques Le Goff, vol. 2 of *Histoire de la France*, ed. André Burguière and Jacques Revel (Paris: Seuil, 1989), 209–219. The story of Martin Guerre, a sixteenth-century case of identity theft

Police, legislative sovereignty

'On ne peut avoir plus de police que de communauté puisque police n'est autre chose que l'ordre et régime de la communauté,' wrote the Jesuit Pierre Biard after several years in Acadia. Because the Mi'kmaq were few in number, had (in his view) little wealth, and lived in scattered bands, they therefore exhibited only minimal forms of *police*—translated in this case as 'polity.' Thus did the missionary begin a chapter entitled 'La police & gouvernement des sauvages.'⁴⁷

The concept of *police* in the sixteenth century had a large semantic field that extended considerably beyond that of *loi*, with which it shared certain meanings. Claude de Seyssel's 1515 treatise *La Monarchie de France*, a kind of baseline for constitutional thought in the French Renaissance, distinguished between *justice*, by which was meant jurisprudence, political philosophy, and the French Parlements, and *police*, which referred both to the concept of 'polity' and to the 'constitutional structure but more specifically the legislative tradition of the French monarchy expressed in the royal ordinances (in principle going back to Charlemagne's time), which proposed governmental regulation and interference on every conceivable level of political, military, corporate, social, economic, and even domestic life.' Seyssel's modern English translator renders *police* variously as 'civil order,' 'order,' 'police,' 'policy,' 'political means,' 'political order,' 'political organization,' 'polity,' and 'principles.'⁴⁸ In short, *police*

made famous at the time through a book written by Jean de Coras, a judge involved in the case, illustrates the process through which private matters involving the interests of family and kin might be resolved via settlements in royal courts; see Natalie Zemon Davis, Jean-Claude Carrière, and Daniel Vigne, *Le retour de Martin Guerre* (Paris: Robert Laffont, 1982).

⁴⁷ Biard, *Relation de 1616*, in *JR*, 3:86, 87 (translation).

⁴⁸ Donald R. Kelley, introduction to Claude de Seyssel, *The Monarchy of France*, trans. J. H. Hexter, ed. Donald R. Kelley (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981), 18. See appendix 3, 182, and the page references therein for various translations of the concept of *police*. For Seyssel as a spokesman for mainstream opinions of the magistrates of the Parlement of Paris,

is concerned with the practice of governing a state. Seyssel wrote at a time when public policy and government intervention in everyday life was in fact severely limited by financial, organizational, and technological constraints; yet the slow elaboration of the concept of *police* in the early modern era was a telling sign of the vocation of the modern state, if we are to follow Michel Foucault's reflections on 'governmentality.'⁴⁹

In Seyssel's formulation, *police* was one of three 'bridles' on royal power that ensured that 'the monarchy of France is governed by a much better order than any others now existing or known from ancient history.' (The other two bridles were religion and justice.) Seyssel considered that past ordinances and the Parlements' role in approving them restricted the ability of the king to deplete the resources of the country, and in particular 'to fall back on extraordinary exactions which burden and aggrieve the people.'⁵⁰ This was an idea destined for the dustbin of history. Even before the century was out, *police* had gone from being a bridle on royal power to being the most obvious manifestation of the latter. Jean Bodin's *République* (1576) rejected the idea of a framework of public policy restricting the exercise of kingship; instead, he defined sovereignty itself as the power to make and break law ('la puissance de donner et casser la loi'). For Bodin, the hallmark of royal authority was legislative sovereignty. *Lex* was made by the sovereign prince. There was a decisive change in the fundamental meaning of what it meant to rule: the king-as-judge (a passive interpreter of preexisting law) gave way to the king-as-legislator (an active creator of law). Symbolically, the king went from being an instrument of

see Nancy Lyman Roelker, *One King, One Faith: Heresy and Tridentine Catholicism in the Sixteenth-Century Parliament of Paris* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 12, 61.

⁴⁹ Michel Foucault, 'Governmentality,' in *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*, ed. Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon and Peter Miller (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 87–104.

God to standing in as an earthly surrogate of God.⁵¹ In practical terms, the apparatus of the state—its finances, bureaucracy, and armed forces—grew exponentially beyond Seyssel's conception, while the administrative role of the Parlements was steadily degraded by a monarchy jealous of its prerogatives.⁵²

Conceptually, *police* was related to urban life (derived as it was from Greek *polis*, city.) In early modern France, local communities were largely responsible for regulating themselves, but the extension of royal authority in the seventeenth century, especially through means of provincial intendants, tended to eclipse regional and local autonomy with respect to matters of *police*. At the dawn of the seventeenth century, this process was only beginning. In stating that the Mi'kmaq lacked *police*, Biard was pointing to an apparent absence of centralized institutions that articulated, administered, and executed public policy.⁵³

Fundamental law

The ongoing exercise of *police* by successive French kings produced a complex body of *droit public* that was not easily reducible to any single set of first principles. Sixteenth-century French jurists occasionally undertook to reconcile the complex reality of French public law with basic doctrines of rulership and in

⁵⁰ Seyssel, *Monarchy*, 56–57.

⁵¹ Church, *Constitutional Thought*, 228–229; Descimon and Guéry, 'Un État des temps modernes?' 211, 214–215.

⁵² According to Albert Hamscher, the crown achieved a victory of sorts over the Parlements after the Fronde (1648–1653), forcing the sovereign courts to pare down their administrative prerogatives and executive ambitions. Under Louis XIV the Crown cooperated successfully with the *parlementaires* by showing a greater respect for their judicial autonomy, while the Parlements kept their collective noses out of affairs of state; see Albert N. Hamscher, 'Parlements and Litigants at the King's Councils during the Personal Rule of Louis XIV: The Example of *Cassation*,' in *Society and Institutions in Early Modern France*, ed. Mack P. Holt (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1991), 190–222, esp. 193.

⁵³ François Monnier, 'Police,' in Bluche, *Dictionnaire*, 1216–1217; Michel Antoine, 'Intendants,' in *ibid.*, 761–763.

so doing, articulated notions of fundamental law. Anticipating the apologists of absolutism of the century to follow, these political thinkers inclined toward doctrines of unlimited royal power. In a text dedicated to François I, the humanist scholar Guillaume Budé asserted that kings were entirely above the law:

[L]es roys sont exaltés en honneur, et ont souveraine puissance, et dons de prérogatives, et prennent profit et émolument sur le populaire, par dessus tous aultres, si bon leur semble. Car il est à présumer, qu'ilz sont si parfaicts en prudence, si éminens et élevés par noblesse, si imbuts et proveus [*sic*] de justice et d'équité, qu'il ne leur fault point de reigle, ny de forme escripte, pour les estreindre par crainctes de peines . . . comme il fault aux aultres subjects. Et doibt suffire pour leur commander la loy divine seulement, qui a autorité de Dieu législateur souverain, et non pas des hommes, selon laquelle tous hommes sont égaux, sans distinction ou prééminence.⁵⁴

Yet at the same time, the jurists and scholars never ceased to invoke certain earthly laws that regulated rulership itself—laws that were, to use a modern term, constitutional. What were generally referred to as 'laws of the kingdom' became, in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, 'lois fondamentales.' The emergence of this term coincided with ideological efforts, motivated by the factionalism of the wars of religion, to subjugate the exercise of sovereignty to the rule of law. But the concept of fundamental law was not embraced uniquely by radical Protestant and Catholic factions; it was a notion deeply rooted in juristic thought. In the adage *un roi, une foi, une loi*, the latter term, for the jurists at least, could only refer to fundamental (i.e., constitutional) law. The exceptionally complicated history of the *lois fondamentales* centred on a paradoxical consensus that underpinned the political order of the *ancien régime* as

⁵⁴ Guillaume Budé, *De l'Institution du Prince* [1547], facsimile ed. (Farnborough, Hants., England: Gregg Press, 1966), 20.

it emerged after the wars of religion: on the one hand, fundamental law was deemed, as the term implies, immanent to the polity, timeless and inviolable; and yet at the same time, it escaped codification (unlike the *coutumes*) and lacked the support of positive sanctions to punish transgression. Its importance was universally agreed upon, but for all that, its nature, content, and political import remained ambiguous.

Where the core concern of the *coutumes* was the transmission of property, that of fundamental law was the transmission of sovereignty. Unlike the *coutumes*, however, the 'laws' regulating accession to the throne were subjected to intense and hostile scrutiny during the political conflicts of the age. Historically minded jurists of the later sixteenth century revealed these laws to be, in many cases, inventions of the monarchy itself. This was the case, for example, with the Salic law, an invention of the late Middle Ages that was invoked retrospectively to justify dubious cases of royal succession.⁵⁵ Until the middle of the sixteenth century, the jurists generally accepted the myth that the Salic law dated back to the earliest Christian kings of France of the sixth century AD. More careful historical scholarship in the 1570s uncovered the agency of medieval kings and their propagandists in the ad hoc creation of the Salic law, the principal thrust of which was to exclude women from exercising sovereignty and to justify the principle of primogeniture. Although at one level this discovery merely confirmed the maxim that the king was the source of all law, it also raised the disturbing possibility that 'law itself was but a means of legitimating acts which in reality were little more than forceful usurpation.'⁵⁶ The jurists were also faced with the problem of explaining the status of articulations of fundamental

⁵⁵ On the Salic law, see Colette Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology: Myths and Symbols of Nation in Late-Medieval France*, trans. Susan Ross Huston, ed. Fredric L. Cheyette (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991), chap. 9.

law extracted from the monarchy under duress, such as the proclamation of the Estates General assembled at Blois in 1588, stipulating that the king must be Catholic. The response of the jurists was to ‘mettre la monarchie à l’abri de l’histoire’ by conflating fundamental law with natural law, and, for good measure, by developing a mystique of the royal bloodline that precluded historical criticism. Their intellectual labour served to legitimate the political triumph of dynastic practice over abstract principles that had occurred when the Protestant Henri de Navarre acceded to the throne in 1589, notwithstanding the declarations of Blois. (Henri obviated the need for complicated *ex post facto* juristic explanations by subsequently converting to Catholicism—thus winning his crown under a fraudulent fundamental law of the fifteenth century—the Salic law—and keeping it under an embarrassing edict of the sixteenth—the law of Catholicity.) In 1589, blood trumped faith (and also incidentally barred a rival Spanish claim to the throne), only to commingle with it after 1593 (the date of Henri’s abjuration) in a divine and naturalistic theory of royal succession. Thus, in the early seventeenth century, the dynastic practices of the French monarchy (which had existed for centuries and which had since been legitimated by various opportunistic borrowings from canon law, customary law, feudal law, and Roman law) were consecrated as a singular and supreme manifestation of divinely sanctioned natural law. ‘Rien n’est plus durable,’ wrote the theologian and apologist of absolutism Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet during the reign of Louis XIV, ‘qu’un État qui dure et se perpétue par les mêmes causes qui font durer l’univers et qui perpétuent le genre humain.’⁵⁷

While the juristic basis for dynastic succession remained the central concern of fundamental law throughout the *ancien régime*, the inalienability of the

⁵⁶ Church, *Constitutional Thought*, 85.

⁵⁷ Quoted in Descimon and Guéry, ‘Un État des temps modernes?’ 230.

royal domain also figured prominently in sixteenth-century constitutional thought. This principle limited the monarch's ability to transfer landed property and royal prerogatives. Other principles were at one time or another also considered fundamental.⁵⁸ For our purposes, the significance of the concept of fundamental law is this: Despite the fact that the exact nature of fundamental law remained ambiguous, and despite the utter lack of positive sanctions against kings who transgressed such laws, the concept of inviolable constitutional principles made possible the claim that the French monarchy, if not 'constitutional' in the modern sense of the term, was at least legally constituted. Denis Richet has characterized fundamental law as a 'pseudoconstitution' perpetuated by a telling complicity between the high magistracy and the king. If, on the one hand, the Parlement of Paris ceaselessly presented itself as the defender of fundamental law, at the same time it joined with the crown in rejecting an explicit enumeration of such laws, preferring to preserve what was once termed 'le secret de la majesté du mystère de l'Empire.' 'Ce refus de principe,' concludes Richet, 'exprimé par des adversaires de la pratique gouvernementale, exprime bien la connivence profonde entre les uns et les autres. Un système dont on pouvait approuver ou contester l'exercice, mais dont on ne remettait pas en cause les fondements.'⁵⁹ At the centre of the French monarchy, then, was an august mystery—a tautology, really, in which power defined itself *as* power.⁶⁰ France was nonetheless undeniably a realm with

⁵⁸ Roland Mousnier, for example, lists six discrete fundamental laws (*Institutions of France*, 1:649–653), but for a more nuanced discussion, see Descimon and Guéry, 'Un État des temps modernes?' 223–233.

⁵⁹ Denis Richet, 'La monarchie au travail sur elle-même?' in *The Political Culture of the Old Regime*, vol. 1 of *The French Revolution and the Creation of Modern Political Culture*, ed. Keith Michael Baker (Oxford: Pergamon, 1987), 25–40 at 33.

⁶⁰ 'Qu'en est-il du discours quand il est celui du pouvoir, du discours quand il est lui-même pouvoir? Qu'en est-il donc du pouvoir quand un discours le dit, du pouvoir quand il

fundamental laws, unlike, in the eyes of contemporaries, Turkey, Persia, or Muscovy where, to use jurist Jean Bodin's terminology, a despotic form of monarchy prevailed. The king of France was no tyrant or despot.⁶¹ A people *san loi*, by contrast, lacked any signs of legally constituted authority, mysterious, divinely sanctioned, or otherwise.

Natural law and divine law

In early modern French constitutional discourse, natural law and divine law joined with fundamental law in legitimating the rule of French monarchs, and went further, in limiting the king's powers. The monarchy was prepared to accept the constraints of nature and God where it refused those of human and institutional origin. The sixteenth-century concept of natural law was an inheritance of Antiquity. Jean Bodin's *Les six livres de la République* (1576) exemplified the prevailing belief in the existence of regular, patterned principles and forces of nature (i.e., of God's creation) that shaped human history. Astrology, numerology, and history were seen as so many methods through which the rational mind of human being could discern and explain these patterns. Some natural laws, however, stood out as being obvious. The family was a fact of nature, as was the authority of husbands over wives and children. Kingship was but a manifestation of the same principle: the unity of legitimate

définir le discours même?' asks historian Louis Marin, quoted in Descimon and Guéry, 'Un État des temps modernes?' 210.

⁶¹ Gaston Zeller, *Les institutions de la France au XVI^e siècle* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1948), 77–84; Denis Richet, *La France moderne: l'esprit des institutions* (Paris: Flammarion, 1973), 36, 38. For Bodin, 'la Monarchie Royale, ou legitime, est celle où les subjects obeissent aix loix du Monarque, & le Monarque aux loix de la nature, demeurant l la liberté naturelle & propriété des biens aux subjects. La Monarchie seigneuriale est celle où le Prince est fait seigneur des bie[n]s & des personnes par le droit des armes, & de bonne guerre, gouvernant ses subjects comme le pere de famille ses esclaves. La Monarchie Tyrannique est où le Monarque mesprisant les loix de nature, abuse des personnes libres comme d'esclaves, & des biens des

authority in any social group. Property too conformed to natural law; thus the legitimate monarch necessarily respected his subjects' natural liberties and property rights (within limits). In practice, the theorists' conception of natural law only stipulated that sovereignty be exercised for the common good, a vague enough requirement to satisfy any crowned head.⁶²

In the second quarter of the seventeenth century, royalist propaganda spoke less of natural law as a limit on the king's power than of the light of reason as a guide for the monarch in the rational pursuit of power. Armand-Jean du Plessis, duc de Richelieu, cardinal and principal minister of the realm under Louis XIII, explained in his *Testament politique* how natural law inspired his policies:

La lumière naturelle fait connaître à un chacun que, l'homme ayant été fait raisonnable il ne doit rien faire que par raison, puisqu'autrement il feroit contre sa nature et par conséquent contre Celui même qui en est l'auteur. . . .

. . . [L]a raison doit être le flambeau qui éclaire les princes en leur conduite et en celle de leurs États. . . .

Par le passé, la plupart des grands desseins de la France sont allés en fumée, parce que la première difficulté qu'on rencontrait en leur exécution arrêtoit tout court ceux qui, par raison, ne devoient pas laisser de les poursuivre et, s'il est arrivé autrement, pendant le règne de V[otre] M[ajesté], la persévérance avec laquelle on a constamment poursuivi ce qu'on avoit fait avec raison, en [est] la cause.

Les intérêts publics doivent être l'unique fin du prince et des ses conseillers. . . .

La vraie philosophie, la loi chrétienne et la politique enseignent si clairement cette vérité que les conseillers d'un prince ne sauroient lui mettre trop souvent devant les yeux un principe si

subjects comme des siens'; see Bodin, *Les six livres de la république* (Lyon: Jean de Tournes, 1579), bk. 2, chap. 2, p. 190.

⁶² Church, *Constitutional Thought*, 213–226; Descimon and Guéry, 'Un État des temps modernes?' 219–220.

nécessaire, ni le prince châtier assez sévèrement ceux de son Conseil, qui sont assez misérables pour ne [le] pratiquer pas.⁶³

For Richelieu, the ‘public interest’ represented an independent principle that, while in the long term consonant with divine law and natural law, obeyed a different moral logic, a logic peculiar to the state. ‘Le salut des hommes s’opère définitivement en l’autre monde . . . ; mais les États n’ont point de subsistance après ce monde, leur salut est présent ou nul.’ Consequently the state was not bound by the same ethical considerations as were individuals. ‘Les intérêts publics’ were to be pursued by kings and statesmen; the people, in turn, owed unquestioning obedience to the ruler who protected interests they themselves could not articulate.⁶⁴

A related seventeenth-century development was the emergence of international law, likewise an offshoot of the ancient concepts of natural law and law of nations (*jus gentium*). In pre-Reformation Catholic Europe (i.e., ‘Christendom’), *jus gentium* consisted of a mélange of natural law precepts (moral dispositions engraved upon human beings by God), a body of quasi-international canon law, and the notion that the pope was an appropriate arbiter of disputes. The religious schisms and wars of the sixteenth century radically undermined any consensus about its meaning. Seventeenth-century formulations of a law among nations had to take into account the new ideological climate in which the sovereign state obeyed a logic of its own. (Lescarbot’s portrayal of the pope as a ‘common father’ who made peace between warring kings was a pious

⁶³ Armand Jean du Plessis Richelieu, *Testament politique* (Paris : Robert Laffont, 1947), 325, 326, 328, 330. In his preface, Léon Noël points out Richelieu’s use of the word *raison* on some seventy occasions in the text (21).

⁶⁴ Richelieu, *Mémoires*, quoted in Etienne Thuau, *Raison d’Etat et pensée politique à l’époque de Richelieu* (Paris: A. Colin, 1966), 354; for obedience of the people, 355; for Richelieu’s thought in general, 351–358. For Thuau, ‘La Raison du XVIIe siècle naît, dans une large mesure, de l’action collective et des besoins pratiques de l’entreprise étatique’ (415–416).

but obsolete representation of international diplomacy.⁶⁵) Hugo Grotius's system, for example, reflected this decentring of the source of *jus gentium*; it implied the theoretical equality of all sovereign states whose basic interests lay in accepting a framework of law within a community of nations. These articulations, however, came too late to significantly influence the European colonization of the Americas. There, even when European political theorists conceded that native societies operated according to precepts of natural reason, 'all the theorists did throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was to provide, tardily and hesitantly, rationalizations for what European governments were actually doing' in the New World.⁶⁶

UN ROI

'Royalty! Its history dominates the whole evolution of European institutions,' wrote Marc Bloch.

In order to understand what the monarchies were in former times, and above all to understand their longlasting hold upon the human spirit, it will not be enough to enter into the most minute details of the workings of the administrative, judicial and financial organization which they imposed upon their subjects. Neither will it be enough to conduct an abstract analysis, nor attempt to extract from a few great theories the concepts of absolutism or divine right. We must also fathom the beliefs and fables that grew up around the princely houses.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Lescarbot, *Histoire*, 3:767. Lescarbot was referring to the Treaty of Vervins (1598) ending the war between France and Spain.

⁶⁶ Garrett Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1955), 284 (quotation). For a lengthier substantiation of this claim, see L. C. Green and Olive P. Dickason, *The Law of Nations and the New World* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1989), 1–139.

⁶⁷ Marc Bloch, *The Royal Touch: Sacred Monarchy and Scrofula in England and France*, trans. J. E. Anderson (London/Montreal: Routledge & Kegan Paul/McGill-Queen's University Press, 1973), 4.

In short, we are advised to look beyond the practices of state formation, beyond the philosophical and constitutional discourses surrounding kingship, to appreciate its deep impress upon the imagination of past societies.

In his own efforts to do so, Bloch deliberately laid aside the comparative ethnological approach favoured in his day by James Frazer and others, arguing that 'the comparative method is extremely fertile, provided it is confined to general proportions: it cannot be used to reconstruct details.' That Bloch, a well-known advocate of comparative studies, should adopt this tack, may surprise, but evidently his desire to plumb the idiosyncratic depths of the royal religions of England and France made this choice inevitable. Today, we are in much the same position. We know that kings the world over claim a unique association with supernatural forces; that through these associations kingship seeks to separate itself symbolically from, and position itself above, society; that ritual is central to the constitution and maintenance of kingship; and that the basic ritual 'problem' of kingship is to adequately relate a particular king to a universal cosmological order. Beyond these generalizations, however, great cracks open beneath superficial convergences.⁶⁸ 'Rois, vous êtes des dieux,' said Bossuet of the French monarchs, but it would be misleading to view Louis XIV, the Sun King, in the same terms as Atahualpa, the last Inca, whose father was the Sun. Regicide is always more than mere murder, but what a difference between the assassination of Henri III and the ritual regicide that defined kingship in parts of modern Africa!⁶⁹ Although kingship—sacred, divine, or by divine right—appears widely as an institution in stratified agrarian societies of varying scales,

⁶⁸ Bloch, *Royal Touch*, 30. See also the introduction and essays in Jean-Claude Galey, ed. *Kingship and the Kings* (London: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1990).

⁶⁹ Western anthropologists like E. Evans-Pritchard described the ritual killing of kings in African kingdoms in the first half of the twentieth century; see Gillian Feeley-Harnik, 'Issues in Divine Kingship,' *Annual Review of Anthropology* 14 (1985): 273–313, esp. 275–278.

the ideological constructions that support it and the dispositions of the ruled toward it seem to vary just as widely. It is therefore important to examine French kingship as a peculiar variant of a global, and more narrowly, a western European institution.⁷⁰

Kingship was assuredly a key symbol in early seventeenth-century French political culture.⁷¹ On the one hand, kingship summarized the complexity of the early modern state: within the unitary 'body politic' of the king were collapsed the significant disparities in law, custom, language, culture, religion, households and modes of local government that characterized the realm. The king provided a dynamic, personal focus for national commitment and feeling in an age where the 'nation' was personified as a passive and feminine entity (*la douce France*).⁷² On the other hand, the symbol 'king' also functioned as a 'root metaphor' in that it served to elaborate or explain complex systems. Perhaps the most striking instance of this was the anthropomorphic extension of monarchy to non-human animal societies—the beehive, the lion pride—and a similar extension of the principle to marginal social groups in human society—the king of thieves, of

⁷⁰ Among recent surveys of monarchy employing a global comparative perspective, see W. M. Spellman, *Monarchies 1000–2000* (London: Reaktion, 2001), and Francis Oakley, *Kingship: The Politics of Enchantment* (Malden, Mass.; Oxford: Blackwell, 2006). Both works emphasize the somewhat atypical nature of European kingship, particularly with respect to its sacral (but not sacred) quality; for both authors, this was a consequence of long ideological and political struggles between various local and regional monarchs, on the one hand, and the papacy's pretensions to a universal monarchy, on the other; see Spellmann, *Monarchies*, chap. 4; Oakley, *Kingship*, chap. 5.

⁷¹ Sherry B. Ortner, 'On Key Symbols,' *American Anthropologist* 75 (1973): 1338–1346. Overviews of early modern French kingship are Richet, 'La monarchie au travail sur elle-même?' and Descimon and Guéry, 'Un État des temps modernes?' On western Europe in general, see Donald R. Kelley, 'Kingship and Resistance,' in *The Origins of Modern Freedom in the West*, ed. R. W. Davis (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995), 235–268, and Jarich Oosten, 'Ideology and the Development of European Kingdoms,' in *Ideology and the Formation of Early States*, ed. Henri J. M. Claessen and Jarich G. Oosten (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996), 220–241. For a summary of early seventeenth-century characterizations of the French monarchy, see Thuau, *Raison d'État*, 13–32.

⁷² Beaune, *Birth of an Ideology*, 285–292, 308.

beggars. The relation between the king and his subjects was understood to be homologous with the relations between God and humanity, men and women, parents and children, the mind and the body. Finally, ideas about kingship provided early modern French people of every social milieu with a variety of 'key scenarios' or cultural strategies for making political claims, whether in a noble revolt, a peasant uprising, or the conquest of the New World.

The development of the institution of kingship in France offers numerous splendid examples of 'invented traditions.'⁷³ Official doctrines of kingship developed over the centuries as a series of responses to criticism and contingent crises were legitimated *ex post facto* by jurists and propagandists. These theories took shape in a process of *bricolage* that reiterated ancient ideas while offering justification for new practices and formulations. The monarchy may have invented itself, but it did so in dialogue, or sometimes open conflict, with other seats of power and authority: the church, the nobility, the Parlements, and, to a lesser degree, the provincial and national Estates. Popular belief also played its role in perpetuating conceptions of royalty that might otherwise have succumbed to the skepticism of humanists and religious reformers.

Traditional kingship

At the dawn of the seventeenth century, the French monarchy had emerged shaken but triumphant from ideological and political struggles that had challenged its very foundations. Its ability to resist the anti-monarchical ideologies of the later sixteenth century derived in large part from the influence of traditional conceptions of kingship, and, despite the humanistic innovations inspired by the Renaissance and the hyperbolic formulations that flourished in

⁷³ See Hobsbawm's introduction, in Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds. *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1-14.

times of political crisis, most of the symbols, rituals, practices and institutions surrounding late-medieval kingship survived into the early modern era. For the ideological edifice of seventeenth-century absolutism relied heavily on the power of traditional conceptions of kingship. 'Ce régime ne supprimait pas, il superposait,' wrote Pierre Goubert of the *ancien régime*.⁷⁴ For this reason, several brief digressions into the medieval roots of kingship will be necessary to document the sedimentation of meaning and practice that grew up around the institution during its thousand-year transformation from the leadership of Germanic kinship groups to a dynastic territorial monarchy. Many of the important features of traditional French kingship were in place by the end of the thirteenth century.⁷⁵

St Thomas Aquinas's thirteenth-century treatise on kingship provides a convenient backdrop against which to examine the development of the French variant of this institution. It defined a king as the necessary 'directive principle' for ensuring the commonweal of human communities: 'the idea of king implies that he be one man who is chief and that he be a shepherd seeking the common good of the multitude and not his own.' Following Aristotle, Aquinas affirmed that the rule of one (monarchy) was preferable to the rule of several because it more efficaciously achieves the end of 'unity of peace'; it was, moreover, in accord with natural law, 'for in all things nature does what is best': 'Now, every natural governance is governance by one. In the multitude of bodily members

⁷⁴ *L'Ancien Régime*, 2 vols. (Paris: Armand Colin, 1973), 16.

⁷⁵ For an overview of the ideological means by which local, ethnic, and/or ecclesiastical loyalties were transferred to a geographically defined kingdom through the elaboration of 'a political theology' which transferred religious symbols and slogans to the political sphere,' see Joseph R. Strayer, 'France: The Holy Land, The Chosen People, and the Most Christian King,' in *Action and Conviction in Early Modern Europe: Essays in Memory of E. H. Harbison*, ed. Theodore K. Rabb and Jerrold E. Seigel (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), 3–16, 16 (quotation). It was in 1254 that the royal chancery changed the usual title for the king from *rex Francorum* (king of the French) to *rex Franciae* (king of France). Beaune, *Birth of an Ideology*, 284–285.

there is one which is the principal mover, namely, the heart; and among the powers of the soul one power presides as chief, namely, the reason. Among bees there is one king bee and in the whole universe there is One God, Maker and Ruler of all things.⁷⁶ Aquinas's metaphors for kingship included the ship's pilot, the shepherd, and the father: like the king, they all must place the common good ahead of their private interests. The king who fails to do so becomes a tyrant. Aquinas did not assume that the king will on his own succeed in avoiding tyranny; instead, 'the government of the kingdom must be so arranged that opportunity to tyrannize is removed. . . . At the same time his power should be so tempered that he cannot easily fall into tyranny.' Moreover, since the common good of the multitude is nothing other than the establishment and preservation of the means by which people may lead virtuous lives (i.e., possess God), 'kings must be subject to priests.'⁷⁷

Certain elements of Aquinas's vision of kingship (itself a legacy of earlier writers) survived well into the early modern period in France: the metaphor of fatherhood, the sense of monarchy as conforming to natural and divine law, and the moral imperative for kings to seek the common good. But the institutional and ecclesiastical constraints on royal power fell by the wayside, and the image

⁷⁶ St Thomas Aquinas, *On Kingship, to the King of Cyprus*, trans. Gerald B. Phelan, ed. I. Th. Eschmann (1949; reprint ed., Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1982), 9, 12 (quotations). The editor notes that in medieval opinion, the chief bee was considered to be a male (12 n. 7). By the end of the seventeenth century, scientific observation had apparently challenged this assumption: Furetière's *Dictionnaire* notes, under *Roy*, that the term 'se dit aussi entre les animaux, de celui qui est le plus excellent en leur espèce. . . . Les abeilles ont aussi leur Roy, qu'on dit être femelle et sans aiguillon.' Until then, however, Aristotle's erroneous description of the queen bee and female workers as males endured. The solitary 'king bee' who never used his powerful sting, except against other 'kings,' and the efficient coordination of hive activity made bees a paradigm of monarchical perfection. See Jeffrey Merrick, 'Royal Bees: The Gender Politics of the Beehive in Early Modern Europe,' *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 18 (1988): 7–37, esp. 10–18.

of king-as-shepherd gave way to a more dynamic role for the king as the kingdom of the Franks developed into a territorial state. The principle of dynastic succession, the sacralization of kings, and a variety of complex ideologies linking the ruler and the ruled each played a role in shaping the edifice of early modern kingship.

Dynasticism Early modern French elites believed that the French nation had its origins in the westward migration of Germanic peoples about the time of the end of the Roman Empire (i.e., the third to fifth centuries AD). One of these groups, the *François*, established itself in the region known as Gaul by subjugating the indigenous Romanized population. The conquerors, however, ‘par succession de temps se naturalisèrent en ce pays, comme légitimes Gaulois.’⁷⁸

⁷⁷ Aquinas, *On Kingship*, 10, 24, 63. Although *On Kingship* lacks any precise indication of the means to temper the king’s power, Aquinas’s *Summa theologiae* recommends a mixed constitution (24 n. 3).

⁷⁸ Étienne Pasquier, *Les Recherches de la France*, ed. Marie-Madeleine Fragonard and François Roudart, 3 vols., *Textes de la Renaissance*, ed. Claude Blum, no. 11 (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1996), bk. 1, p. 4 [256]. Fourteenth- and fifteenth-century versions of French history had claimed that the ancestors of the *François* were refugees from the fallen city of Troy, led by one Francion, of the line of Priam; over the course of time, by virtue of their martial exploits on behalf of the Roman emperors, they were granted an exemption from tribute, and named *Franci*, that is, free. The myth of Trojan origins was politically useful for French kings in that it furnished glorious Hellenistic roots to the territorial and dynastic kingdom, posited a fundamental ethnic unity to the nation (by asserting the assimilation of Trojan-Germanic heroes by the indigenous Gauls), and justified the king’s autonomy with respect to Rome—i.e., to both the papacy and the Holy Roman emperor. A sixteenth-century humanist scholar like Étienne Pasquier could no longer endorse this myth, on the grounds of absence of historical evidence. He chose instead to simply emphasize the valour of the Germanic forebearers of the French nation. For Pasquier’s doubts, see *Recherches*, bk. 1, p. 17 [280–281], 35–36 [315–317]: ‘Quant à moy, je n’ose ny bonnement contrevenir à cette opinion, ny semblablement y consentir librement: toutesfois il me semble que de disputer de la vieille origine des nations, c’est chose fort chatoüilleuse: parce qu’elles ont esté de leur premier advenement si petites, que les vieux autheurs n’estoient soucieux d’employer le temps à la deduction d’icelles: tellement que petit à petit la memoire s’en est du tout esvanoüye, ou convertie en belles fables et frivoles’ (35). For the late-medieval myth, see Beaune, *Birth of an Ideology*, 226–227.

Ancient Germanic kingship was founded on kinship: it did not refer to sovereignty over a defined territory, but rather to leadership or protectorate of a group that included kin, free companions, clients, and people in various forms of servitude.⁷⁹ Members of this group owed each other protection and aid, and internal violence was discouraged. The right to furnish kings belonged to specific lineages that were deemed to possess a sacred character by reason of association with a particular deity. However, there was no established principle of dynastic succession; instead, the king was elected by ‘the people’—in fact, by powerful lords—from among eligible members of sacred lineages. Indeed, early modern scholars were aware that the ancient *François* were governed by several kings, ‘selon la pluralité des contrées qu’ils possédoient.’⁸⁰

The medieval French monarchy maintained only the ritual trappings of election. Juridical arguments supporting the hereditary principle of succession existed from the tenth century on, and the uninterrupted transfer of power from a dead king to his successor took place *de facto* since the thirteenth century. Erudite and determined genealogists created the fiction of uninterrupted dynastic succession from the era of the Franks and, by the late Middle Ages, the alleged dynastic continuity of the monarchy was trumpeted as the keystone of

⁷⁹ Spellman, *Monarchies*, 148–149. The English word *king* developed from Old English *cýning*, with cognate forms in other Germanic languages (e.g., Old High German *kuning*, modern German *König*). The term may derive from either Old English *cynn* with the noun suffix *-ing* added (meaning one descended from the lineage or race) or Proto-Germanic *kuningaz* (one descended from noble birth). *The Barnhart Dictionary of Etymology* (N.p.: H. W. Wilson, 1988). In both cases the link between kinship and ancient Germanic kingship is clear. The French term *roi* derives from Latin *rex*, itself probably derived from Indo-European roots meaning to guide, direct, or govern. The *-rix* suffix in the names of ancient Celtic leaders (e.g., Vercingetorix) and the Indian title *rajah* are related forms. Alain Rey, ed. *Dictionnaire historique de la langue française*, 2 vols. (Paris: Dictionnaires Le Robert, 1992), 2:1820–1821.

⁸⁰ Roland Mousnier, *La monarchie absolue en Europe: du Ve siècle à nos jours* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1982), 19–21; Pasquier, *Recherches*, bk. 1, p. 37 [318–319].

the prestige of French kings. Among other advantages, it illustrated the superiority of the king to the elected Holy Roman emperor.⁸¹

The ideology and practice of dynastic succession was called into question in the later sixteenth century as new sources and methods of historical scholarship made possible a brief resurgence of the notion of elective kingship. This occurred in the context of the wars of religion, and consequently provided grist for the mills of antiroyalist political propaganda. The election of kings among the Franks was brought to light in several late sixteenth-century books, notably François Hotman's *Francogallia* (1573) and Bernard du Haillan's *L'histoire de France* (1576). To contemporaries, the ancient elective practices of the Franks seemed reflected in certain traditional elements of the coronation ritual. For example, by convention the new king was crowned in the cathedral at Reims by the archbishop assisted by the Peers of France, a practice which Du Haillan referred to as 'a form of election,' insofar as the Peers were understood to represent the church, the nobility, and the people—in short, the three estates or orders making up the fabric of French society. In the last quarter of the century, the concept of elective kingship became a propaganda weapon in the hands first of the Huguenot and then, after 1588, of the ultra-Catholic opposition to Henri III and Henri of Navarre (Henri IV), as each party sought to undermine the autonomy of the monarchy. Royalist defenders of the hereditary kingship carried the day by ignoring historical evidence of election or else by interpreting such rituals as formal popular approbation of a ruler whose legitimacy was derived ultimately from his blood. The anti-elective orthodoxy was swiftly reestablished, as expressed by the jurist Jean Bodin: the king 'takes his scepter neither from the

⁸¹ Jacques Krynen, *Idéal du prince et pouvoir royal en France à la fin du Moyen Âge (1380–1440): étude de la littérature politique du temps* (Paris: A. et J. Picard, 1981), 232, 251–258.

pope, nor from the Archbishop of Reims, nor from the people, but from God alone.’⁸²

The dynastic principle was, in any event, firmly entrenched in the popular imagination, as a chance reference in a fifteenth-century letter of remission reveals: Jean Batiffol, an eighty-year-old peasant, is quoted therein as affirming that the true son of a French king bore a birthmark in the shape of a fleur-de-lys; thus could one recognize the rightful heir.⁸³ (This principle seems to have coexisted with the sense that coronation and consecration were key constitutive rituals: Joan of Arc, for example, made a point of referring to the young Charles VII as the *dauphin* prior to his consecration, whereas according to the jurists, he was already king.) The effect of drawing attention to the few vestiges of election that remained in the coronation ceremony only hastened the decline of the importance of the coronation ceremony itself as a constitutive ritual. The new orthodoxy was succinctly expressed by Jean Bodin: ‘Car il est certain que le Roy ne meurt jamais, comme l’on dit, ains que si tost que l’un est decedé, le plus proche masle de son estoc est saisi du Rouyaume et en possession d’iceluy au paravant qu’il soit couronné.’⁸⁴ The seventeenth century would turn instead to rituals that unequivocally underlined the principle of uninterrupted dynastic succession.

The sacral character of kingship The religious significance of ancient Germanic kingship changed considerably over the centuries separating the

⁸² Richard A. Jackson, *Vive le roi! A History of the French Coronation from Charles V to Charles X* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984), 115–127, 123 (quotation from Bodin, *Les six livres de la république*).

⁸³ Bloch, *Royal Touch*, 144.

⁸⁴ Beaune, *Birth of an Ideology*, 261; Bloch, *Royal Touch*, 128 (Joan of Arc); Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King’s Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957; reprint ed., 1997), 328–330, 409 n. 319 (quoting Jean Bodin, *Les six livres de la république* [1583]).

Germanic migrations of Late Antiquity from the French Renaissance monarchy. German kings, as noted above, claimed descent from a god; that is, they belonged to certain lineages recognized as having a god as its ancestor. The kings were 'channels through which the power of the gods reached the people,' ensuring victory in war and the fertility of the land. According to a medieval chronicle, a Norwegian king reputed to have brought unusually good harvests was quartered after death so that the several districts of the land could receive a part for burial, 'in the hope of further good harvests.' Modern scholars have connected these features of Germanic kingship with broader traditions of Indo-European kingship and its tripartite functions of sovereignty, military prowess, and fertility, linking the king inextricably with the common weal.⁸⁵

As readers of Caesar and Tacitus, early modern French elites were acutely aware of the pagan beliefs of their Gallic and Frankish ancestors. However, they saw the conversion of the Frankish king Clovis and his warriors (*circa* AD 496–508) as a decisive break with that past. (Modern scholarship notes instead the persistence of pagan practices well after the acceptance of Christianity by the Franks.⁸⁶) As the first Christian king of the Franks, Clovis was considered the founder of the French monarchy and of the kingdom. Over the centuries, a series of religious myths and symbols grew up around Clovis and kingship, gradually coalescing into the symbolic complex of French monarchy. The title 'Most Christian King' (*Rex Christianissimus*) was retrospectively applied to Clovis; by the fifteenth century, it had become the official title of the French monarch. The Holy Ampulla, a vessel containing a special balm used to anoint the kings of France at their consecration in the cathedral at Reims from the ninth century

⁸⁵ Carole M. Cusack, *Conversion among the Germanic Peoples* (London and New York: Cassell, 1998), 35–38, 37 (quotations); Bloch, *Royal Touch*, 32 (on harvests); Oosten, 'Ideology,' 228, 234.

onward, was said to have been brought down from heaven by a dove in order that Clovis's baptism could take place punctually. The consecration of kings was thus seen as a form of divine unction. In addition to providing the Holy Ampulla at Clovis's coronation, God also ensured that the Ampulla miraculously never needed refilling, thus precluding any difficulties in the anointing of Clovis's distant successors. The fleur-de-lys emblem, adopted by French kings in the twelfth century, was retrospectively traced back to Clovis, too: the royal arms of *azur aux trois lys d'or en armes pleines* was said to have been sent to Clovis by Jesus, via an angel (or in other versions, via a monk) to ensure the king's victory in battle. All these were signs of the special status of the first Christian king of France and his successors. Speaking before the king and the University of Paris in 1406, Pierre d'Ailly described Clovis as one of only three kings in history anointed at the hands of a man born of a barren woman—a sure sign of divine approbation. (The first two were Saul and Christ.)⁸⁷ In addition to being 'Most

⁸⁶ Cusack, *Conversion*, 70–81.

⁸⁷ Bloch, *Royal Touch*, 130–136; Beaune, *Birth of an Ideology*, 78, 208, 214–215. For d'Ailly, see Krynen, *Idéal du prince*, 233. Another royal emblem, the oriflamme or red banner borne by the king in battle, was given a similar treatment; however, from the fifteenth century onward, the standard was no longer employed by the king (Beaune, *Birth of an Ideology*, 55). The ritual anointment of the king during the consecration preceded the emergence of the legend of the Holy Ampulla by nearly two centuries. Formerly, the kings of Christianized Germanic peoples had only received the unction given to any ordinary convert. The Old Testament, with its models of ancient Near Eastern kingship, provided the Christian rulers of Europe with a new set of symbols surrounding kingship. Kings became 'the Lord's Anointed.' The consecration of kings was often spoken of as an eighth sacrament, even after the church excluded royal unction from the seven sacraments in the thirteenth century. Moreover, the similarities between the anointment of priests and that of the kings, and the fact that kings received Holy Communion in both kinds just like priests, furnished ample material for rhetorical elaboration upon the quasi-sacerdotal nature of kingship, a practice which continued well into the early modern period. The various formulations that emerged were often subtle and hedged about with qualifications, but the general opinion was that kings were more than laymen, yet clearly not to be considered as priests. Bloch, *Royal Touch*, 35–37, 108–130, 195–203.

The epithet 'Most Christian' had its roots in a banal formula used by the medieval papacy to address princes. By the thirteenth century, French propagandists employed the title to buttress affirmations of the French king's independence from both the pope and the Holy Roman

Christian,' the king was also the *filis aîné de l'Église* (eldest son of the church). This epithet was believed to be the result of valorous acts on behalf of the church, as the Renaissance classicist Guillaume Budé explained to François I: 'Car vous estes si grand Maistre, et si hault eslevé, que tous aultres sont moindres que vous, après Dieu, & sainte Eglise, qui est la mère de tous Chrestians. De laquelle vous estes, vous portés, & renommés le premier fils par héritage & succession de voz illustres progeniteurs & Ancestres: qui par leur singuliere vertu, ont acquis ce los & tiltre confirmé en leur posterité par longue possession de ceulx qui ont obtenu cette tresinsigne & tresredoubtée couronne.'⁸⁸ The practice of primogeniture in noble and royal succession meant that to be the eldest son was to enjoy privileges and rights denied to other siblings. Lescarbot played upon this when he defended France's right to claim possessions in the New World against the papal bull of 1493 that had divided title between the kings of Castile and Portugal: 'Il est à disputer sçavoir s'il [the pope] pouvoit ou devoit partager les enfans puisnez de l'Église, sans y appeler l'aîné.'⁸⁹

The sacral aspect of French kingship had its most spectacular expression in the ritual of touching for scrofula, practiced by French monarchs from at least the early twelfth century if not before. The king's power to heal was attributed to a variety of causes. At the king's consecration at Reims, he was anointed on various parts of his body, including the head, with chrism mixed with balm from the Holy Ampulla. For many, royal unction in this manner sufficed to imbue the

Emperor, and by the fourteenth, the papacy itself was induced to employ it in letters addressed to the king. Beaune, *Birth of an Ideology*, 174–177. By contrast, the king of Spain was addressed as His Most Catholic Majesty, the title bestowed by Pope Alexander VI on Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabelle of Castile in 1494. J. H. Elliott, *Imperial Spain, 1469–1716* (London: Edward Arnold, 1963), 65.

⁸⁸ Budé, *De l'Institution du Prince*, 42–43. The history of this epithet remains unclear; Doucet says that 'roi très chrétien' and 'filis aîné de l'Église' are but 'simples formules de chancellerie' (Doucet, *Institutions*, 72).

⁸⁹ Lescarbot, *Histoire*, 1:29.

consecrated king with healing powers. French kings, however, inaugurated their thaumaturgical careers only after an additional ritual: a visit to the monastery at Corbeny, near Reims, where the relics of Saint Marcoul were preserved. The saint was reputed to have the power to heal scrofula as well. (Quite possibly, the popular belief that this was so may have been derived from his name, which suggested *mar* [badly] and *cou* [neck]. Throughout medieval Europe there were numerous local saints whose names were plainly indicative of their specialization.) Accordingly, it was only logical to view the king's power as the result of intercession by Saint Marcoul. However, royal propagandists from the late Middle Ages onward had periodically insisted that the king's miraculous ability was simply a result of his being king, that is, the legitimate heir to the throne as prescribed by dynastic principles, and was thus not causally connected to contact with holy artifacts such as the Holy Ampulla or to the intercession of Saint Marcoul. The 'political theology of the royal bloodline' asserting the purity and continuity of royal descent emerged as early as the fourteenth century, and served to connect the dynastic conception of kingship with the idea that the king's blood was sacred. Only the true king—that is, the king with sacred blood flowing in his veins—could cure scrofula by means of touching those afflicted by the disease. At the end of the sixteenth century, this view had become official dogma: thus, during the wars of religion, we find a Catholic royalist arguing that Henri of Navarre, the heir to the throne according to the Salic law, would alone have the thaumaturgical ability to heal scrofula with his touch—despite being a heretic and an excommunicant!⁹⁰

⁹⁰ Yardeni, *La conscience nationale en France*, 180, citing Pierre Du Belloy, author of *Examen du discours publié contre la maison royalle de France* (1587). See also Beaune, *Birth of an Ideology*, 186–192, on the theology of the royal bloodline.

Whatever ambiguity may have surrounded causal explanations, the practice enjoyed constant royal promotion and widespread popular support. The sixteenth-century humanist intellectuals and religious reformers who decried the superstitions of the common people and non-Christian 'savages' alike generally maintained a prudent silence with regard to an official, albeit theologically dubious, ritual; seventeenth-century free thinkers and Huguenots toed the same line. Touching for scrofula flourished. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, contemporary sources give figures of several thousand touched in a single session. Henri IV ministered to crowds of hundreds or even thousands several times each year on major religious holidays, and his Bourbon successors continued the practice, with similar turnouts. Its popularity was not limited to France alone: foreigners came to take the cure, and French kings even performed this rite abroad, sometimes under popular pressure. Passing his hand lightly over the patient's sores, the formula 'The king touches thee, and God heals thee' was pronounced. Toward the end of the sixteenth century, the origin of this miraculous power was, predictably, projected back in time to the era of Clovis to take its place alongside the other fundamental symbols of kingship. Despite being a brazen and transparent invention, this legend rapidly assumed a place within the mythological apparatus underpinning French kingship.⁹¹

By virtue of his traditional titles, royal unction, and thaumaturgical ability, the king of France was surrounded and sanctioned by the sacred, if not exactly sacred himself. He was but a man, but a man who ruled 'by the grace of God.' Elements of the consecration ritual (described below) suggested analogies to the

⁹¹ The term scrofula, also called 'the king's evil,' referred to any infection of the ganglia and was recognized by the suppurations that appeared on the neck and sometimes the face of the sufferer. Today the term refers to tubercular adenitis. Bloch, *Royal Touch*, 14–21, (origins), 48, 127–136, 151–168, (explanations of power), 154 (interpretation of Marcoul), 186–187, 206–7 (prudent

episcopal and clerical states, yet he was no priest-king. Nor was he a 'divine king' who exhibited his supernatural powers by deliberately transgressing the taboos that regulated the rest of society. The qualifier 'sacral,' or even 'sacralized,' is one way of underlining the sedimentation of elements of divine approbation around what otherwise was unambiguously a temporal institution. Lescarbot's statement that 'Les rois ont esté du commencement éluz par le peuple pour les garder et défendre de leurs ennemis,' did not contradict the doctrine that God established princes and gave them their authority; these ideas complemented, rather than excluded, each other in early modern political taxonomies.⁹²

The king and the nation Successful territorial wars, shrewd dynastic marriages, the adept manipulation of feudal custom and Roman law, the multiplication of royal ordinances and law courts, the establishment of permanent taxes, standing armies, and the nucleus of a professional bureaucracy: these were the means by which the French monarchy expanded and consolidated its power during the Middle Ages and Renaissance.⁹³ These pragmatic efforts were paralleled by the production of symbols that explained, justified, and no doubt in some cases inspired the actions of kings. The success of the dynastic principle and the universal belief in the sacral character of kings were powerful advantages for the monarchy, but these alone were not enough. The late-medieval kings also 'had to invent the France which they claimed to rule. They had to make men proud of the country as well as loyal to the king; they had to expand the idea of France to make it match the expansion of their own power.'⁹⁴

silence of intellectuals and reformers), 177–179, 193–194, 203–206 (numbers and circumstance), 180 (formula), 202–203 (seventeenth-century understanding of origins).

⁹² Lescarbot, *Histoire*, 3:775.

⁹³ See Mousnier, *La monarchie absolue*, 76–91, 141–146.

⁹⁴ Strayer, 'France,' 5.

The late Middle Ages were fertile grounds for religious formulations that emphasized the intertwined holy natures of the king and the realm. Royal propaganda emphasized the piety of French kings, their defense of the church, the devout character of the French people, and the kingdom's wealth of relics, sacred sites, martyrs, crusaders, churches, abbeys, and universities. (The history of heretical movements on French territory was conveniently misinterpreted, ignored, or denied.) The 'superchristianization' of the kingdom culminated in the identification of France with the kingdom of Israel. The religious tone was in no way accidental: it was a deliberate attempt by political writers and propagandists to speak the 'langage du cœur' of the people, to appeal to their faith in saints, miracles, and relics.⁹⁵

Secular metaphors of community were equally important. The metaphor of the political community as a human body emerged in the Middle Ages and endured past the collapse of the *ancien régime*, surviving today in the term 'body politic.' A twelfth-century fable by Marie de France tells of a man whose head, hands and feet rebel against the greedy stomach and refuse to feed it. By the time the hands and feet realize that depriving the stomach is self-defeating, it is too late: the stomach has atrophied. The limbs wither, the body weakens, the man dies. Christine de Pisan incorporated the fable into *Le Livre du Corps de Policie* [The Book of the Body Politic], which she addressed to the heir to the French throne in the early fifteenth century, a period of political and social turmoil. The head, hands, and belly, legs, and feet, she explained, represented components of the body politic: the prince, the nobles, and the common people. The moral of the story?

⁹⁵ Strayer, 'France,' 5–16; Beaune, *Birth of an Ideology*, 177–181; Krynen, *Idéal du prince*, 205 (quotation).

For just as the human body is not whole, but defective and deformed when it lacks any of its members, so the body politic cannot be perfect, whole, nor healthy if all the estates of which we speak are not well joined and united together. Thus, they can help and aid each other, each exercising the office which it must, which diverse offices ought to serve only for the conservation of the whole community, just as the members of a human body aid to guide and nourish the whole body. And in so far as one of them fails, the whole feels it and is deprived by it.⁹⁶

In developing at length the corporeal metaphor, Christine was employing an axiom of the language of medieval political thought. Prior to the invention of the concept of the state, the political community was imagined in organic terms as a human body. This corporeal metaphor abounded in medieval and Renaissance learned treatises and in 'mirror of the prince' literature—works outlining the ideal conduct of the prince and his relation to the body politic.⁹⁷ Its function was

⁹⁶ 'The Book of the Body Politic,' in *Medieval Political Theory—A Reader: The Quest for the Body Politic, 1100–1400*, ed. Cary J. Nederman and Kate Langdon Forhan (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), 231–232. See Marie de France's 'The Fable of a Man, His Belly, and His Limbs,' in *ibid.*, 25.

⁹⁷ Isabelle Flandrois points to the 'extrême importance' of the traditional corporeal metaphor in the mirror of the prince literature of the early seventeenth century. *L'Institution du Prince au début du XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1992), 14. The use of this metaphor in scholastic thought can be traced back at least to John of Salisbury (a secretary of Thomas à Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, and later himself appointed bishop of Chartres), who claimed to be following Plutarch. John's elaborate formulation enumerated no less than ten anatomical features and the corresponding offices of the body politic. See his *Policraticus* (1159), in *Medieval Political Theory—A Reader*, 38–39. For examples of the corporeal metaphor and its function in late-medieval political thought, see Krynen, *Idéal du prince*, 73, 158–160, 212–213, 319–325. The corporeal metaphor informed European political thought generally. For Spain, see Joseph Pérez, 'L'idéologie de l'État,' in *Le premier âge de l'État en Espagne (1450–1700)*, ed. Christian Hermann (Paris: CNRS, 1989), 191–197; for England, France, and the empire, see Kantorowicz, *King's Two Bodies*; for the Renaissance, see Paul Archambault, 'The Analogy of the 'Body' in Renaissance Political Literature,' *Bibliothèque d'humanisme et Renaissance* 29, no. 1 (1967): 21–53. For political metaphors of the body during the collapse of the *ancien régime*, see Antoine de Baecque, *The Body Politic: Corporeal Metaphor in Revolutionary France, 1770–1800*, trans. Charlotte Mandell (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1997), esp. chap. 2. The images of disease, deformation, and so on recall those used by Christine de Pisan during the political and social crises of the Hundred Years War, quoted above. Curiously, de Baecque suggests sixteenth- and

to underline the importance of social order and the holistic character of the body politic, to remind each group in society of its duties and responsibilities, and to enjoin the prince to strive to maintain the social equilibrium. It was a compelling and plausible metaphor for a society in which one's legal status and identity were largely determined by membership in various corporations, colleges, guilds, orders, and/or communes.⁹⁸ In the sixteenth century, the corporeal metaphor was a central feature of juristic discourse, as illustrated by President Jean de Selve's speech before the Parlement of Paris in 1527 (anticipating, incidentally, the symbolic significance of 1793): 'Nature abhors the separation of the body from the head, which deprives it of life; likewise the French people, who comprise the mystical body of which the said lord is the head, deprived of him . . . would be without life.'⁹⁹

The corporeal metaphor came to be intertwined with two distinct ideological constructions of the political community. The first, the notion of a society of estates defined by function, emerged in the eleventh century; the second, an esoteric juristic theory of kingship as the coexistence of the mortal body of a (lowercase *k*) king and the immortal body politic of the (capital *K*) King,

seventeenth-century Spanish origins for French use of the corporeal metaphor in the early modern period, and seems unaware of its ubiquity in late-medieval French writing (87–90).

Attempts to subvert the corporeally imagined political order elicited the typical early modern teratological discourses. In 1556 the young Queen Elizabeth rebuked a deputation from Parliament by saying that 'as your Prince and head,' she alone had the right to make decisions relating to the crown, 'for it is monstrous that the feet should direct the head.' Quoted in Anne Somerset, *Elizabeth I* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1991), 187. A 1573 engraving allegorized the sixteenth-century Dutch Revolt against Spain as a monstrous division of the body politic: over the title *Seditio* is shown the naked figure of a man from whose abdomen springs two torsos, each with head and arms; the torsos swing spiked clubs at each other. Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall, 1477–1806* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), plate 5 (see explanatory note, xviii).

⁹⁸ Roland Mousnier provides a description of French society as a set of *corps* or corporations in his *Institutions of France*, 1:429–476, 551–642.

⁹⁹ Sarah Hanley, *The 'Lit de justice' of the Kings of France: Constitutional Ideology in Legend, Ritual, and Discourse* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 77.

or crown, emerged two centuries later. By the early fifteenth century, Jean Gerson, chancellor of the University of Paris, was able to combine the juristic notion of royal bicorporality (or at least a primitive version of it), the social ideology of the three estates, and the traditional corporeal metaphor in the space of a few sentences: 'L'ordre du corps mystique de la chose publique seroit tout subverti' if the third estate was allowed to subvert the sovereignty of the head or the duties of the arms: 'ce seroit la destruction non mie du corps seulement mais d'eux mêmes.'¹⁰⁰ At the end of the sixteenth century, the jurist Guy Coquille pursued the same line of argument:

Car le Roy est le Chef, et le peuple des Trois Ordres sont les membres, et tous ensemble sont le corps politique et mystique, dont la liaison et union est individue et inséparable, et ne peut une partie souffrir mal, que le reste ne s'en sente et souffre douleur.

Coquille further explained the anatomical correspondence of the estates:

Cette distinction des Trois Ordres au corps politique a correspondance à ce qui est du corps humain qui est composé de trois principales parties . . . qui sont le cerveau, le cœur et le foye [referring to the clergy, the nobility, and the Third Estate].¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ *Rex in sempiternum vive* (1413), quoted in Krynen, *Idéal du prince*, 160; see also 212 n. 21 and 318–325.

¹⁰¹ Guy Coquille, *Discours sur les états de France* (1588), in *Les œuvres* (1666), quoted in Church, *Constitutional Thought in Sixteenth-Century France*, 278 n. 16, and, for the second paragraph, Kantorowicz, *King's Two Bodies*, 220 n. 79; see 218–220 for other examples of the convergence of the three estates and the corporeal metaphor. A similar scheme occurs in Plato's utopian republic, where society is organized according to the logic of homologous divisions of the body, soul, and state:

<u>Body</u>	<u>Soul</u>	<u>Virtue</u>	<u>State</u>
head	reason	wisdom	rulers
chest	will	courage	auxiliaries
abdomen	appetite	temperance	labourers

Table reproduced from Jostein Gaarder, *Sophie's World: A Novel about the History of Philosophy*, trans. Paulette Møller (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1994), 72; but see also Archambault, 'Analogy of the 'Body,'' 22–25. Anthony Black notes that some writers have sought to connect the medieval trifunctional scheme to Plato, but suggests that it is better understood as

The origins of these two additional formulations, the 'three estates' and the 'body politic and mystical' are worth exploring briefly.

The trifunctional and hierarchical division of society into those who pray (*oratores, sacerdotes*), those who fight (*bellatores, milites, pugnatores*), and those who labour (*agricolae, agricultores, laboratores*) found its earliest explicit expression in France in the early eleventh century (and somewhat earlier in England). Cobbling together disparate biblical, classical and monastic sources, the eleventh-century formulation began as a response to the weakness of the Capetian monarchy: in the absence of a strong political order, it promoted and legitimated a coherent social order—the emerging feudal order, in fact—that would reproduce on earth the perfect and peaceful order of heaven. The order it imagined was fundamentally hierarchical, but reciprocal as well; charity and brotherly love were to be exchanged between each estate.¹⁰²

Although a medieval innovation, the roots of this scheme lay in the ancient Indo-European ideology of 'the Three Functions.' As described by Georges Dumézil, the First Function comprises sovereignty with its magical and juridical aspects; the Second, physical force and valour; and the Third, fecundity and prosperity.¹⁰³ The medieval formulation can thus be seen as a development of this latent structure. It achieved a kind of institutional form in the fourteenth century as the Estates General, periodic consultative assemblies which brought together delegates representing the three estates or orders of society: the clergy,

a development of Christian theology (*Political Thought in Europe, 1250-1450* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992], 15-18).

¹⁰² Georges Duby, *The Three Orders: Feudal Society Imagined*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).

¹⁰³ Georges Dumézil, *La religion romaine archaïque* (Paris: Payot, 1966), 166. Duby emphasizes that Dumézil's Three Functions or 'tripartite ideology' belong to the realm of myth; the medieval formulation is novel in the sense that it strives to apply this structure concretely to the exercise of power within society. *The Three Orders*, 6.

the nobility, and the commoners. Fifteenth- and sixteenth-century kings, with their weak armies and bureaucracies, dealt with the Estates as equals, bargaining for support of royal policies and especially of taxation. Convocation of the Estates at the kingdom-wide level—the Estates General—was usually indicative of the crown’s weakness or of political crisis, and after Louis XIII’s minority, they ceased to occur (until, of course, the final hours of the *ancien régime*). At the provincial level, assemblies of the Estates took place regularly for fiscal purposes, but they too were increasingly marginalized by the centralized administration of the seventeenth century.¹⁰⁴ Still, the *idea* of a society of orders remained fundamental in *ancien régime* thought, as witnessed by its central place in the opening pages of Charles Loyseau’s influential *Traité des ordres et simples dignitez* (1610): ‘Les uns sont dédiés particulièrement au service de Dieu; les autres à conserver l’État par les armes; les autres à le nourrir et le maintenir par les exercices de la paix. Ce sont nos trois ordres ou états généraux de France, le Clergé, la Noblesse et le Tiers État.’ By Loyseau’s era, however, the separation of sovereignty and society was complete: in his formulation, the state, *le corps mystique de la chose publique* of an earlier age, stood outside the trifunctional division. The royal apologists had no more use for the corporeal metaphor; it had been replaced by absolutist doctrines which set the king entirely above and outside of society. ‘Les particuliers ne sont pas l’État, ains sujet à l’état, mais le Prince est lui seul l’état.’¹⁰⁵ Richelieu’s pragmatic *Testament politique*—a political essay of the 1630s—was organized along similar lines: three chapters deal with the Three Estates, a fourth with the state, and a fifth with the person of the king.

¹⁰⁴ Descimon and Guéry, ‘Un État des temps modernes?’ 248–252.

¹⁰⁵ Antoine Le Clerc, *La défense des puissances de la terre contre Mariana* (1610), quoted in Arlette Jouanna, *Le devoir de révolte. La noblesse française et la gestation de l’État moderne (1559–1661)* (Paris: Fayard, 1991), 339. In the early fifteenth century, Jean de Terrevermeille had evoked the

In his conception of the sovereign state, kingship and society were separate entities.¹⁰⁶

And yet the corporeal metaphor survived into the early seventeenth century in two forms. First, it remained pertinent as an analogy for the health and natural dispositions of the state. Thus does Richelieu's *Testament politique* reproduce the conventional uses of the metaphor. Education should be limited to a few, he writes: 'Ainsi qu'un corps, qui auroit des yeux en toutes ses parties, seroit monstrueux, de même un État le seroit-il, si tous les sujets étoient savants.' A noble class that does not fulfill its military vocation 'n'est pas seulement inutile, mais à charge à l'État, qui peut, en ce cas, être comparé au corps, qui supporte les bras paralytiques comme un faix, qui le charge au lieu de le soulager.' Above all, social conflict will be eliminated when each order in society 'sera contraint d'être en la place qu'il doit avoir par sa nature,' for otherwise France is but 'un Corps monstrueux qui, comme tel, ne pourroit avoir ni subsistance ni durée.'¹⁰⁷ Such phrases simply demonstrate the enduring appeal of a medieval commonplace.

Second, the corporeal metaphor acquired in the late-medieval and Renaissance periods a specific ritual expression that was founded on the abstract juristic notion of royal bicorporality. These rituals survived until 1610, several decades after their juristic basis had been eroded. Those juristic formulations had had their origins in the theological innovations of the thirteenth century. The invention of the term *corpus mysticum* (the mystical body of Christ) 'as a designation of the church in its institutional and ecclesiological aspects,' as distinct from the *corpus verum* (the true body of Christ) as found in the

corporeal metaphor but had insisted that the head alone both governed and represented the totality of the body politic. Krynen, *Idéal du prince*, 320–321.

¹⁰⁶ Richelieu, *Testament politique*, pt. 1, chaps. 2 to 6.

consecrated host, was a conceptual by-product of the Christian dogma of substantiation. In the following centuries the Christian theological concept that the totality of corporate entities making up (Christian) society comprised a mystical body under the head of Christ inspired an analogous political concept: the state was imagined as the *corpus mysticum*, the totality of corporate entities making up society. In the words of a mid-fourteenth-century Italian jurist (underlining, incidentally, the theological origins of the concept): 'And just as men are joined together spiritually in the spiritual body, the head of which is Christ . . . so are men joined together morally and politically in the *respublica*, which is a body the head of which is the Prince.' 'In other words,' wrote Kantorowicz in his now classic *The King's Two Bodies*, 'the jurist transferred to the Prince and the state the most important social, organic, and corporational elements normally serving to explain the relations between Christ and the church—that is, Christ as the groom of the church, as the head of the mystical body, and as the mystical body itself.'¹⁰⁸

The *corpus mysticum* of the king thus embodied, in a radical sense, the vague concept of the *chose publique*. The analogy underpinning this doctrine was, strictly speaking, a flawed one, for even if a comparison between the mystical body of Christ (i.e., the church) and the body politic of the king (i.e., the realm) might be sustained, no such parallel could be envisaged between the true body of Christ (who was both man and God) and the natural body of the king (who was merely a man). But the persuasiveness of the analogy depended not on the comparison of Christ and king, but on the familiarity of the corporeal metaphor.

¹⁰⁷ Richelieu, *Testament politique*, 204, 219, 257.

¹⁰⁸ Kantorowicz, *King's Two Bodies*, 196–197, 209–223, 216, 218 (quotations).

'Mainly because the state could be conceived of as a 'body,' could there be constructed the analogy with the mystical body of the church.'¹⁰⁹

The concept helped to solve the theoretical problem of continuity: as a god, Christ's eternal nature guaranteed the perpetuity of his mystical body; what corresponding principle guaranteed the continuity of the body politic? The answer came, in part, from combining the synchronic or 'horizontal' organic conception of the body politic as a plurality of actual estates and living persons, with a diachronic, or 'vertical' conception of the *corpus mysticum* as an *universitas*, or a personified collectivity which cannot die (i.e., a corporation). While the principle of hereditary succession and primogeniture structured the reproduction of the natural bodies of kings, the body politic was envisaged as an invisible, impersonal and perpetual crown. It bore the royal *dignitas*, the perpetual and self-renewing aspect of kingship exemplified by the self-begotten bird, the phoenix, and gave rise to the maxim *Le roi ne meurt jamais*, and the cries that went up at the burial of French kings: *Le roi est mort! Vive le roi!*¹¹⁰

While English jurists made the distinction between the king's two bodies very explicit, the most eloquent expression of the concept in France occurred during the royal funeral ceremonies between 1498 and 1610. That of François I in 1547 was paradigmatic. Following his death, a lifelike effigy of François was created and equipped with the regalia symbolizing the *dignitas* of the crown. His heir and successor, Henri II, remained discreetly out of the public eye while the effigy lay in a great hall, visited by nobles and clerics, served food and wine—'as if the king had never died.' After a month, the effigy was removed and the coffin

¹⁰⁹ Kantorowicz, *King's Two Bodies*, 260–261, 271–2, 271 (quotation). See also Ralph E. Giesey, *Cérémonial et puissance souveraine. France, XVe–XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1987), 13–14, on the problems raised by the analogy of Christ and king.

¹¹⁰ Kantorowicz, *King's Two Bodies*, 307–313, 316–317, 329–330, 338–342, 383–395, 409–415.

displayed, so that Henri II could appear—but merely as the son of his late father, and not openly as king—to sprinkle the coffin with holy water. Henri was conspicuously absent from the funeral procession, during which François's coffin was borne on a hearse draped in black, while, farther back, his effigy was carried on a litter escorted at each corner by the four presidents of the Parlement of Paris. At the abbey of Saint Denis, the effigy was removed, and the coffin carried into the vault, this time adorned with the regalia that had formerly been uniquely associated with the effigy. The last such item, the banner of France, was lowered into the vault, but then immediately raised again, to the cry *Le roi est mort! Vive le roi!*

This Renaissance funeral ceremony, as analyzed by Ralph Giesey, illustrates the ritual efforts demanded by the logic of the concept of royal bicorporality. The effigy representing the royal dignity or body politic mediates the latter's transference from a decaying natural body to a living one. The living king—Henri II—remained out of the public eye and refrained from public demonstrations of royal authority until the body natural of the dead king was entombed in the vault. Even if, as noted above, the dynastic principle of immediate succession had been established *de facto* in the thirteenth century, the funeral ceremony was a ritual expression of the ancient conception of kingship being transferred through public ritual: 'essentially medieval[,] it is a mystery play of the royal cult, kindred in spirit to the religious dramas of the Gothic period.' It created a ceremonial interregnum—the interval between the death of the king and the new king's coronation—during which the royal dignity was, by means of the effigy, represented as being quite distinct from the bodies natural of the late king and his successor, and opened avenues for the ritual participation of the organic elements making up the *corpus mysticum* of the realm: the nobility, the Parlement of Paris, the clergy, and so on. The funeral ceremony did not long

survive the growth of royal power in the seventeenth century: 'Absolutism demanded unequivocal obedience to the person of the living king. . . . The funeral ceremony which had treated the royal Dignity in more or less abstract terms yielded to a new ritual centered exclusively on the person of the living king.' The funeral of Henri IV in 1610 was the last to employ the device of the effigy, and even before the burial, the young Louis XIII had, under the tutelage of his mother, Marie de' Medici, made a public display of his power by holding a *lit de justice*. Upon Louis XIII's death in 1643, the young Louis XIV did the same, and in 1715 the famous cry *Le roi est mort! Vive le Roi Louis XV!* was uttered at the very deathbed of Louis XIV, thus eliminating the interregnum and logically fulfilling the juristic principle of immediate succession.¹¹¹

The interest groups that had the greatest stake in the rituals and theory of royal bicorporality were those that saw themselves as essential organs of the body politic. The king was always the head of the body politic—but, as Marie de France's fable showed, the head could not subsist alone. The Parisian magistracy advocated throughout the sixteenth century a corporatist vision of society in which the Parlement of Paris functioned as the guardian of justice, the fundamental laws, and Gallican privileges. The Presidents of the Parlement of Paris, wearing their scarlet robes to symbolize the continuity of the administration of justice, deliberately associated themselves with the effigy and its regalia in the funeral ceremony—that is, with the royal *dignitas*—as a ritual expression of their crucial place in the body politic. When the king appeared in the Grand' Chambre of the Parlement of Paris, a solemn ceremony known as the *Lit de Justice*, the *parlementaires* did not fail to remind him that the

¹¹¹ Ralph E. Giesey, *The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France* (Geneva: Librairie E. Droz, 1960), 1–17 (funeral of François I), 177–192, 190 (quotations).

realm constituted a *corps mystique* made up of both head and members.¹¹² Royal bicorporality also underpinned the political vision of nobles who, during a series of revolts against the crown between 1559 and 1661, protested the mounting efforts of the crown to control the definition of and access to the Second Estate, and to curtail or revoke its fiscal privileges. Analyzing the manifestoes published by assemblies of seditious aristocrats, Arlette Jouanna points to the conflation of the juristic formula of bicorporality and the older corporeal metaphor in noble political discourse. A text of 1560 likened the aristocracy to ‘le cœur, le sens, la vigueur et la force dont procède tout le mouvement et la conduite du Roi et du Royaume’; to rob the nobility of its rights was to rip out the heart of the king-as-body-politic. Although later texts were more in line with the subtleties of the juristic formulation, Jouanna reminds us of the role of the metaphor in contemporary thought: ‘On aurait tort de croire que la comparaison corporelle n’était qu’une simple figure de rhétorique; c’était une manière de penser l’ordre socio-politique, dans son aspect hiérarchique, mais aussi dans les rapports qui unissaient le roi et ses sujets.’ For the nobility, the corporeal metaphor was the basis for articulating a preference for a mixed monarchy and the sharing of sovereignty between the king, the nobles, and the Estates General and other representative institutions. By contrast, the notion of the absolute and undiluted sovereignty of the prince suggested a monstrous hypercephalization of the body politic. In posing as guardians of the public good (*le Bien public*), seditious nobles presented their struggle as a defense of the proper disposition of the body politic; in effect, they rebelled against the king in the name of the King.¹¹³

¹¹² Giesey, *Royal Funeral*, 56–57, 119, 184–189. For the *mentalité* of the *parlementaires*, see Roelker, *One King*, chap. 2. For evocations of the body politic in *Lits de Justice*, see Hanley, *Lit de Justice*, 53, 66, 77, 83, 193.

¹¹³ Jouanna, *Le devoir de révolte*, 282–300, 339–340, 392–394, 282, 286 (quotations).

The late-medieval transposition of the notion of the *corpus mysticum* to the political sphere that had led to the doctrine of the king's two bodies also opened the way for the metaphor of marriage to describe the legal and affective relationship between the king and the political community. The church was the bride of Christ; the political *corpus mysticum* could be, *mutatis mutandis*, envisioned as the bride of the king: 'Just as Christ joined to himself an alien-born as his spouse, the church of the Gentiles . . . , so has the Prince joined to himself as his *sponsa* [spouse] the state, which is not his.' Sixteenth-century French jurists embraced this concept as a means of expressing the notion of the inalienability of the royal domain: the *chose publique* was, in effect, a dowry. In 1527, this argument was made in Parlement in favour of abrogating a treaty with Spain on the grounds that its provisions violated the principle of inalienability, for according to private law a husband might control but could not alienate his wife's property. Once its immediate usefulness had passed, however, it remained an important juristic tenet. Speaking before the king and the Parlement of Paris in 1537, the *avocat* Jacques Cappel stated that the king was 'le mary et époux politique de la chose publique.' In 1547, under Henri II, the symbolism of the coronation ceremony was altered to reflect this innovation, but the first textual description of the new ritual dates from Henri IV's coronation in 1594: 'Au jour du sacre, le roy espousa solennellement le royaume, et fut comme par le doux, gracieux, et amiable lien de mariage inséparablement uny avec ses subjects, pour mutuellement s'entraimer ainsi que sont les époux, luy fit par le dit Evesque de Chartres présenté un anneau, pour marque de ceste réciproque conjonction.' In 1610, Louis XIII was likewise married to the kingdom by means of a ring placed on his finger, as Nicolas Bergier explained in a treatise outlining the symbolism of the young king's coronation entry into the city of Reims. The sacrament of

marriage makes two people one; accession to the throne unites king and kingdom: 'le royaume est au roy et le roy est aussi au royaume.'¹¹⁴

While the basic corporeal metaphor of the polity clearly had deep roots in French thought, the subtleties of the juristic notions described in the preceding pages were probably familiar only to the educated elite. For the king's other subjects, the much older metaphor of fatherhood provided a model for the relationship between ruler and ruled.¹¹⁵ Recall that Aquinas had described the king as a father and as a shepherd, meaning that his role was to guide and protect: 'The ruler of a household is called father, not king, although he bears a certain resemblance to the king, for which reasons kings are sometimes called the fathers of their peoples.'¹¹⁶ Bartolomé de Las Casas invoked the metaphors of father and shepherd to convince the king of Spain to show mercy toward the newly subjugated native peoples of the New World.¹¹⁷ In some forms, the metaphor emphasized the mutual affection between father and children: having lowered the *tailles* (direct royal taxes) and seen to the reform of justice, Louis XII was named *Père du Peuple* at the meeting of the Estates General at Tours in 1506.

¹¹⁴ Kantorowicz, *King's Two Bodies*, 216 (quotation), 221–223, 222 n. 85 (coronation ring quotation); Hanley, *Lit de Justice*, 77, 83–86, 91 (Cappel), 261 (Bergier), 383 for original French maxims; Jackson, *Vive le Roi*, 85–90.

¹¹⁵ Peter Heylyn, an English traveler in France in 1625, casually combined the metaphors of fatherhood and marriage. Referring to Louis XIII's reign as 'despotically,' he wrote: 'Though the Country be his wife, and all the people are his children, yet doth he neither govern as a husband or a father; he accounteth of them as a Master.' Quoted in John Lough, *France Observed in the Seventeenth Century by British Travellers* (Stocksfield, Eng.: Oriol Press, 1985), 133. The jurists would not have said 'counterey,' but 'la chose publique.' Joan Scott has urged historians to pay greater attention to the gender and marriage analogies underpinning past political theories; see Joan W. Scott, 'Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis,' *American Historical Review* 91 (1986): 1053–1075, here 1070–1071.

¹¹⁶ Aquinas, *On Kingship*, 10.

¹¹⁷ 'Como la providencia divina tenga ordenado en su mundo que para dirección y común utilidad del linaje humano se constituyesen en los Reinos y pueblos, reyes, como padres y pastores. . . .' Las Casas, prologue to *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias*, ed. André Saint-Lu, (Madrid: Ediciones Cátedra, 1992), 71.

Louis XIII capitalized on this theme in a royal declaration of 1634 that was disseminated throughout the kingdom: 'Voulant joindre au titre auguste de fils aîné de l'Eglise celui de Père de notre peuple . . . , nous avons résolu de supprimer dès à présent plusieurs impositions dont il est foulé.'¹¹⁸ It could also underline the 'natural' obedience owed to the sovereign, as well as the 'unnatural' nature of disobedience or, worse, violence directed toward the king. To kill a king was termed, in a very literal manner, parricide.¹¹⁹

There are some indications that in the late sixteenth century, royal fatherhood was transformed into a more dynamic and controlling form of patriarchy. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that broader changes in society and gender relations made fatherhood a more potent metaphor for absolutist kings. Throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, France was often personified as a courtly lady; this made possible an exhortation to chivalrous deeds on her behalf. The king was frequently portrayed as her son. Colette Beaune has noted, however, that in the sixteenth century, Lady France was depicted kneeling before the king, 'who from this point on became the father rather than the son of the nation. France was no longer first; her symbolic place had been subordinated to his as the monarchy was transformed into an absolutist state.'¹²⁰ It may be useful to step back from Beaune's dramatic

¹¹⁸ Frederic J. Baumgartner, *Louis XII* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1994), 149; declaration of 18 January 1634, quoted in Yves Marie Bercé, *Histoire des croquants: études des soulèvements populaires au XVIIe siècle dans le Sud-Ouest de la France*, 2 vols. (Genève: Librairie Droz, 1974), 2:612. The declaration was utterly fatuous: France was about to openly enter the Thirty Years War and Richelieu was preparing yet another harsh turn of the fiscal screw.

¹¹⁹ See Pasquier, *Recherches*, bk. 3, chap. 42, 1:805. After the assassination of Henri IV in 1610, the *avocat général* of the Parlement of Paris mourned him as the Father of the kingdom. Anita M. Walker and Edmund H. Dickerman, 'Mind of an Assassin: Ravaillac and the Murder of Henry IV of France,' *Canadian Journal of History/Annales canadiennes d'histoire* 30, 2 (1995): 221, 227.

¹²⁰ Beaune, *Birth of an Ideology*, 292.

anticipation of absolutism and fill in some of the intermediate connections between the king-as-father and social change in sixteenth-century France.

That fatherhood should provide a model of and for kingship is obviously closely bound up with an enduring feature of Western society: patriarchy. The latter was inextricably bound up with basic conceptions of divine authority (god the father) and political leadership (king-as-father).¹²¹ In everyday life, of course, paternal power was subject to the contingencies of personality and circumstance; in the ideological realm, however, it enjoyed a position of supremacy, manifest at the broadest level of society by the father's place at the head of the family table and by the collective rituals designed to humiliate husbands who were deemed unable to control their wives.¹²² At one level, the rhetoric of paternal authority was but another manifestation of what has been called the misogynist 'defamation litany,' a Western textual and intellectual tradition justifying female subordination. The 'litany' marshaled the authoritative texts of Antiquity as well as 'common sense' to the purpose of rationalizing male domination. In this view, women (or, rather, generic *woman*) was intellectually and physically deficient, passive, inconstant, and driven by lust. In short, woman was an imperfect vessel,

¹²¹ For some general reflections on this subject, see Flandrin, *Families in Former Times*, 118–145. The Indo-European term for the chief god of the pantheon combined the terms *deiw-os*, god (derived from the root *deiw* meaning 'to shine'), and *pater*, father: in Greek, Zeus pater; in Latin, Jupiter. *American Heritage Dictionary*, ed. William Morris (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1969), appendix ('Indo-European Roots'), 1498.

¹²² '[I]l ne faut sans doute pas suivre aveuglement le droit et les dictons qui affirment une supériorité sans partage. Hiérarchie au sein du couple et autorité maritale sont des normes de comportement public affichées peut-être un peu trop ostensiblement, et qui ne tiennent pas compte en tout cas du réel pouvoir des femmes, qui ont leurs lieux—le lavoir par exemple—, leurs armes—la puissance du commérage—, et qui jouent un rôle tellement irremplaçable que les veufs n'ont qu'un souci, se remarier au plus vite.' Alain Croix and Jean Quéniart, *De la Renaissance à l'aube des Lumières*, vol. 2 of *Histoire culturelle de la France*, ed. Jean-Pierre Rioux and Jean-François Sirinelli (Paris: Seuil, 1997), 45. Étienne Pasquier wrote favourably about the equality of women in his *Monophile* (1556), and a Breton nobleman advised his children that 'la maison se doit gouverner par le mari et la femme ensemblement. . . . Et que la femme ne fait qu'avec autorité du mari, et lui ne dédaigne prendre son avis.' Quoted in *ibid.*, 139.

unfit for the rule of the body politic. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, an ancient French law purportedly excluding women from rulership was understood to sanction this prohibition, although in fact the law in question was of recent manufacture. The dynastic crises of the Hundred Years War had created the pretext for the elaboration of the Salic law, a text that was creatively (that is, fraudulently) spun from Frankish customary laws and retrospectively applied to legitimate earlier cases of questionable royal succession and to deny English claims to the French crown. In the sixteenth century the Salic law was considered a fundamental law of the kingdom, and in the 1590s, it was defended tenaciously by the political moderates who considered it a bulwark against the menace of Spanish usurpation of the throne. If, on the one hand, it did nothing more than provide juridical rationalization for dynastic practices that had existed for centuries, it also, on the other, gave powerful reinforcement to the gendered nature of legitimate sovereignty.¹²³

The sixteenth-century jurist Jean Bodin, commenting on the ascension of Mary to the throne of England in 1553, provided a classic example of the early modern aversion to female rule: 'Of course, not only divine laws were violated, which explicitly subject women to the rule of men, but even the laws of nature itself, which gave to men the power of ruling, judging, assembling, and fighting, and kept the women away.'¹²⁴ Echoing Aristotle and Aquinas, Bodin asserted that male dominion was as natural as monarchy: 'If we should inspect nature more closely, we should gaze upon monarchy everywhere. . . . [W]hat is a family

¹²³ Sarah Hanley, 'Identity Politics and Rulership in France: Female Political Place and the Fraudulent Salic Law in Christine de Pisan and Jean de Montreuil,' in *Changing Identities in Early Modern France*, ed. Michael Wolfe (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1997), 79–94, esp. 82–83. On the Salic law, see Beaune, *Birth of an Ideology*, chap. 9.

¹²⁴ Jean Bodin, *Method for the Easy Comprehension of History* [1565], trans. Beatrice Reynolds (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945; reprint ed., New York: W. W. Norton, 1969), 253.

other than the true image of a state? Yet this is directed by the rule of one, who presents . . . the true picture of a king.'¹²⁵ Sanctioned in the philosophy of the ancients and the canonical writings of St Paul, buttressed by the revival of Roman law, and discerned in the workings of nature itself, paternal power was a mirror of divine, rational, and natural relations of authority. Bodin's theories took on the character of dogma under Louis XIII and Richelieu: Cardin Le Bret's *Traité de la souveraineté du roi* (1632) contained an orthodox defense of the Salic law, in which divine, natural, and fundamental law converge to exclude women from political leadership: 'Elle [the Salic law] est conforme à la loi de nature laquelle ayant créé la femme imparfaite, faible et débile tant du corps que de l'esprit, l'a soumise sous la puissance de l'homme, qu'elle a pour ce sujet enrichi d'un jugement plus fort, d'un courage plus assuré, et d'une force de corps plus robuste. Aussi nous voyons que la loi divine veut que la femme reconnaisse et rende obéissance à son mari comme à son chef et à son Roy.'¹²⁶ Le Bret's patron, Richelieu, was no less convinced of the incapacity of women to exercise political power, despite an intriguing admission that exceptions to the rule might exist:

Le Gouvernement des Royaumes requiert une vertu mâle et une fermeté inébranlable, contraire à la mollesse. . . .

De là vient que les femmes, paresseuses et peu secrètes de leur nature, sont si peu propres au gouvernement que, si on considère qu'elles sont fort sujettes à leurs passions et, par conséquent, peu susceptibles de raison et de justice, ce seul principe les exclut de toute administration publique.

Ce n'est pas qu'il ne s'en puisse trouver quelques-unes tellement exemptes de ces défauts qu'elles pourroient y être admises. . . . Ce siècle même en a porté quelques-unes qu'on ne sauroit assez louer. Mais, il est vrai qu'ordinairement leur mollesse les rend incapables d'une vertu mâle, nécessaire à l'administration, et qu'il est presque impossible que leur gouvernement soit exempt

¹²⁵ Bodin, *Method*, 271.

¹²⁶ Quoted in Marion, *Dictionnaire des institutions*, 340.

ou de bassesse ou de diminution, dont la faiblesse de leur sexe est la cause ou d'injustice ou de cruauté, dont le dérèglement de leurs passions, qui leur tient de raison, est la vraie source.¹²⁷

But such discourses were not mere repetition of a static and enduring idea; behind the early modern uses of the 'litany' lay a backdrop of demographic and social changes that rendered the paternal analogy more ideologically compelling for the monarchy. To understand these changes, a brief shift to a *longue durée* perspective is required. In the early fourteenth century, France's population stood at about 20 million.¹²⁸ The mortality occasioned by the Black Death (1348–1350) and the Hundred Years War (1337–1453) reduced that number by nearly half. Between 1450 and 1560, the population grew again to the 20 million mark and continued to fluctuate thereabout (dipping perhaps as low as 16 million at the end of the wars of religion but never lower, despite the periodic mortality crises of the seventeenth century) until another steady rise began around 1715. In short, the middle of the sixteenth century saw the end of France's drawn out demographic recovery and, significantly, the end of a period of relative social mobility and open markets for land and labour. Sexual permissiveness declined too, as Protestant and Catholic reform movements, in tandem with municipal authorities concerned about outbreaks of a frightening new sexually transmitted disease (syphilis), acted to curtail extraconjugal sexuality through, respectively, condemnation from the pulpit and laws prohibiting prostitution. Christian marriages, under the firm rule of the husband, were envisioned as a bulwark against the sexual disorders that were blamed on

¹²⁷ Richelieu, *Testament politique*, 327–329. Unfortunately, Richelieu does not identify the capable women rulers to whom he refers.

¹²⁸ For the purpose of long term demographic comparisons, the borders of eighteenth-century France are used. A population of twenty million seems to represent a kind of demographic ceiling imposed by ecological and technological constraints between 1300 and 1715. Le Roy Ladurie, *The Royal French State*, 35–36, 153–154.

female immodesty and shamelessness. King and Parlement weighed in as well with efforts to reinforce paternal authority, inspired less by moral considerations than by practical ones: as social barriers closed, heralding the end of the period of demographic recovery, elites sought protection against the dangers of *mésalliance*. Here, too, paternal authority in marriage was envisaged as the ideal solution, and consequently regulation of the family, hitherto left to the church, became a concern of the state as well. As André Burguière writes, 'L'idée d'un lien matriciel entre la stabilité des familles et la stabilité de l'État qui sous-tend cette nouvelle orientation va bientôt devenir un stéréotype de la rhétorique royale. 'Les mariages sont les séminaires des États,' affirme la déclaration royale du 26 novembre 1639, 'la source et l'origine de la société civile et le fondement des familles . . . dans lesquelles la naturelle révérence des enfants envers leurs parents est le lien de légitime obéissance des sujets envers leur souverain.'"¹²⁹

The fundamental long term transformation of the official ideology of kingship that occurred over the course of the seventeenth century was a shift from the medieval corporeal metaphor emphasizing the holistic nature of the body politic, the organic links between members of the political community, and 'constitutional' limitations of royal authority, toward mechanistic metaphors that underlined the unequivocal authority of superiors over inferiors and of fathers over families.¹³⁰ The seventeenth century saw the diffusion of this paternalist-absolutist ideology among the broad sections of the populace by means of

¹²⁹ Burguière, 'Les fondements d'une culture familiale,' 84–85. The elites most concerned about *mésalliance* were the officeholders who monopolized positions in the royal administration. In a similar vein, but lacking the demographic context, Sarah Hanley views the royal legislation regarding families as the result of a 'Family-State compact . . . designed to bring family formation under parental (that is, patriarchal) control in the first instance and under the magisterial control of the Parlement of Paris in the second.' Sarah Hanley, 'Engendering the State: Family Formation and State Building in Early Modern France,' *French Historical Studies* 16, 1 (1989): 4–27, 8 (quotation).

¹³⁰ Descimon and Guéry, 'Un État des temps modernes?' 239–240.

Sunday sermons, religious processions, parish schools, and so forth. Frank analogies between divine, royal, paternal, and other 'natural' forms of authority were commonplace and unambiguous.¹³¹

God	governs	creation
sun	"	planets
'king' bee	"	hive
king	"	subjects
master	"	servants
father	"	children
husband	"	wife
teacher	"	pupils
mind/head	"	body

In a political treatise addressed to Louis XIII, Richelieu opened a chapter on kingship with an explicit parallel between the prince's submission to God and the people's submission to the prince: 'Dieu étant le principe de toutes choses, le souverain maître des Rois et Celui seul qui les fait régner heureusement, si la dévotion de V[otre] M[ajesté] n'étoit connue de tout le monde, je commencerois ce chapitre . . . en lui représentant que, si Elle ne suit les volontés de son Créateur et ne se soumet à ses lois, Elle ne doit point espérer de faire observer les siennes et de voir ses sujets obéissants à ses ordres.'¹³² 'Le Roi est l'image de Dieu'; he was a 'Dieu corporel' or 'Dieu terrestre', a true lieutenant of God.¹³³ In the

¹³¹ The Mazarinades, scurrilous pamphlets attacking the regency government of Anne of Austria and the cardinal-minister Giulio Mazarini during the Fronde (1648–1653), articulated *inter alia* a vision of a symbolic order in which 'the sun governed the planets, the mind governed the body, husbands governed wives, fathers governed children, masters governed servants, and kings governed subjects.' In return for his protection and work for the common good, subjects owed the king their obedience and filial love. See Jeffrey Merrick, 'The Cardinal and the Queen: Sexual and Political Disorders in the Mazarinades,' *French Historical Studies* 18, 3 (1994): 667–699, esp. 670–673. For the homologies expressive of paternal authority, see also Robert Muchembled, *Culture populaire et culture des élites dans la France moderne (XVe–XVIIIe siècles)* (Paris: Flammarion, 1978), 273–280.

¹³² Richelieu, *Testament politique*, 264.

¹³³ These and many other early seventeenth-century commonplace formulations of the theory of the divine right of kings are quoted in Thuau, *Raison d'État*, 16–17.

Canadian colony, bishop Saint-Vallier's catechism of 1702 included the injunction of absolute obedience to king and governor in a chapter on the meaning of the fourth Commandment ('Père et Mère honoreras'). 'Sommes-nous aussi obligez d'honorer les Rois & les Princes, & de leur obéir?' asks the catechumen. 'Oui, soyez soumis, dit St-Pierre, pour l'amour de Dieu à tout homme qui a du pouvoir sur vous, soit aux Rois comme aux Souverains, soit aux Gouverneurs, comme à ceux qui sont envoyez de sa part.'¹³⁴

The codification of customary laws by royal jurists, a process begun in the late fifteenth century, also contributed subtly to the reinforcement of paternal power. In general, rather than attempting to extinguish differences in custom, the crown was content to recognize and institutionalize them; nevertheless, the influence of Roman law, with its emphasis on paternal authority, made itself felt in regions most directly under the control of royal institutions. The marriage formula enshrined in the coutume de Paris, whereby the goods of husband and wife were commingled in a *communauté d'acquêts*, simultaneously protected the wife's possessions while allowing their management by the husband. Writes Burguière: 'L'on peut interpréter le succès de la communauté d'acquêts dans la France du Nord, la plus contrôlée par le pouvoir royal et par le Parlement de Paris, comme un effet de l'antiféminisme grandissant et du renforcement de la puissance maritale: devenu un véritable souverain domestique, le mari reproduit à l'intérieur de la famille l'ordre monarchique de l'État.'¹³⁵ The maxims and proverbs expressive of this conflation—'The husband is king in his household' is but one example—circulated among the people in written and oral forms, and

¹³⁴ Saint-Vallier, *Catéchisme*, 179, 183. Somewhat earlier, the Jesuit Paul Le Jeune invoked these homologies, but with the intention of affirming God's superiority: 'Dieu gouverne la grande famille du monde avec plus de cognoissance et plus de soin qu'un roy gouverne son royaume et un père de famille, sa maison.' *Relation de . . . 1634*, in *MNF*, 2:709.

¹³⁵ Burguière, 'Fondements d'une culture familiale,' 74.

provided rhetorical grist for the propaganda mill during times of political conflict.¹³⁶

While the long term trend was toward the strengthening of paternal authority in law, there were also voices of dissent and structural limitations to this process. The church, for example, could not countenance complete paternal authority over the marriage of children, since this contradicted the theological doctrine of freedom of consent. For their part, certain elite women, the *Précieuses*, offered literary critiques of the fate of women imprisoned in loveless marriages arranged by their families; their fusion of bourgeois companionate conjugality and aristocratic gallantry would provide a model for royal court life in the later seventeenth century. In the emerging public sphere created by the widening culture of literacy, women criticized the 'tyrannical laws' that governed marriages and families in widely circulated *facta* and *mémoires* commenting on legal matters. Finally, the efforts of church and state to normalize family relations had little effect on the peasantry and traditional attitudes toward marriage, sexuality and gender relations.¹³⁷ And yet, to the extent that one can speak of a shared political culture in early seventeenth-century France, the enmeshed and interdependent institutions of patriarchy and kingship must have comprised its most fundamental strata. 'The legitimacy of monarchic power was thus founded

¹³⁶ Sarah Hanley, 'Social Sites of Political Practice in France: Lawsuits, Civil Rights, and the Separation of Powers in Domestic and State Government, 1500–1800,' *American Historical Review* 102, no. 1 (1997): 27–52 at 31 (maxim), 33–36. The Mazarinades' attacks on Anne of Austria illustrated the 'natural incapacity' of women for political rule. See Merrick, 'Cardinal and Queen,' 686–699.

¹³⁷ Flandrin, *Family in Former Times*, 131–3; René Pillorget, *La tige et le rameau: familles anglaise et française, 16e–18e siècle* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1979), 63–71; Hanley, 'Social Sites of Political Practice,' 32–40; Burguière, 'Fondements d'une culture familiale,' 97–100, 114.

on the fact that the subjects could easily identify it with the hierarchical bonds that they experienced every day in a private and familial context.’¹³⁸

Representing kingship

Between the complex verbal formulations of the jurists and the reinvigorated and widely shared conception of king as *paterfamilias*, there were a variety of fora in which kingship was represented by and for the subjects of the king of France. State ceremonials, royal spectacles, popular literature, and the discourse of popular uprisings each testify in different ways to facets of the idea of kingship in the early years of French colonization in the Americas.

We may, following Giesey, distinguish between different genres of ritual representations of kingship. Spectacles, from jousts and tourneys to elaborate *ballets de cour* and *fêtes*, were semiprivate ceremonies that harnessed literature and art to the celebration of kingship; they contrived to reveal the king’s majesty and power to his most important subjects or to visiting ambassadors and dignitaries. State ceremonials, such as the consecration and coronation at Reims, the royal funeral, the *lit de justice*, and royal entries into cities, were public events that enacted elements of fundamental law. The consecration and coronation, liturgical in origin, were the most ‘traditional’ of the state ceremonials, in that continuity with past forms was emphasized, to the point of including elements suggestive of the popular election of the king centuries after this practice had disappeared. The various coronation insignia bore eloquent witness to the

¹³⁸ Le Roy Ladurie, *The Royal French State*, 11. The centrality of the patriarchal model of French kingship is pursued in eighteenth-century contexts by Jeffrey Merrick, ‘Patriarchalism and Constitutionalism in Eighteenth-Century Parliamentary Discourse,’ *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 20 (1990): 317–330, and Lynn Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), who prefaces her psychological reading of the French Revolution with the premise that ‘the [*ancien régime*] French had a kind of collective political unconscious that was structured by narratives of family relations’ (xiii).

accrued symbolism of French kingship. Just prior to his consecration, the king was invested with the symbols of knighthood: golden spurs were placed on his feet and in his hand was placed 'Joyeuse,' the sword of Charlemagne, which the king kissed and offered to God. Following his benediction and unction, the king was invested with the insignia of royalty proper. First, he was clothed in vestments that underlined his quasi-sacerdotal nature—the tunic, dalmatic, and royal mantle representing various degrees of ecclesiastical rank (subdeacon, deacon, and priest, respectively). The ermine-lined purple mantle studded with golden lilies symbolized the cosmos; in the words of a writer of 1638, it was 'patronnée sur la chape du ciel, large et épandue en rondeur comme le ciel, de couleur azur comme le ciel; brillant de fleurs de lis d'or, comme le ciel est parsemé de lumières . . . l'hermine de leur manteau est douce et blanche, c'est le repos sous la justice, pitié et débonnairété de nos rois.' The ring symbolizing his marriage to the kingdom was slipped over the coronation gloves onto the fourth finger of his right hand. He was then given the sceptre and the *main de justice*. The sceptre, an ancient symbol of kingship and power, was the axis of the world. It was capped with a stylized fleur-de-lys, the exclusive symbol of the French monarchy since the fifteenth century. The lily was the medieval emblem of the Virgin Mary, and its appropriation by the monarchy since the middle of the twelfth century was undoubtedly an effort to attribute to the king the qualities associated with the Virgin: charity, mercy, and protection of the weak. The sceptre thus balanced authority with clemency. But it was also, at a deeper level, an affirmation of the link between kingship and the female principle of fecundity—indeed, the coronation prayers were replete with references to abundance and fertility. The king also bore another type of sceptre: the ivory *main de justice* was no less than the hand of God frozen in the gesture of Greco-Latin benediction (thumb and first two fingers raised). Finally, the king received

the bejeweled circular crown which, from the Renaissance onward, was closed by arches, signaling the independence of the king from the Empire—previously, French royal crowns had been open. The crown too was a microcosm of the universe; its diamonds, the stars of the heavens.¹³⁹ The subsequent customary touching for scrofula further underlined the sacred and magical nature of kingship.

The royal funerals were also liturgical in origin, but in the sixteenth century came to play an important role in filling the ‘ceremonial interregnum’ between the death of one king and the coronation of his successor, as described above. The carefully orchestrated manipulation of a realistic effigy of the late king adorned with the regalia enacted abstract juristic theories regarding the nature of the body politic. The *lit de justice*, or appearance of the enthroned king before the Parlement of Paris to force the registration of an edict, was similarly an enactment of the king’s fundamental role as the source of justice, and, insofar as the Parlement of Paris considered itself representative of the entire realm, emblematic of the creation of public law. In the reigns of Louis XIII, Louis XIV, and Louis XV, each of whom ascended the throne as a minor, the *lit de justice* served as the inaugural act of royal authority, symbolically displacing the other state ceremonials. For how could an effigy of the late king effectively represent the *dignitas* of the crown when the young successor had already appeared as

¹³⁹ This follows the outline of the *sacre et couronnement* given in Jackson, *Vive le Roi*, 15–23, with additional explanations of the symbolism from Hervé Pinoteau, ‘Quelques réflexions sur l’œuvre de Jean du Tillet et la symbolique royale française,’ in *Vingt-cinq ans d’études dynastiques* (Paris: Editions Christian, 1982), 100–140. On the fleur-de-lys, see Beaune, *Birth of an Ideology*, chap. 7. Muchembled, *Cultures et société*, 17 briefly summarizes the symbolism of the insignia. The trifoliate fleur de lys afforded numerous possibilities for further symbolic elaboration. It could represent the Estates of the realm, or perhaps the Trinity. Beaune, *Birth of an Ideology*, 218–219. See also an engraving of 1628 in which the Virgin Mary, God the Father and God the Son spring forth from Louis XIII’s sceptre, above which floats the Holy Spirit. Beneath the hooves of Louis’s horse are shown his various conquests: Lorraine, Piedmont, La Rochelle, the Devil, and the world. Reproduced in Descimon and Guéry, ‘Un État des temps modernes?’ 212.

King before the Parlement? What value remained in coronation if, to quote the early seventeenth-century jurist Charles Loyseau, 'the instant the old king expires his last breath, his successor is perfect king?' The invention of the 'Sleeping King' ritual intervened to preserve the significance of the coronation: on the day of his coronation, the king, 'asleep' on a bed of state, ignored two consecutive calls naming him as the son of his father, but awoke to a third call in which he was addressed as the one 'whom God has given us for king.' Giesey has interpreted this device as an iteration of the doctrine of royal bicorporality: the body natural of the king slept, but the body politic of the King awoke to be crowned. The sleeping king ritual was employed before the coronations of all the Bourbon kings after Louis XIII.¹⁴⁰

Royal entries into cities were derived from the medieval *jocundus adventus* celebrating the accession of a new feudal lord and his entry into a city or territory. The entry ceremony constituted a public display of the rights of lordship, but it also provided an opportunity for citizens to publicly confirm the rights and privileges they enjoyed under royal charters, for the urban elite to assert their place at the apex of the social pyramid, and for various corporations to remind the king of their place in the body politic and to offer up examples of ideal kingship for his edification. Entries into the capital, the centre of government and seat of the University of Paris and the Parlement of Paris, were

¹⁴⁰ Ralph E. Giesey, 'The King Imagined,' in *The Political Culture of the Old Regime*, 41–59. Giesey in fact discusses three genres, the third being court ritual and etiquette; but since Giesey connects this last genre with the Louis XIV's court at Versailles, I have omitted it here. Much of court ritual in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries can be assimilated under the rubric of the 'spectacle.' See also Ralph E. Giesey, 'Models of Rulership in French Royal Ceremonial,' in *Rites of Power: Symbolism, Ritual and Politics since the Middle Ages*, ed. Sean Wilentz (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 41–64, 56, 57 (quotations). Giesey and his students characteristically omit discussion of the broader socioeconomic and political context in their studies; consequently, one may be left with the impression that the absolutist *ancien régime* collapsed principally because its rituals were not good enough. See, for example, Giesey, 'The King Imagined,' 57–58; idem, *Cérémonial*, 85–86.

constructed as microcosmic displays of the nature of the body politic: king and city stood for king and country. Typically, a procession of citizens representing various corporations—the clergy, the university, the Parlement, other royal courts, the militia, the Hôtel-de-Ville, the guilds—paraded before the enthroned king outside the city walls. After receiving the obeisance of the citizens, the roles were reversed, and the king now proceeded under the gaze of the citizenry, entering the city through the Saint-Denis gate while cannon thundered, surrounded by his court, household, and various symbols of French kingship (the fleur-de-lys, a ‘horse of honour,’ a crowned helm, a sword, the royal seal). Along the route, the king viewed a series of spectacles, pageants, and tableaux celebrating kingship and exemplifying ideal government. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, traditional images (e.g., the king as shepherd, representations of biblical kings) disappeared as humanistic influences led to exceedingly sophisticated and refined classical allegories that would only have been intelligible to the elite: Roman triumphal arches, obelisks, Amazons, the Fates; the king as Hercules, or as Tiphys, pilot of the Argo. The pageants welcoming the king ‘were gradually transformed from the rather direct and brief professions of loyalty and humility presented by personifications of Parisian estates to an exalted encomium of the royal cult.’ The first tableau viewed by Henri II during his entry in 1549 was a complex arch topped by the tall figure of Hercules (symbolizing the French king) from whose mouth emanated four golden and silver chains binding as many lesser figures personifying the clergy, the nobility, Justice (i.e., officeholders), and Labour (i.e., commoners). ‘Whereas on earlier occasions these same estates had been shown speaking to the king, they were now emblematically simply attentive and passive followers of the heroic

demigod Hercules.¹⁴¹ (The symbolic violence of the king's power could be even more literal in the case of a conquered city: entering Genoa in 1507 after the suppression of a revolt, Louis XII struck the gate with his sword before parading through lines of young girls ['the virgins of Genoa'] who kneeled at his passage, and then watched as his officials publicly destroyed the city's book of customary privileges. This display of power was symbolically attenuated by Louis's use of bee symbolism: his clothes were embroidered with bees and the medal commemorating the entry featured the words, 'The king whom we serve does not use his sting.') Despite the evolution toward elaborate allegorical panegyrics to monarchy, the royal entry ceremony projected an unambiguous image of social and political harmony that could be understood by all. The state ceremonials of the French kings undoubtedly reflected complex political ideas, as American scholars have emphasized; but they also made a direct emotional appeal through splendour, pomp, and, simply, beauty. As well, they brought the king and his entourage within undeniable proximity to the urban populace. Public representations of kingship and the physical presence of the king 'created a ritual structure for the state in an era before written constitutions: 'The state is invisible; it must be personified before it can be seen, symbolized before it can be loved, imagined before it can be conceived.'" State ceremonials were a theatre in which the body politic was made concrete, not merely to the participating elites, but also to commoners, who were admittedly little more than passive spectators.¹⁴² Lescarbot's *Théâtre de Neptune* strove analogously to symbolize and imagine the fledgling empire in North America.

¹⁴¹ Lawrence M. Bryant, *The King and the City in the Parisian Royal Entry Ceremony: Politics, Ritual and Art in the Renaissance* (Geneva: Droz, 1986), 130 (quotations).

¹⁴² Edward Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), chap. 7, 230 (quotation). Muir points to 'medieval traditions of more active popular involvement' in political ritual in Italy—specifically, the ritual pillages (called *allegrezze*,

Prior to the sedentarization of Louis XIV at Versailles toward the end of the seventeenth century, French kings and their courts were often itinerant: military campaigns, diplomatic negotiations, and dynastic weddings obliged the monarch to traverse the realm periodically, making himself visible to the people in royal entry ceremonies and the like. The most extensive royal tour was that of Charles IX, led by his mother and regent Catherine de' Medici on an 829-day peregrination to the four corners of the realm (24 January 1564 to 1 May 1566). Between 1561 and 1575, Catherine herself apparently spent fewer than half of her nights at a principal royal residence, and less than a quarter of them in Paris: her letters for the period indicated constant movement between over two hundred places. The era of Catherine de' Medici was, it is true, one of recurring political and religious crises; the 'nomadism' of the state—for during Charles's tour, the chancellor and two or three of the four principal secretaries of state were always in attendance—was a calculated response to festering challenges to centralized authority. The sovereignty of the monarch—even one in his minority—was best enacted by his physical presence.¹⁴³ Anne of Austria deftly used the young Louis XIV in a similar manner. Consequently, French kings were frequently in public, and not just for affairs of state: the Holy days—Easter, Pentecost, Christmas, the Assumption—brought the king forth to touch thousands for scrofula. Although

'celebrations') when commoners looted public buildings or destroyed official statues during times of princely interregnum (259–262). There was no analog to these *allegrezze* in French royal ceremonial. For the bee symbolism of Louis XII, see Merrick, 'Royal Bees,' 11.

¹⁴³ Jean Boutier, Alain Dewerpe, and Daniel Nordman, *Un tour de France royal: le voyage de Charles IX (1564–1566)* (Paris: Aubier, 1984), 17–18, 24, 191–193. Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie labels this peripatetic monarchic state, which had as many as 15 000 individuals traveling in the king's train, 'pre-Copernican[:] The sun continued to revolve around the earth; the king progressed round the edges of his kingdom, so that he should be honoured, respected and, if possible, obeyed by his subjects.' The Copernican revolution of the monarchy only occurred when 'the Sun King positioned himself in full glory and serenity in the centre of his state. The path of the orbits changed totally: henceforth it was the job of courtiers and even subjects to revolve around His Majesty, and not vice versa.' *The Royal French State*, 179–180.

protection of the royal person was not neglected, this habit of exposing the royal personage created opportunities for assassination attempts, some of which were successful.¹⁴⁴

Royal spectacles were generally private rather than public affairs, less concerned with liturgical and 'constitutional' matters than with pleasure and power. The courts of Italian princes provided the model for a ludic elite culture that became increasingly differentiated from the popular culture underlying collective festivities such as carnival. That Italianate culture was more precisely one of urban elites who dominated the powerful city-states of the late Middle Ages and Renaissance. The characteristic civic rituals of the cities—above all the processions that clearly demarcated the contours of the urban social hierarchy and the pageantry and tableaux redolent with classical motifs—anticipated the court entertainments of the sixteenth century, which gradually displaced the jousts and tourneys of the early sixteenth century. In 1520, François I and Henry VIII of England had met on the Field of the Cloth of Gold; amidst jousting, banquets, mumming, and drinking, the two virile kings stripped to their shirts to wrestle each other. (François won.)¹⁴⁵ Less than two generations later, the meeting of the French and Spanish courts at Bayonne in 1565 was marked by elaborate refined spectacles on land and water. Toward the end of the sixteenth century, dance, music, theatre and poetry came together in the *ballet de cour*, 'un spectacle «total», qui . . . exprime des intentions politiques claires: exalter la puissance du souverain, le thème précis dépendant des circonstance. Et il adresse

¹⁴⁴ There were numerous unsuccessful attempts on Henri IV's life before a knife-wielding nobody managed to kill the king while the latter's carriage was stopped in a narrow street in May 1610. His predecessor, Henri III, had been assassinated in private in August 1589—the last Valois was, in fact, on his *chaise percée* when he was struck down—but was known to join the people in the streets during festivities such as carnival.

un message à la cour—le roi lui-même, ou la reine, et des proches soigneusement choisis l’interprètent—comme à la ville: il s’intègre presque toujours dans une cérémonie plus vaste dont une partie est publique.’¹⁴⁶ Catherine de’ Medici used ballets to reconcile rival political factions and to shore up the prestige of the monarchy during the wars of religion; Marie de’ Medici, Louis XIII, and Louis XIV would use them to pointedly rebuke seditious nobles. The *Balet Comique de la reyne*, performed at the Louvre in 1581 and choreographed in part by Catherine de’ Medici, dramatized the triumph of Jupiter and Mercury, seconded by the four Virtues and Minerva, over the evil sorceress Circe. At its conclusion, the actors all kneeled before the king, ‘faisans paroistre qu’ils cedoyent à ce grand Roy en puissance de commander, en sagesse pour gouverner, et en eloquence pour attirer les cœurs des hommes les plus esloignez du devoir. Toutes lesquelles vertus et puissance il auroit acquises par les sages conseils, instructions et conduites de la Royne sa mere.’ The elaborate ballet of 1581 inaugurated a century of political ballet at the French court. Although the genre employed the symbols, tropes, and characters of classical mythology, here and there fundamental elements of a broader political culture, such as the corporeal metaphor, surfaced: in the *Balet Comique’s* preface to the king, the author refers to the wars of religion as a disease and to Catherine de’ Medici as a healer, concluding ‘qu’enfin la guerison s’en est suivie, le beau teint est revenu à vostre France.’ The ‘fourth wall’ of modern theatre had no place here: as in Lescarbot’s masque at Port-Royal, performers spoke to and interacted with spectators in a manner calculated to drive home the political message of the ballet. Ambassadors eagerly attended ballets allegorizing international relations, for

¹⁴⁵ The royal wrestling match may be apocryphal: it is only mentioned in French sources, and ‘English sources are silent about this incident.’ Robert Knecht, *Renaissance Warrior and Patron: The Reign of Francis I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 175.

these spectacles, so clearly expressive of the 'official' view of the international order, might offer subtle clues as to the monarch's diplomatic inclinations.¹⁴⁷

Over time, extended allegorical constructions gave way to simple mythological images or burlesque performances, many of which were performed by the king himself. (Louis XIII gave an encore performance of Daniel Rabel's *Ballet Royal du grand bal de la Douairière de Billebahaut* before the public at the Hôtel-de-Ville in Paris. In the ballet, America, Asia, Africa, and Europe were represented by various characters; King 'Atabalipa' stood for America.) These simpler images were reproduced for mass (urban) consumption outside of the court, in the numerous royal entries and fireworks of Louis XIII's reign (1610–1643). This occurred in part through the agency of Richelieu. The cardinal-minister saw the *ballet de cour* and theatre in general as a potent means of royal propaganda, a diversion for the nobility, and as a mask for political maneuvering. (In 1635, Richelieu used the bait of a role in the *Grand Ballet du roi* to eliminate the comte de Puylaurens, who was arrested during rehearsals and met his death soon afterward.) Above all, however, the *ballets de cour* were a receptacle for hyperbolic discourses on the grandeur and superiority of the monarch, who over time grew to be the exclusive focus of the genre. Louis XIII was represented as various classical deities—Jupiter, Hercules, Mars, Mercury. In 1635, in conjunction with Richelieu's efforts to create a French maritime commercial empire, the *Ballet de la Marine* presented the king as Neptune receiving the fawning ambassadors of Europe, Asia, Africa, and America. The most frequent association, however, was with the sun: in ballet after ballet, the Sun King banished the forces of darkness, bringing peace, liberty, fecundity, and

¹⁴⁶ Croix and Quéniart, *De la Renaissance à l'aube des Lumières*, 149, 151.

prosperity.¹⁴⁸ The young Louis XIV's appearance as Apollo was a continuation of the solar imagery that blossomed under Louis XIII, and which can be related to much older images such as the phoenix.

Beyond the narrow confines of court society, the reading public had access to portraits of royalty in a wide variety of literary genres. One literary genre that was distinguished by its lack of originality in the early seventeenth century was the *Institution du Prince*, the early modern successor to the 'mirror of princes' (*Specula principis*) genre of the medieval period. These were works that outlined the ideal programme of education required for a Christian ruler. It is precisely their banal repetition of medieval and Renaissance *idées reçues* regarding kingship that makes them interesting for our purposes. In their pages, the prince is reminded that he is a man, subject to natural decay, tainted by original sin, and prone to disruptive and negative passions. At the same time, he is imbued with *Majesté* above all other men; he is almost sacred— 'Le Roi est l'image de Dieu gouvernant toutes choses, voire même un Dieu humain en terre'¹⁴⁹—and rules by divine right. The prince is, according to the orthodox opinion of the seventeenth century, above human law, to which he should nevertheless voluntarily subject himself. Although he must cultivate virtue, the prince is advised that ruse and dissimulation are sometimes necessary to preserve the common good, but if abused, will make of him a tyrant abandoned by God. (The fresh memory of the

¹⁴⁷ Margaret M. McGowan, *L'art du ballet de cour en France, 1581–1643* (Paris: CNRS, 1963), 42–47, 43, 45–46 (quotations); Marie-Claude Canova-Green, *La Politique-spectacle au grand siècle: les rapports franco-anglais* (Paris/Seattle/Tübingen: Biblio 17, 1993), 13–16.

¹⁴⁸ Richelieu's memoirs contain a quotation of Henri IV regarding a politically dangerous grandee who was, fortunately, preoccupied by ballet: '[il] disait qu'il n'avait rien à craindre d'un homme passionné pour de telles frivolités.' McGowan, *L'art du ballet de cour*, 149–153, 174–186; quotation: 177. See plate 17 for Rabel's sketch for the character of King Atabalipa. The name is possibly a faint echo of Atahualpa, the last Inca defeated by the Spanish at Cajamarca in 1532.

tyrannicidal propaganda of the wars of religion and the assassinations of Henri III [in 1589] and Henri IV [in 1610] ensured that the authors of the *Institutions* of the seventeenth century were unanimous on this point: though a tyrant, the king must be obeyed.) Ideally, the prince is to be well-educated, particularly in history, but as a muscular, active humanist rather than a contemplative pedant: the goal of education is to teach wisdom, prudence, and above, all, self-knowledge and virtue. Virtue above all: therein lay the basic rationale of the *Institution*. In a political system that lacked any explicit institutional limits to royal authority, what else but the personal virtue of the king can prevent absolute power from becoming tyranny?¹⁵⁰

At the other end of the social spectrum, the rural masses were not inflamed by the abstract spectre of tyranny, but rather by all too immediate reality of mounting levels of direct and indirect taxes. The anti-fiscal ideology of peasant revolts between 1548 and the 1630s did not project the blame for the situation upon the king himself; instead, hatred was focused upon unpopular ministers, favourites, tax farmers and their personnel, and generally the tyranny of the town over the countryside. Early modern peasant uprisings took place in the context of a specific conjuncture of meteorological and demographic trends. A period of below average temperatures after about 1580 resulted in more frequent occurrences of late springs, wet summers, and/or early frosts that devastated crops and led to price rises and misery, or even famine and epidemics. This cycle began to make itself felt just as the kingdom's population—some 20 million around 1560—reached its 'natural' ceiling; that is, the limits of this society's ability to sustain itself within its traditional social and economic

¹⁴⁹ Jean Héroard, *De l'institution du prince* (1609), quoted in Flandrois, *L'Institution du prince*, 172.

¹⁵⁰ Flandrois, *L'Institution du Prince*.

structures. The margin between subsistence and shortage was narrowing. Real price rises and increasing peasant indebtedness were related long term sources of rural discontent. Peasant uprisings began more often than not as reactions to the steady increase in the crushing fiscal burden the state levied upon the peasantry in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries (and especially after 1630). Not only did the rate of taxation rise, but attempts were made by successive royal administrations to bring uniformity to the patchwork of privileges and exemptions enjoyed by various regions and communities, and to introduce new, more efficient methods of tax collection—all with the goal of maximizing state revenue.¹⁵¹ Finally, despite the obvious complicity of the king in these policies—for it was, after all, the foreign policy and dynastic ambitions of the crown that occasioned the need for ever greater revenues—it is remarkable that he largely escaped popular blame for the increased taxes and the excesses of the tax collectors.

The popular anti-fiscal mythology that characterized early seventeenth-century uprisings in France affirmed the innocence of the king while blaming his ministers and local agents, who oppressed the people without the monarch's knowledge. Deceived by the duplicity of his ministers and favourites, the king remained ignorant of the cruel exactions made in his name. Worse still, these treacherous ministers and favourites stole from the king, filling their pockets from the royal treasury. Thus, the king and the people were together the victims of common enemies: 'Votre Louvre,' wrote an anonymous pamphleteer to the king in 1631, 'est aussi subject au pillage que nos villages, ceux qui pillent votre maison aussy bien que nos huttes s'enrichissent en nous appauvrissant. Sire, vos

¹⁵¹ Jean Jacquart, 'Immobilisme et catastrophes, 1560–1660,' in *L'âge classique des paysans, 1340–1789*, ed. Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, vol. 2 of *Histoire de la France rurale*, ed. Georges Duby (Paris: Seuil, 1975), 175–210, 337–353.

intérêts sont enlassés avec les nostres.’ It was thus natural that first act of the leaders of popular rebellions was to draw up a list of grievances to forward to the king. The most powerful illusion entertained during popular uprisings was the notion that once the king was apprised of the miserable situation of the people, he would naturally either discharge the latter of the oppressive taxes, or remit all tax-related arrears and debts. (This myth was not unreasonable given the numerous cases where, for the sake of expediency, the state remitted taxes when it saw no hope of actually collecting them. Moreover, provincial Parlements and notables often lent credence to this popular belief.) Rumours of the monarch’s intention to revoke such and such a tax spread like wildfire, provoking widespread resistance to tax collectors in the name of the king. They were particularly virulent at the death of a king or minister, for in the popular imagination, to which the juristic formulae and rituals expressive of the continuity of the state were unknown, specific methods of governance were linked to the person of the king, and would consequently disappear with him. With the coronation of a new king, at the signing of a peace treaty, or flush with the initial success of some revolt or riot, the people anticipated a return to a golden age of peace and plenty. Saint Louis (Louis IX), Louis XII, and Henri IV appeared, successively, as legendary representatives of the old order in the collective memory of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The popular utopia of a king without ministers and a kingdom without new taxes appeared in all the manifestoes of the large revolts in Aquitaine between 1548 and 1643. The king—not the *King* of the jurists, but the *king* in person—was an idealized focus of popular loyalty, doubtless the only such focus that extended beyond the borders of the parish and province. ‘Vive le Roi sans la gabelle!’ was the rallying

cry of rebels who in their misery continued to believe in the benevolence of the king.¹⁵²

For the millions who would never see the king in person, stories, sermons, medals, engravings, popular literature and gossip supplied grist for the popular imagination. Pierre Goubert's distillation of these heterogeneous sources reveals a multifaceted image of the king: enthroned, as a giver of justice; on horseback or in armour, as the paragon of nobility and chivalry or as an emperor triumphant; anointed, as the ruler chosen by God, the healer of the scrofulous. Finally, the paternal metaphor was omnipresent.¹⁵³ Popular conceptions of kingship in sixteenth-century France reflected to some extent the trickling down of classical and medieval intellectual dispositions. Among these was the tendency to view monarchy as an immanent feature of the natural world. This notion had long been part of the traditional justification for kingship, as Renaissance jurist Jean Bodin, echoing Aquinas, explained in his *Method for the Easy Comprehension of History* (1565): 'If we should inspect nature more closely, we should gaze upon monarchy everywhere. To make a beginning from small things, we see the king among the bees, the leader in the herd, the buck among the flocks... and in the separate natures of things some one object excels: thus, adamant among the gems, gold among the metals, the sun among the stars, and finally God alone, the prince and author of the world.'¹⁵⁴ The appeal of this naturalistic conception of

¹⁵² Bercé, *Histoire de Croquants*, 2:608–617, 634–636, 676–679, 696; quotation: 610; Jacquart, 'Immobilisme et catastrophes,' 345–353. The *gabelle* referred to any indirect tax or levy deemed illegal or oppressive. Bercé cites a few rare cases from the last half of the seventeenth century where rebellious tracts indict the king personally for the tax burden (2:609).

¹⁵³ Goubert, *L'Ancien Régime*, 2:27–30.

¹⁵⁴ Bodin, *Method*, 271. This passage is very close to the one from Aquinas quoted earlier in this chapter, which also invokes the image of the 'king' bee. The modern editor of that work notes that in medieval opinion, the chief bee was considered to be a male (*On Kingship*, 12 n. 7). By the end of the seventeenth century, scientific observation had apparently challenged this assumption: Antoine Furetière's *Dictionnaire* [sic] *universel* notes, under *Roy*, that the term 'se dit

monarchy and its relevance for understanding non-European societies was reflected in the opening pages of a late sixteenth-century French novel in which the author, musing about the 'barbarians' who live in distant Canada, notes that they are led by kings despite lacking the rational capacity to appreciate the basis of monarchy in natural law: '. . . ce n'est pas qu'ils n'ayent des chefs & des Roys qu'ils recognoissent plustost par une naturelle inclination (comme les mouches à miel) que par raison ny par cognoissance qu'ils ayent de bien faire; ces pauvres gens n'ayant rien de l'homme que la forme . . .'¹⁵⁵ As Roger Chartier has shown in a study of early modern French *littérature de gueuserie*, even marginal social groups like beggars and thieves were understood to live in a kind of monarchy-within-the-monarchy, under the rule of a king to whom all paid tribute. The motif of the beggar or thief king can be traced back to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and by analogy the term 'king' came to be applied to anyone who was the most skilled at any art, be it hen raising (*les rois des poules*) or barbering. Such popular usage even had its counterpart in law: a royal statute sanctioned in 1448 the existence of *rois merciers*—provincial 'pedlar kings' whose lordship was to be exercised over the itinerant small-goods salesmen who

aussi entre les animaux, de celui qui est le plus excellent en leur espèce. . . . Les abeilles ont aussi leur Roy, qu'on dit être femelle et sans aiguillon.' Up to Furetière's time, however, the misconception that queen bee was male endured. The solitary 'king bee' who never used his powerful sting, except against other 'kings,' and the efficient coordination of hive activity made bees a paradigm of monarchical perfection. See Merrick, 'Royal Bees,' 7–37, esp. 10–18. The beehive model also proved attractive to early English colonial promoters: see Karen Ordahl Kupperman, 'The Beehive as a Model for Colonial Design,' in *America in European Consciousness, 1493-1750*, ed. Kupperman (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1995), 272–92.

¹⁵⁵ Jacques Du Hamel, *The Earliest French Play about America: Acoubar ou La Loyauté Trahie*, introduction by Margaret Adams White (New York: Publications of the Institute of French Studies, 1931), viii–ix.

hawked their wares at local fairs and throughout the countryside.¹⁵⁶ Over the course of the sixteenth century, however, this late-medieval popular conception of kingship seems increasingly to have irritated the sensibilities of the crown and the ideologues of royal power. Jurist and *parlementaire* Étienne Pasquier bemoaned the use of the term ‘king’ for people who manifestly lacked the august majesty of true kings; doubtless he approved of the crown’s action in suppressing the office of the *rois merciers* (first in 1544 and definitively in 1588). Similar such usages gradually disappeared from official documents and elite discourses but persisted in the popular representation of kingship.¹⁵⁷

In conclusion, it is worth reflecting on the subjective dimension of the paternal metaphor in the early modern era. In the writing left us by elites, the proper attitude toward authority—whether of God, king, or father—combines two almost opposite attitudes: fear and adoration. What are the duties of servants toward their masters? asks Saint-Vallier’s catechism. ‘C’est de leurs [*sic*] obéir avec crainte & respect, ne les servant pas seulement lorsqu’ils ont l’œil sur eux, mais avec affection, regardant en eux le Seigneur.’¹⁵⁸

Machiavelli had asked ‘whether it is better to be loved than feared,’ and answered ‘that one would want to be both.’ He quickly added, however, the proviso that ‘because it is difficult to force them together[,] whenever one has to do without either of the two, it is much more secure to be feared than to be loved.’¹⁵⁹ A century later, Richelieu underlined the importance of power in similar terms: ‘Comme la bonté est l’objet de l’amour, la puissance est la cause de

¹⁵⁶ Roger Chartier, ‘La « monarchie d’argot » entre le mythe et l’histoire,’ in *Les marginaux et les exclus dans l’histoire*, Cahiers Jussieu, no. 5 (Paris: Union générale d’éditions, 1979), 275–311, here 279–280, 291.

¹⁵⁷ Chartier, ‘La « monarchie d’argot », 292.

¹⁵⁸ Saint-Vallier, *Catéchisme*, 179.

¹⁵⁹ Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Prince* [1532], trans. and ed. Angelo M. Codevilla (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), chap. 17, p. 62.

la crainte. Il est certain qu'entre tous les principes capables de mouvoir un État, la crainte, qui est fondée en l'estime et en la révérence, a le plus de force, puisque c'est celui qui intéresse davantage chacun de ceux dont il est intéressé. . . . [L]e fondement de la puissance . . . doit être l'estime et le respect.' Richelieu's formula for power, 'qui fait considérer et craindre les princes,' comprised various ingredients: a solid reputation for piety and trustworthiness, well-fortified frontiers, a powerful army and navy, a flourishing maritime commerce, and, finally and above all, plenty of gold and silver, for 'les finances sont les nerfs de l'État.' Having exerted himself to achieve these ends, the prince 'sera puissant par la possession du Cœur de ses sujets, qui, considérant le soins qu'il aura de leur bien, seront portés à l'aimer par leur propre intérêt.'¹⁶⁰ In Richelieu's political philosophy, the rational pursuit of power—the power of the state, not of the king personally—culminates in the adoration of the people for their sovereign.

The subjective experience of adoration and fear was supposed to produce the desired objective display of respect and submission. Parents, masters, and princes were bound, in return, to show affection toward children, servants, and subjects, respectively, 'sçachans qu'ils ont les uns & les autres un maître commun dans le Ciel qui n'aura pas d'égard à la condition des personnes.'¹⁶¹ Here, just as in the *Institution du prince* literature, legitimate authority finds its only limit in divine law. If spiritual considerations were supposed to ensure the virtue of masters, the burden of authority also occasionally required the meting out of punishment to inferiors, just as God punished the wicked. Thus the exercise of authority also embodied a tension between the policies of *peine* and *récompense*.

¹⁶⁰ Richelieu, *Testament politique*, chap. 9, (quotations: 372, 373, 450). Once his subjects are convinced that the prince rules according to reason, they will not fail to love him (326).

¹⁶¹ Saint-Vallier, *Catéchisme*, 179.

For Richelieu, the prince must firmly punish those who plot against the state, and religiously reward those who serve well, 'n'y ayant personne qui ne soit capable d'être contenu en son devoir par la crainte ou par l'espérance.' And yet, adds Richelieu, again echoing the Florentine thinker, 'je fais marcher la peine devant la récompense, parce que, s'il fallait se priver de l'une des deux, il vaudroit mieux se dispenser de la dernière que de la première.'¹⁶² A similar tension existed between *douceur* and *sévérité*. Equally valid policies, the prince was entitled to employ whichever promised the happiest results without endangering the stability of the state. Thus Richelieu recommended *douceur* a propos the religious conversion of French Protestants, while advocating *sévérité* with regard to the punishment of crimes against the state.¹⁶³ The idea of authority in the *ancien régime*—an open-ended definition of power, constrained only by Christian morality and reason, to be exercised largely without negative sanctions to dissuade its abuse—combined with the meager (albeit steadily growing) resources of the state, made for a wide margin in the practice of *douceur* and *sévérité*: only where the state was willing and able could *sévérité* be an effective policy. Consequently, the repression of popular uprisings, the extirpation of heresy, or the treatment of seditious nobles oscillated between extremes of force and persuasion, according to the 'art of the possible.'

¹⁶² Richelieu, *Testament politique*, 338. The cardinal did not openly endorse Machiavelli—whereas the Florentine kept God and traditional Christian morality out of the political equation, Richelieu clung to the orthodox view that 'le premier fondement du bonheur d'un État est l'établissement du règne de Dieu,' first and foremost through the piety of the prince (321)—he certainly shared the many of the latter's perspectives, including Machiavelli's pragmatic emphasis and pessimistic view of human nature. Insofar as people forget favours before punishment, the latter is a better tool for the prince (339). Cf. Machiavelli, *The Prince*, 62.

¹⁶³ Richelieu, *Testament politique*, 323, 339–341.

COUNTERPOINTS TO KINGSHIP

In describing the cultural resonance of terms such as king, law, and *police*, I do not mean to suggest that these categories represented the strict limits of the thinkable in early modern France. They did not. Sixteenth-century French people were not oblivious to the differing political institutions and practices of the nations of Europe and of the world. As early as 1520, the German scholar Johann Boemus had published his *Omnium gentium mores*, cataloguing the ‘maners and facions, the Lawes, Customes and Rites, of all suche peoples, as semed notable,’ not only as a compendium of custom, but to enable readers to better judge the civility of contemporary European institutions. It was a success, with four French editions between 1540 and 1611, and was followed by similar works.¹⁶⁴ In addition, the literature of discovery and exploration of the New World slowly but steadily made an impression the European consciousness. And of course the humanist interest in classical antiquity contributed to the dissemination of information about the political culture of the Ancients.

Bookish learning aside, everyday experience also provided a counterpoint to the symbolic constructions of monarchs and their apologists. A wide variety of local institutions offered alternative models of political action. Peasant communes (*communautés des habitants*) with their Sunday assemblies of household heads (including, sometimes, widows), parishes (often identified with the commune) with their *fabriques*, and towns with their elected consuls or aldermen or magistrates, were so many examples of local self-government—even if it seems clear that communal leaders were habitually drawn from a coterie of

¹⁶⁴ [Johann Boemus], *The Fardle of Facions, Containing the Aunciente Maners, Customes, and Lawes of the Peoples Enhabiting the Two Parties of the Earth, Called Affricke and Asie* (London, 1555; reprinted in 3 vols., Edinburgh: E. & G. Goldsmid, 1888), 13; the work is discussed at length in Hodgen, *Early Anthropology*, 131–143.

powerful families. Communes governed themselves, taxed themselves, defended themselves, and policed themselves according to ancient, unwritten, and customary laws; their existence as legally constituted *corps* with particular rights and privileges was recognized and guaranteed by the crown. The commune was also the basic cell in the administration of the major direct tax, the *taille*: while the crown (that is, the Conseil des finances) set the global amount of tax to be paid, it was the parish or commune that assessed its members and collected the sums. Even if, over the long term, the *communautés*—particularly those in the *plat pays* around Paris, where proximity to the capital and the commercialization of agriculture were significant factors—fell increasingly under the administrative tutelage of the central government, they nonetheless remained an important feature of the everyday social reality of peasant society. The reality of practical self-government, albeit always under the sway of a local oligarchy, provided a counterpoint to the hyperbole of monarchical sovereignty. In the towns, too, traditions and institutions of self-government were increasingly undermined as the crown intervened to control municipal elections and established the system of provincial intendants, royally appointed *commissaires* with sweeping administrative and judicial powers. The defeat of the radical Parisian Catholic League in the 1590s was also the defeat of the era's most spectacular expression of municipal communalism and quasi democracy.¹⁶⁵ Another expression of the

¹⁶⁵ Pierre Goubert and Daniel Roche, *Les Français et l'Ancien Régime*, 2 vols. (Paris: Armand Colin, 1984), 1:68–83; Bercé, *Histoire des croquants*, 1:185–206; Jacquart, 'Immobilisme et catastrophes,' 284–300; Mack P. Holt, 'Popular Political Culture and Mayoral Elections in Sixteenth-Century Dijon,' in *Society and Institutions in Early Modern France*, ed. Mack P. Holt (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1991), 98–116; Robert Descimon, *Qui étaient les Seize? Étude sociale de deux cent vingt-cinq cadres laïcs de la Ligue radicale parisienne (1585–1594)*, Mémoires publiés par la Fédération des sociétés historiques et archéologiques de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France, vol. 34 (Paris, 1983), 45–65, 297–299; Christian Jouhaud, 'Révoltes et contestations d'Ancien Régime,' in *Les conflits*, ed. Jacques Julliard, vol. 3 of *Histoire de la France*, ed. André Burguière et Jacques Revel (Paris: Seuil, 1990), 63–64.

practice of election and self-government can be found in the assemblies of seditious nobles, so frequent in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. These assemblies invariably involved the election of leaders by all present, underlining the idea that all those of noble blood were social equals, regardless of wealth, power, or status.¹⁶⁶ And as noted above, noble resistance to the royal government often involved the advocacy of representative and consultative institutions such as the Estates General. The latter was traditionally constituted through elective procedures from 1484 onward, and, even if the Third Estate tended to represent the interests of urban officeholders rather than rural commoners, the Estates bore witness to the power of the idea of representation in the sixteenth century: 'un modèle politique alternatif existait face aux progrès de la monarchie absolue.'¹⁶⁷

These varied expressions of self-government should not be understood as vestiges of antique democracy or incipient forms of republicanism; rather, they were always conceived of in relation to, and not in opposition to, the monarchy. An enduring disposition of early modern political culture was the sense that popular consent contributed at some level to the legitimacy of royal government. The juristic expression of this disposition was the maxim *quod omnes tangit, ab omnibus tractari et approbari debet* (what touches all must be debated and approved by all). As noted above, this maxim was consonant with the corporeal metaphor: any important decision by the head must necessarily involve the other affected members of the body politic. During the *ancien régime* there was no consensus, however, on how the principal of consent was to be exercised. The Estates General, the Parlement of Paris, the royal council—all were held up, at one time or another, as potential institutionalized forms of the maxim Q.O.T.;

¹⁶⁶ Jouanna, *Le devoir de la révolte*, 369, 372–373.

¹⁶⁷ Descimon and Guéry, 'Un État des temps modernes?' 250.

none, however, was able to unequivocally claim that status, and in any event such claims declined in the seventeenth century. The triumph of the 'absolute state' did not reflect so much the quashing of the principle of consent as its displacement toward informal and uninstitutionalized networks of patronage.¹⁶⁸

Other political formations lay just beyond France's borders. Did not the republic of Venice,¹⁶⁹ the United Provinces¹⁷⁰ (the Dutch Republic), and the democratic governments of some Swiss cantons suggest alternatives to a polity based on the ideology of one king, one faith, one law?¹⁷¹ In fact, these political

¹⁶⁸ Jouanna, *Le devoir de révolte*, 286–287, 396. On the principle of consent and its relation to monarchy in Western Europe, see Spellman, *Monarchies*, 177–184.

¹⁶⁹ At the end of the sixteenth century, Venice was ruled by an oligarchy of patrician families who monopolized membership in the Great Council, and consequently filled all municipal offices, elected the senators, and appointed the electors of the doge. The latter, despite being more or less powerless, was nevertheless at the centre of an elaborate complex of civic rituals, and possessed of a sacral character not unlike that of the French kings; there was a theory of the doge's two bodies as well. Edward Muir suggests that the 'tendency to make political institutions sacred' and to transfer the sacral qualities of leaders to the body politic as a whole, are *mentalités* of the *longue durée* in European political culture. Edward Muir, *Civic Rituals in Renaissance Venice* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 271–272 (two bodies), 299 (quotation); see also Åsa Boholm, *The Doge of Venice: The Symbolism of State Power in the Renaissance* (Gothenburg, Sweden: Institute for Advanced Studies in Social Anthropology, 1990), who argues that the election of the doge was ritually represented as a divine election; 'dogeship can therefore be taken to share with divine kingship the characteristic of being a sacred office.' Symbolism thus contradicted the juristic opinions constraining the doge's power (263–271), much in the same way that the symbolism of the French funeral ceremony implied a sense of kingship that was at odds with contemporary juristic thought.

¹⁷⁰ The early Dutch Republic lacked a central organizing principle analogous to the monarchy in France; theorists saw in it an 'unworkable mixture of all forms of government.' In Holland, the dominant province, power was wielded by an urban plutocracy; by contrast, in Friesland, a large rural electorate chose delegates to the States. Different provinces appointed noble Statholders; Holland's appointee was always the prince of Orange, a practice that some observers saw as essentially monarchical. E. H. Kossman, 'The Low Countries,' in *The Decline of Spain and the Thirty Years War, 1609–48/59*, ed. J. P. Cooper, vol. 4 of *The New Cambridge Modern History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 361–365, 361 (quotation); Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall, 1477–1806* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 276–306, 421–422.

¹⁷¹ The quasi-democratic, multilingual Rhaetian Freestate, called Grisons in English and French, owed its *de facto* popular self-rule to the marginality and relative safety afforded by its situation in the Alps around the headwaters of the Rhine and neighbouring mountain valleys. In this sense it was not unlike any remote peasant community of France. The Freestate and the

formations had much in common with political practice under the French monarchy. In practical terms political life in the republics revolved around powerful local oligarchies and networks of patronage and clientage, just as it did in France. Social gradations were no less extreme in the republican city-states than in the monarchies. The towns everywhere dominated the surrounding countryside and the peasants. Theories of republicanism were not the optimistic celebrations of human potential that subsequently were to characterize Enlightenment thought. For example, the political culture of the Rhaetian Freestate shared a number of fundamental assumptions with the theorists of monarchy in sixteenth-century France: the sense that liberties and privileges were to be exercised corporately (and not individually); the medieval notion that government should aim at the common good; the notion of consent; and a certain pessimism with regard to human nature, which needed to be kept in check by political institutions. Well into the seventeenth century, Dutch political discourse continued to be framed by the ideology of monarchy. In international relations, the republics articulated claims based on imperial or royal pretensions—that is, they attributed to the republic the attributes of monarchy and empire. Indeed,

Swiss Confederation represent the extreme development of a broader European rural communalism. It is important to note, however, that the 'egalitarian logic' of communalism developed within a fundamentally hierarchical worldview. It was no contradiction for the Freestate to itself become a feudal lord, exploiting other subject communes, or for individual communes within the Freestate to remain tied to feudal lords. Randolph C. Head, *Early Modern Democracy in the Grisons: Social Order and Political Language in a Swiss Mountain Canton, 1470–1620* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 11–24, 246–252.

The nearby Swiss Confederation was a powerful military force in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, its armies of unbeatable pikemen defying the pretensions of both the Hapsburgs and the dukes of Burgundy. François I's costly victory over the Swiss at Marignano, Italy, in 1515 'marked the last time that the Swiss fought as a national army outside of their borders. . . . From that point on, Swiss troops appeared largely as mercenaries in the French army.' Frederic J. Baumgartner, *From Spear to Flintlock: A History of War in Europe and the Middle East to the French Revolution* (New York: Praeger, 1991), 157–163, 178–179 (quotation). The Rhaetian Freestate suffered the same fate: by the end of the sixteenth century, it had become in effect a client state of France. Head, *Early Modern Democracy*, 121, 168–170.

‘the almost universal acceptance of the legal and cultural preeminence of royalty’ characterized Europe generally.¹⁷² Moreover, whatever glories the republics had enjoyed in the past, around 1600—with the United Provinces’s meteoric rise to great power status only just making itself apparent and its independence from Spain still under the threat of Philip III’s *tercios*, and with the Italian and German republics playing the role of pawns in the emerging French-Hapsburg struggle—no international observer would have ranked these tiny states with the powerful monarchies (Spain, France, England) and empires (Hapsburg, Ottoman) of the age.¹⁷³ Even if French political writers like Claude Seyssel and Jean Bodin displayed cautious admiration for other political systems, they nonetheless ended up trumpeting the superiority of monarchy, and the French model in particular.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷² Head, *Early Modern Democracy*, 246–252; Eco Haitsma Mulier, ‘The Language of Seventeenth-century Republicanism in the United Provinces: Dutch or European?’ in *The Languages of Political Theory in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Anthony Pagden (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 179; H. G. Koenigsberger, ‘Republicanism, Monarchism and Liberty,’ in *Royal and Republican Sovereignty in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Robert Oresko, G. C. Gibbs and H. M. Scott (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 56–74, 57 (quotation).

¹⁷³ France accorded *de facto* recognition of the sovereignty of the United Provinces during the 1590s, as Henri IV sought allies against Spain. The Dutch-Spanish Twelve Years’ Truce of 1607 inaugurated a more general European recognition of the new republic. The *de facto* independence of the Swiss Confederation and the Grisons from the Holy Roman Empire was not officially acknowledged by the emperor until 1648.

¹⁷⁴ A certain image of the Venetian republic fascinated French political thinkers of the sixteenth century, in part because it seemed to embody some of the political qualities they admired in the Ancients. Claude Seyssel, writing in the early part of the century, saw it as ‘le mieux policé et établi’ of all aristocratic states. Jean Bodin, theorist of absolute monarchy, saw it as an aristocratic state that sagely incorporated democratic elements. Despite their admiration for the allegedly well-governed republic, Seyssel and Bodin were convinced of the superiority of monarchy; for Bodin it was the ideal form of government, the one most most in accord with nature. Eco O. G. Haitsam Mulier, *The Myth of Venice*, trans. Gerard T. Moran (Assen, The Netherlands: Van Gorcum, 1980), 36–43; François Berriot, ‘Jean Bodin et Venise,’ in *L’Image de Venise au temps de la Renaissance*, ed. M. T. Jones-Davies, Société internationale de recherches interdisciplinaires sur la Renaissance (Université de Paris-Sorbonne), no. 14 (Paris: Jean Touzot, 1989), 229–241; Myron Gilmore, ‘The Myth and Reality in Venetian Political Theory,’ in *Renaissance Venice*, ed. J. R. Hale (London: Faber and Faber, 1973), 440–442; William Bouwsma, ‘Venice and the Political Education of Europe,’ in *ibid.*, 450–454.

'Il semble que nous n'avons d'autre mire de la vérité et de la raison que l'exemple et idée des opinions et usances du país où nous sommes,' reflected Montaigne. 'Là est tousjours la parfaite religion, la parfaite police, perfect et accomply usage de toutes choses.'¹⁷⁵ The ideology of kingship transcended the set of self-interested doctrines promoted by the crown and its propagandists; it was consonant with broad aspects of the social reality of *ancien régime* France and with the worldview of elites and commoners alike. The French monarchy of the early seventeenth century enjoyed a fundamental legitimacy that was, to a large degree, the result of the atomization of France's elites during and after the wars of religion. No other political system or culture offered a viable alternative to the monarchy.¹⁷⁶ The political apotheosis of Henri IV after his assassination in 1610 only further strengthened the ideological foundations of the Bourbon dynasty.

The stereotype with which this chapter began—Lescarbot's (and his contemporaries') view that Native Americans were *sans roi, sans foi, sans loi*—seems at many levels to be little more than a set of intertwined prejudices that largely confirm and support and each other. Clearly, these negative descriptions provide very little substantive ethnographic content concerning the native societies of the Americas. Yet their ubiquity in early modern French discourse on those societies is a telling indication of the significance of the terms *roi, foi, and loi* in the French political imagination. Complex and multivalent, resonating with different meanings for different elements in French society, these notions—kingship foremost among them—structured the prism through which the French would view and interact with native political communities in the Northeast. The following chapters will illustrate how this conceptual baggage was put to work

¹⁷⁵ 'Des cannibales,' *Essais*, bk. 1, chap. 31, 203.

¹⁷⁶ Denis Richet, *La France moderne: l'esprit des institutions* (Paris: Flammarion, 1973), 74, 102-103.

on the ground in the elaboration of French-native alliances of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Political Cultures of the Northeastern Woodlands, *circa* 1600

Just as French discourse about Native American political organization opens a window onto the key symbols of French political culture, so too may Native views of French culture provide a sense of the political values of the indigenous peoples of the Northeast in the early colonial period. This chapter samples contemporary Native American perspectives on *ancien régime* French political culture and examines the ways in which such views reflected the values held by the observers. It then explores the contemporary evidence of northern Algonquian and Iroquoian political practice in the early seventeenth century, emphasizing three features in particular: the nature of leadership, the centrality of councils, and, lastly, the role of kinship in shaping political life. The nations that formed close alliances with the French newcomers in Canada in this period are the primary focus of this exploration. These were the early-seventeenth-century Innu of the lower St Lawrence valley, the Algonquin nations of the Ottawa River valley, and the Huron confederacy. Other groups, like the Iroquois

confederacy and the Mi'kmaq, are also referenced because they too had significant political relationships with the French in this period and because they shared elements of political culture and organization with one or more of the nations that were allied with the French in Canada.

NATIVE AMERICAN PERCEPTIONS OF FRENCH POLITICAL CULTURE

Cornelius J. Jaenen has argued that despite the cultural variations among the various Algonquian and Iroquoian nations of the seventeenth-century Northeast, there was a 'common Amerindian reaction to the coming of the Europeans' that paralleled a broader European—as opposed to distinctly French, English, or Spanish—view of Native peoples.¹ There may have been several reasons for this. That different indigenous groups in the region shared common responses to European cultures is perhaps only to be expected, given the existence of a few broad cultural patterns in northeastern North America that often transcended the ethnic, linguistic, economic, and political differences that most obviously separated Native communities from each other.² Moreover, while common reactions stemmed from shared northeastern cultural patterns, they also reflected more generally the nature of the cultural chasm that separates small-scale, stateless societies from large-scale societies organized as states. Finally, just as the narratives and iconographies of one colonizing nation's 'New World' encounters were consumed by the people of another through printed works and mariners' tales, so too must we assume that stories about and perceptions of the

¹ Cornelius J. Jaenen, 'Amerindian Views of French Culture in the Seventeenth Century,' *Canadian Historical Review* 55, no. 3 (1974): 261–291. See 287–289 for Native views of French political institutions, government, and warfare. Jaenen's perspective is by echoed by James Axtell, 'Through Another Glass Darkly: Early Indian Views of Europeans,' in *After Columbus: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 125–143 at 127–128.

² Bruce G. Trigger, 'Cultural Unity and Diversity,' in *HNAI*, 15:798–804.

newcomers circulated throughout Native America, possibly shaping a group's sense of the newcomers even before its members had their first face-to-face meeting with the latter. Native peoples were not blind to the hierarchical, inequalitarian, and coercive features of European societies, even though few had the opportunity to cross the Atlantic and observe these states in all their complexity; the European colonial settlements of the first half of the seventeenth century provided a sufficient forum for the display of the newcomers' political values and rituals. Even the behaviour of small groups of Europeans was instructive, insofar as the latter inevitably manifested the characteristic dispositions of their culture of origin.

Chapter 2 was organized around three terms that early modern French observers used to express the cultural distance between themselves and Native peoples of the Northeast: faith, law, and monarchy. The French believed that they possessed and valued these while the American *sauvages* did not. But this rhetoric of lack, while pervasive and enduring, did not completely dominate European representations of and thought about Native Americans. European observers also frequently viewed Native peoples as possessing virtues that Europeans themselves were held to have lost or abandoned. The image of the 'noble savage' in early modern European writing—Michel de Montaigne's *Essais* (1580) and Lahontan's *Dialogues de Monsieur le baron de Lahontan et d'un sauvage* (1703) being among the most famous early examples of the trope—combined praise of selected aspects of Aboriginal cultures with a critique of European vices and institutions.³ Both Cornelius Jaenen and Denys Delâge have recently emphasized, in separate publications, that the ideals of liberty, equality, and

³ Among other works on the trope, see George R. Healy, 'The French Jesuits and the Idea of the Noble Savage,' *William and Mary Quarterly* 15, no. 2 (1958): 143–167; Stelio Cro, *The Noble Savage: Allegory of Freedom* (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1990); and Ter Ellingson, *The Myth of the Noble Savage* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).

fraternity emerged in eighteenth-century European thought in part under the stimulus of observing features of Native American small-scale societies.⁴ Does this mean, then, that these values, which writers like Lahontan attributed to Native Americans, can be taken as key elements of the political culture of the latter? To do so would offer modern readers a satisfying irony. Attributing to Native Americans a precocious or preternatural understanding of the values that are commonly believed to have propelled political and social progress in the modern era makes non-Natives feel superior to the colonizers who denigrated Native cultures and dispossessed Aboriginal peoples. Who, indeed, were the savages in the era of colonialism—the indigenous people who valued personal freedom and sharing and who lived in egalitarian societies, or the newcomers with their commitment to a monarchical state and a stratified society?⁵

⁴ Cornelius J. Jaenen, “‘Liberté, égalité, fraternité’: An Aboriginal Contribution to the Enlightenment in France,” *Native Studies Review*, 15 no. 2 (2001): 1–6; Denys Delâge, ‘Les premières nations d’Amérique du Nord sont-elles à l’origine des valeurs écologiques et démocratiques modernes?’ in *Transferts culturels et métissages Amérique-Europe, XVIe-XXe siècle / Cultural Transfer, America and Europe: 500 Years of Interculturation*, ed. Laurier Turgeon, Denys Delâge, and Réal Ouellet ([Sainte-Foy, Que.]: Les Presses de l’Université Laval, 1996), 317–345. See also Cornelius J. Jaenen, ‘L’Autre en Nouvelle-France/The Other in Early Canada,’ *Canadian Historical Association Historical Papers* (1989): 1–12, esp. 6–7. The idea that the image of the Noble Savage was a ‘remote precursor’ of the ideals of the French Revolution can be found in early twentieth-century scholarship, like Alfred Goldsworthy Bailey’s 1937 study of Native-French cultural contact; see Bailey, *The Conflict of European and Eastern Algonkian Cultures 1504-1700: A Study in Canadian Civilization*, 2d ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), 25.

⁵ See, for example, Daniel N. Paul, *We Were Not The Savages: A Micmac Perspective on the Collision of European and Aboriginal Civilization* (Halifax: Nimbus, 1993). The scholarly and popular literature that extols the political organization of the colonial-era Iroquois confederacy as the forerunner of modern American democracy embraces a similar ironical perspective. But as Adriano Santiemma notes, ‘En fait, l’idée que les concepts et les pratiques d’égalité, de liberté et de démocratie caractérisant les États-Unis (le pays actuellement les plus « avancé » d’Occident) ont évolué ailleurs [i.e., among the Iroquois] soulage la conscience hégémonique de l’Occident parce qu’elle permet aux Occidentaux de faire face à l’avenir avec un sens moindre de culpabilité envers leur propre histoire. Cette croyance occulte le processus de l’occidentalisation de la planète sous le masque d’une fusion—parfois lente et criblée de conflit inévitable—de traditions politico-culturelles différentes qui néanmoins se basent sur les mêmes postulats. Dans un avenir proche l’on pourrait affirmer que la paix universelle s’est donc réalisée avec la contribution d’une grande partie de l’humanité, et qu’elle a émergé du multiculturalisme.’ See Santiemma, ‘La Ligue

While such a view has the advantage of offering a much-needed corrective to longstanding popular prejudices about small-scale Native American cultures, I suspect that it is less useful for appreciating the political values that motivated political action in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Native North America. Liberty, equality, and fraternity may be superficially appropriate etic characterizations of small-scale societies generally, but these concepts are ultimately not necessarily native to such societies.⁶ *Liberté* might seem a worthy ideal for people living in a hierarchical society, but what weight would it have in societies where virtually no institutionalized forms of coercion existed at all? *Égalité*, too, might resonate strongly in a society where different legal statuses coexisted (as was the case with *ancien régime* France), but what importance could it have in a society where status was generally achieved, rather than ascribed, and where enduring disparities in material wealth were virtually non-existent? Finally, while *fraternité* might seem a noble, if highly abstract, metaphor for expressing the bonds of mutual affection that should obtain between all members of the political community, what impact would it have in a society where kinship functioned as a fundamental structuring principle for social life as well as for political relations?

Determining what political values the Native peoples of the seventeenth-century Northeast held without framing them within the existing categories of Western political thought is no easy task. No body of contemporary native-language texts exists which clearly outline the political values of those nations.

des Iroquois: une « paix » d'espace, de temps et de parenté,' *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec* 31, no. 2 (2001): 87–97, here 88.

⁶ As Elisabeth Tooker noted in her analysis of the 'myth' that the U.S. constitution was constructed in conscious imitation of Iroquois democracy, a positive stereotype is still a stereotype (and thus displays little real appreciation of Aboriginal cultures, past or present). See Elisabeth Tooker, 'The United States Constitution and the Iroquois League,' *Ethnohistory* 35, no. 4 (1988): 305–336, here 327.

To be sure, more recent articulations of indigenous political values do exist, the most well-known of these being the oral traditions surrounding the Great Law of the Iroquois confederacy, recorded in considerable detail beginning in the late nineteenth century. The problem is that the antiquity of these formulations cannot be easily ascertained. The 'invention of tradition,' so obviously at work in the long history of the French monarchy examined in the preceding chapter, can be reasonably assumed to have characterized the evolution of Native political institutions and ideologies as well, as much in the centuries that preceded European colonization as in those that followed. For this reason, nineteenth- and twentieth-century Native oral traditions and texts are not the primary source for this effort to outline seventeenth-century indigenous political cultures. Other sources, however, can be exploited to this end. European writings of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have preserved an echo of the impressions the Native peoples of the Northeast held regarding European sociopolitical organization. From these, a preliminary assessment of widely shared Native American political values can be made.

Using European sources to study Native American views expressed through discourse, however, raises important methodological questions. On a basic level, we might ask how reliable the author's information was, how well he or she knew understood the language(s) in which Native people expressed their opinions, how competently an interpreter performed or how accurately a translation was made. But this is not all. Given the absence of any extensive written record that might offer a corrective to European views—and given that most European writers of the colonial era were conscious of that absence—is it not possible that the inscription of Native discourse in European texts was

frequently more akin to acts of ventriloquism than of reportage?⁷ There is no lack of examples where Native speeches were regularly distorted, modified, or indeed even invented to suit the purposes or reflect the prejudices of European authors.⁸ On the basis of such examples, is it justifiable to treat all reports of Native American speeches as being 'à milles lieues de la réalité ethnographique'?'⁹ Are they useful only for deciphering the intentionality of the European author, revealing nothing of the perspective of a Native speaker?

It is my position that recognizing the place of European intentionalities¹⁰ in textual reports of Native American discourse does not inevitably oblige us to reject these reports' usefulness as sources of ethnographic and historical evidence; rather, it leads to a greater degree of caution in their analysis. It is important to be attuned to the resonance that examples of Native American discourse might have for the text's plausible readers. This amounts to performing an ethnography of the authors before using their works to perform an ethnography of the other peoples described in them, much as Greg Dening

⁷ This is how anthropologist Marshall Sahlins characterizes the assumptions of critics of his reconstruction of late-eighteenth-century Hawaiian society and culture: 'the testimonies of scores of Hawaiians . . . , as recorded in numerous historical documents, are dismissed on the *petitio principii* that the haole author or editor of the document must have been responsible for the idea or else that it had been put into the Hawaiians' heads by Europeans, especially Christian missionaries The documentary record is reduced to repeated acts of ventriloquism.' See Sahlins's reply in Robert Borofsky, 'Cook, Lono, Obeyesekere, and Sahlins,' *Current Anthropology* 38, no. 2 (1997): 273.

⁸ The speeches attributed to Chief Seattle in the nineteenth century being a case in point. For a thoughtful discussion of a similar case from the colonial era, see Edward G. Gray, 'The Making of Logan, the Mingo Orator,' in *The Language Encounter in the Americas, 1492–1800*, eds. Edward G. Gray and Norman Fiering (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2000), 258–277.

⁹ Réal Ouellet, and Marie Parent, 'Mise en scène et fonctions de la parole amérindienne dans la relation de voyage,' in *Transferts culturels et métissages Amérique / Europe, XVIe–XXe siècle / Cultural Transfer, America and Europe: 500 Years of Interculturation*, eds. Laurier Turgeon, Denys Delâge, and Réal Ouellet ([Sainte-Foy]: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1996), 281–304.

¹⁰ Ouellet and Parent offer a useful categorization of the functions of Native discourse in these sources; see Ouellet and Parent, 'Mise en scène et fonctions de la parole amérindienne,' 285–303.

realized was necessary to study Native-European relations in Polynesia: 'And, since the history of Polynesian cultures could only be written out of sources that were European, one would always have to know who the Europeans were before knowing the Polynesians.'¹¹ In addition, it becomes important to compare contemporary texts widely among each other, seeking instances where incidental details are repeated or echoed. Repeated acts of ventriloquism by European authors may perpetuate vague, generalized images of how Natives think and speak, but are unlikely to reproduce innocent details of actual speech coherently or consistently. When such details do emerge from a variety of historical sources, and where they have plausible resonance within what is known of a particular Native American symbolic scheme, we may be reasonably confident of having recognized elements of past Native American discourse.¹²

The certainty that some Native speeches were occasionally created of whole cloth by European authors does not oblige us to dismiss all reports of Native speech as pure invention. The metaphors of reflection and echoing, both of which I have used in the paragraphs above, are suggestive of the methodology involved in exploiting these sources. Both processes distort an original image or sound, sometimes to the point of making it unrecognizable, but they do so in somewhat predictable ways. An observer's knowledge of the process of distortion—in this case, the schemes of representations that shaped early modern French notions about politics and about American *sauvages*—can lead to a partial reconstruction of the original. With these considerations in mind, we can turn to

¹¹ Greg Dening, 'A Poetic for Histories,' in Dening, *Performances* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 57. Getting to know the Europeans—the French of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, to be precise—is in part the purpose of chapter 2 of this dissertation.

¹² The table of seventeenth-century Native-French councils in the appendix offers numerous examples where certain forms of diplomatic rhetoric are repeated many times in different sources and over a considerable time period.

consideration of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century reports of Native American reactions to elements of French political culture of the period.

In 1562, three 'Brazilians,' likely Tupinambá of coastal Brazil, met the French boy-king Charles IX at Rouen. Montaigne reported that in their remarks to the king—probably transmitted through the medium of a Norman sailor or merchant involved in the brazilwood trade—they expressed amazement that 'tant de grands hommes, portant barbe, forts et armez, qui estoient autour du Roy (il est vray-semblable qu'ils parloient des Suisses de sa garde), se soubsmissent à obeyr à un enfant, et qu'on ne choissoit plus tost quelqu'un d'entr'eux pour commander.' As well, the Tupinambá were surprised at the disparities of wealth and privilege in French society: 'ils avoyent aperçeu qu'il y avoit parmy nous des hommes pleins et gorgez de toutes sortes de commoditez, et que leurs moitez estoient mendians à leurs portes, décharnez de faim et de pauvreté; et trouvoient estrange comme ces moitez icy necessiteuses pouvoient souffrir une telle injustice, qu'ils ne prinsent les autres à la gorge, ou missent le feu à leurs maisons.' One of the Tupinambá was a war leader ('nos matelots le nommoient Roy') who informed Montaigne personally that although he led thousands of men in war, he received only symbolic forms of obeisance from his people: 'On luy dressoit des sentiers au travers des hayes de leurs bois, par où il peut passer bien à l'aise.'¹³ The challenge to the Tupinambá visiting France was to understand a society that required deference and obedience to distant or

¹³ Montaigne, 'Des cannibales,' *Essais*, bk. 1, chap. 31, in *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Albert Thibaudet and Maurice Rat (Paris: Gallimard, 1992), 212–213. The anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss noted that in the early twentieth century, the Nambikuara of Brazil yet considered that the only prerogative of a chief was to 'walk ahead on the warpath.' 'The Social and Psychological Aspects of Chieftainship in a Primitive Tribe: The Nambikuara of Northwestern Mato Grosso,' in *Comparative Political Systems: Studies in the Politics of Pre-industrial Societies*, ed. Ronald Cohen and John Middleton (Garden City: Natural History Press for the American Museum of Natural History, 1967), 51–52.

improbable figures of authority and that somehow maintained widely disparate levels of wealth and status without provoking rebellion and chaos.

An early seventeenth-century Wendat critique of the unequal distribution of wealth in French society echoed the Tupinambá view. The Récollet Gabriel Sagard noted with approval the generous hospitality the Wendat showed French missionaries as they traveled throughout Wendake in the 1620s, but added a comment on Wendat concern about the absence of this virtue in France: 'Ils ont cela de propre d'assister les passants et de recevoir courtoisement entre eux toute personne qui ne leur est point ennemie; et à plus forte raison ceux de leur propre nation qui se rendent l'hospitalité réciproque et assistent tellement l'un l'autre qu'ils pourvoient à la nécessité d'un chacun, sans qu'il y ait aucun pauvre mendiant parmi leurs villes et villages; et ils trouvent fort mauvais entendre dire qu'il y avait en France grand nombre de ces nécessiteux et mendiants et ils pensaient que cela était faute de charité qui fût en nous, et ils nous en blâmaient grandement.'¹⁴ The Montagnais offered a similar critique of the French 'lack of charity.' Paul Lejeune reported that the Montagnais at Quebec affected to be insulted by French refusals to share their wealth freely. 'Quand vous refusez quelque chose à un sauvage, aussitost, il vous dit: *Khisakhitan*, tu aime cela, *sakhita*, *sakhita*, aime-le, aime-le. Comme s'il vouloit dire qu'on est attaché à ce qu'on aime et qu'on le préfère à leur amitié.'¹⁵ For the Mi'kmaq of Port-Royal known to the Jesuit Pierre Biard, the failure to share or to be generous with goods and with words made the French inferior: 'Ils s'estiment meilleurs: "Car, disent-ils, vous ne cessez pas de vous entrebattre et quereller l'un l'autre; nous

¹⁴ Gabriel Sagard, *Le grand voyage du pays des Hurons*, ed. Réal Ouellet and Jack Warwick (Montréal: Bibliothèque québécoise, 1990), 156–157.

¹⁵ *Relation de ce qui s'est passé en la Nouvelle-France en l'année 1633, envoyée au Révérend Père Barthélemy Jacquinet, provincial de la Compagnie de Jésus en la province de France par le Père Paul Le Jeune, supérieur de la résidence de Kébec* (Paris: 1634), in *MNF*, 2:440. Hereafter the original titles of each Jesuit relation cited will be given in an abbreviated form.

vivons en paix. Vous estes envieux les uns des autres, et détractez les uns des autres ordinairement; vous estes larrons et trompeurs; vous estes convoiteux, sans liberalité et misericorde: quant à nous, si nous avons un morceau de pain, nous le partissons entre nous.”¹⁶

Like the sixteenth-century Tupinambá who expressed surprise that a boy should lead the French, early seventeenth-century Native Americans seem to have expected French leaders to be generally proficient and useful. They hypothesized, for example, that the French who made copper kettles, a prized trade item, must have been important and respected individuals. Nicholas Denys reported that a Mi'kmaq ‘que feu Monsieur de Razilly envoya de l'Acadie à Paris . . . passant par la ruè Aubry-bouché, où il y avoit pour lors beaucoup de Chaudronniers, . . . demanda à son Truchement s'ils n'étoient pas parents du Roy, & si ce n'étoit pas le métier des plus grands Seigneurs du Royaume.’¹⁷ Sagard reported a similar belief among the Wendat: ‘Comme ils estimaient que les plus grands capitaines de France étaient doués d'un plus grand esprit et, qu'ayant un si grand esprit, eux seuls pouvaient faire les choses les plus difficiles, comme haches, couteaux, chaudières, etc. ils inféraient de là que le roi (en tant que le plus grand capitaine et le chef de tous) faisait les plus grandes chaudières.’ Sagard then explained to his hosts that most of the French trade goods were the work of poor artisans, ‘et non du roy ny des grands.’ In reply, the Wendat mused, ‘Les pauvres ont donc de l'esprit en vostre país.’¹⁸

¹⁶ Biard to Christophe Balthazar, Provincial of France, Port-Royal, 10 June 1611, in *JR*, 1:173.

¹⁷ Nicholas Denys, *Description géographique et historique des costes de l'Amérique septentrionale* (Paris, 1672), in William F. Ganong, ed. *The Description and Natural History of the Coasts of North America* (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1908), 601.

¹⁸ Sagard, *Grand voyage*, 266; Gabriel Sagard Théodat, *Histoire du Canada et voyages que les Frères mineurs Recollects y ont faits pour la conversion des infidèles depuis l'an 1615*, ed. Edwin Tross, 4 vols. (Paris: Librairie Tross, 1866), 493.

Native peoples from seventeenth-century northeastern North America often seemed surprised by the coercive power attributed to French leaders. As Lejeune noted, speaking of the Innu around Québec: 'Ils m'ont reproché cent fois que nos craignons nos capitaines, mais pour eux, qu'ils se mocquoient et se gaussoient des leurs. Toute l'autorité de leur chef est au bout de ses lèvres: il est aussi puissant qu'il est éloquent. Et quand il s'est tué de parler et de haranguer, il ne sera plus obéy, s'il ne plaist pas aux sauvages.'¹⁹ Nor was leadership remarkable for its privileges. The Récollet Chrestien Le Clercq reported a headman (probably Innu) giving this response to a French trader who offered to sell his wares to the chief at a special rate: 'Tu te mocques de moy, de dire que tu me feras meilleur marché, & que tu tiendras la cherté à mes gens: si j'avois fait cela, dit-il, je meriterois que mes gens me pendissent & me coupassent la teste. Je suis Capitaine, je ne parle pas pour moy; je parle pour mes gens.'²⁰ Unlike French kings, Native leaders did not wield the power of life and death over their people through the exercise of justice. During the epidemics of the late 1630s, when many Native allies of the French feared that French sorcerers were responsible for outbreaks of disease, Lejeune assured an Innu that any sorcerers found among the French would be executed. The man's reply contrasted French and Innu conventions of leadership and justice: 'Vous autres, vous obéissez à un chef. S'il faisoit mourir quelque meschant homme, les autres François, ses parens, n'oseroient en parler. Mais si nous tuions un homme de nostre nation, tant

¹⁹ *Relation de . . . 1634*, in *MNF*, 2:601–602.

²⁰ Chrestien Le Clercq, *Premier établissement de la foy dans la Nouvelle France*, 2 vols. (Paris: Amable Auroy, 1691), 1:138. This incident was reported to have taken place in the early seventeenth century.

meschant fût-il, et ses parens et ses amis nous tueroient et ainsi, nous nous perdriens tous.²¹

It was, indeed, the French acceptance of the king's ability to use violence against his own people that most shocked and disturbed Native observers, especially when this authority was delegated, through the system of royal justice, to others. The French practice of capital punishment was a repeated source of misunderstanding and conflict between Natives and newcomers in New France. Savignon, a young Huron man who traveled to France in the early 1610s, felt it important to warn his compatriots about this upon his return, saying 'qu'on fouettoit, qu'on pendoit et qu'on faisoit mourir les hommes entre les François, sans discerner l'innocent du coupable.'²² Native peoples also made a point of rebuking the French for this custom, as the Jesuits reported decades later: 'Quelques sauvages ayant appris qu'en France on mettoit à mort les malfaiteurs, nous ont bien souvent reproché que nous estion des meschans; que nous faisons mourir nos compatriotes; que nous n'avions point d'esprit. Ils demandoient si les parens de ceux qu'on condamnoit à la mort, n'en tiroient point vengeance.'²³ When incidents of violence implicating both Natives and newcomers occurred in the colony, French efforts to impose their own sense of justice imperilled nascent Native-French alliances, as we shall see in chapter 5, below.

²¹ *Relation de ... 1637*, in *MNF*, 3:653. Nearly seventy years later, a military officer who had spent some time in New France echoed these sentiments in a fictionalized discourse he placed in the mouth of a Huron man he called Adario. Said Adario to Lahontan: 'Nous-nous contentons de nier nostre dépendance de tout autre que du grand Esprit; nous sommes nez libres & frères unis, aussi grand Maîtres les uns que les autres; au lieu que vous êtes tous des esclaves d'un seul homme' —by whom he meant Louis XIV, the king of France. *Suite du voyage, de l'Amerique, ou Dialogues de Monsieur le baron de Lahontan et d'un sauvage, dans l'Amerique* (London, 1704 [1703]), 36–37, in Louis-Armand de Lom d'Arce, baron de Lahontan, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Réal Ouellet et al., 2 vols., Bibliothèque du Nouveau Monde (Montréal: Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1990), 2:831–832.

²² Sagard, *Histoire du Canada*, 320.

²³ *Relation de ... 1642*, in *JR*, 22:84.

As the comments of the Mi'kmaq, Innu, Hurons, and others make clear, the nature of leadership was a central theme in the perception and interpretation of political differences between Native and French societies. Native peoples perceived French leaders to be different in nature from their own; they seemed capable of exerting greater control over others. By contrast, Native leaders led through example and their ability to persuade—the key forum for the exercise of persuasion being the council. The non-coercive nature of leadership and the corresponding importance of the council were fundamental aspects of political life in northeastern North America. Through councils, leaders worked to resolve tensions arising over internal violence and murder by mobilizing their communities to perform rituals of condolence rather than seeking to carry out punishment. The practice of condolence was shaped in turn by group solidarities determined largely by kinship ties of varying kinds. The documentary record produced by French colonizers in the early seventeenth century offers substantial evidence of these practices and patterns and it is this record that forms the basis of the following sections of this chapter.

Some readers may look askance at the project of an overview of leadership, council practices, and kinship symbolism that claims to be applicable to both northern Algonquian and Iroquoian political cultures. Any survey of the modern (i.e., nineteenth- and twentieth-century) ethnographic literature suggests a stark contrast between atomistic, patrilineally-biased northern Algonquian bands of hunters and institutionally complex matrilineal Iroquoian confederacies of horticulturists. One of the purposes of this chapter, however, is to bring into relief the shared aspects of Algonquian and Iroquoian political cultures in the early seventeenth century and to cast doubt on the usefulness of reified Algonquian-Iroquoian distinctions for understanding Native political practice in the early colonial period. In doing so, this chapter merely adheres to a

basic principle of ethnohistory: to search out and to use contemporary ethnographic evidence, however fragmentary or imperfect, in preference to risking anachronism by uncritically transposing modern ethnographic data into the past. This principle was outlined in detail by anthropologist Harold Hickerson in the 1960s and informed important contributions of the following decades, including the work of anthropologists Bruce Trigger and Toby Morantz on, respectively, the colonial-era Hurons and Crees. Hickerson was struck by the documentary evidence of complex diplomatic behaviour and political cooperation among seventeenth-century Ojibwa groups and their Algonquian neighbours (such as the Nipissing and Odawa), including the regular performance of a massive ritual re-interment (the Feast of the Dead) that involved the coordination of several thousand people from a variety of nations. Such ceremonies and the scale of cooperation and communal behaviour they implied had no echo in the modern ethnographies he consulted. Hickerson hypothesized that the northern Algonquians had borrowed this ritual from their Iroquoian allies and trading partners, the Huron confederacy, but adapted it to their own customs and purposes.²⁴ In his recent study of the Algonquin leader Tessouat, anthropologist Remi Savard has noted parallels between seventeenth-century Algonquin cultural patterns (such as the requickening of chiefs and the connection between mourning, condolence, and warfare) and patterns that are generally viewed as quintessentially Iroquois or, more generally, Iroquoian. Here too, as Savard suggests, modern ethnography—this time, that of the Iroquois—has the potential to distort our view of the past insofar as it presents as

²⁴ Harold Hickerson, 'The Feast of the Dead Among the Seventeenth Century Algonkians of the Upper Great Lakes,' *American Anthropologist* 62, no. 1 (1960): 81–107; see also Hickerson, *The Chippewa and Their Neighbours: A Study in Ethnohistory*, foreword and review essay by Jennifer S. H. Brown and Laura L. Peers, revised ed. (Prospect Heights: Waveland Press, 1988).

quintessentially Iroquoian practices that were in reality shared by various groups in the seventeenth-century Northeast.²⁵

Upon reflection, the notion that some northern Algonquians and Iroquoians shared certain features of political culture should not surprise. To be sure, some widely recognized evolutionary typologies devised by anthropologists would place northern Algonquians and northern Iroquoians in different categories entirely: the former at a 'band' level of political organization, the latter at a 'tribal' level.²⁶ Although evolutionary schemes may serve their purpose in broader comparative studies, their value for historical explanation is questionable. As anthropologist Elizabeth Colson notes, the anthropological tradition of such typologies emerged from late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century philosophical systems that sought to 'measure political solutions by placing them in an evolving order propelled forward by the division of labor and increasing control over the labor of others.' Yet, adds Colson, 'most of us when we look at the ethnographic record find no such compelling fit between modes of subsistence and political order; nor do we find that the human ability to invent political relationships conforms easily to the provision of a small number of pigeonholes.' For Colson, it is erroneous to assume that political institutions have invariant configurations or exist as perfectly integrated systems: 'However defined, political systems are alive with contradictions.'²⁷ Yet clearly a society's political institutions are not unrelated to its socioeconomic order, and Toby Morantz is certainly right to remind us that 'political organization, as we know it,

²⁵ Rémi Savard, *L'algonquin Tessouat et la fondation de Montréal: diplomatie franco-indienne en Nouvelle-France* (Montréal: Editions de l'HEXAGONE, 1996), esp. 90-91, 100-101.

²⁶ William N. Fenton, 'Leadership in the Northeastern Woodlands of North America,' *American Indian Quarterly* 10, no. 1 (1986): 21-45 here 22, quoting the classic work of Elman R. Service, *Primitive Social Organization: An Evolutionary Perspective*.

²⁷ Elizabeth Colson, 'Political Organization in Tribal Societies: A Cross-Cultural Comparison,' *American Indian Quarterly* 10, no. 1 (1986): 5-19, here 13, 15.

is highly susceptible to changed economic conditions.²⁸ One recent articulation of the evolutionary perspective eschews the assumption of an invariant, necessary, and predictable 'fit' between a given economic order and a corresponding political system, focusing instead on problems of scale, such as a society's size, the extent of social differentiation, and the complexity of its structures.²⁹ From such a perspective, it is important to note that the extensive regional alliances of seventeenth-century northern Algonquian nations in the St Lawrence valley and the Great Lakes were quite close in scale to confederacies of Iroquoian villagers. In this region, seasonal gatherings of northern Algonquian 'hunting' peoples could include thousands of people, conglomerations supported through fisheries, trade with neighbouring horticulturists, and gardening. In the early seventeenth century, the Nipissing-Odawa-Ojibwa alliance in the Great Lakes region was mirrored by the Etchemin-Innu-Algonquin alliance in the St Lawrence River valley. These northern Algonquian alliances, though lacking the population densities and degree of sociopolitical integration of the northern Iroquoian confederacies, interacted regularly with the latter, both as allies and foes. Through diplomacy, captive-taking, prisoner adoption, intermarriage, and acts of open war, northern Algonquians and Iroquoians shared mutually comprehensible political rituals and borrowed practices and symbols as they saw fit. There is no reason to assume that, as a general rule, the flow of influence was from Iroquoians to Algonquians—i.e., what from an older evolutionary perspective would be from the (relatively) advanced 'tribe' to the more primitive 'band'.

²⁸ Toby Morantz, 'Old Texts, Old Questions: Another Look at the Issue of Continuity and the Early Fur-Trade Period,' *Canadian Historical Review* 73, no. 2 (1992): 166–193 at 179.

²⁹ See the proposed conceptualization of sociocultural evolution in Bruce G. Trigger, *Sociocultural Evolution: Calculation and Contingency* (Oxford and Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 1998), 10.

In sum, the following general reflections on leadership, the council, and kinship are not intended to imply an underlying homogeneity of Northeastern cultures, to overshadow the real cultural diversity of Native nations, or to revert to crude generalizing about 'Indians' as a group.³⁰ This discussion of shared features of political culture is based on contemporary evidence, yet where appropriate takes into account the contributions of modern ethnography.

LEADERSHIP

In the summer of 1644, the dead Innu headman Etouet was resurrected at Tadoussac.³¹

Neighbouring nations were notified prior to the event so that they could join in the accompanying festivities. At the appointed time, leading men of the assembled nations gathered in a large lodge where they beheld the gifts that the revived Etouet would soon bestow upon them and the feast that was being prepared for their benefit. Meanwhile, several men spread soft, painted

³⁰ For an example of this unfortunate practice, see Jean-Marie Therrien, *Parole et pouvoir: figure du chef amérindien en Nouvelle-France* (Montreal: Hexagone, 1986).

³¹ The description of this ceremony makes up chapter 14 of the first part of the *Relation* of 1643–44. No date is given by the author, but Campeau suggests that it took place in the summer of 1644 when Father Jean de Quen visited the Innu at Tadoussac (*MNF*, 6:166 n.1). The rather lengthy description of the ceremonies raising Nehap up as the new Etouet is rare in the Jesuit relations of this era. In 1638, a letter from the superior general of the Jesuits to the provincial in France included the information that Gaston d'Orléans, the brother of Louis XIII, had complained of the abundance of detail—much of it ethnographic in nature—that characterized the published relation of 1637 (Mutius Vitelleschi to Étienne Binet, Rome, 8 Dec. 1638, in *MNF*, 4:72–3). Word of his displeasure seems to have reached the Jesuits in Canada, for in the *Relation de ... 1638*, Lejeune promised his readers a new approach: instead of a wealth of detail, he would offer only 'peu de choses et encore bien délicates . . . On est desjà si remply des façons de faire de nos sauvages et de nos petits travaux en leur endroit que j'apprehende le dégoust' (in *MNF*, 4:76–7; see also Campeau's note on this, 73 n. 1). The inclusion of the chapter on chief-making at Tadoussac in the 1643–44 *Relation* may have been due to the fact that Nehap was a Christian, yet curiously the text does not insist on this point—the only mention of Christianity in it comes in a brief episode where a Jesuit who was present at the ceremony speaks. It is noteworthy that Nehap himself is not recorded as saying anything about it. If European texts representing Native speech are rife with 'acts of ventriloquism' one might have expected the Jesuits to make more of a golden opportunity.

moosehides upon which Etouet would sit once he had been brought back to life. These preparations complete, they located George Nehap in the crowd and led him to the hides. A deep silence prevailed as they draped a fine robe over Nehap's shoulders, hung a belt of wampum about his neck, and placed a calumet and tobacco in his hands. Another man rose and addressed the crowd. He spoke of Etouet and his lineage, of the place and time of his death. Then, turning to Nehap, he declared: 'Here he stands, clad in this beautiful robe. He is no longer the one you knew as Nehap—that name has been given to another. He is Etouet. You shall regard him as the chief of this nation.'

Turning next to the envoys from allied nations, the speaker presented them with gifts of wampum belts and beaver pelts bearing the message that Etouet had been raised up and that there was a chief once again at Tadoussac. The visiting headmen had the chance to sing, dance, and speak in praise of Etouet. Only once they had finished did Nehap/Etouet, who until now had remained silent, address the assembly: 'I am not worthy of the honour you bestow upon me. I do not deserve the name of a man who should not have died, of one whom you so loved and honoured with such respect. That man had two qualities I lack. He was generous and had wisdom in leadership. You will give me the latter quality through your wise council and I will endeavour to fulfill the former through my hard work. If something is given me by the Creator, I assure you that it will be yours rather than mine.' These words said, the women and girls entered the lodge and the feast began. When it was over, Etouet began to exercise his office immediately, distributing the most valuable items in his possession to others. To one visiting headman he gave a trade blanket; to another, a beaver robe; to others, a bag of maize or a calumet. To some 'poor widows' Etouet gave beaver pelts with which to sew robes. To young warriors

he gave his sword, dagger, and pistol. He concluded his gift giving with these words: 'As long as I live I will assist and help you with all my power.'³²

Nehap's transformation into Etouet II (to employ the convention by which historians distinguish between successive Native leaders bearing the same name³³) was a piece of political theatre that highlighted key elements of Innu political culture, much as the *sacre et couronnement*, the *lit de justice*, or the royal funerary rites articulated fundamental notions about the nature of kingship in early modern France. The details of Etouet's ritual requickening in 1644 point to a number of features worthy of note: a balance between the election of a competent individual (Nehap) and the expression of continuity in leadership (Etouet); the chief's role as a speaker and an enabler of action rather than as an executive decision maker or commander; and the chief's giving of gifts. Before examining these features in more detail, an overview of the political organization of the northern Algonquian and Iroquoian nations of the region is in order.³⁴

The northern Algonquian 'nation'—in the sense in which that term was used by the French in the early seventeenth century—was less a political unit

³² *Relation de ... 1643 et 1644*, in *MNF*, 6:166–169. The translation is mine.

³³ See, for example, the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 1 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968), *passim*, and the biographies in Campeau's *Monumenta Nova Franciae*. See also table 1 below.

³⁴ In chapter 2, no analogous effort was made to survey the political and administrative organization of France. There are several reasons for this. First, any attempt to move beyond a cursory description of provinces, offices, courts, and so forth would risk becoming mired in the bewildering complexity of *ancien régime* institutions. The works of Doucet, Zeller, and Mousnier cited in chapter 2 can be usefully consulted by the reader interested in that world. Second, it was not this institutional complexity that French colonizers brought to North America but rather widely shared ideologies and assumptions about how political life took place in and through those institutions. Finally, despite our temporal and cultural distance from the *ancien régime*, the basic types of institutions of a state, be it an 'early modern' one or a 'post-industrial' one, are arguably sufficiently familiar to the readers of this dissertation and are not, therefore, in need of extensive explanation. This, however, may not be the case with the political organization of small-scale societies discussed in this chapter.

than a cultural one.³⁵ The nation generally comprised regional groups who shared a common identity and language and who usually exploited contiguous hunting ranges. Other than in cases where the nation was extremely small, it was unlikely that all its constituent groups would ever meet face-to-face at one time or assemble for a common purpose. A regional group might consist of several hundred individuals and gather for seasonal hunting or summer fishing but was otherwise dispersed over the group's territory in smaller, local bands.³⁶ As Theodore Binnema points out, the nature of the historical record often makes it difficult, if not impossible, to reconstruct political life at this level. It was often only when local bands coalesced into regional bands for specific purposes that European observers were able to identify leaders and their policies.³⁷ This is certainly true of the documentary record pertaining to the political organization of the Innu of the St Lawrence valley during the early seventeenth century: the records permit the identification of at least three main regional bands—at Tadoussac, Québec, and Trois-Rivières—with a fourth emerging at Sillery in the late 1640s (see table 1). Other named groups of Algonquian speakers—the Mistassins, the Papinachois, and Ouechestigoueks, and the Oumamioueks—

³⁵ In much twentieth-century anthropological literature, the term 'tribe' is used to describe groups that the French characterized as 'nations' in the colonial era; see, for example, the *Handbook of North American Indians*, vols. 6, 15. Heidi Bohaker has proposed that we should understand what the French called nations as *nindoodemag*, the Anishinaabe term for a kin network of people sharing a belief in descent from a particular other-than-human being; see Bohaker, 'Nindoodemag: The Significance of Algonquian Kinship Networks in the Eastern Great Lakes Region, 1600–1701,' *The William and Mary Quarterly* 63, no. 1 (2006): 23–52. I have retained the term nation here as an etic category that applies to both northern Algonquian and Iroquoian polities.

³⁶ Edward S. Rogers and James G. E. Smith, 'Environment and Culture in the Shield and Mackenzie Borderlands,' in *HNAI*, 6:141–144.

³⁷ Theodore Binnema, 'Old Swan, Big Man, and the Siksika Bands, 1794–1815,' *Canadian Historical Review* 77, no. 1 (1996): 1–32.

occupied areas north of the valley and eastward to Sept-Iles.³⁸ The same sources point to the existence of at least five regional bands of Algonquins occupying the Ottawa River Valley and the region between the Montréal archipelago and Trois-Rivières in the same period.³⁹ Despite their relative invisibility in the sources, it was the local bands that, more than the regional groups or the nation, provided the social basis for the political life of northern Algonquians, and this fact must be borne in mind in assessing political behaviour.

³⁸ Raynald Parent, *Histoire des Amérindiens du Saint-Maurice jusqu'au Labrador: de la préhistoire à 1760*, 4 vols. (N.p.: 1985), 1:225–265.

³⁹ Maurice Ratelle, 'La localisation des Algonquins de 1534 à 1650,' *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec* 23, no. 1-2 (1993): 25–38; see also Trigger, *Children*, 279 (map 13).

Table 1
Innu leaders named in French sources, 1603–*circa* 1650

Trois-Rivières	Québec	Saint-Joseph de Sillery	Tadoussac
			Anadabijou (fl. 1603–1611, d. 1611)
Batiscan (fl. 1610–29)			Anadabijou II (fl. 1611–1621, d. before 1621)
	Cherououny (fl. 1617–27, d. 1627)		Chomina (fl. 1618–29)
			La Forière (fl. 1617–1628) ⁴⁰
			Mahigan Atic [Miristou] (fl. 1622–28, d. 1628)
Kapitenatch [Capitanal] (fl. 1632–34, d. 1634)	Erouachy (fl. 1627–36, d. 1636)		Etouet (fl. 1632–39, d. 1639)
Jean-Baptiste Etinechkaouat (fl. 1635–51)	Tchimeouiriniou (fl. 1633–39, d. 1639)		
Makheabichtichiou (fl. 1637–41, d. 1641) ⁴¹		Jean-Baptiste Etinechkaouat (fl. 1635–51)	
		Noël Tekouerimat [Negabamat] (fl. 1638–1666)	Georges Etouet II [Nehap] (fl. 1640–48, d. 1648)
		Nienienigabouachit [Pierre Trigatin] (fl. 1637–42, d. 1642) ⁴²	
		Philippe Sakapouan (fl. 1644–46) ⁴³	
		Charles Meiachkaouat (fl. 1640–46) ⁴⁴	
		Ignace Ouitatarouechink (fl. 1646) ⁴⁵	

Sources: In addition to the primary sources cited in the notes, see *DCB*, vol. 1: *1000 to 1700* and the biographical notices in *MNF*, vols. 2 through 8. The abbreviation fl. (for Latin *floruit*) precedes the year or years an individual is known to have been active. For most of these leaders, more precise biographical information is unavailable.

⁴⁰ For a discussion of the confusion surrounding the identity of this individual, see chap. 5 below.

On the basis of mid-twentieth-century fieldwork among the Round Lake Ojibwas and the Mistassini Crees, anthropologist Edward S. Rogers proposed the following definition of the northern Algonquian band:

A loosely structured unit with a patrilineal bias, comprising seventy-five to a hundred and twenty-five people, inhabiting a drainage basin alone or in conjunction with other such groups, uniting during the summer on the shores of a lake within the territory and dispersing for the winter in groups to hunting areas. These groups were frequently bilateral extended families although ideally patrilineal extended, all of whom were generally under the leadership of a head man whose position was *primus inter pares* and who acted as the leading religious expert.⁴⁶

Rogers considered these features of the northern Algonquian band to be ‘in part an adaptation to a severe environment’ which imposed restrictions on group size, and not the result of dramatic change in the post-contact era. Most

⁴¹ Lejeune described Makheabichtichiou as ‘[un] homme fort et hardy, bon guerrier et a la langue assés bien pendue,’ noting that he was not a leader of his nation but only of one ‘bande’ or ‘escouade’ (*Relation de ... 1637*, in *MNF*, 3:561). He was killed on an embassy to Abenaki villages in 1640 or 1641 (*Relation de ... 1640 et 1641*, in *JR*, 21:66–68).

⁴² Nienienigabouachit was a young warrior who, upon conversion to Christianity, moved to Sillery where he was elected as ‘capitaine de prière’ in 1640.

⁴³ In 1644, Etinechkaouat spoke to Father de Quen about abdicating his leadership in favour of Sakapouan, the son of former leader Tchimeouriniou (*Relation de ... 1643 et 1644*, in *JR*, 25:154–156). Although subsequently, there are no references in the *Relations* to Sakapouan exercising the functions of a leader, he is of four Innu men named as witnesses in Governor Montmagny’s concession of land at Sillery to the Innu (‘Concession par Montmagny de terres aux sauvages,’ Québec, 6 August 1646, in *MNF*, 6:497).

⁴⁴ Meiachkaouat was a young man from Tadoussac who converted to Christianity and settled at Sillery, becoming a ‘capitaine de prière.’ He often preached to other Innu, and prefaced one such speech by saying: ‘Je ne suis point capitaine pour entreprendre de haranguer...’ (*Relation de ... 1643 et 1644*, in *JR*, 25:164). He was also a witness to the Sillery concession of 1646 (see above).

⁴⁵ Although not mentioned in the *Relations* as a leader, Ouitatarouechink was one of four Innu men who witnessed the Sillery concession of 1646 (see above).

⁴⁶ Edward S. Rogers, ‘Band Organization,’ in *Contributions to Anthropology: Band Societies*, Proceedings of the Conference on Band Organization, Ottawa, August 30 to September 2, 1965, ed. David Damas (National Museums of Canada, Ottawa, 1969), 46.

important for our purposes is Roger's definition of the band leader (*okima*) as an elder male with no ascribed or institutional status—'first among equals'—and his emphasis on the *okima* owing his leadership position to shamanic ability. Rogers suggests that intergroup conflict for these bands primarily took the form of witchcraft.⁴⁷ Leaders were, in effect, primarily responsible for ensuring the protection and wellbeing of the people through the exercise of shamanic powers—to ensure the success of hunting or to battle enemies, if need be. In this connection, Rogers alluded to a well-known example from Lejeune's *Relation* of 1634 in which the Jesuit describes an Innu shaman's efforts to magically kill an enemy located hundreds of kilometres distant.⁴⁸ In addition to shamanic abilities, leaders typically displayed proficiency in hunting, generosity, and wisdom. Coercive political institutions were non-existent; peer pressure (exercised through gossip) and the fear that antisocial behaviour would attract the ire of others (who might resort to witchcraft in retaliation) served as forms of social control.⁴⁹

Beyond such generalizations, there seems to have been a significant degree of variability in the sociopolitical organization of northern Algonquian nations. The life of hunter-gatherers in the boreal forest requires a great deal of flexibility and adaptability, and so it should not be surprising that the sociopolitical organization of such groups displays the same characteristics. In the interior of the Québec-Labrador peninsula, some bands depended principally on large herds of barren ground caribou—a fact that imposed a specific set of constraints upon them, including very limited participation in the fur trade. In the boreal forest, however, most northern Algonquian groups were generalists

⁴⁷ Rogers, 'Band Organization,' 29, 31, 34, 35, 40.

⁴⁸ Rogers, 'Band Organization,' 35.

⁴⁹ Rogers and Smith, 'Environment and Culture,' 144.

depending on fishing, fowling, hunting, and gathering. Insofar as the most important fur-bearing animal in the late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century fur trade—the beaver—was also an important food animal in much of the region, many groups were able to engage in the trade without significantly altering their traditional subsistence economies. Yet the inherent flexibility of those economies also meant that the size of bands and the roles of leaders varied widely.⁵⁰

Modern anthropological opinion on the sociopolitical organization of groups like the Innu has been bound up with the vexed issue of northeastern Algonquian territoriality.⁵¹ In the first decades of the last century, Frank Speck promulgated the view that the basis of social organization in Algonquian-speaking hunter-gatherer societies of the eastern boreal forest⁵² was the family hunting band, a group of related male hunters and their wives and children. Beyond these basic ties of kinship and marriage, however, what truly defined this social unit, for Speck, was its close identification with a well-defined area, the ‘family hunting territory,’ which he described as follows.

The matter . . . which constitutes the main bond of union and interest in these groups is the family hunting territory, in which all the male members share the right of hunting and fishing. These hunting ‘lots’ or territories (*nok·i·wak·i·`* ‘hunting ground’) are more

⁵⁰ See R. Cole Harris and Geoffrey J. Matthews, eds., *Historical Atlas of Canada*, vol. 1: *From the Beginning to 1800* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), pl. 17, 17a, and 18 for ecological regions and Native subsistence patterns. For social flexibility of northern Algonquians, see Toby Morantz, ‘Economic and Social Accommodations of the James Bay Inlanders to the Fur Trade,’ in *The Subarctic Fur Trade: Native Social and Economic Adaptations*, ed. Shepard Krech III (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1984), 55–79.

⁵¹ For the history of this debate, see Edward S. Rogers, ‘History of Ethnological Research in the Subarctic Shield and Mackenzie Borderlands,’ in *HNAI*, 6: 19–29, esp. 25–27; see also the special issue of the journal *Anthropologica* 28 nos. 1–2 (1986).

⁵² Specifically, Speck’s claim covered the Algonquian-speakers from the Abitibi-Temiscaming region eastward to the Atlantic seaboard, including southern Labrador. The ethnolinguistic groups he considered included Ojibwa, Algonquins, Crees, Innu, Abenakis, Penobscots, and Mi’kmaq. Frank Speck, ‘The Family Hunting Band as the Basis of Algonkian Social Organization,’ in *Cultural Ecology: Readings on the Canadian Indians and Eskimos*, ed. Bruce Cox, The Carleton Library, no. 65 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1973), 59.

or less fixed tracts of country whose boundaries are determined by certain rivers, ridges, lakes, or other natural landmarks, such as swamps and clumps of cedars or pines. Hunting outside one's inherited territory was punishable occasionally by death. More often, however, trespass was punished by conjuring against the offender's life or health. . . . Permission, however, could be obtained by a man to hunt in another's territory. . . .

The rights in the hunting territories were inherited paternally. . . . For the most part, the territories were fairly rigid and permanent. Only a few changes are remembered to have taken place within the range of tradition.⁵³

Elsewhere Speck asserted that the family hunting territories were 'tracts owned from time immemorial by the same families and handed down from generation to generation,' representing, in effect, a form of pre-Columbian private property or 'actual ownership of territory' that contrasted sharply with then-prevalent notions of hunter-gatherers as wandering foragers.⁵⁴

Speck's data on leadership fit easily within this model of territorial ownership inherited through the male line. He reported, for example, that among the Teme-Augama Anishnabai the men of the band unanimously elected a chief (*ogi'ma*), who served for life and often designated his successor. The latter was not necessarily the son of a chief, but did have to be born into the band. A second chief (*ani-ke' o'gi-ma* 'next to chief'), also elected, acted as orator, announcing the leader's decisions and opinions. The principal duties of a chief consisted of negotiating with neighbouring groups and European governments, taking care of widows and orphans, promoting internal harmony, and, finally, enforcing territorial boundaries through warfare or conjuring (i.e., through long-

⁵³ F. G. Speck, *Family Hunting Territories and Social Life of Various Algonkian Bands of the Ottawa Valley*, Canada, Department of Mines, Geological Survey memoir 70, Anthropological Series no. 8 (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1915), 4–5.

⁵⁴ Speck, 'Family Hunting Band,' in Cox, 58, 59 (quotation).

distance supernatural warfare).⁵⁵ Speck's three months of fieldwork among the Mi'kmaq in 1914 led him to similar conclusions, although he found additional levels of institutionalized leadership—in particular, a council of chiefs known as the 'Grand Council . . . capable, among other duties, of mediating in local land matters.'⁵⁶

While Speck did not insist on the connection between leadership and territoriality, his formulation implied that northeastern Algonquian band leadership was linked to a specific territory—in effect, the sum of the family hunting territories whose male proprietors voted for the chief. The chief was, in other words, charged with guaranteeing the integrity of the family hunting territory system, but did not possess the right to dispose of land (other than his own). Indeed, Speck reflected that colonial governments had doubtless misconstrued the local and territorial nature of Algonquian leadership during treaty negotiations: 'it becomes apparent by means of our study how, through misunderstanding between the colonial authorities and the natives, large tracts of land were sold by chiefs or by individuals who, from the Indian standpoint, had absolutely no claim to their ownership nor rights of disposal.'⁵⁷

In the 1950s, Speck's notion of a well defined system of aboriginal land tenure (and its implications for patrilocality, gender relations and band governance) was questioned by Eleanor Leacock on the basis of her fieldwork among the Innu of Labrador in 1950–51 and her reading of the seventeenth-century Jesuit *Relations*. Leacock maintained that the patrilineally inherited

⁵⁵ Speck, *Family Hunting Territories*, 20–22. Speck referred to this band, with whom he spent 'some weeks' (*ibid.*, 1) in the summer of 1913, as the Timagami Ojibwa; today, the preferred self-designation of the latter is Teme-Augama Anishnabai.

⁵⁶ Janet E. Chute and Frank G. Speck, 'Frank G. Speck's Contributions to the Understanding of Mi'kmaq Land Use, Leadership, and Management,' *Ethnohistory* 46, no. 3 (1999): 481–540, here 483–484.

⁵⁷ Speck, 'Family Hunting Band,' in Cox, 72.

family hunting territory, the practice of virilocal exogamy (i.e., of outsider women marrying into a group of males related by blood), and the existence of formally elected male chiefs serving for life were all responses to the corrosive effects of European 'commercialism'; i.e., the fur trade. According to Leacock, the basic social unit of the pre-contact Innu was the co-residential matrilineal lodge group consisting of 'some 10 to 20 people, or, in Western terms, several nuclear families.'⁵⁸ A lodge group might join with others to form a larger band, depending on the season and the abundance of game, but as such bands were fluctuating entities and not central to Innu social organization. Within the lodge group, two potentially contradictory principles prevailed: first, the obligation to share totally with others; second, thoroughgoing respect for individual choice and autonomy.⁵⁹ According to Leacock there was an absolute lack of ascribed status, and neither age nor gender figured as markers of status. 'No one is set apart from the rest of the group through formal status allocation.'⁶⁰ Leadership was invariably informal and temporary, all important decisions were made communally—with some respect shown toward the opinions of those who had proven ability in a specific activity—and women were as likely as men to wield supernatural power as shamans.⁶¹ For Leacock, this radical egalitarianism was undermined by the fur trade, which produced incentives for lodge groups to

⁵⁸ Eleanor Leacock, 'Montagnais Women and the Jesuit Program for Colonization,' in *Rethinking Canada: The Promise of Women's History*, ed. Veronica Strong-Boag and Anita Clair Fellman, 2nd ed. (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1991), 11–27, here 15. The term 'commercialism' is used by Leacock in 'Montagnais-Naskapi Band,' in *Contributions to Anthropology: Band Societies*, ed. Damas, 1.

⁵⁹ Leacock, 'Montagnais-Naskapi Band,' 13.

⁶⁰ Eleanor Leacock, 'Status among the Montagnais-Naskapi of Labrador,' *Ethnohistory* 5, no. 3 (1958): 200–209, here 203.

⁶¹ Leacock, 'Status among the Montagnais-Naskapi,' 203–204; Leacock, 'Montagnais Women,' 15–16, 24–25. In a more recent publication, Leacock reiterated the views she developed in the 1950s and 60s: 'The Montagnais-Naskapi of the Labrador Peninsula,' in *Native Peoples: The Canadian Experience*, ed. R. Bruce Morrison and C. Roderick Wilson (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1986), 141–170, esp. 147–157.

orient their hunting toward fur gathering. 'The stockpiling of furs for trade slowly replaced individual dependency upon the group as a whole with individual dependencies on an outside market. Concomitantly, new economic ties were created within nuclear families, as wives and children became dependent upon men's returns from trapping.'⁶² These new relations of production allegedly opened the door to sweeping changes in social organization, including patrilineal bias in descent, patrilocal residence, male preeminence in formal politics and shamanism,⁶³ and the emergence of the family hunting territory.⁶⁴

Although, as suggested in the preceding quotation, the pace of these changes was alleged to be slow, Leacock also insisted that important changes had taken place prior to the earliest recorded European and Euro-American testimony about northeastern Algonquian cultures. Consequently, non-Native observers—whether a seventeenth-century Jesuit in the St Lawrence valley or a twentieth-century ethnographer deep in the Labrador interior—glimpsed societies that had already undergone significant transformations, the extent of the latter being 'somewhat masked by strong cultural continuities such as language, tent-living, and certain religious practices.'⁶⁵ Even so, Leacock maintained that historical records and fieldwork could still provide valuable evidence of aboriginal lifeways. Her method for separating aboriginal forms from the presumed results of acculturation remained highly deductive: feeling

⁶² Eleanor Leacock, 'Relation of Production in Band Society,' in *Politics and History in Band Societies*, eds. Eleanor Leacock and Richard Lee (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Paris: Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1982), 160.

⁶³ Leacock, 'Montagnais Women,' 25.

⁶⁴ Leacock, 'Montagnais-Naskapi Band,' 2, 5. Leacock implied that Speck's Innu informants consciously foregrounded the principle of individual, patrilineally inherited hunting tracts as a defense against ever-increasing non-Native encroachment. 'Montagnais-Naskapi of the Labrador Peninsula,' 143.

⁶⁵ Leacock, 'Relations of Production,' 161.

certain of the broad direction of change, Leacock could interpret any piece of evidence as either an example of an enduring aboriginal feature or the consequence of acculturation.

While some of Leacock's ideas have been widely disseminated, in part through the reprinting of her essays in various anthologies, anthropologists specialized in the study of subarctic Algonquian-speakers have taken issue with many of her formulations. Among others, anthropologist Toby Morantz has done much to promote more cautious, nuanced and regionally differentiated studies of past northern Algonquian societies, as well as the more careful use of European written sources to that end. In some cases, this has involved addressing problems of interpretation. For example, it seems likely that what Leacock interpreted as evidence of Innu matrilocality represented instead the custom of bride service—a practice whereby a husband moves in with his new wife's family temporarily before the new couple relocate definitively to join his family.⁶⁶ Morantz has also underlined Leacock's incaution in making generalizations about all northern Algonquians from the example of the Labrador Innu alone.⁶⁷ More generally, Morantz has rejected Leacock's thesis of the relatively rapid and radical transformation of Algonquian cultures north of the St Lawrence valley in the first centuries of the fur trade. Instead, Morantz and

⁶⁶ This point is made convincingly in Morantz, 'Economic and Social Accommodations of the James Bay Inlanders,' 68. In the published proceedings of a 1965 conference on 'Band Societies,' Edward Rogers, in reply to a question by Leacock, pointed to the possibility that apparent matrilocality residence patterns were the result of 'the necessity for matrilocality residence in the first three years of marriage,' i.e., of bride service (see 'Discussion' following Rogers, 'Band Organization,' in Damas, 51).

⁶⁷ Toby Morantz, 'Historical Perspectives on Family Hunting Territories in Eastern James Bay,' *Anthropologica* n.s. 28, no. 1–2 (1986): 86.

others have provided evidence of Algonquian adaptation to the colonial-era fur trade in ways that did not fundamentally alter traditional practices and values.⁶⁸

Family hunting territories may have been a post-contact institution that had antecedents in the pre-contact era. Yet if Leacock's vision of Algonquian matrilocality, thoroughgoing communalism, and radical egalitarianism finds little support in the recent literature, Speck's earlier rigid definition of the Algonquian family hunting territory has likewise been rejected. Morantz found evidence of early nineteenth-century territories in use among the East Cree and even earlier evidence of notions of trespass and resource ownership in the records of the Hudson's Bay Company.⁶⁹ However, she argues that rather than being 'chunks of real estate,' the hunting territories were, in the words of anthropologist Harvey A. Feit, 'flexible and adaptable units for managing animal resources and harvesting activities.'⁷⁰ In response to Shepard Krech III's recently articulated position that hunting territories emerged after contact with, and under the guidance of, European fur traders and missionaries, Feit has argued that a system of hunting territories regulated by respected leaders could be viewed as a long-term adaptation to the subarctic environment. Even before the fur trade heightened demand for certain animals, periods of game scarcity

⁶⁸ See, for example, Morantz's rejection of Leacock's thesis of the total transformation of northern Algonquian culture in Toby Morantz, "'Gift-Offerings to Their Own Importance and Superiority': Fur Trade Relations, 1700–1940," in *Papers of the Nineteenth Algonquian Conference*, ed. William Cowan (Ottawa: Carleton University, 1988), 133–145, here 134–135. For a recent work that similarly rejects Leacock's characterization of pre-contact northern Algonquian political organization (and which, like Morantz's, is grounded in archival research), see Victor Lytwyn, *Muskekowuck Athinuwick: Original People of the Great Swampy Land* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2002). According to Lytwyn, the colonial-era Hudson's Bay Company archives indicate the existence of chiefs leading river-basin groups among the Lowland Crees who occupied the region west of James Bay. Some of these leaders had wide-ranging influence in part due to heredity. Lytwyn distinguishes between these leaders and others who were 'created' by the HBC in order to reward fur providers; see *Muskekowuck Athinuwick*, 8–11, 20–23.

⁶⁹ Morantz, 'Historical Perspectives,' 67–76.

⁷⁰ Quoted in Morantz, 'Historical Perspectives,' 79–80.

caused by, among other factors, widespread forest fires could have spurred the emergence, and reinforced the maintenance, of such a system.⁷¹

If we understand northern Algonquian hunting territories to have been about resource management rather than private ownership, a corresponding shift in our understanding of leadership is required. Rather than being elected to protect individually owned tracts, leaders were selected for their knowledge of the land and their relationships with its nonhuman occupants. These relationships were, for the leader, a source of spiritual power. While a leader who demonstrated ineffective knowledge of or flawed relationships with animals would be ignored, leadership was not, as Leacock had implied, epiphenomenal: there was, even for small hunting-gathering groups, a genuine need for leaders. Under normal conditions, the chief's skillful coordination of hunters produced short-term benefits by improving their productivity; over the long term, it ensured the conservation of species crucial to the people's wellbeing. In times of crisis—such as the sudden in-migration of neighbouring groups to escape a fire-ravaged zone—the leadership of a knowledgeable person would have been even more important. The allotment of hunting territories and the sharing of information about the land with the newcomers, without jeopardizing the survival of the people already there, would have promoted the acceptance of enduring forms of leadership—'and perhaps even a certain form of inequality.' Over time, the need for a heightened degree of leadership might diminish, only to resurface again in the wake of a new crisis.⁷²

⁷¹ Harvey Feit, 'Les territoires de chasse algonquiens avant leur "découverte"? Études et histoires sur la tenure, les incendies de forêts et la sociabilité de la chasse,' *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec* 34, no. 3 (2004): 5–22.

⁷² '... et peut-être même une certaine forme d'inégalité.' Feit, 'Les territoires de chasse,' 7, 9, 16–17, 17 (quotation). On knowledge-based leadership, see Colin Scott and James Morrison, 'Frontières et territoires: mode de tenure des terres des Cris de l'Est dans la région frontalière Québec/Ontario,' *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec* 34, no. 3 (2004): 23–43, here 24–25.

Evidence of knowledge-based leadership exercised in relation to a system of hunting territories can be gleaned from some seventeenth-century French documents. Janet Chute has noted, for example, Father Chrestien Le Clercq's reference to chiefs presiding over the allotment of hunting territories in the 1670s.⁷³ Anecdotes recounted by Nicolas Denys and Gabriel Sagard, cited earlier in this chapter, seem also to point to the notion of a connection between leadership and knowledge or practical effectiveness: if the French make kettles, surely the king makes the best kettles of all?

Above all, however, French records of the first half of the seventeenth century show leaders appearing as individuals charged with dealing with outsiders, often acting as representatives of sizeable groups. This no doubt reflects, on the one hand, the perspective of the French as one such group of outsiders and, on the other, the fact that most diplomatic encounters took place during summer gatherings where the role of spokesmen for relatively large, named bands was likely more conspicuous than that of local chiefs. (As Jennifer S. H. Brown has noted, the seventeenth-century records that repeatedly present 'conspicuous levels' of social and political elaboration reflect only one dimension of northern Algonquian life: that of the summer gathering. '[European] perceptions were accordingly limited, for these native communities looked and acted very differently in the different seasons of the year.'⁷⁴) On the basis of his examination of the seventeenth-century documentary record, Charles Bishop views northern Algonquian territoriality being intrinsically linked to trade and political leadership. He argues that seventeenth-century Algonquians in the northern Great Lakes/St Lawrence region had a clear sense of territoriality that

⁷³ Chute, 'Frank G. Speck's Contributions,' 493.

⁷⁴ Jennifer S. H. Brown, 'Northern Algonquians from Lake Superior and Hudson Bay to Manitoba in the Historic Period,' in *Native Peoples: The Canadian Experience*, ed. R. Bruce Morrison and C. Roderick Wilson (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1986), 217.

pertained not to hunting per se but rather to the control of trade routes and tradable resources—the latter being principally exotic goods in the precontact period, and furs thereafter. Local groups constituted nodes in broader regional webs of exchange, interposing themselves between groups to either side by claiming rights to control the flow of goods within a given territory. Local leaders, ‘in whom these rights were symbolically embodied,’ enforced the group’s boundaries and acted as channels for the transmission of exchange goods which they redistributed to their people. In turn, they were rewarded with high status.⁷⁵ Bishop hypothesizes that leaders among more northern Algonquians of the boreal forest were also, in effect, the local group’s trade representatives; in addition, given the importance of furs as objects of exchange, leaders organized the exploitation of fur bearing animals in the group’s territory by allotting tracts to individual families. The importance and status of chiefs allegedly grew in accordance with the expansion of the fur trade into the region in the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but then declined as the multiplication of European posts throughout the region undermined their role as organizers of a trading system: when a post opened locally, hunters could circumvent the traditional leader and trade directly with the Europeans.⁷⁶ By his own admission, Bishop’s formulations remain highly speculative. However, they have the merit of suggesting how the abundant evidence of Native ‘middleman’ behaviour of the contact period might have arisen from older political and diplomatic patterns of handling intergroup trade in exotic goods.

In sum, then, there seems little reason to accept Leacock’s assertion of the impossibility of enduring forms of leadership among otherwise egalitarian band

⁷⁵ Charles A. Bishop, ‘Territoriality among Northeastern Algonquians,’ *Anthropologica* 28, no. 1-2 (1986): 42, 49–53.

⁷⁶ Bishop, ‘Territoriality,’ 55–57.

societies. Environmental constraints, the nature of hunting and gathering in the boreal forest, and the management of long-distance trade and relations with outsiders all provide a basis for the existence of chiefs among northern Algonquian nations. In some ways the 'need' for leadership may have been itself a cultural artifact; as anthropologist Georg Henriksen, who conducted fieldwork among the Naskapi of interior Labrador in 1966–68, noted, '[t]he Naskapi say that they must always have a *wotshimao* [chief].'⁷⁷ In this light, Nehap's resurrection as Etouet II in 1644 may be viewed as a ritual that, while framed to address the concerns of the Innu of Tadoussac after nearly a century of contact with the French and revealing aspects of the Innu accommodation to that reality, nonetheless mobilized enduring schemes of a political culture that had emerged to meet the needs of the Innu and their northern Algonquian neighbours in the region.

In the political life of the northern Iroquoian-speaking peoples of the St Lawrence Valley and lower Great Lakes region, the village was arguably analogous to the the local band.⁷⁸ The political entities most familiar to students of the period, such as the Wendat (Huron confederacy) and the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois confederacy) of the seventeenth century, were confederations of politically autonomous nations whose member groups lived in contiguous villages of up to two thousand people, or in clusters of villages and smaller

⁷⁷ Georg Henriksen, *Hunters in the Barrens: The Naskapi on the Edge of the White Man's World* (St John's: Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1973), 45.

⁷⁸ As Daniel Richter notes, villages were the primary political units of Iroquoian societies. Daniel K. Richter, 'Iroquois versus Iroquois: Jesuit Missions and Christianity in Village Politics, 1642–1686,' *Ethnohistory* 32 (1985): 1–16, here 2. Although Trigger has described the local clan segment as 'the basic unit of Huron political organization,' in everyday life local clan segments sharing the same village site had to coordinate activities; moreover, many political rituals among the Iroquoians relied upon the symbolic opposition between two or more clans or moieties. See Bruce G. Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660*, reprint ed. (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987), 54.

hamlets.⁷⁹ Archaeological evidence of the transition from a landscape of scattered villages to one of village clusters suggests that the process of nation formation took place over the course of the fifteenth century.⁸⁰ During the sixteenth, some of these nations banded together with their neighbours to form confederacies embracing up to twenty thousand people. In the early seventeenth century, at least four such confederacies are known to have existed.⁸¹

Despite their size, these confederacies are not considered by anthropologists to be chiefdoms. Overarching leadership was conspicuously absent and power remained concentrated at the local level. Village councils were composed of headmen representing matrilineal clan segments within each the community; the village councils in turn sent delegates to nation-wide and confederacy-wide councils. As Trigger aptly noted, 'if a similar system prevailed

⁷⁹ Scholars continue to debate several issues concerning the political organization of the Northern Iroquoian confederacies, but the broad outlines of these polities are fairly clear. For the Wendat, see Trigger, *Children*, esp. 54–62, and John L. Steckley, *Words of the Huron* (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2006), chaps. 2 and 3. For the Haudenosaunee, see Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization* (Chapel Hill & London: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), esp. chap. 2; William N. Fenton, *The Great Law and the Longhouse: A Political History of the Iroquois Confederacy* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998); Dean Snow, *The Iroquois* (Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1994), esp. chap. 4; and José António Brandão, 'Your Fyre Shall Burn No More': *Iroquois Policy toward New France and Its Native Allies to 1701* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), esp. chap. 2.

⁸⁰ Trigger, *Children*, 153–154; Snow, *Iroquois*, 46–50.

⁸¹ These were the Haudenosaunee with about 20 000 people in 11 villages c. 1634; the Wendat (20 000 people in 18 to 25 villages c. 1615); the Neutral (12 000 in as many as 40 villages c. 1641, in the wake of an epidemic); and the Tionnontaté (2 000 to 4 000 in 2 to 9 villages). In addition to these groups, the Eries, the Wenronon and the Susquehannocks were northern Iroquoian peoples about whose political organization and populations little is known for the early period. For the population data given here, see Trigger, *Children*, 31–32, 91, 94–94; and Snow, *Iroquois*, 88. Relying on recent data, archaeologist Gary Warrick estimates the total Iroquoian population of southern Ontario and the St Lawrence valley to have been about 60 000 in the mid-sixteenth century. This population level seems to have been relatively stable from the late fifteenth century until the epidemics of the early seventeenth century. The Huron-Tionnontaté together numbered about 30 000, the Neutrals 20 000, and the St Lawrence Iroquoians 8 000. See Gary Warrick, 'The Precontact Iroquoian Occupation of Southern Ontario,' *Journal of World Prehistory* 14, no. 4 (2000): 415–66.

in modern Canadian politics, a single man would simultaneously serve as mayor of Toronto, prime minister of Ontario, and a senior ranking member of the federal cabinet.⁸² Many of these headmen bore titular leadership positions belonging to certain matrilineages, but others became leaders through personal achievement in war, diplomacy, or trade.

In the case of the Wendat, seventeenth-century sources reveal very little about the precise membership and structure of the confederacy council.⁸³ The same is true of the Haudenosaunee, only here modern ethnographic sources both illuminate and complicate the issue. In the mid-nineteenth century the lawyer-turned ethnographer Lewis Henry Morgan documented in great detail, on the basis of what Iroquois informants told him and what he observed at Iroquois ceremonials in upper New York state and Canada West, the existence of a codified set of institutions and practices that seemed to him to constitute an ancient system of traditional government. Then, in the 1880s and 1890s there appeared written versions, in English and, later, Onondaga, of a rich and lengthy Iroquois oral tradition that provided ideological and symbolic justification for many of the practices Morgan had described; moreover, this oral tradition offered a quasi-historical explanation of the origins of these institutions through the narrative of their introduction to the Iroquois by a Huron man named Deganawidah some time in the distant past.⁸⁴ In the twentieth century, additional fieldwork and research by both Native and non-Native scholars fleshed out

⁸² Trigger, *Children*, 58.

⁸³ Trigger, *Children*, 58–59.

⁸⁴ In 1916 Arthur C. Parker, an anthropologist of Seneca ancestry, re-arranged elements of the oral tradition and published them as ‘The Constitution of the Five Nations’—an edition which remains exceedingly popular today on the World Wide Web. For historical context on Morgan and the mid-nineteenth-century Iroquois, see Snow, *Iroquois*, chaps. 10 and 11. For the history of written versions of the Epic, see William N. Fenton, ‘The Lore of the Longhouse: Myth, Ritual and Red Power,’ *Anthropological Quarterly* 48 (1975): 131–147.

many details of Iroquois political practices and ideologies that were held to be traditional.

Taken together, the nineteenth- and twentieth-century ethnographic data on Iroquois ceremonials as well as the several extant versions of the Deganawidah Epic offer a rich and detailed portrait on the political culture of the post-1800 Iroquois. But how safely can these data be projected backward in time to explain the political values and practices of the seventeenth-century Haudenosaunee? Or to illuminate the workings of other Iroquoian polities of the time? A review of scholarly approaches to this problem may help illustrate the nature of the problem.

Morgan's *League of the Ho-de-no-sau-nee or Iroquois* (1851) shows clearly that its author had few doubts as to the antiquity of the political culture he observed in Iroquois ceremonials. Morgan believed that the institutions of the League had achieved their fullest form some time prior to the era of European contact, their original purpose having been to prevent warfare between the Five Nations and also to counter 'the pressure of contiguous nations.' This 'compact' or 'federal system', as Morgan characterized it, arose from the peculiar political genius of the Iroquois and eventually allowed them to create an 'empire' in northeastern North America, subjugating their Native neighbours and even ensuring, through their support of the British, the ultimate failure of the French colonial project. For Morgan, this 'remarkable civil organization' was only surpassed in influence and extent by the Aztec and Inca empires of Mexico and Peru. The Iroquois had achieved, he argued, 'the highest position among the Indian races of the continent living in the hunter state.'⁸⁵

⁸⁵ Lewis H. Morgan, *League of the Ho-de-no-sau-nee or Iroquois*, ed. Herbert M. Lloyd, 2 vols. (New York: Burt Franklin, 1901; reprint, 1966), 1:7–8 (quotations), 51–52 (hunter state quotation). Comparisons to the Aztecs can be found on pp. 3, 14–15, and 52.

Although he considered the League to have been effectively dissolved in 1783,⁸⁶ Morgan believed that the rituals and ceremonies of the mid-nineteenth-century New York Iroquois communities preserved its institutions intact: 'There are still in the State of New York about four thousand Iroquois. The several fragments of the nations yet continue their relationships and intercourse with each other, and cling to the shadow of the ancient League. At intervals of one or two years, they assemble in general councils to raise up, with their primitive forms and ceremonies, sachems to fill the vacancies occasioned by deaths of deposition. These councils are summoned and conducted, in all respects, as they were wont to be in the days of Indian sovereignty.'⁸⁷ On the basis of his understanding of Iroquois oral traditions, Morgan presented the League as a set of institutions and laws that were 'not of gradual construction, under the suggestions of necessity; but [rather] . . . the result of one protracted effort of legislation.' Moreover, he insisted that these institutions had 'come down through many generations to the present age, with scarcely a change.'⁸⁸

The central institution of the League, in Morgan's view, was a council of fifty male chiefs⁸⁹ who exercised joint executive, legislative, and judicial authority over the entire confederacy. Each League chief bore one of forty-eight titles, understood to be the names of the original fifty founders of the League. (Two of

⁸⁶ Morgan, *League*, 1:27–28.

⁸⁷ Morgan, *League*, 1:33.

⁸⁸ Morgan, *League*, 1:57, 58.

⁸⁹ Morgan referred to these 'rulers' as *sachems*. The term had been borrowed from the Algonquian-speaking peoples of southern New England among whom the English settled in the 1620s, and was thereafter used by generations of Anglo-American writers to refer to apparent leaders among other Native nations in the Northeast. In *The League of the Ho-de-no-sau-nee*, Morgan reserved the terms 'sachem' and 'sachemship' for discussing leadership of the League, and referred to all other leaders among the Iroquois as 'chiefs' (e.g., *League*, 1:66–67). Morgan noted that the Iroquois (presumably Seneca) word for the sachems as a class was *Ho-yar-na-gó-war*. Some modern English versions of the Great Law of Peace translate this term as 'Lords'. In using the term 'chief' here I follow the practice current among modern Iroquoianists.

these positions—those of Deganawidah and Hiawatha—were, by convention, never filled following the deaths of these men; hence the actual number of chiefs at any given time could not exceed forty-eight.) These titles were both hereditary and elective: hereditary in the sense that each belonged to a particular clan in a particular nation; and elective in the sense that the clan could choose any qualified male candidate to fill the position. New chiefs so chosen had their League titles officially conferred upon them through ceremonies conducted by the central council. Morgan felt certain that this body had retained this basic structure since its inception: ‘These fifty titles, except two, have been held by as many sachems, in succession, as generations have passed away since the founding of the League.’⁹⁰

Since Morgan’s time anthropologists have corrected or modified many aspects of his work but in the main have confirmed his description of the League’s functioning while endorsing his sense of its antiquity and stability.⁹¹ This perspective was exemplified in the work of William N. Fenton. Fenton found Morgan ‘guilty of retrospective projection’ in his assumption that League institutions had existed unchanged for centuries. Yet he also felt that ‘what Morgan’s critics have failed to realize is the stability of major social and political structures over long periods of time. I believe, with . . . Morgan, that the political mechanisms of the League were ancient and that they have remained its most conservative aspects.’⁹² Conservative, but not unchanging: for Fenton, the League was ‘an evolving institution, the full-blown reality of which cannot be

⁹⁰ Morgan, *League*, 1:57–62, 62 (quotation).

⁹¹ In the authoritative *Handbook of North American Indians*, for example, a chapter on the history, politics, and ritual of the League of the Iroquois falls easily into the ethnographic present when describing the last of these topics, providing little sense of any institutional or ideological change over the centuries of the League’s supposed existence. See Elisabeth Tooker, ‘The League of the Iroquois: Its History, Politics, and Ritual,’ in *HNAI*, 6: 418–441, esp. 422–429.

⁹² William N. Fenton, ‘Introduction,’ in Lewis Henry Morgan, *League of the Iroquois* (New York: Corinth Books, 1962), xiv.

demonstrated at an early time.⁹³ Unlike Morgan, Fenton turned to the documents of the colonial era in order to investigate the ‘historical depth’ of key aspects of Iroquois political culture.⁹⁴ He found striking examples of continuity. One was the record of regular meetings of the five nations at Onondaga, which the Jesuits recognized in the 1650s as ‘le Parlement de tout le pays.’⁹⁵ As well, key elements of the condolence council, the ceremony used by twentieth-century Iroquois to mourn dead chiefs and raise up their successors, could be traced back centuries. Perhaps most strikingly, Fenton found evidence of the Three Bare Words of the Woods’ Edge ceremony—the wiping away of tears, cleaning of ears, and unblocking of throats—in seventy-nine accounts of Iroquois political rituals spanning the years from 1645 to 1805.⁹⁶ Similarly, Fenton observed the persistence of distinct metaphors over time in the documentary record—among them the metaphor of the longhouse as a means of naming the confederacy, clearly articulated in French sources from the mid-seventeenth century.⁹⁷

At the same time, Fenton noted a lack of evidence for the antiquity of core elements of modern Iroquois political ritual. Two issues are of particular note here. First, the Deganawidah Epic—the legend behind the founding of the

⁹³ William N. Fenton, ‘Structure, Continuity, and Change in the Process of Iroquois Treaty Making,’ in *The History and Culture of Iroquois Diplomacy: An Interdisciplinary Guide to the Treaties of the Six Nations and Their League*, ed. Francis Jennings, Fenton, Mary A. Druke, and David R. Miller (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1985), 3–36, here 16.

⁹⁴ As Snow remarks: ‘Morgan used Cadwallader Colden, Charlevoix, and Baron de Lahontan, and he corresponded with [historian] Francis Parkman. But he was as uncomfortable with history as Parkman was with ethnography’ (*Iroquois*, 173–174).

⁹⁵ *Relation de ... 1656–57*, in *JR*, 43:172; for a review of later evidence, see Fenton, *Great Law*, 209–211.

⁹⁶ Fenton, *Great Law*, chap. 12, esp. 181. The table in the appendix offers numerous examples of the Three Bare Words in Haudenosaunee-French councils of the early seventeenth century.

⁹⁷ Fenton, ‘Structure, Continuity, and Change,’ 16–17. The Mohawk orator Le Bâtard Flamand explained that the five nations known to the French as the Iroquois formed one house: ‘nous avons de tous temps habité un mesme toit’ (*Relation de ... 1653–54*, in *JR*, 41:86). Early documentary evidence of the ‘whole house’ or longhouse metaphor is reviewed in Fenton, *Great Law*, 208–209.

confederacy—was apparently unknown to colonial-era Europeans who had extensive political dealings with the Iroquois (like Sir William Johnson), who spoke Iroquois languages and lived in Iroquois communities (as did a number of Jesuit missionaries), or who undertook to write accounts of the confederacy's history and culture (like Cadwallader Colden). Fenton endeavoured to trace elements of, or references to, this foundational narrative in a wide variety of early sources, only to come up with a meager harvest: a 'sketch' of the Epic in a mid-eighteenth-century source and two brief evocations of the tradition from Joseph Brant and John Norton dating from the early nineteenth century. Fenton's view was 'That something so fundamental to Iroquois political philosophy escaped the notice of early writers on Iroquois manners is a problem in intellectual history'⁹⁸—and one which Fenton evidently felt he could not easily resolve. A second 'perplexing'⁹⁹ matter and 'the weakest link in the chain of evidence,' he wrote, 'is the erratic appearance or absence of the famous fifty titles of the founders [of the League] among the delegations to important conferences and as the acknowledged leaders of their respective nations.'¹⁰⁰ Fenton was able to recognize with certainty only four such titles in the documentary record before 1666—all, incidentally, from Jesuit sources.¹⁰¹ As Thomas Abler noted in a review of Fenton's work, 'it is not until the years 1765–77 that names of a substantial portion of the fifty League chiefs appear in the surviving documents.'¹⁰² As with the Deganawidah Epic, Fenton found the absence of League titles in the sources a

⁹⁸ Fenton, *Great Law*, 5.

⁹⁹ Fenton, *Great Law*, 204.

¹⁰⁰ Fenton, 'Structure, Continuity, and Change,' 16.

¹⁰¹ These were the Mohawk chief Tekarihoken, the Onondaga chiefs Skanawadi and Hahihon, and the Seneca chief Ganonhgidawi. Fenton speculates that the Onondaga council name Sagonchiendagehte, prominent in Jesuit reports of the 1650s, may have also borne the League title Thadodaho. See Fenton, *Great Law*, 204–207, table 4 (193–194), and table 6 (531–532).

¹⁰² Thomas Abler, 'Iroquois Policy and Iroquois Culture: Two Histories and an Anthropological Ethnohistory' (review essay), *Ethnohistory* 47, no. 2 (2000): 489.

mystery.¹⁰³ His writings offer three explanations, none of which is presented as being exclusive or definitive. First, colonial-era writers lacked either the linguistic ability, knowledge of Iroquois political organization, or time to produce detailed records of council participation.¹⁰⁴ Second, sachems and other prominent Iroquois leaders frequently used speakers gifted with oratorical ability to carry their voices to others, a pattern that may have led to colonial writers reporting the name of the messenger rather than that of the chief.¹⁰⁵ Third, Fenton considered that the impact of seventeenth-century warfare and epidemics on the Iroquois population had jeopardized the ability of the League to renew itself, with chiefs expiring too quickly to be replaced. In this context, ‘others who had achieved distinction as warriors and speakers . . . became the effective “sachems” or principals during the eighteenth century.’ This situation, Fenton guessed, persisted until after the dispersal of the confederacy during the American Revolution. It was only through a protracted process beginning early in the nineteenth century that government in the embattled post-revolutionary Iroquois communities returned to its traditional form.¹⁰⁶

Fenton’s final hypothesis, emerging from over six decades of research on the Iroquois, remains speculative and appears to have been influenced by the work of a younger generation of scholars, among them Daniel Richter.¹⁰⁷ In an essay published in 1987 Richter embraced the notion of the antiquity and

¹⁰³ Terms and phrases like ‘perplexing,’ ‘oddly,’ ‘one might expect,’ ‘startling,’ ‘to our dismay,’ and others are peppered throughout Fenton’s discussion of the issue. See Fenton, *Great Law*, 204, 207.

¹⁰⁴ Fenton, *Great Law*, 207–208.

¹⁰⁵ Fenton, ‘Structure, Continuity, and Change,’ 13.

¹⁰⁶ Fenton, *Great Law*, 208; see also Fenton’s speculation that in the seventeenth century there may have existed an ‘ideal structure, as the league epic stipulates,’ that was in practice impossible to realize due to the rapid demographic and social changes affecting Iroquois society in this period (*ibid.*, 250).

¹⁰⁷ See Fenton, *Great Law*, 4–5.

enduring nature of the League and its rituals. However, he also argued that Morgan was mistaken in seeing the institutions of the League as a working system of government that directed the affairs of Iroquois communities in the colonial era. For Richter, the League sachems and Grand Council were devoid of 'political functions'; they existed rather to preserve the Great Peace or harmonious alliance among the five nations. The 'foreign policy' of these nations was determined, not by the fifty League chiefs, but by a fluid network of influential local leaders who came together out of necessity in order to respond to a succession of crises engendered by European contact: first, the need for access to European trade goods (such as iron arrowheads and, later, firearms); second, the need to negotiate treaties with encroaching European colonizers; and, lastly, the challenge of preserving the alliance of the five nations in the face of divisive debates over religious and political accommodations with imperial powers. The principal actors in this emergent and flexible political structure (which Richter proposes to term the Confederacy, as distinct from the League) were village headmen and orators who 'adopted the language and rituals of the Great Peace [i.e., of the League] to create the protocol of intercultural diplomacy.'¹⁰⁸ Some of the Confederacy leaders may even have been League sachems, but most were not.

In distinguishing between the League (traditional, internal, highly codified) and the Confederacy (fluid, innovative, externally oriented), Richter's hypothesis explains why the colonial-era records offer so few hints of the League's existence: since colonial officials dealt with the shifting body of envoys and orators who were active in the Confederacy, they learned little of the

¹⁰⁸ Daniel K. Richter, 'Ordeals of the Longhouse: The Five Nations in Early American History,' in *Beyond the Covenant Chain: The Iroquois and Their Neighbors in Indian North America, 1600–1800*, eds. Daniel K. Richter, and James H. Merrell (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1987), 11–27, here 22.

principles and practices of the Great Peace or of the fifty sachems. As to how experienced missionaries, Indian agents, and others could have failed even to recognize the latter's existence, Richter suggests that cultural distance and suspicion of the other were the crucial factors: 'Europeans *were* dense, and Indians *were* secretive.'¹⁰⁹

In the two decades since Richter's formulation of a distinction between the League and the Confederacy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, scholars have put forward a diversity of alternative views. In *Cultivating a Landscape of Peace* (1993), Matthew Dennis undertakes to explain the behaviour of Iroquois leaders in the early seventeenth century as so many efforts to realize the ideals of peace articulated in the Deganawidah Epic, whose essential content is assumed to have remained unchanged from its inception up until it took written form in the late nineteenth century. I have elsewhere criticized the restrictive notion of culture and rationality embraced in this interpretation; here I would add the problems inherent in projecting modern versions of this oral tradition backward nearly three centuries.¹¹⁰ In a very different vein, anthropologist Adriano Santiemma emphasizes the inadequacy of the West's political vocabulary and conceptual frameworks for explaining Iroquois political culture. Santiemma interprets the Deganawidah Epic not as a historical narrative or as a political manifesto carried in the heads of seventeenth-century Iroquois but as a mythopoetic text that preserves the underlying structural logic of the League. To reconstruct this logic Santiemma engages in a subtle and complicated analysis of the way in which the protagonists and events of the text appear to reflect an

¹⁰⁹ Richter, 'Ordeals of the Longhouse,' 15–16 (emphasis in the original).

¹¹⁰ See Peter Cook, 'Symbolic and Material Exchange in Intercultural Diplomacy: The French and the Hodeñosaunee in the Early Eighteenth Century,' in *New Faces of the Fur Trade: Selected Papers of the Seventh North American Fur Trade Conference, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1995*, eds. Jo-Anne Fiske, Susan Sleeper-Smith, and William Wicken (East Lansing, Mich.: Michigan State University Press, 1998), 75–100, here 80–82.

effort to reconcile the contradictory principles of matrilinearity and patrilinearity, 'afin de lier les éléments qui composaient la réalité iroquoise (la parenté, les offices représentatifs, les caractéristiques totémiques des animaux, etc.) aux forces cosmiques (le soleil, la lune, quelques constellations, etc.) et à leurs mouvements cycliques. En fait, les Iroquois pensaient que le succès et la prospérité seraient assurés seulement que par cette symbiose, qui proposait une équivalence métonymique entre le monde iroquoien et l'univers naturel qui les entourait.'¹¹¹ In its emphasis on the religious and cosmological dimensions of Iroquois political culture, Santiemma's approach holds out the promise of an interesting comparison with the same dimensions of the early modern ideology of kingship in France. At the same time, however, Santiemma's highly idiosyncratic analysis of what amounts to the deep structure of a myth is not easily applicable to the goal of interpreting political practice by historical actors. It does not, for example, illuminate how Iroquois government and leadership worked on an everyday basis.

Yet another approach, adopted by ethnohistorian José António Brandão in his study of seventeenth-century Iroquois warfare, is to rely principally on seventeenth- and eighteenth-century sources to describe Native political systems of that period.¹¹² This is the approach followed in this study of diplomacy. Fenton was surely correct to draw our attention to 'persistent symbolic systems' in Iroquois political culture and his extensive research into the colonial-era antecedents of modern symbolic complexes suggest that many elements had a considerable time depth. But a detailed 'archaeology' of the Deganawidah Epic and of modern Iroquois political thought and ritual remains to be done; without

¹¹¹ Santiemma, 'La Ligue des Iroquois,' 88.

¹¹² Brandão, *Fyre*, 20, 306 n. 27, 309 n. 72. In response to Richter's hypothesis, Brandão considers it 'unlikely . . . that the League and the Confederacy of the Iroquois were two different bodies' (29) and prefers to simply use the term confederacy.

it, it is difficult to know how the meaning of a symbol or ritual has changed over time—or indeed how its place in a larger symbolic structure may have shifted.¹¹³ In light of the challenges and unresolved problems involved in attempting to use the detailed modern ethnographic record to elucidate political cultures and practices that existed centuries before, I have based the following discussion of Innu, Algonquin, and Huron leadership principally on contemporary French sources.

As the above discussion has suggested, leadership among seventeenth-century northern Algonquians and Iroquoians derived from some combination of achievement, heredity, and election. The first two terms may seem to present a contradiction, insofar as social science traditionally distinguishes between social status that is achieved (through personal merit or performance) and that which is ascribed (as a result of birth or inheritance). If asked to categorize Northeastern societies on this basis, most scholars would certainly opt for the former, and with good reason: it is clear that chiefs were selected, followed, and tolerated only with the consent of the group.¹¹⁴ But there is good evidence that genealogical considerations, while unlikely to have placed severe constraints on any group's ability to select competent leaders, regularly entered into the nomination process. The traditional apportionment of sachem titles to specific clans in each of the nations of the Iroquois confederacy furnishes perhaps the most obvious example.

¹¹³ The phrase 'persistent symbolic systems' is a subheading in Fenton, 'Structure, Continuity, and Change,' 30. Fenton's *Great Law* admittedly goes far toward outlining the accretion of traditions and practices that made up the League.

¹¹⁴ Modern ethnographic studies of South American small-scale societies have provided suggestive parallels to seventeenth- and eighteenth-century native groups in the Northeast. Lévi-Strauss emphasizes the group's consent to follow a leader, and the latter's qualities of generosity, ingenuity, and dynamism ('Social and Psychological Aspects of Chieftainship,' 45–62). For similar reflections on leadership in small-scale societies based on fieldwork in South America, see Pierre Clastres, *Society Against the State: The Leader as Servant and the Humane Uses of Power Among the Indians of the Americas*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Urizen Books, 1977).

Among the Hurons, village headmen (who also seem to have composed the national councils of the four nations of the confederacy) were likewise selected from particular lineages within local clan segments—a phenomenon that led the Jesuit Jérôme Lalemant to speak of a Huron ‘nobility.’¹¹⁵ Among both the Hurons and the Iroquois, titled leaders traditionally passed their offices to their sisters’ sons, thus keeping the title within the matrilineal clan. There were no clans among the Innu and Algonquins, but sons of chiefs seem to have been regularly perceived as appropriate candidates for election. Following his brief sojourn at Port-Royal in 1606–7, Lescarbot claimed that Mi’kmaq leaders were generally succeeded by their sons, like European princes, but added the proviso: ‘ce qui s’entend si le fils d’un Sagamos [i.e., chief] ensuit la vertu du pere, et est d’âge competant. Car autrement ils font comme aux vieux siecles lorsque premierement les peuples eleurent des Rois.’¹¹⁶ Of Huron chiefs, the Jesuit Brébeuf noted that ‘ils arrivent à ce degré d’honneur, partie par succession, partie par élection. . . . [Ils] ne viennent pas à la succession de ces petites royautes comme les dauphins en France ou les enfants en l’héritage de leurs pères, mais en tant qu’ils ont les qualités convenables et qu’ils les acceptent et sont acceptés de tout le pays.’¹¹⁷ Of the Innu, Paul Lejeune similarly remarked: ‘Il y a deux sortes de capitaines parmi les sauvages: les uns le sont par droit de naissance, les

¹¹⁵ Trigger, *Children*, 55. See *ibid.*, 421–422 for speculation that French perceptions of a Huron nobility may have reflected the enhanced status and wealth of headman who managed trade with the French. For Lalemant’s remarks, see *Relation de ... 1644*, in *JR*, 26:306–308.

¹¹⁶ Marc Lescarbot, *Histoire de la Nouvelle-France*, ed. Edwin Tross, 3 vols. (Paris: Librairie Tross, 1866), 824–825. Lescarbot’s comments about the Mi’kmaq are echoed in Gabriel Sagard’s *Histoire du Canada*, in a chapter describing Huron government; (*Histoire*, 387). Sagard’s pattern of plagiarism—incorporating Lescarbot’s views of the Mi’kmaq into his own account of the Hurons—reflects both the scholarly practices of the day and, in all likelihood, simple opportunistic borrowing, in cases where Lescarbot’s words seem appropriate to the separate reality Sagard is attempting to describe.

¹¹⁷ *Relation de ... 1636*, in *Écrits en Huronie*, ed. Gilles Thérien (N.p.: Bibliothèque québécoise, 1996), 156.

autres par eslection. Ces peuples ne sont point si barbares qu'ils ne portent de respect aux descendans de leurs chefs, si bien que si le fils d'un capitaine a quelque conduite, surtout s'il a quelque éloquence naturelle, il tiendra la place de son père sans contredit.¹¹⁸ In 1622, two sons of former headmen vied for leadership of the Innu of Québec. One had the support of the French commandant, and was installed according to 'les ceremonies accoustumés.' The other later approached the French and explained 'qu'il estoit descendu de l'un des plus grands chefs qui fut en ces contrées, . . . & quoy qu'il n'eust esté esleu chef avec la forme accoustumée, que neantmoins il estoit capitaine, . . . [et] qu'il venoit pour se faire recognoistre, . . .'¹¹⁹ In 1644, the Innu leader Jean-Baptiste Etinechkaouat spoke to the Jesuit Jean de Quen about relinquishing his position in favour of Philippe Sakapouam, the son of a former chief. The position, the incumbent explained, 'luy appartient par droit de naissance estant fils de capitaine.' His young age at the death of his father had prevented him from exercising this role, but now, Etinechkaouat argued, Sakapouam had come of age and had more influence among the young men than Etinechkaouat.¹²⁰

Contemporary French sources say little about the processes of nomination and election, save in a few cases where French colonial officials or missionaries attempted to engineer such elections for their own benefit. Presumably leaders

¹¹⁸ *Relation de ... 1639*, in *MNF*, 4:321. Pierre Boucher made similar comments about the leadership among the Hurons, noting that the men who attended councils were 'c'est-à-dire ceux qui sont de naissance pour cela; car les capitaines viennent de père en fils, et entrent au conseil lorsqu'ils sont en un aage meur, et qu'ils ont montré avoir l'esprit bien fait.' Pierre Boucher, *Histoire véritable et naturelle des moeurs & productions du pays de la Nouvelle-France vulgairement dite le Canada*, facsimile ed. (Boucherville: Société historique de Boucherville, 1964), 101.

¹¹⁹ Samuel de Champlain, *Voyages et découvertures* (1619), in *The Works of Samuel de Champlain*, ed. H. P. Biggar, 6 vols. (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1922–36), 5:68.

¹²⁰ *Relation de ... 1643 et 1644*, in *JR*, 25:154–156. Etinechkaouat is represented as seeking the Jesuit's permission to abdicate, but the *Relation* does not tell us how de Quen responded. From baptismal registers, we know that Sakapouam (or Sakapouan) was indeed the son of Innu leader Tchimeouriniou (*MNF*, 3:859). Etinechkaouat had been duly elected at Trois-Rivières nine years earlier, following the death of Kapitenatch; see *Relation de ... 1635*, in *MNF*, 3:80.

were named following a series of councils in which the opinions of elders and others of recognized ability were heard and discussed. The role of women in these deliberations remains an open question. Modern Iroquois tradition specifies the role of clan mothers or matrons—senior women within particular lineages—in selecting (and, if necessary, deposing) sachems, and a rare observation by the Ursuline nun Marie de l'Incarnation suggests that they had influence in earlier times as well. 'Ces Capitainesses,' wrote Marie in an aside dealing with the Iroquois women whose daughters were to be sent to the Ursulines as part of a peace settlement in 1653, 'sont des femmes de qualité parmi les Sauvages qui ont voix deliberative dans les Conseils, & qui en tirent des conclusions comme les hommes, & meme ce furent elles qui deleguerent les premiers Ambassadeurs pour traiter de la paix.'¹²¹ It is not clear if women played a similar role in the election of seventeenth-century Huron chiefs.¹²² For the Innu, the data are few and vague. The French sources suggest that most councils were attended by men alone. Yet there is also a rare reference to Innu women holding a council apart to censure the poor performance of a hunter; such procedures may have been extended to influence the selection and behaviour of leaders.¹²³ The chiefs recognized as such in European sources were all men, but this fact is perhaps better understood as part of a conventional sexual division of labour rather than as evidence of women's lack of political influence.

¹²¹ *Lettres de la vénérable mère Marie de l'Incarnation, première supérieure des Ursulines de la Nouvelle France, divisées en deux parties* (Paris: Louis Billaine, 1681), 513; see also Fenton, *Great Law*, 207.

¹²² Trigger, *Children*, 55. Following his 1615–16 sojourn in Huron country, Champlain reported: 'se trouvent parmy ces nations de puissantes femmes, & de hauteur extraordinaire: car ce sont elles qui ont presque tout le soing de la maison, & du travail, . . .'. Champlain, *Voyages et découvertures* (1619), in *Works*, 3:136. Champlain did not, however, specify a political role for these powerful women.

¹²³ *Relation de ... 1634*, in *MNF*, 2:712.

Ceremonies and feasting marked the inauguration of a new chief, who, as we have seen in the case of Nehap/Etouet, might acquire the name of his late predecessor through a process glossed by Europeans as the raising, resuscitation, or resurrection of a name. Seventeenth-century sources indicate that Innu, Algonquin, and Huron leaders frequently, if not invariably, resurrected the names of predecessors. Anadabijou and Etouet were names borne each by two successive headmen among the Innu of Tadoussac (see table 1). The Kichesipirini, an Algonquin nation, had a succession of prominent chiefs bearing the name Tessouat between 1603 and 1654.¹²⁴ At least three different men bore the name or title of Atironta, principal chief of the Arendarhonon Huron nation, between 1615 and 1672.¹²⁵

In addition to prominent chiefs who were ritually installed, task-oriented leaders emerged for limited purposes. Toby Morantz has used this term to describe the Cree trading captains who brought gangs of native traders to Hudson Bay Company posts in eighteenth-century eastern James Bay. Though recognized as chiefs by the Europeans, trading captains exercised leadership for the specific and short-term purpose of organizing convoys from the interior to the trading posts.¹²⁶ Among the Innu and Algonquins of the St Lawrence valley, it is possible that some of the prominent chiefs identified in early French sources began as short-term leaders specialized in dealing with European fur traders after the northeastern fur trade began in earnest in the last decades of the sixteenth century. In the era of French colonization (after 1608) and ongoing direct contact in the region, the need to negotiate with Europeans and to

¹²⁴ See the biographies in *DCB*, 1:638–641 and Savard, *L'Algonquin Tessouat*, chap. 2.

¹²⁵ See the biographies in *DCB*, 1:70–72.

¹²⁶ Toby Morantz, 'Northern Algonquian Concepts of Status and Leadership Reviewed: A Case Study of the Eighteenth-Century Trading Captain System,' *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* 19, no. 4 (1982): 482–501.

maintain regional alliances with other Native nations could have transformed task-oriented leadership into more enduring position of prominence. In any event, the pattern of short-term leadership continued. War chiefs were, in effect, task-oriented leaders. In the 1640s, Piescaret was a celebrated war chief of the Kichesipirini, while Tessouat acted as the principal headman of that nation in its relations with the French.¹²⁷ Both Sagard and Brébeuf noted the distinction between civil chiefs and war chiefs ('capitaines de police' and 'de guerre') among the Hurons, with Brébeuf adding, 'il se trouve autant de capitaines que d'affaires. Dans les grands villages, il y aura quelquefois plusieurs capitaines, tant de la police que de la guerre, lesquels divisent entre eux les familles du village comme en autant de capitaineries.'¹²⁸ Samuel de Champlain, an earlier observer, recognized only war chiefs as exercising real leadership, akin to that of a European general. He also noted the general process whereby individuals were designated in councils to undertake specific enterprises.¹²⁹ Pierre Boucher reported that the sedentary nations have different types of 'officiers', including 'capitaines de police' and 'de guerre'; as well, some office-holders functioned as heralds, calling out the names of the recently deceased or announcing councils and ceremonies.¹³⁰

Civil chiefs were conceived of as the guarantors of custom, which explains why so many resisted Jesuit proselytization once it became clear that the missionaries insisted on radical behavioral changes and the prohibition of a wide range of rituals. The Innu chief Etinechkaouat made a policy of receiving the Jesuits favourably but refusing conversion for himself: 'Je vous diray franchement,' he told Lejeune, 'que je craignois que mes gens me tinsent pour

¹²⁷ See Piescaret's biographies in *MNF*, 5:835 and in *DCB*, 1:547–548.

¹²⁸ *Relation de ... 1636*, in *Écrits en Huronie*, 155.

¹²⁹ Champlain, *Voyages et découvertes* (1619), in *Works*, 3:157–159.

¹³⁰ Boucher, *Histoire véritable*, 112–113.

François. C'est pourquoy je ne voulois point quitter les façons de faire de ma nation pour embrasser les vostres, quoyque je les jugeasse meilleurs.¹³¹ Among the Hurons, chiefs were active in organizing and monitoring community rituals, using public reproaches to keep miscreants in line. 'C'est la plainte ordinaire des capitaines,' wrote Lalemant in 1639, 'que tout se va perdant, à faute de garder les formes et coutumes de leurs ancestres.' 'Cet article,' he added, 'est le prétexte que prennent quelques-uns de ces plus anciens et capitaines pour ne se pas encore rendre aux sermons du Saint-Esprit.'¹³² A few pages later, Lalemant provided a glimpse of the conceptual association between customs, leaders, and the land: 'Le corps des Hurons n'estant qu'un amas de diverses familles et petites nations, qui se sont jointes les unes aux autres pour se maintenir contre leurs ennemis communs, chacune a apporté ses danses, ses coutumes & ceremonies particulieres toute emanées du mesme principe, qui se sont communiquées à tout le país Et telles affaires s'appellent chez eux Onderha [*sic pro* Ondecha] c'est à dire la terre; comme qui diroit, le soutien & la manutention de tout leur Estat. "Voila, nous disent les anciens et les capitaines, ce que nous appellons affaires d'importance."¹³³ Brébeuf had previously reported the connection between leaders and the land suggested in the term *Enondecha* 'chief' (literally, 'they [are] country'). The linguist John Steckley has documented the association between Huron terms for leaders and terms for the land, an association alluded to by Brébeuf in 1636: 'Autrefois, il n'y avait que les braves hommes qui fussent capitaine et pour cela, on les appelait *Enondecha*, du même nom qu'ils appellent le pays, nation, terre, comme si un bon capitaine et le pays étaient une même

¹³¹ *Relation de ... 1639*, in *MNF*, 4:322.

¹³² *Relation de ... 1639*, in *MNF*, 4:423, 425.

¹³³ *Relation de ... 1639*, in *MNF*, 4:435.

chose.¹³⁴ Steckley concludes that for the Huron, ‘The two, customs and land, were therefore one, as the leaders and the land were one.’¹³⁵ This association was reflected, for example, in the fact that assemblies held for the election of chiefs provided the occasion for the transmission of the people’s history: ‘Ils ont coustume en semblables rencontres de raconter les histoires qu’ils ont appris de leurs ancestres, & les plus éloignées; afin que les jeunes gens qui sont presens & les entendent, en puissent conserver la memoire, & les raconter a leur tour, lors qu’ils seront devenus vieux, pour ainsi transmettre à la posterité, l’histoire, & les annales du païs.’ When a Christian Huron attempted to relate the Biblical story of creation in one such assembly, he was rebuked by ‘le plus ancien Capitaine des assistans’: ‘il a tort de raconter les histoires des François, & non pas celles des Hurons.’¹³⁶

Northern Algonquian and Iroquoian chiefs did not so much render and execute decisions as they sought to motivate others to reach consensus and to follow an agreed-upon course of action through example and persuasive oratory. The Jesuit Biard presented Mi’kmaq *sagamos* as chiefs whose authority was ‘precarious, if indeed, that may be called authority to which obedience is in no wise obligatory.’ Lescarbot saw Mi’kmaq chiefs as peacemakers and judges, noting that ‘ce Sagamos n’a point entre eux d’authorité absoluë, ains telle que Tacite dit des ancien Roys Allemans. “La puissance de leurs Roys (dit-il) n’est point libre, ni infinie, mais ils conduisent le peuple plustot par exemple que par

¹³⁴ *Relation de ... 1636*, in *Écrits en Huronie*, 156; also quoted in John Steckley, ‘Leaders, Origins, Customs, and Unity: Traditional Huron Notions of Country,’ *Arch Notes* (July/August 1993): 18–21 here 19. Steckley proposes *hennondecha* ‘they are country’ for Brébeuf’s *Enondecha*.

¹³⁵ Steckley, ‘Leaders, Origins, Customs, and Unity,’ 20. As Steckley notes in quoting the English translation of Lalemant’s passage, *onderha* is clearly meant to be *ondecha*; the latter appears in other Jesuit writing in Huron. The *r* was no doubt a typesetting error.

¹³⁶ *Relation de ... 1645 et 1646*, in *JR*, 30:60.

commandement.”¹³⁷ Champlain’s view of the Huron leadership was similar: ‘Ils n’ont point de Chefs particuliers qui commandent absolument. . . . Quant pour les chastiments, ils n’en usent point, ny aussi de commandement absolu, ains ils font le tout pas prières des anciens, & à force de harangues, & remonstrances.’¹³⁸ The Jesuit Lejeune repeatedly noted the same of the Innu of the St Lawrence valley. ‘Toute l’authorité de leur chef est au bout de ses lèvres: il est aussi puissant qu’il est éloquent. Et quand il s’est tué de parler et de haranguer, il ne sera pas obéy, s’il ne plaist pas aux sauvages.’¹³⁹ Yet it would be a mistake to see eloquence as the sole or even a sufficient attribute of leadership. Etinechkaouat, an Innu chief from Trois-Rivières, was apparently not an accomplished orator, yet was universally recognized as a leader.¹⁴⁰ To be a mediator and peacemaker, to give generously, and to speak well: these were, it appears, the qualities of chiefs in small-scale societies throughout the Americas.¹⁴¹

It was impolitic for chiefs to be boastful of their abilities and achievements. (Warriors had various ritual opportunities to relate their prowess, but such outlets seem to have been denied civil leaders.) The characteristic modesty of chiefs occasionally surfaced in the discourse recorded by Europeans—as, for example, in an Innu chief’s speech to the French in May 1633:

¹³⁷ Biard, *Misso canadensis*, in *JR*, 2:73; Lescarbot, *Histoire*, 772–772 (chief as judge); 825 (like Germanic kings). See also Biard’s *Relation de la Nouvelle-France* (Lyons, 1616), chap. 5, on Mi’kmaq government (in *MNF*, 1:487–492).

¹³⁸ Champlain, *Voyages et découvertures* (1619), in *Works*, 3:157–158. Similar remarks emerge from his narrative of a 1615 Innu-Algonquin-Huron attack on an Oneida village; see *ibid.*, 3:74.

¹³⁹ *Relation de ... 1634*, in *MNF*, 2:601–602. Lejeune made similar comments in his *Relation de ... 1633*, in *MNF*, 2:448–449.

¹⁴⁰ ‘Comme il n’a pas le babil en main, aussi n’est-il pas dans la souveraine gloire des capitaines,’ wrote Lejeune of Etinechkaouat (*Relation de ... 1639*, in *MNF*, 4:321–322). Yet during the election of chiefs at Sillery in 1640, Etinechkaouat was spontaneously recognized as a leader—i.e., did not enter into the election—because of his ancestry (‘estant capitaine d’extraction, chacun luy donna le premier rang’ and, presumably, achievements; see *Relation de ... l’année M.DC. XL*, in *MNF*, 4:572).

¹⁴¹ As outlined by Pierre Clastres (quoting Robert Lowie) in *Society Against the State*, 21.

'Je ne suis, disoit-il, qu'un pauvre petit animal qui va rampant sur terre. . . . Si j'avois quelqu'un derrière moy qui me suggérast ce que je dois dire, je parlerois plus hardiment.'¹⁴² In the spring of 1642, another Innu chief addressed the French in similar terms: '. . . je ne suis qu'un petit grain de poudre. . . . Il y a longtemps que je vy, mais je n'ay que cela, que je suis vivant; je n'ay point d'esprit, & je ne prevoy pas quand j'en pourray avoir.'¹⁴³ The Innu chief Etinechkaouat publicly admitted his lack of skill at speaking: 'Vous sçavez, dit-il, que je ne suis pas grand discoureur, que ma langue tient mon palais et qu'à peine ma bouche est-elle percée.'¹⁴⁴ Men who were not chiefs but who ventured to speak in council were even more self-effacing: 'Escoutez, François,' said the warrior Makheabichtichiou to the French governor at Québec in 1636, 'je vais vous tancer, car que pourroit faire autre chose un gros animal comme moy, qui prend la hardiesse de parler devant des capitaines? Si j'estois capitaine j'aurois droit de parler; je ne suis qu'un chien'¹⁴⁵ But French sources also report chiefs' expressions of self-importance. Anenkiondic, the Huron headman who implored the Jesuit Brébeuf to come to his village in 1633, declared, 'Je soustiens tout le pays sur mes espauls.'¹⁴⁶ The Kichesipirini (Algonquin) headman Tessouat was reported as the author of more extravagant claims of authority, including the following:

Ne sçavez-vous pas que je commande dés ma jeunesse, que je suis nay pour commander, si tost que j'ouvre la bouche, tout le monde m'écoute; aussi est-il vray que je soustiens, & que je conserve tout le pays pendant la vie de mes petits enfans, & de mes neveux, c'est ainsi qu'il nomme ces gens, les Hurons mesmes me prestant

¹⁴² *Relation de ... 1633*, in *MNF*, 2:453.

¹⁴³ *Relation de ... 1642*, in *JR*, 22:238.

¹⁴⁴ *Relation de ... l'année M.DC. XL*, in *MNF*, 4:570.

¹⁴⁵ *Relation de ... 1636*, in *MNF*, 3:294.

¹⁴⁶ *Relation de ... 1633*, in *MNF* 2:474. For the identity of this headman, see Trigger, *Children*, 481.

l'oreille, & je commande parmy eux, je les regle, comme estant Capitaine, je ne dy mot ça bas, les autres parlent, mais il ne se fait rien que ce que j'ay dans la pensée; je suis comme un arbre, les hommes en sont les branches, ausquelles je donne la vigueur.¹⁴⁷

The interpretation of Tessouat's speech requires caution: as was the case with other native leaders who showed little inclination for conversion to Christianity, Tessouat was condemned repeatedly by Jesuit authors as arrogant (*superbe*) and boastful. (Tellingly, the narrative of his conversion in the *Relation* of 1643 emphasizes Tessouat's new-found humility, only to revert to the leitmotif of arrogance in the wake of his apostasy.) The speech does contain elements that seem authentic: the use of the term 'nephew', for example, is attested in other Algonquin and Innu speeches.¹⁴⁸ It also repeats the image of supporting the land used by the Huron chief quoted above. In drawing attention to an indigenous conception of leadership—one that is well attested for the Hurons and which seems to have been used by the Algonquins as well—Tessouat's speech may have been more conventional and less arrogant than the Jesuits assumed.

Another of Tessouat's reported speeches contains this trope, but in a different context. In one of his 'Ramas' or chapters consisting of incidental observations (often ethnographic in nature), Lejeune reported the reaction of the

¹⁴⁷ *Relation de[s] ... années 1640 et 1641*, in *JR*, 20:156. This speech was made before Innu converts at Sillery. Although the *Relation* does not provide a date for this speech, it can be presumed to have taken place in the fall or early winter, since reference is made to a gift of 1200 smoked eels made to the Algonquins. (Eels were taken in September and October and smoked for winter storage [*Relation de ... 1642 et 1643*, in *JR*, 23:308].) Because the author of the *Relation*, Paul Lejeune, sailed for France in the fall of 1641 (i.e., in all likelihood before the eel fishery was concluded), the speech must have taken place in 1640 (cf. the year 1641 proposed in Savard, *L'Algonquin Tessouat*, 25–30).

¹⁴⁸ See the speech of a Christian Algonquin at Trois-Rivières in 1643 (*Relation de ... 1644*, in *JR*, 25:258), and that of the chief of the Iroquet nation about the same time (*ibid.*, 266). See also the speech of Innu chief George Nehap / Etouet in 1644 (*Relation de ... 1644*, in *JR*, 27:166). Innu *nitsuhim* 'nephew' and *nitshimishkuem* 'niece' are applied to the children of those whom one calls 'brother' or 'sister', and in this sense is close to the European meaning of 'nephew'.

Kichespirini chief—‘homme d’esprit et bien éloquent pour un sauvage’—following an assault by an unnamed Algonquin that nearly cost the leader his life. Tessouat—bloodied, but without any display of anger or pain—seated himself in the lodge of his attacker and waited silently. The Jesuit¹⁴⁹ who came upon this scene received no answer when he asked Tessouat who wounded him. The chief finally left the lodge and addressed his people: ‘Mes nepveux, ne tirez aucune vengeance de l’injure qui m’a esté faicte. C’est assez que la terre ait tremblé du coup qui m’a esté donné. Ne la renversez point par vostre colère.’ Some time later, when the question of the Kichespirini compensating the French for an assault on a Frenchman arose, Tessouat had occasion to speak on the issue again:

Je m’estonne que ceux qui font estat de prier Dieu et qu’ils disent qu’il faut pardonner les offences, puisque Dieu les pardonne, vueillent [*sic*] tirer vengeance d’une injure qu’on leur a fait, il y a dèsja longtemps. On cognoist assez qui je suis. On sçait bien que c’est moy qui tient la terre affermie de mes bras et cependant, ayant receu il n’y a pas longtemps un coup qui me pensa diviser la teste en deux pièces, je ne m’esmeu point. Je ne conceu aucun désir de vengeance. Pourquoi n’imiterez-vous pas cet exemple? Que si le coup eût fait sortir mon âme de mon corps, ma bouche eût prononcé ces dernières paroles: Mes nepveux, ne troublez point la terre à l’occasion de vostre oncle qui l’a tousjours maintenue. Je dis davantage. Si j’eusse senty la terre ébranlée, je me fusse efforcé de l’arrester et de la mettre en son repos, avec les deux bras de mon âme. Et si je n’eusse pas peu en venir à bout, je me fusse escrié, Tout est perdu; le monde est renversé. Je ne me mesle plus d’affaires. Je me suis acquitté de mon devoir. J’ay pardonné l’injure qu’on m’a faicte. J’ay donné conseil. On n’a pas voulu estre sage; la

¹⁴⁹ Possibly Jérôme Lalemant, whose difficulties during a sojourn among the Kichespirini in the spring of 1638 were related in a chapter of the *Relation* of that year (*Relation de ... 1638*, in *MNF*, 4:128–129).

faute n'est point de mon côté. Voilà . . . comment les hommes d'esprit se comportent.¹⁵⁰

Here Tessouat's speech evokes the connection between the chief and the wholeness and steadiness of the earth—strongly reminiscent, interestingly, of the Huron ideal of the land made flat, a recurrent metaphor for the healing of political divisiveness.¹⁵¹ Just as importantly, it emphasizes the role of the chief in resolving internal conflict. By refusing to name his attacker and publicly prohibiting any act of revenge, Tessouat forestalled the anticipated cycle of vengeance that might otherwise divide the community. His conduct in these circumstances exemplifies one of Pierre Boucher's generalizations about the leaders of the Algonquian nations allied to the French: 'Ils respectent beaucoup leurs capitaines, et leur obeysent promptement, surtout quand ils ne sont point vicieux: car quand ils le sont, ils les méprisent fort, disans, qu'un homme qui ne peut pas se commander soy-mesme, est incapable de commander autrui.'¹⁵²

In councils, the wisdom, restraint, and self-control of elders and chiefs like Tessouat were frequently rhetorically opposed to the rashness of young men—'des jeunes sans esprit et conduite,' in the words of one Innu leader.¹⁵³ In their speeches, northern Algonquian and Iroquoian orators depicted their young men ('qui ne respire que la guerre'¹⁵⁴) as nursing vengeful feelings and thirsting for

¹⁵⁰ *Relation de ... l'année 1639*, in *MNF*, 4:348–349. Bressani gave a version of this speech, attributed to an unidentified chief, as an example of the vice of internal pride allegedly characteristic of Native peoples (*Breve relatione*, in *JR*, 38:267). Although Bressani claimed in this work to 'say few things of which I have not been a witness' (*ibid.*, 229) this speech would appear to be one of them.

¹⁵¹ Steckley translates the name of the fourth of Huron condolence gifts, *condayee onshondouaronti*, as 'this is what he uses to put a stone in a split in the world.' John Steckley, and Bryan Cummins, *Full Circle: Canada's First Nations* (Toronto: Prentice-Hall, 2001), 229. See the summaries of council speeches in the appendix for further examples of this metaphor.

¹⁵² Boucher, *Histoire véritable*, 97.

¹⁵³ Champlain, *Voyages* (1632), in *Works*, 6:18.

¹⁵⁴ The words are those of an Onondaga speaker: *Relation de ... 1655 & 1656*, in *JR*, 42:84.

war. Raids conducted by young men ('de jeunes fols, & inconsiderez') acting without the sanction of chiefs and elders were frequently blamed for jeopardizing peaceful relations between groups.¹⁵⁵ There was a sociological basis to such rhetoric: the prestige accorded warriors who returned with prisoners and scalps certainly encouraged young men to perpetuate traditional patterns of back-and-forth raiding as a means of winning reknown.¹⁵⁶ As well, it was true that chiefs lacked the coercive means to control the behaviour of others: 'Tu sçais bien qu'on ne peut pas tenir la jeunesse,' an Innu speaker reminded his French allies. 'Nostre jeunesse n'a point d'esprit, elle frappe à l'aveugle & à l'estourdi,' a Mohawk elder told the Jesuit Simon Le Moyne in 1656.¹⁵⁷ But the menace of the unpredictable violence of angry young men could also serve as a useful bargaining chip for chiefs in diplomatic negotiations. Leaders who were truly worried that the actions of warriors represented a grave danger to the nation

¹⁵⁵ E.g., Champlain, *Voyages* (1632), in *Works*, 5:225 (also the source for this quotation).

¹⁵⁶ The speeches of two Huron chiefs in the summer of 1644 are enlightening in this regard. Huron and Algonquin warriors had captured three Iroquois (presumably Mohawks) near the mouth of the Richelieu River. The French, hoping to arrange a peace with the Mohawks, gave presents to the Algonquins to ensure the release of their prisoner, but their attempts to redeem the two prisoners held by the Hurons were repulsed. 'Je suis un homme de guerre, et non point un marchand,' declared one chief to the French governor. 'Je suis venu pour combattre, et non en marchandises. Ma gloire n'est pas de rapporter des présents, mais de ramener des prisonniers, et partant je ne puis toucher à vos haches ny a vos chaudières.' Another Huron, with greater diplomacy, explained: 'Ce n'est pas une désobéissance qui nous fait agir de la sorte, mais la crainte de perdre l'honneur et la vie. Tu ne vois icy que de la jeunesse, les anciens de nostre païs déterminent des affaires, si on nous voyoit retourner au païs avec les présents, on nous prendroit pour des marchands avaritieux, et non pas pour des guerriers' (*Relation de ... 1644*, in *JR*, 26:62–64). The second Huron speaker, identified only as a Christian named Charles, may be Charles Tsondatsaa (Trigger, *Children*, 703) or Charles Ondaiondiont (*MNF*, 6:137 n.7). As Trigger notes, 'the most important cleavage in Huron society, except for that between the sexes, was between young and old men,' adding that 'this generalized conflict . . . was common to all the northern Iroquoian-speaking peoples' (*Children*, 51). It also characterized the Innu and Algonquin societies of the St Lawrence valley region, as indicated here.

¹⁵⁷ *Relation de ... 1633*, in *MNF*, 2:454; *Relation ... [des] années mil six cens cinquante-six & mil six cens cinquante-sept*, in *JR*, 43:214.

could work to defuse the anger of the young men through strategic gift giving or to direct their energies against other targets.¹⁵⁸

The liberality of chiefs might have occasionally been strategic, but it was in many ways the expression of a broad cultural norm. French observers were invariably impressed by the ethic of sharing that dominated northern Algonquian and Iroquoian communities. 'Ils sont fort liberaux entr'eux,' wrote Lejeune in a chapter dedicated to the virtues of the Innu he observed at Québec. 'Ils n'ouvrent point la main à demy quand ils donnent, . . . Vous leur verrez nourrir leurs parents, les enfans de leurs amis, des femmes ve[u]ves, des orphelins, des vieillards, sans jamais leur rien reprocher, leur donnans abondamment quelquesfois des orignaux tous entiers.'¹⁵⁹ Chiefs exemplified this ideal. 'C'est d'où vient que les capitaines sont ordinairement les plus pauvres que tous les autres,' reported Pierre Boucher of the Algonquians, 'car quand ils commencent à paroistre, ils donnent tous, pour attirer l'affection de leurs gens.'¹⁶⁰ At the end of the century, the Recollet missionary Chrestien Le Clercq wrote of a Mi'kmaq headman for whom it was a point of honour to be the worst-clad of his people, while ensuring that they were better clothed than he, 'aïant pour maxime, à ce qu'il me dit un jour, qu'un Souverain, & grand coeur comme le sien, devoit avoir plutôt soin des autres, que de soi-même; parce qu'étant bon chasseur comme il étoit, il auroit toujours facilement tout ce qui luy seroit nécessaire pour son

¹⁵⁸ Algonquin chiefs at Québec warned the Hurons against embarking the French in their canoes in the summer of 1633; the French had imprisoned a Petite Nation Algonquin for the murder of a Frenchman, and the chiefs evoked the prospect of uncontrollable young men attacking the French in Huron canoes on the Ottawa River (*Relation de ... 1633*, in *MNF*, 2:477–481). This effectively dissuaded the Jesuits from beginning their mission to the Huron that year. In council with Champlain, the chiefs proposed sending the young men to war against the Mohawks, 'jusques à ce que cete [sic] jeunesse folle se passe. Ils doivent passer leur fantaisie sur leur ennemy' (*Relation du voyage du sieur de Champlain en Canada*, in *MNF*, 2:392–394).

¹⁵⁹ *Relation de ... 1634*, in *MNF*, 2:600.

¹⁶⁰ Boucher, *Histoire véritable*, 98.

usage.¹⁶¹ An early eighteenth-century observer opined, more cynically, that ‘ordinairement ces chefs sont les plus mal vêtus de la nation donnant tout pour se faire aimer.’¹⁶²

Marcel Mauss had made us familiar with the notion that the essence of the gift, its force, lies in its potential to create the obligation to reciprocate.¹⁶³ Was this the secret of Native leadership in the Northeast—the exercise of uninstitutionalized moral power that disguised itself as generosity? Did a chief’s prestige as provider operate as a form ‘symbolic violence,’ giving him influence, even domination, over those indebted to him as a result of his liberality?¹⁶⁴ It

¹⁶¹ Chrestien Le Clercq, *Nouvelle relation de la Gaspésie* (Paris: Amable Auroy, 1691), 380–381.

¹⁶² *Relation par lettres de l’Amérique septentrionale (années 1709 et 1710)*, ed. Camille de Rochemonteix (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1904), 82. This type of comment was often repeated in the colonial sources; a Dutch source published in 1644 noted of the Mohawks that ‘The chiefs are generally the poorest among them, for instead of their receiving from the common people as among the Christians, they are obliged to give to the mob.’ Johannes Megapolensis, ‘A Short Account of the Mohawk Indians (1644)’ in *For the Record: A Documentary History of America*, eds. David E. Shi and Holly A. Mayer, 2 vols. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1999), 1:44.

¹⁶³ The potential ability of the gift to do this must be emphasized, for so much seems to depend upon the manner and timing of giving. See Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*, foreword by Mary Douglas, trans. W. D. Halls (London: Routledge, 1990). My own understanding of *The Gift* and its subject is informed by Jacques T. Godbout, *The World of the Gift*, trans. Donald Winkler (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1998). My thanks to Catherine Desbarats for bringing the latter work to my attention.

¹⁶⁴ The term ‘symbolic violence’ is borrowed from Pierre Bourdieu, who argues that ‘In societies which have no “self-regulating market” (in Karl Polanyi’s sense), no educational system, no judicial apparatus, and no State, relations of domination can be set up and maintained only at the cost of strategies which must be endlessly renewed, because the conditions required for a mediated, lasting appropriation of other agents’ labour, services, or homage have not been brought together’; see *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice, Cambridge Studies in Social Anthropology, 16 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 183. The gift is one such strategy, for it allows the ‘primitive accumulation’ of ‘cultural capital’ (*ibid.*, 186) in the form of the prestige earned through generosity. But by placing the receiver in his debt (in a cultural, rather than economic, sense), the giver exerts a form of symbolic violence that Bourdieu contrasts with the overt violence of raw economic obligation (in the form of, say, tribute or rent) ‘The gift, generosity, conspicuous distribution—the extreme case of which is the potlatch—are operations of social alchemy . . . which tend to bring about the transmutation of economic capital into symbolic capital’ (*ibid.*, 192). Elsewhere I argued for the relevance of Bourdieu’s concept of symbolic capital

would be tempting to think so, and thereby to reduce the politics of small-scale societies to the exercise of a form—albeit an attenuated and mystified one—of economic domination. An entirely opposite view of the chief exists as well. In the thought of Pierre Clastres, debt again plays the central role, but here it is the chief who is perpetually indebted to the society that allows him to act as such and to enjoy the prestige of leadership. Thus the chief's generosity is nothing less than the recognition of this obligation to society.¹⁶⁵ Does either of these two views explain the nature of leadership in the Native Northeast?

A third anthropological perspective may help bridge the conceptual gap. Marshall Sahlins's well-known discussion of reciprocity and social distance¹⁶⁶ prompts us to view the relationship between the giver and the recipient as a element that determines, and is itself determined by, the gift itself. Briefly, Sahlins proposed an understanding of reciprocity between two parties as a continuum stretching from 'pure', altruistic giving to something akin to outright theft. Between these extremes, Sahlins distinguished three principal forms of reciprocity. Generalized reciprocity involves exchanges in which no stipulations are made regarding the return of a gift. Balanced reciprocity, by contrast, involves exchanges that, in the shorter or longer term, aim at equivalency. Finally, exchanges in which each actor attempts to take advantage of the other (to the point of using violence or deceit) constitute negative reciprocity. Social distance, of which kinship is the common idiom in most societies, correlates with these forms of reciprocity. Thus, exchanges with close kin tend to take the form

to understanding diplomatic gift giving in French-Iroquois relations; see Cook, 'Symbolic and Material Exchange in Intercultural Diplomacy,'

¹⁶⁵ Pierre Clastres, *Archeology of Violence*, trans. Jeanine Herman (New York: Semiotext(e), 1994), chap. 8, esp. 112–118.

¹⁶⁶ 'On the Sociology of Primitive Exchange,' in Sahlins, *Stone Age Economics* (Chicago: Aldine, 1972), chap. 5, esp. 186, 193–199.

of generalized reciprocity; those with distant kin, or non-kin, lean toward balanced or negative reciprocity.

This model suggests that we interpret the significance of chiefly liberality according to its context. With those closest to him, the leaders's gifts are expected: he, like everyone else, shares with the others. The recipients of his gifts in turn share what they have, but are not obligated specifically to him, even if, through his skill or tireless activity, he has more to share than others. In this context of generalized reciprocity, the chief's gifts do little 'symbolic violence' to the recipients. We do not need to embrace Clastres's insistence upon the utter indebtedness of the chief to society to see that in many ways the motor driving generalized reciprocity might well be, at a subjective level, a feeling of perpetual indebtedness.¹⁶⁷ A Cree *atiukan* (myth) about Wolverine provides a negative example of leadership and sharing. In the time before humans, several animals lived together as one group, sharing whatever food any of them caught. Wolverine, one of the best providers, was their leader. But Wolverine 'lets his success [as a hunter] go to his head,' explains anthropologist Richard Preston. He abandons his 'little brothers and sisters,' becoming in the end a solitary and destructive animal. Wolverine thus serves as 'an example of the hubris that leaders should be careful to avoid.'¹⁶⁸

By contrast, in exchanges with distant kin or allies (i.e., metaphorical kin), the chief's liberality is less a matter of course and more one of strategy. In situations approaching balanced reciprocity, the leader's artful giving places a definable obligation upon—i.e., does 'symbolic violence' to—the recipient(s) of

¹⁶⁷ 'Indebtedness is normal in a gift-giving relationship. A successful family relationship is one where everyone thinks they receive more than they give, where everyone considers themselves indebted vis-a-vis the other' (Godbout, *Spirit of the Gift*, 32).

¹⁶⁸ Richard J. Preston, 'Getting to Know the Great Community of Persons,' in *Papers of the Twenty-Eighth Annual Algonquian Conference*, ed. David H. Pentland (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1997), 274–282, here 278.

the gift. Yet here, the chief is generally not acting for himself, but as the spokesman for the group, whose productive energies he may have mobilized for the purposes of making appropriate diplomatic gifts. Within the group, the chief exemplifies the cultural value of sharing and derives prestige (but not power) from his ability to do so; outside the group, the chief acts as its representative in more calculated patterns of exchange. Of course the notion of a rigidly defined group whose contours correspond with a shift from generalized to balanced reciprocity is an oversimplification. Like the notion of reciprocity itself, group identities exist along a continuum. Families, co-residential groups, groups that cooperate economically, local named bands (among the northern Algonquians), clan segments and villages (among the Iroquoians), nations, and confederacies: at each level, a different web of obligations and exchanges structured the relationship between constituent units. The genius of the leader lay in understanding, maintaining, and manipulating the prevailing form of reciprocity in each such relationship. In so doing, chiefs put to work their skills at giving and speaking, principally through the forum in which political relationships were discussed and negotiated: the council.

THE COUNCIL

Despite being a fundamental political institution, the council has escaped extensive theorization in the scholarship on northeastern Native polities. To be sure, some highly formalized councils—the Iroquois confederacy council, the Council of Three Fires (an alliance between Ojibwa, Potawatomi, and Odawa nations), and the Council of Seven Fires (an alliance of Native communities in the St Lawrence valley), for example¹⁶⁹—have received a degree of attention, but the

¹⁶⁹ For the Iroquois confederacy council, see Morgan, *League*, and Fenton, *Great Law*. For the others, see Donald L. Fixico, 'The Alliance of the Three Fires in Trade and War, 1630-1812,'

universal and everyday political institution of the council has not. Perhaps it needs no explanation: in small-scale, egalitarian societies in which regular face-to-face interaction remains possible, what could be more obvious than to gather the community, or some subset thereof, to discuss and resolve disputes, or settle upon a future course of action?

Councils were more than dispute resolution or decision making mechanisms, even if these might suffice to account for their ubiquity. Councils were held even when there no disputes in need of resolution. Among the seventeenth-century Hurons, as Trigger notes, near-daily village councils held by local headmen 'often . . . had no specific business to discuss and the meeting was more like that of a social club.'¹⁷⁰ Indeed, councils were regularly preceded, followed, or punctuated by festivities such as singing, dancing, and feasting. Even if, for present analytical purposes, it is useful to distinguish ceremony from council business, such a distinction may do violence to Native conceptions of the overall council event. Missionaries who compiled wordlists and dictionaries noted specific terms for councils, as distinct from feasts, in the Innu and Huron languages, but the deeper meaning of these and other terms awaits linguistic analysis.¹⁷¹ For the purposes of this study, it is enough to insist that the

Michigan Historical Review 20, no. 2 (1994): 1–24, and Jean-Pierre Sawaya, *La Fédération des Sept-Feux de la vallée du Saint-Laurent: XVIIe au XIXe siècle* (Sillery: Septentrion, 1998).

¹⁷⁰ Trigger, *Children*, 57.

¹⁷¹ In his French-Innu dictionary of 1726, the Jesuit Pierre Laure gave three terms for 'conseil, assemblée': *tebasueuin*, *tepueuin*, and *uiamihituin* (*Apparat français-montagnais*, ed. David Cooter [Sillery: Presses de l'Université du Québec, 1988], 216). Gabriel Sagard's Huron dictionary gives several expressions for holding councils. 'Dictionnaire de la langue huronne nécessaire à ceux qui n'ont l'intelligence d'icelle, et ont à traiter avec les sauvages du pays,' in Sagard, *Histoire du Canada*, vol. 4, s.v. 'Conseil'. The unnumbered *Dictionnaire* was originally published separately in 1632 and is frequently found bound with copies of Sagard's other 1632 work, the *Grand voyage*. An unpublished manuscript French-Huron dictionary attributed to the Jesuit Pierre-Joseph-Marie Chaumonot also gives several terms for holding a council, although to the non-linguist, none seem especially close to those in Sagard (John Carter Brown Library [Providence, Rhode Island], French-Huron dictionary, JCB Codex Ind 12, fol. 20 recto).

conceptualization used here recognizes the council as a distinct event with important ritual features that set it off from other aspects of cultural life. Such features included: formal or 'correct' practice in organization, behaviour, gesture, language and voicing; articulation with feasting, singing, and dancing; the presence of tobacco; and the use of special artifacts.¹⁷²

As allies of various northern Algonquian and Iroquoian nations, the French came to appreciate the significance of the council as the forum in which intergroup relations were negotiated. French sources of the early seventeenth century contain references to nearly 300 councils between 1603 and 1667 (see appendix).¹⁷³ Most involved French colonial officials, missionaries, or trading company representatives, but some are secondhand descriptions of councils at which Europeans were not present, but whose content was related to French writers by native informants. This corpus includes but a fraction of the councils that structured the French alliance with the Innu, Algonquins, and Hurons between 1603 and the mid-seventeenth century. It represents nevertheless a significant series on which to base a study of political culture and diplomatic behaviour. The ineluctable ethnohistorical problem of one-sided evidence—

¹⁷² These features are a subset of those proposed by William Sturtevant as fundamental characteristics of 'ritual' as a taxonomical domain of Iroquois life (William C. Sturtevant, 'A Structural Sketch of Iroquois Ritual,' in *Extending the Rafters: Interdisciplinary Approaches to Iroquoian Studies*, ed. Michael K. Foster, Jack Campisi and Marianne Mithun (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1984), 133–152, here 138–139).

¹⁷³ The information provided about these councils varies considerably, from narratives that purport to transcribe lengthy speeches verbatim (albeit in translation) to the briefest of incidental references. Although I have assembled data on these councils in the form of a numbered series of records with some standardized parameters, the heterogeneity of the information means that this dataset, while useful as a research tool and finding aid, can hardly be used for statistical purposes. Even determining the number of recorded councils within a given period means making difficult decisions about the data: for example, deciding whether two accounts refer to similar but separate councils, or to the same one. There are also cases where one may infer that a council was held—say, when gifts of condolence are mentioned—even when an explicit reference is lacking. Hence, the figure I give above represents a cautious minimum appraisal of the data.

French, in this case—aside, this series has the merit of including evidence from the entire range of French sources available for the period. While admittedly dominated by Jesuit priests, the body of authors also includes gentleman observers (Lescarbot), colonial officials (Champlain), fur traders (Radisson) and a female religious (Marie de l'Incarnation). In addition to accounts of particular councils, many of these sources contain ethnographic passages that synthesize the author's understanding of native forms of government and frequently include 'ideal' descriptions of a council. Comparing these passages with the series of accounts of actual councils—occasionally rich in incidental details—makes possible the contextualization and correction of these early ethnographic accounts. One isolated, but significant, example may suffice: Sagard states flatly, in one such ethnographic passage from his *Grand voyage*, that women did not attend Huron councils; yet one of Marie de l'Incarnation's letters provides a rare and valuable narrative account of a council which, as a detail, notes that an elder woman addressed the assembly.¹⁷⁴

Council participation varied, no doubt, according to circumstances, which probably determined not only the numbers but the composition of the assembly. French sources provide numbers only infrequently: 100 at a council at Tadoussac

¹⁷⁴ Sagard, *Grand voyage*, 231; Marie de l'Incarnation to Mother Ursule de Ste-Catherine, Québec, 13 September 1640, in *Marie de l'Incarnation, ursuline (1599–1672): correspondance*, ed. Guy Oury (Solesmes [France]: Abbaye Saint-Pierre, 1971), 117–120. The Ursuline superior, as a cloistered nun, did not witness the council itself; her account is presumably derived either from a witness, such as a Jesuit or Huron, or from that year's manuscript Huron relation. The published Huron relation for 1640 does not include any reference to a woman speaking in council. It does, however, contain several references to councils in which opinions similar to that of the elder were expressed (*Relation de ... l'année M.DC. XL*, in *MNF*, 4:657, 686, 723). Should we conclude that Marie was mistaken, or that the Jesuits authors and editors, consciously or unconsciously, constructed narratives that obscured the public political participation of Huron women?

in 1603; 60 at French-Huron discussions in 1633.¹⁷⁵ Councils were held both indoors and out of doors—a manuscript French-Huron dictionary suggests that the Hurons had different terms for the two¹⁷⁶—and in the case of the former, the size of the host’s lodge may well have been a limiting factor. (For important councils, northern Algonquians regularly constructed lodges far bigger than the ones used by residential groups.¹⁷⁷) Attendees were grouped according to various solidarities—family, clan, nation, moiety, phratry, or alliance—with these groups disposing themselves around one or more fires. The simplest, and most frequent, arrangement consisted of two groups facing each other across a fire, but other permutations occurred as well.¹⁷⁸

Whatever feasting, dancing, or singing might precede a council, the smoking of tobacco seems to have marked the transition to serious deliberation. Although smoking might continue throughout the council, early descriptions of Innu and Algonquin councils indicate that attendees smoked in silence for as much as a half-hour before speaking began, or before a reply was made to a previous proposition.¹⁷⁹ European guests who lacked their own pipes were

¹⁷⁵ Champlain, *Des sauvages*, in *Works*, 1:100–101; ‘Relation du voyage du sieur de Champlain en Canada,’ in *MNF*, 2:383. The latter text, attributed to Champlain, estimated the Huron participants as ‘bien environ soixante, sans compter la jeunesse, qui estoit éparsé çà et là.’

¹⁷⁶ The manuscript gives: ‘conseil. ahacha. tenir C[on]seil. ahachen annouchi in cazâ. — onnontrah8ai, extra cazam.’ John Carter Brown Library [Providence, Rhode Island], French-Huron dictionary, JCB Codex Ind 12, fol. 20 recto.

¹⁷⁷ The lodge in which the Innu chief Anadabijou welcomed 80 to 100 Etchemin, Algonquin, and French allies at Tadoussac was clearly quite spacious (Champlain, *Des sauvages*, in *Works*, 1:100–101). In 1641, the Jesuits Raymbault and Pijart observed northern Algonquin women construct a lodge one hundred paces in length on the shores of Georgian Bay for a feast of the Dead with some 2000 participants (*Relation de ... 1642*, in *JR*, 23:216).

¹⁷⁸ E.g., at a 1645 council at Trois-Rivières, the Mohawk envoy insisted on being seated beside the French, opposite the Algonquins, Innu, and Attikamek. Frenchmen and Hurons arranged themselves on the other two sides (*Relation de ... 1644 et 1645*, in *JR*, 27:250). In the modern tradition of the Iroquois League, the Mohawk and Seneca sachems are seated opposite their ‘younger brothers’, the Oneida and Cayuga, with the Onondaga sachems on a third side.

¹⁷⁹ See, for example, the Innu-Algonquin-Etchemin council at Tadoussac in 1603 (Champlain, *Des sauvages*, in *Works*, 1:100–101); Champlain’s council with the Algonquin

offered their host's, but most native participants doubtless had personal pipes (Innu *uspuagan*, Huron *anondahoin* or *annondaouan*, Onondaga *kanonah8enta* or *hatchog8atta*) and tobacco pouches (Innu *kassipitagan*, Onondaga *kayetta*).¹⁸⁰ These were not the long-stemmed, feathered pipes that figured so prominently in the rituals of Native nations further west and that have passed into popular Euroamerican consciousness as the 'peace pipe'; rather, these were either stone pipes with wooden tubes affixed, or stubby clay pipes, the latter mostly the work of northern Iroquoian men. The sole iconographic depiction of a council from French sources in this period is a detail in the lower left hand corner of the engraved map *Novae Franciae Accurata Delineatio* (1657) attributed to the Jesuit Francesco Guisepppe Bressani. Above the word *Concilium* we see nine beardless men in breechclouts squatting around three sides of a blazing fire, each clutching a fair rendition of a platform pipe (figure 1).¹⁸¹

headman Iroquet and the Huron headman Ochasteguain in 1609 (*Quatriesme voyage*, in *Works*, 2:69); Champlain's council with Algonquin headman Nibachis in 1613 (*ibid.*, 2:275); and a council with Tessouat the same year (*ibid.*, 2: 283–285).

¹⁸⁰ For Innu terms, see Laure, *Apparat français-montagnais*, 148, 687; for Huron terms, see Sagard, *Dictionnaire*, s.v. 'Me[ubles]' and John Carter Brown Library [Providence, Rhode Island], French-Huron dictionary, JCB Codex Ind 12, fol. 15 verso. For the Onondaga term, see John Gilmory Shea, ed., *A French-Onondaga Dictionary from a Manuscript of the Seventeenth Century* (New York: Cramoisy Press, 1860; electronic edition, Project Gutenberg, 2005), s.v. 'calumet' (*kanonah8enta*), 'pipe' (*hatchog8atta*) and 'sac à tabac'. For the ubiquity of tobacco pouches worn by Innu men: see *Relation de ... 1633*, in *MNF*, 2:425. Among the Hurons: François Du Peron to his brother, 27 April 1639, in *MNF*, 4:213-214.

¹⁸¹ For a contemporary description of Mi'kmaq platform pipes, see Lescarbot, *Histoire*, 811. Platform pipes carved from soft stone are found in northeastern sites dating from the middle of the first millennium BC; sites as far north as Abitibi-Témiscamingue region have produced pipes dating from the Middle Woodland period (i.e., roughly the first millennium AD). The practice seems to have undergone a dramatic increase in the fourteenth century, as evidenced by the explosion of clay pipe production among northern Iroquoian groups. Tobacco cultivation presumably rose in tandem. Through regional trade networks, Iroquoian tobacco and clay pipes spread to northern Algonquian peoples north of the zones where *Nicotiana rustica* was grown. See Marc Côté, 'Prehistory of Abitibi-Témiscamingue,' in *The Algonquins*, ed. Daniel Clément (Montréal: Recherches amérindiennes au Québec, 1996), 22–23; Claude Chapdelaine, 'Des «cornets d'argile» iroquoiens aux «pipes de plâtre» européennes,' in *Transferts culturels et métissages Amérique / Europe, XVIe–XXe siècle*, ed. Laurier Turgeon, Denys Delâge and Réal Ouellet

Although some of these pipes—the effigy pipes of the Iroquoians, for example—may have had social or even religious significance, it was the tobacco rather than the pipe that mattered in council. ‘Ils ont cette créance qu’il n’y a rien de si propre que le pétun pour apaiser les passions,’ remarked Brébeuf. ‘C’est pourquoi ils ne se trouvent jamais aux conseils que la pipe ou calumet à la bouche.’¹⁸² Lescarbot proposed to his readers that smoking tobacco was the Native American equivalent of drinking together in Europe: it betokened friendship—to refuse to smoke was like refusing the offer of a drink—and pleasantly warmed the stomach. But while European observers tended to describe tobacco use in terms of its physiological effects and the addiction (‘yvrognerie’) of users,¹⁸³ the native explanation quoted by Brébeuf suggests instead a conceptual connection to the ideal of clearmindedness; that is, to the restoration of rationality through rituals of condolence. John Steckley translates the sixth gift of the Huron condolence ritual, *condayee onsa hoheronti*, as ‘this is

([Sainte-Foy]: Les Presses de l’Université Laval, 1996), 189–197; and William Engelbrecht, *Iroquoia: The Development of a Native World* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2003), 54–59.

Later French iconography of councils reflects knowledge of the longstemmed, feathered ‘calumet de la paix’ used by groups like the Illinois and its spread to more northeastern regions through intensified French and Iroquois interactions with western nations after about 1670: see, for example, Lahontan, *New Voyages to North America*, 2 vols. (London, 1703), vol. 1, [pl. facing p. 44]; vol. 2, [pl. facing p. 82]; and Lafitau, *Moeurs des sauvages américains comparées aux mœurs des premiers temps*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1724), vol. 4, [pl. facing p. 38]. The 1657 map detail is much closer to the ethnographic data for the early seventeenth century—its principal fault being that the men are shown squatting rather than sitting.

One recorded council between the Innu and Algonquin settlers at Sillery and an unidentified Algonquian nation located in southern New England departed from the pattern mentioned here. In that council, held in the Jesuit residence at Sillery in May 1653, the gifts presented by the southern envoys included two stone pipes. ‘Mes frères,’ said the speaker, addressing the people of Sillery, ‘ces deux pipes ou ces deux pétunoirs sont à vous. Il faut doresnavant que nous n’ayons qu’un souffle et qu’une seule respiration, puisque nous n’avons plus qu’une mesme âme’ (*Relation de ce qui s’est passé ... depuis l’été de l’année 1652 jusques à l’été de l’année 1653*, in *MNF*, 8:612).

¹⁸² *Relation de ... 1636*, in *Écrits en Huronie*, 150.

¹⁸³ Lescarbot, *Histoire*, 729–730, 811–812.

that which he uses to fill his stone, i.e. fill his pipe with tobacco.’¹⁸⁴ It was precisely in the course of describing this ritual that Brébeuf interjected his comment about the ubiquity of smoking in Huron councils. ‘Cette fumée qu’ils prennent leur donne, disent-ils, de l’esprit et leur fait voir clair dans les affaires les plus embrouillées.’¹⁸⁵ The symbolism of rising smoke (from pipes, but also from the council fire) may also have been significant, as embodying a connection between human/terrestrial and spirit/celestial worlds.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁴ Steckley, *Full Circle*, 230.

¹⁸⁵ *Relation de ... 1636*, in *Écrits en Huronie*, 150. See a similar comment by François Le Mercier in the *Relation de ... 1638*, in *MNF*, 4:138.

¹⁸⁶ Marshall J. Becker, ‘Calumet Ceremonialism and Wampum: Smoke to the Gods and Developing Interactions with Europeans in Colonial America,’ [1 July 1980], unpublished typescript provided courtesy of the author. More generally, tobacco was, and is, used by Native Americans as an ideal gift offering to spirits. For contemporary examples of tobacco offerings being made by Algonquian and Huron travelers, see Champlain, *Quatriesme voyage*, in *Works*, 2:301–302; Sagard, *Grand voyage*, 255.

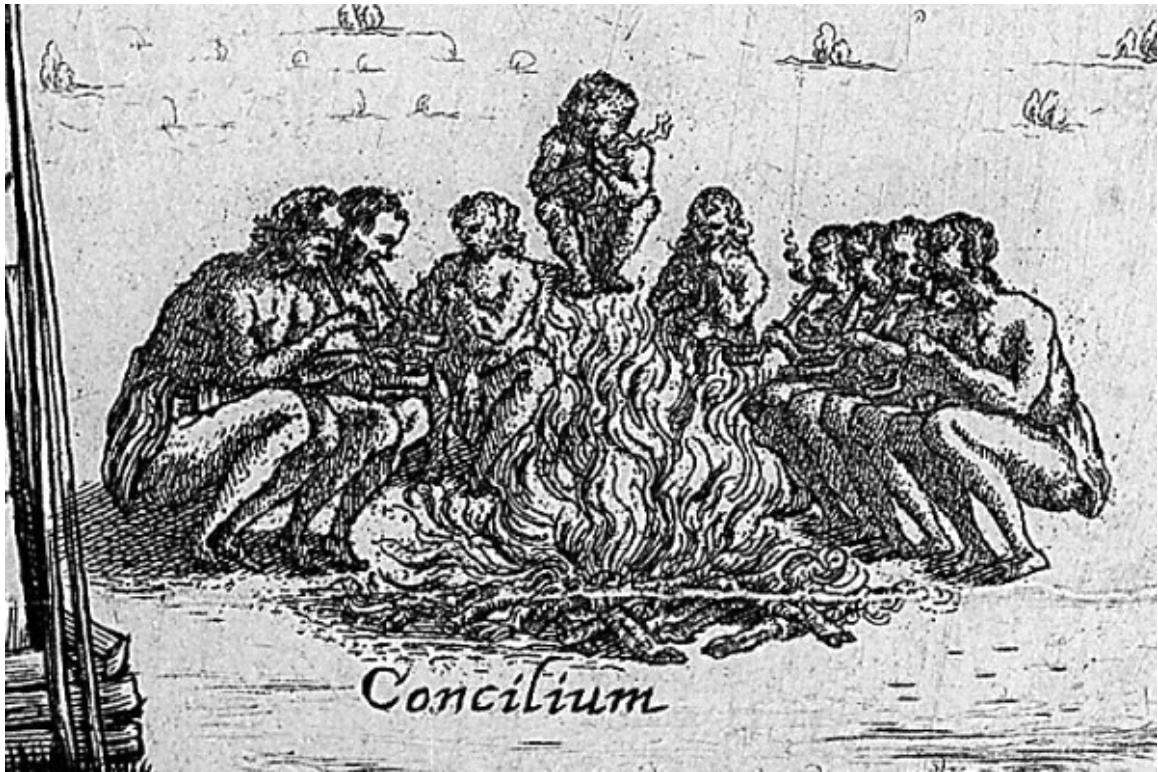


Fig. 1. Men smoking long-stemmed pipes around a council fire. Detail from an engraved map entitled *Novae Franciae accurata delineatio* (n.p., 1657) by Francesco Giuseppe Bressani. 51.5 x 75.5 cm. From a digital image in Gallica, the digital library of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

The smoke of *Nicotiana rustica* having cleared minds and abated passions, speechmaking began. European observers did not fail to notice certain distinctive features of council oratory. After a first experience at a council hosted by an Innu chief in 1603, Champlain wrote that speakers ‘sont quelque peu Saturniens; Ils parlent fort pozément, comme se voullans bien faire entendre, et s’arrestant aussi tost en songeant une grande espace de temps, puis reprennent la parole.’¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁷ Champlain, *Des sauvages*, in *Works*, 1:110. Sagard lifted this passage for his *Grand voyage* (p. 220), adding that the Hurons disliked the French habit of speaking excitedly and interrupting each other. Lejeune related how an Innu headman, ‘disant un jour en la chambre d[e] nostre [capitaine], voulant dire quelque chose et ne trouvant point le loisir, pource qu’on parloit tousjours, en fin pria la compagnie qu’on luy donnast un peu de temps pour parler à son tour’ (Lejeune, *Briève relation*, in *MNF*, 2:304).

Jesuits living among the Huron came to recognize, and eventually imitate, the headmen's use of 'une voix de conseil—c'est-à-dire, haute et intelligible.' In Huron, this manner of speaking was called *acouentonch*. It was often accompanied by complex body movements that accentuated the substance of the speech. The Jesuits essayed several comparisons for the benefit of their European readers: 'Ils haussent et fléchissent la voix comme d'un ton de prédicateur à l'antique, mais lentement, posément, distinctement, même répétant une même raison plusieurs fois,' remarked Brébeuf after several years among the Hurons. Having learned the Huron language, Brébeuf himself came to lead public prayers, 'qu'il prononça dans le ton ordinaire des conseils.' Another Jesuit remarked that the 'président' of a Huron village council spoke 'à peu prez du mesme ton que nos crieurs publics font par les carrefours de France.' Writing to his brother from the Huron country in 1639, the newly arrived François Du Peron likened the speaking voice of chiefs to 'le ton des prisonniers du Petit Chastelet de Paris'—although in this context he may have been referring to public announcements rather than council oratory per se. Claude Dablon related how Chaumonot, reputed an expert in Iroquois language and diplomacy, took the opportunity to praise Christianity during a council at Onondaga: 'Le Pere pour lors prescha proprement à l'Italienne: il avoit une espace raisonnable pour se pourmener, & pour publier avec pompe la parole de Dieu.'¹⁸⁸ While these comparisons are, at this remove, difficult to interpret, it seems reasonable to conclude that these writers felt that council oratory shared qualities with

¹⁸⁸ *Relation de ... l'année M.DC.XL.*, in *MNF*, 4:729; *Relation de ... 1636*, in *Écrits en Huronie*, 168; *Relation de ... 1638*, in *MNF*, 4:138, 172; 'Copie d'une lettre de Canada du Père François Du Péron, de la Compagnie de Jésus écrite à son frère, de la mesme Compagnie, du bourg de la Conception de Nostre-Dame dans le païs de Hurons, en la Nouvelle-France,' 27 April 1639, in *MNF*, 4:214; *Relation de[s] ... années 1655 & 1656*, in *JR*, 42:104. The Châtelet was a seat of royal justice in the capital (the Prévôté de Paris). The fortress known as the Grand Châtelet housed the court proper; the Petit Châtelet contained a prison.

European speeches that were designed to convince rather than to command. In ever more frequent councils with various Iroquois nations after 1641, French sources describe, in addition, episodes of singing they likened to plainsong or chanting.¹⁸⁹

Beyond their tone, the content of council speeches reflected formal conventions that set council oratory apart from everyday language. 'J'ai autrefois ouï-dire à quelque truchement que ces nations ici avaient un langage particulier en leur conseils, mais j'ai expérimenté le contraire,' affirmed Brébeuf, before explaining: 'Il est vrai que leurs discours sont d'abord difficiles à entendre à cause d'une infinité de métaphores, de plusieurs circonlocutions et autres façons figurées.'¹⁹⁰ Most of the 'metaphors' used in council oratory seem to have been highly conventional, and some, in the case of Iroquois, can be traced over several centuries. As the editors of *The History and Culture of Iroquois Diplomacy* note, 'the basic principle of Iroquois metaphor is the projection of words about familiar objects into the fields of politics and diplomacy.'¹⁹¹ Thus, everyday objects like the

¹⁸⁹ See, for example, the council at Trois-Rivières in July, 1645 (*Relation de ... 1645*, in JR, 27:264); and a series of councils in Onondaga country in 1655 ('... chanter d'une façon semblable en quelque façon à nostre plain-chant,' *Relation de[s] années 1655 & 1656*, in JR, 42:76–78; *ibid.*, 114–116).

¹⁹⁰ *Relation de ... 1636*, in *Écrits en Huronie*, 168. In the previous chapter, Brébeuf had written: 'Les métaphores sont grandement en usage parmi ces peuples; si vous ne vous y faites, vous n'entendez rien dans leurs conseils, où ils ne parlent quasi que par métaphores' (*ibid.*, 149). The sources are peppered with echoes of this comment: 'C'est la coustume des sauvages de se servir de semblables métaphores' (*Relation de ... 1637*, in MNF, 4:681); 'ces peuples estant grands harangueurs & se servant souvent d'allegories & de métaphores . . .' (*Relation de[s] ... années mil six cens cinquante-six & mil six cens cinquante-sept* in JR, 43:168); '[the Mi'kmaq] sont fort éloquens & persuasifs parmi ceux de leur Nation, usant de métaphores & de circonlocutions fort agreables dans leurs harangues, qui sont tres-éloquents, particulièrement quand elles sont prononcées dans les Conseils & les Assemblées publiques & generalles' (Le Clercq, *Nouvelle relation de la Gaspésie*, 394–395).

¹⁹¹ Francis Jennings, William N. Fenton, Mary A. Druke and David R. Miller, eds., *The History and Culture of Iroquois Diplomacy: An Interdisciplinary Guide to the Treaties of the Six Nations and Their League* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1985), 115. The glossary in this work (115–124) provides a useful list of frequently used terms with accompanying explication, without, however, investigating the historical evidence of each term's use. Some terms, such as the

dish, the kettle, the fire, the mat, the hatchet, as well as aspects of nature like the sun, the clouds, the bushes, and the tree figure in the recorded speeches of native orators. Our awareness of these terms increases toward mid-century, in tandem with Jesuit advances in learning northern Algonquian and Iroquoian languages. Early French narratives by Lescarbot, Champlain, and Sagard report native speeches, but we know that these authors had only a basic knowledge of native languages (Sagard's *Dictionnaire*—really a phrase book¹⁹²—and self-agrandizing statements notwithstanding). Presumably, most of what they recorded as native discourse came to them through the mediation of interpreters, most of whom were fur trade company employees. These interpreters may well have appreciated the significance of conventional diplomatic metaphors but chose to render in translation them with more prosaic expressions. By the late 1630s, as Brébeuf's 1636 relation reveals, some Jesuits had acquired sufficient knowledge of Innu and Huron to dispense with the services of interpreters, in the process becoming aware of the idiosyncracies of council rhetoric. By the mid-1650s, when the Jesuits were in the process of negotiating a mission to the Onondaga country, they boasted of their proficiency in the use of these terms.¹⁹³ We need not take their claims at face value to realize that they had nevertheless come to an

'antlers' said to adorn the heads of sachems (116), do not appear in early seventeenth-century sources, while the '*calumet* or *peace pipe*' (121) is not identified as a late seventeenth-century innovation.

¹⁹² Victor Egon Hanzeli, *Missionary Linguistics in New France: A Study of Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Descriptions of American Indian Languages* (The Hague: Mouton, 1969), chap. 5 [exact page ref?].

¹⁹³ 'Or ces peuples estant grands harangueurs & se servant souvent d'allegories & de metaphores, nos Pere pour les attirer à Dieu, s'accommodent à leur façon de faire: ce qui les ravit, voyant que nous y reüssission aussi bien qu'eux' (*Relation de[s] ... années mil six cens cinquante-six & mil six cens cinquante-sept* in *JR*, 43:168). In the next paragraph, Father Chaumonot is said to speak 'l'Iroquois aussi bien que les naturels du pays.' In a series of councils in 1655 and 1656 in Onondaga country, Chaumonot introduced several literal-minded innovations, offering the Onondagas a beverage in a kettle and a small tree in addition to the wampum belts that traditionally would have symbolized these things (*Relation de[s] ... années 1655 & 1656*, in *JR*, 42:100–102).

understanding of a key element of native political culture. The manuscript journal kept by the Jesuit superior at Québec also bears witness to this increased awareness: while the published *Relations* repeatedly offered European readers explanations of exotic council rhetoric, in the journal the superior contented himself with what appear to be verbatim translations of Iroquois council speeches, including the odd metaphor whose meaning is today unclear.¹⁹⁴ To be sure, the natural eloquence of Native Americans became a conventional trope of European writing, and the tradition of referencing classical models of eloquence as a means of conveying the quality of native oratory led occasionally to demonstrable distortions of the same.¹⁹⁵ Indeed, modern literary critics who

¹⁹⁴ Prior to the fall of 1656, entries in the superior's journal relating native diplomatic speeches are generally cryptic paraphrases in the third person; occasionally, reference is made to separate files (sadly, no longer extant) which presumably contained more detailed information on what took place (e.g., the councils of May 1646, 'dont l'histoire de voira dans le factum qui e[st] dans les archives tit. Yroquois' ['Journal des jésuites,' in *JR*, 28:186]). Jean de Quen became superior in 1656 and began keeping the journal that fall. His entries thereafter relate the substance of speeches in the first person, i.e., as a speaker would pronounce them. The first such transcription relates to a council involving the Oneidas, the Hurons, the 'Algonquins' (i.e., Innu and Algonquins), and the French at Québec in November 1656 (*JR*, 42:252). Following de Quen's untimely death in the fall of 1659, the journal ceases to contain reporting of this kind. De Quen's missionary activity since his arrival in 1635 had been confined to the Innu at Sillery, Tadoussac, and the Lac Saint-Jean region; he presumably knew little of Iroquoian languages. The transcriptions he made were likely based on interpretation provided by a fellow Jesuit who did speak these languages. They are not, clearly, transcriptions of complete speeches, which we know to have often been quite long. Rather, they appear to boil the speech down to a series of 'words' (i.e., metaphors accompanied by gifts). In April 1659, de Quen recorded, point by point, the speech that Father Simon Le Moyne was to make later that spring to the Oneidas in their village: the first fourteen 'words' or propositions are a bare-bones list of Iroquois political metaphors without accompanying explanation (in *JR*, 45:90–92), highly suggestive of the Jesuits' familiarity with these conventions. De Quen's entries seem much closer to the manuscript council records kept by French and British colonial administrations of the late seventeenth- and eighteenth centuries than to the descriptions of councils found in earlier published narratives.

¹⁹⁵ On the European trope of the eloquent savage and the influence of classical models, see Gilbert Chinard, *L'exotisme américain dans la littérature française au XVIe siècle, d'après Rabelais, Ronsard et Montaigne* (Paris: Hachette, 1911), 19–20; Matthew Lauzon, 'Savage Eloquence in America and the Linguistic Construction of a British Identity in the 18th Century,' *Historiographia Linguistica* 23, no. 1–2 (1996): 123–158; and Gray, 'The Making of Logan.' Examples of this phenomenon from the period under study are numerous. In 1636, Montmagny likened a chief's speech to that of a Roman senator (*Relation de ... 1636*, in *MNF*, 3:284); the same year, Brébeuf's

would emphasize the artifice of European representations of native discourse had their counterparts in the seventeenth century, as the Jesuit Bressani remarked: 'In France, people have believed that their speeches and addresses, which we reported in our relations were fictitious.' Yet Bressani was certain of the ability of these speakers, if not of the ability of the French to render them properly. 'But I can assert,' he added, 'that most of these, when translated into another language, are much less powerful than in their own.'¹⁹⁶

The political metaphors used in council oratory were frequently linked to the gift giving invariably accompanied the speeches. 'C'est la coustume de ces peuples de parler par des présens et par des festins,' observed Lejeune while describing a French-Huron council in 1637.¹⁹⁷ His description of a French-Innu council the previous year at Québec similarly noted 'la coustume qu'ils [the Innu] ont de faire des présens quand ils veulent obtenir quelque chose.'¹⁹⁸ Such comments, to be sure, reflected a common theme of early French ethnographic discourse that insisted upon the instrumentality of gift giving, i.e., that one gave in order to receive something in return. Yet Brébeuf's description of the condolence ceremony of the Hurons, also in 1636, marked a more sophisticated appreciation of the significance of gift giving in council. In this ritual, nine gifts of wampum, known collectively as *andaonhaan*, accompanied nine verbal expressions of condolence.¹⁹⁹ The present that accompanied a proposition not

Huron relation reckoned the Huron headman Aenons's eloquence on a par with Livy's (*Relation de ... 1636*, in *Écrits en Huronie*, 162). The 'Rhétorique' of a young native girl at the Ursuline seminary 'vaut mieux que celle de Ciceron,' effused the Jesuit superior Vimont (*Relation de ... 1644*, in *JR*, 25:236). All of these comparisons played upon the tension created by bringing together semantic opposites: the notion of savagery, on the one hand, and the presumed superiority of Greco-Roman culture, on the other.

¹⁹⁶ Francesco Gioseppe Bressani, *Breve relatione d'alcune missioni de PP. della Compagnia di Gesu nella Nuova Francia* (Macerata: Heredi d'Agostino Grisei, 1653), in *JR*, 38:262–263.

¹⁹⁷ *Relation de ... 1637*, in *MNF*, 3:679.

¹⁹⁸ *Relation de ... 1636*, in *MNF*, 3:283.

¹⁹⁹ *Relation de ... 1636*, in *Écrits en Huronie*, 149–150; Steckley, 'The Nine Gifts.' e

only validated the sincerity of the speaker; it also gave life to the political metaphors invoked by the speaker. 'Les presens parmy les peuples sont toutes les affaires du païs,' remarked Lejeune: 'ils essuient les larmes, ils apaisent la colere, ils ouvrent la porte dans les païs étrangers, ils delivrent les prisonniers, ils resuscitent les morts.' (Lejeune had just finished describing a ceremony—presumably Innu—whereby a dead man's name was raised up and bestowed upon another.) 'On ne parle quasi & on ne respond que par des presens: C'est pour cela que dans les harangues, le present passe pour une parole, on fait des presens pour animer les hommes à la guerre, pour les convier à la Paix: pour attirer une famille ou une nation à venir prendre place & demeurer auprès de vous, pour satisfaire ou payer ceux qui ont receu quelque injure.'²⁰⁰

The gifts exchanged in the early seventeenth-century councils recorded by the French in Canada included furs, foodstuffs, European trade goods, and tobacco (both the native variety and a Brazilian product imported by the French). In the 1630s and thereafter, the most common diplomatic council gift was what French writers repeatedly described as the gold, diamonds, or pearls of the country—tubular marine shell beads, often strung like a chain or woven as a belt (see figure 2). French records of the period indicate that thousands of these beads could be given at a time in a single council. Their use is attested among all the Native groups known to the French in the early part of the century, from the Mi'kmaq, Etchemins, and 'Almouchiquois' of the Atlantic coast to the Innu, Algonquins, Nipissing, and Odawa of the interior. Above all, the northern Iroquoians were, and are, known for the prominent role of wampum in political culture. (Chapter 4, below, describes the earliest documented use of wampum in Northeastern diplomacy.) Yet the extensive use of wampum seems to have been

²⁰⁰ *Relation de ... 1642*, in *JR*, 22:290.

a very late development, one that coincided with, rather than preceded, the establishment of the French colony. Archaeological studies confirm the presence of discoidal and tubular shell beads on Iroquoian sites in the Middle and Late Woodland period (*circa* AD 200–1510), and an even more ancient use of shell, bone, and clay shell beads generally. Most of the early beads from the Late Woodland sites are of white marine shell, manufactured from mollusks collected on the Atlantic coastline between Cape Cod and Virginia and traded into the interior via indigenous trade networks.²⁰¹ Inland groups probably prized wampum as an exotic luxury good; Iroquois religious traditions provide evidence that white wampum symbolized ‘life itself’ and, more generally, ‘positive states of physical, social, and spiritual well-being.’²⁰² In the early

²⁰¹ James W. Bradley, *Evolution of the Onondaga Iroquois: Accommodating Change, 1500-1655* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1987), 67, 178–180; Claude Chapdelaine, *Le site Mandeville à Tracy: variabilité culturelle des Iroquoiens du Saint-Laurent* (Montréal: Recherches amérindiennes au Québec, 1989), 101–102; Lynn Ceci, ‘Native Wampum as a Peripheral Resource in the Seventeenth-Century World-System,’ in *The Pequots in Southern New England: The Rise and Fall of an American Indian Nation*, ed. Laurence M. Hauptmann and James D. Wherry (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990), 48–63, 58 (quotation). See also Engelbrecht, *Iroquoia*, 131–133.

²⁰² Lynn Ceci suggests that the difficulty of obtaining wampum in pre-contact times made marine shell objects precious to groups in the interior (‘The Value of Wampum among the New York Iroquois: A Case Study in Artifact Analysis,’ *Journal of Anthropological Research* 38, no. 1 [1982]: 99). The anthropologist Mary W. Helms has devoted a book to the cross-cultural study of the ‘political and ideological symbolism accorded to tangible goods acquired from “outside” places’ (*Craft and the Kingly Ideal* [Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993], xi). Helms briefly discusses the use of wampum by the Ojibwa and the Huron adoption of French trade goods as examples of such ideologically charged exotic goods.

For the significance of white wampum in Iroquois myth and religion, see Christopher Miller and George R. Hamell, ‘A New Perspective on Indian-White Contact: Cultural Symbols and Colonial Trade,’ *Journal of American History* 73, no. 2 (1986): 311–328, esp. 318–319, 323–325; George R. Hamell, ‘Strawberries, Floating Islands, and Rabbit Captains: Mythical Realities and European Contact in the Northeast during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,’ *Journal of Canadian Studies / Revue d’études canadiennes* 21, no. 4 (1986-87): 72–94, esp. 75–76; *idem*, ‘The Iroquois and the World’s Rim: Speculations on Color, Culture, and Contact,’ *American Indian Quarterly* 16, no. 4 (1992): 451–469, esp. 455–457 (quotation at 455). Hamell assumes significant continuity in what he terms Iroquois and, more generally, Northeastern woodland ‘mythical realities’ over the centuries, and so feels confident using Native myths recorded in the post-contact era to make inferences about Native beliefs and values in the pre-contact period.

seventeenth century, wampum production underwent a dramatic increase, stimulated initially by Dutch West India Company traders operating out of New Netherlands. After purchasing beads from the coastal Algonquian peoples for cloth and other European trade goods, the WIC shipped them to their Hudson River post for use in the fur trade with the Mohawks and other inland groups, whose demand for wampum was described by the Dutch as ‘the source and the mother of the beaver trade.’ In the late 1620s, English colonists in New England began exacting wampum as tribute from conquered New England nations, and gradually extended their control over wampum-producing groups. These beads were then used by the English in the interior fur trade. Lynn Ceci has estimated that, as a result of these developments, millions of wampum beads flowed into the Northeast interior in the middle decades of the seventeenth century.²⁰³ French sources from the first half of the seventeenth century only bear indirect testimony to these developments. Prior to the 1630s, wampum is generally mentioned in the form of beads, bracelets, earrings, and strings among the Mi’kmaq, ‘Almouchiquois,’ Innu, Odawa, and Hurons. Thereafter, however, there are increasingly frequent references to belts of one, two, or even three thousand beads. The introduction of dark purple beads in the early seventeenth century made possible the weaving of white and ‘black’ designs on belts, which in turn could be related to the metaphors of diplomatic oratory. Thus, at a council in 1653, an Algonquian ambassador from the south pointed out on one such patterned belt the lakes, rivers, mountains, valleys, portages, and falls that

Elsewhere (chapter 4) I raise objections to Hamell’s model of Native responses to European contact, which he presents as a corollary of the logic underlying pre-contact ‘mythic realities.’ Hamell’s interpretation of wampum symbolism rests on the assumption that cultural dispositions toward colour are deeply rooted schemata—a reasonable position, in my opinion—and is supported by a convincing array of archaeological, historical, and linguistic evidence.

²⁰³ Ceci, ‘Native Wampum as a Peripheral Resource,’ 48–63.

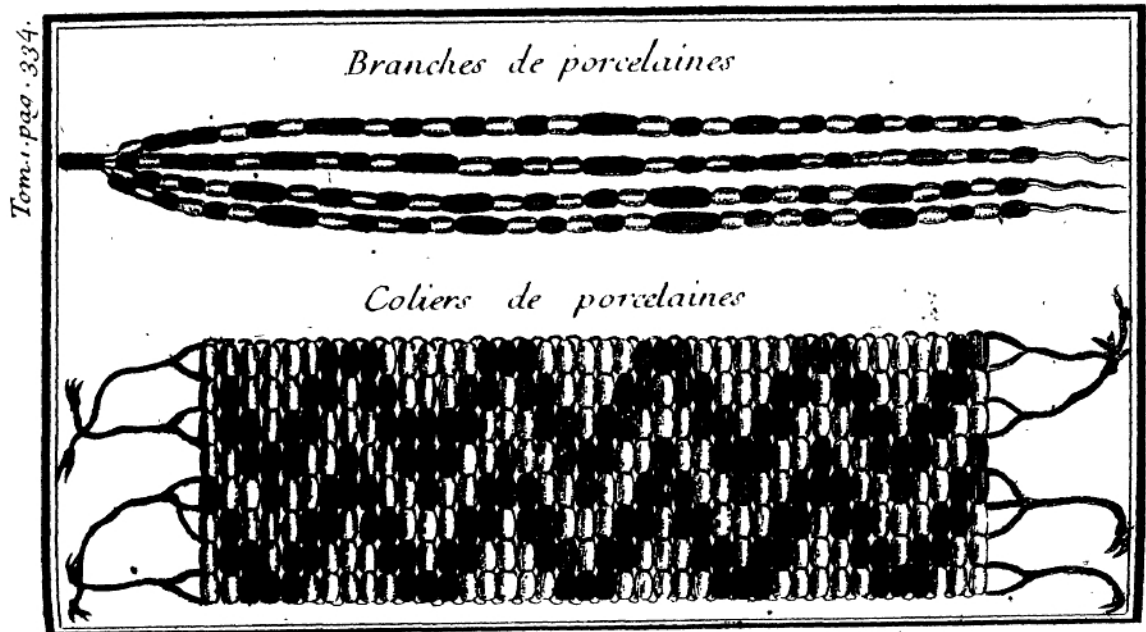


Fig. 2. Strings ('branches') and a belt ('collier') of wampum. From Bacqueville de La Potherie, *Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale*, 4 vols. (Paris: Jean-Luc Nion, 1722), plate following p. 334. Image from Early Canadiana Online, produced by Canadiana.org (CIHM no. 28221).

marked the path from his home to that of his Innu and Algonquin allies at Sillery.²⁰⁴

The early seventeenth-century French council record suggests that the political cultures of the Hurons and Iroquois coordinated metaphor and gift in an especially systematic way.²⁰⁵ That this is so in modern Iroquois tradition is well documented, as is the fact that the metaphors and rituals of the modern tradition have clear precedents in the colonial era. Indeed, some of the tropes of

²⁰⁴ *Relation de ce qui s'est passé ... depuis l'été de l'année 1652 jusques à l'été de l'année 1653*, in *MNF*, 8:611–612. The *Relation* does not provide the name of the Algonquian nation from which the embassy came; presumably, they were southern New England Algonquians, and not the Abenakis with whom the people of Sillery had close diplomatic ties.

²⁰⁵ Relative, that is, to groups like the Innu and Algonquins. This impression is borne out by a comparison of early eighteenth-century French-Iroquois and French-Algonquian council records: see Peter Cook, *Les voyes de douceur et d'insinuation: French-Amerindian Diplomacy on New France's Western Frontier, 1703–1725* (MA thesis, University of Ottawa, 1994), 66–75.

seventeenth-century council rhetoric—the opposition between the village and the forest, the woven reed mat, and the importance of rendering the earth flat, or clear—would seem, logically, to have particular resonance in a society of semi-sedentary horticulturists. Northern Algonquians, on the other hand, may have contributed tropes of their own to the conventions of native diplomacy in the Northeast—sharing one dish as an expression of co-exploitation of a hunting territory, for example.²⁰⁶ Whatever the origins of particular metaphors and practices, the early seventeenth-century data indicate that northern Algonquians and Iroquoians of the period shared much in terms of the dispositions that underlay council behaviour.

KINSHIP

At first glance, kinship systems, which differ radically from one society to another, may appear as so many exotic methods of describing straightforward facts about genealogy and biology. However, like all taxonomies, a kinship system is not simply a description of reality; as a symbolic system, it participates in complex ways in the production and reproduction of social reality. It would be inexcusably reductionist to view a kinship system as a purely objective way of defining the relationships that exist within a given society. Rather than viewing kinship as a set of roles and rules that simply describe social relationships, scholars like Pierre Bourdieu recognize its regular use as an idiom for the articulation of claims and strategies between individuals and groups. In addition to ‘official’ kinship, often objectified by anthropological researchers in the form of diagrams, there is also what Bourdieu refers to as practical kinship: that is, the various genealogical and non-genealogical kin-relationships that individuals

²⁰⁶ Victor P. Lytwyn, ‘A Dish with One Spoon: The Shared Hunting Grounds Agreement in the Great Lakes and St Lawrence Valley Region,’ in *Papers of the Twenty-Eighth Algonquian Conference*, ed. David H. Pentland (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 1997), 210–227.

strive to create and maintain because they serve their material and symbolic interests.²⁰⁷

A key feature of Native political cultures was the centrality of the idiom of kinship in the expression of a wide range of social and political relationships. This was, as Colson notes, generally true of most small-scale societies, and she warns scholars against merely assuming its centrality in all cases: kinship was not only the principle available for the creation of ties or the coordination behaviour,²⁰⁸ just as monarchy was not only imaginable system of government to early modern French people. It was nevertheless the ideal, if not the sole, idiom for describing relationships between persons and groups in northern Algonquian and northern Iroquoian societies. William Fenton has stressed in particular the fact that 'Iroquois political organization extends the basic patterns of social structure and local organization to a wider context,' including intergroup diplomacy.²⁰⁹

As subsequent chapters of this dissertation amply document the ways in which Algonquians and Iroquoians deployed kin metaphors and principle of kinship in their diplomatic relations with French newcomers, it remains here to outline the main features of the kinship systems of these nations as a means of appreciating the culturally specific resonance of the kin terms used in political rhetoric. I forego a parallel explanation of early modern French kinship on the assumption that most readers would not find it radically different from modern

²⁰⁷ Pierre Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990), 162–199. This approach to kinship is pertinent to large-scale societies as well; see, for example, David Warren Sabean, *Kinship in Neckarhausen, 1700–1870* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), esp. 2–6.

²⁰⁸ Colson, 'Political Organization in Tribal Societies,' 12–13.

²⁰⁹ Fenton, 'Structure, Continuity, and Change,' 12.

Euro-American kinship which, for practical reasons, serves as a basis for comparison in the following brief discussion of Innu and Huron kinship.²¹⁰

Innu and Huron kinship systems share certain basic features.²¹¹ Like the Euro-American system, they are bilateral, meaning that an individual recognizes ties of kinship with his or her mother's and father's families. Unlike the former, Innu and Huron kinship terminologies are compressed in terms of their generational depth. Whereas in Euro-American kinship one can, in theory, continually differentiate kin in generations preceding one's grandparents (great-grandfather, great-great-grandfather, etc.) or in generations following one's grandchildren (great-granddaughter, great-great-granddaughter, etc.), these distinctions were collapsed for the Innu and Hurons. Among the Innu, for example, kin in generations beyond one's grandparents and those in generations following one's grandchildren became, regardless of sex, *nitanishkutapan* 'my knot'.²¹² For the Hurons and other northern Iroquoians, all kin two or more generations before oneself were addressed as grandmother or grandfather, while all the children of one's sons, daughters, nieces, or nephews were, simply, grandchildren.²¹³

²¹⁰ Seventeenth-century Algonquin kinship is presumed to have been similar in all major respects to that of the Innu.

²¹¹ My description of these systems is based on José Mailhot, *Au pays des Innus: les gens de Sheshatshit*, Signes des Amériques, no. 9 (Montreal: Recherches amérindiennes au Québec, 1993), chap. 4; Laure, *Apparat français-montagnais*, 585–589; Steckley, *Words of the Huron*, chap. 4; and Trigger, *Children*, 45–46. All of these works are based primarily on historical data with the exception of Mailhot's; the latter, however, does include historical material to document changes in Innu kinship over time.

²¹² Mailhot, *Gens de Sheshatshit*, 111–112.

²¹³ Lewis Henry Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family*, facsimile ed., introduction by Elisabeth Tooker (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 160.

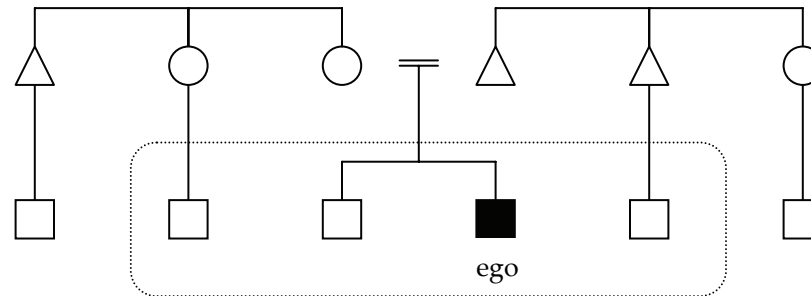


Fig. 3. Innu siblingship according to Father Pierre Laure (1726). The bounded area surrounds the genealogical positions to which the Innu applied kin terms indicating siblingship in the shown lineal and collateral lines. In this diagram, a triangle indicates a man; a circle, a woman; and a square, an individual of either sex. As in popular illustrations of family trees, horizontal lines indicate relations of biological siblingship while vertical lines indicate relations of filiation. The 'equal sign' (=) indicates a marriage.

Another feature that sets Innu and Huron kinship off from modern Euro-American kinship is the tendency to associate kin traced through same-sex links by means the same kin term. This is a pattern that analysts, by convention, label 'classificatory' in contrast to the individualizing tendencies of the Euro-American system.²¹⁴ Among the Innu, a woman (or man) used the same set of kin terms to refer to her siblings, her father's brothers' children, and her mother's sisters' children—that is, to all her parallel cousins. For example, I use Innu *nishtesh* 'older brother' to address both my older brother and my paternal uncle's son who happens to be older than me.²¹⁵ Similarly, I address any younger brother or sister as *nishim* 'younger sibling' and do the same with any parallel cousins who are younger than me (see figure 3).

²¹⁴ For general information on the analysis of kinship, I have relied on Robert Parkin, *Kinship: An Introduction to the Basic Concepts* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997); for a discussion of classificatory and individualizing terminologies, see 61–62.

²¹⁵ Here I use Mailhot's spelling of Innu kinship terms in preference to Laure's.

As anthropologist José Mailhot explains, ‘Cela ne signifie pas que les Innus ne savent pas faire la différence entre leurs frères biologiques et leur cousins, mais plutôt qu’ils considèrent les uns et les autres comme des parents consanguins très proches.’²¹⁶ This classificatory principle extended beyond the first collateral lines shown in figure 1 to include individuals that Euro-American kinship would consider second, third, fourth cousins, and so on. Innu did not have to constantly trace genealogical connections in their heads in order to deploy the correct kin term, however; they simply adhered to a basic rule: the children of parents of the same sex who call each other brother or sister, should also refer to each other as siblings. Thus, if my father addresses his father’s paternal uncle’s son as brother, I know to address the latter’s children—my second cousins, in Euro-American terms—as my brothers and sisters. In such a system, as Mailhot remarks, two individuals may consider call each brother or sister by virtue of a genealogical connection that they are unable to trace with any precision.²¹⁷ Moreover, the Innu also extended these terms to adopted individuals, as the Jesuit Pierre Laure remarked in an early eighteenth-century description of Innu kin terms: ‘Pierre qui n’a pas d’autre alliance avec Paul que d’avoir été élevés ensemble par Jacques se traitent de frères tous deux et appellent tous deux les enfants de Jacques leurs frères cadets ou leurs petites soeurs prétendues ainsi que s’ils l’étaient charnellement.’²¹⁸

One consequence of such a system is that siblingship can extend almost infinitely within a single generation, meaning that many individuals end up calling each other brother or sister. As Mailhot explains, ‘le fait de posséder, sur une grande étendue géographique, de nombreux parents considérés comme

²¹⁶ Mailhot, *Gens de Sheshatshit*, 113.

²¹⁷ Mailhot, *Gens de Sheshatshit*, 118.

²¹⁸ Laure, *Apparat français-montagnais*, 585.

“frères,” “soeurs,” “oncles” ou “tantes” fournissait, à l’époque où les Innus étaient des chasseurs nomades, un grand éventail de partenaires avec lesquels ils pouvaient résider et coopérer dans les activités économiques.’²¹⁹

The classificatory terminology among the Hurons differed in important ways from the Innu system. In addition to considering parallel cousins as siblings, a Huron also classified the same-sex siblings of his or her parents with his or her own father and mother. The verb root *-ndʒen-* ‘to be mother to’ was thus used to address both one’s mother and one’s mother’s sister. Similarly, one’s father’s brother was *hojisten* ‘his/her father’.²²⁰ A woman’s ‘children’ included those she had given birth to, those she had adopted, and those belonging to the same-sex siblings of her father’s brother and or her mother’s sister. The Seneca kinship terms collected by Morgan in the late nineteenth-century—part of the research that culminated in his *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family* (1871)—allow a diagramming of these tendencies (figures 4 and 5). These diagrams also illustrate how patterns of Iroquoian kinship terminology interacted with another important feature of Iroquoian societies: the matrilineal clan system.

²¹⁹ Mailhot, *Gens de Sheshatshit*, 136.

²²⁰ Steckley, *Words of the Huron*, 72, 73. I have used a subscript long s (ſ) to approximate the ‘iota subscriptum’ character the Jesuits and Steckley use to represent a –y- sound.

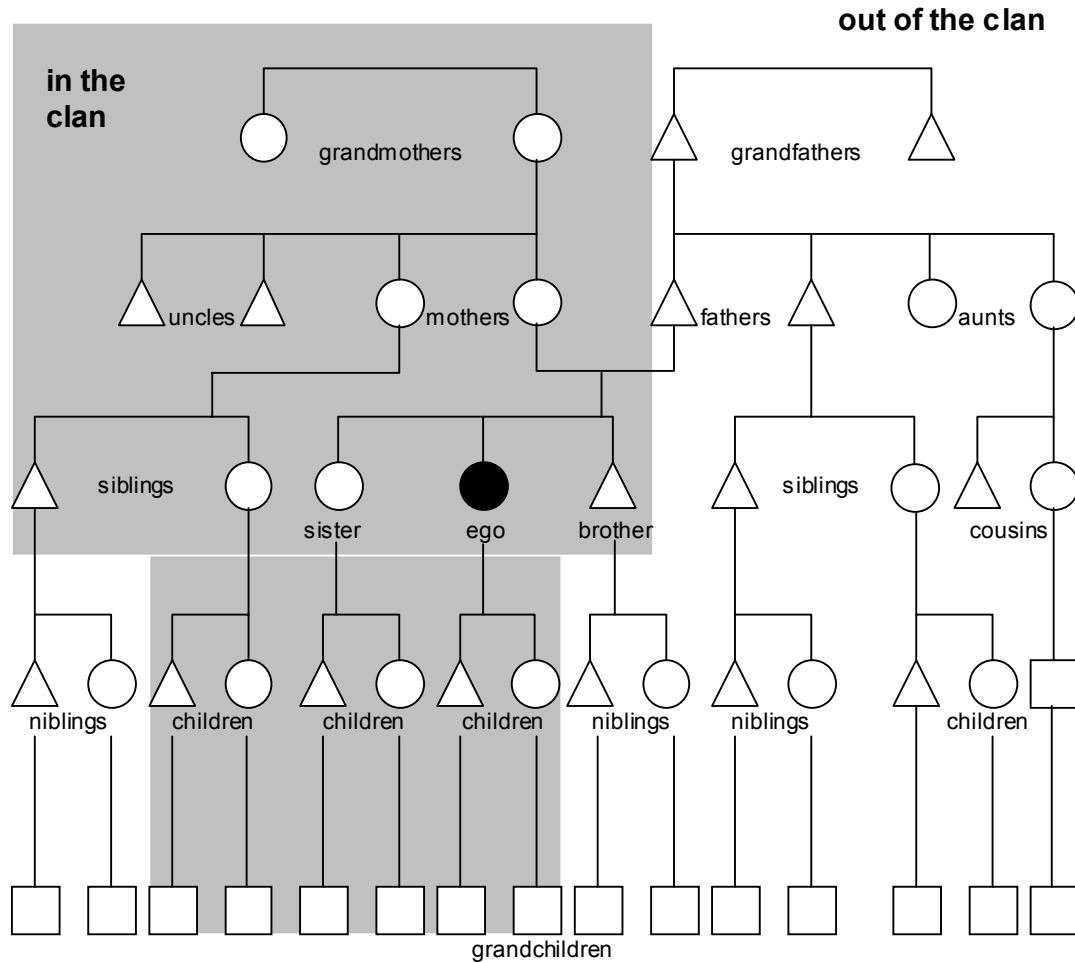


Fig. 4. Iroquois degrees of consanguinity (female ego) as described in Morgan's *Systems of Consanguinity* (1871). Chart adapted and expanded from Thomas R. Trautmann, *Lewis Henry Morgan and the Invention of Kinship* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), fig. 3, p. 55.

Every Huron belonged to one of eight clans, that of their mother.²²¹ Members of the same clan considered each other to be like kin and used kin terms to symbolize this affinity; marriage between members of the same clan

²²¹ Trigger, *Children*, 54; Steckley, *Words of the Huron*, chap. 3. Steckley argues, on the basis of linguistic evidence, for a different group of names than were used by Trigger. There is very little seventeenth-century data on clans; they appear to have been an element of Iroquoian social organization that the French did not understand very well.

was, logically, prohibited. As the same eight clan names could be found in the villages of each of the four Huron nations, travelers could expect to meet (fictive) kin wherever they went in Huron country.²²² The system was similar among the Iroquois, although not all of the five nations had the same clan names. In his description of the League, Morgan lauded the role of the clan system in the political integration of the Iroquois. For Morgan, the genius of Iroquois political organization lay not in the fact that the League chiefs were drawn (albeit disproportionately) from the five confederate nations ('the nations sustaining nearly the same relation to the League, that the American states bear to the Union'²²³), but rather in the apportionment of the titles by clans. Morgan noted that each nation was made up of clans,²²⁴ which he assumed had originated as deliberate creations but which subsequently became 'organic divisions' within society. Although the historical record indicated that the number and names of clans differed somewhat from one nation to another, Morgan inferred that at the time of the founding of the League, each nation had possessed the same eight clans. He accurately described the matrilineal principles of descent through which clan affiliation was determined, and reported the symbolic ties of fraternity (and consequent rule of exogamy) that prevailed among the members of a single clan, regardless of their nation: 'Between those of the same name—or, in other words, between the separated parts of each tribe [clan]—there existed a

²²² This symbolic kinship seems also to have extended to members of the same phratry (or grouping of clans); Steckley notes evidence of this in the listing of Huron clans by the Jesuit Pierre Potier wrote in the 1740s (*Words of the Huron*, 91).

²²³ Morgan, *League*, 1:58.

²²⁴ Morgan used the term 'tribe' to refer to what modern anthropologists call a 'clan'; i.e., a unilineal descent category. I use the term 'descent category' rather than 'descent group' to define the Iroquois clan in order to avoid creating the impression that clans were cohesive social groups that coordinated activity among all their members. Local matrilineages or clan segments certainly formed descent groups; but the Iroquoian clan is better seen as a mental construct rather than a definable social group. See Parkin, *Kinship*, 17–18.

tie of brotherhood, which linked the nations together with indissoluble bonds.' In short, a clan was like one big family that cross-cut national (and hence ethnic and linguistic) barriers, and Morgan considered it to be the most basic form of social organization, insofar as it rested upon the 'impulses of nature' (i.e., the recognition of blood ties). The genius of the League was that, rather than superimposing itself atop the clans, its founders 'rested the League itself upon the tribes [clans], and through them, sought to interweave the race into one political family.' The League was thus not so much a league of nations as a league of clans, 'established, and rooted for its stability, upon the natural faith of kindred.'²²⁵

In addition to the fictive kinship created by the clan system, the Hurons used kin metaphors to express the political relationships between the four Huron nations: two of the most important of these, it was noted by the Jesuits, 's'entrequalifient dans les conseils & assemblées, des noms de frere & de soeur.'²²⁶ In the political rhetoric and ritual of the Iroquois confederacy, its five constituent nations formed two moieties, one of three nations, the other of two, that were sometimes described as brothers to each other—the distinction between older and younger brothers being, however, significant—and at other times as fathers and sons.²²⁷

For northern Algonquian nations, kin metaphors were also central to the creation of political alliances with groups who were, terminologically and socially speaking, non-kin. Such metaphors characterized the earliest enduring Native-French alliances in the St Lawrence valley in the late sixteenth and

²²⁵ Morgan, *League*, 1:74–78 (clans), 77 and 87 (deliberate creation of clans), 77 ('tie of brotherhood'), 75 ('one political family'), 79–80 (matrilineal descent), 82–84 (clans and League chiefs), 78 ('League of Tribes'), 86 ('natural faith of kindred').

²²⁶ *Relation de ... 1639*, in *JR*, 16:228; see also Steckley, *Words of the Huron*, 92.

²²⁷ Fenton, *Great Law*, 54–55, 99, 194.

seventeenth centuries, as discussed in chapter 4. They may also have structured the very first efforts by the Innu and others to establish relationships of peace with the newcomers. This is difficult to ascertain, however, given the nature of the documentary sources that describe these initial encounters. Perhaps just as importantly, the French who came to North America in the sixteenth century did not expect to create kin relationships with the indigenous inhabitants and were not attuned to symbolism of this kind. They expected instead to make deals with Native kings.

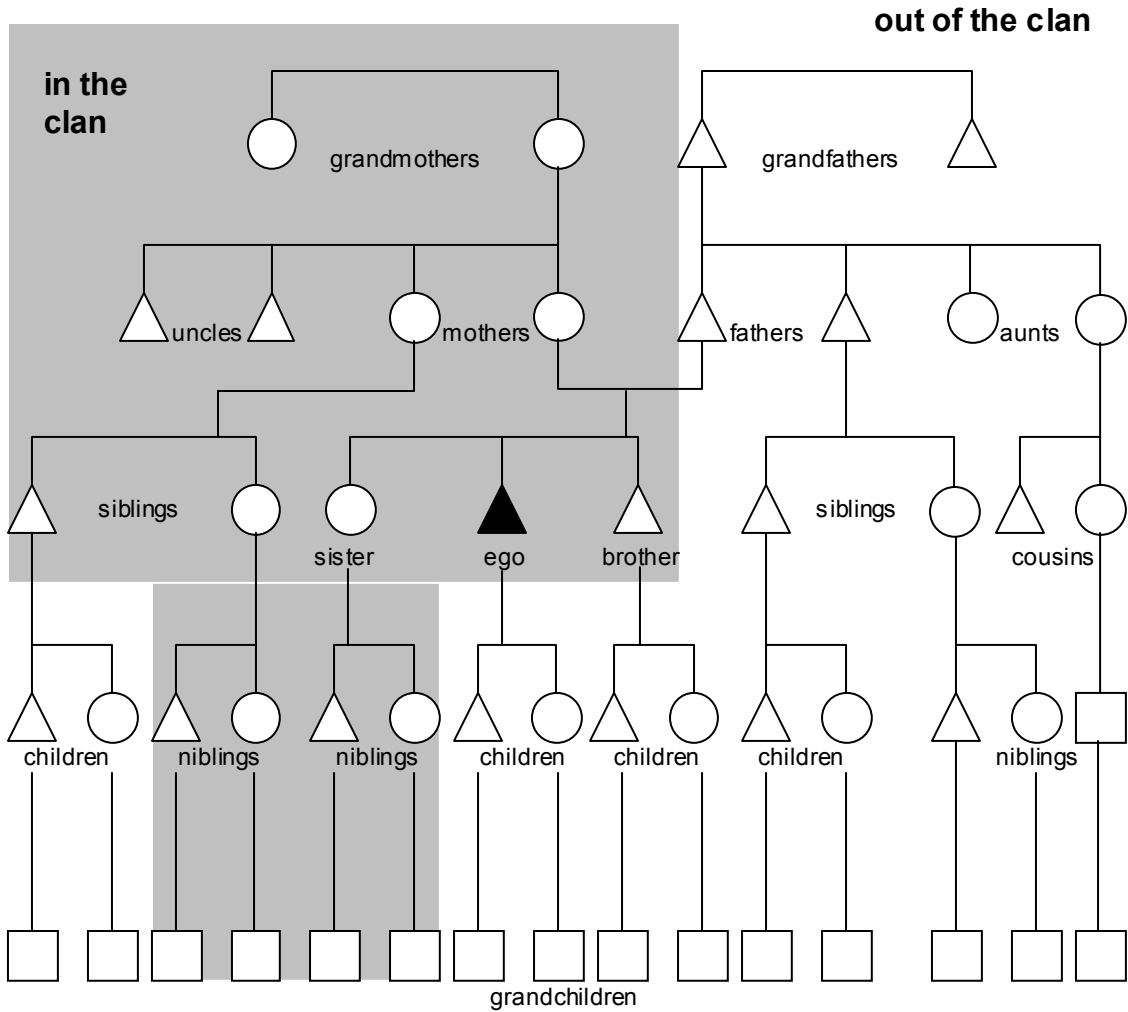


Fig. 5. Iroquois degrees of consanguinity (male ego) as described in Morgan's *Systems of Consanguinity* (1871). Chart adapted and expanded from Thomas R. Trautmann, *Lewis Henry Morgan and the Invention of Kinship* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), fig. 4, p. 55.

Kings, Captains, and Kin: Native-French Encounters in the Sixteenth-Century Atlantic World

Over the course of the sixteenth century ever-increasing numbers of European ships came to frequent the shores of eastern North America. As the Atlantic contours of the continent became clearer and as word of the stunning plunder Spain acquired from Mesoamerican and Andean civilizations in the 1520s and 1530s spread in rumour and in print, the seafaring nations of western Europe turned hopefully to the northern latitudes of its newfound lands. Exploration was quickly followed by efforts at colonization. Almost all failed. By the century's end, the only colonial establishment north of Mexico was a tiny Spanish outpost.¹ The absence of permanent settlement was no deterrent to the growing seasonal presence of fishers and, in the last half of the century especially, of traders who sought to profit, in a less dramatic manner than the

¹ St Augustine in present-day Florida, the only permanent European settlement that survived the century, was founded in 1565 to deter Spain's rivals from occupying the region following the destruction of the French colony there.

crown-sponsored expeditionaries, from the resources the regions and its inhabitants had to offer.

As sporadic and irregular as it was, the expanding European presence on the coasts had a significant impact on the indigenous societies of eastern North America. Even though most groups in the interior never experienced direct contact with Europeans, tales of the newcomers and material evidence of their presence—in the form of novel objects such as glass beads, ironware, and textiles—spread widely. Eurasian microbes may have been passed along as well, although convincing evidence is lacking for epidemic outbreaks on the scale of those that occurred in Mesoamerica in the sixteenth century, or of those that would strike eastern North America in the following one. Many of the profound demographic shifts that occurred in the sixteenth century—notably, a trend toward the coalescence of northern Iroquoian settlements and, in the southeast, the collapse of Mississippian chiefdoms and dispersion of their populations—had their origins in pre-contact times and should not be linked causally to the encounter with Europeans. It may be, as Daniel Richter suggests, that for the Native peoples of eastern North America the most significant consequences of contact lay in the intellectual and political realms. How to make sense of these newcomers and their technology? How to gain access to the new sources of wealth and power they represented?²

European nations faced parallel intellectual and political problems related to the discovery of a *mundus novus*, a ‘new world.’³ Who were the peoples of this

² Daniel K. Richter, *Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2001), 33–39.

³ *Mundus novus* was the common title of a text describing a voyage by Amerigo Vespucci to Brazil for the Portuguese crown. It circulated widely in early sixteenth century Europe in various printings and translations. Fracanzano da Montalboddo’s compilation of travel writing, *Paesi novemente ritrovati* (Venice, 1507), also emphasized the novelty of the discoveries. This work appeared in French under the title *Le nouveau monde* (Paris, 1516) and is cited later in this chapter.

world and where did they fit within biblical narratives of human creation and cultural development? What right had the expeditionaries to claim American lands for the princes of Europe? How would competing claims of possession be adjudicated? What rights did American peoples have? The answers to these questions frequently hinged on the ways in which Native American peoples were classified within existing cultural schemes. In chapter 2, French images of Native Americans served as a mirror of the observers' political beliefs and values. Similarly, in chapter 3, Native perspectives on the newcomers shed light on the values embedded within eastern Algonquian and northern Iroquoian political cultures. This chapter examines the ways in which political cultures and representations of the Other worked in tandem to shape face-to-face encounters in northeastern North America. As Richter has noted of sixteenth-century European expeditions to eastern North America, 'almost everywhere they went, these Europeans found people trying to make some kind of alliance with them, trying to gain access to the goods and power they might possess.'⁴ Many European colonizers of the period, whatever their ultimate agendas, were also inclined to establish good relations with indigenous peoples—if only to benefit from local knowledge. The means that Natives and newcomers employed to these ends reflected at once their respective understandings of the nature of the Other (and of the Other's society) as well as their respective taken-for-granted notions about politics. Both of these variables were mutable. As this chapter shows, changing French perceptions of Native American leaders over the course of the sixteenth century were linked to broader shifts in French political culture and in turn influenced the ways in which French colonizers and Native leaders created and maintained political relationships in northeastern North America.

⁴ Richter, *Facing East*, 39.

For their part, Native Americans struggled with the problem of categorizing Europeans and their technology; their perceptions of the latter changed too over time.

Many of the sixteenth-century encounters for which evidence exists could not be characterized as sustained relationships. Explorers came and went, making landfalls at different locations and contacting different indigenous groups. Even when they returned to a previously visited area, the seasonal mobility of some Native groups in the northeastern regions meant that they might encounter an unfamiliar culture the second time around. Communication between Natives and newcomers was often rudimentary; language barriers could only be overcome with time and consequently gestures and signs assumed great importance in early encounters. In such contexts, it is unsurprising that one party's initial assumptions about the nature and actions of the Other coloured its behaviour. Leaving aside for a moment the particularities of any one encounter, we may usefully reflect on the basic dynamics of this type of situation by considering a scenario outlined by sociologists Peter R. Berger and Thomas Luckmann in *The Social Construction of Reality*. In that work, Berger and Luckmann are concerned with demonstrating how institutions emerge from the habitualized actions of people interacting with each other. In order to make the point that the 'institutionalizing process . . . would occur even if two individuals began to interact *de novo*,' they ask us to imagine that 'two persons from entirely different social worlds . . . that have been historically produced in segregation from each other' meet 'in a situation that has not been institutionally defined for

either of the participants'—for example, should two people (*A* and *B*) from different cultures meet on a desert island.⁵

As *A* and *B* interact, in whatever manner, typifications will be produced quite quickly. *A* watches *B* perform. He attributes motives to *B*'s actions and, seeing the actions recur, typifies the motives as recurrent. As *B* goes on performing, *A* is soon able to say to himself, 'Aha, there he goes again.' At the same time, *A* may assume that *B* is doing the same thing with regard to him. From the beginning, both *A* and *B* assume this reciprocity of typification. In the course of their interaction these typifications will be expressed in specific patterns of conduct. That is, *A* and *B* will begin to play roles *vis-à-vis* each other. . . . Thus a collection of reciprocally typified actions will emerge, habitualized for each in roles, some of which will be performed separately and some in common.⁶

As Berger and Luckmann note, there are important psychological and emotional benefits that accrue to the actors from this process. Even though they lack the ability to adequately explain the meaning of their actions to each other, the actors individually produce typifications that make the other's behaviour seem predictable, thus relieving tension and reducing mental effort. In effect, the behaviour of the other, initially astonishing and worrisome, becomes routine and mundane.⁷ The institutionalizing process described by Berger and Luckmann invites us to pay attention to the moments of typification that shape interaction and the self-conscious ways in which participants perform for each other.

In applying Berger and Luckmann's thought experiment to examples of Native-European contact in the sixteenth century, we can hardly accept the premise that such contacts were not already institutionally defined. To some degree, Europeans knew what they would find in exotic lands even before they

⁵ Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1967), 55–56.

⁶ Berger and Luckmann, *Social Construction of Reality*, 56.

⁷ Berger and Luckmann, *Social Construction of Reality*, 57.

arrived in them. This was because a variety of sources and authorities—the bible, works of antiquity, late-medieval and renaissance folklore, and medieval travel writing (both fictional and non-fictional)—offered readers a panoply of images of the non-European inhabitants of distant, exotic lands.⁸ Moreover, the rapid dissemination of news about the New World in printed texts and illustrations meant that, inevitably, expeditionaries in the decades after Columbus were likely to have read about earlier encounters. A gauge of the interest Europe showed in the *mundus novus* can be found in the steadily increasing publication of Americana over the period. Over one hundred years, spanning the generations between the first voyage of Columbus (1492) and the founding of a settlement at Quebec (1608), the number of French-language works alone relating to the New World seems to have increased tenfold (table 2).

Table 2
Books on the Americas Printed at Lyons, Paris, and Rouen, 1493-1610

Year of printing	Lyons	Paris	Rouen	Total
1493-1500	6	11	—	17
1501-1510	—	16	—	16
1511-1520	13	43	—	56
1521-1530	19	30	—	49
1531-1540	24	21	—	45
1541-1550	32	40	2	74
1551-1560	97	92	5	194
1561-1570	50	72	1	123
1571-1580	51	111	7	169
1581-1590	40	112	5	157
1591-1600	71	63	30	164
1601-1610	60	109	17	186
Total	463	720	67	1 250

⁸ One of the outstanding contributions to the voluminous literature on this topic is Anthony Grafton, *New Worlds, Ancient Texts: The Power of Tradition and the Shock of Discovery*, with April Shelford and Nancy Siraisi (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1992).

Note: This table enumerates impressions (printings) and editions of works on the Americas. It was not uncommon for a work to be reprinted several times or to appear under more than one imprint. The data include impressions in Latin and French, with increasing numbers of French-language impressions toward the end of the period. The printers of these three cities produced well over 80 percent of France's sixteenth-century impressions of Americana, as listed in the Geographical Indexes of the relevant volumes of *European Americana: A Chronological Guide to Works Published in Europe Relating to the Americas, 1493–1776*, ed. John Alden and Dennis Channing Landis, 6 vols. (New Canaan, Conn.: Readex Books, 1980–1997).

Thus might one expeditionary's classification of Native Americans, as well as his typifications of their actions, shape the contact experience of a later observer. Some views of Native American peoples proved remarkably enduring—the label *sauvage*, for example.

For Native Americans, an analogous process must have occurred. To gain an understanding of the preconceptions Native peoples may have brought to situations of early contact, scholars have accordingly turned to the 'written sources and oral traditions from later periods [that] tell us about Native ways of conceptualizing relationships with outsiders.'⁹ At the dawn of the seventeenth century, an elderly Innu woman recounted one such tradition to her grandchildren. When the tall ships first appeared off the coast, she remembered, the people thought that they were moving islands, but then saw that they were large boats crawling with men. The women began preparing lodges for the new arrivals, as they would for any guests. Innu men in four canoes paddled out to the ships to invite the newcomers ashore, only to find the latter speaking an unintelligible language. The strangers handed them a barrel containing some hard bland substance, but it did not taste good, and the men threw it into the

⁹ Richter, *Facing East*, 14.

water. Yet they saw the strangers eating the stuff, and drinking a liquid of deep scarlet as well. 'These men drink blood and eat wood!' they said to each other, marveling. Not being able to understand the language of the strangers and unsure of their origins, the people called them *Ouemichtigouchiou*, meaning 'men who work in wood,' or who travel in a wooden vessel. The name stuck.¹⁰

As Sylvie Vincent has noted, a central concern of this tradition—the oldest recorded version of any Innu oral tradition regarding the first contact with Europeans—is the proper classification of the newcomers and their technology: 'Le nouveau venu, un instant perçu comme le mystérieux habitant d'une île flottante, était défini comme un homme à la technologie particulière.'¹¹ To judge

¹⁰ Paul Le Jeune, *Relation de ce qui s'est passé en la Nouvelle-France en l'année 1633, envoyée au Révérend Père Barthélemy Jacquinot, provincial de la Compagnie de Jésus en la province de France par le Père Paul Le Jeune, supérieur de la résidence de Kébec* (Paris, 1634) in *MNF*, 2:421. Pierre Pastedechouan, a young Innu man, told Father Le Jeune this tale in 1633. Pierre was presumably a child when his grandmother first told him the story. Decades before Le Jeune heard this tale, the French were aware that the Innu called them *Mistigoches*. See, for example, Samuel de Champlain, *Les Voyages faits au grand fleuve Saint Laurent par le sieur de Champlain Capitaine ordinaire pour le Roy en la marine, depuis l'année 1608 jusques en 1612* (Paris, 1613), in *The Works of Samuel de Champlain*, ed. H. P. Biggar, 6 vols. (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1922-36; University of Toronto Press, 1971), 2:121. Gabriel Sagard claimed that the term *Mistigoche* referred to wooden boats, and had been extended to the French themselves. *Le Grand Voyage du pays des Hurons* (Paris, 1632), ed. Réal Ouellet and Jack Warwick (Montréal: Bibliothèque québécoise, 1990), 148. The Innu dictionaries of Antoine Silvy (circa 1674–78) and Pierre Laure (1726) indicate that its use continued throughout the French regime. Antoine Silvy, *Dictionnaire montagnais-français*, ed. Lorenzo Angers, David E. Cooter and Gérard E. McNulty, Tekouerimat, no. 2 (Montreal: Presses de l'Université du Québec, 1974), 104; Pierre Laure, *Apparat français-montagnais*, ed. David Cooter (Sillery: Presses de l'Université du Québec, 1988), 419. The term appears to have spread widely among the Algonquian-speaking peoples of the Northeast. Louis Nicolas recorded it among the Anishinabeg in the 1660s. Diane Daviault, *L'algonquin au XVIIe siècle: une édition critique, analysée et commentée de la grammaire algonquine du Père Louis Nicolas* (Sainte-Foy: Presses de l'Université du Québec, 1994). Twentieth-century Innu, Naskapi, Plains Cree, Menominee, and Mesquakie (Fox) dictionaries still contain this word. Intriguingly, however, the eastern James Bay Crees use the term *waamistikushiiyuu* to refer to the English (or whites generally) and have a different word for the French. See Colin Scott, 'La rencontre avec les Blancs d'après les récits historiques et mythiques des Cris de la Baie James,' *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec* 22, no. 2–3 (1992): 47–62.

¹¹ Sylvie Vincent, 'L'arrivée des chercheurs de terres: récits et dires des Montagnais de la Moyenne et de la Basse Côte-Nord,' *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec* 22, nos. 2–3 (1992): 19-21, 21 (quotation). Innu *atanukan* (myths, or sacred cosmogonic stories), as narrated in the late

from this seventeenth-century story, the Innu of the time held the French to be basically human, like themselves; yet they also considered it important to preserve the memory of an initial period of uncertainty and doubt surrounding the nature of the newcomers. The story they told to their children seems to point toward the suspicion that the newcomers came 'from a world quite unlike that in which ordinary human persons lived.'¹²

Did Native Americans consider Europeans to be other-than-human beings in possession of uncommon spiritual power? For Christopher Miller and George Hamell, answering that question in the positive would explain much of the early history of intercultural contact in eastern North America. Their interpretation of the process—taken up and elaborated by Hamell in subsequent publications—hypothesizes that early contacts between Native Americans and Europeans were experienced by the former as an instantiation of mythic conceptions concerning the origins of spiritually significant objects. Briefly, the argument is as follows: Algonquian, Iroquoian, and Siouan peoples in the Northeast—all of whom allegedly shared a more-or-less similar 'mythical reality' or 'substructuring (shamanistic) cosmology'—initially equated European glass and metal trade goods or 'trinkets' (beads, mirrors, bells, rings, etc.) with spiritually significant indigenous materials such as crystal, shell, native copper, and, by extension, identified Europeans themselves with the powerful other-than-human beings who were the source of these things in the aforementioned indigeneous mythic worldview. These classifications, which were apparently automatic, self-evident, and taken-for-granted, made the initial contact process less of a novelty than a fulfillment of Native myths: 'The new simply slipped in beside the old.' But such

twentieth century, echoed this categorization by explaining how Europeans were, like the Innu themselves, the offspring of Wolverine, the Innu trickster and culture hero.

¹² Richter, *Facing East*, 15.

a comforting vision of the newcomers was not to last. According to Miller and Hamell, with the emergence of the fur trade, this 'mythical reality' yielded to a new understanding of contact; indeed, of reality itself. In effect, the articulation of Native economies with the European world-economy led to a form of 'disenchantment' (in Hamell's words): the 'magical' became 'commonplace'; sources of spiritual power became merely trade goods; 'supernatural beings' became mere human beings whose 'true nature' was now appreciated by Native peoples. Native mythic realities were subsequently transformed or abandoned in favour of new, often syncretic, mythologies that 'better fit the reality of the here-and-now of the contact experience.' Miller and Hamell suppose that in the Northeast, this process took place roughly over the period 1525 to 1650, with coastal groups experiencing this cognitive 'metamorphosis' earliest. Inland groups underwent the experience later and more gradually as Europeans goods and later Europeans themselves slowly filtered into the interior.¹³

The application of this model to an interpretation of sixteenth-century Native responses to European encroachment in the Americas would seem straightforward: it should be a matter of documenting the shift from patterns of Native behaviour that correspond to the contours of pre-contact 'mythical reality' toward behaviours that reflect disenchantment, or a more prosaic and pragmatic view of Europeans and their merchandise. But is the model itself valid? Bruce Trigger seems prepared to accept the notion that the types of European goods Native Americans traded for (and which archaeologists later find in burials and

¹³ This summary is based on Christopher Miller and George R. Hamell, 'A New Perspective on Indian-White Contact: Cultural Symbols and Colonial Trade,' *Journal of American History* 73, no. 2 (1986): 311–328, 326 (quotations), and George R. Hamell, 'Strawberries, Floating Islands, and Rabbit Captains: Mythical Realities and European Contact in the Northeast during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,' *Journal of Canadian Studies / Revue d'études canadiennes* 21, no. 4 (1986-87): 72–94, 79, 83, 84 (quotations).

village sites of the early contact period) usefully serve as an index for interpreting motivation and cognitive frameworks. He accepts the reasoning that Native peoples who were interested in acquiring beads were obviously motivated by religious beliefs, whereas those wishing to obtain ironware and cutting tools were just as evidently motivated by 'the rational component inherent in the mental processes of every human being.' Between the first and the second lies the difference between the search for spiritual power and the desire for 'practical advantage.' Trigger's term for disenchantment is 'cognitive reorganization': it involved a reclassification of Europeans and their goods from the realm of the supernatural to that of the natural. But unlike 'disenchantment,' this shift took place not as a result of the fur trade per se but simply as a consequence of increased opportunities for observation and experimentation. According to Trigger, it took only a 'relatively short period of direct contact' to induce Native peoples to adopt a more 'naturalistic' view of Europeans and a more rational and utilitarian assessment of their technology.¹⁴

Trigger's formulation of the model does a better job than Hamell's of taking into account the sparse documentary record for the sixteenth century and the evidence of the variability of Native responses to Europeans among both coastal and inland groups. It was not mere distance from the coast, but rather the specific geography of European encroachment that determined the degree of exposure to Europeans and hence the timing of 'cognitive reorganization.' Coastal groups that were distant from the areas frequented by fishing vessels

¹⁴ Bruce G. Trigger, 'Early Native North American Responses to European Contact: Romantic versus Rationalistic Interpretations,' *Journal of American History* 77, no. 4 (1991): 1195–1215, esp. 1210–1211 (quotations). A more succinct assessment of early Native responses is given in Bruce G. Trigger and William R. Swagerty, 'Entertaining Strangers: North America in the Sixteenth Century,' in *North America*, ed. Bruce G. Trigger and Wilcomb E. Washburn, vol. 1 of *The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 370–392.

knew less about Europeans than inland groups that made seasonal journeys to bays and estuaries where they were likely to contact sailors. Groups that endured the intrusive, and occasionally brutal, convulsions of the many short-lived sixteenth-century colonization efforts in eastern America rapidly learned the strengths and weaknesses of the invaders, and came to appreciate the practical effects of European technology.¹⁵ Overall, Trigger's formulation appears as a guarded endorsement of Hamell's model of contact, albeit one that explains changing Native responses in terms of the universal innate rationality of humans rather than in terms of the erosive effect of the 'white marketplace' (Miller and Hamell's expression) alone. The concept of 'cognitive reorganization,' too, seems less dramatic than the rhetoric of 'destruction' and 'erosion' that accompanies Miller and Hamell's descriptions of 'disenchantment.'¹⁶ In a sense, Trigger views early examples of European apotheoses as ultimately epiphenomenal, for relations based on pragmatism set in rapidly after the onset of sustained or direct contact.¹⁷ Hamell, by contrast, implies that initial Native 'enchantment' is the key to understanding the whole early contact period.¹⁸

¹⁵ Trigger, 'Early Native Responses,' 1211–1213.

¹⁶ Miller and Hamell, 'New Perspective,' 326. The metaphor of erosion dominates the discussion on pp. 326–327. In Hamell's later writing, the language of 'erosion' and 'disenchantment' is replaced by the concepts of transformation, reinterpretation, restructuring, and replacement—see, for example, 'Strawberries, Floating Islands, and Rabbit Captains,' 80.

¹⁷ Trigger and Swagerty, 'Entertaining Strangers,' admit on the one hand that evidence that Natives received Europeans as spirits is 'compelling' (370), but then describe it as 'limited and contradictory' (372). Pragmatism, they allege, quickly asserted itself as the principal determinant of native behaviour (372–373).

¹⁸ Daniel Richter has recently offered an elegant synthesis of Native-European contact in sixteenth-century North America that incorporates elements of 'romantic' and 'rationalistic' interpretations while sidestepping an explicit discussion of the debate outlined here. Like Hamell, he argues that for Native Americans 'gifts defined the givers' (*Facing East*, 15); accordingly, the marvelous objects Europeans gave to Native peoples (or simply left behind inadvertently) would have been perceived as 'gifts from powerful spirit beings' from another world (*ibid.*). Their rarity and spiritual significance was such that Richter supposes much of the sixteenth-century warfare hinted at in documentary sources and archaeological sites to be a

In both formulations, the basic analytical criterion for distinguishing between the mythically- (or religiously-) oriented phase of contact from the disenchanting (or rational) phase is the shift in Native interest away from nonutilitarian European trade goods (beads, bells, rings, mirrors, 'trinkets,' etc.) and toward utilitarian trade goods (ironware, cutting tools, kettles, etc.).¹⁹ Bruce White has cogently called into question the validity of this dichotomy for understanding early French contacts with the Great Lakes Anishinabeg and Dakota beginning in the second half of the seventeenth century. 'The evidence from the Dakota and Ojibwa,' concludes White, 'does not support the theory that Native groups, on first encountering Europeans, primarily admired nonutilitarian goods. Instead, they were impressed by a range of attributes and uses, many of which could be called utilitarian.' One might suppose that by the time direct contact was established between Europeans and the Ojibwa and Dakota, the latter were already partly 'disenchanted' through contact with more easterly Native groups and were consequently disposed to appreciate immediately the practical benefits of ironware and guns. Yet the Anishinabeg and Dakota viewed French goods as objects that conferred power—in Ojibwa,

consequence of competition over access to these goods (35–36). Richter says nothing explicitly about how or when this view of Europeans changed, despite having qualified it as a perception that only occurred 'initially' (15). He does, however, highlight the fact that some Native groups came to perceive Europeans as 'unwelcome guests' (32) and used violence against them—possibly signaling of a change of status. He also signals in passing the possibility of debate over the nature of Europeans within Native communities (38). For the seventeenth century Richter documents a fundamental shift in the ways Native Americans used European goods (43–53) that provoked 'deep changes' (44) in Native societies, but there is no mention of an accompanying shift in perceptions of European themselves and no echo of Hamell's disenchantment or Trigger's cognitive reorganization. Yet presumably something of the sort occurred, for in subsequent chapters Richter's makes no further reference to the notion that Native peoples perceived Europeans as spirit beings.

¹⁹ The utilitarian/nonutilitarian dichotomy is at the heart of Miller and Hamell, 'New Perspective.' In Hamell, 'Strawberries,' these terms are absent and the emphasis lies rather on the 'ideational' and 'aesthetic' significance of certain trade goods.

manitou—upon their owners, and associated the purveyors of these items with that power. White's point is not so much that the Ojibwa and Dakota were really healthy pragmatists, but rather that their conceptualization of power (and of objects that confer power) does not easily fit into the oppositional categories that inform the formulations of Hamell and Trigger. The natural and the supernatural, the aesthetic and the practical, the utilitarian and the nonutilitarian: these distinctions are constructed quite differently in, or are entirely absent from, Native taxonomies.²⁰ Even more generally, the utilitarian/nonutilitarian opposition is methodologically reductionist in that it obliges the analyst to effect an unacceptable minimization of the meanings attached to objects within a culture. Finally, White notes that while it is important to interpret Native responses in terms of Native ideological systems, 'it would be simplistic to assume that these ideological systems were ever solely based on one set of factors, even in the earliest encounters with Europeans.'²¹ White's study asks us to be sensitive to cultural, gendered, and, indeed, individual specificity in Native responses to Europeans.

The suggestion that Native peoples of eastern North America welcomed Europeans as powerful other-than-human beings is connected to other debates

²⁰ Indeed, it is worth considering that such a distinction can be overstated for the European participants in these encounters and reflects rather a deep-rooted tendency of modern Western thought.

²¹ Bruce M. White, 'Encounters with Spirits: Ojibwa and Dakota Theories about the French and Their Merchandise,' *Ethnohistory* 41, no. 3 (1994): 369–405, 394, 396 (quotations). Laurier Turgeon's work also emphasizes the polysemic nature of trade goods: 'Il nous faut aussi éviter de réduire l'objet à une fonction unique, économique ou culturelle, utilitaire ou symbolique. Car les objets peuvent embrasser l'une et l'autre, ou encore une pluralité de fonctions, surtout lorsqu'ils participent à l'échange interculturel. Les objets sont polysémiques et leur sens est mobile dans l'espace et dans le temps.' See Laurier Turgeon, 'Échange d'objets et conquête de l'Autre en Nouvelle-France au XVIe siècle,' in *Transferts culturels et métissages Amérique / Europe, XVIe–XXe siècle / Cultural Transfer, America and Europe: 500 Years of Interculturation*, ed. Laurier Turgeon, Denys Delâge, and Réal Ouellet (Sainte-Foy: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1996), 155–168, here 156.

about early modern instances of initial Native-European contact in Mesoamerica and in the Pacific Islands. Some scholars insist that the trope of the 'white god' is rooted in the European texts relating early modern encounters; that it has, in the past, been uncritically accepted by historians; and that it remains a part of the modern West's conception of itself in relation to the world.²² '[T]he idea that the European is a god to savages is . . . a structure of the long run in European culture and consciousness,' writes anthropologist Gananath Obeyesekere.²³ Hints of the idea are not uncommon in early modern travel writing. Columbus could be seen as an originator of the trope; the report of his voyage of 1492–93 to the Caribbean included the remark that the Native people whom he had abducted to serve as interpreters 'always believ[ed] that I descended from heaven, although they have been living with us for a long time, and are living with us to-day. And these men were the first who announced it wherever we landed, continually proclaiming to the others in a loud voice, "Come, come, and you will see the celestial people.'" Yet in the same passage Columbus alludes to the limited ability he had to communicate with these interpreters.²⁴ It is fair to ask: Was Columbus's understanding of the interpreters' words remotely accurate? Was his inference that celestial meant heavenly—a natural connection from a European standpoint—at all congruent with the beliefs held by the Taino? For historian Matthew Restall, these passages in Columbus's writings 'are ambiguous, at best.'

²² Matthew Restall, *Seven Myths of the Spanish Conquest* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 108–120, esp. 108. See also William M. Hamlin, 'Imagined Apotheoses: Drake, Harriot, and Raleigh in the Americas,' *The Journal of the History of Ideas* 57, no. 3 (1996): 405–28, esp. 406–407, for a brief enumeration of expressions of this notion in late twentieth-century popular culture.

²³ Quoted in Robert Borofsky, 'Cook, Lono, Obeyesekere, and Sahlins,' *Current Anthropology* 38, no. 2 [1997]: 255–65, here 257.

²⁴ Translation of *De Insulis nuper in mari Incido repertis* (Basel, 1494), in *The Columbus Letter*, Osher Map Library and Smith Center for Cartographic Education, University of Southern Maine, www.usm.maine.edu/~maps/columbus/translation.html (19 January 2005).

Spanish *cielo*—the term used by Columbus—can mean either sky or heaven. ‘Furthermore,’ notes Restall, ‘there remains not even circumstantial evidence that the provision of food and drink and others gestures of friendship . . . constituted “offerings” of a religious nature.’²⁵

If Columbus’s narrative was suggestive rather than definitive on the subject of Natives viewing Europeans as gods, later texts would make balder assertions about the godlike nature of the newcomers. The most famous case of the apotheosis of expeditionaries in the annals of Spanish colonialism came several generations later during the conquest of Mexico (*circa* 1519–21). Spanish chroniclers relating the events of the period noted that Nahuatl-speakers had at times used the term *teotl* (*teul* in Spanish texts) to refer to the Spanish; the Spanish generally chose to translate this word as ‘god’ and some leaders, during the conquest, had sought to capitalize on the possibility that some Mesoamericans saw them as such. Yet, as Camilla Townsend and Matthew Restall have pointed out in separate publications, early Native and Spanish sources provide evidence for considerable ambiguity surrounding the meaning of this term. *Teotl* could indicate, for example, a mortal impersonator of a deity rather than the deity itself.²⁶ At the time of the conquest, Nahuas do not seem to have used the term extensively. Nor did the Spanish leader Hernán Cortés, in his letters to Charles V, insist that he was perceived as a god by the Aztecs.²⁷ Later

²⁵ Restall, *Seven Myths*, 111.

²⁶ The term Nahuas refers to the Nahuatl-speaking peoples of central Mexico; they included the Aztecs and many of their subject peoples. For the meanings of the term *teotl*, see Camilla Townsend, ‘Burying the White Gods: New Perspectives on the Conquest of Mexico,’ *American Historical Review* 108, no. 3 (2003): 659–87, here 670–72; Restall, *Seven Myths*, 112. Townsend’s article acknowledges the contributions of specialists like James Lockhart who had previously cast doubt on the accepted view that the Aztecs viewed the Spanish as deities (659 n.2).

²⁷ Townsend, ‘Burying the White Gods,’ 664; Restall, *Seven Myths*, 113.

Spanish chroniclers, however, seized upon the notion that the Aztec emperor Moctezuma had seen Cortés as the incarnation of the deity Quetzalcoatl and that, more generally, in both Mesoamerica and the Andean region Native Americans had taken the Europeans for gods—and in their consequent despair, failed to conduct a vigorous defense of their empires.²⁸ Ironically, these chroniclers, like later historians, found support for this view in writing produced by Native people themselves. In the modern era, too, historians have taken these written accounts by Natives as evidence of the worldview of the vanquished. But as Townsend and Restall point out, the context of these Native texts needs to be taken into account when assessing the historicity of Aztec views of the Spanish. When, in the immediate post-conquest era, some Nahuas (mostly elite male youths under the tutelage of Spanish friars) set down in writing the tale that their ancestors had perceived Cortés to be the returning god Quetzalcoatl, it is possible that this was a means by which the post-conquest generations of Nahuas explained to themselves their forebears' defeat—and settled the blame squarely on Moctezuma and the Mexica (the dominant Nahua group in the Aztec empire).²⁹ Was it not more comforting to believe that Moctezuma had been paralyzed by the fear of a returning god than to accept that one's noble ancestors had been bested militarily by the Spanish invaders? In the emerging revisionist interpretation, the apotheosis of Cortés in Native post-conquest literature resulted from a convergence of Native intellectual responses to the reality of political and cultural subordination and of European traditions of viewing themselves as superior to non-Europeans. It does not explain the conquest itself so much as the worldviews of Nahuas and Spanish who lived in its aftermath.

²⁸ Restall, *Seven Myths*, 114–118.

²⁹ Townsend, 'Burying the White Gods,' 665–69; Restall, *Seven Myths*, 113–114.

The revisionism that marks recent scholarship on the ‘white God’ trope in sixteenth-century Mesoamerica has a bearing on the interpretation of Native oral traditions for the Northeast. Although Native groups in eastern North America generally did not experience sudden conquest as many Native Mesoamericans did, the long term experience of marginalization, dispossession, and subordination may have left its mark on traditions of early contact. An oft-cited Delaware tradition of early seventeenth-century contact, recorded some two hundred years later, has the Delaware concluding that a Dutch ship captain was ‘the great Mannitto (great or Supreme being) *himself*.’³⁰ For Miller and Hamell, this story, and others like it, is ‘a reflection of how those societies chose to incorporate novel historical events into their cognitive worldview.’³¹ They appear to assume, however, that the cognitive worldview embedded in the story is that of the early seventeenth-century Delawares. An alternative reading, such as that of Denys Delâge, might view the story as a cautionary tale that early-nineteenth-century Delawares told to explain how their ancestors’ warm but misguided reception of the Europeans had led, not to reciprocity and sharing, but to gradual loss of land to the crafty newcomers. The reception of the Dutch ship captain as a ‘Supreme being’ probably reflects, in Delâge’s view, the influence of Christian monotheism on the worldview of nineteenth-century Delaware storytellers. But while the story might have encouraged nineteenth-century Delaware listeners to chuckle at their ancestors’ naïveté, it also includes an ominous warning as the Dutch trick the people into ceding a great tract of land. (The ruse the Dutch are said to employ, Delâge notes, can plausibly be traced back to the works of

³⁰ John Heckewelder, ‘Indian Tradition of the First Arrival of the Dutch at Manhattan Island, New York,’ quoted in Miller and Hamell, ‘New Perspective,’ 320. Italics are in the original.

³¹ Miller and Hamell, ‘New Perspective,’ 321.

Virgil.)³² In Delâge's approach, the seventeenth-century experience of contact does not lie on the surface of the nineteenth-century narrative; rather, its vestiges are buried beneath, and embedded within, the memories of more recent experiences as well as borrowings from Christian and even classical mythologies absorbed from Europeans. Like the post-contact histories created by the Nahuas of the mid-sixteenth century, this Delaware tale can be seen as an interpretation of the past—one that foregrounds the surprise and naïveté of the nineteenth-century storyteller's ancestors as a means of explaining a contemporary reality.³³

Miller and Hamell are not unaware of the possibility that the extant Native oral traditions about initial contact with Europeans in the Northeast have repeatedly reinterpreted that past, but in general they insist that such traditions have preserved the fundamental process through which Native peoples rationalized the experience of contact, *at the time of contact*. For Hamell, the specific context of any individual tradition is less significant than what he sees as the 'consistency in [the traditions'] mythically-informed *dramatis personae*, structure, process, and motifs.'³⁴ This consistency over the *longue durée* stands both as proof of the significance of role of Native 'mythical realities' in shaping the contact experience and as one of its principal consequences.

In developing this line of interpretation, Miller and Hamell make clear their debt to Marshall Sahlins's analysis of the Hawaiian reception of Captain James

³² Denys Delâge, 'La tradition orale de l'arrivée des Européens à New York,' in *Culture et colonisation en Amérique du Nord: Canada, États-Unis, Mexique*, ed. Jaap Lintvelt, Réal Ouellet, and Hub. Hermans (Sillery: Septentrion, 1994), 203-14, here 208-209, 211-212.

³³ On the challenges facing western-trained scholars who attempt to employ Native oral traditions as evidence for a Native-centred objectivist account of the past (or as simply corroborating documentary or archaeological evidence), see Toby Morantz, 'Plunder or Harmony? On Merging European and Native Views of Early Contact,' in *Decentering the Renaissance: Canada and Europe in Multidisciplinary Perspective, 1500-1700*, ed. Germaine Warkentin, and Carole Podruchny (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 48-67.

³⁴ Hamell, 'Strawberries,' 87.

Cook and his crew in December 1778.³⁵ According to Sahlins, the Hawaiians took Cook for a god, but not because of awe in the face of British culture or technology. Rather, they did so because of a very particular set of congruences between the events of Cook's visit and the mythical reality of the Hawaiians—or, as Sahlins often expressed it, between history and structure. Cook's arrival coincided with the beginning of the Makahiki, a kind of festival marking the annual sojourn of the *akua* ('god') Lono. It was pure happenstance that Cook circumnavigated the island in the same direction as Lono's idol was accustomed to do in order to receive the appropriate rites in various temples. Moreover, Cook made his departure at just about the time Lono was scheduled to suffer a ritual death—again, by chance. It was Cook's unexpected return (for the purpose of repairing a ship) and aggressive stance (he sought to take a chief hostage in order to ensure the return of a stolen boat) that precipitated his death at the hands of the Hawaiians, explains Sahlins. Lono *had* to die: 'It was a ritual murder It was the Makahiki in an historical form.' There were, in other words, a very specific set of congruences between British behaviour and Hawaiian expectations (as conditioned by the Hawaiian 'mythical reality') that made the identification of Cook as the god Lono a valid empirical observation.³⁶

That analysis, first outlined by Sahlins in the late 1970s, has since become the centre of one of late-twentieth-century anthropology's more famous debates, one which is germane to a critical appreciation of the literature on early Native-

³⁵ Miller and Hamell, 'New Perspective,' 321 n. 39; Hamell, 'Strawberries,' 91 n. 2. The evocative term 'mythical reality'—oxymoronic at first glance—is Sahlins's (see the citations below) and, as we have seen, figures prominently in Miller and Hamell's discussion.

³⁶ Marshall Sahlins's interpretation of the events of 1778 are presented in *Historical Metaphors and Mythical Realities: Structure in the Early History of the Sandwich Islands Kingdom* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1981), chap. 2, (quotation, 23–24), and reprised in response to his critics in *How 'Natives' Think: About Captain Cook, For Example* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), esp. chaps. 2 and 3.

European contact in the Americas. The most public and wide-ranging rejection of Sahlins's interpretation has come from anthropologist Gananath Obeyesekere.³⁷ To some degree Obeyesekere's critique recalls the revisionism outlined above concerning the story of Cortés-as-Quetzalcoatl. For example, to reconstruct pre-contact Hawaiian mythic realities as well as the Hawaiians' experience of contact, Sahlins relies to some degree on post-contact accounts written by Hawaiians under the direction of Christian missionaries—texts that are akin to the post-conquest Nahua narratives relating Moctezuma's perception of Cortés as a god. Obeyesekere argues that in doing so, Sahlins has failed to appreciate the specific context in which these texts were produced and to recognize the possibility of alternative readings of those texts. More generally, Obeyesekere insists that the eighteenth-century British sources used by Sahlins to substantiate his claims prove only that the cultural baggage of the British included the entrenched, self-aggrandizing conceit that non-Europeans easily took Europeans for gods. Finally, Obeyesekere would prefer an interpretation of Hawaiian responses to the British that foregrounds their 'practical rationality,' or, in his words, 'the process whereby human beings reflexively assess the implications of a problem in terms of practical criteria.'³⁸

The Delaware tradition of first contact discussed above illustrates the first of these problems—the question of the context in which extant oral traditions about European apotheoses have been recorded. Delâge's interpretation is one alternative reading that would tend to undermine the tradition's value as a straightforward encoding of first contact experiences. The same example also

³⁷ Borofsky, 'Cook, Lono, Obeyesekere, and Sahlins,' 255. Although Sahlins's *Historical Metaphors and Mythical Realities* did not appear until 1981, Borofsky notes that key ideas had appeared in print in 1977.

³⁸ Borofsky, 'Cook, Lono, Obeyesekere, and Sahlins,' 257 (on post-contact sources), 260 (on the European myth), 256 (on practical rationality).

underlines the difference between Sahlins's corpus of Hawaiian material and the oral traditions and documentary sources available to Miller and Hamell. To reconstruct the British-Hawaiian encounter of 1778, Sahlins draws upon multiple sources relating to events that took place over a relatively short time period and within a single indigenous society and culture. The result is a very detailed picture—sometimes overwhelmingly so—of Hawaiian culture; the search for congruences between this mythical reality and the events of 1778 is accordingly rather fine-tuned. Miller and Hamell, by contrast, must settle with noting fairly broad similarities between various episodes of early contact spanning decades and involving many different indigenous cultures.³⁹ Where Sahlins draws on eyewitness accounts and later post-contact sources separated by little more than several generations to demonstrate both continuity in Hawaiian mythical realities and congruence with the events surrounding contact with the British, Miller and Hamell attempt to achieve the same end by juxtaposing materials spanning several centuries, from sixteenth- and seventeenth-century European travel writing to nineteenth-century ethnographic records of Native oral traditions. In no case can they cite an extant Native oral tradition that clearly and unambiguously relates to a specific first-contact encounter that is also detailed in contemporary written sources. (For these reasons, some scholars have concluded that Native oral traditions are of very limited usefulness in interpreting sixteenth-century encounters in the Northeast.)⁴⁰ Pre-contact Native mythical realities are accordingly painted in broad strokes and Miller and Hamell's assertion of a 'fit' between these realities and the events of any particular contact

³⁹ See esp. Miller and Hamell, 'New Perspective,' 320–321 and Hamell, 'Strawberries,' 72–73, 87–88, and 88–89, where sources of various eras and origins are collated without great attention to the context of their production.

⁴⁰ Trigger and Swagerty, 'Entertaining Strangers,' cast doubts on the usefulness of Native oral traditions in interpreting sixteenth-century encounters, 370–371.

situation—about which often very little is known—may involve following a chain of probable connections.⁴¹ These explorations are often stimulating and thought-provoking but are nevertheless quite different from Sahlins's attention to the microscopic details of eighteenth-century Hawaiian cultural schemes.⁴² These observations are not intended to show that the mere abundance of detail makes Sahlins's interpretation better than Miller and Hamell's; they do suggest, however, that some reflection on the standards for demonstrating congruence between narratives of contact and mythical realities would be helpful. Quite simply, Sahlins's example cannot easily be duplicated for sixteenth- and seventeenth-century eastern North America.

Perhaps the most convincing evidence Miller and Hamell provide to demonstrate continuity between pre-contact and post-contact Native mythical realities comes from their observation that in sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century archaeological sites, European trade goods are frequently found alongside analogous traditional objects in ceremonial contexts. Evidence of this kind seems strongest with respect to the juxtaposition of glass trade beads and shell beads in the graves of inland groups such as the Senecas.⁴³ Here is proof that European materials quickly found their way into a structure of the *longue*

⁴¹ See, for example, the perceived congruence between a Native oral tradition related by a seventeenth-century English writer and Native mythical realities, hinging on the cultural significance of strawberries. The seventeenth-century source describes how Native peoples of New England took the first European ship they saw for a moving island and accordingly rowed out to it to pick strawberries (quoted in Miller and Hamell, 'New Perspective,' 320). This occasions an exploration of the conceptual link between strawberries and beads in various Native American cultures, and between both of these and the world of spirits (322). As it is possible that the Native Americans who met the Europeans received trade beads as gifts, Miller and Hamell imply that, in effect, the detail of the strawberries in the oral tradition encoded the view that the Europeans themselves were spirits and the trade beads, strawberries. This connection is assumed, however, and is not explicit in the narrative itself.

⁴² Sahlins reviews, exhaustingly, the evidence for his argument in chaps. 1 and 2 of *How Natives' Think*.

⁴³ Miller and Hamell, 'New Perspective,' 315–317.

durée, for as Trigger has remarked, the practice of burying the dead with exotic goods had existed in the Northeast for thousands of years.⁴⁴ And the explanation for this behaviour may well be sought in Native mythology. But while Hamell's reading of Native myths points uniquely to the supernatural origins of many exotic goods, it neglects to make any statements about the articulation of such myths with the physical means through which such goods were acquired. North American archaeology also demonstrates the existence of pre-contact long distance trade networks that linked the natural sources of marine shell, copper, and stone to Native 'consumers' in far-off regions. Objects were clearly traded through many hands as they made their way across the continent.⁴⁵ As Richter reminds us, the potency of these 'prestige goods'—crystals, minerals, copper, shells, and crafted items—'came from their rarity and their association with distant sources of spiritual power;' the human beings who possessed them acquired social power through that connection. A centuries-old tradition of long distance trade in North America acquainted Native peoples with the practice of acquiring such 'prestige goods' from other human beings.⁴⁶ How then was the experience of acquiring such items through face-to-face trade with neighbours squared with stories that ascribed the provenance of these objects to otherworldly beings? Miller and Hamell's interpretation does not tell us; instead, their emphasis on shared Native beliefs regarding the origins of these goods crowds out the possibility that some Native peoples may have seen Europeans, not as familiar spirit beings, but as strange humans who traded marvelous goods.

⁴⁴ Trigger, 'Early Native Responses,' 1205.

⁴⁵ J. V. Wright and Roy L. Carlson, 'Prehistoric Trade,' in R. Cole Harris and Geoffrey J. Matthews, eds., *Historical Atlas of Canada*, vol. 1: *From the Beginning to 1800* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), plate 14; Richter, *Facing East*, 6–7.

⁴⁶ Daniel K. Richter, 'Tsenacommacah and the Atlantic World,' in *The Atlantic World and Virginia, 1550-1624*, ed. Peter C. Mancall (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 2007), 29–65, here 32–33.

What of Obeyesekere's more general assertion—that early modern Europeans easily imagined themselves being taken for gods by people they considered savage or primitive? Obeyesekere considers that Western narratives in which Europeans are apotheosized by Others are precipitates of what he calls a 'myth model of the long run,' one which he sees in contemporary culture as well as in Enlightenment Britain. How long exactly does this myth's run go back? In response to Robert Borofsky's observation that in 'a book that focuses on the dynamics of a European myth, relatively little space is taken up with examining the European contexts of the myth,'⁴⁷ Obeyesekere buttresses his stance by pointing to two articles by William M. Hamlin analyzing Renaissance narratives in which Europeans are taken for gods by Natives. For Obeyesekere, Hamlin's work shows that 'virtually every Renaissance explorer or traveler to savage lands claimed to have had divine status conferred on him by natives' and that 'Renaissance thinking was *saturated* with this myth model, both literally and as an extended trope.'⁴⁸ Examples from sixteenth-century French works are among those that Obeyesekere (following Hamlin) cites as proof of the existence of a 'myth model' that, it appears, he considers to extend over half a millennium of Western history. It is worth briefly considering Hamlin's work for, were we to use it as Obeyesekere would, we might find grounds for questioning many of the European sources adduced by Miller and Hamell in support of their interpretation.

Obeyesekere's notion of an enduring myth model is one that Hamlin finds 'entirely appropriate. How else,' he asks, 'can we credibly account for the incessantly repeated claim—in Columbus, Pigafetta, Díaz del Castillo, Las Casas,

⁴⁷ Borofsky, 'Cook, Lono, Obeyesekere, and Sahlins,' 260.

⁴⁸ Gananath Obeyesekere, 'Comment,' in Borofsky, 'Cook, Lono, Obeyesekere, and Sahlins,' 268 (emphasis in original).

Cartier, Cabeza de Vaca, Thevet, Nicolette, and scores of other writers—that native Americans attributed divine status to their European visitors?’ Hamlin further guesses that Renaissance writers would have found ‘the most resonant instance’ of the apotheosis of foreigners in a passage in the New Testament where Barnabas and Paul, having healed a crippled man, are treated as gods by the people of Lystra.⁴⁹ The apostles’ disavowal of the divinity imputed to them is a pattern that Hamlin also finds in three of the ‘imagined apotheoses’ he examines in detail. Narratives by Francis Drake, Thomas Harriot, and Walter Raleigh—all relating to voyages to the Americas in the late sixteenth century—underscore a fundamental dilemma facing the writers of such texts (and, presumably, Renaissance expeditionaries who believed themselves in danger of being apotheosized). For Christians to allow others to treat them as gods is sacrilege and, moreover, makes a mockery of the ultimate ideological pillar of colonialism in this era: the religious conversion of non-Christians. ‘What emerges as a constant,’ writes Hamlin, ‘is that the cultural assumptions or myth models regarding non-European “primitives” which so strongly condition perception and representation are directly at odds with the fundamental egalitarian premise of the religion to which the explorers subscribe and the natives are expected to convert.’ The textual consequence of this contradiction, argues Hamlin, is the explicit reticence of expeditionaries to accept Native attributions of divinity—even though one author (Raleigh) goes so far as to tacitly encourage the Natives’ apotheosis of an absent European (Elizabeth I) and hints strongly at the ‘coercive possibilities’ this presented for the colonizers.⁵⁰ For Hamlin, the trope represents

⁴⁹ Hamlin, ‘Imagined Apotheoses,’ 420 (quotation). The New Testament reference is to Acts 14:11–15.

⁵⁰ Hamlin, ‘Imagined Apotheoses,’ 423 (quotation), 417–419 (Raleigh).

something of a forbidden fantasy in Renaissance travel writing—a possibility that was exciting to contemplate but unseemly to pursue.

To judge from some of the sixteenth-century French sources, the notion that Native Americans easily attributed divinity to Europeans was an *idée reçue* that did not fundamentally shape intercultural relations on the ground. The 1504 relation of Binot Paulmier de Gonneville's voyage to Brazil noted that '... quand les Chrestiens eussent esté anges descenduz du ciel, ils n'eussent pu estre mieux chéris par ces pauvres Indiens, qui estoient tous esbahis de la grandeur de la navire, artillerie, mirouers, et autres choses qu'ils voyoient en la navire.'⁵¹ This is not a clear instance of apotheosis: what the Natives actually did think of the French is not asserted, and the simile serves merely to preface a description of the people's generosity and willingness to trade foodstuffs and exotic goods for trinkets. A similar figure of speech can be found in the narrative of Jacques Cartier's second voyage to Canada in 1535–36. During the expeditionaries' visit to the village of Hochelaga, infirm, sick, and elderly people surrounded Cartier, apparently 'in order that he might lay his hands upon them, so that one would have thought Christ had come down to earth to heal them.'⁵² As in Gonneville's relation, the image is primarily intended for the reader and does not assert a Native belief in Cartier's divinity. Cartier's response, however, hints at an awareness that such a belief might be emergent: 'seeing the suffering of these people and their faith, the Captain read aloud' excerpts from the gospel of St John and a prayer book, 'praying god to give them knowledge of our holy faith

⁵¹ 'Déclaration du vegage [sic] du capitaine de Gonneville et de ses compagnons ès Indes,' in M. d'Avezac, ed., 'Relation authentique du voyage du capitaine de Gonneville,' *Annales des voyages, de la géographie, de l'histoire, et de l'archéologie* (July 1869): 65.

⁵² Ramsay Cook, ed., *The Voyages of Jacques Cartier*, trans. H. P. Biggar (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 64.

... and grace to obtain baptism and redemption.⁵³ His words would have meant little to his immediate audience; the relation makes clear that linguistic communication with the Hochelagans was impossible due to the absence of interpreters.⁵⁴ To sixteenth-century readers of the relation, however, this behaviour might have constituted a praiseworthy disavowal of divine power and a redirecting of Native worshipfulness toward a proper object, God himself. As in the English narratives discussed by Hamlin, the imagining of an apotheosis is accompanied by textual efforts to contain or displace it. Perhaps more importantly for our present purposes, it is worth noting that this episode is unique in the narratives relating to Cartier's three voyages to Canada. The hint of an apotheosis is present, but Cartier's narratives are far from being saturated with it. Rather, as the rest of this chapter demonstrates, the narratives indicate a recurring concern with diplomacy and with attributions of leadership rather than divinity.

Other French sources from the period are similarly brief when dealing with this theme. French narratives relating to the attempt to colonize Florida in the 1560s describe Native peoples worshipping a stone column set up by the French on a previous visit, an image memorialized in a famous engraving by Theodor de Bry.⁵⁵ André Thevet, recounting his voyage to Brazil in the mid-sixteenth-century, claimed that when the Spanish first landed there, '... ces Sauvages eston[n]ez de voir les Chrestiens de ceste façon, qu'ils n'avoyent jamais veue, ensemble leur maniere de faire, ils les estimoyent com[m]e prophetes, & les honoroye[n]t ainsi que dieux: jusques à tant que ceste canaille les voya[n]t

⁵³ Cook, ed., *Voyages of Cartier*, 64.

⁵⁴ Cartier's two Native interpreters had declined to accompany him on this voyage (Cook, ed., *Voyages of Cartier*, 56), and the relation subsequently and repeatedly notes the necessity of communicating through gestures (e.g., *ibid.*, 57, 58, 60).

⁵⁵ Trigger, 'Early Native Responses,' 1202–1203.

devenir malades, mourir, & estre sujets à semblables passions com[m]e eux, ont com[m]encé à les mespriser, & plus mal traiter que de coustume'⁵⁶ As in the narratives of Gonneville and Cartier, these apotheoses are muted or displaced—in the Florida case, toward an object, and in Thevet, backwards in time to a moment of first contact. Although a close examination of French-Native relations in Brazil and Florida is beyond the scope of this study, this chapter's analysis of selected French narratives from these expeditions indicates that, as in Cartier's, a concern with the classification of Native leaders is more central to understanding French actions than is the belief that Native peoples see French expeditionaries as spirits.

The following brief overview of the symbolic aspects of French-Native American encounters in the sixteenth century does not attempt to explicate a putative cognitive schism of the kind postulated by Hamell, and sees, with James Axtell, little evidence in the written accounts of those encounters for a radical shift in the ways Native Americans viewed Europeans.⁵⁷ At the same time, however, it heeds Hamell's call (following Sahlins) for serious consideration of the 'ideational impact of culture contact.'⁵⁸ As we shall see, the documentary evidence suggests a great deal of ambiguity both with respect to European and Native behaviours in the sixteenth century. In the northeast, for example, it seems likely that the groups that the French encountered in 1534 in the Gulf of St

⁵⁶ André Thevet, *Les singularitez de la France antarctique* (Paris: Les héritiers de Maurice de la Porte, 1558), 53v.

⁵⁷ James Axtell, 'At the Water's Edge: Trading in the Sixteenth Century,' in *After Columbus: Essays in the Ethnohistory of North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 155–156. Axtell assumes that the disenchantment took place before the earliest written records of contact, but also accepts that this must have been a result of the prior development of fur trade. As noted below, this is a questionable assumption, if the notarial records of French Atlantic ports are any indication of the chronology of the fur trade.

⁵⁸ Hamell, 'Strawberries,' 90.

Lawrence all had some previous direct knowledge of and experience with Europeans as a result of meeting some of the hundreds of fishing vessels that frequented the coast each summer. In the St Lawrence valley proper, it is possible that the Hochelagans near present-day Montréal had had little or no direct contact with the newcomers—a factor which may explain the unique features of their reception of Cartier in October 1535. In Trigger's view, the relative isolation of the Hochelagans explains their apparent willingness to view the French as supernatural beings, in marked contrast to the 'naturalistic view of Europeans' held by their jaded (or 'disenchanted') neighbours to the east.⁵⁹ The people of Stadaconé near present-day Québec, however, with whom the French established rather intense relations in 1534–36 and 1541–43, made regular journeys to the Gaspé peninsula. Sightings of ships, encounters with shore parties, discovery of shipwrecks, and information gleaned from the Mi'kmaq (with whom the Stadaconéans were at war in the 1530s) and Innu probably provided a wealth of empirical information about the Europeans prior to the Cartier expedition of 1534. The relations of these voyages are not, therefore, presumed to offer accounts of 'first contact.'⁶⁰ In this analysis I assume that, if indeed Native peoples of the Gulf of St Lawrence and river valley of the same

⁵⁹ Trigger, 'Early Native Responses,' 1210–1211.

⁶⁰ In *First Contact* (New York: Viking, 1987), authors Bob Connolly and Robin Anderson document the response of the highlanders of New Guinea to the arrival of Australian gold prospectors in the 1930s. The latter were received as spirits, and more precisely, as the returning ghosts of dead relatives. Even so, pragmatic efforts to reap the benefits of the newcomers' technology began immediately. As well, the highlanders who experienced this first contact (many of whom, of course, were still alive in the 1980s and were interviewed by the authors) recalled early efforts to determine the nature of the strangers by observing their bodies and habits. Women who had sex with the 'spirits' realized immediately that the latter were in fact human. Even so, uncertainty over the Australians' origins and nature persisted for a long time. Marshall Sahlins cites this work as one of several examples of a general Polynesian and Melanesian pattern of taking Europeans for spirits (*How 'Natives' Think*, 183–185), but it would also seem to support Trigger's view of rapid 'cognitive reorganization'—or more simply, a change of opinion shortly after first contact.

name had once held the view that the newcomers were other-than-human beings (as some oral traditions indicate) and if the newcomer's goods had found their way into the spiritual and ritual life of the people (as the archeology suggests), this was far from a universal or taken-for-granted perception at the time of Cartier's voyages. It is quite possible instead that the newcomers had already been (re)classified by many as human beings—not through any disenchantment due to the fur trade, which had not yet begun in earnest, but through experience and observation. It is also likely that Native communities actively debated the issue, just as in later times they would argue over what responsibility to assign Europeans for the horrific epidemics that engulfed them.⁶¹

Seeing Europeans as basically human did not resolve the problem of the newcomers for Native Americans, however; it would have merely shifted the questioning to a finer level of taxa. What type of human beings were they? What did it mean when they acted in such and such a way? What kinds of power did they have? The processes of classification and typification remain key to understanding Native American and French perceptions of each other in the sixteenth century. Of particular interest, for our purposes, are the ways in which Native American people and French observers sought to assimilate the experience of the unfamiliar through the classification of people and phenomena and the typification of exotic practices. This cognitive activity directly shaped

⁶¹ The French Jesuits who lived in the Huron country in the 1630s and 1640s when epidemics of smallpox and influenza broke out were sufficiently fluent in the Huron language to understand those debates they attended personally as well as the reports the Hurons gave of them. The evidence that found its way into the missionaries' written reports makes it clear that there were divergent views of the newcomers and of what to do about them (see Bruce G. Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660*, [Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1976; reprint, 1987], 534–538, 541–551, 565–570, 595–601). While, according to Trigger, 'there can be no doubt that the Huron regarded the Jesuits as shamans or sorcerers,' (*ibid.*, 566), this widely shared classification did not yield a single attitude or policy toward the missionaries.

relations between Natives and newcomers. It was in turn shaped by the enduring cultural schemes embodied within each actor, but it did not constitute a mental straitjacket. 'Nobody can create, think or even act outside the mythology of his time,' wrote Northrop Frye. '[B]ut,' he continued immediately, 'a mythology is not some kind of prison; it is simply the whole body of verbal material we work with.'⁶² There seems little reason to posit the existence of an unequivocal or monolithic Native view of Europeans or of their goods. Indeed, some Native American cognitive systems seem to possess a kind of built-in flexibility with regard to the classification of experience. Mary Black has remarked, following and systematizing the work of A. Irving Hallowell, that the Ojibwa belief system recognizes not only that physical objects are unstable in form and that different individuals may have divergent (yet equally truthful) perceptions of the same landscape, but that the true nature of an object or an event may only become clear over time.⁶³ As Gananath Obeyesekere has reminded us, 'There is no "native point of view;"' nor, it could be added, was there a single European point of view. The analyst of such encounters should 'emphasize tentativeness and indeterminacy' and consider 'positing multiple rationalities within each culture.'⁶⁴

⁶² Northrop Frye, 'The Rear-View Mirror: Notes Toward a Future,' in Frye, *Divisions on a Ground: Essays on Canadian Culture*, ed. James Polk (Toronto: Anansi, 1982), 185.

⁶³ Mary B. Black, 'Ojibwa Taxonomy and Percept Ambiguity,' *Ethos* 5, no. 1 (1977): 90–118.

⁶⁴ Obeyesekere, 'Comment,' in Borofsky, 'Cook, Lono, Obeyesekere, and Sahlins,' 271.

The narratives relating to Cartier's voyages of 1534, 1535–36, and 1541–42⁶⁵ provide an opportunity to explore both the processes of classification and typification through which Native Americans and French expeditionaries tried to understand each other and the self-conscious performances to which they were inspired as a result of this cognitive work. These narratives are valuable because they provide a link between two different dynamics in the contact process. Initially, the presence of Cartier's ships in the Gulf of St Lawrence was nothing out of the ordinary—Native groups in the region presumably responded to them largely in the same manner as they did to the fishermen and whalers who appeared year in and year out. But Cartier's penetration of the St Lawrence valley in 1535 and his and Roberval's efforts to establish permanent colonies there in 1535–36 and 1541–43 altered the dynamic of contact. As settlers—and, in the case of Roberval, as a would-be conqueror—these small pockets of Frenchmen (and women in 1542–43) stood in a new light, their presence threatening to reshape the existing political and economic landscape. These brief episodes of French colonization substantially increased the frequency of contact, the range of issues to be negotiated between Natives and newcomers, and the

⁶⁵ Recent examinations of these narratives include Michel Bideaux, 'Les compagnons de Jacques Cartier,' in *Colloque Jacques Cartier: histoire, textes, images* (Montreal: [Société Historique de Montréal], 1985), 201–226; Gilles Thérien, 'Jacques Cartier et le langage des signes,' in *ibid.*, 229–265; Bruno Roy, 'Le "Bref récit" d'une trahison,' in *ibid.*, 267–300; Michel Bideaux, 'Introduction,' in Jacques Cartier, *Relations*, ed. Michel Bideaux, Bibliothèque du Nouveau Monde (Montreal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1986), 9–83 (and see also the voluminous notes for elements of Bideaux's interpretations of the relations); François-Marc Gagnon and Denise Petel, *Hommes effarables et bestes sauvages: images du Nouveau-Monde d'après les voyages de Jacques Cartier* (Montréal: Boréal, 1986); Ramsay Cook, 'Donnacona Discovers Europe,' in Cook, ed., *Voyages of Cartier*, ix–xli; Réal Ouellet, 'Gestualité et perception de l'Autre dans les *Relations* de Cartier,' in *Culture et colonisation en Amérique du Nord*, ed. Jaap Lintvelt, Ouellet, and Hub Hermans, *Nouveaux cahiers du CÉLAT*, no. 9 (Sillery: Septentrion, 1994), 27–48; and Richter, *Facing East*, 26–32, 36–38. Bideaux's critical edition of the narratives emanating from Cartier's voyages is the most authoritative to date. Although there has been considerable debate over the authorship of these narratives, Bideaux is inclined to view Cartier as the author of the first and second *Relations* (*Relations*, 64, 66).

opportunities for observation and typification of unfamiliar behaviours. The customary festivities that marked casual trading 'at the water's edge' no longer sufficed to handle the new complexity in intercultural relations, and consequently the accounts of Cartier's voyages hint at the steps taken to institute more elaborate and meaningful diplomatic forms. Few if any of these attempts were successful.

I argue that these narratives indicate that by the end of the second voyage, the Iroquoian-speaking peoples of the St Lawrence valley had attempted to establish a relationship with the newcomers based on reciprocity; they did so through the use of rituals that, despite being only sketchily documented for the sixteenth century, were obvious precursors to the diplomatic protocols of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Iroquoian societies in the Northeast. These protocols, we know, were rooted in the premise that allies were like kin and, accordingly, employed ritual means to establish such a connection. At the same time, Cartier's behaviour toward the Iroquoians was increasingly shaped by the perception that their leaders were lords or kings. In this, Cartier was not alone; the narratives of French expeditions to Brazil and Florida in the mid-sixteenth-century reveal the same tendency among other French expeditionaries. Other texts from the period—plays, novels, and fictionalized travel narratives—underscore the extent to which this prism of perception shaped conceptions of Native American societies. On the ground, the respective goals of Native leaders and French expeditionaries in contact repeatedly clashed; the former sought to establish relations based on metaphorical kinship between peoples, while the latter sought instead to influence and manipulate kings at the apex of Native communities. It was only toward the end of the century that, as conceptions of monarchy became the focus of polemical and violent debates in France and fishermen and as fur traders replaced expeditionaries in the Northeast, French

perceptions of Native kings receded and metaphors of kinship came to the fore in intercultural relations.

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Regular contact between the Native peoples of the St Lawrence valley and Europeans did not take place until the last quarter of the sixteenth century. Prior to this, Europeans engaged in the cod fishery and Basques specialized in whaling had established seasonal stations along the shores of the Gulf of St Lawrence and the Atlantic coastline of present-day Nova Scotia. These temporary settlements faced the sea, and were oriented toward the labour-intensive task of drying cod or, in the Strait of Belle Isle, boiling down whale blubber, and not toward interior exploration, regular trade, or permanent settlement. The men who performed this work were generally indentured wage-labourers who were subjected to a rigid work schedule between their arrival in May/June and their departure in September/October.⁶⁶

Native bands in the region also depended on coastal food resources during the summer. For example, the Mi'kmaq of Nova Scotia gathered in groups of 200 or more between spring and fall at favoured sites along the coast to harvest smelt, sturgeon, salmon, cod, shellfish, and eels, while Iroquoian-speaking villagers from the lower St Lawrence valley traveled in similarly large groups to

⁶⁶ *Historical Atlas of Canada*, 1:47–48 and plate 22; René Bélanger, *Les Basques dans l'estuaire du Saint-Laurent, 1535–1635* (Montreal: Les Presses de l'Université du Québec, 1971), 29–32; Selma Barkham, 'Documentary Evidence for 16th Century Basque Whaling Ships in the Strait of Belle Isle,' in *Early Exploration and Settlement in Atlantic Canada: Selected Papers*, ed. G. M. Story (St John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1982), 53–95. Basque whalers are first known to have attempted to remain in Terranova over the winter in 1574–75, with some disastrous results in 1576–77 (Barkham, 'Basques Whaling,' 62).

the Gaspé peninsula to fish for mackerel.⁶⁷ At some locations on the shores of the Gulf they also hunted seals and small whales and butchered the occasional large beached whale.⁶⁸ The presence of European crews and their monopolization of certain bays and harbours doubtless had the potential to create friction, but it was certainly not in the interests of the Europeans to make trouble. As J. R. Miller has noted, 'In the fisheries off the east coast, . . . a minimal level of tolerance towards [fishing crews] by the Native population was an essential precondition of their success. Should the newcomers irritate and offend the much more numerous Indians, they would soon encounter both maritime and land-based assaults that would make catching and processing the cod impossible.'⁶⁹ The capital-intensive nature of the fishery militated against incurring mounting costs for the defense of coastal installations. Moreover, the goodwill of local Native groups might ensure that wharves, cabins, drying platforms and the like could safely be left intact for continued use the following year.⁷⁰ Ship captains probably acted to propitiate indigenous peoples by offering gifts and by strictly controlling their crews in order to prevent conflict. Native peoples doubtless reciprocated with gifts of their own, and in some areas these kinds of exchanges may have

⁶⁷ Philip K. Bock, 'Micmac,' in *HNAI*, 15:109–112; Bruce G. Trigger and James F. Pendergast, 'Saint Lawrence Iroquoians,' in *HNAI*, 15:357–359.

⁶⁸ The people of Stadaconé traveled to the mouth of the Saguenay River to hunt seals and to engage in the 'pescherye' of beluga whales; they told Cartier that the latter were fort bons à manger.' *The Voyages of Jacques Cartier*, trans. and ed. H. P. Biggar, Publications of the Public Archives of Canada, no. 11 (Ottawa: F. A. Acland, 1924), 117, 118.

⁶⁹ J. R. Miller, *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens: A History of Indian-White Relations in Canada*, 3rd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 35–36.

⁷⁰ When Pierre Du Gua de Monts abandoned his tiny colony at Port-Royal in August 1607, the Mi'kmaq headman Membertou was left in possession of the 'manoir'. Three years later, Jean de Biencourt de Poutrincourt found the buildings untouched, no doubt as a result of Membertou's good stewardship. This may well have been an echo of unrecorded sixteenth-century practices; see Marc Lescarbot, *Histoire de la Nouvelle-France*, ed. Edwin Tross, 3 vols. (Paris: Librairie Tross, 1866), 579, 610. (The pagination is continuous throughout the three volumes of this work).

taken on, over time, the character of small-scale trade—secondary, from the Europeans' perspective, to the main business of filling the hold with fish or whale oil.⁷¹

Official expeditions, sometimes organized under the mandate of conquest, were quite possibly less solicitous of Native goodwill than were fishermen and whalers. From Columbus onward, explorers had kidnapped Native peoples as 'slaves, future interpreters and guides, pawns in the imperial partition of the New World, or walking souvenirs.' At the same time, however, navigators interested in exploiting indigenous geographical knowledge or simply with replenishing water supplies curried favour with locals by doling out quantities of cheap merchandise as gifts. Sometimes the people's mistrust of Europeans obliged the latter to deposit their gifts and retire without a face-to-face meeting. In other cases, the people welcomed the explorers with festivities. There seems to have been no haggling over prices.⁷²

Many of these features marked the initial encounters Cartier's crew had with Native peoples. The narrative of the voyage of 1534 to the Gulf of St Lawrence records encounters between the crews of Cartier's two ships and Native peoples in only three regions: on Prince Edward Island, along the North Shore, and on the Gaspé peninsula (figure 6). (The expedition also coasted along the western shore of Newfoundland and the eastern half of Anticosti Island

⁷¹ Although Selma Barkham has uncovered documentary evidence of violence between Basque whalers and Native Americans in parish records from the Basque country (Barkham, 'Basque Whaling,' 61–62), she affirms elsewhere that overall the Innu and French and Spanish Basques enjoyed a 'tradition of friendship' marked by 'extraordinary harmony' over two centuries; see Selma Huxley Barkham, 'The Mentality of the Men behind Sixteenth-Century Spanish Voyages to Terra Nova,' in *Decentring the Renaissance: Canada and Europe in Multidisciplinary Perspective, 1500-1700*, eds. Germaine Warkentin and Carolyn Podruchny (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 110–124, esp. 121–124 (see 111, 121 for quotations).

⁷² Axtell, 'At the Water's Edge,' 148 (quotation), 156–157, 159–160.

apparently without interacting with or even sighting local populations.) Several canoes were spotted off the coast of Prince Edward Island; later, a lone man first signaled to and then fled from the French ships and longboats. The French hung a knife and woollen girdle on a branch and left. On the North Shore, the ships sighted certain 'gens effarables et sauvaiges' in early June, and then, two months later and over a hundred kilometers further west at Natashquan, met twelve men 'lesquelz vindrent aussi franchement à bort de noz navires comme s'ilz eussent esté françoys,' and who seemed to be associated with a certain captain Thiennot.⁷³ More eventful, however, were the encounters that occurred on the Gaspé peninsula over a period of 19 days in July; these occupy the centre of the narrative, accounting for approximately 25 percent of the text as a whole. In Chaleur Bay, the crews interacted with about three hundred people over the course of five days (6–10 July). Further north, in the Baie de Gaspé, poor weather kept the French ships at anchor for ten days (16–25 July), during which time the ships were visited by about two hundred people whose language, hairstyles, and 'nature' the French judged to be different from the group encountered in Chaleur Bay.⁷⁴

⁷³ Biggar, ed., *Voyages of Cartier*, 23, 41, 42, 76. Although this 'cappitaine Thiennot' has generally been assumed to a European ship captain, it is also possible that he was a Native headman: as Charles A. Martijn has pointed out, in this narrative the term 'cappitaine' is also used to describe native leaders such as Donnacona. 'The Iroquoian Presence in the Estuary and Gulf of the Saint Lawrence River Valley: A Reevaluation,' *Man in the Northeast* 40 (1990): 51, 53.

⁷⁴ 'Ilz ne sont point de la nature, ny langue des premiers que avions trouvé' (Biggar, ed., *Voyages of Cartier*, 61).

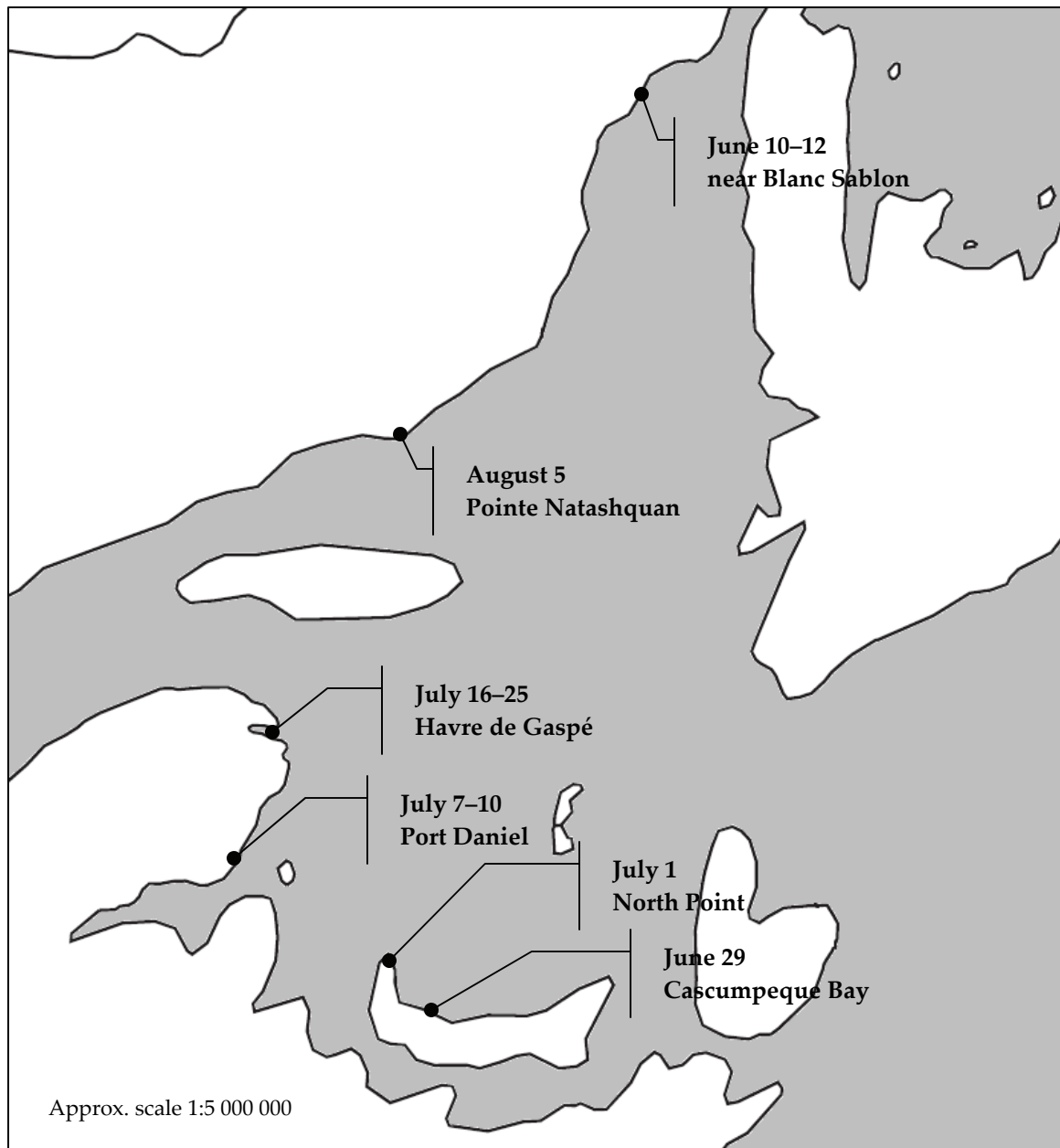


Fig. 6. Dates and probable locations of encounters between Native peoples and Cartier's ships in the Gulf of St Lawrence in the summer of 1534; see *The Voyages of Jacques Cartier*, ed. Ramsay Cook (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 16–31 *passim*. Map by the author.

During the first encounter in Chaleur Bay, a lone French longboat came in sight of 'ung grant nombre de gens [qui] fessoint ung grant bruict, et nous

fessoint plusieurs signes, que nous allission à terre, nous monstrant des peaulx sur des bastons.⁷⁵ Scholars have generally assumed that the people in the forty or fifty canoes mentioned by the narrator were Mi'kmaq, in part because seventeenth-century sources place the Mi'kmaq in this region, and in part because the people in the canoes approaching the longboat hailed the French with the phrase *Napou tou daman asurtat*, interpreted by early twentieth-century Capuchin missionary Father Pacifique as Mi'kmaq *Nit-ap gto- dem na gsa-lol-tôa*, 'Ami, ton semblable t'aimera.' Although the French understood the gestures of those in the oncoming canoes as sign of friendship, they nevertheless fired off several small artillery pieces to keep them at bay: 'Et pour ce que n'avions, comme dit est, que l'une de nos barcques, ne nous voullymes fiez en leurs signes.'⁷⁶

The next day, nine canoes of people from this group came to the point of the harbour where the French ships were anchored, and were met by two French

⁷⁵ Biggar, ed., *Voyages of Cartier*, 49. For Marcel Trudel, 'l'empressement des Micmacs à recevoir les étrangers, leur insistance à offrir leurs marchandises prouvent bien que ces indigènes ont l'habitude de traiter avec les Européens; on sait d'ailleurs que les explorateurs et les pêcheurs d'avant Cartier sont revenus avec des fourrures' (*HNF*, 1:79). Lucien Campeau has rejected Trudel's logic, pointing out that Cartier was hardly interested in the furs he received: 'On ne peut pas conclure de ce récit que l'explorateur était intéressé aux fourrures des Micmacs ni que ceux-ci avaient déjà l'habitude d'en échanger avec les Européens. Une seule chose est alors apparente, c'est que les peaux étaient pour les indigènes un objet d'échange' (Campeau, 'L'origine du commerce des fourrures en Amérique du Nord,' in *Colloque Jacques Cartier*, 86). Axtell, like Trudel, assumes that this incident is evidence of an early emergence of the fur trade ('At the Water's Edge,' 154). Notarial documents from the French ports that outfitted Basque, Norman and Breton ships only provide evidence of a North American fur trade beginning in the 1550s, but this does not mean that fishermen were not engaged in small-scale profit-motivated fur trading in the first half of the century; there are allusions to this type of exchange around the Strait of Belle Isle in a 1542 deposition of Basque sailors; see Laurier Turgeon, 'Creuser les premiers contacts: pêcheurs basques et Amérindiens au Canada au XVI^e siècle,' in *Culture et colonisation*, 56–58. While Campeau is correct to note that Cartier was more interested in mines than he was in furs, the same cannot be assumed for fishermen who might see furs as an interesting sideline to the sale of cod.

⁷⁶ Biggar, ed., *Voyages of Cartier*, 50, 50 n. 4; see also 57 n. 6.

longboats. 'Et incontinant qu'ilz nous aperceurent, se mysdrent à fuyz, nous faisant signes qu'ilz estoient venuz pour trafiquer avecques nous.' These 'signs' were apparently a repetition of the gestures of the previous day—furs held up high—and the flight, in anticipation of another burst of French artillery. The French in turn made unspecified signs intended to indicate peacefulness, and the two groups met on shore to exchange 'des peaulx de peu de valleur'—in fact all the skins in which the Mi'kmaq were clad—and 'aucuns petitz présens de peu de valleur' carefully stocked by the expedition before leaving St Malo.⁷⁷ Cartier's men interpreted the gestures of the departing Mi'kmaq to mean that they intended to return to barter again on the morrow, but although the French ships remained at anchor until the 10th, the Mi'kmaq did not do so.⁷⁸ Three days later, however, the French ships, returning from the head of the bay, came across the Mi'kmaq camp and, again, after a cautious exchange of signs of goodwill—several Mi'kmaq left some cooked seal meat on shore, and the French

⁷⁷ Biggar, ed., *Voyages of Cartier*, 52, 56, 121. The knives, hatchets, awls, glass beads, woollens, combs, bells, tin rings, shirts and red caps that Cartier, like Columbus and Verrazano before him, doled out with the intention of earning the goodwill of the people he encountered were hardly selected at random from objects that happened to be at hand: they reflected the inventory of trade goods employed by Portuguese merchants in west Africa and, later, Brazil. Michel Bideaux points out the similarities between the inventory of trade goods recorded for Gonneville's 1504 voyage to Brazil and the types of gifts offered by Cartier; see Cartier, *Relations*, ed. Bideaux, 332 n. 238.

⁷⁸ Regardless of whether or not the Mi'kmaq actually signaled their intention to return to trade with French on the 8th, it is interesting to note that this group apparently did not seek to initiate a further trading session with the French, although they gladly traded what they did have with the French who found their camp on the 10th. Nor did the Mi'kmaq seek to contact the French again on the 11th or the 12th. Even while bearing in mind the possibility that the narrative omitted certain encounters, it would seem logical to view this as evidence that the Mi'kmaq eagerness to trade with Europeans was tempered by a range of other priorities. Trigger's interpretation of these events erroneously gives the second trading session as taking place on the morrow of the first, and assumes the Mi'kmaq deliberately lit signal fires to attract the French, thereby emphasizing this people's enthusiasm for trade. *Children*, 178. It has been suggested that these 'feuz et fumées' could have been intended to smoke seal meat or to keep away mosquitoes (Gagnon and Petel, *Hommes effarables et bestes sauvages*, 39).

reciprocated by sending two men over with beads and metal goods—a general bartering session took place. Novel details, which may be linked to the presence of women, appear in the text at this point: ‘[P]artie de leurs femmes, qui ne passèrent [du costé où nous estions], danczoint et chantoint, estantes en la mer jusques aux jenouz. Les aultres femmes, qui estoient passées de l’autre costé où nous estions, vindrent franchement à nous, et nous frottoint les bratz avecques leurs mains, et puix levoint les mains joingtes au ciel, en fessant plusieurs signes de jouaye.’ Again, the people gave away all the hides they wore in a trade that seems to have taken the form of many small exchanges—‘marchandasmes, main à main, avecques eux de tout ce qu’ilz abvoint’—in which the act of giving itself seems to overshadowed the ‘problem of equivalencies,’ that is, ‘the question of how much to transact and in what form.’⁷⁹

Further north, in the Baie de Gaspé, mist and fog kept the French ships at anchor for nine days (16–24 July), ‘[d]urant lequel temps, nous vint grant nombre de sauvaiges, qui estoient venuz en ladite rivière pour pescher des masquereaulx Et estoient, tant hommes, femmes que enffans, plus de deux cens personnes, qui avoyent envyron quarente barques, lesquelz, après avoir ung peu [pratiqué] à terre avecques eulx, venoyent franchement avec leurs barcques à bords de noz navyres.’⁸⁰ The French distributed knives, glass beads, combs, and other items as

⁷⁹ Biggar, ed., *Voyages of Cartier*, 54, 55, 56. Rhoda H. Halperin outlines the ‘problem of equivalencies’ and discusses the views of Karl Polanyi and Arjun Appadurai in *Cultural Economies Past and Present* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994), 85–142. James Axtell’s commonsensical interpretation of the exchanges of this period is simply that both native peoples and Europeans were content to give away goods deemed relatively value-less to obtain coveted objects in return: ‘[S]ince the maritime trade was so irregular and haphazard, the trade items on both sides retained their novelty and relative value throughout the sixteenth century. Thus both partners were glad to get what they could and both thought they made out like bandits’ (‘At the Water’s Edge,’ 161).

⁸⁰ Biggar, ed., *Voyages of Cartier*, 60. ‘Pratiqué’ is an interpolation of the editors, following a published version of the text. The arrival of the Stadaconéans may have occurred as late as 21 July—the text is unclear on this point.

gifts; there is no reference to their receiving furs in return. These people were Iroquoian-speakers from the village of Stadaconé, near present-day Quebec City; the French perceived their ‘nature’ and language—as well as, the text implies, their hairstyles—to be different from those of the Mi’kmaq encountered in Chaleur Bay. The Stadaconéans made ‘signes de joyes’ that included the lifting of hands heavenward, as had the Mi’kmaq; they also sang and danced ‘dedans leursdites barques.’ On 22 July, a French landing party mingled with the Iroquoians on shore, where they were received by singing and dancing men and ‘deux ou trois’ young women—the others had taken to the woods. Cartier gave the remaining women gifts; they responded by rubbing his arms and torso with their hands. A score of young women hiding in the woods were induced to return to receive the same gifts and they similarly caressed the giver, ‘qui est leur façon de faire chère.’ The women then joined together to dance and sing.⁸¹

In terms of the practices described in the narrative, the Stadaconéan reception of the French differed little from that of the Mi’kmaq. Caution gives way to *joye* marked by singing, dancing, and skyward gestures.⁸² As Réal Ouellet

⁸¹ Biggar, ed., *Voyages of Cartier*, 60, 62. Michel Bideaux has underlined slight differences in the way native women received the French. In 1534, as described in a quotation above, the Mi’kmaq women welcomed a group of anonymous French sailors from Cartier’s crew by rubbing their arms, but the Stadaconéan women, as just recounted, reserved this treatment for Cartier alone. And in 1535, the Stadaconéan women are not mentioned as having welcomed the French in this way at all (Bideaux, ‘Compagnons,’ 215–216). It is, however, difficult to draw any firm conclusions from these apparent variations, which may be in part the product of the narrative and descriptive choices of the chronicler.

⁸² Trigger’s interpretation establishes a sharp contrast between the responses of the Mi’kmaq encountered in Chaleur Bay and the Stadaconéans in the Baie de Gaspé. As noted above, the eagerness of the Mi’kmaq to trade with the French is somewhat exaggerated by collapsing the events of four days into two and by passing over evidence of Mi’kmaq wariness in the encounter of 10 July. In describing the response of the Stadaconéans in the Baie de Gaspé, Trigger asserts that ‘at first, [they] were reluctant to have any dealings with the French’ (*Children*, 181). The narrative as cited above does not in fact give any positive evidence of this. Possibly Trigger infers such reluctance from the statement that a French landing party contacted the Stadaconéans on shore before the latter approached the French ships. While Trigger exaggerates

has suggested, the conviction that these gestures signified joy may have proceeded from Europeans' anxiety about the unpredictability of the Other and from their assumptions about the simplicity of such peoples; in such a context, 'toute manifestation extérieure non hostile peut être vue comme signe de joie ou de reconnaissance, parce qu'elle ancre dans l'esprit des Européens l'idée que l'Indien est un grand enfant tout heureux qu'on lui donne des brimborions.'⁸³ The frequent references to Native joy and pleasure at receiving gifts from the French are reminiscent of Columbus' account of his first encounter with Native inhabitants of a Caribbean island on 12 October 1492. 'To some of them,' wrote Columbus, 'I gave red caps, and glass beads which they put on their chests, and many other things of small value, in which they took so much pleasure and became so much our friends that it was a marvel.' Peter Hulme has remarked upon the significance of Columbus' use of the term *marvel* and the semantic contrast between 'so much our friends' ('tantos nuestros') and the gifts of small value ('de poco valor'): 'In other words, it came as a pleasant surprise to Columbus that the warmth of the welcome was in excess of the value of the items distributed' Columbus was relieved to see that trinkets could buy

the contrast between Mi'kmaq and Stadaconéan reactions in these few weeks in July, this does not detract from the crucial observation that the Mi'kmaq seemed to have surplus furs to trade, whereas the Iroquoians did not. From this and other circumstantial evidence, Trigger hypothesizes that the Stadaconéans were unused to regular exchanges with Europeans (178, 181). Charles A. Martijn, however, raises the possibility that the Stadaconéans had already traded their supply of furs with another European vessel ('The Iroquoian Presence,' 50).

⁸³ 'Gestualité et perception de l'Autre,' 34. Patricia Seed has similarly pointed out the emphasis on Native joyfulness in narratives describing French ceremonial acts of possession in *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World, 1492–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), chap. 2.

goodwill. After all, the natives could have been hostile; that Columbus went ashore in an armed launch reflected his consideration of the possibility.⁸⁴

The Cartier narratives reveal a similar reaction. As Natalie Zemon Davis has pointed out, the little gifts that the French distributed to the Mi'kmaq and Iroquoians in the summer of 1534 would have been understood, in a French context, as the sort of small tokens that friends offered each other or that a notable might hand out to servants or local neighbours as a gesture of goodwill and trust. They were not, however, worth what the French hoped to receive in return: safe passage in a foreign land, vital geographic information, and political cooperation or, at the very least, neutrality. That 'Cartier let this misrepresentation stand' in continuing to give gifts be believed the Natives valued too highly indicates, for Davis, that he believed that "'Savages" were not qualified for full reciprocity according to European rules.' Davis notes exceedingly few expressions of gratitude in Cartier's narratives for the gifts the French received in return from Native peoples.⁸⁵ Like Columbus, Cartier also seems to have feared that the Natives' apparent joy could turn, unpredictably, to aggression. Cartier's reaction to the onrush of Mi'kmaq canoes on 6 July underlined both his apprehension of Native hostility and the degree of French preparedness. (In October 1535, Cartier put on his armour and arranged an escort of gentlemen and sailors for his first extensive overland expedition to the populous village of Hochelaga; even after a warm reception, Cartier's well-armed party hastened back to the longboats and set out immediately for the

⁸⁴ Peter Hulme, 'Tales of Distinction: European Ethnography in the Caribbean,' in *Implicit Understandings: Observing, Reporting, and Reflecting on the Encounters Between Europeans and Other Peoples in the Early Modern Era*, ed. Stuart B. Schwartz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 157 (quotations from Columbus's diary), 158, 159.

⁸⁵ Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2000), 136–137, 138 (quotation).

barque anchored on Lac Saint-Pierre, 'pour doute qu'il n'y eust aucun encombrer.' Similar caution was shown in a tour of Stadaconé later that month.⁸⁶)

And what of the singing and dancing, two of the most tangible expressions of *joye*? In the relation they are nearly always mentioned together—if only one is mentioned, it is invariably dancing—and are often linked with other exotic behaviours, such as standing knee-deep in the river and throwing water over one's head, lifting one's arms heavenward, or other unspecified 'serymonyes.' The narrator comes to see this behaviour as typical: 'commancèrent à dansser et chanter, comme ilz avoient de coustume.' These actions are described as collective and spontaneous, except on one occasion in 1535 when a leader is said to have ordered ('commanda') the singing and dancing to begin. There are several indications that men and women tended to dance separately, both among the Mi'kmaq and the Iroquoians.⁸⁷ There is no mention of the French being invited to join the dances, nor to dancing and singing during the deterioration of French-Stadaconéan relations in the fall and winter of 1535–36.

⁸⁶ Biggar, ed., *Voyages of Cartier*, 172, 175. This readiness to ascribe joyfulness to native ritual is matched in the texts by willingness to believe in Stadaconéan treachery. Gilles Thérien underlines the French obsession with maintaining a position of superior force in 'Jacques Cartier et le langage des signes,' 229–265, esp. 234, 236, 238, 252.

⁸⁷ For the 1534 voyage, see Biggar, ed., *Voyages of Cartier*, 53, 56 (Mi'kmaq women dance), 60 (singing and dancing in canoes), 61 (Stadaconéan men dance in groups), 62 (Stadaconéan women dance and sing several songs); for the 1535–6 voyage, see *ibid.*, 120 (dancing and ceremonies), 125 (women dance and sing uninterruptedly in knee-deep water for an extended length of time), 132 (as customary), 134 (Donnacona orders), 140 (as customary), 150 (Hochelagan men, women, and children dance in separate rings), 151 (Hochelagans dance all night), 176 (Stadaconéan men and women dance separately). There are no more references to dancing after 13 October 1535, by which time Cartier had become convinced that Donnacona, Dom Agaya and Taignoagny were 'traistres et meschans.' Cartier had learned the Stadaconéan term for this, *agojuda*, and so he was able to insult them in their own language (Biggar, ed., *Voyages of Cartier*, 188, 190, 245).

It is likely that Cartier and the gentlemen observers on the 1535–36 voyage would have understood Stadaconéan dancing within the framework of the increasingly sharp distinction between popular and elite dance forms in Europe. Recent scholarship views courtly or elite dancing in early modern Europe as the result of a long transition away from popular round and line dance forms toward elaborately choreographed couple dances that emphasized regularity, symmetry, and verticality, in contrast to the unchoreographed amorphity, horizontality, and spontaneity of the amusements of *le peuple*. Courtly dances, according to one scholar, were nonverbal expressions of a ‘fully framed political discourse’ that articulated and vindicated the power and status of early modern elites by underlining their civility and superiority.⁸⁸ Moreover, late-medieval and early-modern moralists elaborated prolifically upon a Christian tradition that saw dancing as potentially sinful, participating of the animal nature rather than the angelic potential of human beings—the dance of the salacious and vengeful Salome being the example par excellence of the connection between dancing, carnality, and vanity. ‘Danser la danse de l’ours’ was, for example, an unequivocal reference to sexual intercourse.⁸⁹ If Cartier’s chronicler seems to display a neutral attitude toward Native dancing, it may have been because the

⁸⁸ Skiles Howard, *The Politics of Courtly Dancing in Early Modern England* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998), 1–25, 23 (quotation).

⁸⁹ Late-medieval and early modern attitudes toward dancing are exhaustively examined in Anne Wéry, *La danse écartelée, de la fin du Moyen Âge à l’Âge Classique: moeurs, esthétiques et croyances en Europe romane* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1992). For the opinions of moralists and ecclesiastics, see 14–27, 40–42, 125–126 (‘la danse de l’ours’); various church interdictions against dancing are listed on 119–120. In the latter half of the sixteenth century, the impact of the Protestant and Catholic Reformations in France would lead to an intensification of religious moralizing on the subject. At the same time, however, elite dance forms became reclassified as art, so it was the popular dance forms that remained the focus of religious condemnation. The dancing of naked ‘savages’ was similarly indicted by religious rigorists (213–219). In France at the end of the century, certain popular dances were associated with the mythical ‘witches sabbath’ (222–225). Unlike the Jesuits of the early seventeenth century, the author(s) of Cartier’s relations do not explicitly suspect diabolical influences on native ceremonies.

French elite perceived in it nothing more the joyous expressiveness of rude folk. This typification of Native singing and dancing resulted in the French paying it little attention.

The dances of the St Lawrence Iroquoians were, however, possibly much more than loosely organized expressions of happiness. Early seventeenth-century French sources regarding the Hurons—a confederacy of Northern Iroquoian peoples that may have included descendants of the Stadaconéans—attest to a variety of dance forms, including round dances and ones in which men and women danced separately. The same sources also noted the intimate relationship between expressiveness, form and efficacy: the vigour of a performance and appropriateness of the dancer's gestures were criteria for judging how good one's dancing was. Dances were performed to placate spirits, to welcome a visitor, to celebrate a victory, or to predict or cure disease.⁹⁰ The dances of the mid-twentieth-century Iroquois include some whose formal elements match the sparse details given about the Stadaconéan and Hochelagan forms: movement single-file in circles; segregation by sex, age, and moiety; accompaniment by several songs; and coordination by song or dance leaders. But these are by no means stylistic universals; the modern dance forms exhibit considerable variation. More relevant is the association between a specific dance and a specific purpose. Some dances offer thanks to the Creator; others fulfill dreams, or cure illness; yet other placate spirits; and finally some are predominantly social dances. The details of the performance presumably contribute to the efficacy of the ritual, and musical cues inspire the movements of the dancers, from 'frenzied stamping and gyration' to 'trancelike pulsation' and

⁹⁰ Elisabeth A. Tooker, *An Ethnography of the Huron Indians, 1615–1649* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1964; reprint, Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1991), 76–79, 86–88, 101–114.

'rhythmic self-forgetfulness.' In some forms, dancers mime the behaviour of animals, and masterful imitations are rewarded with laughter.⁹¹ In short, dance forms are expressive but are also purposive, and in systematically subsuming Stadaconéan dancing and singing under the rubric of 'joye,' the chronicler may have been blinded to their ritual significance.⁹² Just what that significance was is difficult to judge. The dances with which the Stadaconéans (and, later, the Hochelagans) received the French may have included mimetic elements designed to induce the goodwill of the French, to make them return, to make them go away, or to keep them from going. Whatever their intended purpose, in 1534 these dances failed to elicit an immediate ritual response from the French.

When the French finally did decide to perform, however, their actions prompted the Stadaconéans to put forward a different set of practices. On 24 July, the French erected a nine-metre-high cross at the entrance to the Baie de Gaspé. Affixed to the cross were a shield with three fleurs-de-lys and a board with the motto, 'VIVE LE ROY DE FRANCE.' Having raised the cross, the French knelt and prayed, attempting to demonstrate their faith to the onlooking Stadaconéans. The latter waited until the French had returned to their ships to respond. Then, the 'cappitaine' of the Stadaconéans—the relation of the 1535–36 voyage gives his name as Donnacona—canoeed out to Cartier's flagship with four other men and, stopping further off than was usual, delivered a long speech to the French. The French lured the Stadaconéans closer to the ship by signing their intention to trade an axe for the headman's black bearskin, then quickly laid

⁹¹ Gertrude P. Kurath, *Iroquois Music and Dance: Ceremonial Arts of Two Seneca Longhouses*, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 187 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1964), 60–72.

⁹² 'Cartier se trompe, il me semble, quand il voit dans ces démonstrations spectaculaires des signes de même nature que dans le geste craintif de fuite. À mon avis, on n'est plus dans la gestuelle expressive ou fonctionnelle, mais dans le cérémonial' (Ouellet, 'Gestualité et perception de l'Autre,' 32).

hands on the envoys. Those whom they understood to be two of the headman's sons were detained and clothed in shirts and caps while the headman and the others were released with gifts. Later, some thirty Stadaconéans in six canoes paddled out to the ships, bringing gifts of fish to the captives,⁹³ making signs that the French interpreted as willingness to endure the cross, and giving speeches the French did not understand. The next day, the French set sail.⁹⁴

In raising a cross adorned with shield and motto, kneeling, joining hands in prayers, and pointing heavenward, the French shore party introduced a novel set of signs to the Stadaconéans. Within the text, the Stadaconéan response was novel too, in that in place of the usual collective ceremonies, a headman (*cappitaine*) came forth to harangue the French. Significantly, this is the text's first reference to an individual standing apart from, or for, the group. (Previously, the narrative had but briefly acknowledged the possibility of Native leadership when it described the French giving several Mi'kmaq 'ung chapeau rouge pour donnez alleur cappitaine.) It is also the first reference to a sustained attempt at communication through words rather than signs. It is as if the cross precipitated the emergence of individuality, leadership, and speech where before the French had perceived the mysterious collective rituals of a group differentiated only by age and gender.⁹⁵ In recognizing Donnacona as a leader, and in recognizing his

⁹³ The bringing of fish to the two captives possibly indicated Stadaconéan uncertainty as to the nature of French foodstuffs. In the Innu story of first contact cited at the beginning of this chapter, the Innu initially mistook wine and hard ship's biscuit for blood and wood.

⁹⁴ Biggar, ed., *Voyages of Cartier*, 64–67.

⁹⁵ Biggar, ed., *Voyages of Cartier*, 53. By contrast, leadership is virtually the only element that differentiates the French in the account: Cartier (as the *cappitaine*) stands in stark opposition to the collective *nous* that predominates throughout (and is relieved only by the occasional first-person interjection and a reference to 'cappitaines, pilottes, maystres, et compagnons' toward the end [74]). Here too, hierarchy and leadership are the organizing principles of this differentiation. For a more sophisticated discussion of these issues in the relation of the 1535–6 voyage, see Bideaux, 'Les compagnons de Jacques Cartier.'

verbal utterances as a 'harangue', the text introduces a new axis of classification (that of leaders and followers) and opens a door to the possibility of diplomacy; that is, of politically significant relations that transcend casual barter and exotic festivities.

Neither Donnacona's speech nor Cartier's display of French religious and political symbols stood any chance of being understood by the other party, and both these *capitaines* must have known it. Yet they seemed to have felt that their performances were somehow necessary. At nearly five hundred years' remove, we are hard placed to interpret their words and actions. The precise significance of Cartier's act is unclear. The relation has the French explaining to the Stadaconéans by signs that the cross was a powerful religious symbol: 'par icelle [croix] estoit nostre redemption.' But after Donnacona's harangue, the French explain—again 'par signe'—that it was merely a navigational beacon. As Brian J. Slattery has noted, nowhere in this relation or in that of the 1535–36 voyage (during which a similar cross was erected at the mouth of the Rivière Saint-Charles near present-day Québec) is the cross or coat of arms explicitly linked to a formal claim of possession; nor does the diplomatic correspondence of the era suggest that this was the case. As well, Slattery remarks that the French crown's commissions to Cartier and Roberval in 1540 and 1541 respectively do not assume any preexisting French claim to sovereignty in Canada; for these reasons, he doubts 'that European state-practice of the period accepted the performance of symbolic acts as juridically sufficient to furnish title to New World territory.' But even if Slattery is right about the ambiguity of the act in the realms of contemporary international diplomacy and law, Ramsay Cook seems equally

justified in chiding Slattery for downplaying its symbolism.⁹⁶ Patricia Seed similarly concludes that the raising of the cross was a ceremony of possession; specifically, it was one element in a uniquely French pattern of legitimizing territorial claims in the New World. What the ceremony lacked, however, was any degree of Native participation or consent. For Seed, early modern French ceremonies of possession required not just the placement of signs upon the landscape, but the participation of the ruled in the ceremony itself. In the New World, this meant securing the consent of Native peoples, usually in symbolic forms expressing joy and happiness. By deceiving Donnacona as to the significance of the cross, Cartier may have believed he had ‘achieved minimal indigenous consent’ for, as Seed notes, the account assures us that the Stadaconéans agreed not to remove the cross.⁹⁷ Alternatively, Seed’s analysis might lead us to view the account provided in Cartier’s narrative as evidence of the failure of the ritual: if the Stadaconéans were brought to accept the cross through deceit and force, could a French claim to the region be legitimate?

Whether or not the planting of France’s coat of arms and of the cross constituted an unequivocal legal claim of possession, Cook and Seed are likely correct in asserting that it was rich with the intention to claim the land for France. This intentionality was not lost on at least one of Cartier’s contemporaries: the author of the dedication that prefaced the publication of the narrative of Cartier’s second voyage of 1545. To him, the ritual was quite possibly addressed less to the people of Stadacona than it was to the readers of Cartier’s report—the king

⁹⁶ Brian Slattery, ‘French Claims in North America, 1500–59,’ *Canadian Historical Review* 59, no. 2 (1978): 139–169, 153 (quotation); Ramsay Cook, ‘Donnacona Discovers Europe,’ in Cook, ed., *Voyages of Cartier*, xxiv–xxv. Bideaux is similarly inclined to view the cross raising as a ceremony of possession; see Bideaux, ‘Les compagnons de Jacques Cartier,’ 216.

⁹⁷ Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession*, chap. 2, esp. 55 (importance of popular consent), 56–57 (Cartier raises the cross).

foremost—and to the nations of Europe. Cartier’s ceremony was a message to François I and to the kings of Spain and Portugal; it was a message to all Christians, and indeed to Muslims and other non-Christians; it was, perhaps, also a message to God. The author of the dedication to François I made explicit all these absent interlocutors. ‘Je pense en mon simple entendement . . .,’ he wrote, ‘qu’il pleust à Dieu, par sa divine bonte, que toutes humaines créatures, estantes et habitantes sur le globe de la terre, ainsi qu’elles ont veue et congnoissance d’iceluy soleil, aint eu et ayent pour le temps à venir, congnoissance et créance de nostre sainte foy’ which, like the sun, rose in the East (the Holy Land) and now shines over the west (the ‘New World’). The vigilance of Catholic princes, he wrote, will ensure that the best efforts of the heretics (Lutherans) and infidels (Muslims) will fail to extinguish its light. Just as His Most Catholic Majesty, the king of Spain, has introduced the faith to the innumerable peoples of Cuba and Mexico, the voyages sponsored by the Most Christian King to newly discovered lands—‘estantes soubz les clymatxz et paralleles de voz pays et roiaulme, non auparavant à vous ny à nous congneues’—promise ‘certaine espérance de l’augmentation future de nostredicte très-sainte foy, [&] de voz seigneuries et nom très-chrestien.’ Indeed, by the end of the preface, they are already being referred to as the possessions of François I.⁹⁸ The description of Canada as previously unknown and lying in the same latitudes as France is deliberately paralleled by the characterization of

⁹⁸ Biggar, ed., *Voyages of Cartier*, 88, 89–90, 91. Interpolations in square brackets are the editor’s. I have assumed the author was a man; it is not impossible that it was a woman, but nor is it very likely to have been. The Muslims in question (‘les imitateurs de Mahonnet’) are presumably the Ottoman Turks. The rhetoric of the preface is at odds with the fact that the 1534 relation’s only reference to the goal of converting native peoples occurs following a description of the Mi’kmaq in Chaleur Bay, in one of the few first-person-singular interjections in the narrative: ‘Je estime mielx que autrement, que les gens seroient faciles à convertir à nostre sainte foy’ (57). The narrative of the second voyage similarly shows few sustained efforts at conversion by the French. No priests or missionaries seem to have been with either expedition.

Cuba and Mexico as lying to the west of the Spanish kingdom and as having been discovered at the command of the king of Spain: such a juxtaposition legitimated France's claim by equating it with Spain's—implicitly rejecting the validity of the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494) by which Spain and Portugal partitioned the New World to the exclusion of other European powers. In short, for the author of the dedication, the raising of the cross at Gaspé emblemized the expansion of both faith and sovereignty.

We will never know what Donnacona said from his canoe. The narrative's suggestion that he was objecting to the symbolic encroachment upon Native land is not, however, an unreasonable interpretation.⁹⁹ His speech, though directed at the French, could only have been appreciated by those of his own people who were within earshot, in fact probably only by those in the canoe with him. Even so, perhaps what was important here was that he somehow match the French performance with one of his own. The narrative's description of the speech is brief: '[il] nous fit une grande harangue, nous monstrant ladite croix, et faisant le signe de la croix avec deux doydz; et puis nous monstroit la terre, tout à l'entour de nous' The relation of Cartier's 1535–36 voyage describes a later speech by Donnacona with additional details: 'Et commença ledict *agouhanna* . . . à faire une predication et preschement à leur modde, en demenant son corps et membres d'une merveilleuse sorte, qui est une seryomonye de joye et assurance.'¹⁰⁰ French observers of Iroquoian council oratory in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries alluded to the particular cadences, rhythms, and metaphors of

⁹⁹ Trigger follows this line of reasoning, and moreover alleges, or rather assumes, that Donnacona 'became angry' before making his harangue (*Children*, 182). Ramsay Cook suggests that 'Cartier's interpretation of [Donnacona's speech] as a rejection of the French right to act without permission can be seen, at the least, as a sign of a guilty conscience. . . . What is beyond doubt is that a protest did take place' ('Donnacona Discovers Europe,' xxv).

¹⁰⁰ Biggar, ed., *Voyages of Cartier*, 65, 122.

diplomatic speechmaking, and to the intricate body movements and gestures of the speaker.¹⁰¹ Such oratory is by its form distinguishable from everyday speech. And as noted in chapter 3, it is the essential attribute of the leader; that is, it is what people expect of him. The Stadaconéan response mobilised fundamental schemata of Iroquoian political culture, just as Cartier's act had invoked the key symbols of *roi* and *foi*.

It is likely that neither Cartier nor Donnacona went through their respective ceremonies with the assumption that they would be properly understood; instead, what they may have sought was recognition that their behaviours were especially significant; in short, that they had performed (in the sense of carrying out a task formally). 'A performance stands by itself in some way': so notes Greg Dening while pointing out other connotations of the word: a striving for effect, an act of duty or obligation.¹⁰² Cartier's erection of the cross represented his duty to François I, and through it he sought, successfully, to make an impression on the Stadaconéans. They, in turn, perceived the significant behavioural innovation on the part of the French; they saw that Cartier had, at last, performed for them, but they were quite possibly uncertain about the implications of that act. As a headman and orator, Donnacona was obligated to register his people's concerns

¹⁰¹ Among the Hurons, '[t]he manner of speaking in councils differed from ordinary speech and had a different name (*acwentonch*): in it, the voice was raised and quavered. A speaker spoke slowly, decidedly, and distinctly, and often repeated the same reason several times. . . . Some words were used only in these speeches, and metaphors, various circumlocutions, and other rhetorical devices were frequently employed' (Tooker, *Ethnography of the Huron*, 50–51; see also chap. 3 above).

¹⁰² Greg Dening, *Performances* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), xiii; see also Greg Dening, 'The Theatricality of Observing and Being Observed: Eighteenth-Century Europe "Discovers" the ? Century "Pacific,"' in *Implicit Understandings: Observing, Reporting, and Reflecting on the Encounters Between Europeans and Other Peoples in the Early Modern Era*, ed. Stuart B. Schwartz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 451–483. The performative aspect of French and Native behaviour in these encounters is also evoked by Ouellet, 'Gestualité et perception de l'Autre,' 29, 46.

to the strangers; his speech was incomprehensible to the French, but at least they recognized it as the performance of a *cappitaine*. The problem was that the complexity of the performances seems to have outstripped the shared understandings of those in attendance, and striving for effect took precedence over mutual comprehension. The French response to Donnacona's speech may have initially been perceived as an attempt to return to a more basic level of understandings. Reverting to the rudimentary system of signs related to trade, the French sailors lured the canoes close enough to be able to seize the occupants by force. This duplicity must have shattered the narrow set of intelligible signs in French-Stadaconéan relations. Holding out a hatchet no longer signified the desire to exchange goods; it could also be a ruse.¹⁰³ We will never know what the final performance of the Stadaconéans might have been as Cartier's ships sailed out of the bay. Did they leave the cross in its place? Did they return early the following summer, in the hopes of meeting Cartier and his captives there again? When Donnacona and Cartier met again at Québec in September 1535, the misunderstandings of the past were overshadowed by the immediate issue of Cartier's plan to travel upriver to the village of Hochelaga, whose existence had been revealed to him by the kidnapped Stadaconéans over the winter.

The author of the relation of Cartier's second voyage (1535–36) presents Donnacona and his sons, the captives-turned-interpreters Dom Agaya and Taignoagny, as attempting to prevent Cartier's expedition to Hochelaga, and, having been thwarted in this, as becoming increasingly duplicitous and hostile in their relations with the French. While Stadaconéan 'betrayal' may indeed be a

¹⁰³ As Gilles Thérien notes of the kidnappings, 'Il faut bien remarquer que les Français ont détruit les conventions du système de communication initial' ('Jacques Cartier et le langage des signes,' 242).

creation of the narrative,¹⁰⁴ it seems equally clear that Donnacona was not favourable to the idea of the French traveling to Hochelaga. Was Donnacona, as Trigger argues, the classic ‘middleman’ trying to preserve a position of advantage in the developing trade with Europeans?¹⁰⁵ Whatever the case, Donnacona’s actions over the next few weeks and those of his people the following spring provide evidence of elements of Native diplomatic culture which would assume considerable importance in intercultural relations in the following century, but which failed to do so during the brief period of Francis I’s interest in North America. All of these seem to have been attempts by the Stadaconéans to create an alliance with the French. Each such attempt was rebuffed or met with incomprehension.

The first clear Stadaconéan effort to create a more stable political relationship with the newcomers centred on an exchange of people. On 17 September 1535, shortly after the arrival of the French ships before the cliffs at Québec, Donnacona made an attempt to convince the French to abandon their explorations upriver. (Donnacona had let Cartier know of his opposition the previous day through the interpreter Taignoagny, but Cartier had refused to consider his objections.) After singing and dancing before the ships, the people withdrew to one side while Donnacona drew a ring in the sand into which he pulled Cartier and the French landing party. He then made a long speech and presented, one by one, three children to Cartier—a girl of ten or twelve years and two younger boys. The girl was understood to be the daughter of Donnacona’s

¹⁰⁴ Bruno Roy’s textual analysis of the relation of the voyage of 1535–36 concludes that the text, in essence, is the narrative of a betrayal, whose implicit title might be: ‘How the treachery of the Stadaconéans prevented me from fulfilling my royal commission to discover a route to Cathay’ (“Le “Bref Récit” d’une trahison”).

¹⁰⁵ Trigger, *Children*, 187–188.

sister.¹⁰⁶ With each presentation, the Stadaconéans let out three loud shouts—‘chose horrible à ouyr’—‘en signe de joye et alliance.’ But when the interpreter Taignoagny informed Cartier ‘qu’on les luy donnoyt sur l’intencion qu’il ne allast point à Hochelaga,’ the explorer threatened to refuse the children. Dom Agaya, the other interpreter, defused the tension by alleging that the children were a free gift, ‘par bonne amour et en signe d’assurance.’ Cartier responded by giving Donnacona two swords and two wash basins, gifts that were a cut above the usual trinkets. (The French in 1535 were determined to treat individuals ‘selon leur estat,’¹⁰⁷ which meant deciphering or, if necessary, inventing an indigenous hierarchy.) The following day, after a complex performance during which the Stadaconéans dressed three men in dramatic costumes and invoked the names of Jesus, Maria and the ‘god’ Cudouagny, the interpreters let Cartier know that Donnacona’s objections to French exploration upriver might be palliated if the French left a hostage (‘bailloit pleige’) at Stadaconé. Cartier apparently refused to do so, and pushed on without the help of the Stadaconéans.¹⁰⁸

It seems reasonable to conclude with Bruce Trigger ‘that by offering to let these children live with the French, Donnacona was seeking to conclude a formal alliance with the newcomers,’ and that Cartier’s refusal to reciprocate with a French counterpart was nothing less than a rejection of that alliance.¹⁰⁹ Subsequently, Cartier accepted a girl of eight or nine years from a headman

¹⁰⁶ If, as was the case with the historic Wyandot and Haudenosaunee, Stadaconéan headmen were chosen from certain matrilineages, the significance of the girl’s relationship to Donnacona and the village cannot be overstated. Matrilineality and a general preference toward matrilocality are features of a broader Iroquoian cultural pattern; see chap. 3, above, and Trigger, *Children*, 100–102, and Fenton, ‘Northern Iroquoian Culture Patterns,’ in *HNAI*, 15:309–312.

¹⁰⁷ Cartier, *Relations*, ed. Bideaux, 141.

¹⁰⁸ Biggar, ed., *Voyages of Cartier*, 130–140. For the cry *ho, ho, ho* among the early seventeenth-century Huron, see Tooker, *Ethnography of the Huron*, 77, 157.

¹⁰⁹ Trigger, *Children*, 189–190. Ramsay Cook interprets Cartier’s refusal to reciprocate as a lost opportunity to establish ‘complete trust’ (‘Donnacona Discovers Europe,’ xxxii).

(‘seigneur’) at the village of Achelacy, some fifty kilometers upriver from Stadaconé, ‘et reffusa ung petit garçon de deux ou troys ans, pource qu’il estoit trop petit.’¹¹⁰ Although Cartier did not seem to have felt the need to reciprocate, he obviously considered these children to be valuable hostages ensuring the peaceable conduct of the villagers. When the Stadaconéan girl escaped from the French ships in the fall of 1535, Cartier blamed his Stadaconéan interpreters, Dom Agaya and Taignoagny, for inducing her to flee and set a guard on the remaining children. (The girl herself told her people that she had left to escape mistreatment at the hands of the cabin boys.) This incident was partly responsible for the chilling of relations between the French and Stadaconé that autumn. Cartier saw malice in the behaviour of his former interpreters and responded by strengthening the French fort on shore to defend against a surprise attack.¹¹¹ From the sequence of events as narrated in the relation we may infer that Cartier saw the children as hostages, and the threat of their loss was sufficient reason for him to take elaborate precautionary measures. All these children were taken back to France along with the adult captives of May 1536, for a document of 1538 refers to their upkeep at royal expense and the fragmentary relation of the third voyage (1541–42) notes that the sole survivor of the ten people taken to France was a ‘little girle about tenne yeeres old.’¹¹²

It was only during this third voyage to Canada that Cartier decided to reciprocate these Iroquoian gestures by leaving two French boys with the headman of Achelacy, apparently as a courtesy to a man who had offered the French two children in 1535 and as a deliberate attempt to train some more interpreters—ones who might prove more tractable than Dom Agaya and

¹¹⁰ Biggar, ed., *Voyages of Cartier*, 143.

¹¹¹ Biggar, ed., *Voyages of Cartier*, 188, 198, 192.

¹¹² Biggar, ed., *Voyages of Cartier*, 249; Trudel, *HNF*, 1:142–143.

Taignoagny.¹¹³ This practice would become characteristic of the early seventeenth-century Native-French relationship in the St Lawrence valley. It was already a feature of the French dyewood trade on Brazil's coasts, which had assumed by the 1520s proportions that alarmed the Portuguese, the titular masters of the region. Why Cartier did not adopt it earlier remains a mystery. As Olive Dickason suggests, Cartier—who we know to have been familiar with the Brazilian trade—'may have been influenced by the absence of European rivals . . . into believing that it was not as important to cultivate the friendship of the Amerindians on the St Lawrence as it was that of the Brazilians.'¹¹⁴ Whatever the reasons, the belated effort to match Iroquoian gifts of children with French ones does not seem to have improved relations significantly. The narrative fragments relating to the attempted colonization of the St Lawrence valley in 1541–43 give no further evidence regarding these boys or their role in intercultural relations in this period.¹¹⁵ Given that French-Stadaconéan relations appear to have sunk into violence as early as the spring of 1542, if not before, these boys may have not had sufficient time to become useful interpreters. Their fate is unclear; if they remained at Achelacy over the winter while the Cartier camped at Charlesbourg-Royal (near present-day Québec), they may well have been left behind when Cartier sailed away in the spring. Roberval ascended the St Lawrence River in

¹¹³ Cartier, *Relations*, ed. Bideaux, 242. Achelacy is named Hochelay in the surviving English account of Cartier's third voyage.

¹¹⁴ Olive P. Dickason, 'The Brazilian Connection: A Look at the Origin of French Techniques for Trading with Amerindians,' *Revue française d'histoire d'outre-mer* 71, no. 265 (1984): 129–146, here 133–134 (Portuguese concern over French trading), 135, 136 (interpreters and exchanges of 'hostages'), 138 (quotation).

¹¹⁵ Biggar, ed., *Voyages of Cartier*, 257, 259. During Cartier's return to Charlesbourg-Royal from Hochelaga, the two boys left at Achelacy were on hand to inform Cartier that the 'lord' of the village had left two days before; whether they rejoined Cartier or remained at Achelacy is not clear.

1543 as far as Hochelaga, but the account of that expedition does not mention the presence of any French boy interpreters.¹¹⁶

Another Native diplomatic initiative whose significance seems to have gone unremarked by the French was the introduction of wampum into French-Stadaconéan diplomacy. On 4 May 1536, as the French prepared to weigh anchor and sail away from Stadaconé with Donnacona and the two headmen they had seized by force the day before, the Stadaconéans made the unprecedented gesture of giving the French twenty-nine ‘colliers’ of snowy white shell beads, apparently wampum. No explanation for this gift was recorded, possibly because the French had also kidnapped, for the second time, the interpreters Dom Agaya and Taignoagny, and this seems to have jeopardized effective linguistic communication during Cartier’s final days at Stadaconé.¹¹⁷ What the Stadaconéans hoped to achieve with these gifts is unclear; the French only knew that these shell beads (of a kind they had seen before at Hochelaga) were called *esnogy*, and that they were ‘la plus-grand richesse qu’ilz ayent en ce monde; car ilz l’estiment mieulx que or ny argent.’¹¹⁸ In this case, however, the innovation of

¹¹⁶ Evidence for the breakdown of French-Stadaconéan relations in 1541–42 comes from the fragmentary relation of Cartier’s third voyage, the similarly fragmentary English account of Roberval’s voyage, and the testimony of Spanish sailors interrogated in 1542. See Biggar, ed., *Voyages of Cartier*, 259, 264–265; Examination of Newfoundland sailors regarding Cartier, 23 September 1542, in *A Collection of Documents Relating to Jacques Cartier and the Sieur de Roberval*, ed. H. P. Biggar, Publications of the Public Archives of Canada, no. 14 (Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada, 1930), 456, 458, 463.

¹¹⁷ Dom Agaya and Taignoagny were possibly unwilling or unable to act as interpreters on 4 and 5 May; they are not mentioned during the final exchanges between Donnacona and his people, with the result that the French were unable to understand what was being said or done: ‘firent lesdictz peuples et Donnacona entre eulx plusieurs predications et serimonyes, lesquelles il n’est possible d’escripre, par faulte de l’entendre’ (Biggar, ed., *Voyages of Cartier*, 229).

¹¹⁸ Biggar, ed., *Voyages of Cartier*, 160–161, 229–232. Several headmen gave the French twenty-four *colliers* on 4 May, and four women each gave a *collier* to Cartier the following day. The kidnapping of Donnacona took place on the afternoon of 3 May; that morning, the French had raised another cross bearing the arms of France and a Latin motto reiterating that of 1534 (225). At some point between 7 May and 15 May, other ‘peuples subjectz audict Donnacona’

the Stadaconéans met with no novel performance on the part of the French: intent on returning to France, Cartier satisfied himself with doling out the usual trinkets (brass pots, hatchets, knives, and beads) and with promising to return Donnacona the following year. The French decision to treat wampum as a Native trade good analogous to furs or food precluded, for the time being, further developments of wampum diplomacy.

It was not until August 1541 that Cartier's ships reappeared before Stadaconé, and in the interval Donnacona and the other adult captives had died in France.¹¹⁹ The fragmentary evidence for this expedition tells us that a headman at Stadaconé, Agona, 'appointed king there by Donnacona,' canoed out to meet the fleet, and after receiving the news of Donnacona's death and some falsehoods regarding the fates of the other captives, gave Cartier gifts that recalled the actions of the headman at Hochelaga in 1535. He

tooke a piece of tanned leather of a yellow skin edged about with *Esnoguy* (which is their riches and the thing which they esteeme most precious, as wee esteeme gold) which was upon his head in stead of a crowne, and he put the same on the head of our Captaine, and tooke from his wrists two bracelets of *Esnoguy*, and put them upon the Captaines arms, colling him about the necke and shewing unto him great signes of [j]oy.¹²⁰

These are the only two references to the French in the St Lawrence valley being the recipients of white shell beads in the sixteenth century. As noted in chapter 3, nineteenth-century Iroquois oral traditions regarding the foundation of the League of Five Nations accord wampum strings and belts a key role as the

offered Cartier 'un collier d'esnoguy' (233). Biggar translates *collier* as 'string' although in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the French term *collier* clearly referred to belts of wampum, whereas strings were called *branches*. See André Vachon, 'Colliers et ceintures de porcelaine chez les Indiens de la Nouvelle-France,' *Cahiers des Dix* 35 (1970): 251–278.

¹¹⁹ Trudel, *HNF*, 1:142–143.

¹²⁰ Biggar, ed., *Voyages of Cartier*, 252. Cartier's third voyage of 1541–42 is known only from an English printed source of 1600. The interpolation of *j* for *i* is mine.

quintessential gift of peace. Mid-seventeenth-century Huron and Iroquois practice, as recorded by Europeans, is consistent with such a belief. The role of wampum strings and belts in Iroquois rituals of condolence and diplomacy is well documented for the mid-seventeenth century and beyond. But what of their place in Stadaconéan culture a century before? It would be incautious to assume that wampum had entirely the same significance in the sixteenth century as it did in the following one. A dramatic intensification of wampum production and trade occurred in the early seventeenth century, and this, along with the introduction of dark purple beads,¹²¹ marked a significant shift in material culture that may have sparked new expressions of wampum symbolism and practices. But despite the lack of direct evidence about the meaning of wampum to sixteenth-century Iroquoians, it would appear that the Stadaconéans' decision to give wampum in the midst of a crisis signaled an initiative of some novelty in intercultural relations. After all, the French had been in the St Lawrence valley since the previous September; if they had been offered wampum previously, it went unrecorded. These gifts of wampum may have signaled a new categorization of the French newcomers after a winter marked by significant disease-related mortality on both sides and the deterioration of friendly relations. The significance of Agona's actions can probably best be appreciated through comparison with the abundantly documented seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Iroquoian diplomatic rituals. The latter, along with the numerous scholarly analyses they have inspired, make it clear that a gift given in council, especially of the white shell beads known as wampum, was meant to be kept,

¹²¹ Lynn Ceci, 'Native Wampum as a Peripheral Resource in the Seventeenth-Century World-System,' in *The Pequots in Southern New England: The Rise and Fall of an American Indian Nation*, ed. Laurence M. Hauptmann and James D. Wherry (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990), 48–63.

and another gift given was to be given in return. To return a gift was to indicate a rejection of the proposal and sentiments that accompanied it.¹²² We can only guess what Agona intended by giving wampum to Cartier; presumably, it was an offer of friendship and alliance.

Cartier's response to most of these gifts of wampum was to give small gifts of trade goods in return—the notable exception being Agona's crown, which he returned to the giver. (The relation does not say whether Cartier also returned the 'crown' given him by the elderly *agouhanna* at Hochelaga in 1535.)¹²³ If, as the narrative suggests, Cartier understood *esnoguy* to be analogous to gold and silver,¹²⁴ he may well have interpreted the wampum offered him in May 1536 as a ransom for Donnacona—much as the French had recently offered the Holy Roman emperor a ransom for the return of their own king.¹²⁵ By giving trinkets in return, Cartier absolved himself, by European standards, of any obligation to release the Stadaconéan headman. In 1541, however, the *esnoguy*-adorned crown of Agona was a gift that Cartier felt it prudent to refuse. Without Native interpreters on hand—Dom Agaya, Taignoagny and the others had died in

¹²² Michael K. Foster, 'Another Look at the Function of Wampum in Iroquois-White Councils,' in *History and Culture of Iroquois Diplomacy*, 99–114; Wilbur R. Jacobs, 'Wampum: The Protocol of Indian Diplomacy,' *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* 6, no. 4 (1949): 596–604; George S. Snyderman, 'The Functions of Wampum,' *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 98, no. 6 (1954): 469–94; Vachon, 'Colliers et ceintures de porcelaine chez les Indiens de la Nouvelle-France'; *idem*, 'Colliers et ceintures de porcelaine dans la diplomatie indienne,' *Cahiers des Dix* 36 (1971): 179–192; Ceci, 'Native Wampum as a Peripheral Resource in the Seventeenth-Century World-System'; and Jonathan C. Lainey, *La 'monnaie des sauvages': les colliers de wampum d'hier à aujourd'hui* (Sillery: Septentrion, 2004).

¹²³ Biggar, ed., *Voyages of Cartier*, 165, 252.

¹²⁴ The narrative of the second voyage notes twice that the villagers of the St Lawrence valley prize *esnoguy* as Europeans do gold and silver (see Cartier, *Relations*, ed. Bideaux, 153, 180).

¹²⁵ After the capture of François I by imperial forces at the Battle of Pavia in February 1525, the emperor refused the offer of a ransom and insisted instead upon territorial cessions; see Robert Knecht, *Renaissance Warrior and Patron: The Reign of Francis I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 239–248.

France—Cartier could not inquire into the significance of the gesture. It is likely that for the French explorer, the shell beads themselves were relatively unimportant, even though Cartier was aware that they were ‘the thing which they esteeme most precious, as wee esteeme gold.’ Instead, what mattered was the ‘crowne of leather’ to which they were sewn.¹²⁶ What were the implications of accepting a token that, for the French, must have suggested the attributes not merely of leadership but of lordship? Cartier knew that somewhere behind him was the rest of the fleet with Roberval, whose commission granted him general authority as the king’s lieutenant with powers to undertake ‘l’entretienement, conqueste et tuition desdits pays et pour atraire les peuple d’iceulx à la congnoissance et amour de Dieu.’¹²⁷ Possibly it seemed wiser to await the arrival of Roberval—not to mention the artillery and munitions the lieutenant general was bringing—before asserting, or accepting, a symbol of sovereignty over Canada. For a French reader of the narrative, Cartier’s return of the crown might have implied that Agona had become a vassal of Francis I. But what to a French reader seemed a magnanimous gesture recognizing the rights of an indigenous vassal king might, from Agona’s perspective, have been a brusque diplomatic rebuff.

Finally, a detail of the second voyage foreshadowed a ubiquitous feature of seventeenth-century intercultural diplomacy. During the voyage of 1535–36, the Stadaconéans introduced the smoking of tobacco to the French. According to the account, the men alone made use of the sun-dried leaves of this plant, which they placed in a pipe and lit with a live coal: ‘Et disent que cela les tient sains et

¹²⁶ Cook, ed., *Voyages of Cartier*, 99.

¹²⁷ Roberval’s commission, 15 January 1541 (N.S.), in *Collection of Documents Relating to Cartier and Roberval*, 178, 179, 180, 181.

chauldement; et ne vont jamays sans avoyr cesdictes choses.¹²⁸ Another contemporary reference to pipe smoking and diplomacy can be found among the twenty-six marginal notes added to an Italian-language transcript recounting Verrazzano's 1524 voyage to North America. The author of the marginalia—probably Verrazzano himself—describes an encounter between the French landing party and a lone Native man in 'Arcadia' (i.e., the Chesapeake region of the Atlantic seaboard) during which the man approached the French 'and showed us a burning stick, as if to offer us fire.' The French responded by making a fire of their own with flint and steel, and then fired a gun. The author invoked a religious comparison to explain the man's subsequent behaviour: 'He remained as if thunderstruck, and prayed, worshiping like a monk, pointing his finger to the sky, and indicating the sea and the ship, he appeared to bless [?] us.' Several commentators have suggested that the burning stick was a reed tobacco pipe proffered as a symbol of friendship.¹²⁹

Cartier's (and perhaps Verrazzano's) failure to recognize the practice of pipe smoking raises several questions. The smoking of tobacco in France was virtually unknown until the latter half of the sixteenth century, and the plant used for this purpose was not North American *Nicotiana rustica* but rather the Brazilian species *Nicotiana tabacum*. But Cartier was reputed to have previous experience in Brazil, and the chronicle of his second voyage likened North

¹²⁸ Biggar, ed., *Voyages of Cartier*, 183–185.

¹²⁹ Janus Verazanus [to Francis I, king of France], 'in the ship Dauphine,' 8 July 1524 [Cèllere Codex translated by Susan Tarrow], in Lawrence Wroth, *The Voyages of Giovanni da Verrazzano, 1524–1528*, (New Haven: Yale University Press for The Pierpont Morgan Library, 1970), 137; for Wroth's interpretation of the incident, see 83. Alexander D. von Gernet notes that with the exception of Cartier's account, European narratives of the early sixteenth century provide little or no unambiguous information on tobacco use in the Americas. 'The Transculturation of the Amerindian Pipe / Tobacco / Smoking Complex and Its Impact on the Intellectual Boundaries between "Savagery" and "Civilization," 1535-1935,' 2 vols. (PhD diss., McGill University, 1988), 1:87–90.

American maize to Brazilian crops and commented on the institution of communal property (*communauté de biens*) in both lands. Native tobacco use in Brazil, described in detail by French observers of the mid-sixteenth century, was not a recent innovation; moreover, the Portuguese had begun cultivating *N. tabacum* there as early as 1534. It is therefore somewhat surprising that when the subject of tobacco smoking comes up, Cartier's narrative eschews the opportunity to make a further rapprochement between Brazil and Canada.¹³⁰ Whatever the reasons for this, Cartier's brief account indicates that the French were unfamiliar with and uninterested in pipe smoking. Like Native singing, dancing, and ceremonies, tobacco smoking was another exotic behaviour that bore little significance for the French other than as a marker of cultural difference.

From the perspective of the Stadaconéans who showed the French how to smoke, the narrative's explanation of its importance—emphasizing its health benefits—may have been very partial indeed. The words and deeds of seventeenth-century Algonquians and Iroquoians in the Northeast point to the widely shared and profound ideological significance of tobacco use (see chapter 3 above). Tubular stone smoking pipes had appeared in the Northeast perhaps 2000 years before Cartier's arrival, to be replaced by stone platform pipes after *circa* 200 BC and then by the first crude clay pipes. In the fourteenth century, an 'explosion' of clay pipe production occurred among the northern Iroquoians, and it has been hypothesized that the use of tobacco, while retaining ancient spiritual potentialities, had also become an everyday secular activity.¹³¹ Finally, as

¹³⁰ Michel Bideaux, 'Introduction,' in Cartier, *Relations*, ed. Bideaux, 12–13; for comparisons between Canada and Brazil: 115, 151, 160, 161 and accompanying notes. For the introduction of tobacco to France, see von Gernet, 'Transculturation of the Amerindian Pipe / Tobacco / Smoking Complex,' 1: 21–34.

¹³¹ Claude Chapdelaine, 'Des «cornets d'argile» iroquoïens aux «pipes de plâtre» européennes,' in *Transferts culturels et métissages Amérique / Europe, XVIe–XXe siècle*, ed. Laurier

demonstrated in chapter 3, the smoking of tobacco was an immensely important political practice for Native peoples of the northeastern woodlands in the early seventeenth century. The narrative of Cartier's second voyage gives little clue as to the precise context in which one or more Frenchmen were offered a pipe in 1535—was it during a council of leaders, or was it perhaps a spontaneous gesture made by a young Stadaconéan man to a sailor? Whatever the case, the narrative implies that the French reaction was surprise and displeasure: 'Nous avons esprouvé ladite fumee apres laquelle avoyr mys dedans notre bouche semble y avoir mys de la pouldre de poivre tan test chaulde.'¹³² (We may well imagine the choking and coughing of the first expeditionary to lift the pipe to his lips.) Is it possible that the implicitly negative reaction of the French to this practice led to the closing off of yet another ritual path toward friendship and alliance?

After the narratives of Cartier's voyages, the next detailed description of the protocols of intercultural diplomacy dates from 1603. In that year, Samuel Champlain witnessed, and recorded in some detail, a meeting between Innu headmen and French leaders near Tadoussac. His description of that encounter and of peoples the St Lawrence valley, published under the title *Des sauvages* (1603), reveals that much had changed since the era of Cartier. One great change was in the human geography of the region. A major demographic and ethnic shift occurred with the disappearance of the Iroquoian settlements in the St Lawrence valley and the seasonal occupation of the river's north shore between Tadoussac and Québec by Innu hunters instead. The causes, timing, and nature of this disappearance remain unclear—warfare and climate change may have played key roles—but the consequences are sharply delineated in documents

Turgeon, Denys Delâge and Réal Ouellet ([Sainte-Foy]: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1996), 189–208.

¹³² Cartier, *Relations*, ed. Bideaux, 161.

and in archaeological sites. The St Lawrence Iroquoian presence in the lower valley had, by 1580, been erased.¹³³ This date coincides with the take-off point for the Canadian fur trade, as far as it can be determined from notarial records in French Atlantic ports. This constituted a second great change—one that was probably not unrelated to the first.¹³⁴ The development of this trade provided a renewed basis for ongoing relations between Natives and newcomers in the lower St Lawrence valley and will therefore be examined in some detail at the conclusion of this chapter. Finally, and in addition to these intertwined geopolitical and economic developments, a subtle shift occurred in the way in

¹³³ Theories about the disappearance of the St Lawrence Iroquoians are reviewed in Pendergast and Trigger, *Cartier's Hochelaga*, 71–92. Although much has been learned about the St Lawrence Iroquoians since 1972, the issue of their fate remains a matter of speculation and debate. Disease and warfare are generally assumed to have played key roles. For two recent and conflicting views, see J. B. Jamieson, 'Trade and Warfare: The Disappearance of the Saint-Lawrence Iroquoians,' *Man in the Northeast* 39 (1990): 79–86, who elaborates a theory of intensifying warfare between the Five Nations and the St Lawrence Iroquoians, with the result that many of the latter became refugees among the Hurons while the few remaining villages succumbed to disease and raiding. James F. Pendergast argues instead that warfare between the Hurons and the St Lawrence Iroquoians was principally responsible for the dispersal of the latter; see Pendergast, 'More on When and Why the St Lawrence Iroquoians Disappeared,' in *Essays in St Lawrence Iroquoian Archaeology*, ed. Pendergast and Claude Chapdelaine, Occasional Papers in Northeastern Archaeology, no. 8 (Dundas, ON: Copetown Press, 1993), 9–47. More recently, William R. Fitzgerald has argued for the importance of climate change as a factor in the population history of northern Iroquoians. The Little Ice Age, a period of cooling that began in the sixteenth century throughout the northern hemisphere, may have made horticulture increasingly uncertain in southern Ontario. This may account for the increase in protein consumption from the sixteenth to the seventeenth centuries among groups like the Neutral (and, presumably, St Lawrence Iroquoians along the upper St Lawrence river), reflected in the ratios of carbohydrates to protein preserved in the bones of people of the period: as Iroquoians turned to deer hunting to round out their diet, they may have been embroiled in conflicts over access to hunting territories. See Fitzgerald, 'Contact, Contraction, and the Little Ice Age: Neutral Iroquoian Transformation, AD 1450–1650,' in *Transferts culturels*, 243–269, esp. 260–261.

¹³⁴ As Daniel Richter has noted of sixteenth-century eastern North America, '... most striking of all is the way in which the arrival of the newcomers exacerbated conflicts of one Native group with another . . . ; everyone discouraging advantageous Europeans from traveling to the next town, but encouraging dangerous ones to pay neighbors a visit. Both within and among Native communities, contact with the new world across the seas inspired bitter conflicts over access to what the aliens had to offer . . .' (Richter, *Facing East*, 40; see also 36–38 for his reconstruction of how a Stadaconéan might have viewed the decline of his or her community).

which Native American leaders were represented in French travel writing. For most of the sixteenth century French-language writing on the Americas tended to portray Native American societies as monarchies. But at the dawn of the seventeenth century, as France embarked on a series of new (and more enduring) colonial endeavours in Europe's New World, the tendency to view Native societies as monarchies was thoroughly eclipsed and a new terminology took its place. Where sixteenth-century French observers saw American kings at the apex of American kingdoms, their early-seventeenth-century counterparts saw instead captains (*capitaines*), leading men or chiefs (*principaux*), and elders (*anciens*) guiding communities that seemed not to warrant the term 'monarchy.'¹³⁵ Although the reasons for the terminological shift were multiple, in the main they had less to do with the sociopolitical organization of the Native societies with whom the French interacted or observed from afar than with changing conceptions of kingship itself in late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century France.¹³⁶ In short, transformations of the meaning of kingship within France led in turn to an altered conception of the nature of Native American societies.

This evolution suggests how, as with any attempt to control experience through an act of naming, the invocation of familiar political taxonomies to understand the societies they encountered in the Americas attuned French colonizers to certain possibilities for interacting with Native peoples while simultaneously blinding them to others.¹³⁷ In seeking to assimilate the unfamiliar,

¹³⁵ For contemporary understandings of these terms and their English translations, see Randle Cotgrave, *A Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues* (London, 1611), s.v. *capitaine* and *principal*.

¹³⁶ As outlined in chap. 2.

¹³⁷ In arguing thusly, I do not intend to embrace the extreme social constructivist conceit that people are prisoners of their language or that words rigidly limit and constrain thoughts and perceptions. Nor do I wish to imply that the practice of classification is always automatic and uncalculated. Rather, it is my view that culturally determined schemes of perception evolve as

early modern French observers naturally drew on existing categories that seemed congruent with their perceptions of Native American societies. Partaking both of conscious rationalization and spontaneous recognition, this cognitive process was doubtless complex. But like Native Americans' initial classifications of the newcomers and their goods, it is key to appreciating the French experience of contact and the intercultural relationships that ensued. The choices early modern French observers made when describing Native polities were neither innocent nor epiphenomenal, for the classification of Native leaders as kings powerfully informed the policies and behaviours of French colonizers on the ground.

In chapter 2, kingship was discussed as a 'key symbol' in early modern French political culture, and its multiple traditional meanings were explored. We saw as well how elite conceptions of kingship evolved over the course of the sixteenth century. According to Roger Chartier, these developments hardly affected the broadly shared representations of kingship in French society. 'Le principe monarchique demeure vivace comme grille de lecture permettant de comprendre, et par là d'intégrer dans un univers de choses déjà connues, les réalités nouvelles. Les récits de voyages révèlent la même procédure : les sociétés indigènes rencontrées ne peuvent être pensées qu'à travers les critères qui organisent la société même d'Occident.'¹³⁸ And so they were, at least until the end of the sixteenth century. At that point, a rupture occurred as French travel writers discarded the terminology of their predecessors, consciously eschewing

culture bearers assess the consequences of their calculated application of such schemes to external realities. In general, however, such schemes are enduring and their evolution, unpredictable.

¹³⁸ Roger Chartier, 'La « monarchie d'argot » entre le mythe et l'histoire,' in *Les marginaux et les exclus dans l'histoire*, Cahiers Jussieu, no. 5 (Paris: Union générale d'éditions, 1979), 275–311, here 292.

the model of kingship as means of understanding Native American societies. Was it merely that these writers shared the evolving outlook of French elites who, as we have seen, gradually abandoned casual evocations of the monarchical principle? A closer examination of the trajectory of the representation of Native kingship in the sixteenth-century texts suggests, instead, that a more definable set of circumstances played a role in its eclipse.

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Before the first official French expedition to eastern North America in 1524, accounts of the of Spanish, Portuguese, and French explorers in Middle and South America circulated within France, often in translation, providing readers with glimpses of glimpses of Native Americans kings in a variety of newly found lands.¹³⁹ Columbus's letter of 1493, published in seventeen editions before the

¹³⁹ The works examined in the following paragraphs represent an informed sampling of a larger corpus of key works published in French on the Americas in the early sixteenth century. For relevant studies and bibliographies, see Gilbert Chinard, *L'exotisme américain dans la littérature française au XVIe siècle, d'après Rabelais, Ronsard et Montaigne* (Paris: Hachette, 1911); *ibid.*, *L'Amérique et le rêve exotique dans la littérature française au XVIIe et au XVIIIe siècle* (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1970); Geoffroy Atkinson, *The Extraordinary Voyage in French Literature before 1700*, Columbia University studies in Romance philology and literature (New York: Columbia University Press, 1920); *ibid.*, *La littérature géographique française de la Renaissance: répertoire bibliographique* (Paris: A. Picard, 1927); *ibid.*, *Supplément au répertoire bibliographique se rapportant à la littérature géographique française de la Renaissance* (Paris: A. Picard, 1936); Philip P. Boucher, *Les Nouvelles Frances. France in America, 1500-1815: An Imperial Perspective* (Providence, RI: John Carter Brown Library, 1989); Durand Echeverria and Everette C. Wilkie Jr., *The French Image of America: A Chronological and Subject Bibliography of French Books Printed before 1816 Relating to the British North American Colonies and the United States*, 2 vols. (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1994). The most comprehensive reference is *European Americana: A Chronological Guide to Works Published in Europe Relating to the Americas, 1493-1776*, ed. John Alden and Dennis Channing Landis, 6 vols. (New Canaan, Conn.: Readex Books, 1980-1997).

Atkinson's bibliography and supplement list 33 examples of 'geographical literature' on the Americas published in French between 1493 and 1609. My own enumeration, using the geographical indexes of *European Americana*, revealed 186 works relating to the Americas from French cities (principally Paris, Lyons, and Rouen) for the same period. Not all of these were in

century was out (including one at Paris), initially cast doubt on the existence of kings among the Tainos of Hispaniola and Cuba: shortly after landfall on Cuba, Columbus ordered his men to look for kings, but none were found. By the end of the letter, however, things have changed: there are repeated references to kings and princes on the island of Hispaniola.¹⁴⁰ Similarly, the fourth book of Mathurin de Redouer's *Le nouveau monde* (1516) asserted confidently that finding 'Indian' kings in the Caribbean was merely a matter of asking: 'Les nostres en chercheant leur coustumes trouverent par signes et actes que entre eulx ilz avoient ung Roy, et apres que les nostres furent descenduz en terre ilz furent receuz du Roy honorablement.' Indeed there turned out to be many kings on Hispaniola, some of whom led the extermination of the troublesome sailors Columbus had left behind in 1493.¹⁴¹ Here, as in the 1532 French translation of Pietro Martire d'Anghiera's well-known *De orbe novo* (originally published in 1516), New World kings act very much like petty European princes: resenting their subordination, they instigate an uprising against the Spanish. The rebel leader, elected emperor, is captured, and his impassioned speeches to his people on the power and liberality of the Spanish help quell the resistance—for a time. Significantly, although the Indians are said to live 'sans poix, sans mesure, sans mortifere pecune, sans loix, sans juges, sans calumnieurs, sans livres, contens de la loy de

French, however, and French-language works published outside of France (at Geneva, Antwerp, and Amsterdam, for example) in this period are not captured in my enumeration, although some appear in Atkinson's list.

¹⁴⁰ Translation of *De Insulis nuper in mari Incido repertis* (Basel, 1494), in *The Columbus Letter*, Osher Map Library and Smith Center for Cartographic Education, University of Southern Maine, www.usm.maine.edu/~maps/columbus/toc.html.

¹⁴¹ *Le nouveau monde et navigacions faites p[ar] Emeric de Vespuce flore[n]tin Des pays et isles nouvelleme[n]t trouvez au parava[n]t a nous incongneuz, ta[n]t en lethiope q[ue] arabie Calichut [et] aultres plusieurs regions estranges, Translate de italien en la[n]gue francoyse par Mathurin de Redouer licencie es loix* (Paris: Galliot du Pre, 1516), lxxx recto (quotation), lxxxvi verso.

nature, & sans avoir soing du temps advenir,' the narrator finds kings at every turn. The indigenous term *cacic* is invoked, but only as a synonym.¹⁴²

French-language accounts of the initial conquests of Mexico and Peru appeared ten or twelve years after those events took place. In these texts the Spanish protagonists immediately recognize the leaders of the highly stratified states of early sixteenth-century Mesoamerica and Peru as kings. For a reader of the French edition of d'Anghiera, such classifications were integral to the rationale behind Cortés' treatment of the king of the Aztecs: not only was Montezuma a tyrant, demanding the children of his subjects for bloody sacrifices, but he himself recognized Cortés' master, Charles V, as the fabled lord in whose lands the Aztecs themselves had once lived and whose conquering return was foreseen in prophecies. In the end, it is Montezuma's scheming against Cortés, and hence against his recognized suzerain Charles V, that justifies his violent overthrow.¹⁴³

Kingship similarly occupies a central place in the narrative of the conquest of Peru contained in *L'histoire de la terre neuve du Perù* (1545). The text accords Atabalipa, king of Peru, qualities appropriate to that status: '. . . sa parolle estoit vrayement pleine de gravité & maiesté royalle'.¹⁴⁴ Yet it also insists that he usurped the position of his elder brother, Cusco, wresting the kingdom from him in a civil war and keeping Cusco in prison. Cusco, upon hearing of Pizarro's capture of Atabalipa, becomes hopeful of his own restoration. Fearful of just this eventuality, Atabalipa allegedly arranges to have Cusco assassinated from his

¹⁴² Pietro Martire d'Anghiera, *Extraict ou recueil des isles nouvellement trouués en la grand mer Océane* (Paris: S. de Colines, 1532), bks. 2, 3, and 4; 11r (quotation); 13r (*cacic*).

¹⁴³ Anghiera, *Extraict*, 156r (sacrifice children), 171r (prophecy).

¹⁴⁴ *L'histoire de la terre neuve du Perù en l'Inde Occidentale, qui est la principale mine d'or du monde, naguères descouverte, & conquise, & nommée la nouvelle Castille, Traduite d'Italien en Francoys* (Paris: Pierre Gaultier for Jehan Barbé and Vincent Sertenas, 1545), G.iii. recto. (The pages of this work are unnumbered; hence I have adapted the printer's signatures for use as page references.)

prison, for 'Atabalipa avoit fait son dessein d'estre monarque du pays & vouloit oster tout ce qui luy pouvoit donner quelque obstacle ou empeschement à son entreprise.'¹⁴⁵ Thus does the Spaniards' subsequent execution of Atabalipa become, in the eyes of the reader, an act of justice rather than of regicide: following Atabalipa's death by drowning, the Spanish install Cusco's eldest son as king, thereby reestablishing the legitimate line. Through the superimposition of European dynastic principles and strategies on the characters of the Sapa Inca and his brother, Pizarro's brutal conquest of Peru is explained as the justifiable overthrow of a vile usurper.

Early sixteenth-century French documents also reveal the existence of Native American kings well beyond the frontiers of the Aztec and Inca states. The semi-sedentary Tupinambá of coastal Brazil were led by kings, according to the account of Binot Paulmier de Gonneville's voyage to that land. In a report made to the clerk of the admiralty of Rouen in 1505, Paulmier de Gonneville and his associates 'disent avoir remerché [sic] ledit pays estre divisé par petits cantons, dont chacun a son Roy; et quoy que lesdits Roys ne soient guières mieux logez et accoustrez que les autres, si est-ce qu'ils sont moult reverez de leurs sujets; et nul si hardy ose refuser leur obeïr, ayans iceux pouvoir de vie et mort sur leurs sujets.'¹⁴⁶ While the report itself did not circulate, stories of the expedition likely did. At midcentury, French printed works dealing with Brazil confirmed the existence of kings there. André Thevet's account of a French expedition's arrival in what he called 'la France antarctique' mentioned the hospitality of 'un de leurs grands Morbicha ousaaoub, c'est à dire, Roy.' A page

¹⁴⁵ *L'histoire de la terre neuve du Perù*, H.iii. recto.

¹⁴⁶ 'Déclaration du vegage [sic] du capitaine de Gonneville,' 64. I have been unable to determine the meaning of the term 'remerché', which occurs in several places in the printed edition of this document. It does not appear in the seventeenth-century dictionaries of Jean Nicot (1606), Cotgrave (1611), Furetière (1690), or the Académie française (1694).

later, Thevet told his readers that the people of this land were ‘gens merueilleusement estranges, & sauvages, sans foy, sans loy, sans religion, sans civilité aucune, mais vivans comme bestes irraisonnables, ainsi que nature les a produits.’¹⁴⁷ And yet he believed they had kings.

The creators of the royal entry festival held to honour Henri II’s visit to Rouen in October 1550 shared Thevet’s perspective. One of the elaborate tableaux vivants prepared for the occasion by the Rouenese elite involved a recreated Brazilian village and a mock battle between two different groups of Tupinambá. The attackers were led by ‘leur Roy, autrement nommé par eulx, Morbicha’ who, having previously inspired his men with an impassioned speech, was followed by them ‘de pro[m]pte obeissance.’¹⁴⁸ According to Michael Wintroub, the actors in this Brazilian episode were intended to evoke for the French king the military ideals of the old nobility of the sword. Other tableaux articulated the importance of reconciling these ideas with the humanist ideals of the newer nobility of the robe—urging, in effect, Henri II to temper the natural virtue of barbarians with the civilized arts of Antiquity.¹⁴⁹ For our purposes, the royal entry festival of 1550 is significant because it suggests that the chronicler saw little contradiction in portraying naked ‘savages’—*canyballes*, no less—as living under the rule of a king.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁷ Thevet, *Les singularitez de la France antarctique*, 46 (grand Morbicha), 51 verso (‘sans foy, sans loy’).

¹⁴⁸ *Entrée à Rouen du roi Henri II et de la reine Catherine de Médicis en 1550* (Rouen: Espérance Cagniard for the Société Rouennaise de Bibliophiles, 1885), fol. K iv (recto). (The pages of this work are unnumbered; hence, I have adapted the printer’s signatures for use as page references.) Of the three hundred ‘Brisilians’ acting in this pageant, some fifty were actually native Brazilians brought to Rouen. The rest were Frenchmen familiar with Brazilian customs.

¹⁴⁹ Michael Wintroub, ‘Civilizing the Savage and Making a King: The Royal Entry Festival of Henri II (Rouen, 1550),’ *Sixteenth Century Journal* 29, no. 2 (1998): 465-494.

¹⁵⁰ *L’entrée à Rouen du roi*, K iv (recto).

By midcentury these images of Native American kings circulating in printed works in France were joined by others appearing in the travel writing of French explorers and colonizers. Although relatively few in number, the accounts that emerged from France's three major sixteenth-century colonization efforts provide clear evidence for the continued recognition of indigenous monarchies. The first such effort, in the St Lawrence River Valley in the early 1540s, was preceded by a number of exploratory expeditions, such as Cartier's, that generated detailed reports on the lands and peoples of eastern North America. The surviving documents relating the colonization effort that followed are, unfortunately, few and fragmentary; they permit nonetheless the conclusion that the harsh climate, the disaffection of the Iroquoian-speaking peoples inhabiting the region, and a lack of support from France compelled the two different groups of colonists to flee after only one winter. Following the abandonment of the short-lived Canadian colony in 1543, southern Brazil, long frequented by French traders in dyewood and exotica, became the focus of a second colonization attempt. Wracked by internal conflict, most of it religious in nature, the island colony at Rio de Janeiro was destroyed in 1560 by the Portuguese who claimed Brazil as their exclusive domain. A third major enterprise began only two years later, this time in territory claimed by Spain but well to the north of existing Spanish settlements. Envisioned in some circles as an American refuge for French Calvinists and in others as a convenient base from which to harry Spanish shipping, the French colony in *la Floride* lasted no longer than the others. Mutiny, poor relations with the local Timucuan, and near starvation weakened the colony before military intervention by Spain finally wiped it from the map. Of the three ventures, the Brazil colony generated the most printed works in France, in large part because the religious divisions between the colonists spurred a fierce debate among survivors and observers

over whom to blame for the debacle. As we shall see, that debate continued well beyond the immediate aftermath of the failure, and became bound up with the ideological turbulence of France's wars of religion (1559–98). Because this section's principal concern is the image of Native American kings and its evolution over time, it is crucial to bear in mind the date of composition of the travel writings examined, as opposed to their date of publication or the dates of the voyages and encounters to which they referred. For this reason, works stemming from the Brazilian venture will be examined after those relating to the Florida colony.¹⁵¹

The initial reports that resulted from French exploratory expeditions to eastern North America in 1524 and 1534 provided scant evidence of the existence of American monarchies. The first of these was a letter by the navigator Giovanni da Verrazzano to his sponsor, King Francis I. Verrazzano, who had explored the North American coastline from the Carolinas to Cape Breton, described various landfalls and often fleeting encounters with Native peoples, frankly conceding on several occasions the paucity of information he was able to gather about them.¹⁵² The report says little about Native sociopolitical organization, but in relating one extended encounter with the people of 'Refugio' (present-day Narragansett Bay), Verrazzano noted the presence of 'two kings, who were as beautiful of stature and build as I can possibly describe.' It was precisely the

¹⁵¹ For recent overviews of sixteenth-century French colonialism, see Olive Patricia Dickason, 'The Sixteenth-Century French Vision of Empire: The Other Side of Self-Determination,' in *Decentring the Renaissance: Canada and Europe in Multidisciplinary Perspective, 1500–1700*, ed. Germaine Warkentin and Carole Podruchny (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 87–109, and Philip P. Boucher, 'Revisioning the "French Atlantic", or, How To Think about the French Presence in the Atlantic, 1550-1625,' in *The Atlantic World and Virginia, 1550–1624*, ed. Peter C. Mancall (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 2007), 274–306.

¹⁵² For admissions of this nature, see Janus Verazanus to Francis I, 8 July 1524, in Wroth, ed., *Voyages of Verrazzano*, 134, 136, 137, 140, 141.

presence of these kings, along with (as art historian François-Marc Gagnon has insightfully observed) the ‘courtesy’ they displayed and the embroidered stag skins they wore, that led the Florentine to assert that ‘these people are the most beautiful and have the most civil customs that we have found on this voyage.’ Other American peoples, especially those he met further north (in present-day Maine and Cape Breton Island, for example) were deemed, by contrast, ‘devoid of manners and humanity.’¹⁵³ It was nonetheless to these northern regions that a second state-sponsored voyage of discovery was directed in 1534, under the command of Jacques Cartier. As noted above, the sole surviving narrative of that voyage presented the Mi’kmaq, Innu, and Iroquoian groups Cartier encountered on the shores of the Gulf of St Lawrence as being led by *capitaines*—like the one who harangued the French following their raising of the cross at the Baie de Gaspé.¹⁵⁴

If the narrative of Cartier’s first voyage gave no indication that kings were to be found in northeastern North America,¹⁵⁵ that of his second voyage of 1535–

¹⁵³ Wroth, ed., *Voyages of Verrazzano*, 138, 141. For Gagnon, Verrazzano’s observation that the kings of Narragansett Bay wore ‘a stag skin skillfully worked like damask with various embroideries (Wroth, *Voyages of Verrazzano*, 138) implies that he judged them according to a European sartorial code that placed embroidered fabrics above undecorated materials and subsequently viewed them as superior to other Native peoples along the Atlantic coast who were seen wearing apparently unworked animal skins. ‘L’image de l’Autre ou Verrazzano “ethnologue”,’ in *Proceedings of the Eleventh Meeting of the French Colonial Historical Society, Québec, May 1985*, ed. Philip P. Boucher (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1987), 251-263, here 254-258.

¹⁵⁴ Cartier, *Relations*, ed. Bideaux, 101-117.

¹⁵⁵ Although no Native leaders are described as kings in the narrative of the first voyage, it is possible that the French recognition of Donnacona’s leadership role at the cross-raising in 1534, discussed above, led to a tentative categorization of him as a kind of king. This could explain why in 1534 Cartier did not kidnap Donnacona himself, but only the two young men the French believed to be Donnacona’s sons. If Cartier foresaw the potential value of captives as interpreters, he may well have preferred to take younger men who might more easily learn a new language. I suspect, however, that the sixteenth-century tendency to assimilate native leadership roles with European kingship was a more crucial factor. To seize a king would have been a blatant act of aggression and war—as any subject of a king recently taken prisoner in battle well

36 revised the situation considerably. In the opening passage of the narrative, the reader learns that the two young men kidnapped in 1534 remained with Cartier in France over the winter and are now returning with him to 'Canada'. In the interval they have learned some French and serve Cartier as interpreters and guides, piloting the French ships directly to the hitherto unexplored St Lawrence River and to their home, the town of Stadacona (near present-day Québec City). As the ships pass the western tip of Anticosti Island, the interpreters reveal that to the north lies the 'royaume du Saguenay,' which they characterize as 'terre habitee' and the source of 'le cuyvre rouge qu'ilz appellent *caignetdazé*.'¹⁵⁶ The interpreters' insistence that the St Lawrence River is the only passage westward, combined with Cartier's inability to find a strait along the north shore, convince the French to put the exploration of this kingdom aside and to press on to 'Canada.' Upon arrival, the French are greeted by the same *capitaine* who harangued them the summer before—he is now, however, described as *seigneur*, or lord, of Canada. His indigenous title is *agouhanna*; his personal name, Donnacona.¹⁵⁷ He governs a region—variously described as a province, a

knew. (Francis I was captured by imperial forces at Pavia in 1525.) Taking hold of a few princes, however, might be more easily construed as diplomacy, albeit of a rough-handed sort. The narrative refers to Donnacona, the headman, approaching the ship with three sons and a brother. (How these other men were in fact related to Donnacona is yet another uncertainty.) If the eldest 'son'—in French terms, the Stadaconéan equivalent of the dauphin—were relinquished along with his 'father,' then Cartier might well convince himself and his contemporaries that he had not acted in an egregiously hostile manner.

¹⁵⁶ Cartier, *Relations*, ed. Bideaux, 132.

¹⁵⁷ Cook, ed., *Voyages of Cartier*, 50. Both Biggar's original translation (*The Voyages of Jacques Cartier* [Ottawa, 1924]) and the slight changes made in the 1993 edition cited here contain some unfortunate renderings. A comparison with the sixteenth-century French variants of Cartier's narratives reveals that Biggar gives 'chief' in most places where the original had *seigneur* (lord). Ramsay Cook's edition, in turn, changes Biggar's 'chiefs' into 'leaders' or, in some cases, omits the title entirely. In seeking a translation more in accordance with the anthropologically correct terminology of their day, Biggar and Cook only obscure Cartier's understanding of Iroquoian political organization in 1535-36. English readers seeking an appreciation of the sixteenth-century conceptual frameworks that structured this narrative are perhaps better served

territory, or a kingdom—that includes several towns said to be subject to him.¹⁵⁸ Donnacona invites the French to tarry at Stadacona, but Cartier has already noted the absence of precious metals and spices among the Stadaconans and so is anxious to press onward, toward Hochelaga to the west. Despite the objections of Donnacona and the desertion of his interpreters, Cartier continues upriver to Montreal Island where he and his small but well-armed party are given an elaborate welcome by the inhabitants.¹⁵⁹ In the village itself, Cartier relates how nine or ten men carried in an older man on a deerskin and, ‘en faisant signe,’ indicated that he was the ‘le roy et seigneur du pays qu’ilz appellent en leur langue *agouhanna*’—the same title given Donnacona. The text continues:

Cestuy *agouhanna* estoit de l’aige d’envyron cinquante ans et n’estoit point mieulx acoustré que les aultres fors qu’il avoyent alentour de sa teste une maniere de liziere rouge pour sa couronne faicte de poil d’herisson et estoit celluy seigneur tout percluz et malade de ses members.¹⁶⁰

by the translation published by Richard Hakluyt in the second edition of his *Principall Navigations* (London, 1598-1600). Here, the phrase ‘roy et seigneur du pays’ (Cartier, *Relations*, ed. Bideaux, 154) is more appropriately rendered as ‘the Lord and King of the countrey’ (*The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English nation*, ed. Edmund Goldsmid, 16 vols. [Edinburgh: E. & G. Goldsmid, 1885–1889], 13: 121) than as ‘the ruler and chief of this tribe’ (Biggar, ed., *Voyages of Cartier* [1924], 163) or ‘the ruler and leader of the country’ (Cook, ed., *Voyages of Cartier* [1993], 63).

¹⁵⁸ For Stadacona as a kingdom and subject towns, see the wordlist of the second voyage in Cook, ed., *Voyages of Cartier*, 90, 95.

¹⁵⁹ As anthropologist William Fenton has pointed out, the rituals described in the narrative bear a structural resemblance to the Iroquois wood’s-edge greeting that is well-documented from the seventeenth century to the present. Fenton, ‘Structure, Continuity, and Change in the Process of Iroquois Treaty Making,’ in *The History and Culture of Iroquois Diplomacy: An Interdisciplinary Guide to the Treaties of the Six Nations and Their League*, ed. Francis Jennings, Fenton, Mary A. Druke and David R. Miller (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1985), 3–36. For their part, Cartier and his crew might have interpreted the wood’s-edge greeting as a kind of *entrée solonelle*, a French political ritual described in chap. 2.

¹⁶⁰ Cartier, *Relations*, ed. Bideaux, 154.

Such details suggest the problem of classification facing Cartier at Hochelaga. This king wore a crown, yet was otherwise clad no differently from the others. That he was borne in by attendants might have offered further evidence of his royal status, but for the physical condition that necessitated it. Had the *Agouhanna* not been paralyzed ('malade de ses membres'), would he still have been honoured in this manner?¹⁶¹

The royal reception at Hochelaga lasts little more than an afternoon, for, despite the people's warm welcome, Cartier became anxious about the vulnerability of the numerically inferior French.¹⁶² Gratifyingly, however, the visit has yielded valuable information: the Hochelagans have confirmed—through signs—that metals like gold and silver can be found to the west, beyond the rapids, in the land of well-armed *Agojuda*, and that the 'cuyvre rouge qu'ilz appellant *caignetdazé*' comes from the 'royaume et province du Saguenay.'¹⁶³ Back at Stadacona, Cartier and his crew hunker down for the winter, hoping to explore

¹⁶¹ Gilles Thérien has noted that 'Cartier, instead of trying to understand what is really happening and to see in the 'old' man of fifty—he himself is forty-four years old—a shaman, an ancient, an ambassador, or a council leader, and moreover a sick one, quickly gives him the title of king, a title he did not give Donnacona. Was it the fortified village, the military aspect of the place, that triggered in his imagination the notion of some palace or even some capital? It is difficult to demonstrate absolutely, but the same scenario is depicted in the print in Ramusio's book.' Thérien further argues that the narrative implies an equality between the 'savage king' and Cartier, a representative of Francis I who, in this episode, touches the sick of Hochelaga as a French king would cure scrofula; see Gilles Thérien, 'Memoria as the Place of Fabrication of the New World,' in *Decentring the Renaissance: Canada and Europe in Multidisciplinary Perspective, 1500-1700*, eds. Germaine Warkentin, and Carolyn Podruchny (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 68–84, here 77. Thérien's questions are good ones. Donnacona will, of course, become a king posthumously, as noted below.

¹⁶² '... fismes voile pour retourner a notre gallion pour doubte qu'il n'eust aucun ancombrier' (Cartier, *Relations*, ed. Bideaux, 157). As many scholars have noted, this comment echoes the incident (in the narrative of the first voyage) where the French use ship-mounted guns to scare away a large number of Mi'kmaq who have surrounded them in canoes, suggesting Cartier's discomfort at being outnumbered by the Natives.

¹⁶³ Cartier, *Relations*, ed. Bideaux, 156, 157.

the kingdom of Saguenay and its riches of gold and copper the following year.¹⁶⁴ But the harsh winter, high mortality owing to scurvy and deteriorating relations with the Stadaconéans compel him to return to France in the spring. Before departing, however, the French become involved with what they perceive as indigenous court intrigues. Having learned that Donnacona has a rival named Agona,¹⁶⁵ Cartier resolves to forcibly carry Donnacona and his two sons to France, ostensibly to provide Francis I with more information on the region, but clearly also to allow Agona to set up as ruler. With the new lord of Canada owing the French a favour, what better foundations for further exploration and settlement?

European politics prevented Francis I from sponsoring a third voyage until 1541. This time, however, a much larger expedition was planned, including several hundred colonists and soldiers along with an artillery train, the whole to be led by Jean-François de la Roque de Roberval, seconded by Cartier as pilot. The existence of Native *seigneurs* notwithstanding, Roberval was duly commissioned as lieutenant general in Canada and Hochelaga and given the power to 'bring them into our possession' through friendship or force.¹⁶⁶ The narratives of these colonizing expeditions are only available to us from Richard Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations* (1598-1600), the French originals having been

¹⁶⁴ As Bideaux notes, the people of Stadacona seem to have presented a more elaborate description of this land after the return of the French from Hochelaga: it is now revealed as a land where 'les gens sont vestuz et habillez de draps comme nous et y a force villes et peuples et bonne gens et qu'ilz ont grande quantité d'or et cuyvre rouge' (Cartier, *Relations*, ed. Bideaux, 168, 392 n. 479).

¹⁶⁵ Cook, ed., *Voyages of Cartier*, 82.

¹⁶⁶ Roberval's commission, 15 January 1541, in *Voyages of Jacques Cartier*, 144-151, 146 (quotation).

lost.¹⁶⁷ What is more, the surviving accounts are fragmentary and the reasons for the ultimate abandonment of the colony established near Stadacona remain unclear. In any event, the narratives of Cartier's third voyage (1541–42) and the Roberval expedition (1542–43) clearly illustrate the tendency to situate Native government within the conceptual framework of lordship and monarchy. The first lines of the narrative of the 1541–42 expedition inform the reader of Donnacona's death in France, styling him the 'king of Canada.'¹⁶⁸ Returning to Stadacona, Cartier is greeted joyfully by the people there, including

he... which had the rule and government of the Countrey of Canada, named Agona, which was appointed king there by Donnacona, when in the former voyage we carried him [Donnacona] into France.

To the narrative's author, Agona's subsequent actions made sense in light of his supposed triumph in acquiring the crown of Canada through French intervention.

And hee [Agona] came to the Captain's ship with 6 or 7 boates and with many women and children. And after the sayd Agona had inquired of the Captaine where Donacona and the rest were, the Captaine answered him, That Donacona was dead in France, and that his body rested in the earth, and that the rest stayed there as great Lords, and were married, and would not returne backe into their Countrey: the said Agona made no shewe of anger at all these speeches: and I thinke he tooke it so well because he remained Lord and Governour of the countrey by the death of the said Donacona.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁷ Hakluyt seems to have obtained French manuscript versions of the reports of Cartier's third voyage and of Roberval's expedition during several visits to France between 1583 and 1587 (Cartier, *Relations*, 41).

¹⁶⁸ Cook, ed., *Voyages of Cartier*, 96.

¹⁶⁹ Cook, ed., *Voyages of Cartier*, 98-99.

Following this, the author informs us, Agona took a piece of tanned leather edged with white shell beads 'which was upon his head in stead of a crowne' and placed it on Cartier's head. As we have seen, Cartier then returned this 'crowne of leather and put it againe upon his [Agona's] head, and gave him and his wives certaine small presents, signifying unto him that he had brought certaine new things, which afterward he would bestow upon him; for which the sayd Agona thanked the Captaine.'¹⁷⁰ As discussed above, Cartier's return of the beaded 'crown' was in all likelihood related to the symbolic weight such an item carried for the French. For the Iroquoians, however, the refusal of a gift of wampum may well have betokened, ominously, a rejection of dialogue and alliance.

Little is known of subsequent events. The French wintered again near Stadacona and departed in the spring for France, meeting the second half of the expedition under Roberval off the Newfoundland coast. Roberval's contingent continued on to Stadacona and likewise returned to France after a single winter in the St Lawrence Valley. Only a few pages of an account of the Roberval expedition survive, revealing little of the colony's history but underlining in passing the pervasive image of Native monarchy; in a passage describing the land and its inhabitants, we read that 'they have a king in every Countrey, and are wonderfull obedient unto him: and they doe him honour according unto their maner and fashion.'¹⁷¹ Later Spanish interrogations of French and Basque sailors revealed that the Stadaconans had attacked the fledgling colony and had boasted to fishermen of having killed thirty-five of Cartier's men.¹⁷² Native opposition—glossed in a later text as the 'aloofness' of the inhabitants—was

¹⁷⁰ Cook, ed., *Voyages of Cartier*, 99.

¹⁷¹ Cook, ed., *Voyages of Cartier*, 112.

¹⁷² Cook, ed., *Voyages of Cartier*, 163, 166.

doubtless a primary cause for the failure of the French colonization effort in sixteenth-century Canada.¹⁷³ We can only wonder whether Cartier's classification and subsequent treatment of Donnacona and Agona as kings, rather than as headmen representing kin groups, had anything to do with the collapse of French-Native relations.

The images of North American kings embedded in the reports of the Cartier and Roberval expeditions circulated widely in France and Europe, less through the publication of an account of Cartier's second voyage in French in 1545 (which appears to have been virtually ignored)¹⁷⁴ than through their inclusion in works authored or compiled by others. A navigational tour of the Atlantic composed at midcentury confidently asserted that in the region between Newfoundland and Norumbega 'Il y ha villes. Ils ont un Roy comme aux Indes. Les gens y sont de nostre grandeur, entre-noirs, & adorent le Soleil & la Lune. Ils ont force pelleterie.'¹⁷⁵ Giovanni Battista Ramusio included the narratives of Cartier's first and second voyages in his *Terzo volume delle navigatione et viaggi* (1556) and, further, commissioned an engraving of the town of Hochelaga in which the

¹⁷³ According to an inscription on a 1550 map by Pierre Descellier, 'as it was not possible to trade with the people of this country because of their aloofness and the intemperance of the land and small profits, they [the French] had returned to France and hoped to come back when it pleased the king' (quoted in Dickason, 'Sixteenth-Century French Vision of Empire,' 96).

¹⁷⁴ *Brief récit & succincte narration de la navigation faicte es ysles de Canada [...]* (Paris, 1545). Only three copies of this work are known to exist. The account of Cartier's first voyage was not published in French until the end of the century: *Discours du voyage fait par le capitaine Jaques Cartier aux Terres-neufves de Canadas, Norembergie, Hochelage, Labrador, & pays adjacens, dite Nouvelle-France, avec particulieres moeurs, langage, & ceremonies des habitans d'icelle* (Rouen: Raphael du Petit-Val, 1598).

¹⁷⁵ *Les voyages aventureux du capitaine Jan Alfonse saintongeois: contenant les reigles et enseignemens necessaires à la bonne & seure navigation* (Poitiers: de Marnesz & Boucherz frères, 1559), 28v. Jean Alfonse was almost certainly dead when this work was written in the 1540s, and so is unlikely to be the author. Moreover, the work curiously omits mention of actual voyages made by Alfonse or by Cartier (*Relations*, ed. Bideaux, 43). Cartier's narratives may not be the source for the American kings in the *Voyages aventureux*. The work nevertheless underlines the sixteenth-century French belief in the existence of North American kings.

house, court, and hearth fire of the king were clearly marked.¹⁷⁶ Through Ramusio, the ethnographic and geographic information about Canada made its way into the works of French cosmographers like François de Belleforest and André Thevet, while Richard Hakluyt commissioned English translations of the accounts in their entirety for the benefit of his compatriots.¹⁷⁷ No one disputed the classification of Native North American leaders as lords and kings. The royal cosmographer and prolific writer of geographic literature André Thevet reworked Cartier's material extensively (and often erroneously) for inclusion in his *Singularitez de la France antarctique* (1557) and *Cosmographie universelle* (1575); in the former work, he explained that, among the Canadians, 'when it is a question of war their great *Agahanna* (which means like king or lord) commands his vassal lords, as each village to its superior, that they resolve to come and be before him'¹⁷⁸ Thevet followed Cartier in calling Donnacona the lord of Stadacona and, in a 1558 edition of the *Singularitez*, identified him in a marginal heading as the king of Canada.¹⁷⁹ In a fictionalized episode in the later *Cosmographie*, the cosmographer recounted meeting 'a certain kinglet' on the Norombegue River; elsewhere, he referred to a region on the great river of Hochelaga 'where their king, whom they call in their jargon *Agouhanna*, usually resides.'¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁶ Cook, ed., *Voyages of Cartier*, unnumbered plate after xli. In this well-known engraving, reproduced countless times in modern publications, figure D indicates the 'Casa del Re Agouana,' and E, 'La Corte della Casa del Re, & il suo fuoco.'

¹⁷⁷ *Relations*, ed. Bideaux, 37-38.

¹⁷⁸ *André Thevet's North America: A Sixteenth-Century View*, trans. and ed. Roger Schlesinger and Arthur P. Stabler (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1986), 14.

¹⁷⁹ 'Dona-coua, A-guanna, Roy de Canada' (Thevet, *Les singularitez de la France antarctique*, 151v). These marginal headings are not included in Schlesinger's and Stabler's edition of Thevet's works.

¹⁸⁰ Schlesinger and Stabler, eds., *Thevet's North America*, 28, 34. See also 39, 43 for reference to kings.

The vocabulary of lordship and kingship used by Cartier and Thevet demonstrated a much distorted understanding of Iroquoian sociopolitical organization. As we have seen in chapter 2, northern Iroquoian polities, such as the Wendat (Huron confederacy) or the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois confederacy) of the seventeenth century, were confederations of autonomous villages whose various matrilineal clan segments each sent one or several headmen to the village council, which in turn sent delegates to nation-wide or confederacy-wide councils. In addition to those upon whom were bestowed the titular leadership positions belonging to certain matrilineages, some individuals became leaders through personal achievement in war, diplomacy, or trade. But there was no institutionalized hierarchy that descended from a single individual—that is, no kingship.

There was also no kingship as such in sixteenth-century Florida, although the Native polities of the day were perhaps closer in some instances to monarchies. French and Spanish sources as well as archaeological evidence lead modern anthropologists to label these societies as chiefdoms. Leaders claimed supernatural sanction for their authority and inherited their titles matrilineally (generally, from their mother's brother); rank in general (as well as access to resources) depended on 'genealogical nearness' to the chief's lineage. Some achieved the status of paramount chiefs by extending their authority over neighbouring villages.¹⁸¹ Still, a great gulf existed between these polities and the

¹⁸¹ John H. Hann, *A History of the Timucua Indians and Missions* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996), 74, 75, 82; and John E. Worth, *The Timucuan Chiefdoms of Spanish Florida*, 2 vols. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998), 1:4-18 (see p. 5 on nearness to the chiefly lineage). Jerald T. Milanich has argued that the Timucua polities were 'simple' chiefdoms that occasionally 'exercised complexity' by forming short-term regional alliances to meet an external threat. 'Native Chiefdoms and the Exercise of Complexity in Sixteenth-Century Florida,' in *Chiefdoms and Chieftaincy in the Americas*, ed. Elsa M. Redmond (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998), 245-264.

monarchies of early modern Europe. Yet René de Laudonnière, his account of French colonization efforts in the 1560s, did not hesitate to employ the vocabulary of kingship—and in an official communication that appeared directed toward the highest authorities in France.¹⁸²

Beginning with the first casual mention of kings in the ethnographically oriented preface, Laudonnière allows his readers only the narrowest doubt about the status of Floridian leaders. Not only does the king have the privilege (alone of all men, it seems) of taking more than one wife, he also presides over Native councils and is honoured posthumously with special funerary rites. Naturally, he leads his men in war.¹⁸³ The individual kings who appear throughout the narratives (of the expeditions of 1562, 1564, and 1565) that follow are accorded by Laudonnière the characteristic attributes of European royalty. They are gracious, generous, valiant, but also proud and fierce. Certain great kings have other kings as vassals. Their principal wives are queens, one of whom is rumoured to be ‘la

¹⁸² Charles E. Bennett, ‘Introduction,’ in René Laudonnière, *Three Voyages*, trans. and ed. Bennett (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1975), xix. Readers of Bennett’s English translation may be confused by Bennett’s decision to consistently translate the Native term *paraousti* as ‘chief’, despite Laudonnière’s insistence (quoted later in this essay) that the term meant ‘king’. As a result, Native individuals appear sometimes as chiefs (whenever they are called *paraousti* in the original) and sometimes as kings (whenever the original text gives *roi*). In the original French text, Laudonnière never uses generic terms of leadership, like *chef* or *capitaine*, to describe the *paraoustis* or kings of Florida. As with Biggar’s edition of Cartier’s relations, the anthropological presuppositions of the translator obscure the sixteenth-century interpretation of Native leadership.

¹⁸³ *L’histoire notable de la Floride, située ès Indes occidentales, contenant les trois voyages faits en icelles par certain Capitaines & Pilotes François, décrits par le Capitaine Laudonnière ...* (Paris: Guillaume Auvray, 1586), 4v–7v. Although this account was published in 1586, it appears to have been written at an earlier date and to have circulated in manuscript form. As Schlesinger and Stabler note, ‘[a]pparently Thevet possessed Laudonnière’s narrative, which he suppressed in order to pose as an authority on Florida’ (*Thevet’s North America*, xxxi).

plus belle de toutes les Indiennes,' and is carried everywhere on her subjects' shoulders as a sign of respect.¹⁸⁴

Lest skeptical readers entertain doubts about the nature of 'ces Roys estrangers,'¹⁸⁵ the text repeatedly strives to justify the use of the language of kingship. In one encounter, the French commander Jean Ribault is greeted by a king who demonstrates '... une si constante gravité, qu'il fait paroistre qu'à bon & juste droict il portoit le tiltre de Roy.'¹⁸⁶ Elsewhere, Laudonnière emphasizes that the Natives live in a ranked society, and that kings are surrounded by symbols of their status.¹⁸⁷ In the account of the second voyage, the text introduces the indigenous terms *paraousti* and *paracousi*, insisting that they are appropriately understood to designate a 'king' or a 'monarch'.¹⁸⁸

As in the narratives relating to Cartier's voyages, the concept of Native kingship subtly determines French policies on the ground. Left in command of the French colony at Fort Caroline (on the present-day St John River) in 1564, Laudonnière outlines for the reader how he carefully and calculatedly cultivated

¹⁸⁴ *L'histoire notable*, 25v–26r ('fort libéral), 42v (gracious), 48v–49r (vassal kings), 75v (queen). Laura Fishman asserts that Laudonnière's description of Timucuan kingship is largely 'consistent with [the views] of modern anthropologists' (inasmuch as one could substitute the latter's 'chiefs' for Laudonnière's 'kings') and argues that in viewing Timucuan political organization as akin to that of the French, Laudonnière 'surprisingly' departed from prevailing European discourses of savagism and 'sensed a common bond of humanity between himself and the Timucuan' ('Old World Images Encounter New World Reality: René Laudonnière and the Timucuan of Florida,' *Sixteenth Century Journal* 26, no. 3 [1995]:547–559, here 552–553). The evidence presented here suggests that Laudonnière's depiction of Timucuan kings should not be seen as especially surprising or original when placed in the broader context of sixteenth-century French travel writing.

¹⁸⁵ *L'histoire notable*, 23r. Bennett's translation gives 'strange kings' (*Three Voyages*, 39).

¹⁸⁶ *L'histoire notable*, 9v.

¹⁸⁷ *L'histoire notable*, 39v–40r (rank). For symbols of kingly status, see for example King Oade's 'white coverlet fringed in scarlet' (Bennett, *Three Voyages*, 43).

¹⁸⁸ '... leur *paraousti*, c'est-à-dire leur Roy & supérieur' (*L'histoire notable*, 36v); '... il se nommoit *Paracousi Satouriona*, qui vaut autant que Roy *Satouriona*' (38r); 'le *Paraousti Satouriona*, monarque des confins de la Rivière May' (49r).

the friendship of a dozen kings while gradually investigating potential sources of mineral wealth and assessing the geopolitical situation. Although he recognizes that the French have settled on the lands of King Satouriona, Laudonnière refuses that monarch's request for military assistance, instead hoping to mediate regional conflicts and establish a kind of *pax gallica*. But once the route to a promising source of gold is discovered, the French abandon this policy of restraint and instead resolve to take sides with the king who seems most able to guide them toward the metal. Sounding his men for their advice on the matter, the commandant learns that '[l]a plus part fut d'opinion que je devois envoyer secourir à ce Paracousi, pour ce qu'il me seroit mal aisé de découvrir plus avant pays sans son moyen, & que les Espagnols, lors qu'ils estoient sur les termes d'acquérir, s'estoient tousjours alliez de quelque Roy, pour ruiner l'autre.'¹⁸⁹ Later, as the thirst for gold is eclipsed by the prospect of starvation, Laudonnière (at the urging of his men) decides to kidnap his new ally, King Outina, to force the latter's subjects to provide the French with food. As successful as the policy of capturing the king might have appeared from earlier Spanish accounts of New World conquest, in Florida it proves a dismal failure: Outina's people respond by electing a new leader.¹⁹⁰ Toward the end of the narrative, reflecting on the debacle that has led to the decision to abandon the colony in the summer of 1565, Laudonnière expresses regret for the conflict with Outina, but congratulates himself for having retained the friendship of the other kings in the region.¹⁹¹

As with Cartier (and, perhaps, Roberval), the classification of Native leaders as kings led Laudonnière to contemplate and execute policies that assumed an extreme centralization of legitimate authority in one individual and his closest

¹⁸⁹ *L'histoire notable*, 77v.

¹⁹⁰ *L'histoire notable*, 85r.

¹⁹¹ *L'histoire notable*, 94r.

male family members. Within such a conceptual framework, wooing, controlling, replacing, or kidnapping indigenous kings was intended to produce predictable results. The failure of such policies was not solely a result of proceeding from wrong premises; the policies themselves were inherently heavy-handed and manipulative. But the act of classification itself may have foreclosed alternative conceptions and options for interacting on a more mutually beneficial basis with the Native leaders of Canada and Florida. Although climate, logistics, internal dissension, and (in the case of the Florida expedition) the aggression of a rival empire contributed to the demise of these sixteenth-century colonies, the alienation of local Native peoples also played a key role.

Over the course of the sixteenth century Brazil, not Canada or Florida, most shaped French impressions of the Americas, a consequence of a longstanding French involvement in the brazilwood trade and of a brief but intense failed effort at colonization in the 1550s. The Tupinambá of the coast were famously known in France for their ritual cannibalism—a sign of extreme barbarism, in European eyes—but, as we have seen in the royal entry festival at Rouen in 1550, such barbarism did not preclude them from having proper kings. The image of an indigenous Brazilian monarchy in sixteenth-century French writing was largely the creation of André Thevet. At its centre was Quoniambec, the physically impressive Tupinambá king and ally of the French in Brazil. As described in Thevet's *Cosmographie universelle* (1575), Quoniambec is eight feet tall and immensely strong—so much so that he carries two culverins on his shoulders into battle—and possesses a booming voice and heroic demeanour. Yet he is no mere brute who commands through the use of force. Quoniambec spontaneously demonstrates the natural piety of royalty by falling to his knees when he sees the French at prayer, and is remembered by his people after his death as a great leader. Where necessary, Thevet's writing compensates for the

lack of obvious signs of kingship by careful substitution: thus does a typical *maloca* or longhouse become a palace once Quoniambec takes possession of it.¹⁹²

The hyperbolic quality of Thevet's writing seems to provide ample positive evidence for William Sturtevant's hypothesis that many 'American chiefdoms are an artifact of postmedieval European preconceptions' — in other words, that early modern Europeans' assumptions about the nature of human society led them to impose hierarchies and ranks upon groups where none in fact existed. Surveying the ethnographic data, Sturtevant finds that 'the Tupinambá exhibit hardly any of the characteristics of chiefdoms and lack those considered crucial by most theorists.'¹⁹³ Yet Thevet's portrait of the kingly Quoniambec was anything but a simple unconscious application of deeply rooted schemes of perception. As was the case with Cartier and Laudonnière, the classification of Native leaders as kings solved an important problem for the colonizer: how to legitimate the extension of French power over autonomous American polities? As Frank Lestringant has argued, in inventing this portrait, Thevet was seeking to create a mirror of European kingship that would serve as the linchpin of the French colonial project in Brazil: Quoniambec's anticipated conversion to Christianity would lead ultimately to his incorporation within the French empire as a vassal of the French king.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹² Frank Lestringant, 'The Myth of the Indian Monarchy: An Aspect of the Controversy between Thevet and Léry (1575–1585),' in *Indians and Europe: An Interdisciplinary Collection of Essays*, ed. Christian F. Feest (Aachen, The Netherlands: Edition Herodot, 1987), 37–60, here 40–42.

¹⁹³ William Sturtevant, 'Tupinambá Chiefdoms?' in *Chiefdoms and Chieftaincy*, 138–149, here 139, 140, and 146.

¹⁹⁴ 'The Indian monarchy represents the myth indispensable for the establishment of alliances with the new peoples and further for the installation of jurisdiction over their territories. The isolation of a unique figure which marvelously realizes the monarchic principle transposed into Indian chieftainship considerably simplifies the transactions because the key to domination rests in a single [47] individual, easy to convert and to corrupt' (Lestringant, 'Myth of the Indian Monarchy,' 46–7). Eric Hinderaker echoes this notion in his study of the 'Indian Kings' who

The matter of Brazilian kings might have remained unquestioned were it not for the religious turmoil of late sixteenth-century France. Thevet had publicly blamed the failure of the French colony in Brazil on the insubordination of its Huguenot elements and so made enemies of Huguenot survivors like the Calvinist pastor Jean de Léry who, unlike Thevet, had actually spent time among the Tupinambá.¹⁹⁵ When Léry published a second edition of his *Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Bresil* (1580), he attacked Thevet by mocking the cosmographer's depiction of Quoniambec. Far from being majestic, Quoniambec becomes in Léry's view merely 'funny,' and the stories of his fantastic might, delusional. Thevet's response in his *Vrais Pourtraits et Vies des Hommes illustres* (1584) was to up the ante, placing Quoniambec in a gallery with Julius Caesar, Charlemagne, and Tamerlane, intending thereby to indicate that the Brazilian monarch was on a par with the greatest princes of the Old World. The panegyric text completely overlooks the potentially disturbing elements of Tupinambá culture—cannibalism and nudity—that Thevet had acknowledged in the earlier *Cosmographie universelle*, emphasizing instead the king's virtues of strength and piety. Again, a calculated renaming assists in doing so: Quoniambec's feather diadem is interpreted as a crown and his war club becomes a sceptre. Léry's fierce rebuttal came in the third edition of his *Histoire* (1585): Quoniambec's

traveled to London in 1710: 'in cultural impact the episode was unique. In part, this was a function of the social and political authority ascribed to the Indians by calling them "kings." . . . The idea of Indian kings had radical implications for Britons, who had previously tended to regard Indians as natural men living in weak, stateless societies. This new impulse to project political sovereignty onto native leaders was entirely consistent, however, with the desire to extend English imperial authority in America: it posited the existence of native peoples who were capable of serving as effective allies and agents of the crown in the empire-building process'; see Eric Hinderaker, 'The 'Four Indian Kings' and the Imaginative Construction of the First British Empire,' *William and Mary Quarterly* 3d series, 53, no. 3 (1996): 487–526, here 488.

¹⁹⁵ Thevet spent about ten weeks in Brazil in 1555–56 (Schlesinger and Stabler, *Thevet's North America*, xx); Léry, by contrast, seems to have spent about eight months in the island colony and another two living near Tupinambá villages on the mainland.

palace is revealed to be a 'pig sty'; his kingdom, an expanse of wilderness. In fact, insists Léry, there are neither kings nor princes among the Tupinambá. No one leads, and yet the community functions in perfect harmony.¹⁹⁶

It is tempting, perhaps, to view Thevet and Léry as writers on opposite sides of the supposed chasm between medieval and modern worldviews. Is not Léry simply the more objective ethnographer, privileging direct experience over received wisdom, whereas Thevet remains a prisoner of unquestioned premises inherited from the authorities of antiquity? Such a conclusion would ignore the complex context of their feud. Léry's efforts to demolish the image of the Brazilian monarchy were not purely those of an indignant eyewitness anxious to set the record straight about the failure of the French colony and the true nature of indigenous society. Instead, as Lestringant points out, Léry's sustained ridicule of Quoniambec was surely related to the increasingly antimonarchical Huguenot political discourses of the 1570s and 1580s. In the wake of the French king's involvement in the massacre of St Bartholomew of 1572—an episode of the wars of religion in which thousands of prominent Huguenots gathered at Paris were exterminated in an orchestrated purge—Léry could hardly view the institution of monarchy with equanimity or respect.¹⁹⁷ Demystifying Brazilian kingship by cutting through Thevet's rhetoric, Léry revealed in its place a naked savage in the forest. What might be revealed were the French king subjected to similar critical scrutiny? In assailing Thevet's underlying premise that people in a state of nature had kings, Léry was rejecting, in a fundamental way, the basis of monarchy in natural law. The debate between Thevet and Léry thus exposes the

¹⁹⁶ Lestringant, 'Myth of the Indian Monarchy,' 42, 43–44, 46. For Léry's explicit rejection of the existence of kings or princes among the Tupi, see Jean de Léry, *History of a Voyage to the New Land of Brazil, otherwise called America*, trans. Janet Whately (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 113.

¹⁹⁷ Lestringant, 'Myth of the Indian Monarchy,' 53–54.

specific political and religious contexts in which the trope of the 'savage' monarch became, in France, an ideological hot potato. The ridicule of a Brazilian king provided an altogether too obvious model for the degrading of a French king.

The vanishing Native American monarchy in early modern French rhetoric and perception thus reflected both the changing attitudes of sixteenth-century elites, as outlined in chapter 2, and the new political order emerging from the wars of religion. As we have glimpsed in the debate between Thevet and Léry, the increasingly radical polemics that characterized the conflict contributed to a questioning of the taken-for-granted foundations of the French monarchy. The peculiar constellation of events that ended the civil wars, however, imposed a blanket of silence on the radical theses of the time of troubles. Briefly, a series of dynastic accidents led to the Protestant Henri de Navarre becoming heir to the throne in 1584; the assassination of Henri III in 1589 then made Navarre the fourth king of that name according to the prevailing rules of dynastic succession. Thus, through the late 1580s and into the 1590s, did the Huguenot party now find itself supporting the monarchy while the ultra-Catholic opposition, embodied in the Holy League headquartered in Paris, sought the ideological and political means of undermining Henri IV's legitimacy. The king's timely conversion to Catholicism in 1593 took much of the wind out of those sails and made possible the rallying of moderate Catholic and Huguenot support around the figure of the king.¹⁹⁸ By 1598, victory on the battlefield and the politics of religious toleration had secured Henri IV's throne. The French monarchy of the early seventeenth century enjoyed a fundamental legitimacy that was, to a large

¹⁹⁸ See, for example, Michael Wolfe, *The Conversion of Henri IV: Politics, Power, and Religious Belief in Early Modern France* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993).

degree, the result of the atomization of France's elites during and after the wars of religion. In the opinion of historian Denis Richet, this was simply because no other political system or culture offered a viable alternative to the monarchy.¹⁹⁹ The political apotheosis of Henri IV after his assassination in 1610 only further strengthened the ideological foundations of the new Bourbon dynasty. All the traditional rituals of and justifications for kingship—from the peculiar royal funeral ceremonies that enacted the theory of the king's two bodies, to the king touching for scrofula, to the Roman legal maxims that made the king emperor in his own kingdom—were reinvoked and reinvigorated in support of a monarch who enjoyed what Jean Bodin had described as 'absolute power.'²⁰⁰

For French elites engaged in the promotion and execution of colonial ventures, the significance of the term 'king' was now such that it no longer seemed reasonable to view Native leaders as belonging to this category. The late-medieval belief that all social groups, even those of animals, were microcosms of monarchy had given way to a conception of kingship that was rooted simultaneously in history and divine law. The French monarchy was known to be the result of a long, convoluted history, and yet was deemed to be essentially a divinely sanctioned and pure expression of rational principles. Monarchy was no longer an immanent feature of the world but instead was proof of the triumph of religion and reason. Consequently, the benighted peoples of Europe's New World no longer appeared as other monarchies, but as Others without monarchy.

¹⁹⁹ Denis Richet, *La France moderne: l'esprit des institutions* (Paris: Flammarion, 1973), 74, 102-103.

²⁰⁰ For an excellent synthesis of the ritual meanings of the funerary and succession rites of Henri IV and Louis XIII respectively, as well as of the political context in which they occurred, see Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *L'Absolutisme en vraie grandeur (1610-1715)*, vol. 1 of *L'Ancien Régime* (Paris: Hachette, 1991), chap. 1.

Perhaps few texts exemplify this rupture more explicitly in the early seventeenth century than the writings of Marc Lescarbot, the Parisian lawyer who sojourned briefly in the French colony of Port-Royal in present-day Nova Scotia. In chapter 2, we saw how Lescarbot's *Théâtre de Neptune en la Nouvelle-France* functioned as colonial propaganda in presenting the indigenous people of Acadia as supplicants, painfully aware of their need for piety, order, and good government, and of the French ability to bestow these marvels upon them. According to the logic of this fantasy, the French have no need to conquer the natives; instead, the latter will submit voluntarily, even cheerfully, to the beneficent suzerainty of the French king. Certainly, Lescarbot was not the only French writer of his age elaborating fantasies of native self-subjugation. In a fictional travel narrative published at Lyons in 1609, the pseudonymous sieur Des Combes related how a contrary wind pushed his ship to the land of Baccalaos, near Canada. There, Des Combes and his French companions encountered a village of poor barbarians who, ' . . . apres avoir contemplé l'humeur & la façon des nostres, les voya[n]t si addroits & de belle grace au prix d'eux, ils de- [10] meurerent comme ravis, & les vouloient adorer comme dieux, leur faisant signe que s'ils vouloient venir avec eux ils les constitueroient pour Rois & Empereurs de toutes leur terres.'²⁰¹ A similar indigenous response was presented in Jacques Du Hamel's play *Acoubar*, published at Rouen in 1603: the action is again set in Canada, where the valiant Frenchman Pistion not only wins

²⁰¹ *Coppie d'une lettre envoyee de la Nouvelle France, ou Canada, par le Sieur de Cōbes, Gentilhomme Poictevin, à vn sien amy. En laquelle sont briesvement descrites les merveilles, excellences, & richesses du pays, ensemble la façon & moeurs de ceux qui l'habitent, la gloire des François, & l'esperance qu'il y a de rendre l'Amerique Chrestienne*, facsimile ed., Americana series, no. 157 ([Boston]: [Massachusetts Historical Society], 1926), 9-10.

the love of a beautiful Native princess but is also acclaimed king by the Canadian savages after rallying them in battle.²⁰²

The era's most elaborate representation of the French gift of kingship to indigenous Americans was not, however, a work of fiction nor a masque penned during idle hours at a northern fur trade post. In a series of carefully choreographed ceremonies modeled on the French royal entrance ceremony, François de Razilly and other leaders of a large French expedition to the mouth of the Amazon River in 1612 enacted the arrival of Christianity and establishment of French sovereignty over the Tupinambá peoples of Maranhão. As detailed by Claude d'Abbeville, the expedition's Capuchin chronicler, the French deliberately involved the Tupinambá themselves and conducted the ceremonies in a manner that demonstrated, according to French symbolic schemes, the people's joyful and willing acceptance of French political domination.²⁰³

²⁰² Du Hamel, *The Earliest French Play about America*.

²⁰³ Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession*, chap. 2. D'Abbeville's account is given in his *Histoire de la mission des pères capucins en l'isle de Marignan* (Paris: François Huby, 1614). Although it may be, as Patricia Seed has suggested, that French political culture was especially prone to emphasize the consent of the ruled (as demonstrated through joyous celebration and a rhetoric of love; see Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession*, 56-63), in Lescarbot's time the image of Native peoples spontaneously accepting, even seeking, the tutelage of the French had a special purpose. It was a calculated reaction to the Black Legend about Spanish atrocities in the Americas that had developed in the United Provinces and in Huguenot circles in France in the last decades of the sixteenth century. Lescarbot's *Histoire de la Nouvelle-France*, first published in 1609, returns again and again to the theme of Spanish cruelty, providing a sharp contrast to the gentleness of the French and the love the Mi'kmaq and other Native groups are said to bear them as a result. In the dedication of the *Histoire*, for example, Lescarbot grudgingly admits that the Spanish have hitherto been more zealous than the French in carrying civilization and Christianity to the New World, 'mais il a esté cruel.' By contrast, the humane treatment of the Mi'kmaq by the French at Port-Royal has earned the colonizers the love of the natives (Lescarbot, *Histoire*, xii-xiii). Later, Lescarbot refers to the Spanish extermination of Native peoples, and affirms that the French will act with grace, gentleness, pity, and mercy (1: xvii; see also 2, 5, 44, 60, 61, 113-118). Thomas Scanlan has identified a similar logic in Thomas Harriot's *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (1588): see his *Colonial Writing and the New World, 1583-1671: Allegories of Desire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), chap. 2. The works of Lescarbot and

What distinguishes Lescarbot's play and d'Abbeville's chronicle from the fictional voyage of the Sieur des Combes and play by Du Hamel is the insistence that monarchy is not an indigenous institution, and that it must perforce be introduced by the French. In presenting the Mi'kmaq as being without kings and therefore in need of kingship—French kingship, to be precise—Lescarbot was quite conscious that he was departing from sixteenth-century discourses that *did* recognize the existence of Native kings. He insisted that Native leaders *not* be termed kings. In writing the *Histoire de la Nouvelle-France*, Lescarbot cribbed extensively from the sixteenth-century French narratives relating to French colonization efforts in Canada, Brazil, Florida; yet where his sources employed the term 'king' in describing Native leaders, Lescarbot deliberately and systematically replaced this title with either the generic term *capitaine* ('captain', 'leader') or with an indigenous term such as *sagamo* (among the Mi'kmaq) or *paraousti* (among the Timucuan).²⁰⁴ For Laudonnière, *paraousti* meant king; for Lescarbot, it meant a captain. Lescarbot came closest to invoking the model of kingship in relation to the Mi'kmaq when he wrote that Membertou, the Mi'kmaq headman at Port-Royal, 'a sous soy plusieurs familles, ausquelles il commande, non point avec tant d'autorité que fait nôtre Roy sur ses sujets, mais pour haranguer, donner conseil, marcher à la guerre, faire raison à celuy qui reçoit quelque injure, & choses semblables.'²⁰⁵ But his writing also makes clear, as shown below, that he found it difficult to contemplate any serious comparison between Native captains and French kings.

d'Abbeville make it clear that what Scanlan views as a distinctively Protestant discourse was also characteristic of early seventeenth-century French colonial writing.

²⁰⁴ See, especially, Lescarbot, *Histoire*, 41.

²⁰⁵ Lescarbot, *La conversion des sauvages qui ont esté baptizés en la Nouvelle-France* (Paris: Jean Millot, 1610), 20.

The writings of the lawyer's contemporaries in early New France, and those of successive generations of colonial administrators, missionaries, and merchants, continued this trend: Native leaders in North America were everywhere designated as *capitaines*, *chefs*, or *principaux*, and never as kings.²⁰⁶ The Jesuit Pierre Biard, writing from Port-Royal in Acadia a few years after Lescarbot, reported the Mi'kmaq to 'have no laws, arts or government,' but only 'Sagamos, that is, leaders in war; but their authority is most precarious, if indeed, that may be called authority to which obedience is in no wise obligatory.'²⁰⁷ To Razilly and the Capuchin missionaries at the mouth of the Amazon in 1612, the local Tupinambá were led by a number of headmen (*principaux*) and elders (*anciens*). (One principal in particular stood out from the others, but he was clearly not a king, for it was to an assembly of headmen and elders that Razilly pronounced the crucial speech inviting them to offer their land to the French king.)²⁰⁸ To Samuel de Champlain, visiting the homeland of the powerful Wendat (Huron confederacy) in 1615, the people he met were '. . . sans aucune religion, ny loy, soit divine, politique, ou civile.' Even those few leaders they recognized,

²⁰⁶ A rare exception to this assertion can be found in two different Jesuit *Relations* produced in the mid-1650s, when the missionaries were intent on advertising the triumph of a projected mission centred near the central council fire of the Haudenosaunee at Onondaga. One referred to an Onondaga headman named Agochiendagueté being 'as it were, the King of the country.' A subsequent *Relation* presented another man, Sagochiendagesité, who was said to possess 'Royal power and authority over the whole Nation of Onontaghé [Onondaga], although he does not bear that title [of king]' (Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791*, 73 vols. [Cleveland: Burrows Brothers, 1896-1901], 42: 88, 43: 276).

²⁰⁷ Pierre Biard, *Misso Canadensis: epistola ex Portu-Regali in Acadia* (Dillingen, 1611), in Thwaites, ed., *JR*, 2:73.

²⁰⁸ D'Abbeville, *Histoire de la mission des pères capucins*. Reference to the *principaux* of the region are scattered throughout the work; see key passages on 57v, 58r, 67v, 98r-98v, 99, 101v, 105r, 160r-160v.

he stated, were obeyed only in the midst of war.²⁰⁹ The Jesuit Francesco-Giuseppe Bressani, after eight years spent among the Wendat, was less dismissive of Native political institutions; he devoted a chapter of his brief account of the Jesuit missions in Canada to Native government. Even so, he was clear about the error of viewing Native leaders as lords and kings: ‘These people have neither king nor absolute Prince, but certain chiefs, like the heads of a Republic, whom we call Captains. . . . These Captains do not have *vim coactivam*, which even the Fathers do not exercise over their sons in order to correct them, as they use words alone.’²¹⁰ The possession of *vim coactivam*, or coercive power, was what distinguished European kings from Wendat chiefs. It was, as Bressani noted, something that seemed absent even in that fundamental unit of society, the family.²¹¹

Lacking kings in their own society, Native peoples were also deemed ill equipped to appreciate the true nature of kingship and, most gallingly, the immense distance that separated a savage captain from His Most Christian Majesty. The Tupinambá at Maranhão, for example, simply used their word for ‘headman’ to refer to Louis XIII; it was the same word they used for the leaders of the French expedition.²¹² Lescarbot reported that the Mi’kmaq headman Membertou expressed to the French his desire to offer a friendly gift to Henri IV, ‘[c]ar lui estant *Sagamos* il s’estime pareil au Roy et à tous ses Lieutenans, et disoit

²⁰⁹ Champlain, *Voyages et découvertures* (Paris, 1619), in *The Works of Samuel de Champlain*, ed. H. P. Biggar, 6 vols. (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1922-36), 3:52; for chiefs, 3:74.

²¹⁰ Francesco-Giuseppe Bressani, *Breve relatione d’alcune missioni de PP. della Compagnia di Gesu nella Nuova Francia* (Macerata, 1653), in Thwaites, ed., *JR*, 38: 265. ‘Fathers’ here refers, of course, to Wendat fathers and not to Jesuits.

²¹¹ An English translation of Aquinas’ *Summa Theologiae* renders *vim coactivam* as ‘coercive power’; see St Thomas Aquinas, ‘On the Law,’ *Summa Theologiae*, First Part of the Second Part, trans. Alfred J. Freddaro, Question 90: ‘The Essence of Law,’ in *Thomas International*, www.thomasinternational.org/projects/step/treatiseonlaw/delege090_3.htm.

²¹² D’Abbeville, *Histoire*, 58r (term for king), 67v (term for Razilly).

souvent au sieur de Poutrincourt qu'il lui estoit grand ami, frere, compagnon et égal, montrant cette égalité par la junction des deux doigts de la main que l'on appelle *Index*.' For Lescarbot, the gift in question—a deposit of copper in Acadia—was almost beneath His Majesty's notice ('chose dont elle [sa Majesté] ne se soucie'); nevertheless, it behooved the king to value it highly, 'ainsi que fit ce roy des Perses qui receut d'aussi bonne volonté une pleine main d'eau d'un païsan comme les plus grands presens qu'on lui avoit fait.'²¹³ Biard recounted a similar incident involving another Mi'kmaq headman, Cacagous: 'pour montrer sa bonne affection envers les François, il se vante de vouloir aller veoir le Roy, et luy porter un present de cent castors, et fait estat, ce faisant, de le faire le plus riche de tous ses predecesseurs.' For Biard, this incongruity called to mind another amusing ('plaisant') discourse—this time from an unnamed Mi'kmaq headman who mused aloud about the possibility of giving his daughter in marriage to the young king of France, Louis XIII, in return for 'quatre ou cinq barriques de pain, trois de pois ou de febves, un de petun, quatre ou cinq chapots de cent sols pièce, avec quelques arcs, flesches, harpons, et semblables denrées.' 'Voilà,' concluded Biard sarcastically, 'les marques de l'esprit de cette nation.'²¹⁴ Twenty years later the Recollet lay brother Gabriel Sagard repeated Lescarbot's anecdote about Membertou, referring instead to a headman of Bear nation of the Wendat: 'ce *Garihoüa andionxra* n'avoit pas si petite estime de luy-mesme, qu'il ne se voulust dire frere & cousin du Roy, & de mesme egalité, com[m]e les deux doigts demonstratifs des mains qu'il nous monstroit joints ensemble, en nous faisant cette ridicule & inepte comparaison.' The comparison was apparently so amusing that the book's printer felt it warranted a marginal heading of its own:

²¹³ Lescarbot, *Histoire*, 568–9.

²¹⁴ Pierre Biard to Reverend Father Christopher Baltazar, Provincial of France at Paris, 10 June 1611, in Thwaites, ed., *JR*, 1:174–176.

‘Un Capitaine Sauvage se dit frere du Roy.’²¹⁵ What Lescarbot, Biard and Sagard found noteworthy (and, in Biard’s and Sagard’s cases, humorous) about these episodes was the fundamental incommensurability between headmen and kings. None of them needed to state what to their readers would have been obvious: neither Membertou nor the head of the nation of the Bear were kings in the sense in which that word was understood in the early seventeenth century.

For a time, the survival of Native American monarchies was ensured, not in the firsthand accounts produced by explorers, traders, missionaries, and colonial officials, but rather in the ludic culture of the period—in literary works like Du Hamel’s *Acoubar* and the fictional narrative of the sieur Des Combes, or in the court ballets that featured feathered dancers playing exotic characters like ‘King Atabalipa’ (Atahualpa) or ‘Américains’ complaining of the invasion of their kingdoms by the Spanish.²¹⁶ Interestingly, it seems to have persisted too at the other end of the social spectrum. When Amantacha, a young Wendat man brought to France by the Jesuits in 1626, was baptized in the cathedral at Rouen as Louis de Sainte-Foi, ‘une infinité de peuple’ crowded about, ‘d’autant plus curieusement que quelques Mattelots avoient donné à entendre qu’il estoit le fils

²¹⁵ Gabriel Sagard, *Le grand voyage du pays des Hurons situé en l’Amérique vers la mer douce, és derniers confins de la Nouvelle France, dite Canada* (Paris: Denys Moreau, 1632), 198. Sagard frequently copied or borrowed from earlier works on New France by Champlain and Lescarbot; he may have done so in this case. Even were this the case, the passage still illustrates the conceptual divide that had arisen between Native American leaders and European monarchs.

²¹⁶ King Atabalipa figured in Daniel Rabel’s *Ballet Royal du grand bal de la Douairière de Billebahaut*, given before the public at the Hôtel-de-Ville in Paris by order of Louis XIII; see Margaret M. McGowan, *L’art du ballet de cour en France, 1581–1643* (Paris: CNRS, 1963), 149–186 and plate 17 for Rabel’s sketch for the character of King Atabalipa. See François Moureau, ‘Les Amérindiens dans les ballets de Cour à l’époque de Champlain,’ in *Champlain: la naissance de l’Amérique française*, ed. Raymonde Litalien and Denis Vaugeois (Sillery : Septentrion; Paris: Éditions du Nouveau Monde, 2004), 43–49, for a discussion of this ballet (47–48). Moureau also mentions a ballet of 1627 featuring two ‘Américains’ complaining of the invasion of their kingdoms (46).

du Roy de Canada.²¹⁷ But none of the French in New France saw Amantacha this way. For them, there was no Native kingship. As a means of conceptualizing Native leadership in North America, its day had passed.

In turn, however, the eclipse of the notion of Native American monarchy opened new avenues for future intercultural relations—in particular, the possibility of an alliance premised on principles of kinship, rather than those of kingship. The fishermen and whalers who frequented the shores of northeastern North America, as well as the fur traders who came in increasing numbers after 1580, had little need for indigenous kings: seeking to turn a profit and not to extend the possessions of their prince, they more easily embraced indigenous modes of diplomacy. As a new era of official French colonization began after 1598 (the year of the Treaty of Vervins, ending a decade of Franco-Spanish warfare), colonial agents in the St Lawrence valley appropriated the proto-diplomatic vocabulary and trade rituals that an earlier generation of fur traders had opportunistically embraced in their dealings with coastal Algonquian-speakers. For Lescarbot, Champlain, and their contemporaries, there were no Native American kings—only captains and, in the ritual and language of indigenous diplomacy, kin.

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The development of the fur trade in northeastern North America was a gradual process that began early in the sixteenth century. The relations of Cartier's voyages suggest that in the 1530s and 1540s, some Native groups in the

²¹⁷ Gabriel Sagard Théodat, *Histoire du Canada et voyages que les Frères mineurs Recollects y ont faicts pour la conversion des infidèles depuis l'an 1615*, ed. Edwin Tross 4 vols. (Paris: Librairie Tross, 1866), 798; see Trigger, *Children*, 398.

Northeast were accustomed to engaging in trade with European vessels in the Gulf of St Lawrence and Strait of Belle Isle. In 1534, the Mi'kmaq who held up furs on sticks at the sight of Cartier's ships in Chaleur Bay seemed to anticipate a session of trading. The Stadaconéans visiting the Baie de Gaspé that same year lacked furs to trade with the French, but a few years later, this situation had apparently changed. A sailor interrogated at the order of a Spanish official in the tiny Biscayan province of Guipúzcoa reported having been part of a fishing expedition to 'Gran Baya que es la boca del rio à Canada' (i.e., the western end of the Strait of Belle Isle) in 1542, where his ship was met by 'muchos yndios' from Canada who traded deer and 'wolf' skins for axes, knives and other goods. These 'Indians' also claimed to have killed thirty-five men from Cartier's colony. This statement and other documentary and archaeological evidence permit the tentative conclusion that Iroquoians from the lower St Lawrence River valley were traveling as far as the Strait of Belle Isle to trade with Europeans. This phenomenon ended around 1580 with the disappearance of the Iroquoian settled population in the St Lawrence valley.²¹⁸

Notarial registers in the French Atlantic ports of Rouen, La Rochelle and Bordeaux record the emergence of fur trading as a distinct commercial activity in the 1550s. Until the very end of the century, however, it appears to have been frequently undertaken as a sideline to the cod fishery and, in the case of the Basques, to the whale hunt. The trade seems to have had its origins in the ports

²¹⁸ Examination of Newfoundland sailors regarding Cartier, 23 September 1542, in *Collection of Documents Relating to Cartier and Roberval*, 462; Martijn, 'Iroquoian Presence.' The original gives 'pielles de benados y de lobos,' translated as 'deer and wolf skins.' Laurier Turgeon's interpretation of this passage assumes that sea lions (*loups marins*) are meant instead of wolves. Laurier Turgeon, William Fitzgerald and Réginald Auger, 'Les objets des échanges entre Français et Amérindiens au XVIe siècle,' *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec* 22, no. 2-3 (1992): 157; Turgeon, 'French Fishers, Fur Traders, and Amerindians during the Sixteenth Century: History and Archaeology,' *William and Mary Quarterly* 55, no. 4 (1998): 595–596.

of Normandy—Rouen, Honfleur, and Le Havre—whence ships departed for ‘la Floride’ to combine cod fishing and trade. (The toponym ‘La Floride’ referred generally to the Atlantic coastline of North America between present-day Florida and Cape Breton; in the case of fishermen and fur traders, the toponym probably referred in practice to the Atlantic coast of present-day Nova Scotia and Maine.) Disparate references from English sources indicate that by the 1580s, ships from St Malo were trading in the St Lawrence valley. Finally, increasing numbers of Basque ships were outfitted at Bordeaux and La Rochelle between 1580 and 1587 for trade, fishing and whaling in ‘Canada’ and, to a lesser extent, ‘Gaspé’ and ‘Terreneufve’. Basque activities in ‘Canada’ probably centered near the mouth of the Saguenay River, which was both a crossroads of major Native trade routes and a feeding ground for whales. The archaeological record, when compared to the inventories of trade goods derived from notarial acts, confirms this chronological and geographical distribution of French traders at the end of the sixteenth century, and testifies to the location of Basque installations in the middle estuary of the St Lawrence valley, especially around Tadoussac.²¹⁹

The intensification of trade around 1580 appears to have been the result of a confluence of factors. Declining whale harvests in the Strait of Belle Isle and less abundant cod stocks along the coastlines seem to have argued for a diversification of activities: trading for furs was one way of topping up the profits on expeditions that now spent longer periods at sea in search of

²¹⁹ For this paragraph and the following, see Laurier Turgeon, ‘Basque-Amerindian Trade in the Saint Lawrence during the Sixteenth Century: New Documents, New Perspectives,’ *Man in the Northeast* 40 (1990): 81–87; Turgeon, Fitzgerald and Auger, ‘Les objets des échanges entre Français et Amérindiens au XVIe siècle’; Turgeon, ‘Creuser les premiers contacts: pêcheurs basques et Amérindiens au Canada au XVIe siècle,’ in *Culture et colonisation en Amérique du Nord*, ed. Jaap Lintvelt, Réal Ouellet and Hub Hermans (Sillery: Septentrion, 1994), 49–75; Turgeon, ‘Vers une chronologie des occupations basques du Saint-Laurent du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle: un retour à l’histoire,’ *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec* 24, no. 3 (1994): 3–15; Turgeon, ‘French Fishers, Fur Traders, and Amerindians.’

increasingly scarce maritime resources.²²⁰ As well, the increasing demand for furs, especially beaver for hat-making, in western Europe had led importers to turn to distant sources: first Russia, and then Canada. A brief stoppage in the supply of Russian furs in the early 1580s probably accounts for the sudden boom in the Canada trade. But the French fur trade in Canada collapsed just as quickly before the decade was out, due in part to the slowing of commerce during the wars of religion and the related conflict between France and Spain. After the Treaty of Vervins (1598), however, French traders reappeared in the St Lawrence valley, some with royal commissions according them a monopoly on beaver exports from 'New France.'²²¹

As brief and uneven as it was, the emergence of a regular fur trade in the St Lawrence valley in the final decades of the sixteenth century had important consequences for intercultural relations. The intensification of exchanges led Native peoples and Europeans to acquire greater familiarity with each other's practices and values. Traders stocked goods that responded to the aesthetic and utilitarian preferences of Northeastern hunter-gatherers and horticulturalists, without knowing why such preferences existed or indeed how these goods would be used. For example, William R. Fitzgerald considers it plausible that French traders purposefully commissioned white and indigo tubular glass beads

²²⁰ Turgeon, 'French Fishers, Fur Traders, and Amerindians,' 594–595.

²²¹ Bernard Allaire, *Pelleteries, manchons et chapeaux de castor: les fourrures nord-américaines à Paris, 1500–1632* (Sillery / Paris: Septentrion / Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1999), chap. 2. Although the first concrete evidence of North American furs at Paris dates from 1545, beaver begins to arrive in large quantities only after 1581–82 (67–68). The concept of a monopoly on the fur trade emerged a few years later, although other kinds of royal monopolies had been previously granted for trade in the lands France claimed in the Americas.

in imitation of the white and purple tubular shell beads (wampum) that were highly valued in the Northeast.²²²

A few sources suggest that in addition to trading with the Europeans, Native peoples also provided labour for fishing and whaling crews. The sixteenth-century cosmographer André Thevet, speaking of the people living around the mouth of the Saguenay River, stated that 'Il leur faut faire beaucoup de présens tant pour attirer leur amitié que pour les faire travailler et ayder à la pescherie.'²²³ English and Basque chroniclers of the period describe similar arrangements. Historical archaeologists have also provided material evidence of patterns of coexistence and cooperation also exists. Excavations begun in 1990 at the Hoyarsabal site on Île aux Basques, a small island perched off the south shore of the St Lawrence River near Trois Pistoles, have revealed the outlines of a late sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century Basque whaling station. Beside the remnants of the furnaces used to boil down whale blubber, Native artifacts and Basque materials have been found in the same contexts. It may have at just such a place that Europeans and Natives traded and perhaps even worked side by side.²²⁴

²²² Indeed, the predominance of these distinctive glass beads in archaeological assemblages is held to correspond to the first period of French trade in the St Lawrence valley, *circa* 1600 to 1630. See William R. Fitzgerald, 'Chronology to Cultural Process: Lower Great Lakes Archaeology, 1500–1650' (PhD diss., McGill University, 1990), 175, 180, 200–202, 209–210. See *ibid.*, chap. 5 for Fitzgerald's defense of this periodization of glass bead assemblages. Trigger notes that archaeologist Kenneth Kidd had previously suggested that the French deliberately produced particular beads in order to suit Native tastes (Trigger, *Children*, 360). For an analyses of the process of cultural appropriation of objects, see Calvin Martin, 'The Four Lives of a Micmac Copper Pot,' *Ethnohistory* 22, no. 2 (1975): 111–133, and Laurier Turgeon, 'The Tale of the Kettle: Odyssey of an Intercultural Object,' *Ethnohistory* 44, no. 1 (1997): 1–29.

²²³ André Thevet, 'Le Grand Insulaire' [*circa* 1586], in Schlesinger and Stabler, eds., *Thevet's North America*, 251.

²²⁴ Turgeon, 'Creuser les premiers contacts,' 52 (date of first excavations); Turgeon, 'French Fishers, Fur Traders, and Amerindians,' 603–608 (English and Basque sources, interpretation of archaeological evidence).

The last half of the sixteenth century also saw the adoption of tobacco use among segments of the western European population. This was not a result of the North American fur trade in particular, but rather of the growing web of transoceanic contacts in the Atlantic world. Europeans discovered tobacco-smoking peoples in widely separated regions of the Americas, and there were several independent importations of various species of tobacco to Europe. The brazilwood trade of the sixteenth century was the vector for the introduction of a Brazilian species of tobacco and the Tupi-Guarani term *petum* (later *pétun*) into France. Among the European elite the plant's fame as a near-miraculous cure for various ailments spread rapidly through the publication of Latin and vernacular treatises. (Among other effects, tobacco smoke was credited with providing protection from the bubonic plague.) At the same time, recreational smoking became commonplace among sailors and in Atlantic sea ports. In effect, the emergence of social smoking among the working classes of the Atlantic world made this practice a point of convergence for European and Native American forms of sociability.²²⁵ Moreover, it laid the ground for the institutionalization of an important feature of intercultural diplomacy. The French sailors and traders who came to the St Lawrence valley in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth

²²⁵ Von Gernet, 'Transculturation of the Amerindian Pipe / Tobacco / Smoking Complex,' 1: 23–34, 39–51, 54–63, 111–119. Scholars note the earliest appearances of tobacco smoking in European Atlantic cities in the 1570s; tobacco was at this time produced by Native Americans groups for trade as well as by enslaved Natives and Africans, often in urban settings, for whom tobacco was both a comfort and a source of cash. The first tobacco plantations run by Europeans date from the 1590s. See Marcy Norton and Daviken Studnicki-Gizbert, 'The Multinational Commodification of Tobacco, 1492–1650,' in *The Atlantic World and Virginia, 1550–1624*, ed. Peter Mancall (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 2007), 251–273, here 254–256, 261–262.

centuries were prepared to smoke in council with the Innu because they were already accustomed to the idea and practice of smoking for pleasure.²²⁶

The late sixteenth-century fur trade inaugurated a new dynamic whereby Native peoples crossed to Europe not as kidnappees or physical proof of an expedition's success but as guests and ambassadors. With the development of the trade in the St Lawrence valley and Gulf of St Lawrence, regular voyages to and from well-known harbours led Native peoples to expect the return of familiar faces each year and no doubt to surmise that they, too, could expect to return alive from an ocean crossing a year or so after their departure. Jacques Noël, a Malouin trader in the St Lawrence valley in the 1580s, claimed to have brought several people, presumably Innu, to St Malo for nearly a year before returning them to 'leur païs au lieu de Canada pour dautant plus facilitez leur traficq, (et) amitié desdictz sauvaiges.'²²⁷ Messamoet, a Mi'kmaq headman from La Have, stated in council in 1606 that he had personal knowledge of French goods and power ('commodités' and 'forces') due to his having formerly been a guest in the house of the 'sieur de Grandmont, gouverneur de Bayonne.'²²⁸ The Mi'kmaq headman Cacagous told Biard of his baptism in Bayonne sometime before 1611.²²⁹ At the dawn of the seventeenth century, at least two unnamed

²²⁶ Archaeological evidence of pipe smoking at Québec is examined in Mario Savard and Pierre Drouin, *Les pipes à fumer de Place-Royale* (Québec: Les Publications du Québec, 1990). The French traders at Québec apparently preferred Dutch-made clay pipes (80–87).

²²⁷ The document cited is an order signed by Henri III in council, Paris, 14 January 1588, in *Nouveaux documents sur Jacques Cartier et le Canada*, ed. Alfred Ramé (Paris: Tross, 1865), 37.

²²⁸ Lescarbot, *Histoire*, 534.

²²⁹ Biard to Christopher Balthazar, Provincial of France, Port-Royal, 10 June 1611, *JR*, 1: 162–164. In addition to these oft-cited passages, Peter Bakker notes Selma Huxley's reference to a 'British' source that mentions 'Micmacs' being brought to the northern Basque provinces. Additionally, Silas Rand recorded in the late nineteenth century a Mi'kmaq oral tradition relating one man's voyage to France. See Peter Bakker, "'The Language of the Coast Tribes is Half Basque": A Basque-American Indian Pidgin in Use between Europeans and Native Americans in North America, ca. 1540-ca. 1640,' *Anthropological Linguistics* 31, no. 3-4 (1989): 120.

Innu from around Tadoussac made the journey to France, probably in the company of the trader François Gravé Du Pont, a Malouin working for a Norman syndicate, where they met Henri IV and his court and received promises of military aid against their enemies.²³⁰ As shown in the rationalization of Jacques Noël quoted above, these European tours seem to have been attempts on the part of Basque, Malouin, and Norman traders to cement ties with Native suppliers of furs.²³¹

Europeans also began to experiment with leaving individuals among Native groups as guests and future interpreters. A petition from about 1600, produced by a defender of St Malo's right to participate freely in the Canadian fur trade, alleged that 'lesdictz habitans de Saint Malo . . . ont tousjours continué ceste navigation et negoce avec les sauvaiges . . . et fait en sorte que par leur industrie, ilz ont rendu lesdictz sauvaiges traictables, doux et familiers'; adding, moreover, that a Frenchman had been left among the Natives 'afin d'entrer avec eux dans le país recongnoistre leur habitation et ce qui se peut esperer à l'avenir de meilleur . . .'.²³² In the decade to follow, French traders would send boys to winter with groups in the interior; this was probably simply an extension of a practice already initiated on the coast. In these human exchanges we can discern

²³⁰ This embassy is discussed further in chap. 5.

²³¹ Bruce J. Bourque and Ruth H. Whitehead, 'Tarrentines and the Introduction of European Trade Goods in the Gulf of Maine,' *Ethnohistory* 32 (1985): 333.

²³² Document by Jean Gouverneur, delegate of the *communauté* of St Malo to the king, n.d., cited in Alfred Ramé, ed. *Documents inédits sur Jacques Cartier et le Canada*, (Paris: Tross, 1865), 52. The 'Factum des marchands de Saint-Malo contre Champlain' (Jan. 1613) alleges that in 1601, Malouin traders sent 'un de leur [sic] serviteurs' among the Natives of the St Lawrence valley, who returning in 1612, reported 'seulement la misère dudit pays . . . sans avoir veu autre descouverte de mérite'; see Robert Le Blant, and René Baudry, eds., *Nouveaux documents sur Champlain et son époque (1560-1622)*, Publications of the Public Archives of Canada, 15 (Ottawa: Archives publiques du Canada, 1967), 247. It is unclear whether these two documents refer to the same individual.

patterns of interaction that had characterized French relations with the Native peoples of Brazil in the sixteenth century.²³³

Traders also made a few attempts to winter in the St Lawrence valley, but these seem to have been disheartening. A Bordeaux notary recorded on 29 January 1587 that a Basque trader from St Jean de Luz and half of his crew were spending that winter in Canada in order to trade.²³⁴ Pierre de Chauvin de Tonnetuit left a crew of sixteen men to winter in a house at Tadoussac in the autumn of 1600, but a lack of supplies forced them to seek the hospitality of the Innu. Only five survivors remained to be repatriated.²³⁵ Wintering Europeans may well have endured outbreaks of scurvy similar to those that ravaged Cartier's colony in 1535–36 and Roberval's in 1542–43; this would help explain the lack of continuity in these experiments. However much these failures disheartened traders and would-be colonizers, Native observers must have taken note of the strangers' relative inability to endure the winters. This window on European vulnerability may have helped the people to better appreciate the very human nature of the newcomers.

Another important result of increased contact was the emergence of pidgin languages for handling trade. Observers in the early seventeenth century found them well-established. There were two of note: a Basque-Mi'kmaq pidgin in present-day Nova Scotia, and a Basque-Innu pidgin in the lower St Lawrence valley. Interregional Native trading networks and the movement of Europeans from one shore to another meant that these two pidgins influenced each other, and many of the same terms appeared in both. Although we know very little

²³³ Dickason, 'The Brazilian Connection.'

²³⁴ Turgeon, Fitzgerald, and Auger, 'Les objets des échanges,' 158, 164 n. 3; Turgeon, 'French Fishers, Fur Traders, and Amerindians,' 594, 608.

²³⁵ Champlain, *Voyages* (Paris, 1632), in *Works*, 3:309–311; Trudel, *HNF*, 1:239–242.

about these pidgins (fewer than fifty words and a handful of phrases), the lexicon that survived in the accounts of early seventeenth-century observers sheds some light on the nature of the relationship between European traders and Natives in the Northeast.²³⁶

Early evidence of increased linguistic communication between Natives and newcomers appears in early seventeenth-century maps as a consequence of seafarers appropriating Native toponyms in the St Lawrence valley. ‘Tadoussac’ and ‘Québec’, for example, were derived from Mi’kmaq. ‘Gaspé’ may have been as well, although it has been argued that it derives from Basque *gerizpelkerizpe* ‘shelter’.²³⁷ In addition to sharing names for places, Europeans and Algonquians reached agreement on names for things that figured in the trade or in the circumstances of contact: foodstuffs, trade goods, fish, furs, and the words for fire, war, laughter, and drunkard.²³⁸

More importantly, the pidgin contained terms for naming people, both collectively and individually. Ethnonyms—designations of ethnic and political groups—make up a good part of the known pidgin lexicon, making possible the identification not only of different Native groups, but also of Europeans of various origins (see table 3).

²³⁶ Bakker, ‘Basque-American Indian.’

²³⁷ Trudel, *HNF*, 1:249–252 discusses the toponymic shift; see also Charles A. Martijn, ‘Gepèg (Québec): un toponyme d’origine micmaque,’ *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec* 21, no. 3 (1991): 51–64 and Miren Egaña Goya, ‘Basque Toponymy in Canada,’ *Onomastic Canadiana* 74, no. 2 (1992): 53–74.

²³⁸ Bakker, ‘Basque-American Indian Pidgin,’ 135–139.

Table 3
Ethnonyms in the St Lawrence Valley Trade Pidgin, *circa* 1600

Ethnonym	Meaning (proposed etymology)
algoumequin	'Algonkin' (possibly Basque <i>arkumeki</i> 'lamb meat')
armouchiquois	'Armouchiquois' (possibly Mi'kmaq <i>lmu:s</i> 'dog' and Basque suffix <i>-koa</i> indicating geographic origin)
basquoa	'Basque' (Basque <i>baskoa</i> 'Basque')
canadaquoa.....	'native Canadian' (Basque <i>kanadakoa</i> 'inhabitant of Canada')
chabaia.....	'savage' (Basque <i>xabaia</i> 'savage')
etchemin.....	'Etchemin' (possibly Basque <i>etxe</i> 'house')
iroquois	'Haudenosaunee (Basque <i>hilokoa</i> 'kill[er] people')
normandia	'Frenchman' (Basque <i>normandia</i> 'Normandy')
samaricois	'Breton' (Basque <i>sanmalokoa</i> 'inhabitant of St Malo')
souriquois	'Mi'kmaq' (possibly Basque <i>zurikoa</i> 'that of the whites')

Sources: Bakker, 'Basque-American Indian Pidgin'; Bakker, 'A Basque Etymology for the Word "Iroquois",' *Man in the Northeast*, no. 40 (1990): 89–93; Bakker, 'La traite des fourrures et les noms de tribus: quelques ethnonymes amérindiens vraisemblablement d'origine basque dans le Nord-Est,' *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec* 24, 3 (1994): 17–24.

Two of the terms in this lexicon hints at the pattern of alliances that characterized the Northeast in the opening years of the seventeenth century. On the Maritime peninsula (present-day Gaspésie, eastern New Brunswick and Nova Scotia), the Algonquian-speaking groups who regularly traded furs with Europeans warred against more southerly Algonquian-speakers whom they termed Armouchiquois or Almouchiquois. The suggestion that this ethnonym contains the Mi'kmaq word for 'dog' is a plausible one, given the association between dogs and the enemy in Mi'kmaq culture.²³⁹ Similarly, the term for the League of Five Nations, 'killer people', reflected the hostility and mutual raiding between the fur trading groups of the St Lawrence valley, Innu and Algonquins, and Mohawks and Oneidas to the southwest. Finally, the term *chabaia* 'savage' probably meant, in

²³⁹ Alice N. Nash, 'The Abiding Frontier: Family, Gender and Religion in Wabanaki History, 1600–1763' (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1997), 57 n. 22.

practice, something more like ‘people native to this land’; Algonquian-speakers may have appropriated it after noting that the Europeans were slow to perceive the complexities of indigenous ethnic distinctions and political organization.²⁴⁰

Another set of terms addressed the problem of leadership and the typification of roles (see table 4). Such terms enabled the trading partners to identify individuals who held special forms of authority and who might be entitled to speak on behalf of collectivities, or to influence the behaviour of the latter. As noted above in the case of Cartier’s relations with the Stadaconéans, recognition of leadership is a necessarily prerequisite for intercultural diplomacy.

Table 4
Leadership Terms in the St Lawrence Valley Trade Pidgin, *circa* 1600

Term	Meaning (proposed etymology)
capitaina	‘captain’ (Basque <i>kapitaina</i> ‘captain’)
dom-, don-	prefix denoting leadership (Basque <i>don</i> ‘sir’)
elege-.....	‘king’ (Basque <i>errege</i> ‘king’)
mercateria	‘trader’ (Basque <i>merkataria</i> ‘trader’)
patriarché	‘patriarch’ (Basque <i>patriarka</i> , French <i>patriarche</i>)
pilotoua	‘shaman’ (Basque <i>pilotoua</i> ‘pilot’)
sagamo	‘leader’ (Mi’kmaq <i>sakamow</i> ‘headman’)

Sources: see table 3.

In addition to names of places, things, and people, the pidgin contained words that allowed its speakers to describe relationships: *adesquidés* ‘friend’

²⁴⁰ A century later, it would appear that the Innu had become attuned to the pejorative connotations of the French term *sauvage*, leading competent French speakers of Innu to avoid the term. In his French-Innu dictionary, missionary Pierre Laure noted that the best translation for the French term ‘homme sauvage’ was *iriniu*, the Innu term for ‘man.’ But he also gave Innu *asubachiu* (probably a loanword like the Basque-Innu pidgin term *chabaia*) as the translation of ‘sauvage selon notre idiome, que nos sauvages n’ignorent pas,’ adding that this term should only be used ‘pour les humilier selon Dieu.’ See Pierre Laure, *Apparat français-montagnais*, ed. David Cooter (Sillery: Presses de l’Université du Québec, 1988), 692.

(from Basque *adeskide* 'friend') and *ania* 'brother' (from Basque *anaia* 'brother').²⁴¹ In the St Lawrence valley, *ania* seems to have been a general term of address between the French and the Innu. Shortly after his arrival at Québec in the summer of 1632, the Jesuit Paul Le Jeune recorded its use, believing it to be an Innu expression. A group of Innu who had not met Le Jeune before arrived at Québec; one asked him, 'Ania, kir capitana?' Gilbert Burel, a Jesuit lay brother who had spent the winter of 1625–26 at Québec, translated the phrase as 'Mon frère, est-tu capitaine?' Having no doubt learned to recognize the signs of deference employed by Europeans toward their leaders, and having seen Le Jeune in the company of the head trader Emery de Caen, the Innu thus endeavoured to determine whether Le Jeune was in fact the leader of the new priests (the Jesuits) who had arrived at Quebec that summer. The Innu then asked Le Jeune to take care of their baggage while they were hunting over the winter, promising to give him 'la chair d'un castor' later that fall. This was one of several examples of Innu requests for assistance that Le Jeune recorded in support of his assertion that 'Les sauvages se confient grandement en nous.'²⁴²

Le Jeune's examples are indicative of the rudimentary nature of the pidgin lexicon. *Capitana* was obviously a term general enough to encompass both a ship's captain and a religious superior; *ania* could be applied to an individual one had never met before.²⁴³ As a term of address, *ania* probably functioned to

²⁴¹ Bakker 'Basque-Amerindian Pidgin.'

²⁴² Paul Le Jeune, 'Relation briesve de nostre voiage,' 16 August 1632, in *MNF*, 2:293–294; Le Jeune, *Briève relation du voyage de la Nouvelle France* (Paris, 1632), in *MNF*, 2: 317–319.

²⁴³ *Capitana* does not seem to have been used in the St Lawrence valley once the French acquired greater familiarity with Innu. Interestingly, however, its use was reported in 1718, by a Dutch ship captain who encountered Innu on the coast of present-day Labrador. 'Nous ne pouvions comprendre aucun de leurs paroles et eux, aucune des nôtres, à l'exception qu'ils donnaient à nos commandants le nom de Capitaina, qu'ils ont vraisemblablement appris des Français, qui navigent plus au sud sur cette côte pour faire la traite.' Captain Haan's report was published in Dutch in 1720; Peter Bakker and Charles Martijn's English translation has been

remind the addressee of the friendship that obtained between regular trading partners. It was an appropriate register in which to express a horizontal relationship characterized by goodwill and reciprocal exchanges of goods and favours. The chroniclers of the sixteenth-century French colonization attempts in the St Lawrence valley did not indicate whether the St Lawrence Iroquoians used kinship terms of this kind to describe the relationship the kind of relationship they hoped to have with the French. However, the wordlists appended to the narratives of the Cartier and Roberval expeditions included terms for ‘friend’ and ‘brother’.²⁴⁴ No doubt the usefulness of *ania* and its equivalents arose from the fact that whatever culturally specific meanings were attached to the notion of brotherhood, no one expected brothers to be enemies.

A final term in the pidgin deserves special notice. In 1603 Samuel de Champlain witnessed a feast held by the Innu and their allies at Tadoussac. The expression he used—*faire tabagie*, ‘qui veut dire festin’—suggests that he believed it to be a native term. In fact it was probably derived from a European language, either from Spanish *tabacco* ‘tobacco’ or Basque *tapaki(a)* ‘shelter, blanket’.²⁴⁵ Whatever the case, French writers of the early seventeenth century recorded its use, along with the attendance of Europeans. The *tabagie* served as a forum for diplomacy; indeed, a *tabagie* provided the setting for the first recorded intercultural council of the seventeenth century, to be examined in the next chapter.

rendered in French by José Mailhot in *Au pays des Innus: les gens de Sheshatshit*, Signes des Amériques, no. 9 (Montréal: Recherches amérindiennes au Québec, 1993), 25.

²⁴⁴ *Voyages of Cartier*, 245, 246.

²⁴⁵ For a possible Basque etymology, see Bakker, ‘Basque-American Indian Pidgin,’ 130. H. P. Biggar, editor of the English translation of Champlain’s writings, hypothesized that *tabagie* was an Algonquian term. Von Gernet believes rather that it was a pidgin term derived from the Spanish *tabacco*. ‘Transculturation of the Amerindian Pipe / Tobacco / Smoking Complex,’ 1:111–115.

For Native peoples living in the region of the St Lawrence valley and its approaches, the sixteenth century was a long period of acclimatization to the European presence. While the very first contacts with Europeans—whether the latter were the crew of fishing vessels or members of the earliest official expeditions of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries—may have been interpreted as ‘encounters with spirits’ by some Native peoples, coastal groups near the cod banks and inland groups with access to the coast had opportunities to develop and test theories about the newcomers for nearly a generation before the first extant narratives of contact provide us with detailed accounts of Native behaviour. The relations of Cartier’s voyages in 1534, 1535–36, and 1541–42 indicate that the Mi’kmaq of the Gaspé region and the people of Stadaconé received the Europeans with dancing, singing, and, in the case of the former at least, an apparent willingness to engage in exchanges. Even so, signs of trepidation and caution were just as obvious. The voyage of 1534 introduced the Stadaconéans to French enactments of key symbols of the political culture of the newcomers, while the French were exposed, if only briefly, to the practices of Iroquoian oratory. With his 1535 mission to explore and settle the St Lawrence valley, Cartier significantly altered the dynamic of contact. The Stadaconéan response involved several attempts to create an alliance with the French; each was rebuffed, in part through incomprehension of the symbols invoked, and in part through Cartier’s unwillingness to enter into relations of reciprocity with the Stadaconéans. Cartier’s perception of Native leaders in the St Lawrence valley as kings and lords, a view shared by other sixteenth-century French travelers to the New World, conditioned his responses to the diplomatic overtures of the St Lawrence Iroquoians and led him to focus his efforts on influencing, or replacing, a few individuals in these communities. As with Laudonnière’s policies in Florida, this approach generally failed to produce satisfactory results

for the would-be colonizers. As it happened, ideological debates and political events in late-sixteenth-century France combined to re-position the meaning of kingship in French political culture, leading to the important changes in the way French expeditionaries conceived of Native leaders. Kings no more, the latter were now understood to be influential leaders lacking the coercive power of true kings. At the same time, the development of the fur trade, at first, haltingly, and then with a boom around 1580, stimulated the emergence of important symbolic preconditions for alliance making, chief among which were pidgin languages that made possible rudimentary expressions of brotherhood and the transfer of the practice of smoking from Native to European culture. How these conditions were capitalized upon by Native and French actors is the subject of the next chapter.

An Alliance of Brothers in the St Lawrence Valley, 1603 to 1633

Early in the seventeenth century, agents representing a series of French monopoly fur traders became the newest members of a pre-existing Native alliance network centred in the St Lawrence valley. This chapter relates the development of these political relationships, focusing in particular on the symbolic and institutional means through which this intercultural alliance was given expression.

Some of this is ground well-trodden by scholars. The documentary record for the events that took place in the St Lawrence valley in this period is, in the main, limited to a few printed works—four books by Samuel de Champlain, two by the Récollet Sagard, and various letters and reports by early Jesuit missionaries. The theme of relationship-building between Natives and newcomers dominates all these works; it is perhaps not surprising that histories of the period tend to reflect this theme as well. Ethnohistorians have used these sources—along with insights from drawn from archaeology, comparative ethnography, and, in some cases, oral histories—to reconstruct Native cultures,

to document the historical experiences of specific Native groups, and to offer explanations of Native behaviour. Of particular note is Bruce Trigger's *The Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660* (1972), a monograph of over 900 pages that reconstructed in detail the events surrounding the formation and evolution of Native-French alliances in the early seventeenth century.¹ In the three decades since *Children* was first published, interpretive paradigms have waxed and waned and discrete aspects of Trigger's interpretation have been called into question. Yet no challenge of consequence has been made to the interpretation as a whole and no single work of comparable scope or analytical depth has replaced it.

The analysis presented in this chapter parallels, rather than challenges or refutes, Trigger's overall outline of the dynamics of Native-newcomer relations in early seventeenth-century Canada. This chapter's footnotes (as well as those in chap. 4 and the appendix) provide evidence of points of divergence between my interpretation and Trigger's on specific matters. On the whole, however, this chapter brings to light a dimension of the period that is largely absent in Trigger's analysis: the role of symbols in the creation and negotiation of Native-French alliances. For example, *Children* contains numerous paraphrases of Native-French council speeches, but it is rare for these to include mention of the kin metaphors that participants used to characterize their relationship and to make claims upon others.² It is likely that Trigger's commitment to materialist

¹ Bruce G. Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660*, reprint ed. (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987). Although Trigger's main theme was Huron history, the nature of the documentary sources and the fact that the Huron-French alliance shaped that history to a significant degree required a serious consideration of the Huron-French political relationship and, by extension, the broader Native-French alliance network of which it was a part.

² See, for example, Trigger's account of Champain's mediation of a dispute between two Native nations, the Arenderhonon and the Ononchataronon, in February 1616 (*Children*, 322). Trigger emphasizes the gulf between Champlain's notion of vice-regal power and Huron notions of leadership and authority, but misses the common ground — that both Champlain and the

explanations of human behaviour prompted him to foreground the interests of historical actors and the rational strategies they developed in pursuit of those interests. While, as I have suggested elsewhere,³ an emphasis on rational calculations may provide a satisfying account of the behaviour of groups over time, it may also obscure the strategies involving symbolic capital that shape practice. As I noted in the introduction, this dissertation's focus on *how* people sought to achieve political ends through symbolic means seeks to create a more richly textured history of intercultural relations in this period. It does not seek to replace Trigger's interpretation or to ignore the material constraints or social and economic realities facing the people whose lives it touches upon. Rather, it seeks to draw out the meanings that people attached to the actions they took to navigate the intercultural political relationships that, for many Native peoples and for French colonizers, became an important fact of life in seventeenth-century northeastern North America. In so doing it illuminates moments of cultural congruence as well as moments of conflict and helps to explain why such relationships worked, faltered, or failed.

As in other studies of this topic, the writings of Samuel de Champlain (d. 1635) loom large. Long a central figure in narratives of Canadian history, Champlain is currently even more in public view due to the series of Champlain-related quatercentenaries that are currently rolling by.⁴ This fame is largely of his own making: Champlain's published works constitute a detailed and often

Natives involved in this dispute invoked the metaphor of brotherhood. This incident is discussed later in this chapter.

³ Peter Cook, 'Symbolic and Material Exchange in Intercultural Diplomacy: The French and the Hodenosaunee in the Early Eighteenth Century,' in *New Faces of the Fur Trade: Selected Papers of the Seventh North American Fur Trade Conference, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1995*, ed. Jo-Anne Fiske, Susan Sleeper-Smith, and William Wicken (East Lansing, Mich.: Michigan State University Press, 1998), 75–100, esp. 98–100.

⁴ These include: the founding of Acadia (1604), of Québec (1608), the battle of Lake Champlain (1609), the European discovery of what is now Ontario (1615).

unique source for what we know of Native-French relations before the 1630s. Historians have generally considered him a reliable observer, a reputation due in part to the accuracy of the numerous maps he produced.⁵ Champlain's works repeatedly took the form of a ship's log;⁶ it is probable that in writing his books, Champlain often relied upon diaries or field notes of some kind, none of which have survived.⁷ These notes may have included sketches that formed the basis for the engraved illustrations that appeared in his printed works. It is possible that these tools enabled him to preserve details accurately even when writing about events years after they had taken place. Trigger considers that 'from an anthropologist's point of view his chief merit was his ability to observe detail, which perhaps reflects his training as a cartographer.'⁸ These ethnographic data, as Gordon Sayre has remarked, tend to be spread throughout Champlain's works instead of being isolated in separate chapters.⁹ From the perspective of a modern analyst, this form of presentation has the advantage of underlining the specific contexts in which practices took place. The interweaving of this ethnographic reportage into a travel account may reflect, as Sayre suggests, a 'delight in describing the customs of the Indians and subtly inserting himself into his vision of their culture.' In the end, however, Champlain's ethnography is not a

⁵ Conrad E. Heidenreich, *Explorations and Mapping of Samuel de Champlain, 1603-1632*, *Cartographica* monograph, 17 (Toronto: B. V. Gutsell, 1976).

⁶ See Pierre Berthiaume, 'From Champlain's Voyage Accounts to His 1632 Report,' in *Champlain: The Birth of North America*, ed. Raymonde Litalien and Denis Vaugeois, trans. Käthe Roth (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004), 284-301.

⁷ A illustrated manuscript entitled 'Brief discours des choses plus remarquables que Samuel de Champlain de Brouage a reconneues aux Indes occidentales au voyage qu'il en a faict en icelles,' relating a voyage to the West Indies in 1599-1601, is sometimes attributed to Champlain. It is, however, not a set of field notes but a polished report destined for the king of France. See François-Marc Gagnon, 'Le «Brief discours» est-il de Champlain?,' *Cahiers d'histoire* 4, no. 1 (1983): 61-80.

⁸ Bruce G. Trigger, 'Champlain Judged by His Indian Policy: A Different View of Early Canadian History,' *Anthropologica* 13, nos. 1-2 (1971): 85-114, here 89.

⁹ Gordon M. Sayre, *Les Sauvages Américains: Representations of Native Americans in French and English Colonial Literature* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 16.

subversive one: 'Champlain did not really respect the customs he engaged in, but he knew the importance of playing along.' In comparing Champlain's writings to those of John Smith, an English contemporary with an 'uncannily similar' career in early seventeenth-century colonial America, Sayre argues that Champlain's 'strategy of representation' was characterized by a 'self-effacing style . . . which hides the author's subjectivity.' For Sayre, 'Champlain did not try to dominate the scene; rather, he worked subtly and avoided leaving the impression that his narratives were constructed to promote his own interests in the colonial project.'¹⁰ The influence of those interests were nonetheless real. Trigger has underlined a shift in Champlain's role in the French colonial project around 1616. Initially an active explorer and negotiator working on behalf of fur trade companies, after 1616 Champlain displayed 'a growing tendency to view himself as a colonizer and a vice-regal official.' The rise in status was not, however, accompanied by great power or wealth. Trigger hints that Champlain was increasingly concerned after 1616 to consolidate his position at the head of the colony and to find ways to develop resources from which he could profit.¹¹ Achieving this would require gaining the support of powerful patrons in France. Champlain's later works therefore sought to provide a clear demonstration of his successes in dealing with Native peoples as well as of the ways France and its rulers could benefit, materially and spiritually, from an expanded effort to colonize the St Lawrence valley and convert its Native inhabitants to

¹⁰ Sayre, *Les Sauvages Américains*, 5, 8, 16. Sayre further argues that Champlain's self-representation, like Smith's, was shaped by the leadership styles of the Native leaders they found themselves in conflict with. In Champlain's case, this meant 'present[ing] himself as a modest, cooperative leader' (18) who 'fashioned himself a leadership style based on consensus and negotiation, much as he tried to achieve among the several tribes' (10). Regardless of whether his was the case in fact, the textual record of Champlain's efforts to impose French models of justice, as described in the final section of this chapter, shows evidence of a considerable desire to control Native peoples rather than to negotiate with them.

¹¹ Trigger, 'Champlain Judged,' 94.

Christianity.¹² Champlain is also known to have engaged in a literary feud of a sort with his contemporary Marc Lescarbot, whose *Histoire de la Nouvelle-France* competed with Champlain's publications as the authoritative source on early New France. This conflict coloured his presentation of certain events and individuals but seems to have left fewer textual traces in Champlain's work than in Lescarbot's.¹³

These considerations help us to make careful use of a source that is, for better or worse, indispensable if we are to recover many of the gestures, symbols, and practices that surrounded Native-French diplomacy in the first decades of the seventeenth century. It is generally the case that other sources, where available, confirm to a significant degree the information that Champlain provides about specific events or practices. They may also make clearer what is only suggested in Champlain's writing. Champlain, for example, often referred to the interpreters or *truchements* on whom he depended for communication with his Native allies and trading partners, but it is his contemporary Sagard who reported how the Innu, in council, reproached Champlain for not having learned their language himself after twenty years in Canada.¹⁴ Of course, for many events a second source is lacking, and Champlain remains our sole witness. This is the case of the first recorded Native-French council of the seventeenth century.

¹² The dedicatory prefaces in Champlain's work, which provide indications of this agenda, are discussed below.

¹³ For an overview of this feud, see Joe C. W. Armstrong, *Champlain* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1987), appendix, 284–289; see also Frank Lestringant, 'Champlain, Lescarbot et la "Conférence" des histoires,' in *Scritti sulla Nouvelle-France nel seicento*, ed. P. A. Jannini, G. Dotoli, and P. Carile (Paris/Bari: Nizet/Adriatica, 1984), 69–88; and Éric Thierry, 'Champlain and Lescarbot: An Impossible Friendship,' in *Champlain: The Birth of North America*, 121–134.

¹⁴ Gabriel Sagard Théodat, *Histoire du Canada et voyages que les Frères mineurs Recollects y ont faits pour la conversion des infidèles depuis l'an 1615*, ed. Edwin Tross, 4 vols. (Paris: Librairie Tross, 1866), 444; see also Trigger, 'Champlain Judged,' 92.

Champlain's description of the meeting of Innu headman Anadabijou and French trader François Gravé Du Pont near Tadoussac in May 1603 is the first surviving detailed account of a Native-French diplomatic encounter in the St Lawrence valley since Cartier's time.¹⁵ It was clearly not the first council between the two groups. By the early seventeenth century, nearly two generations of Basque, Norman and Breton traders had been navigating the waters of the lower St Lawrence valley and Gulf region in order to trade with the indigenous inhabitants. Among Native peoples of the St Lawrence estuary and Maritime peninsula, only the elders could clearly remember a time when the bearded newcomers had not frequented their shores. Relations between Native peoples and the newcomers had developed to the point where, as indicated in the previous chapter, Native leaders voluntarily crossed the Atlantic in the company of traders and resided, for varying periods of time, in the port cities of northwestern Europe. As well, French traders had made several attempts to remain year-round in the St Lawrence valley, most recently in 1600–1601 at Tadoussac. The harsh winter, not Native hostility, led to the abandonment of this practice in the spring of 1601. (Indeed, the survivors of this experiment owed their lives to the Innu who took them in after their supplies ran out.¹⁶) These new forms of interaction presupposed situations in which Natives and Europeans met formally to discuss their intentions with respect to each other. The final decades of the sixteenth century, during which Native-European exchanges multiplied considerably as a result of the development of the trade in furs, must be presumed to have been the testing ground for numerous accommodations

¹⁵ Samuel Champlain, *Des sauvages* (Paris, 1603), in *Works*, 1:83–189. Champlain's name on the title-page does not have the particle *de*.

¹⁶ Thirty years later, Champlain told the story of Pierre Chauvin de Tonnetuit's disastrous attempt to leave sixteen men to winter at Tadoussac in *Les voyages de la Nouvelle France occidentale, dite Canada* (Paris, 1632), in *Works*, 3:307–311.

which, unfortunately, remain largely undocumented. The meeting between Gravé and Anadabijou—the first recorded council—grew out of a protracted process of encounter.

The council took place on 27 May 1603 on a point of land west of the small harbour at the mouth of the Saguenay River. In a spacious ‘cabanne’—possibly a large elliptical ridgepole lodge—the Innu headman Anadabijou welcomed François Gravé du Pont, Samuel Champlain, and two unnamed Innu who had returned from a visit to France accompanied by Gravé on the *Bonne Renommée*. Gravé represented a company of Rouen merchants operating under a royal monopoly accorded to the vice-admiral of France. He had been trading in the St Lawrence valley for some years, probably had a tolerable grasp of the regional Basque-influenced trade pidgin, and may even have learnt some Innu. With the headman were eighty to one hundred other men, apparently Algonquin and Etchemin¹⁷ allies who had gathered to celebrate the coalition’s recent victory over a band of their enemies, the Iroquois.¹⁸ The French were received ‘fort bien selon la coustume du pays,’ and were seated at Anadabijou’s side. While the assembly

¹⁷ The ethnonym ‘Etchemin’, used by Champlain and Lescarbot in the early seventeenth century to refer to nations living between the Saint John River and the Kennebec, survived for several decades but after about 1680, the Native groups in this region were called instead ‘Canibas’ and variants of modern ‘Malécite’ (‘Marizis’, ‘Maricites’, ‘Malicites’). Although standard reference works such as the *Handbook of North American Indians* maintain that the Maliseet and Passamaquoddy nations developed *in situ* from Champlain’s ‘Etchemins,’ Bruce Bourque argues cogently that epidemics and warfare in the period between 1617 and 1713 caused significant ‘ethnic realignments [and] shifts in residence’ across the Maritime region. While the shift from ‘Souriquois’ to ‘Micmac’ (modern Mi’kmaq) probably reflected a simple case of replacing one ethnonym with another, the move from ‘Etchemin’ to ‘Maliseet’ was apparently the result of more complex changes. Bruce J. Bourque, ‘Ethnicity on the Maritime Peninsula, 1600–1759,’ *Ethnohistory* 36, no. 3 (1989): 257–284.

¹⁸ The French ethnonym ‘Iroquois’ or ‘Hiroquois,’ as it appears in early sources (including Champlain), is probably derived from Basque *hilokoa* ‘kill[er] people’: see Peter Bakker, ‘A Basque Etymology for the Word “Iroquois”,’ *Man in the Northeast*, no. 40 (1990): 89–93. After the 1630s the French in Canada used the word to designate a political association of five linguistically and culturally related nations. The latter designated their league by the metaphor of the longhouse; in Seneca, *Haudenosaunee*, ‘People of the Longhouse.’

listened in silence, one of the returning Innu envoys recounted his voyage to Uemistikuchiu astchi, the land of the *Uemistikuchiets*. He told how he had been received by the *Tchiche-utchimau*, or great headman of the *Uemistikuchiets*; how this man had expressed the desire to send some of his numerous people to settle in the land of the Innu; how he wished to help the allies either make peace with the Killer People, or vanquish them utterly. He also described how the *Uemistikuchiets* lived in their own land. There was silence after he finished. Anadabijou produced a pipe and filled it with tobacco. Only after he, Gragé, Champlain, and several other leaders had smoked did the headman begin to speak in measured cadences. We should be pleased to have the *Tchiche-utchimau* of the *Uemistikuchiets* as our friend, he said. The assembly responded with a chorus of 'ho, ho, ho.' After a pause, Anadabijou continued: It is well that he wishes to people our land, and to make war on our foes. There is no people to whom we bear more goodwill than the *Uemistikuchiets*. The headman ended his speech by arguing the benefits that this relationship with the *Tchiche-utchimau* offered. After this speech, the French left the lodge, and the allies began celebrating their victory in earnest with feasting and dancing.¹⁹

The speech of the Innu ambassador as reported by Champlain indicates that the Innu envoys had met with Henri IV personally. It is probable that they had also met Pierre Chauvin de Tonnetuit, the Norman Huguenot to whom the king had granted the monopoly of trade in Canada (the St Lawrence valley), and Aymar de Chaste, a knight of Malta and admiral of France who briefly succeeded Chauvin as monopoly holder in the spring of 1603. Two factors may explain why relations with the Native peoples of Canada had come to interest figures of such

¹⁹ This paraphrase of the sole contemporary account (Champlain, *Des sauvages*, in *Works*, 1:98–101) follows the original closely but replaces key terms with Innu translations taken from a Jesuit French-Innu dictionary of 1726, Father Pierre Laure's *Apparat français-montagnais*. For example, the king of France is termed *Tchiche-utchimau*, literally great (or big) headman.

prominence in France. The first was that the recent Treaty of Vervins (1598) had officially ended French-Spanish conflict. Although the matter of French rights to trade in the Indies had been discussed during negotiations, this issue was not addressed in the final treaty. If France had not succeeded in wringing concessions from Spain, the latter had not succeeded in convincing the French to abandon their pretensions to trade and travel to the Americas.²⁰ In effect the silence on the subject of the Indies left the way open for the French to pursue colonial ventures in the New World.

Vervins merely provided the opportunity; the profits of the fur trade provided the motive. References to North American furs appear in Parisian notarial records from the 1570s onward, and in rapidly increasing numbers after 1581. Although as a whole the European demand for precious furs was in general decline—the taste of early modern elites ran rather to fine silks—in the sixteenth century, the furs that could be supplied from Canada, such as marten, otter, lynx and beaver still fetched good prices in a depressed market. Moreover, even as separate wars in the Baltic and in the Netherlands disrupted the traditional trade routes by which European furs reached Paris, a small group of hatters located in Les Halles revived a fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century method of making felt from the fine hairs of beaver pelts. They were responding to a growing demand for broad-brimmed felt hats, and the product made from beaver proved to be both functionally and aesthetically superior to the conventional woolen variety. The beaver hat market boomed. Although firm data on prices are lacking, the prices of Canadian beaver and other valuable furs were presumably lower than those from Eastern Europe, the traditional supplier

²⁰ F. G. Davenport, ed., *European Treaties Bearing on the History of the United States and Its Dependencies*, 4 vols. (Washington DC: Carnegie Institute of Washington, 1917–37), 1:219–221, 231; Trudel, *HNF*, 2:6.

of the Parisian market. As metropolitan furriers and hatters turned westward to secure supplies of fur, there was a sudden increase in the number of vessels outfitted at French Atlantic ports for the fur trade in Canada.²¹

As this new commercial network was taking shape in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, the French crown was pursuing a muted effort at colonization. It had long been customary for European princes to offer commercial advantages to subjects who agreed to undertake dangerous and expensive campaigns of discovery and conquest in distant lands. The sieur de Roberval, for instance, was accorded in 1541 a monopoly on commerce in the lands of 'Canada et Ochelaga et autres lieux circonvoisins'; all profits were to be divided three ways: one for Roberval, one for worthy members of the expedition, and one for the king. Other French subjects were prohibited from traveling to these lands without first placing themselves under Roberval's command. From the 1570s onward, royal monopolies on trade in *Nouvelle-France*—which existed only on maps before the first decade of the seventeenth century—explicitly obliged grantees to establish settlement colonies.²²

That the fur trade was prosecuted in partnership with Native peoples subtly influenced French discourse on colonization. Early royal commissions had tended to emphasize the discovery and conquest of new lands and the religious instruction of indigenous peoples. In 1541 Roberval was authorized to take possession of new found lands by any means necessary—'tant par voye d'amictié ou amyables compositions, si faire se peult, que par force d'armes, main forte et

²¹ Bernard Allaire, *Pelleteries, manchons et chapeaux de castor: les fourrures nord-américaines à Paris, 1500–1632* (Sillery / Paris: Septentrion / Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1999), 63–72 (fur trade voyages and circulation of furs in France), 95–113 (fur markets), 221–227 (felt hat demand).

²² Roberval's commission, 15 Jan. 1541, in H. P. Biggar, ed., *A Collection of Documents Relating to Jacques Cartier and the Sieur de Roberval*, Publications of the Public Archives of Canada, no. 14 (Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada, 1930), 181–183. For the conditions of successive monopoly holders, see Allaire, *Pelleteries*, 72–83.

toutes autres voyes d'hostilité' — and to see to 'l'entretienement, conqueste et tuition desdits pays et pour atraire les peuples d'iceulx à la congnoissance et amour de Dieu.'²³ In successive royal commissions of 1577 and 1578, the marquis de La Roche was similarly granted sweeping authority over any 'Terres neufves et pays qu'il prendra et conquestra sur lesdits barbares.'²⁴ With the emergence of the North American fur trade as a profitable enterprise, however, concrete references to the necessity of maintaining practical working relationships with Native peoples crept into merchant petitions and royal commissions. This probably reflected both the realities of the fur trade as well as the crown's desire to distinguish its colonization efforts from Spain's military conquests in the New World.²⁵ These later commissions reflect a displacement of the threat of force: the problem for monopolist traders was not the conquest of the locals, who were now trading partners, but rather the enforcement of their monopoly against European rivals. In 1588, Jacques Noël and Chaton de La Jannaye petitioned the king for exclusive rights to trade for furs in the St Lawrence valley and for additional subsidies to build 'forteresses' — not in a campaign of conquest, but rather to keep out other Norman and Breton traders. Having emphasized in their petition their efforts to build good relations with the Native peoples of Canada, it was natural that the royal commission they were granted in 1588 should enjoin

²³ Roberval's commission, 15 January 1541 (N.S.), in Biggar, ed., *Collection*, 180. There is no extant commission for Cartier's first voyage in 1534; Admiral Chabot issued one for the second voyage, commanding Cartier to undertake the 'parachevement de la navigation des terres par vous jà commancées à descouvrir outres les Terres Neufves' (*ibid.*, 45).

²⁴ The commissions of March 1577 and 3 Jan. 1578, in Alfred Ramé, ed., *Documents inédits sur le Canada, 2e série* (Paris: Tross, 1867), 5–10, 9 (quotation).

²⁵ See the discussion of the 'Black Legend' in chap. 4, above. Anthony Pagden has noted the French 'need to establish some kind of morally admissible and clearly distinguishable identity for the new colonies' and its effect on the language in French commissions of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries; see Anthony Pagden, *Lords of All the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain and France, c. 1500-c. 1800* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), 34.

them to deal with the locals 'par toutes voies de douceur.'²⁶ The conditions of the monopoly extended to Pierre Chauvin de Tonnetuit in 1599 included the stipulation to 'abituer le país et bastir forteresse,' but the St Malo traders who opposed Chauvin's monopoly argued that not only was year-round settlement impossible, but that the monopoly would threaten French interests in the St Lawrence valley by disrupting customary trading relationships between St Malo traders and Native peoples. The latter, they argued, would become suspicious, 'voyant gens avec lesquelz ilz n'ont accoustumé de négocier.'²⁷ Conquest and conversion remained central to the discourse of French colonization, but the realities of the fur trade provoked awareness of the necessity of establishing good relationships with Native partners.

In light of these developments, the proposals of *Tchiche-utchimau* Henri IV at the Tadoussac council of 1603, and particularly the offer of diplomatic and, if necessary, military assistance to the Innu-Algonquin-Etchemin coalition, can be interpreted as an effort to establish local alliances that would advance both the state's goal of founding permanent colonies and the monopolist's aim of excluding potential rivals—Basque, English, and even other French traders.²⁸ While monopolists were prepared to use force against poachers, they

²⁶ Letter of Henri III, 14 Jan. 1588, in Ramé, ed., *Documents inédits sur le Canada* (Paris: Paris: Tross, 1865), 42. The passage about fortresses refers to the threat of 'incurtions qui leur pourroient estre faictes par nos subjectz et autres nations, ainsi qu'ilz disent leur avoir esté faict l'année passée' (38). This last is a reference to the loss of three small boats in the St Lawrence valley, apparently as a result of conflict between rival European traders: see Trudel, *HNF*, 1:220.

²⁷ Memoir by Jean Gouverneur, député of the Communauté de St Malo, n.d., in Ramé, ed., *Documents inédits sur Jacques Cartier* (1865), 52–53; see also Trudel, *HNF*, 1:237, and Jean Liebel, *Pierre Dugua, sieur de Mons, fondateur de Québec* (Paris: Le Croît vif, 1999), 65–66. The latter provides a reference to the original document in the Bibliothèque Nationale and provides the date of 3 Jan. 1600. There is no extant copy of Chauvin's commission, but the complaint of the St Malo traders, as well as that of La Roche, and subsequent reference by Champlain, testify as to its existence (see *ibid*).

²⁸ In 1603 the St Malo merchants involved in the fur trade had refused to join the Rouen association backing de Chaste. Trudel, *HNF*, 1:253–254.

presumably also reasoned that it was worth the attempt to win the loyalty of Native peoples, and in particular those who were the best suppliers of furs.²⁹

The offer of military assistance seems to have been new in the context of the St Lawrence valley, but it was not without precedent. French colonization efforts in Florida in the 1560s had also involved military alliances with local Timucuan chiefs. As discussed in the preceding chapter, the French commander Laudonnière first established an alliance with Saturiouna, only to discover that the latter's rival, Utina, controlled the interior where the French hoped to discover deposits of gold and silver. Laudonnière attempted to manipulate the situation by seizing prisoners taken by 'king' Saturiwa and returning them to Outina. He then provided arquebusiers for Utina's raids against more distant foes. But this attempt at cobbling together a new alliance was undermined by the French themselves. As French food supplies ran low in the winter of 1546–5, the Timucua who provisioned Fort Caroline took advantage of the situation to obtain better terms of exchange. Laudonnière responded by taking Utina hostage in the spring of 1565, but later released him when no ransom of food was forthcoming. Open animosity between the starving French and the Timucua resulted, and the latter quickly learned to counter French military technology by dropping to the ground at the sight of a lit match and retreating from sword-wielding soldiers.³⁰

²⁹ Trigger, *Children*, 228–233. Camil Girard and Édith Gagné, 'Première alliance interculturelle: rencontre entre Montagnais et Français à Tadoussac en 1603,' *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec* 25, no. 3 (1995): 3–14, ask the question: was this an alliance, a pact, or a treaty? They review Champlain's account, examine several royal commissions, and indiscriminately poll a number of secondary sources before concluding that it was, indeed, a kind of alliance, and thus the first of the intercultural trading and military alliances that would mark the history of European colonization in eastern North America for over two centuries. As I argue here, however, when viewed in an Atlantic context and in light of late-sixteenth-century developments, this council is best viewed, not as a single foundational event, but as one moment in a longer process of encounter and negotiation.

³⁰ Lescarbot, *Histoire*, bk. 1, chaps. 8–20; Trudel, *HNF*, 1:202–208; Jerald T. Milanich, *The Timucua* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), 82–88.

It was perhaps because of this animus that during the brief Spanish campaign against the French colony later that year, the Timucua did not warn the French at Fort Caroline of the approach of a large Spanish column overland. And when French corsairs returned in 1568 to wreak vengeance on the Spanish occupying force, Saturiwa offered his support only when the French made it clear that they had no intention of reestablishing the colony. One of the lessons that Marc Lescarbot took from Laudonnière's experiences was that 'tous ces peuples [i.e., natives] n'ont autre but, autre pensée, autre souci que la guerre, et ne leur sçauroit-on faire plus grand plaisir que de leur promettre assistance contre leurs ennemis.'³¹

It is difficult to assess what need or desire the Innu, Algonquin and Etchemins may have had for French intervention in their war with the Killer People. At Tadoussac in May 1603, the allies were celebrating a victorious campaign in which one thousand of their warriors had taken part; one hundred enemies had been slain, and possibly others taken prisoner. That summer another campaign was undertaken, and the warriors returned with scalps and prisoners, having suffering no losses themselves. Yet throughout the summer of 1603, Algonquians north of the St Lawrence valley avoided if possible the St Lawrence river, 'à cause desdits Irocois, leur ennemis, qui tiennent toutes ladite rivière de Canada bordée.'³² Apparently, the allies and neighbouring groups who might otherwise use the river (the Attikamekw, for example) anticipated Iroquois reprisals. Champlain's account provides no evidence that the offer of French assistance was taken up that year, although, as Trigger has suggested, the traders may well have intended only to supply the allies with metal tools and

³¹ Lescarbot, *Histoire*, 66.

³² Champlain, *Des sauvages*, in *Works*, 1:101–103, 137 (quotation), 178.

weapons rather than to engage in actual fighting.³³ This may well have been done in the course of trading over the summer. Yet if this was to be the limit of de Monts's assistance, it hardly distinguished him from the other traders the Innu were accustomed to meeting at Tadoussac. The promise of Henri IV, as reported in Champlain's account of the Innu envoy's speech, referred specifically to the sending of an armed force—'leur envoyer des forces pour les [the Iroquois] vaincre'. It seems that de Monts, operating under a royal monopoly and with the personal blessing of Henri IV, was prepared to provide arquebusiers to assist the Innu and thereby consolidate the alliance.³⁴

In any event, as Gragé du Pont was preparing to re-embark for France, the Innu headman Begourat gave Gragé his son to take to France, and Anadabijou urged that the boy be well treated and shown what the Innu envoys had been shown the previous year.³⁵ A trader from St Malo who was associated with the de Chaste company was also given a woman and two children to take to France; they were joined by a man from Acadia (possibly Mi'kmaq). As we have seen, voluntary visits by Natives to Europe were not uncommon during this period, and helped to create ties between Native communities and European traders. In addition, Champlain recorded that 'nous leur demandâmes une femme des Iroquois qu'ils vouloient manger, laquelle ils nous donnerent, et l'avons aussi amenée avec ledit Sauvage.'³⁶ Unfortunately, Champlain tells us nothing of the fate of this woman, nor of the discussions that surrounded this gift. Did the allies

³³ Trigger, *Children*, 230.

³⁴ Trigger credits Champlain and Gragé with the realization that such an offer would benefit the company. *Children*, 236.

³⁵ There is no indication of the age of this boy, although he seems to have been younger than the two Innu who had made the journey the previous year. Known as 'Canada' or 'le petit Canada,' he was living with the dauphin at Saint-Germain in the spring of 1604 when he fell ill and died on 18 June 1604. A.-Léo Leymarie, 'Le Canada pendant la jeunesse de Louis XIII,' *Nova Francia* 1 (1925-26): 161-170, here 168-9.

³⁶ Champlain, *Des sauvages*, in *Works*, 1:188.

expect the French to burn her among their own people across the ocean in Uemistikuchiu astchi, thereby sharing the certainty of attracting the vengeance of her people? Did the French express any intentions regarding her future—a programme of religious instruction, for example? Or did they hope to use her to open negotiations with the Iroquois? This last possibility should not be overlooked, especially since Henri IV's message to Anadabijou (as reported by Champlain) suggested that the French would prefer to negotiate a peace on their allies' behalf before sending forces to fight ('faire paix avec leurs ennemis . . . ou leur envoyer des forces pour les vaincre').³⁷ As will be discussed below, over the next several years, the French colony in Acadia would make use of a similar method in an attempt to create a broad regional alliance network. Laudonnière had tried a similar approach with Timucuan chiefs in the 1560s. In these two cases, the French took the initiative without waiting for a request from their allies. In the St Lawrence valley in 1603, nothing indicates that the allies, despite being fearful of Iroquois raiders, desired the French to intervene as mediators. Indeed, if Champlain's account of Anadabijou's speech in council is to be trusted, the headman's omission of any reference to French mediation may be significant ('il estoit fort aise que sadicte Majesté peuplast leur terre, et fist la guerre à leurs ennemis').³⁸ There were probably few shared understandings regarding the prisoner. Even so, Anadabijou, who appeared to favour an alliance with the French, could rally doubters by pointing to this act as a sign of alliance, while

³⁷ Champlain, *Des sauvages*, in *Works*, 1:100. Emphasis mine.

³⁸ Champlain, *Des sauvages*, in *Works*, 1:101. See also *ibid.*, 136–137, where Champlain muses about the usefulness of a post at Trois-Rivières and the possibility of a peace with the Mohawks.

Gravé could similarly use her as proof of his company's successful Native policy in Canada.³⁹

The diplomatic and military implications of the Tadoussac council were not to be explored immediately. Gravé and Champlain returned to France to find that the monopoly holder de Chaste had died in the spring of 1603. His successor, Pierre Du Gua de Monts, had been involved in the fur trade for several years, and had made at least one voyage to Canada. Backed by a consortium of merchants from Rouen, St Malo, La Rochelle and Saint-Jean-de-Luz, and doubtless in consultation with Gravé (and perhaps Champlain as well), de Monts decided to shift the focus of his efforts to Acadia, probably because of the region's supposed mineral wealth, openness to the sea, and warmer climate.⁴⁰ The royal commission naming Pierre Du Gua de Monts the king's lieutenant general in 'la Cadie' reiterated the conventional enjoinders—'faire convertir, amener & instruire les peuples qui habitent en cette contrée, de present gens barbares, athées, sans foy ne religion, au Christianisme'; 'assujettir, submettre & faire obeïr tous les peuples de ladite terre, & les circonvoisins'—but also envisaged the importance of making and maintaining alliances: 'traicter & contracter à même effet paix, alliance & confederation, bonne amitié, correspondance & communication avec lesdits peuples & leurs Princes, ou autres ayans pouvoir & commandement sur eux: Entretenir, garder, & soigneusement observer les traittés & alliances dont vous convie[n]drés avec eux: pourveu qu'ils y satisfacent de leur part.' De Monts was permitted to wage open war if

³⁹ Trigger argues that 'They [the Indians] also expressed their sense of obligation for what they conceived of as being a military alliance with the French, by giving Gravé du Pont an Iroquois woman captive . . . Among the Iroquoians and the Algonkians, the sharing of captives was the sign of a military alliance' (*Children*, 233). A fair interpretation, but it seems incautious to ignore Champlain's statement that the French asked for the prisoner.

⁴⁰ Trudel, *HNF*, 2:11–15, 18. The attractions of Acadia are outlined in de Monts's commission from the admiral of France, 31 Oct. 1603, in Lescarbot, *History*, bk. 4, chap. 1, p. 493.

diplomacy failed, but this was clearly not to be an expedition of conquest. Indeed, the commission de Monts's received from the admiral of France that same year listed '[la] communication & amitié ja encommencé avec aucuns des peuples qui se trouvent en [la Cadie]' as one of the reasons for the location of the new French colony.⁴¹ De Monts established a post at the mouth of the St Croix River and, in 1605, a habitation at Port-Royal in Bay of Fundy (figure 7).

The Acadian interlude is worth a brief examination, for the brief existence of the first French colony there (1604–1607) can help us to understand aspects of the French-Native alliance in the St Lawrence valley after 1608. There are two reasons for this: first, Gravé, Champlain, and others among de Monts's associates in Acadia would later return to the St Lawrence valley; for Champlain, who would eventually command the Laurentian colony, the lessons learned in Acadia may have been particularly important.⁴² Second, a number of unnamed Etchemin warriors and leaders were at the Tadoussac council of 1603, as allies of the Innu and Algonquins. Etchemin leaders such as Chkoudun and Oagimont would figure prominently in the French-Native relationship in Acadia, and their experiences in dealing with the newcomers may well have informed Innu and Algonquin approaches after 1608. News traveled swiftly along the river routes connecting the St Lawrence valley and the Bay of Fundy—Lescarbot remarked that it was only eight days by canoe from the mouth of the Saint John River to

⁴¹ 'Commission du Roy au sieur de Monts,' 8 Nov. 1603, in Lescarbot, *History*, bk. 4, chap. 1 (2:491); 'Commission de Monsieur l'Admiral,' 31 Oct. 1603, in *ibid.*, (2:493). The reference to Native 'Princes' in the commission of 1603 is unique in the commissions of the period—unsurprising, given what we have seen of the evolution of French notions of Native leadership in the preceding chapter.

⁴² Trigger's revisionist essay on Champlain's relations with the Native allies of the French (Bruce G. Trigger, 'Champlain Judged by His Indian Policy: A Different View of Early Canadian History,' *Anthropologica* 13, no. 1–2 (1971): 85–114) curiously neglects to consider his Acadian experiences of 1604–1607 as background to his later activities in the St Lawrence valley.

Tadoussac⁴³—and de Monts’s activities in Acadia would have been known in Canada.

THE ACADIAN INTERLUDE

Marc Lescarbot and Samuel de Champlain published separate accounts of de Monts’s short-lived colony in Acadia, in 1609 and 1613 respectively. Neither made mention of a council similar to the one at Tadoussac, at which French and Native leaders discussed the bases for intercultural cooperation and the policy of French settlement. The first site chosen for de Monts’s colony was an island at the mouth of the St Croix River, near an Etchemin village. Upon arriving the French set about establishing a strong defensive position.⁴⁴

‘Ce-pendant,’ writes Lescarbot, ‘les Sauvages de tous les environs venoient pour voir le train des François, et se rengoient volontiers auprès d’eux; mêmes en certains differens faisoient le sieur de Monts juge de leurs débats, qui est un commencement de sujection volontaire, d’où on peut bien concevoir une esperance que ces peuples se rangeront bien tôt à nôtre façon de vivre.’ The one concrete example Lescarbot provides to back up this assertion involved a dispute between Bituani, a young man—he was described by de Monts as a ‘gentil garçon’—and the father of a girl Bituani wished to marry. Bituani was working in the kitchen of the French settlement (the circumstances and nature of his service are not mentioned), and the girl’s father called into question the boy’s hunting ability; that is, his ability to provide properly for a wife and family. De

⁴³ Lescarbot, *Histoire*, 435.

⁴⁴ Throughout the winter of 1604–5, the French at St Croix kept watch every night, ‘craignant quelque surprise des Sauvages qui estoient cabanés au pied de ladite île, ou autre ennemi. Car la malediction et rage de beaucoup de Chrétiens est telle, qu’il se faut plus donner garde d’eux que des peuples infideles.’ Lescarbot, *Histoire*, 451.

Monts, who may have become involved only because Bituani was seen to be under his protection, proposed that the boy be given the opportunity to prove himself. After bringing home a catch of salmon, Bituani got the girl.⁴⁵

After a harsh winter during which 35 of 79 Frenchmen died of scurvy, the French elected to move their habitation. In the wake of an unsuccessful attempt to locate a more southerly location, they finally settled at Port-Royal in the fall of 1605. Here the French found themselves on the lands of the Mi'kmaq, allies of the Etchemins and, by 1607, of the Innu of Tadoussac as well. Again, the two contemporary written sources provide no evidence of a specific council addressing the matter of French settlement or the conditions of alliance. Despite this silence, there are indications that the Mi'kmaq believed that an alliance similar to the one outlined at Tadoussac in 1603 existed between themselves and the French. Lescarbot reported that the influential headman Membertou welcomed the French to Port-Royal by offering their leader a gift. 'Ce *Membertou* nous dit au commencement que nous vinmes là qu'il vouloit faire un present au Roy de sa mine de cuivre, par ce qu'il voyoit que nous faisons cas de ces metaux, et qu'il faut que les *Sagamos* soient honêtes et liberaux les uns envers les autres. Car lui estant *Sagamos* il s'estime pareil au Roy et à tous ses Lieutenans, et disoit souvent au sieur de Poutrincourt qu'il lui estoit grand ami, frere, compagnon et égal, montrant cette égalité par la jonction des deux doigts de la main qu'on appelle *Index*, ou le doigt demonstratif.' The Jesuit Pierre Biard made a similar observation in his account of the Mi'kmaq of the Port-Royal area a few years later. 'Ils tranchent des freres avecques le Roy, & ne leur faut rien rabattre de toute la piece.' This comment appears in the context of a brief description of the customary trading ceremonies observed when the Mi'kmaq met European traders on the coast during the summer. 'Il faut leur faire des presents,'

⁴⁵ Lescarbot, *Histoire*, 441–442.

continued Biard, ‘& les bien hara[n]guer avant qu’ils accordent la traicte; & icelle faicte, faut encore les Tabagier, c’est à dire, les banqueter. Alors ils danseront, harangueront & chanteront *Adesquidex*, *Adesquidex*, Sçavoir est, qu’ils sont les bons amys, alliés, associés, confederés, & comperes du Roy, & des François.’⁴⁶ Both these accounts provide evidence of a Mi’kmaq sense of their alliance with the French as a relationship between equals, friends, and brothers. As noted in chap. 4, the term *adesquidex* came from the Basque-Mi’kmaq trade pidgin. Terms for ‘brother’ and ‘king’ also figured in the pidgin, and were likewise derived from Basque. (Indeed, it has been suggested that the ethnonym ‘Mi’kmaq’ itself is derived from an earlier form of modern Mi’kmaq *nikmaq* ‘my kin friends’; modern scholars see suggestive evidence of this in Lescarbot’s incidental comment that the people of Port-Royal called the French *Nigmach* meaning ‘Frère, ami’.)⁴⁷ It would seem, then, that in the first decade of the seventeenth century, both the French and Mi’kmaq were accustomed to describing their relationship in terms of friendship and brotherhood, employing both the trade pidgin and perhaps even in some cases the Mi’kmaq term as well. Writing for metropolitan readers, however, Lescarbot and Biard preferred to reject the notions of parity implied in these expressions of alliance. At the same time, Native leaders like Membertou were accorded special signs of respect. For example, during the winter of 1606–7, Membertou and other headmen were invited to join the French at the dinner table. Other Mi’kmaq—men, women, and children—were simply given bread, ‘comme on feroit aux pauvres,’ in Lescarbot’s words. Membertou also insisted that the French at Port-Royal honour

⁴⁶ Lescarbot, *Histoire*, 568–569 (italics in original); Pierre Biard, *Relation de la Nouvelle France* (Lyon, 1616), in *JR*, 3:80. The English translation of this difficult passage is given as: ‘They set themselves up for brothers of the King, and it is not expected that they will withdraw in the least from the whole farce.’ (Ibid., 81).

⁴⁷ Alice N. Nash, ‘The Abiding Frontier: Family, Gender and Religion in Wabanaki History, 1600–1763’ (PhD dissertation, Columbia University, 1997), 55; Lescarbot, *Histoire*, 61.

him with a cannon salute like that accorded to French leaders like Poutrincourt and de Monts.⁴⁸ The Mi'kmaq, in turn, referred to French leaders such as Poutrincourt as *sagamos*.⁴⁹ When Membertou and his family were baptized by the secular priest Jessé Fleché in the summer of 1610, they were given Christian names that deliberately mirrored those of France's royal family. Membertou became Henri, his wife, Marie, and his eldest son, Louis.⁵⁰ The relationship of god-parent to god-child was not itself a relationship of parity, but rather of protection and guidance; even so, the isomorphism of names between the two families was significant, and was not likely to have been lost on Membertou.⁵¹

⁴⁸ Lescarbot, *Histoire*, 770–771.

⁴⁹ Lescarbot, *Histoire*, 736.

⁵⁰ Lescarbot, *Histoire*, 555, 610–615. Fleché and the French at Port-Royal had left France before the assassination of Henri IV that same year.

⁵¹ Recently, Chickasaw legal scholar James (Sákéj) Youngblood Henderson has attempted to use seventeenth-century European written sources to validate an oral tradition (the Putús teachings) of the Mi'kmaq Santé Mawiómi, or Holy Council, that tells of an alliance, or Concordat, between the Holy See and the Mi'kmaq. According to the tradition, the Mi'kmaq chief Messamouet understood through a dream that the Christian cross represented the fulfillment of an ancient prophecy. Accordingly, the Mi'kmaq sought to ally themselves directly with the keeper of that cross, the pope in Rome, and Grand Chief Membertou's baptism in 1610 'was understood by the Míkmaq as a sacred pledge of friendship and alliance with the Holy See.' *The Míkmaq Concordat* (Halifax: Fernwood Publishing, 1997), 83–87. Henderson's use of the contemporary written sources to validate this tradition is flawed. A crucial point in his argument is the assertion that the priest Fleché was commissioned by the papal nuncio in Paris 'to give absolution in all cases (except those reserved for the Holy See) (Thwaites 1856–96 [sic] (1):310–11, (2):1), and to baptize the Mi'kmaq and to establish alliances with the Vatican.' (ibid., 85). The primary source for this is clearly a document cited earlier in the same paragraph, Lescarbot's *Relation dernière* (Paris, 1610), in which Lescarbot claims to have seen the credentials granted to Fleché. As reported by Lescarbot, they are 'permission d'ouir par dela les confessions de toutes personnes, & les absoudre de tous pechés & crimes non réservés espressement au siege Apostolique; & leur enjoindre des penitences selon la qualité du peché. En outre lui donna pouvoir de consacrer & benir des chasubles et autres vétemens sacerdotaux, & et paremens d'autels, excepté des Corporaliers, Calices, & Paténes. C'est ainsi que j'ay leu sur les lettres de ce octroyées audit Fleuche' (in *JR*, 1:136). There is no mention here of alliances with the Vatican, nor of any delegation of ambassadorial authority. Indeed, Lescarbot, himself a lawyer, was conscious of the problems of ecclesiastical jurisdiction raised by Fleché's commission, and considered the nuncio to be acting in his quality as bishop rather than as papal ambassador (ibid.). Elsewhere, Henderson emphasizes how the Mi'kmaq had consciously refused to ally themselves with the French, and instead pursued a course of alliance with the papacy (*Mi'kmaq*

Christian symbolism seems to have served principally as a marker of the intercultural alliance. In 1611, the Jesuit Pierre Biard remarked of the Mi'kmaq at Port-Royal, 'they accepted baptism as a sort of sacred pledge and alliance with the French. As regards Christ, the Church, the Faith and the Symbol, the commandments of God, prayer and the Sacraments, they know almost nothing; nor did they know the sign of the cross or the very name of Christian.' Lescarbot reported that Chkoudun, the Etchemin headman on the St John River, was not baptized but had adopted selected elements of Christian symbolism: he wore a cross on his breast, crossed himself before meals, knelt in prayer, and planted a cross before his lodge. Biard recorded that Chkoudun's successor, Cacagous, claimed to have been baptized in Bayonne, but considered the ritual to have an expression of his friendship with the French rather than a purely spiritual commitment.⁵²

Concordat, 79, 89–90). Yet nearly all the sources cited in support of this refer in fact to an alliance with the French. Among the most important of these is a passage in Pierre Biard's 1611 letter from Port-Royal, in Latin. The English translation reads: 'They [Membertou's baptized family] accepted baptism as a sort of sacred pledge of friendship and alliance with the French. . . . whenever we ask any one . . . "Are you baptized?" he assents and declares himself to be almost a Norman, for they call the French in general Normans' (Biard, *Misso Canadensis*, in *JR*, 2:89). Henderson does not explain how this can be construed as evidence of an alliance with the Holy See and *not* with the French. As I have argued here, the contemporary written sources indicate that Membertou and other Mi'kmaq felt themselves to be allied to the French (whom they called *Normandia*), as distinct from other European groups. On these points, the written sources are not in agreement with the oral tradition.

⁵² Lescarbot, *Histoire*, 641; Biard, *Misso Canadensis* (1611), in *JR*, 2:89; Biard to Christophe Balthazar, Port-Royal, 10 June 1611, in *JR*, 1:163.



Fig. 7. Approximate locations of selected Native nations and confederacies in 1605. Map by the author.

At both the St Croix River post and Port-Royal habitation, exchanges between the French colonists and local inhabitants involved more than furs. Native hunters traded fresh game for French bread. At Port-Royal, whenever the local Mi'kmaq had a surplus of sturgeon, salmon or other fish, they gave half to the French, and traded the remainder for bread.⁵³ In another case, two Mi'kmaq provided news of the colony to a newly arrived French vessel, asking for bread in return. The Mi'kmaq also acted on their own initiative to protect de Monts's vulnerable settlement. When the ship bearing Lescarbot hove to off Port-Royal in the summer of 1606, Membertou canoed out with his daughter to see if the

⁵³ Champlain, *Voyages*, in *Works*, 1:309; Lescarbot, *Histoire*, 479, 529.

newcomers were friendly, 'et nous reconnoissant François, il ne fit point d'alarme.'⁵⁴

The coexistence of the French and the Mi'kmaq was not without tensions, however. Lescarbot reported that other traders had dug up Native gravesites in order to steal the beaver pelts buried within—'Chose qui rend le nom François odieux et digne de mépris parmi eux.' He alluded to one such case at Canso, implying that the cupidity of illegal French traders sullied the reputation of the French among the Mi'kmaq. De Monts's efforts to enforce his monopoly by seizing the ships and goods of rival French traders may have aggravated the Mi'kmaq just as much, by limiting their access to European trade goods.⁵⁵ These sources of tension—European spoliation of Native burials and the efforts of monopoly holders to eliminate rivals and thereby control Native access to European goods—would be reproduced in the St Lawrence valley after 1608. The fur trade brought Natives and Europeans together and stimulated the emergence of a pidgin and a handful of shared understandings. In this way it laid the foundations for an embryonic alliance between France (via lieutenant general de Monts) and the Mi'kmaq and Etchemin. But it also excited commercial and political conflicts that in turn threatened the alliance. While de Monts exercised force against rival traders, his Native allies exercised theirs against enemies. The large-scale raid launched by a coalition of Mi'kmaq, Etchemin, and Innu warriors against an alliance of eastern Algonquians to the south in 1607 flew in the face of French efforts to cobble together a regional alliance and to expand de Monts's colonial enterprise. The failure of this attempt to expand the alliance beyond the

⁵⁴ Lescarbot, *Histoire*, 515, 519–520. Membertou was elsewhere credited by Lescarbot with having remarkable eyesight.

⁵⁵ Lescarbot, *Histoire*, 565; de Monts's seizure of other vessels is noted in Champlain, *Voyages*, in *Works*, 1:237, 239.

limits of the existing foundations of the fur trade may have contributed to the direction of subsequent French policy in the St Lawrence valley.

In the midst of an account of de Monts's exploration of the St Croix River in the summer of 1604, Champlain interjected a telling comment about French intentions in the region. Referring to the local Native peoples—who had not yet actually appeared in the narrative—he wrote that 'avec le temps on eseroit [les] pacifier, & amortir les guerres qu'ils ont les uns contre les autres, pour en tirer à l'advenir du service: & les reduire à la foy Chretien[n]e.'⁵⁶ Here can be seen an echo of the gist of Henri IV's message to the Innu at Tadoussac the previous summer, and perhaps even of Laudonnière's policy in Florida a half-century before. The initial reflex of French colonizers was to expand their sphere of influence by arranging peace between local and more distant indigenous groups. The subsequent actions of the French, and even the way Champlain narrates these events, confirms the significance of this policy.

De Monts's agents made three attempts to expand diplomatic relations southward in 1604, 1605, and 1606.⁵⁷ The principal goal of these expeditions was to find a new site for the colony and to gather knowledge about the region. In

⁵⁶ Champlain, *Voyages* (1613), in *Works*, 1:271–272.

⁵⁷ Recent studies of the political history of Native nations and their interactions with the European newcomers in the region include Nash, 'Abiding Frontier,' chap. 2, esp. 116–147; Tom McFeat, 'Rise and Fall of the Big Men of the Northeast: Maliseet Transformations,' in *Actes du vingtième congrès des Algonquinistes*, ed. William Cowan (Ottawa: Carleton University, 1989), 232–249; Alvin H. Morrison, 'Dawnland Dog-Feast: Wabanaki Warfare, c. 1600–1760,' in *Papers of the Twenty-First Algonquian Conference*, ed. William Cowan (Ottawa: Carleton University, 1990), 258–278; Alvin H. Morrison, 'Dawnland Directors' Decisions: 17th-Century Encounter Dynamics on the Wabanaki Frontier,' in *Papers of the Twenty-Second Algonquian Conference*, ed. William Cowan (Ottawa: Carleton University, 1991), 225–245; Alvin H. Morrison, 'The Case of the Slandered (?) Sagamore: Ouagimou of the St Croix River,' in *Actes du vingt-cinquième congrès des Algonquinistes*, ed. William Cowan (Ottawa: Carleton University, 1994), 332–346; Alvin H. Morrison, 'Anglo-Wabanaki Relations 1605–1630,' in *Papers of the Twenty-Sixth Algonquian Conference*, ed. David H. Pentland (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 1995), 291–305; Bruce J. Bourque and Ruth N. Whitehead, 'Trade and Alliances during the Contact Period,' in *American Beginnings: Exploration, Culture and Cartography in the Land of Norumbega*, ed. E. W. Baker et al. (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1994), 131–147.

1604, Etchemin guides from the St Croix River led Champlain as far south as the Penobscot River. The first encounter with Native peoples near Mount Desert Island on 6 September recalled those of Cartier's era. Champlain's barque approached the shore to investigate a pillar of smoke; two canoes of locals rowed out, but then retired—out of fear, suggests Champlain. The next day, the locals returned and came aboard the barque, where they were given biscuit, tobacco ' & quelques autres petites bagatelles.' In return, the French received a catch of fish. 'Ayant fait alliance avec eux,' the French were guided up the Penobscot as far as a falls, where they awaited the arrival of local headmen Bessabez and Cabahis. Both arrived on the 16th, each accompanied by several dozen companions. A council took place on shore, the retinues of Bessabez and Cabahis seated in a circle on the ground 'suivant leur coutume lors qu'il veulent faire quelque harangue ou festin.' Bessabez invited Champlain and his interpreters to join them. They smoked, 'comme ils font ordinairement auparavant que faire leurs discours,' and offered the French fresh game. Champlain spoke first: 'le sieur de Mons m'avoit envoy  par devers eux pour les voir & les mettre d'accord avec les Souriquois & Canadiens leurs ennemis: et davantage qu'il desiroit habiter leur terre, & leur montrer   la cultiver, afin qu'ils ne trainassent plus une vie si miserable qu'ils faisoient, & quelques autres propos   ce subject.' The replies of the headmen, as summarized by Champlain, passed over the offer of agricultural tutelage but expressed a desire to have the French settle and to have peace with their enemies, 'afin qu'  l'advenir ils allassent   la chasse aux castors plus qu'ils n'avoient jamais faicts, pour nous en faire part, en les accommodant de choses n cessaire pour leur usage.' Champlain then distributed gifts of hatchets, beads, hats, knives, ' & autres petites jolivet s' before retiring to his barque, where his crew had watched the proceedings with arms at the ready, 'pour faire leur devoir s'ils apercevoient quelque esmotion de ces peuples contre nous.' In fact the

people danced and sang and feasted all that day and night. The next day, the French traded for beaver pelts, and then departed.⁵⁸ The barque continued southward toward the Kennebec River, but Champlain's guides, who were enemies of the people there, left the expedition, and three days later, Champlain ordered a return to the habitation at the St Croix River.

Champlain's account of the council on the Penobscot indicates that he had begun to typify certain diplomatic practices of the region, such as smoking at the beginning of a council and seating participants in a circle. It also underlines the French policy of expanding their alliance network by offering to negotiate peace between warring groups. Champlain believed he had arranged a peace between Bessabez's and Cabahis's people and his Innu, Mi'kmaq and eastern Etchemin allies. He clearly wished to continue this effort by contacting the populations of the Kennebec River, but was foiled by the departure of his guides who wished to avoid their enemies. In the expeditions of 1605 and 1606, de Monts and his lieutenant, Jean de Biencourt de Poutrincourt, attempted to arrange a peace between these warring groups, but without success, in part because they did so without consulting with their existing allies.

The Kennebec and Androscoggin river valleys were populated by people who, according to Champlain, shared the lifeways of the Etchemins of the St Croix River. They also appear to have spoken a similar language.⁵⁹ However,

⁵⁸ Champlain communicated with Bessabez and Cabahis by giving his message to an unnamed interpreter—possibly the Michel d'Acosta who is referred to in documents after 1608 as an interpreter of Acadian languages—who in turn translated it for Champlain's two guides—one of whom may have been the Mi'kmaq headman Messamouet from LaHave—who then spoke to Bessabez and Cabahis. The council is recounted in Champlain, *Voyages* (1613), in *Works*, 1:294–296.

⁵⁹ Champlain referred to all the people living between the Saint John River and the Kennebec as 'Etchemins,' remarking that they shared the same lifeways as the Mi'kmaq (Champlain, *Voyages* (1613), in *Works*, 1:292–293, 298, 321.). However, the eastern Etchemins were clearly allied with Membertou, while those to the west were allies of the 'Almouchiquois.' Nash, *Abiding Frontier*, 119 n. 32.

they were closer diplomatically to groups in southern New England than to the Mi'kmaq-Innu-Etchemin coalition. The people south of the Saco River were known to the French as the Almouchiquois, a pejorative term they doubtless learned from Mi'kmaq allies.⁶⁰ They probably called themselves something like *Ninnimissinuok* (Narragansett 'the people'). The relatively dense coastal populations of the region relied on marine and estuarine resources, principally shellfish, but also had gardens of maize, beans, squash and tobacco. The political organization of these groups may have been more complex and centralized than was the case among the Mi'kmaq, Etchemins, and Innu, or indeed among the horticultural northern Iroquoians. Hereditary leaders or sachems received tribute from followers, exercised authority over specific territories, and judged and punished wrongdoers.⁶¹

The 1605 expedition under de Monts was accompanied by a man named Panounias, apparently a Mi'kmaq,⁶² and his 'Almouchiquois' wife who was to serve as interpreter. On the Kennebec River in July, de Monts met the Etchemin headman Manthomermer. The latter made a speech 'où il faisoit entendre l'aise qu'il avoit de nous veoir, & qu'il desiroit avoir nostre alliance, & faire paix avec leurs ennemis par nostre moyen.' At the Saco River on 9 July, the

⁶⁰ *Ulumooch* is the Mi'kmaq term for 'dog'. Bourque, 'Ethnicity,' 262, quoting Silas Rand's nineteenth-century Mi'kmaq dictionary.

⁶¹ Kathleen J. Bragdon, *The Native People of Southern New England, 1500–1650* (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996). Bragdon argues generally that the coastal populations of southern New England were organized as chiefdoms with a concomitant ideology of inequality and differential control over resources and wealth. Chiefly lineages assumed even greater power with the advent of the fur trade and wampum trade in the contact period (43–54, 140–155, 169–174, 236–247). For Ninnimissuok, see xi. Bragdon's interpretation is at odds with the conventional view that southern New England Native systems of governance were more similar to those of Algonquian-speaking peoples living further north, i.e. with sachems who 'had very limited coercive power and [who] maintained their influence largely through persuasion and generosity.' Bert Salwen, 'Indians of Southern New England and Long Island: Early Period,' in *HNAI*, 15:167.

⁶² Nash raises the possibility that he was an Etchemin from the St Croix River. 'Abiding Frontier,' 117 n. 27.

'Almouchiquois' headman Onemechin came to meet the French barque, but verbal communication was impossible because Panounias could not speak 'Almouchiquois.' (Panounias's 'Almouchiquois' wife has disappeared from the narrative at this point, her fate unexplained.) Onemechin's people had no furs to trade; de Monts limited himself to giving gifts to the headman alone. Proceeding southward along the coast, the increasingly dense Native populations welcomed the French with dancing and speechmaking; the latter doled out small gifts of knives and biscuit, but were unable to pursue their diplomatic agenda, or even identify the names of local leaders, because of the absence of an interpreter. Reduced to communicating through signs—once again reminiscent of the first voyage of Cartier—de Monts pushed on, until on 23 July, a misunderstanding over a kettle led to an outbreak of violence in which one Frenchman was killed. Although plied with deadly intent, the Europeans' muskets failed to inflict casualties. De Monts released an uninvolved Native man who had been seized in the chaos. Two days later, the French sailed for home. En route to the St Croix River, the barque encountered Marchim, a headman from near the Kennebec River, who after receiving presents from de Monts offered the latter a young boy, an Etchemin war captive. A few days later, at the Kennebec, another headman named Anassou visited the French and bartered a few furs. '[Nous] fismes alliance avec luy,' claimed Champlain.⁶³

The 1605 expedition had succeeded in making contact with several headmen from around the Kennebec River, and Marchim's gift of an Etchemin prisoner held out the promise of making possible a French-mediated peace between western and eastern Etchemin groups. But further south the warmer, cultivated lands of the populous Ninnimissinuok, so attractive to the French as a

⁶³ Champlain, *Voyages* (1613), in *Works*, 1:311, 316, 326–327, 335, 337, 338, 341, 354–355, 364–365.

site for colonization, remained off limits as a result of the inability of de Monts to make clear his intentions to local leaders.

In the spring of 1606, Gravé and Champlain were forced to abort two efforts to continue their southward explorations. Another expedition set out from Port-Royal in early September, led by Jean de Biencourt de Poutrincourt. At the St Croix River, the French pinnace was joined by a shallop bearing the headmen Chkoudun (from the Saint John River) and Messamouet (from Cape LaHave), themselves leading a delegation to make peace with the people of the Saco River. En route, the allies stopped at Casco Bay, where Poutrincourt met the headman Marchim and gave him gifts of knives, hatchets, and white and blue glass beads, which Marchim immediately redistributed to his people, offering Poutrincourt fresh game in return.⁶⁴

At Saco Bay on 21 September, Poutrincourt met with Onemechin, headman of the village on the Saco River. Marchim, apparently an ally of Onemechin, was also present. Onemechin gave Poutrincourt a Mi'kmaq captive (a man from LaHave), echoing Marchim's gesture of the previous year.⁶⁵ At this point, the French might well have congratulated themselves on the success of their policy. They were in contact with Native headmen along the Atlantic coast from peninsular Nova Scotia to the Saco River, had engaged in peaceful exchanges with each, and, by receiving captives held by western groups, could look forward to realizing the goal of creating a regional alliance. The inclusion of Onemechin—one suspects through the mediation of Marchim—was, moreover, a diplomatic coup: in 1605, relations with Onemechin and his congeners to the

⁶⁴ Champlain, *Voyages* (1613), in *Works*, 1:381–382, 394; Lescarbot, *Histoire*, 531–532.

⁶⁵ Lescarbot, who was not present on the expedition, suggests that Marchim (Champlain's Marchim) and Olmechim (Onemechin) were jointly responsible for returning the captive, but Champlain names only the latter of the two. Lescarbot, *Histoire*, 533; Champlain, *Voyages* (1613), in *Works*, 1:395.

south had been stymied by the language barrier. Now, however, the French could count on recruiting Native interpreters to pursue their policies in the lands of the Ninnimissinuok to the south.

Immediately on the heels of the meeting between Onemechin and Poutrincourt, however, Chkoudun and Messamouet arrived. The latter may have been pleased to see that his kinsman had been released by the 'Almouchiquois.' Messamouet made a long speech to Onemechin and his people, 'leur remontrant comme par la passé ils avoient eu souvent de l'amitié ensemble et qu'ils pouvoient facilement dom[p]ter leurs ennemis s'ils se vouloient entendre et se servir de l'amitié des François, lesquels ils voioient là presens pour reconoitre leur païs, à fin de leur porter des commodités à l'avenir et les secourir de leurs forces,' At its conclusion, he cast what seemed to the French to be a spectacular amount of European manufactured trade goods into Onemechin's boat. The next day, Onemechin gave Messamouet gifts of food, his people having just completed their harvest: maize, squash, and beans.⁶⁶

Both Champlain and Lescarbot reported that Messamouet left this council 'fort mal content.' Alice Nash has suggested several reasons for this. Perhaps the lavish display of French trade goods represented an insult to Onemechin, whose people apparently had few direct contacts with European traders. Perhaps etiquette required Onemechin to respond immediately to Messamouet's gifts. Perhaps Onemechin's gifts of horticultural produce advertised the autonomy of his people and threatened Messamouet's relationship with the French.⁶⁷ Data are lacking to substantiate any of these explanations, or even the assumptions implicit in their formulation. With regard to council etiquette, for example, there

⁶⁶ Champlain, *Voyages* (1613), in *Works*, 1:395–396; Lescarbot, *Histoire*, 534.

⁶⁷ For Messamouet's reaction, see Champlain, *Voyages* (1613), in *Works*, 1:396; Lescarbot, *Histoire*, 534. For conjectural explanations, see Nash, 'Abiding Frontier,' 121–124.

are many examples from the Northeast of councils—Iroquois councils in particular—being drawn out over two or more days, with no expectation that propositions need be answered immediately. This may not have been the case among the southern New England peoples before 1650, however. It is also difficult to approach the question of Messamouet's evaluation of his relationship with the French. He may have been concerned that French efforts to establish a colony in warmer climes might jeopardize his people's place in the alliance; but at the same time, he may also have considered that the French would ultimately prefer the friendship of suppliers of furs over suppliers of maize. Bruce Bourque and Ruth Holmes Whitehead have argued that Messamouet and Chkoudun were interested in protecting their position as middlemen in the fur trade, and expected the 'Almouchiquois' would accept them as intermediaries and supply them with furs in return for French goods.⁶⁸ All that seems clear is that the existing animus between the Mi'kmaq and eastern Etchemin on the one hand and the 'Almouchiquois' and western Etchemin on the other was not only unrelieved, but heightened after the council at the Saco River. As Nash has indicated, signs of tension are evident in the French accounts of the council itself.⁶⁹ Moreover, at about the same time some people from the Penobscot and Kennebec Rivers were killed by an eastern Etchemin or Mi'kmaq, leading to a revenge attack that left Panounias, de Monts's Mi'kmaq guide of the previous year, dead at the Penobscot River.⁷⁰ It is not clear what relation, if any, existed between these killings and the behaviour of diplomats at the council. Such acts of

⁶⁸ Bruce J. Bourque and Ruth H. Whitehead, 'Tarrentines and the Introduction of European Trade Goods in the Gulf of Maine,' *Ethnohistory* 32, no. 4 (1985): 327–341, esp. 334–335. For a slightly different interpretation, see Daniel B. Thorp, 'Equals of the King: The Balance of Power in Early Acadia,' *Acadiensis* 25, no. 2 (1996): 3–17. Thorp argues that Messamouet considered Onemechin's gifts a rejection of his overtures to form a Mi'kmaq-Almouchiquois coalition directed against Bessabez's people on the Penobscot River (9).

⁶⁹ Nash, 'Abiding Frontier,' 119–120, 123–124.

⁷⁰ Champlain, *Voyages* (1613), in *Works*, 1:442–443, 457–458.

violence always threatened to scuttle a treaty, but willing headmen and elders could always take diplomatic action to repair the breach. In this case, however, the Mi'kmaq and Etchemin allies chose to go to war. Messamouet's unfavourable report of the council at Saco Bay may have contributed to this decision.

Although Messamouet appears to have left the expedition at this point, Chkoudun continued to guide Poutrincourt south along the coast. Some days later, they found themselves among multitudes of singing and dancing 'Almouchiquois', some playing reed pipes. The French were unnerved by the crowds and the presence of armed warriors, as well as by the discovery that Onemechin had been shadowing their progress along inland trails. At a council near present-day Gloucester Harbour, Poutrincourt entertained local headmen and offered Onemechin a suit of French clothes, which was promptly redistributed among followers. When Onemechin announced the impending arrival of hundreds of other Natives, the French, suspecting perfidy and fearful of being surprised, decided to push on southward. With Chkoudun no longer able to speak the local language, the expedition continued until a broken rudder obliged a stop in present-day Stage Harbour, Massachusetts. During their two-week stay, the French distributed 'bagatelles' to people who thanked them with 'dances et gambades [et] des harangues que nous n'entendions point'—their guide, Chkoudun, did not speak the local language. The French also raised a cross on shore, and tried to cow the locals with displays of swordplay and musketry. Violence erupted on 15 October, possibly as a result of French responses to actions they perceived as theft, and over the course of this day and the next, five Frenchmen and at least six Natives were killed. Tellingly, Chkoudun made no attempt to mediate a peace, but rather threw himself enthusiastically into the fray, weeping aloud when the 'tête'—a scalp?—he had taken was lost overboard. The only casualties the French were certain of having

inflicted resulted from a ruse perpetrated on a group of Native men who probably had not engaged in the hostilities, and whom the French lured within the reach of their swordblades ‘en faisant semblant de petuner avec eux,’ and holding out strings of wampum. With this egregious breach of diplomatic etiquette, Poutrincourt had satisfied his thirst for vengeance, and set sail for Port-Royal. Shortly after their arrival, news arrived of the killing of Panounias.⁷¹

Panounias was mourned at Port-Royal that fall, and Membertou spoke of taking vengeance upon the killers. The following year, some four hundred warriors gathered at Port-Royal—Mi’kmaq, Etchemin, and Innu from Tadoussac—to set out on a campaign against their southern enemies. The French did not join them. News had arrived that de Monts had lost his monopoly and had ordered the colonists back to France at the end of the trading season. Membertou may have been disappointed at the lack of even symbolic support—Lescarbot reported that during the gathering of the war party, ‘il fallut lui faire des present et dons de blé et fèves, même de quelque baril de vin, pour festoyer ses amis. Car il remontroit au sieur de Poutrincourt: “Je suis le *Sagamos* de ce país ici, j’ay le bruit d’este ton ami et de tous les Normans . . . , et que vous faites cas de moy: ce me seroit une reproche si je ne montrois les effects de telle chose.”’ According to Lescarbot’s poem, *La défaite des sauvages Armouchiquois par le Sagamos Membertou*, Membertou and Chkoudun were armed with French muskets, and the allies had iron-tipped arrows that gave them an advantage in battle.⁷² Some of these weapons may have been parting gifts from Poutrincourt.

⁷¹ Lescarbot, *Histoire*, 535–549; Champlain, *Voyages* (1613), in *Works*, 1:398–431. In the edition of 1618, Lescarbot added the detail about Chkoudun’s lost trophies: Lescarbot, *History*, 2:565. Note that Lescarbot specified that the beads Poutrincourt’s men held out to reassure the Natives were shell beads, and not glass trade beads (*Histoire*, 548). It is tempting to wonder if de Monts would have been as determined as Poutrincourt to seek revenge; as noted above, in 1605 de Monts had released an uninvolved Native man following the murder of a Frenchmen by others.

⁷² Lescarbot, *Histoire*, 568, 747; *Les Muses de la Nouvelle-France*, 69, 71.

The allies returned victorious; Onemechin and Marchim remained on the field. The following year, de Monts's agent in Acadia again initiated negotiations between the enemy coalitions; this time, the Etchemin headman of the St Croix River, Ouagimont, acted as envoy to the people of the Saco River. Lescarbot claimed in 1609 that peace was concluded,⁷³ but it did not last long. The history of the region's Native polities is difficult to follow over the next decade, due to the paucity of French and English sources. By 1615, hostilities had begun anew, for the Mi'kmaq were reported to have destroyed the alliance of the western Etchemin headman Bessabez. In 1617–19, devastating epidemics swept over the coastal Northeast, making it difficult to identify later political groupings with earlier ones.⁷⁴

French efforts to create a regional alliance of Native communities from Nova Scotia to southern New England appear to have failed because their oldest allies in the region, the Mi'kmaq and the eastern Etchemins, were uninterested in pursuing these same goals. Bourque and Whitehead have argued that between *circa* 1580 and the early 1600s, Mi'kmaq and eastern Etchemin traders developed a trading pattern that involved collecting supplies of furs in the Gulf of Maine and trading them for European goods in the St Lawrence valley. The adoption of European shallops—sailing craft of up to 12 tons—was key to this process because they made it possible for these middlemen to amass furs from numerous local fur producers along the coast. The latter received European trade goods, presumably at marked up prices. French efforts to open direct trade with villages on the Penobscot, Kennebec, and Saco Rivers in the early 1600s would have represented a threat to the middlemen and an opportunity for the western

⁷³ Lescarbot described this peace in the first (1609) edition of his *Histoire de la Nouvelle-France*, but omitted it in subsequent editions. *History*, 2:367 n. 1.

⁷⁴ Bourque, 'Ethnicity,' 263.

Etchemin and 'Almouchiquois' to circumvent intermediaries and trade directly with the Europeans. Bourque and Whitehead suggest that raids, such as Membertou's in 1607, represented a means of acquiring through violence what could not be had through trade.⁷⁵ The latter part of this interpretation is vulnerable to the same objections that Brandão has formulated with respect to what he terms the 'beaver wars' explanations seventeenth-century Native warfare: concrete evidence is lacking of the acquisition of furs during these raids.⁷⁶ For example, neither Lescarbot nor Champlain mentioned that Membertou returned from the raid with plundered furs; moreover, Champlain explicitly stated that 'toute ceste guerre ne fut que pour le subject de Panounia sauvage de nos amis, lequel, comme j'ay dict cy dessus avoit esté tué . . . par les gens dudit Onemechin et Marchin.'⁷⁷

More conclusively, it can be said that de Monts's Acadian interlude stimulated typifications of Native cultures that would inform French explanations of and responses to Native behaviour. It is likely that European sailors and traders told each other tales about North American Native peoples that combined empirical observations, theories about Native behaviour, and advice on how to avoid faux pas, much like the cautionary folk tales Bruce White has studied among late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century fur traders in the Great Lakes region.⁷⁸ Unlike Lescarbot's bookish efforts to compare the Mi'kmaq to ancient Gauls and Germans described by Tacitus, the theorizing of

⁷⁵ Bourque and Whitehead, 'Tarrentines,' esp. 335–339.

⁷⁶ José António Brandão, *Your Fyre Shall Burn No More: Iroquois Policy toward New France and Its Native Allies to 1701* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), esp. 83–111.

⁷⁷ Champlain, *Voyages* (1613), in *Works*, 1:457.

⁷⁸ Bruce M. White, 'The Fear of Pillaging: Economic Folktales of the Great Lakes Fur Trade,' in *The Fur Trade Revisited: Selected Papers of the Sixth North American Fur Trade Conference*, ed. Jennifer S. H. Brown, W. J. Eccles and Donald P. Heldman (East Lansing/Mackinac Island: Michigan State University Press/Mackinac State Historic Parks, 1994), 199–216.

fur traders was probably oriented toward the solution of practical problems, above all toward the resolution of dangerous situations. Early writers like Champlain and Lescarbot would have likely incorporated the attitudes and knowledge picked up from experienced traders like Gravé into their descriptions of Native cultures, without necessarily crediting their sources. They may also have used them to interpret their own firsthand observations. If it is true that even basic percepts are received into culturally specific taxonomies, it is also true that human beings are constantly testing the fit between categories and experience. Thus, while Gravé may have shared the prejudices and worldview of other Frenchmen, he also had the occasion to observe a wider range of Native behaviours, and to typify and to rationalize the practices he saw. I assume that the numerous generalizations that early writers like Champlain and Lescarbot offered about the Native peoples of the Northeast were generated from some combination of firsthand knowledge, preconceived notions about 'savages', and practical theories elaborated by experienced fur traders like Gravé.

One generalization about Native political culture that emerged in sources relating to de Monts's shortlived Acadian colony and that would figure prominently in future French diplomacy in Canada was a theory about gift giving. Explorers since Columbus and Cartier had offered trinkets to the Native peoples they encountered; de Monts and Poitrincourt did the same among the Algonquians of southern New England. As Peter Hulme and Natalie Zemon Davis, among others, have pointed out, trinkets were not really gifts, precisely because they were, as Cartier's relations repeat endlessly, of such little value from the perspective of the givers.⁷⁹ And until the development of the fur trade, the Native peoples of the Northeast had, from a European perspective, little to offer of any value in return. But once exchanges of furs and manufactured goods

⁷⁹ As noted in chap. 4 above.

became regular and sustained, Europeans were in a position to reflect on what Natives did with their ‘wealth’—that is, with those items that had a market value in Europe. Thus one of Lescarbot’s few criticisms of Mi’kmaq society had to do with the burial of goods, including beaver pelts, in graves—it seemed to him a terrible waste.⁸⁰ More germane to this study, however, are Champlain’s and Lescarbot’s typifications of gift giving in Native cultures as a consequence of their Acadian experiences.

Having related the diplomatic gift giving that took place at the Saco River in 1606, Champlain explained to his readers that Messamouet’s displeasure resulted from a sense of having received gifts of little value in return for those he had given the Almouchiquois headmen. Champlain thought Messamouet expected more and was angered by the Almouchiquois failure to recognize the value of his gifts—so angry, in fact, that he left with the resolution to ‘leur faire la guerre en peu de temps.’ Champlain then went on to explain the reasoning behind Messamouet’s behaviour which, he suggested, was typical of Native Americans: ‘Car ces nations ne donnent qu’en donnant, si ce n’est à personnes qui les ayent bien obligez, comme de les avoir assiste en leurs guerres.’ A modern English translation of this phrase makes his meaning clearer: ‘for these people give only with the idea of receiving something, except to persons who have done them some signal service, such as aiding them in their wars.’⁸¹ In a work published six years later, following an extended sojourn among the Wendat, Champlain repeated this generalization in a more succinct form: ‘Ils ne donnent rien pour rien.’⁸² He was not alone in this belief. Lescarbot’s commentary on the gift giving at the 1606 meeting included, characteristically, a

⁸⁰ Lescarbot, *Histoire*, 850.

⁸¹ Champlain, *Voyages* (1613), in *Works*, 1:396. The translation in this case is by W. F. Ganong.

⁸² Champlain, *Voyages et decouvertes*, in *Works*, 3:52.

comparison with European mores and an acknowledgement of its positive aspects. '[L]es Sauvages ont cela de noble qu'ils donnent liberalement jettans au pied de celui qu'ils veulent honorer le present qu'ils lui font; mais c'est en esperant de recevoir quelque honnéteté reciproque, qui est une façon de contrat que nous appellons sans nom: Je te donne à fin que tu me donnes. Et cela se fait par tout le monde.'⁸³ In a later chapter in his *Histoire*, one which enumerated the virtues and vices of Native Americans, Lescarbot elaborated on this theme. 'La Liberalité est une vertu autant louïable, . . .' wrote Lescarbot. 'Cette vertu est propre et bien-seante aux grands, qui sont comme dispensateurs des biens de la terre, lesquels Dieu a mis entre leurs mains pour en user liberalement.'⁸⁴ In writing this, Lescarbot was expressing a commonplace notion of his era—an ideal of noble generosity, one of several 'prescriptions for human exchange' that Natalie Zemon Davis has identified in sixteenth-century French culture.⁸⁵ For Lescarbot, the Mi'kmaq possessed this quality in spades. 'Noz Sauvages sont louïables en l'exercice de cette Vertu, selon leur pauvreté. Car comme nous avons quelquefois dit, quand ils se visitent les uns les autres ils se font des presens mutuels. Et quand il arrive vers eux quelque Sagamos François ils luy font de même, jettans à ses piez quelque paquet de Castors, ou autre pelleterie, qui sont toutes leurs richesses. . . . Cette façon de faire desdits Sauvages ne provient que d'une ame liberale . . .'⁸⁶ And yet Lescarbot felt that ultimately self-interest lay beneath this behaviour: 'Le poëte dit: *Nemo suas gratis perdere vellet opes*. Il n'y a personne qui donne à perte. Si un grand donne à un petit, c'est pour en tirer du service.' So it was, he deemed, with Mi'kmaq liberality. Lescarbot nevertheless

⁸³ Lescarbot, *Histoire*, 534.

⁸⁴ Lescarbot, *Histoire*, 769.

⁸⁵ Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2000), 23, 27–30.

⁸⁶ Lescarbot, *Histoire*, 769.

admired the Natives' approach to self-interested giving. He sought to demonstrate their 'galantise' by relating their disdain for haggling over prices: 'ils ne marchandent point volontiers, et se contentent de ce qu'on leur baille honnetement, meprisans et blamans les façons de faire de noz mercadens qui barguignent une heure pour marchander une peau de Castor: comme je vi estant à la riviere Saint-Jean.' Lescarbot even claimed that the Mi'kmaq worried about the lack of liberality on the part of the French: 'Et voyans les façons de faire sordides de quelques uns des nôtres, ils demandoient quelquefois qu'est-ce qu'ils venoient chercher en leur païs, disans qu'ils ne vont point au nôtre: et puis que nous sommes plus riches qu'eux nous devrions bailler liberalement ce que nous avons.'⁸⁷ Lescarbot's relativization of Mi'kmaq self-interest—'cela se fait par tout le monde'—notwithstanding, he and Champlain shared the conviction that among the Native peoples of northeastern North America, there were no free gifts. Native givers, they thought, gave expecting something in return.⁸⁸

As Lescarbot made clear, it was not only material objects that Native people wished to give and take back from the French. The lawyer noted Membertou's wish to be saluted by cannon when he came and went from Port-Royal, just as French commandants were, 'disans que cela luy estoit deu puis qu'il estoit Sagamos. Et quand ses confreres le venoient voir il n'estoit pas honteux de venir demander du vin pour leur faire bonne chere, et montrer qu'il avoit du credit.'⁸⁹ The term *crédit* is key here: as Jay M. Smith points out, its roots in the Latin *credere* ('to believe') underlined its significance in sixteenth-century

⁸⁷ Lescarbot, *Histoire*, 770.

⁸⁸ It seems that this notion was shared by English colonists as well. The Oxford English Dictionary notes that the phrase 'Indian gift' receives an explanation in *Thomas Hutchinson's The History of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay* (1765): 'An Indian gift is a proverbial expression, signifying a present for which an equivalent return is expected.' See 'Indian, *n.* and *a.*,' *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed. (1989), in *OED Online* (Oxford University Press, 2008).

⁸⁹ Lescarbot, *Histoire*, 770–771.

usage: 'To have *crédit* meant that one had the confidence, trust, and good will of others.'⁹⁰ It was, in effect, a way of referring to symbolic capital.⁹¹ Lescarbot's observation that Membertou was not ashamed (*honteux*) to make such requests raises the question: should he have been? Was Membertou's estimation of his *crédit* with the French at odds with Lescarbot's? Was throwing a packet of furs at the feet of a French commandant sufficient to merit a cannon salute?

Recent studies of patron-client relations and associated gift giving practices in early modern France highlight the significance of Champlain's and Lescarbot's perspectives on Native gift giving. As Davis points out, the conceptualization of the gift in sixteenth-century France rested on two 'core beliefs.' The first, derived from Christian cosmology and specific biblical admonitions, saw giving as an appropriate sign of gratitude toward a God who had given humankind gifts of inestimable value. The second belief, inherited through the philosophers of antiquity and disseminated through numerous printing of classical works rehearsing this theme—Cicero's *Offices* and Seneca's *Benefits* being the most common—was that giving was central to the creation of meaningful bonds between individuals.⁹² As Arthur L. Herman, Jr., demonstrates, these beliefs were fused together in the conceptualization of the *pactum societatis* that linked together the members of a Christian society—"the union of hearts, of wills, of interests," as Saint Augustine phrased it.⁹³ To give was to exercise charity, the greatest of the three *vertus théologiques*, and to mirror

⁹⁰ Smith, 'No More Language Games,' 1427.

⁹¹ According to Bourdieu, 'symbolic capital is always *credit*, in the widest sense of the word, i.e. a sort of advance which the group alone can grant those who give it the best material and symbolic *guarantees*.' See Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice, Cambridge Studies in Social Anthropology, 16 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 181.

⁹² Davis, *Gift*, 13 (Seneca and Cicero), 17 (Christian theology), 18 (Aristotle).

⁹³ Arthur L. Herman, Jr., 'The Language of Fidelity in Early Modern France,' *The Journal of Modern History* 67, no. 1 (1995): 1-24, here 9.

God's love. For a moralist like Pierre Charron, author of the widely read *De la sagesse* (1601), giving must address the interests and needs of the recipient, not the giver. Moreover, the true benefit to the recipient was not the thing given but the certainty of the trust and goodwill of the giver. Gifts (*bienfaits, effets, dons, présents*) were but the outward signs or proofs (*épreuves*) of feelings of fidelity and goodwill. They were, in principle, free gifts, offered in imitation of Christ's admonition: 'Freely ye have received, freely give.' In return, the recipient properly displayed gratitude and a sense of indebtedness. Praise of the giver was also expected. As Charron wrote, 'Since you have found the heart and hand of the other open to do good [*bien faire*], so one must have an open mouth to thank and praise.' To show ingratitude was, by contrast, a rejection of God's example and of the value of community. It was, as Herman explains, seen as 'a profoundly antisocial impulse' and 'the worst of all social and political crimes.'⁹⁴

To appreciate how ingratitude might be a political crime, it helps to recall the centrality of these discourses of fidelity and liberality in patron-client relations in early modern France. The voluminous extant correspondence between the powerful—kings, ministers, aristocrats, high clergy, financiers, and so forth—and those who sought protection, advancement, and preferment from them has provided historians with ample grist for the study of these relationships. These political relationships between patrons and clients were invariably framed in personal and emotional terms; the bonds were not merely ones of convenience but rather of affection. Gifts circulated between patrons and clients—not as ostensible payment for services, past or future, but as proofs of

⁹⁴ Herman, 'Language of Fidelity,' 9 (charity), 10–11, 12 (Charron), 13 (ingratitude). The reference to the three *vertus théologiques* is mine. Christ's injunction to give is quoted in Davis, *The Gift*, 18.

the patron's goodwill or of the client's loyalty and devotion.⁹⁵ It was precisely the personal and sustained nature of the relationship that distinguished liberality from bribery. Patrons gave gifts to their loyal servants or *créatures*; bribery, by contrast, 'was payment for a promised act, and did not create a duty of reciprocity beyond this act.'⁹⁶ A client's failure to show gratitude or to reciprocate in the face of the patron's liberality constituted insulting and hostile behaviour that could lead to the destruction of the relationship.⁹⁷ Ominously, it could betoken a client shifting his loyalty to a rival of the patron. Ingratitude thus threatened political allegiances as much as it did personal relationships.

Champlain and Lescarbot were both implicated in patron-client networks of this kind. This is obvious in the dedicatory prefaces both men composed for their respective published works.⁹⁸ Lescarbot dedicated the first edition of his *Histoire de la Nouvelle-France* (1609) to no less a personage than Henri IV; in the wake of the latter's assassination, the second edition (1612) contained separate dedications to Louis XIII (then a boy of ten or eleven) and to Pierre Jeannin, *contrôleur-général des finances*.⁹⁹ In the preface to *Les Muses de la Nouvelle-France* (1609) Lescarbot presented himself as laying his verses at the feet of Chancellor Nicolas Brûlart de Sillery in the hopes that in assisting the establishment of the arts in a savage land, the chancellor would further the goal of civilizing and converting the indigenous infidels. In return, the muses would exalt his name.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁵ Smith, 'No More Language Games,' 1431; Sharon Kettering, 'Gift-giving and Patronage in Early Modern France,' *French History* 2, no. 2 (1988): 131–51.

⁹⁶ Kettering, 'Gift-giving and Patronage,' 151.

⁹⁷ Kettering, 'Gift-giving and Patronage,' 143–144.

⁹⁸ Herman lists dedicatory prefaces as one of three 'settings' where the 'language game' of affection and fidelity was repeatedly played out in early modern France; see 'Language of Fidelity,' 16–18.

⁹⁹ Marc Lescarbot, *Histoire de la Nouvelle-France* (Paris: Jean Milot, 1609), unnumbered pages following title page; Lescarbot, *Histoire*, ed. Tross, iv–ix.

¹⁰⁰ Marc Lescarbot, *Les muses de la Nouvelle France* (Paris: Jean Millot, 1609), unnumbered pages following title page.

Lescarbot followed convention to the hilt in concluding each of these dedications with a variation on a time-honoured formula: 'Je suis [vôtre] tres-humble, tres-obeissant & tres-fidele serviteur' (adding '& sujet', in the case of the king). Through his own series of dedicatory prefaces, Champlain likewise sought the goodwill of powerful patrons. *Des sauvages* (1603) was dedicated to Charles de Montmorency, duc de Damville and admiral of France and Brittany by 'vostre tres-humble & obeissant serviteur, S. Champlain.'¹⁰¹ His *Voyages* (1613), like the second edition of Lescarbot's *Histoire*, included dedications both to the young Louis XIII and to his mother, the queen regent Marie de Medicis. In the first of these, Champlain presented himself, not as giving, but as *giving back* to the crown, underlining his 'juste recognoissance de l'honneur que j'ay reçu depuis dix ans, . . . tant de vostre Majesté, Sire, que du feu Roy, Henry le Grand, d'heureuse memoire.'¹⁰² The king was again the focus of the dedication of Champlain's *Voyages et decouvertes* (1619), this time presented as the 'legitime Seigneur' of Champlain's labours in New France.¹⁰³ Finally, in compiling his *Voyages de la Nouvelle-France Occidentale* (1632)—a summation of three decades of exploration and colonization—Champlain dedicated the work to Armand Du Plessis, duc de Richelieu, cardinal and first minister, and (after his political coup of 1630) the undisputed holder of the reigns of power in France. (Marie de Medicis was, as a result of this coup, in exile and no longer a politically appropriate dedicatee.) Here, Champlain speaks on behalf of the Native peoples of eastern Canada, conveying their hope that the cardinal minister 'leur redonnerez la lumiere de la foy, laquelle ils respirent continuellement, mais encores releverez & soustiendrez la possession de ceste Nouvelle Terre.'

¹⁰¹ Champlain, *Des sauvages*, in *Works*, 1:85.

¹⁰² Champlain, *Voyages* (1613), in *Works*, 2:207–208.

¹⁰³ Champlain, *Voyages et decouvertes* (1619), in *Works*, 3:5.

Champlain, conscious of the honours the cardinal has bestowed upon him in the past, could but in return promise the cardinal further service and the assurance that he was Richelieu's 'tres-humble & tres affectionné serviteur.'¹⁰⁴

There was clearly a large measure of hyperbole, even fabrication, in these discourses of fidelity. Champlain knew very well that in 1632 the Innu, Algonquins, Mi'kmaq, and Wendat were not rushing to embrace Christianity; nor did they put much stock in French 'possession' of their land. But is it sound to accept the view that this language and the gift giving that accompanied it were fundamentally insincere—that they served to 'disguise' or 'mask' the reality of the self-interested agendas and the obligation to reciprocate that, as anthropological theories of the gift suggest, is its principle defining characteristic?¹⁰⁵ Or that they were, as Albert Herman, Jr., argues, simply rhetorical strategies in a game of language that served other ends?¹⁰⁶ Jay M. Smith has criticized this approach on the basis of its dissociation of actors' goals and interests from any cultural context; in Herman's interpretation, culture (or, more specifically, language) becomes little more than a set of rules or codes

¹⁰⁴ Champlain, *Voyages* (1632), in *Works*, 3:238. For Richelieu's coup, see Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *L'Ancien Régime*, vol. 1: *L'absolutisme en vraie grandeur* (Paris: Hachette, 1991), 93–98.

¹⁰⁵ Kettering, 'Gift-giving and Patronage,' 132. The word 'disguised' is used repeatedly throughout the article along with other terms bearing similar connotations: 'fiction,' 'concealed,' 'masked or hid,' 'code' all appear on the same page (137), for example. Kettering's purpose in this article is to demonstrate that the practice of gift-giving between patrons and clients conforms to Marcel Mauss's characterization of the gift in his famous *Essai sur le don* (first published 1923–24). In order to prove Mauss's assertion that the gift creates an obligation to reciprocate, she must reject the possibility that patrons and clients gave free gifts. She views patrons and clients as systematically using the language of affection in a spirit of *mauvaise foi*, as a means of disguising the interested nature of their relationships. As Herman notes, however, there are problems in assuming that every declaration of loyalty and devotion was insincere—especially when such attitudes seem to offer plausible explanations of actions in particular circumstances; see Herman, 'Language Games,' 3.

¹⁰⁶ Herman, 'Language of Fidelity.' For Herman, ideas about fidelity and gift giving constitute 'the rules of the language game of fidelity' (13); his goal is not to determine whether people held these views sincerely but rather to assess their proficiency at effectively mobilizing these principles through speech acts (6–8).

which actors manipulate to their own ends—ends which are, apparently, motivated by some sense of self-interest that originates outside the ‘language game’ itself. For Smith, any ‘linguistic analysis of political culture must inevitably lead back to the beliefs and values that words convey.’¹⁰⁷ With Smith and Davis, I view these discourses about fidelity and gift giving as part of a distinctive early modern French worldview. Indeed, it strikes me that Champlain’s and Lescarbot’s denial of disinterested giving among Native Americans is a significant datum in the consideration of this problem. In the context of colonial discourses that generally seek to distance the ‘civilized’ from the ‘savage,’ often through the use of the rhetoric of negation (*sans foi, sans loi, sans roi*, etc.), the rejection of the possibility of free giving among Native peoples would seem to imply that this was indeed something which Champlain and Lescarbot valued.

The consequence of asserting the absence of free gifts among Native societies was, as Davis points out, to place Native Americans outside the human community that gifts could bind together; “‘Sauvages’ were not qualified for full reciprocity according to European rules.”¹⁰⁸ What precisely determined this lack of qualification remains an open question. Was it that Native peoples exhibited, from a colonizer’s perspective, insufficient gratitude for the gifts of faith, laws, and kingship? Was it that this objectified, mechanistic view of Native gift giving reinforced a European sense of moral superiority? Whatever the case, the

¹⁰⁷ Jay M. Smith, ‘No More Language Games: Words, Beliefs, and the Political Culture of Early Modern France,’ *The American Historical Review* 102, no. 5 (1997): 1413–40, 1426 (quotation).

¹⁰⁸ Davis, *The Gift*, 138. Davis relies on narratives by Cartier and Léry in fleshing out this dynamic in the sixteenth century and goes on to assert that ‘This picture would change somewhat in the seventeenth century,’ alluding to the effects of longer-term intercultural relationships of diplomacy and trade (140). My sense is rather that, as we see with Champlain and Lescarbot, a mechanistic sense of how gift giving worked in Native societies emerged which allowed the French to perform adequately in Native diplomatic contexts without abandoning the belief that Natives did not give freely.

emergence of such typifications in the writings of Champlain and Lescarbot suggests that the ground was laid for the French to instrumentalize gift giving in their efforts to create advantageous political alliances with the Native nations of the St Lawrence valley after 1607. Gifts must be returned; gratitude was unnecessary, except where required as a matter of political expediency.

Another maxim of intercultural relations to which both Champlain and Lescarbot gave expression in their writings on Acadia was the principle that force was necessary in dealing with Native nations. This was, of course, an echo of the Machiavellian approach that Richelieu himself would endorse in his *Testament politique*: it is better to be feared than loved.¹⁰⁹ Champlain wrote of the Native peoples of Acadia: 'Ils ont une meschanceté en eux, qui est d'user de la vengeance, et d'estre grand menteurs, gens auxquels il ne faut par trop assurer, sinon avec raison, et la force en main.'¹¹⁰ Near the end of his life, in the last narrative he penned of his dealings with the Native peoples of the St Lawrence valley, Champlain's views remained essentially unchanged. 'La liberté qu'ont ces peuples fait qu'on a bien de la peine à les convertir et les faire plier sous nous, si nous n'y sommes les maitres absolus pour leur donner de la crainte.'¹¹¹ Lescarbot similarly noted of the Almouchiquois, 'Ce peuple est tel qu'il le faut traiter avec terreur, car par amitié si on leur donne trop d'accès ils machineront quelque surprise, comme s'est reconeu en plusieurs occasions.'¹¹² This was not an attitude he extended to the Mi'kmaq around Port-Royal or to all Native peoples—that is, to those he knew firsthand. Lescarbot never met the

¹⁰⁹ See chap. 2, above, for the rhetoric of fear and love in French political culture.

¹¹⁰ Champlain, *Voyages* (1613), in *Works*, 2:46.

¹¹¹ 'Relation du voyage du sieur de Champlain en Canada,' in *MNF*, 2:372. The best way to instill this fear, Champlain believed, would be to destroy the Iroquois with military force. Later in the same text, Champlain repeated his opinion that 'La vérité est qu'il faut viser à ce point qui veut estre aymé, craint et redouté' (392).

¹¹² Lescarbot, *Histoire*, 537.

Almouchiquois; his inclusion of this maxim in his writings probably reflects the attitudes of Poutrincourt, Champlain, Gravé, and others who had.

In these ways, then, the experiences of de Monts's crew in Acadia between 1604 and 1607 may be presumed to have stimulated the crystallization of instrumental knowledge about Native cultures, knowledge which found its way into the printed narratives of that venture and which have thus been preserved. It is probable, too, that these axioms built on earlier experiences in the Tadoussac trade. At Québec in 1608, Champlain would put some of these principles to work: most notably, by acting on his conviction that the only way to arouse something approaching gratitude in Native allies was to provide assistance in war.

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE FRENCH-ALGONQUIAN-HURON ALLIANCE

During de Monts's attempt to establish a colony in Acadia, Basque, Norman, and Breton traders had not ceased to visit the lower St Lawrence valley each summer to trade for furs with the Innu. However, none of these traders seems to have imitated the strategy of promising to help the Innu against their enemies as a means of expanding the trade and exploring the interior. Insofar as the traders supplied the Innu with metal arrowheads, knives, hatchets, and sword blades, it is not impossible that a feeble rhetoric of alliance characterized the speeches of European trading captains and Innu headmen who met each year at Tadoussac. But when de Monts's agents returned to the St Lawrence valley in 1608, they immediately acted on the propositions of the council of 1603 by establishing a year-round habitation on the river and by renewing the offer of military assistance. The Innu responded by introducing other Native nations to the French. Within a decade, a complex alliance network emerged in the region,

linking the French at Québec to the Innu bands of the lower St Lawrence valley, the Algonquins of the Ottawa Valley, and the four nations of the Huron confederacy whose villages were concentrated between Lake Simcoe and Georgian Bay (figure 7).¹¹³

The alliance was founded on a convergence of diverse interests. For the Innu who controlled access to the trade routes of the northern interior, the principal motive for an alliance with the representatives of the French king seems to have been the desire to acquire allies against their enemies, the eastern Iroquois. To achieve this, the Innu were prepared to sacrifice to some degree their privileged position in the fur trade. As noted above, in 1603 the Innu of Tadoussac celebrated a victory over their enemies with their allies the Algonquins and Etchemins. While it is not clear whether these Algonquins were able to trade directly with the European vessels, in the course of one of the ceremonies witnessed by Champlain they received numerous presents, including European trade goods ('haches, espées, chauderons'), from their Innu and Etchemin allies.¹¹⁴ In 1608, the son of an important Algonquin headman visited the French at Québec, and in 1609 that headman brought a party of Arendarhonons to join an Innu-Algonquin raid against the Mohawks. The Arendarhonons, the second-largest Huron nation, lost no time in bringing the other members of the confederacy into the military and trading alliance as well. After 1610–11, Algonquins and Hurons traded directly with the French in the St Lawrence valley above Tadoussac.

Militarily this Laurentian coalition seems to have enjoyed a certain success against the eastern Iroquois. Champlain's writings provide evidence of

¹¹³ Trigger, *Children*, 227–330.

¹¹⁴ Champlain, *Des sauvages*, in *Works*, 1:109.

successful raids against the Mohawk and Oneida¹¹⁵ by various combinations of allied warriors in 1603, 1609, 1610, 1613, and 1615. French arquebusiers participated in those of 1609, 1610, and 1615; unlike Membertou and Chkoudun, allied headmen did not receive guns as gifts. However, their enemies lacked them as well, and French firearms seem to have played an important if not decisive role in the allies' successes. The same sources are silent as to the effects of revenge attacks by the Iroquois, a notable exception being a Huron or Algonquin man Champlain met at the Lachine rapids in 1611. He had been captured three times by the Iroquois and had been tortured by his captors on at least one of these occasions.¹¹⁶ Champlain mentions no other victims of Iroquois attacks. Yet the same sources make clear that such attacks were expected and greatly feared. Ample evidence of this can be found in the paraphrased statements of Native speakers, Champlain's direct observations of Native behaviour, and his remarks on Native travel routes and village locations. The Innu and Algonquins seem to have relinquished use of the St Lawrence above Tadoussac, the lower Richelieu River, and the Montreal archipelago in the early seventeenth century, despite the abundance game and fish to be had there. Even as far downriver as Québec, the Innu were frequently on the alert for enemy

¹¹⁵ The 'Entouhonoron' village destroyed by coalition warriors accompanied by Champlain in 1615 has sometimes been identified as an Onondaga village, but Trigger argues convincingly that it was in fact an Oneida village. *Children*, 311. More recently, archaeologist William Engelbrecht has thrown his support behind Peter Pratt's argument that the village in question was Onondaga. Engelbrecht, *Iroquoia: The Development of a Native World* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2003), 147. In Champlain's writings for the period, the term 'Iroquois' designates the Mohawks, while the term 'Entouhonoron', apparently of Huron origin, referred to the other four nations making up the Haudenosaunee (*ibid.*). By the 1630s, the French used the term 'Iroquois' to refer to the Five Nations, and appropriated Huron ethnonyms to designate those nations individually.

¹¹⁶ Champlain, *Voyages*, in *Works*, 2:203–204.

raids.¹¹⁷ Placing this information in the context of archaeological evidence of Iroquois raids on the population of the St Lawrence valley in the second half of the sixteenth century, Trigger writes of ‘Mohawk domination of the valley.’ He argues that while under other circumstances the Innu might have attempted to maintain their middleman position between the European traders at Tadoussac and the nations to the west, north, and south, the need for allies against the Mohawks prompted them to allow the Algonquins and later the Hurons to make direct contact with the French. The Algonquins who drew the Arendarhonons into the coalition presumably aimed at achieving similar ends. (Iroquet, the Algonquin headman who played an important role in this, led a band whose territory south of the lower Ottawa River was extremely exposed to Iroquois raiders; it was not uncommon for him and some of his people to winter near Arendarhonon villages near Lake Simcoe.) The other Algonquin nations—in particular the powerful Kichesipirini who controlled the middle reaches of the Ottawa River around present-day Morrison Island—acquiesced in this, although the Kichesipirini did collect ‘tolls’ (in the form of presents) from Huron traders using the river.¹¹⁸

The nations of the Huron confederacy seem to have joined the alliance principally in order to trade directly with the French, and not to secure allies in war against ‘traditional’ enemies. In joining the intercultural coalition to the east, the Hurons were, like the French, drawn into the Algonquians’ conflict with the Mohawks. This was a small price to pay for access to European goods, particularly since the Mohawks ceased to raid the St Lawrence valley after 1609 and Iroquois raids in the Ottawa valley petered out soon thereafter. The Hurons

¹¹⁷ Champlain, *Des sauvages*, in *Works*, 1:136–137; Champlain, *Voyages*, in *Works*, 2:50–51, 77, 90–91, 266–267; Champlain, *Voyages et découvertures*, in *Works*, 3:31; Trigger, *Children*, 218.

¹¹⁸ Trigger, *Children*, 218 (quotation), 293, 341–342. See chap. 5 generally for the dynamics of trade and war until 1615.

continued to be embroiled in back-and-forth raiding with the Senecas, their 'traditional' foes since the late sixteenth century, but now enjoyed the advantage of metal arrowheads. The presence of armed Frenchmen in Huron villages may also have inhibited revenge attacks. As a result of this favourable geopolitical context and the adoption of selected elements of European material culture, the Huron confederacy experienced a period of affluence and cultural efflorescence that was, however, to last little more than a generation.¹¹⁹

De Monts and his lieutenants became involved in Native alliances as part of a strategy that was intended to expand the fur trade while edging out rival traders. In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries there was, in addition to the Paris market, demand for furs in Baltic port cities.¹²⁰ Greater profits were to be had by increasing the number of furs, and especially beaver pelts, acquired from Native hunters and traders. The Innu around Tadoussac, however, offered only what furs they had trapped themselves or acquired in turn from their trading partners, and showed few signs of radically altering their economy to provide the *Uemistikuchiuet*s with ever greater numbers of pelts in return for European trade goods. As was the case with other subarctic hunters, the Innu participated in the fur trade in way that complemented, rather than conflicted with, their traditional subsistence economy. Although Trigger has pointed to evidence that the Mi'kmaq and Innu did become relatively dependent on European goods—especially kettles, shallops, and axes—at an early stage, he may have exaggerated the significance of references to these groups trading for European foodstuffs. Other studies have argued that many Native hunters found

¹¹⁹ Trigger, *Children*, 338–339, 416–418, On Huron cultural efflorescence in the period 1615–29, see *ibid.*, 408–429, 433, and Trigger, 'The Road to Affluence: A Reassessment of Early Huron Responses to European Contact,' in *Out of the Background: Readings on Canadian Native History*, ed. Robin Fisher and Kenneth Coates (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1988), 88–101.

¹²⁰ Allaire, *Pelleteries*, 109–111.

that hunting for food and trapping furs were complementary, rather than conflictual, activities in those regions where beaver was an important food animal.¹²¹ Because of Innu reluctance to dramatically step up the supply of beavers they brought to trade, the only recourse of French traders was to make contact with more distant Native groups with supplies of fur to trade. In Acadia, French naval technology and the geography of the region allowed the French to make unilateral efforts to expand alliances and contacts without the consent of existing allies. In Canada, such a policy was impossible. The French were unable to explore the interior river without Native canoes and guides. The Lachine and Chambly rapids appear humble enough today, but they were near-absolute

¹²¹ For example, see *Children*, 361–365, which contrasts Mi'kmaq and Innu 'dependence' on trade goods with the case of the Hurons before the 1630s. Wicken has demonstrated continuity in the Mi'kmaq subsistence economy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in his William C. Wicken, 'Encounters with Tall Sails and Tall Tales: Mi'kmaq Society, 1500-1760,' (PhD dissertation, McGill University, 1994). The Innu of north of the St Lawrence valley probably combined participation in the fur trade with a hunting and gathering economy, much as did the Crees east of James Bay; on the latter, see Toby Morantz, 'Historical Perspectives on Family Hunting Territories in Eastern James Bay,' *Anthropologica* 28, no. 1-2 (1986): 64–91. Trigger is certainly correct in noting that some Innu, those who increasingly spent winters near the French settlement, became more dependent on French foodstuffs. These families would have been comparable to the 'home guard Indians' who lived near the Hudson's Bay Company trading posts. However, during the early seventeenth century, these families do not seem to have been very numerous, and it is incautious of Trigger to imply that this was the case with all the Innu around Tadoussac and Québec. Given the precarious nature of the early French settlements and the uncertain nature of French shipping, it seems improbable that sufficient supplies of foodstuffs would reach Québec each year to feed both the French and the Innu. (In fact, there are repeated cases throughout the period of Innu hunters supplying the French with gifts of moose meat when French stores ran low, typically in the late winter or spring.) Rather, European foodstuffs, particularly items like dried peas and hard biscuit, were probably used to supplement a more traditional diet and to palliate periods of poor hunting, much as Algonquians used Huron corn. Following the epidemics of the 1630s, intensive Jesuit missionization, and increased Iroquois warfare, some Innu around Québec did become very dependent on the French, but this was a case of a people in dire circumstances struggling to survive. In areas where beaver was not an important food animal, participation in the fur trade did in fact imply a stark choice between hunting for furs (such as marten) and hunting for food. The Innu and Cree who depended on large herds of barren ground caribou apparently chose for an extended period of time to remain marginal participants in the fur trade in order to not to jeopardize their subsistence economy. Morantz, 'Historical Perspectives,' 67–68; Mailhot, *Gens de Sheshatshit*, 138–139.

obstacles to Europeans in the early seventeenth century. Consequently, Native alliances were key to the expansion of the fur trade. Other motives for French colonization—the search for a western route to Asia, and the conversion of Native peoples—also argued for an expansion of French contacts with the Native groups of the Northeast.

At Fontainebleau in the fall of 1609, Champlain reported to Henri IV on his campaign with Innu, Algonquin, and Huron warriors. He no doubt explained to the king, as he had to de Monts, the significance of an alliance with the Hurons: such an alliance would open the way for inland exploration and contact with ‘undiscovered’ nations in the interior. The Hurons, said Champlain, had made pledges to this effect, ‘à la charge qu’o[n] les assisteroit en leurs guerres com[m]e nous leur avio[n]s promis.’¹²² After participating in a second campaign in 1610, Champlain came to be seen by the Hurons and Algonquins as a special ally, distinct from the other French traders who came to the upper St Lawrence valley during the brief period of free trade from 1610 to 1613. A young Huron man named Savignon spent the winter of 1610–11 under Champlain’s care in France, where he met the boy-king Louis XIII, while a slightly older French boy, Étienne Brûlé, spent that same winter among the Hurons.¹²³ In the summer of

¹²² Champlain, *Voyages*, in *Works*, 2:104–105, 110 (quotation).

¹²³ On the special treatment of Champlain by the Algonquins and Hurons, see Trigger, *Children*, 264–271. Although both Lescarbot and Sagard provide anecdotes about Savignon’s stay in Paris, there is no information about his meeting with the king save for a passing reference in Champlain’s speech to the Hurons in June 1611 (Champlain, *Voyages*, in *Works*, 2:189). Louis XIII had just turned nine when he met Savignon; might not the latter have had a reaction similar to that of the anonymous Tupinamba (quoted in chap. 3 above) who found it incomprehensible that grown warriors would obey a child? Louis was crowned king only on 17 October 1610, following his father’s assassination in May. Champlain’s vessel arrived off Honfleur on 27 September that year: might Savignon have witnessed the ceremony at Reims? Or possibly the Paris royal entry of 30 October? Louis XIII was not completely unfamiliar with Native Americans, since he had known an Innu boy, the son of the headman Begourat, as a playmate at Saint-Germain in 1604. According to the detailed diary kept by Louis XIII’s physician, on several occasions the dauphin had meals sent to the languishing Innu, and remembered him after his passing. Leymarie, ‘Le Canada pendant la jeunesse de Louis XIII,’ 168–169.

1611, the Hurons who came to the St Lawrence valley gave Champlain four strings of wampum, an act that Trigger has justifiably conjectured as representing a decision by the four nations of the Huron confederacy to propose a formal alliance with the French. In 1613 Champlain traveled up the Ottawa River to Morrison Island to meet the Kichesipirini (Algonquin) headman Tessouat, and in 1615–16 visited the Huron country. The reciprocal visit of the Huron headman Atironta to Québec in 1616 seems to have marked, for the Huron, the ratification of this alliance.¹²⁴ As a result of Champlain's diplomacy in Canada and lobbying in France, by 1616 a company of select merchants operating under viceregal authority and with a monopoly of trade in the entire St Lawrence valley west of the Rivière Matane was poised to reap the benefits of an expansive trade network that reached into the Great Lakes region.¹²⁵

BROTHERS IN ARMS

The allies used the trope of brotherhood to express the kind of relationship the alliance entailed. In August 1609, as a victorious allied force paused at the Chambly rapids before setting off on their separate paths homeward, the departing Algonquin and Arendarhonon (Huron) headmen asked Champlain 'si je ne desirois pas aller en leur pays pour les assister tousjours comme freres.'¹²⁶ Champlain agreed to do so the following year. The promise was kept, and after

¹²⁴ On the significance of the gifts of 1611, see Trigger, *Children*, 268, 287–290. For the events of 1613 and 1615–16, see *ibid.*, 246–247, 275–327.

¹²⁵ On the restructuring of the French trade monopoly in this period, see Biggar, *Early Trading Companies*, 85–98, and Trudel, *HNF*, 2:186–192, 205–208.

¹²⁶ Champlain, *Voyages* (1613), in *Works*, 2:104–105. The combined Innu, Algonquin, and Arendarhonon force (about sixty all told), accompanied by three French arquebusiers, had just defeated a group of Mohawks in a pitched battle on Lake Champlain, near present-day Point Ticonderoga. I have assumed that at this leavetaking, Iroquet and Ochasteguain spoke to Champlain in council, although Champlain does not attribute the request to any one in particular.

another successful campaign against the Mohawks in June 1610, Champlain invoked the bonds of brotherhood to convince the Algonquins to take a French boy with them over the winter: 'ce n'estoit pas comme frere ou amy, de me desnier une chose qu'il m'avoit promis, laquelle ne leur pouvoit apporter que du bien.'¹²⁷ The Algonquins agreed, but they insisted that the French in turn take a young Arendarhonon named Savignon. Savignon spent the winter of 1610–11 in France, where he met the boy-king Louis XIII, and upon being reunited with his people in June near the Lachine rapids, the headmen expressed satisfaction that Champlain had treated the young man as if he were a brother.¹²⁸ In 1616, the Huron headman Atironta visited Champlain at Québec, and promised Champlain that if the French maintained a 'house' (i.e., a fortified post like the habitation at Québec) at the Lachine rapids, the Hurons would gather there alongside the French 'pour y vivre comme freres.'¹²⁹

As the alliance aged, the fraternal register was regularly invoked during councils as a rhetorical reminder that conflicts should be resolved peacefully and that conciliation was called for. In February 1616, Champlain was called upon to mediate a dispute between the Attignaouantans and the Ononchataronons in the Huron village of Cahiagué. Two men had been killed and an important Algonquin headman wounded. Champlain, who had only been among the Hurons since the previous fall and who knew little of customary practices, had recourse to what was no doubt a familiar trope. He reminded the parties that the French, the Attignaouantans, and the Algonquins all loved each other 'comme freres,' and argued that 'ces façons de faire [i.e., violence] entre deux nations, amis, & freres, comme ils se disoient, estoit indigne entre des hommes

¹²⁷ Champlain, *Voyages* (1613), in *Works*, 2:140.

¹²⁸ Champlain, *Voyages* (1613), in *Works*, 2:189.

¹²⁹ Champlain, *Voyages et decouvertes*, in *Works*, 3:172.

raisonnables.¹³⁰ Champlain went on to inform his readers that in seeking his advice, the Hurons and Algonquins were in fact agreeing to submit to his judgement, ‘comme à leur père, me promettant en ce faisant qu’à l’advenir je pourrois disposer d’eux ainsi que bon me sembleroit, me remettant le tout à ma discretion, pour en disposer.’ This fantasy of French fatherhood and control was Champlain’s invention. But the plea to remember that the allies were brothers—this was presented as an established metaphor.

As we have seen in chapter 4, the fraternal trope had its origins in the period of irregular contact in the Maritime region and Gulf of St Lawrence in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, when Basque, Norman, and Breton fishers and traders interacted with eastern Algonquian groups. Shortly after Le Jeune’s arrival at Québec in 1632, he was addressed by several Innu as *ania*. The Recollet Gilbert Burel, who had spent the winter of 1625–26 at Québec, told Le Jeune that this word meant ‘brother’. However, it was only after several months in the colony that Le Jeune realized that this was not the proper Innu word for ‘brother’. *Ania* did mean ‘brother’, but it was a borrowing from Basque, part of the Basque-Innu trade pidgin that had emerged prior to the establishment the French colony. Burel either hadn’t known this, or didn’t care to point it out to the Jesuit. Le Jeune now wrote of this pidgin that ‘quand les François s’en servent, ils pensent parler sauvage, et les sauvages en l’usurpant croyent parler bon françois.’¹³¹ *Ania* was quite possibly the common form of address between the French and the Innu up to this point. From about 1634 on, however, the Jesuit

¹³⁰ Champlain, *Voyages et découvertures*, 3:109.

¹³¹ Le Jeune, ‘Briesve relation de nostre voiage,’ [letter to Étienne Charlet], 16 Aug. 1632, in *MNF*, 2:293–294; *Relation de . . . 1633*, in *MNF*, 2:419. This realization made Le Jeune wary of secondhand ethnographic and linguistic information about Native peoples. He warned his readers of the danger of generalizing from a few examples, and felt confident that in time he would be able to provide more accurate ethnographic information: ‘Le temps est le père de la vérité’ (484).

Relations provide many examples of the use of Innu term *nikanis* in analogous contexts. *Nikanis* seems to have designated a particular category of consanguineous kin—those who were closest to ego, belonging to the same age grade. The Jesuits translated this term as ‘mon frère’, ‘mon camarade’, ‘mon bien-aimé’, ‘mon grand ami’.¹³² As a metaphor for the alliance relationship, *nikanishood* suggested that the French and Innu nations were knit together by an intermixture of blood and affective ties. It conveniently obviated the need to use the more specific kin terms that distinguished between older and younger siblings.

The fraternal relationship between the allied nations was distinct from the metaphorical kinship ties that were forged between individuals. In the latter case, age and status were reflected in the terms used. Upon his arrival in the Huron village of Ossossané in the fall of 1623, the Recollet friar Gabriel Sagard was adopted by the family of his host, Oonchiarey. ‘Mon sauvage,’ he reported, ‘qui me tenait en qualité de frère, me donna avis d’appeler sa mère *Sendoué*, c’est-à-dire ma mère, puis lui et ses frères *Ataquen*, mon frère, et le reste de ses parents ensuite selon les degrés de consanguinité, et eux de même m’appelaient leur parent . . . ; [S]elon l’âge des personnes j’étais ainsi oncle ou neveu, etc., et des autres qui ne me tenaient pas en qualité de parent, *Yatoro*, mon compagnon, mon camarade, et de ceux qui m’estimaient davantage, *Garihouanne*, grand capitaine.’¹³³ From the 1630s onward, the Jesuit Relations from the Huron country contain frequent incidental references to Hurons and Jesuits addressing each

¹³² Mailhot, *Au pays des Innus*, 122–123, citing these sources: *Relation de . . . 1634*, in *MNF*, 2:672; Antoine Silvy, *Dictionnaire montagnais-français*, ed. Lorenzo Angers, David E. Cooter and Gérard E. McNulty, Tekouerimat, no. 2 (Montreal: Presses de l’Université du Québec, 1974), 44; Bonaventure Fabvre, *Racines montagnaises* (Quebec: Université Laval, 1970), 90; Laure, *Apparat français-montagnais*, 43, 149, 421.

¹³³ Gabriel Sagard, *Le grand voyage du pays des Hurons*, ed. Réal Ouellet and Jack Warwick (Montréal: Bibliothèque québécoise, 1990), 140.

other as 'brother', although it is significant that headmen and elders tended to call the Jesuits their 'nephews'. In matrilineal Huron society, a headman had a special interest in his sister's sons, for they were likely to inherit his titles and responsibilities.¹³⁴ In the St Lawrence valley, the French and the Innu generally addressed each other as 'brother', although as in Sagard's case, age played a role as well. For example, the Recollet Joseph Le Caron addressed the elderly Innu Mecabau as 'my father', while the latter called Le Caron his son.¹³⁵ The Huron boy Amantacha referred to Étienne Brûlé as his father.¹³⁶

It is reasonable to suppose that as a legacy of the early fur trade in the Northeast, the fraternal register was a spontaneous and natural means of expressing the spirit of a horizontal relationship based on reciprocal exchanges. To the modern analyst, it is tempting to distinguish between objects exchanged as gifts and objects exchanged in trade, but it is not clear that Native participants saw things this way. The few sixteenth-century sources that describe trade in the Northeast suggest that it was often surrounded with ceremonies and that there was no haggling over prices; that is, there was no 'buying' or 'selling' taking place, but rather an exchange of gifts. The usefulness of a terms such as 'friend' or 'brother', both of which figure in the lexicon of the regional trade pidgin, is obvious: it signaled the peaceful intention to give and receive. In the seventeenth century, the Jesuit Paul Lejeune described the trading rituals that took in the St

¹³⁴ Trigger, *Children*, 55. Champlain had noted that among the Hurons, nephews seemed to inherit from their uncles (*Voyages et découvertures*, in *Works*, 3:140), but Sagard, echoed later by Le Jeune, went further in arguing that this pattern was a necessary consequence of lax sexual mores: *Grand voyage*, 208; *Relation de . . . 1634*, in *MNF*, 2:607. For the use of the term 'brother' between Jesuits and Hurons, see *Relation de . . . 1647–48*, in *JR*, 33:234; Paul Ragueneau to Vincent Caraffa, 1 Mar. 1649, in *JR*, 33:263; *Relation de . . . 1649–50*, in *JR*, 35:110, 190. For the term 'nephew', see Sagard, *Grand voyage*, 244, 262; *Relation de . . . 1637*, in *MNF*, 3:737, 740; *Relation de . . . 1637–38*, in *MNF*, 4:138, 139, 145.

¹³⁵ Sagard, *Histoire du Canada*, 544, 545, 548.

¹³⁶ *Lettre du Père Charles L'Allemant, supérieur de la mission de Canadas . . . envoyée au Père Hiérosme L'Allemant* (Paris, 1627), in *MNF*, 2:155.

Lawrence valley between the Hurons and the French. His account suggests that a distinction between a phase of gift giving and a subsequent phase where goods were bought and sold.

Leur foire est bien tost faite. Le premier jour qu'ils [the Hurons] arrivent, ils font leur cabane. Le second, ils tiennent leurs conseils et font leurs présents. Le troisième et quatriesme, ils traittent, ils vendent, ils acheptent, ils troquent leurs pelleteries et leur pétun contre des couvertures, des haches, des chaudières, des capots, des fers de flèches, des petits canons de verre, des chemises et choses semblables. C'est un plaisir de les voir pendant cette traite, laquelle estant finie, ils prennent encore un jour pour leur dernier conseil, pour le festin qu'on leur fait ordinairement et pour danser. Et puis, le lendemain, de grand matin, ils passent comme une volée d'oiseaux.¹³⁷

In a later passage, Lejeune stated that during councils with the Hurons, Champlain 'fit ses présens, qui correspondoyent en valeur à ceux que les Hurons luy avoyent fait.' And he added, for his readers' benefit: 'Recevoir des présens des sauvages, c'est s'engager à rendre le réciproque.'¹³⁸ Denys Delâge has interpreted the French practice of reciprocity during the gift giving phase as a strategic concession to 'the spirit of the gift' that obliged the Hurons to show a similar generosity when it came to the commercial exchanges that followed. By foregoing profits in ceremonial exchanges, Champlain disposed his allies to accept further exchanges that were, in terms of the prices of the European fur market, objectively unfavourable to the Natives: 'Ainsi . . . Champlain utilise-t-il à son profit les règles de l'échange des Hurons.'¹³⁹ Yet there is evidence that Native traders calculated the value of gifts they received, even if these calculations did not involve European fur prices. In 1623, a French captain offered

¹³⁷ *Relation de . . . 1633*, in *MNF*, 2:476.

¹³⁸ *Relation de . . . 1633*, in *MNF*, 2:477.

¹³⁹ Denys Delâge, *Le pays renversé: Amérindiens et Européens en Amérique du Nord-Est, 1600–1664* (Montreal: Boreal, 1985; reprint, 1991), 107–108.

the Innu headman La Forière a gift of figs upon landing; La Forière cast them in the water and beckoned his people to board the French barque and take away what goods they pleased. This they did, leaving behind a number of furs in exchange. According to Sagard, who witnessed this incident, La Forière felt insulted by the paltry gift of figs and therefore ordered his people to rob the French. That evening, however, the Innu held a council and decided to offer more furs to the French, such that, claimed Sagard, the value of furs received by the traders actually amounted to more than the value of the goods taken. Afterward, the wine was broken out, toasts were made, and cannon fired in celebration. The incident suggests that what mattered to the Innu was not meeting a particular bottom line, but rather ensuring that the French treated them respectfully by offering decent gifts to their headmen.¹⁴⁰ The North American fur trade was a complex intercultural creation that embraced gifts between kin as well as market forces. There was a 'bottom line' for everyone involved—for Native peoples, it was generally the compromise between traditional subsistence activities and the trapping of fur bearing animals, while for French traders it was the financial viability of marketing furs on the Paris market. At the same time, both partners engaged in gift giving practices that created and solidified social relationships. In the early seventeenth-century fur

¹⁴⁰ Sagard, *Grand voyage*, 108. The editors of a recent critical edition of the *Grand voyage* argue that the this incident can be explained as an Innu attempt to maintain their middleman position between the French and other Native groups in the interior (*ibid.*, 114 n. 24). This makes little sense in that by 1623 Hurons and Algonquins were making regular voyages to the St Lawrence valley to trade with the French and the Innu had no hope of using the threat of force to prevent this. (What this may show, on the other hand, is the tendency for scholars to make uncritical use of the 'middleman' thesis as a general explanation of all aspects of Native behaviour.) As Trigger has indicated, during this period the Innu (like Algonquins in the Ottawa valley) instead used rumours to dissuade the Hurons from traveling as far downriver as Québec, or attempted to collect gifts ('tolls') from Huron canoes using the lower St Lawrence (*Children*, 340–343; see 363 for reference to this incident). In *Natives and Newcomers*, Trigger wrote: 'This incident illustrates both that native people attached great importance to these [trading] rituals and that they could enforce their observance at this time' (186).

trade the ritual exchanges that preceded and followed what, for the French, was the commercial heart of the matter provided Native peoples with evidence that the French were indeed their brothers.

There was, however, a profound dissonance between the resonance of the fraternal register in Native and European societies. As discussed in chapter 3, Innu and Huron kinship extended siblingship well beyond the nuclear family and residential unit; these systems were horizontally extensive and had the potential to include individuals that had never met before. This was not the case with French kinship. In France and Europe generally, siblings were people born of the same mother and father, *frères de père et de mère* or *frères germains*. Period. If two people had only one parent in common, they were *demi-frères*—or, for the learned, *frères consanguins* (if they had the same mother) and *frères uterins* (if they had the same father). Someone adopted by ego's parents was his *frère de laict*, a term also used to refer to his wetnurse's children. These terms are, of course, still in use today. The same goes for most of the figurative meanings of the term *frère*: it meant friend, companion, comrade, fellow (*semblable*). Men who soldiered together were *frères d'armes*. All of humanity were *frères en Adam*; all Christians were *frères en Jésus-Christ*.¹⁴¹ In general, the term signified a strong affective link that went beyond friendship, that somehow came close to the mystical tie of blood. A French-English dictionary of 1611 translated thusly a proverb illustrating this sense of the word: '*Il n'y a terme qui passe par delà celui de frere.*

¹⁴¹ Jean-François Féraud, *Dictionnaire Critique de la Langue Française* (1787), facsimile ed., 3 vols. (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1994), 2:291; La Curne de Sainte-Palaye, *Dictionnaire historique de l'ancien langage françois, ou glossaire de la langue française depuis son origine jusqu'au siècle de Louis XIV*, 10 vols. (Niort: L. Favre, [1878–82]), 6:315–317.

Calls me he brother? how can he call me more? no friendlier tearme exceeds the tearme of brother.¹⁴²

Brotherhood was a powerful metaphor and for this very reason its misuse could jeopardize rather than strengthen ties of affection. The notion that all men (humanity) were brothers (siblings) compelled one to acts of charity and kindness towards others, but in practice this ideal conflicted with the socioeconomic imperatives of the family and the individual. Whereas in a society of hunters and gatherers, one could plausibly share, for example, a moose with all of one's kin (or at least all those who were present), in the money economy of early modern Europe systems of social stratification, property, feudal dues, taxes, and so forth made the imperative to share between kin a glorious ideal rather than an everyday reality. This was particularly evident at a key moment in the life cycle of the family—the death of a parent or parents and the transmission of property to the next generation. As noted in chapter 2, in *ancien régime* France there were hundreds of local and regional customs regulating inheritance, but in general the egalitarian customs of the north and the west contrasted sharply with those of the south. The former are of greater relevance to French colonialism in North America as they include the *coutume de Paris* and those of the Atlantic port cities that most influenced the French colonies. These customary law codes protected the property rights of natural children, all of whom inherited equally from the conjugal community of goods or else, in Brittany, directly from their father and mother. Many customs, such as that of Paris, offered collateral relatives further strategic rights in order to preserve the symbolic and material

¹⁴² Randle Cotgrave, *A Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues, 1611*, facsimile ed., *English Linguistics, 1500–1800 (A Collection of Facsimile Reprints)*, no. 82, ed. R. C. Alston (Menston, England: Scolar Press, 1968), [unnumbered pages: see under *frère*].

capital of a lineage.¹⁴³ If the customs underlined the equality of all siblings, they also insisted upon a restrictive definition of kinship: the first in line to inherit were natural children born of the union—that is, classificatory siblings. Other ‘brothers’—such as *frères de lait*—had no guaranteed rights. The attitude of early modern jurists to adoption illustrates this disposition. As Kristin Gager has pointed out, the *coutume de Paris* stipulated that in the absence of natural heirs, the family property (*la communauté des biens*) reverted to consanguineous relatives even when adopted children were present. Only a written will—a precaution rarely taken in early modern Paris (the same was true of the Canadian colony)—could go some way toward ensuring adopted children an inheritance safe from the claims of collateral heirs. The legal obstacles placed in the path of this practice were so considerable that certain jurists simply concluded that adoption as such was impossible in Paris. More generally, Gager has noted the existence of a form of ‘cultural anxiety’ with regard to adoption in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century France. Adoption was seen as an aberration, an affront to natural and divine law. Only God could provide a man with an heir; it was hubris for a man to ‘choose’ his children.¹⁴⁴ This attitude was perfectly consonant with the logic of the *lois fondamentales* (or constitutional laws) of the kingdom which defined the principles of dynastic succession. The king was king by virtue of his blood and birth, as the jurist Jean Bodin underlined in 1583: ‘Car il est certain que le Roy ne meurt jamais . . . , ains que si tost que l’un est decedé, le

¹⁴³ Among the nobility and in the customs of southern France, the principle of consanguineous control is taken to the extreme in that only one heir, either the eldest son (among the nobility) or a designated child, receives lion’s share of the family property. André Burgière, ‘Les fondements d’une culture familiale,’ in *Les formes de la culture*, vol. 4 of *Histoire de la France*, ed. Burgière and Jacques Revel (Paris: Seuil, 1993), 25–64.

¹⁴⁴ Kristin E. Gager, ‘Women, Adoption, and Family Life in Early Modern Paris,’ *Journal of Family History* 22, no. 1 (1997): 12–13.

plus proche masle de son estoc est saisi du Royaume et en possession d'iceluy au paravant qu'il soit couronné.'¹⁴⁵

All of this suggests that for the French of this period, there existed a rather clear conceptual gulf between the literal meaning of the term 'brother' and the figurative or metaphorical sense of the word. The former applied to a limited number of individuals who fulfilled precise genealogical criteria; the latter could, in principle, extend to almost everyone (as in the slogan *fraternité* of the French Revolution). By contrast, Innu and Huron kinship systems used terminological equivalents of 'brother' to refer to a wider variety of genealogical positions and more generally to express ties of solidarity beyond the nuclear family. This vision of the human world as a system of kinship ties was also projected onto the natural world. Le Jeune reported that among the Innu, for example, each animal species had an 'elder brother' who was the master of that species. If hunter met one of these older brothers in a dream, he would be successful in hunting one of the 'younger brothers'.¹⁴⁶

These considerations help to explain some of the characteristic tensions and misunderstandings that marked this alliance of brothers in the early seventeenth century. Over the course of a winter (1633–34) spent with a band of Innu—more specifically, of the families of three brothers—the Jesuit Le Jeune and his hosts constantly addressed each other as *nikanis*, but in his written *Relation* the missionary confessed to his metropolitan readers that the fraternal trope was sometimes itself a source of conflict. The Innu found that generally the French were poor brothers because they were not very generous or sharing. The Innu around Qu'ebec had, after all, on repeated occasions succored the

¹⁴⁵ Quoted in Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (1957; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 409 n. 319.

¹⁴⁶ *Relation . . . de 1634*, in *MNF*, 2:564–565.

overwintering French with gifts of fresh moose meat, a form of sharing that represented, for northern Algonquian hunters, 'la base la plus sacrée qui soit pour établir la relation originelle de réciprocité.'¹⁴⁷ The Innu expected no less from their brothers. When a Frenchman refused to give something to an Innu, the latter reproached him, saying '*Khisahkitan sakhita*: tu aime cela, aime-le tant que tu voudra'—i.e., more than your Innu brother. For their part, the French found their allies to be too demanding. 'Nous ne voulons pas nous allier avec eux comme frères,' explained Le Jeune, 'ce qu'ils souhaiteroient grandement.' He meant that the Jesuits were reluctant to meet the obligations expected of *real* brothers, living together and sharing freely. Le Jeune explained that as a result Innu treated the French differently than they did members of their own nation: 'C'est pourquoy, ne nous tenant point comme de leur nation, ils nous traittent à la façon que j'ay dit,' that is, as a source of coveted trade goods. The Innu who reminded the French of their obligation to share were seen as importunate or opportunistic—as Le Jeune wrote disparagingly, 'ils vous suceront, s'ils peuvent, jusques au sang. Il n'y a ny mouche, ny guespe, ny taon aussi importun qu'un sauvage.'¹⁴⁸

Interpersonal relations between individual Frenchmen and Innu were punctuated by misunderstandings arising from these differing kinship ethics. In 1645 the Jesuit Jean de Quen accepted several furs from an elderly Innu woman who wished to adopt him to replace a deceased relative. Having accepted the

¹⁴⁷ Colin Scott, 'La rencontre avec les Blancs d'après les récits historiques et mythiques des Cris de la Baie James,' *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec* 22, no. 2-3 (1992): 47-62, here 50. For gifts of moose meat given in the winters of 1621-22 and 1622-23, see Champlain, *Voyages* (1632), in *Works*, 5:57, 5:115.

¹⁴⁸ *Relation de . . . 1634*, in *MNF*, 2:600, 609. Bailey noted in passing this conflict in a chapter on material exchanges. Alfred Goldsworthy Bailey, *The Conflict of European and Eastern Algonkian Cultures 1504-1700: A Study in Canadian Civilization*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), 48. See also David Murray's thoughtful treatment of what this passage reveals of Lejeune's understanding of gift giving in David Murray, *Indian Giving: Economics of Power in Indian-White Exchanges* (Amherst, Mass.: University of Massachusetts Press, 2000), 35-38.

present and, by implication, the adoption, de Quen found himself burdened by the resultant obligations toward his new kin, as the Jesuit superior noted in his journal: 'Tous les jours ces nouveaux parens l'accabloient de demandes comme celui qui leur devoit faire tout ce que le défunct leur faisoit, il les falut nourrir, loger, etc. pendant l'hyver.'¹⁴⁹ Early modern French traders did not reject the obligations of kinship, but they did have difficulty recognizing their Native allies as brothers in anything other than a figurative sense.

CRISES OF THE ALLIANCE

The resolution of disputes involving injury or death was the principal rock on which the alliance faltered prior to the epidemics of the 1630s. Occasional violence was in itself not a threat to the alliance—seventeenth-century European and Native cultures encouraged adult men to be violent and had means of dealing with the consequences. It was rather the clash between European and Native systems of law and justice that aroused tension and threatened to disrupt the alliance. As Cornelius Jaenen has noted, 'the basic and fundamental difference between the two views was that Amerindian societies stressed compensation for the injured party whereas French justice emphasized punishment of the guilty party.'¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁹ 'Journal des Jésuites,' in *JR*, 27:96. De Quen had ten years of experience in the Canadian mission at this time, and had possibly foreseen the consequences of his actions. The superior at Québec, Jérôme Lalemant, had spent seven years among the Hurons where he had overseen the construction of a separate, fortified residence for the missionaries. His lack of familiarity with the Innu may explain why he felt the incident was noteworthy.

¹⁵⁰ Cornelius J. Jaenen, *Friend and Foe: Aspects of French-Amerindian Cultural Contact in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), 97. Jaenen goes on to contrast the 'rigidity, lack of flexibility, impersonality, authoritarianism and excessive concentration of power at the top' of French law with Amerindian 'democratic' procedures and concern for the 'personal considerations' (ibid.). An early comparison of Native and European legal systems in New France can be found in Raymond Boyer, *Les crimes et châtements au Canada*

Richard White, who examined similar crises in European-Algonquian alliance in the Great Lakes region in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, has offered two ways of understanding the problems created in intercultural dialogues about murder and its consequences. In *The Middle Ground* (1991), White argued that violence was ‘inextricably bound up with commerce’ in the *pays d’en haut*—a footnote hints that he suspects that this may well be the case with commerce generally—and that, in the case of the fur trade, cultural differences regarding the ethics of commerce led to misunderstandings and conflict; for example, in cases where French traders supplied weapons to nations at war with each other, or charged high prices for needed goods. White cites Jaenen and goes on to explain the situation in similar terms:

When murders occurred between Algonquians and Frenchmen, each side brought quite different cultural formulas to bear on the situation. For northeastern Indians, both Algonquians and Iroquoians, those people killed by allies could be compensated for with gifts or by slaves or, failing these, by the killing of another member of the offending group. The decision about how to proceed was made by the dead person’s kin, but extensive social pressure was usually exerted to accept compensation short of blood revenge, since killing a person of the offending group often only invited future retaliation. Among the French the matter was simpler. . . . Punishment was not left to the kin of the victim but rather to the state. The expected compensation for murder was the death of the murderer.¹⁵¹

White subsequently offered another perspective on French and Algonquian concepts of murder, taking as its starting point the conceptual distinction between the self (a ‘self-conscious object’) and the person (‘a socially constructed

français du XVIIe au XXe siècle, L’Encyclopédie du Canada français, vol. 5 (Montréal: Le Cercle du Livre de France, 1966), as an incidental part of this compendium of information about law and order in early Canada. See esp. 27–35, 85–89, 419–421.

¹⁵¹ Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 76.

identity'). White argues that for the French, murder was an act by which a unique human self extinguished the life of another unique human self. Justice demanded in turn the extinguishment of the guilty self. For Algonquians, by contrast, the problem created by murder was the loss of a person. (To kill a prisoner was not a murder, since captives lacked a social identity.) Retaliation was directed less against the murderer as an individual than against the group of persons to which that individual belonged; that is, the others from his or her family, clan, village, or nation. The latter could forestall vengeance by offering reparation payments appropriate to the importance of the dead person. If vengeance was taken, it would ideally be focused against someone of a social status similar to that of the deceased. White could also have mentioned here how retaliatory warfare could lead to the capture of a prisoner who might be adopted to replace a lost relative, but his concluding sentence expresses the connection well enough: 'Dead persons, unlike dead selves, were not unique. They could be replaced.' As for the murderer, both the French and the Algonquians accepted the notion that murders could be crimes of passion; that is, of selves who were momentarily in the grip of uncontrollable emotions or a temporary form of madness. Among the French, the guilty self was expected to seek pardon for its actions by presenting itself as a person beholden to and dependent upon more powerful persons. To seek a pardon from the king, for example, was to indicate one's submission to a hierarchy of persons. For the Algonquians, the temporary madness or loss of self-control by the murderer was less serious than the feelings his or her act provoked in the family of the victim. 'The key to settling the murder was the victim's kinspeople, deranged by grief, who had to have their true selves restored.'¹⁵²

¹⁵² Richard White, "'Although I Am Dead, I Am Not Entirely Dead. I Have a Second of Myself': Constructing Self and Persons on the Middle Ground of Early America," in *Through a*

In *The Middle Ground* (1991), White studied three cases of murder that 'offer enough documentation for cultural analysis.' The first involved the murder of two Frenchmen by a Menominee and several Anishinabeg on Lake Superior in the early 1680s; the second, the murder of a Recollet priest and a French soldier during a skirmish at Detroit in 1706; and finally, a request by Illinois headman that the death sentence against a French *garde-magasin* be set aside. The first two cases are alleged to illustrate key elements of an emergent pattern of behaviour. The script is always the same. The French seize the murderers (or insist that they be given up); they call for the death of all the guilty parties (or at the very least of the principal one, or of a number equal to the number of French victims); they reject Native offers of compensation—in the words of the marquis de Vaudreuil in 1706, 'The blood of Frenchmen is not to be paid for by beaver skins.' The Natives attempt to calm the French and 'cover' the bodies of the slain with gifts; they blame the murders on the temporary madness of young men; they express a horror at the imprisonment of their kin and warn that peremptory executions will lead to a blood feud. Dialogue, debate, and posturing ensue, with each side alternately explaining its own position and justifying its actions by making appeals to what it understands to be the other group's values.¹⁵³ According to White, after a generation of recurrent clashes and negotiations over murder, the French and Algonquians learned to 'resolv[e] these differences through what amounted to mutually acceptable ritual acts. The French demanded surrender of the killer so that the murderer and his people might demonstrate proper feelings

Glass Darkly: Reflections on Personal Identity in Early America, ed. Ronald Hoffman, Mechal Sobel and Fredrika J. Teute (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1997), 414–416, 415 (quotation).

¹⁵³ White, *Middle Ground*, 75–93, 198–205. Vaudreuil is cited on p. 85. The third case analyzed by White is a remarkable incident in which Illinois headmen intercede to save the life of a Frenchman condemned to death. The speeches of the Illinois, as recorded by a French scribe, include an eloquent expression of Native repugnance for the system of justice.

of remorse, deference, and trust. Then they almost always pardoned the murderer. Indians, for their part, sought to replace or cover the dead and to soothe the feelings of the Europeans and restore them to reason.’¹⁵⁴ The murders of the 1740s and the intransigence of French officials in refusing to conduct ‘mutually acceptable ritual acts’ in resolving them highlighted the centrality of such rituals in the maintenance of the alliance. ‘Once formulated, this ritual of surrender and redemption became a centerpiece of the middle ground,’ the latter being White’s shorthand term for the culture of mutual accommodation that structured French-Native alliances. A letter of 1754 from the governor general to a French officer is cited as evidence that this ritual had indeed become customary.¹⁵⁵

The extent to which such acts were in fact ‘mutually acceptable’ is open to question. As White recognized, these displays of ‘political theater’ were often less than convincing to those involved, and led to further outbreaks of violence. In the incident of 1706, the ritual of surrender and redemption may have consolidated the French-Odawa alliance, but it failed to satisfy the Miamis. What White wishes to emphasize is the degree of intercultural dialogue that takes place, and the manner in which these solutions are negotiated is negotiated. However, it seems fair to ask whether the ‘middle ground’ achieved the kind of autonomous existence White would like to attribute to it. Any custom or ritual worthy of the name has a taken-for-granted quality about it; although constantly reproduced through the calculated efforts of agents and therefore subject to

¹⁵⁴ White, ‘Constructing Self and Persons,’ 416–417.

¹⁵⁵ White, *Middle Ground*, 93 (quotation), citing Duquesne to Péan, 9 May 1754, *Papiers Contrecoeur* (Québec, 1952), 122. For the murders of the 1740s and French policy, see 198–211. Part of White’s argument here is that French governors La Galissonnière (1747–49), La Jonquière (1749–52), and Duquesne (1752–55) were inexperienced in Native diplomacy and unfamiliar with the ‘formal ritual language’ and customary practices of the alliance, and, despite the efforts of more experienced subordinates, sought to unilaterally impose French justice on Native allies. The failure of such a policy ultimately forced La Jonquière to adjust himself to the ritual of pardon.

subtle transformations, it also has a certain inertia and autonomy with respect to the intentionality of individuals. It is the way things are done. A successful ritual transforms actors, in part because they have done the right thing, and done it properly. Did the rituals of the middle ground ever attain such a status?

All the themes and issues raised by the problem of murder in the French-Algonquian alliance of the Great Lakes region after the 1670s are prefigured by events in the St Lawrence valley before 1650. In 1617, 1627, and 1633, the murder of Frenchmen by Algonquian allies provoked crises in the alliance. The behaviours, strategies, and indeed even the utterances of the people involved directly anticipate those studied by White, so much so that one has the impression of watching the same drama being played out again and again over a span of nearly 150 years. In a revisionist article that questioned the soundness of 'Champlain's reputation as an Indian diplomat' in the historical literature, Trigger examined the first two of these incidents, concluding that 'both of these cases demonstrate Champlain's basic inability or his unwillingness, either to comprehend Indian customs or to accept the realities of the situation in which he found himself.'¹⁵⁶ In comparison to White's discussion, Trigger's interpretation of these early conflicts emphasizes the degree to which the outcomes tended to leave both Europeans and Native Americans with less respect for each others' cultures and with the sense that what was been done was *not* right. In his discussion of an incident in which an Innu murder suspect was surrendered by his kin and then 'pardoned' by the French, Trigger argues that 'because the French were unable to enforce their concept of law and unwilling to accept that of the Indians, the matter of retribution for the murders could not be resolved in a manner that satisfied either group. Cherououny's reputation was enhanced because he had been able to kill two Frenchmen without his band having to pay

¹⁵⁶ Trigger, 'Champlain Judged,' 94–100, 99 (quotation).

formal reparation. The Montagnais as a whole not only disliked, but now felt able to despise, the French.¹⁵⁷ In Native societies the payment of compensation by the murderer's kin was 'a highly effective form of legal sanction'; the hollow ritual of surrender and pardon was not. Trigger implies that a more rational (and ethnographically informed) French policy would have been to insist on considerable reparations as a means of deterring further violence against Frenchmen.¹⁵⁸

More recently, Carole Blackburn has analyzed all three incidents, as well as another murder that took place in 1648 in the Huron country, with the twin goals of contrasting French and Native systems of justice and assessing Jesuit agency in seeking to establish French-style justice in Native communities as a corollary of their broader conversion effort. Her treatment of the French and Native responses to these murders is set against an insightful and illuminating exploration of the meanings of law to the French, on the one hand, and various Native groups, on the other. Blackburn demonstrates clearly that the Jesuits' acceptance of reparation payments for the murder of a *donné* in 1648 was the exception rather than the rule and that, far from being the cultural relativists they are sometimes portrayed as, the Jesuits' longstanding view was instead that, in Paul Lejeune's words, 'Little by little, and with tact, they [the Natives] must be brought into submission.' French law was seen as a key tool in this agenda.¹⁵⁹

Despite the existence of two sound scholarly treatments of these incidents, there remain compelling reasons for the detailed treatment they receive in the pages that follow. First, while Blackburn's study anticipates my interest in the

¹⁵⁷ Trigger, 'Champlain Judged,' 97.

¹⁵⁸ Trigger, 'Champlain Judged,' 97, 98. See also 99–100, 110–111.

¹⁵⁹ Carole Blackburn, *Harvest of Souls: The Jesuit Missions and Colonialism in North America, 1632–1650* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000), chap. 4, esp. 70–101, 97 (quotation).

rhetoric and symbolism of law and leadership in a context of cultural encounter, her principal concern is with Jesuit worldviews and policies. The implication of these incidents for the Native-French alliance and the ways in which both Native and French leaders sought to employ the fragile conventions of intercultural diplomacy to resolve the conflicts do not, therefore, receive the consideration they do here. Second, neither Trigger nor Blackburn made use of a printed source that is extremely valuable for understanding the incident of 1633. The 'Relation du voyage du sieur de Champlain en Canada' appeared in volume 19 of the *Mercure françois* in 1633, alongside an abridgement of the Jesuit *Relation* for the same year.¹⁶⁰ No author was given, but the text was attributed to an 'honneste homme' close to Guillaume de Caën. In Lucien Campeau's estimation, about 15% of the text is composed of extracts from the full *Relation* of 1633; the rest is in all probability the work of Champlain himself.¹⁶¹ Whether or not that is the case, the text offers a detailed and convincing account of the intercultural diplomacy that took place surrounding the murder, with Champlain appearing, in the third person, as the protagonist. In his article assessing Champlain's 'Indian' policy, Trigger limited his study to the period before 1629, arguing that '[Champlain's] final brief tenure of office at Quebec . . . is of little importance for my purposes.'¹⁶² Had Trigger known of this document, he would in all likelihood have included it and the murder of 1633 in his analysis, for it shows Champlain bent on imposing French justice at any cost. Blackburn, who does address the incident of 1633, relies solely on the Jesuit *Relation* of that year for her information. This source deals with the negotiations surrounding the murder in far less detail than does the 'Relation du voyage du sieur de Champlain' and, moreover, fails to reveal

¹⁶⁰ See the online facsimile edition of the *Mercure françois*, available at the Web site of the Groupe de Recherches Interdisciplinaires sur l'Histoire du Littéraire, <mercurefrancois.ehess.fr>.

¹⁶¹ Campeau, ed., *MNF*, 2:351.

¹⁶² Trigger, 'Champlain Judged,' 86.

their outcome. Blackburn was, in the end, obliged to speculate about what happened.¹⁶³ The existence of the 'Relation du voyage du sieur de Champlain' has been known to historians for some time—Marcel Trudel listed it among his sources in the third volume of his *Histoire de la Nouvelle-France: La seigneurie des Cent-Associés, 1627-1663* (1979)—but it was not included in the *Works of Champlain* (1922–36) compiled by H. P. Biggar and has never appeared in print in English.¹⁶⁴ With Campeau, I view this text as an authentic eyewitness account of events at Québec in the summer of 1633 and consider Champlain's authorship a strong likelihood. A final reason for exploring these murders is to investigate the usefulness of Richard White's interpretive approach, as described above. The analysis that follows, then, differs from Trigger's and Blackburn's in its focus on alliance mechanisms, its use of an important primary source not included in previous analyses, and its testing of an insightful and influential paradigm in current ethnohistory.

1617–23: *The amende honorable*

At some point in 1617, a French locksmith—his name and the exact date of the incident are unknown—and his companion, a sailor named Charles Pillet, were murdered while hunting near Cap Tourmente, downriver from Québec. Their assailants tied the bodies together, weighted them down with stones and cast them into the St Lawrence. When the two men failed to return to Québec, the French assumed that their canoe had overturned, but an unnamed Native person

¹⁶³ Blackburn guessed that the murder suspect seized by Champlain was released, since 'had he been convicted of the murder and put to death, it is unlikely that the Jesuits would have failed to mention the fact' in subsequent *Relations* (*Harvest of Souls*, 84). This speculation was quite sound; as it happens, the prisoner escaped, as described below.

¹⁶⁴ Campeau published the text in the second volume of his *Monumenta Novae Franciae: Établissement à Québec (1616-1634)* (1979).

informed the French that they had been murdered. This was confirmed when a search party found their intertwined corpses washed up on shore and examined their broken bones. The Innu, fearing that the French might wish to take vengeance, withdrew from Québec and gathered near Trois-Rivières; the French redoubled their guard at the fort and pondered means for retribution, ideally 'par une forme de Justice, ou par quelque autre voye.' The Innu sent an envoy named La Forière to Québec to explain that the Innu headmen had not condoned these murders and to offer compensation to the French in the form of pelts, 'comme est leur coustume.' According to Sagard, the French commandant was prepared to accept this, but the Recollet priests insisted that the murderers be delivered to the French, 'disans que ne devoit pas ainsi vendre la vie & le sang des Chrestiens pour des pelleteries.' The Innu then asked the two murderers whether they would be willing to accompany a delegation to Québec, promising 'qu'ils n'auroient point de mal, que les François estoient doux, & pardonnoie[n]t volontiers.' Only one, Cherououny, agreed to do this: he attired himself with garments and ornaments 'comme s'il eust esté invité d'aller aux nopces, ou à quelque feste solomnelle,' and appeared, accompanied by his father and surrounded by 'une multitude' of Innu, at the French fort. (Champlain believed, no doubt correctly, that this show of force was calculated to dissuade the French from laying hands on this young man.) One of the Recollet priests—probably Joseph Le Caron—addressed the delegation, reminding the Innu of the assistance Champlain had given them in war and the friendship of the French generally. He told Cherououny's father that his son deserved death, 'attendu que par nostre loy un tel faict si pernicieux ne demeuroit impuni, & quico[n]que s'en trouve ataint & convaincu, merite condemnation de mort.' The Innu replied that they had rebuked the young men who had committed the murders and urged the French to pardon the crime. The Innu stressed that 'librement le present criminel

s'estoit venu rendre entre nos bras, non pour estre puny, ains pour y recevoir grace des François.' The young man's father spoke as well, saying that his son was 'un jeune fol & inconsideré, qui a plustost fait cet acte par folie, poussé de quelque vengeance' This last point was explained by Cherououny himself, who told the French how the locksmith had beaten him severely and incited another Frenchmen to do so as well. The young Innu had bided his time and exacted his vengeance when the locksmith left the French settlement to go hunting. According to Champlain, both Cherououny and his father expressed the notion that the young man's life was in the hands of the French—Cherououny even begged the fort commandant to put him to death on the spot. At the same time, however, both Champlain's account and his report of the speeches of the headmen make it clear that this ceremony of surrender was expected to culminate in a pardon.¹⁶⁵

The Recollet priests, who in this crisis seem to have assumed the moral leadership of the French at Québec, replied that it was not French custom to execute men peremptorily, and asked for time to consult with the company commandant and other personnel. In their deliberations, the French decided that

¹⁶⁵ For these events, see Champlain, *Voyages et découvertures*, in *Works*, 3:180–202 (quotations: 189, 190, 192, 193, 197–198); and Sagard, *Histoire du Canada*, 54–57 (quotations: 56). These sources provide vague or contradictory indications as to the chronology of these events. Incidental details of their accounts provide fodder for speculation about timing, but of course those details may themselves be erroneous. Trudel has underlined some of the external evidence that suggests strongly that the discovery of the bodies and subsequent French-Innu council took place in the fall of 1617 (*HNE*, 2:258 n. 73). Trigger's assumption that the murders took place in 1617 while the bodies were only discovered the following spring ('Champlain Judged,' 95–96) is more in line with Sagard's claim that one of the two hostages was held over the winter at Québec and Champlain's statement that the two hostages were instructed by the Recollets, who taught them the alphabet 'en moins de trois mois,' the end of this three-month period being, by implication, the arrival of Champlain and Gragé du Pont at Québec on 27 June 1618. This suggests that the council took place around the end of March. On the identities of the Innu involved, see Trigger, 'Erouachy,' *DCB*, 1:302–303, and Trigger, 'Cherououny,' *ibid.*, 210–211.

given their own small numbers¹⁶⁶ and the importance of the Innu alliance for the company's business and for the colony's security, it would be rash to anger the Innu by attempting to try and execute Cherououny. Instead, they decided to interpret his voluntary surrender as 'une espece d'amande honorable & une satisfaction à justice.' However, they also decided to inform the Innu that a final decision about the matter would have to await the arrival of the company ships from France bearing the viceregal lieutenant, Champlain; in the meantime, they asked that two Innu boys remain in the French fort at hostages. (According to Sagard, one of these boys ran away soon thereafter.) On 8 July, Champlain met with the Innu at Trois-Rivières and used his anger over these murders as a partial excuse to put off providing military assistance to his allies that summer; however, he also promised to ask the king for assistance for the following year's campaign. Champlain remarked that the Innu were well pleased by his words, but he also expressed impatience with the two or three councils the Innu insisted on having with him. Clearly, the Innu were seeking a clarification of the French position on the murders. Champlain, in consultation with Gravé, seems to have ratified the provisional settlement, preferring to 'couller cette affaire à l'amiable' rather than to risk a rupture of the alliance. In reaching this decision, Champlain was under no illusions as to the possible effects of this pardon on the Innu: he anticipated that they and other Native allies would view the French as cowards.¹⁶⁷

The *amende honorable* was a well-defined judicial proceeding by which a convicted offender publicly recognized his or her guilt and expressed feelings of remorse and a desire to repent. In a case of slander or libel, the *amende honorable*

¹⁶⁶ No global estimate of the numbers of overwintering French is available for 1617–18, but Champlain wrote of 50 or 60 colonists for 1616–17, and, again, 60 for 1620–21: these seem to have been the usual wintering complement for this period (Trudel, *HNF*, 2:489–495).

¹⁶⁷ Champlain, *Voyages et découvertures*, in *Works*, 3:200, 208–213.

could itself constitute punishment. Jean Imbert, the sixteenth-century author of a compendium of French legal practices, described it thus: 'le delinquent est condamné à dire & declarer estant en chemise, la teste nuë, & nuds pieds, que fausement & contre verité il a dict telle chose, & qu'il en requiert pardon à Dieu, au Roy, à Justice, & à la partie offensée.'¹⁶⁸ In the case of more serious crimes, the convicted party could be sentenced to make an *amende honorable* prior to submitting to other forms of punishment. Jean Chastel, who had unsuccessfully attempted to assassinate Henri IV in 1594, did this at the doors of Notre-Dame de Paris before his executioners cut off his left hand (the one that struck the king), quartered the mutilated man by tying his arms and legs to four horses, and finally burned his trunk and severed limbs, afterward casting the ashes to the wind. The *amende honorable* was politically important because it involved Chastel's repudiation of a statement by which he had called into doubt the legitimacy of Henri IV's conversion to Catholicism. In other cases, the *amende honorable* was simply a public confession, and was regularly stipulated to precede the execution of thieves, rapists, and murderers.¹⁶⁹

Cherououny's performance at Québec lacked key elements of the ritual of the *amende honorable*. In France, the ritual required the guilty part to appear bareheaded and barefoot as signs of humility. This kind of relative nakedness would have had little meaning for Native peoples for whom nakedness did not have the same meaning as it did in Europe, and it is not surprising that the French did not insist on it. Instead, Cherououny appeared in all his finery—

¹⁶⁸ Jean Imbert, *La pratique judiciaire tant civile que criminelle receue et observée par tout le Royaume de France* (Paris: Robert Fouët, 1606), bk. 3, chap. 21, p. 763.

¹⁶⁹ Imbert, *La pratique judiciaire, 779–779* (part of a commentary to Imbert's text by Pierre Guenois, conseiller du Roy). The *Conseil souverain* of New France, established in 1663, regularly issued sentences of capital punishment that included the ritual of the *amende honorable*. Often the convicted party is required to bear a lit torch in hand during the confession at the main door of a church. See the examples cited in Boyer, *Crimes et châtiments*, 96, 106, 107.

probably mostly collars and bracelets of wampum—as for a wedding or solemn feast.¹⁷⁰ What did this signify? Was Cherououny wearing on his body the gifts that were intended to condole the French and cover the bodies of the slain—gifts that the French had refused to accept alone, but which they might accept if borne by the murderer? Or did Cherououny wish to indicate that he considered himself a dead man, attired as his family might adorn his corpse for the grave? Or were these wampum meant to function like the *tusteheon* described by Sagard—a string of beads the Innu held in their hands when they wished to affirm the truthfulness of their words?¹⁷¹ It is unclear what Cherououny's wampum signified. In any event, the ritual achieved its desired end, for Cherououny was effectively pardoned by the French.

But the pardon was not absolute. Champlain refused to consider himself condoled by the ritual, and remained intent upon shunning Cherououny and his father. He forbade them from entering the French settlement at Québec, and pretended to be enraged when the two men appeared at a French-sponsored feast held in honour of the headman Mahigan Atic in 1622. He also insulted Cherououny personally by refusing to take his hand during a peacemaking ritual held at Québec before two Iroquois envoys. Although other Innu headmen politely sought to assuage Champlain's feelings, they did not imitate his rejection of Cherououny's family; on the contrary, in the years following the events of

¹⁷⁰ Champlain wrote that Cherououny 'se prepara, & accomoda, d'habits, & d'ornements à luy possible, comme s'il eust esté invité d'aller aux nopces, ou à quelque feste solomnelle' (Champlain, *Voyages et découvertures*, in *Works*, 3:193). In previous publications, Champlain had emphasized the role of wampum in the personal adornment of Algonquians. See Marc Laberge, *Affiquets, matachias et vermillon: ethnographie illustrée des Algonquiens du Nord-Est de l'Amérique aux XVIe, XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*, illustrations by François Girard (Montreal: Recherches amérindiennes au Québec, 1998).

¹⁷¹ Sagard is the only source to mention this practice: see his *Histoire du Canada*, 392–393 and the anecdote at 819–820.

1617–18, Cherououny became an important man among the Innu. By 1623, he was a recognized headman.

In order to dissipate the lingering tension in the alliance, Guillaume de Caën, general of fleet of the Compagnie de Montmorency (the current monopoly holder), prevailed upon Champlain to offer a full pardon to Cherououny on the grounds that both Louis XIII and the viceroy of New France were prepared to remit his fault. Accordingly, on 31 July 1623, a formal ritual of pardon was orchestrated before a large gathering of Hurons and Algonquins who had come to the St Lawrence valley that summer. According to Champlain, Cherououny and the man who had helped him kill the two Frenchmen were required to publicly declare their responsibility for the killings and to recognize that they owed their lives to the willingness of the French—the commandant at Québec but more importantly, the king—to pardon this crime. The French claimed to do so out of affection they had for the Innu nation; nevertheless, they reiterated their unwillingness to ever receive compensation for the murder of one of their own, and warned that in the future, they would persist in executing murderers and their accomplices. Champlain refers laconically to ‘plusieurs autres discours . . . & quelques autres ceremonies qui furent faictes’; Sagard, who witnessed this ritual, supplies additional details. At some point in the ritual—probably after Cherououny’s speech—de Caën, assisted by Champlain and other French leaders, cast a naked sword into the river, ‘pour assurance aux meurtriers Canadiens, que leur faute leur estoit entierement pardonnée, & ensevelie dans l’oubly, en la mesme sorte que cette espée estoit perduë & ensevelie au fond des eauës, & par ainsi qu’ils n’en parleroient plus.’¹⁷²

¹⁷² Champlain, *Voyages* (1632), in *Works*, 5:103–105 (quotation: 105); Sagard, *Histoire du Canada*, 224. In his *Grand voyage au pays des Hurons* (1632), Sagard reported this event as anecdotal evidence in support of his comments about Native vengefulness. In the *Histoire*, Sagard related

This belated ritual of pardon required Cherououny to repeat his *amende honorable*, although this time it was in the company of his accomplice and before the Hurons and Algonquins. It does not appear that Cherououny had made any attempt to deny the act and doubtless these nations were already aware of his involvement. More significant, for the French at least, was his public declaration that he had received a pardon from the king. (The Native observers, of course, had no sense of how exceptional or ordinary such a pardon might be—hence the French insistence on the consequences of future murders.) The symbolism of the sword is fascinating. For the Innu, Hurons, and Algonquins, this might have been perceived as an analogy to the buried axe, a metaphor for peace that abounds in Native, and especially Iroquois, speeches that were recorded from in the mid-seventeenth century onward. For the French alone, however, would the sword have had connotations of (divine) justice, sovereignty, strength, and truth. In 1622, Champlain had presented the newly elected Innu headman Mahigan Atic with two swords, explaining the gesture as an expression of the obligation of Innu leaders to take up arms in the defense of the French.¹⁷³ The sword was a weak symbol of military might in the Northeast, however. A more appropriate and prized weapon would have been a gun, but French policy in this period was to keep firearms out of the hands of their allies. (Rival French traders at Tadoussac were however trading guns to the Innu in the 1620s.¹⁷⁴) That this ritual was never repeated is perhaps testimony to its lack of resonance for the Native people who witnessed it.

this ritual to his brief narrative of the councils of 1618, without informing his readers that it took place six years later.

¹⁷³ 'Je leurs fis entendre, que quand on recevoit un chef, que l'on obligeoit tels capitaines, à porter les armes contre ceux qui nous voudroient offencer, ce qu'il promit faire.' Champlain, *Voyages (1632)*, in *Works*, 5:69–70.

¹⁷⁴ Champlain, *Voyages de la Nouvelle France*, in *Works*, 5:3. Champlain described this as a 'chose tres-pernicieuse & prejudiciable, d'armer ces infideles de la façon, qui s'en pourroyent servir contre nous aux occasion.'

1627–29: Political Amnesty

In the early days of October, 1627, while the Innu gathered near Québec were engaged in their annual harvest of eels, two Frenchmen driving cattle from the farm at Cap Tourmente to Québec stopped for the night several miles from the settlement. They were killed in their sleep, and their bodies cast into the river. If Sagard's account of the incident—apparently recounted to him by Gervais Mohier, a Recollet friar who was at Québec at the time—is accurate, the crime was a tragic case of mistaken identity: an Innu man, seeking to avenge himself on a French baker who had refused to give him bread when he was hungry, mistook the sleeping forms of two Frenchmen for those of the hated baker and his companion, and was mortified to discover after the fact that one of the men he had just slain was a friend. By coincidence, the intended victim (the baker) came across the bodies the next day and quickly carried the news to Québec. The French were certain from the outset that the murderer or murderers were Innu; even more, they had a suspect in mind—a man who had been heard to utter threats to some Frenchmen.¹⁷⁵

Champlain, still in charge at Québec, convoked the local Innu headmen to a council, displayed the cadavers, and insisted that this time 'nous voulions avoir les meurtriers, pour en faire la justice.' He demanded that the headman identify and deliver the guilty parties to the French, and evoked the spectre of a revenge

¹⁷⁵ Sagard, *Histoire du Canada*, 812–816; Champlain, *Voyages* (1632), in *Works*, 5:240–241. Chomina was later identified as having assured the French that the man they suspected was indeed the murderer; Chomina may also have been the one who initially informed the French that the murders had been committed. *Ibid.*, 5:262, 6:5. I have assumed that Mohier was Sagard's source for much of the content of the *Histoire du Canada* dealing with events between 1626 and 1629, as the level of detail in the narrative rises considerably when incidents involving Mohier are recounted.

attack that would kill as many as fifty Innu. He mentioned the name of the man the French suspected.¹⁷⁶ The headmen initially suggested that Iroquois raiders were responsible, but agreed to produce the individual in question, while denying any certain knowledge that he was the killer. This was done the following day. The man denied the accusation. Champlain then declared that he would nevertheless hold this man until three hostages—boys aged twelve to eighteen, the sons of the detainee and of two Innu headmen respectively—were delivered up as surety for the eventual arrest of the real murderer. These boys were placed in French hands, and the suspect freed. The Innu headmen departed for their winter hunting territories promising the French that they would endeavour to discover the identity of the murderer. Champlain advised them to tell their people to exercise caution in approaching the French, as he would instruct the latter to fire without warning on Innu who approached the French unbidden or in a threatening manner. In his—the only—account of the matter, he declares that the headmen acknowledged that the French were justified in these measures. Champlain's threats were in part a show of bravado, since by his own account the French had few munitions and were 'en un miserable estat.'¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁶ Champlain never provides the name of this suspect, but Sagard gives it as 'Mahican Atic Ouche' (*Histoire du Canada*, 813–820 *passim*). As Trudel has pointed out (*HNF*, 2:360 n. 40), this cannot be the Mahigan Atic who is referred to by Champlain as a headman of the Innu of Québec. The two men may have had similar names, however. *Mahigan Atic* combines 'wolf' and 'stag', fury and peacefulness, as Miristou explained to Champlain when he took the name upon becoming a headman in 1622; see Champlain, *Voyages* (1632), in *Works*, 5:65. *Ouche* means 'canoe' (Silvy, *Dictionnaire montagnais-français*, 103), as recognized by Elsie McLeod Jurie in her biography of Miristou, which implies that Sagard had confused two different people (*DBC*, 1:508–509).

¹⁷⁷ Champlain, *Voyages* (1632), in *Works*, 5:240–248. Sagard's account only refers to two hostages. Trudel estimates that the French population at Québec in 1626–27 numbered about 72, of whom 55 were associated with the Habitation and the fort. The latter figure included two families making up about 10 individuals (*HNF*, 2:428, 499).

The following spring, the Innu headman La Forière brought the man whom the French suspected of the murder to see Champlain. La Forière¹⁷⁸ alleged that an Algonquin may have been responsible for the murders, and expressed the theory that the religious rituals of the Recollets and newly arrived Jesuits were the cause of deaths among his own people. Possibly his purpose in saying this was to remind Champlain that the Innu would be justified in demanding 'justice' for these deaths, but the viceregal lieutenant dismissed this as superstitious rumours encouraged by rival French Protestant traders and instead had the suspect seized and imprisoned—to La Forière's astonishment. Two of the hostages, including the suspect's son, were released.¹⁷⁹

Champlain's actions here must be interpreted as those of a man who believed that shortly the company ships would arrive from France, reinforcing his position and making possible at last a formal trial and, if all went well,

¹⁷⁸ The name of this headman is given by Champlain as La Forière (La Ferrière, La Fourière). Students of the period have generally assumed La Forière to be the same person as Erouachy (see, for example, Trudel, HNF, 2:523; Trigger, 'Erouachy,' DCB 1:302–303), doubtless because Sagard writes explicitly that Erouachy was known as François La Forière by the French (*Histoire du Canada*, 636), but also because there seems to be a certain logical continuity between the recorded behaviour of 'La Forière' (fl. 1617–28) and 'Erouachy' (fl. 1627–36). Both urged Champlain to release the suspected murderer and both attempted to turn his suspicions toward the Algonquins. However, Sagard elsewhere indicates that 'Esrouachit' and 'le Jeune La Forière' were two different people, and the individual he calls le Jeune La Forière is called by Champlain simply La Forière in the context of the events of spring 1628 (*Histoire du Canada*, 821; Champlain, *Voyages* (1632), in *Works*, 5:258). Campeau has used incidental chronological details in Champlain's account to argue that Erouachy and La Forière were not the same (*MNF*, 2:831), but the proof is weak because Champlain's writings contain many internal contradictions. Even so, they are perhaps preferable to Sagard's secondhand information. Based on Champlain alone, it could be assumed that La Forière and Erouachy were both among the Innu headman that met with Champlain to discuss the murders in October 1627; that La Forière returned with the suspect in May 1628 to plead on his behalf; and that in April 1629 Erouachy returned from among the Abenakis to also plead for the suspect's release. At the latter council, Erouachy warned Champlain to beware of the Innu of Tadoussac . . . of whom La Forière was the 'capitaine' (Champlain, *Voyages* (1632), in *Works*, 5:258, 305–307).

¹⁷⁹ Champlain, *Voyages* (1632), in *Works*, 5:258–264, 266.

execution of the murderer.¹⁸⁰ Such action could not have been contemplated the previous fall, when the Innu were gathered near Québec and the French were facing a long winter with meagre supplies. If La Forrière had come to Québec expecting a pardon, or negotiations that might lead to a formal pardon when the ships arrived (as had happened five years previously), he must have been sorely disappointed. Possibly he received some measure of gratification upon seeing Champlain's discomfiture when it became clear over the next few weeks that the company's ships had been lost to an English fleet. However, there is no indication that he made any further attempt to secure the release of the prisoner. The latter thus endured a miserable winter in the French fort among tense, starving strangers. Although Innu headmen decided in council to place pressure on Champlain by refusing to supply food to the French fort, some rejected this course of action and brought moose meat and other supplies to Québec over the winter of 1628–29.¹⁸¹

In June of the following year, a series of councils were held at Québec between the Innu headmen and the French. The latter were in dire straits: no supplies had arrived from France since 1627, their stores of dried food were exhausted, and the threat of an English raid loomed. By this time, Champlain was convinced that the suspect he held in custody was responsible for the murders, even though, in contrast to Cherououny in 1617, the man had never

¹⁸⁰ As the lieutenant of the viceroy of New France, Champlain himself held, by virtue of his commission from the Henri de Lévy, duc de Ventadour and viceroy of New France, the authority to name officers of justice in the colony. Champlain published this document of 1625 in his Champlain, *Voyages* (1632), in *Works*, 5:143–149.

¹⁸¹ Champlain, *Voyages* (1632), in *Works*, 5:301; *Histoire du Canada*, 855. Trigger is no doubt correct in viewing the high prices at which the Innu sold smoked eels to the French in the fall of 1628 as a means of pressuring the French to release the prisoner ('Champlain Judged,' 99), although Sagard writes that the Innu eel harvest was restricted precisely because the Innu were afraid of being attacked by the French in the vicinity of Québec (*Histoire du Canada*, 822). Sagard also notes that the Innu were willing to share food with the Recollets at their convent on the Rivière Saint-Charles River, but not with the French at the fort (*ibid.*, 855, 857).

confessed. On the basis of the testimony of a pro-French Innu named Chomina,¹⁸² Champlain was clearly prepared to hold a trial and render a sentence of death, but he also knew that to do so at this juncture would seal the fate of the few French at Québec. Instead, he attempted to use the prisoner—ill and weakened by his ordeal, and perhaps dangerously close to death anyway—as leverage to manipulate the Innu leadership by proposing to release the suspect if his Innu and Algonquin allies would agree to Chomina’s election as first chief of a council of headmen. Although Chomina was not an Innu headman, it was hoped that his role in securing the prisoner’s release would raise his status among his people. Tellingly, however, it was Erouachy and not Chomina who replied on behalf of the Innu. He referred to the French as their oldest friends, who loved them as a father loves his children. He admitted that some Innu acting without the approval of the elders and headmen had killed some Frenchmen, but reminded Champlain that whereas Cherououny had freely admitted his role in the killings, the prisoner in question had never done so. He stated that the Innu accepted Champlain’s conditions for the release of the prisoner. The man was carried out of the fort on a blanket, his parting words a protestation of his innocence.¹⁸³

¹⁸² Trigger portrays Chomina as an obsequious alcoholic who curried favour with the French (partly in order to obtain liquor) but lacked the respect of his own people (‘Champlain Judged,’ 99, 104; *Children*, 457). Sagard tells us that his name meant ‘Le Raisin’ in Innu (*Grand voyage*, 260), but it is Chrestien Le Clercq, writing nearly seventy years later, who informs us that this moniker was due to a predilection for wine and spirits (*Première établissement de la Foy*, chap. 4). Sagard’s explanation is correct: Laure’s 1726 *Apparat montagnais-français* gives *chumin* (plural *chumina*, *chuminets*) ‘raisin’ (650); modern Innu has *shumin* ‘raisin sec’ (Drapeau, *Dictionnaire montagnais-français*, 621). Le Clercq’s assertion is not supported by any contemporary evidence, and may be gratuitous (as was, for example, his ‘Iroquoianization’ of early seventeenth-century Innu diplomatic protocol). One suspects that if Chomina was for Trigger an example of cultural degradation, Richard White would have described him as an ‘alliance chief’ or parvenu leader whose prestige was due less to ties to a chiefly lineage or excellence in traditional activities than to his ability to negotiate with Europeans. On the concept of alliance chiefs, see *Middle Ground*, 38–40, 177–182.

¹⁸³ Champlain, *Voyages* (1632), in *Works*, 6:5–25. Champlain’s text throughout places great emphasis on ‘tesmoignage’ (5), ‘bonne & juste information’ (6), ‘tesmoignages bien approuvez &

The surrender of Québec to the English on 19 July 1629 rendered these arrangements moot. The affair had ended not with a ritual of pardon but with something resembling a political amnesty. The events of 1627–29 indicate that the ritual of surrender and pardon of 1617–18 was in no way a mutually acceptable model for handling cases of murder. That La Forière brought the suspect to the French fort in the spring of 1628, that he was then alleged to be astonished at the suspect's detainment, and that both he and Erouachy made speeches to Champlain reminding him of the pardon of Cherououny, may suggest that these headmen did indeed hope for a similar outcome in this case. The French, however, were not inclined to repeat the ritual, yet their military weakness at Québec had once again frustrated their efforts to put into practice their judicial process and to impose its solutions on the Innu. The latter were likely relieved to have obtained the release of the prisoner, but may also have been disturbed by Champlain's almost reckless determination to institute an exotic legal system among their people. Dissatisfaction with the French alliance doubtless motivated the Innu to keep their knowledge of English ship movements in the St Lawrence estuary from Champlain, and perhaps even to provide the English with intelligence about the French colony.¹⁸⁴

irreprochables' (14), and so on, leading me to infer that he desired nothing less than a public trial that would impress on the Innu the nature of French justice.

¹⁸⁴ Champlain, *Voyages* (1632), in *Works*, 5:275–276. Champlain later disingenuously explained the fact that some Innu—probably, as Trigger argues, a clear majority ('Champlain Judged,' 104)—welcomed the English takeover as an effect of 'la diversité des humeurs qui croyent souvent que les choses nouvelles apportent plus grand bien' (6:103). Sagard reported that some Innu openly expressed the hope that the English would be better friends than the French (*Histoire du Canada*, 842).

1633: A Novel Form of Compensation¹⁸⁵

Events beyond the control of the Innu—specifically, the Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye of 29 March 1632 between Louis XIII and Charles I¹⁸⁶—led to the restitution of the Canadian colony to France and the return of the French to the St Lawrence valley. In 1633 Champlain returned to take charge at Québec; he came bearing a commission naming him a lieutenant of the cardinal and first minister Richelieu, who in 1627 had suppressed the office of viceroy of New France and who now acted *de facto* in that capacity as ‘Grand-maistre Chef & Surintenda[n]t des Mers & Commerce de France.’¹⁸⁷ On the morning of 2 July, a French labourer bleaching his linen near the French fort was attacked. Although found alive, he was unable to speak and succumbed to his wounds the next day. The evening of the attack, the nations who had gathered at Québec to trade with the French—Hurons, Algonquins, Nipissings, and doubtless some Innu from Trois-Rivières and Québec—held a council to which Champlain was invited. In their speeches, the headmen told Champlain that he should not suspect his allies of the murder,

¹⁸⁵ This third incident of murder, like the Acadian enterprise of 1604–1607, is not included in Trigger’s assessment of Champlain’s ‘Indian’ policy. Trigger decided to limit his study to the period 1608–29, alleging that Champlain’s administration of 1633–35 ‘is of little importance’ and that Native diplomacy had become more complicated by the brief English occupation of Québec (‘Champlain Judged,’ 86). However, the incident of 1633 is on the contrary most eloquent regarding the themes raised by Trigger. Most of the information about Champlain’s behaviour in this case comes from an anonymous text published in the *Mercure françois* (see note below) that incorporates parts of Le Jeune’s 1633 *Relation* but which for the most part is largely derived from an independent source. Campeau has argued that this source was none other than Champlain’s own journal of the voyage of 1633 (*MNF*, 2:351). Trigger may not have seen this document, for he inexplicably does not cite it in *Children* when discussing the important councils of 3–5 August 1633 (482–485), and in ‘Champlain Judged’ cites material from this source only as it is quoted in Morris Bishop’s 1948 biography of Champlain (108, 113 n. 88).

¹⁸⁶ On this treaty, see Davenport, ed., *European Treaties*, 1:315–323; Trudel, *HNF*, 3(1):51–52. The treaty required the English at Québec to surrender the place to an official representative of the French crown eight days after receiving notification of the treaty, along with the munitions and trade goods the French had been constrained to abandon in July 1629.

¹⁸⁷ Champlain, *Voyages* (1632), in *Works*, 6:152.

and asked him to continue to consider them as his brothers. They then offered him a gift of beaver pelts, wampum, and tobacco whose monetary value Champlain estimated at the equivalent of 100 beavers on the Paris market. Champlain deferred his response until the morrow, but returned unspecified gifts 'environ de la valeur de ce qu'ils luy avoient donné.'¹⁸⁸

The following day, before the scheduled council took place, two unnamed Natives informed Champlain that the murderer was an Algonquin man from the Oueskarini (called 'la Petite Nation' by the French), one of the Algonquin nations that had come to Québec to trade. Champlain convened the council and told the assembled headman that he knew who the murderer was, and that he deserved death 'selon toutes les loix divines et humaines.' The Innu could not agree to this logic, 'remonstrans au sieur de Champlain que, si nous [the French] nous gouvernions comme eux, l'affaire seroit bientost faite en donnant des présens.' Champlain, in turn, rejected this means of settling the matter. While the council was taking place, Champlain's men arrested the suspect, whose lodge was close by the French settlement, and imprisoned him. Despite the concentration of Native nations around Québec, Champlain was likely emboldened by the fact that the three ships of the Compagnie des Cent-Associés had brought some 200 people, 150 of whom were to winter in the colony, adding to the 77 already there. Although there were some families, women, and girls, most of these new arrivals were able-bodied men, and many were armed soldiers. Moreover, since the English invasion of 1629, it had become common practice to maneuver large seagoing vessels as far upriver as Québec. (Previously such vessels had anchored at Tadoussac.) In July 1633, Champlain had the *Saint-Jean*, 160 tons, and its ten

¹⁸⁸ 'Relation du voyage du sieur de Champlain en Canada,' *Mercure françois* 19 (1633), in *MNF*, 2:373. Campeau's introduction erroneously gives the date of publication as 1636.

cannon at his disposal.¹⁸⁹ Although rival traders, including the English, were close by at Tadoussac, the recent treaty ensured that there was little to be feared from that quarter. In these circumstances, Champlain was prepared to enforce French laws unilaterally. Whereas in 1618 and 1627, the Innu themselves had been prevailed upon to deliver suspected murderers, in 1633 the French carried out an arrest without consulting their Algonquian allies.

The Innu responded by holding a second council with Champlain following the arrest of the Algonquin. The headman brought to the council two young children, each of whom bore a belt of wampum. Their message, as related by Champlain, represented a new strategy for dealing with murder:

Mon frère, le long temps qu'il y a que nous t'avons veu fait que nous t'aymons grandement Nous sçavons bien que nous t'avons coupé un petit morceau du cœur et du nostre, lequel il faut réparer, afin qu'il n'y paroisse aucune chose, ny à nous pareillement qui avons le sentiment de ta douleur. Maintenant, nous ne te sçaurions récompenser par dons et par présents qu'en te donnant de nostre chair qui est sortie de nous, qui est la chose que nous tenons la plus précieuse. . . . Nous te les [i.e., the two children] donnons. Fais-en ce que tu voudras. Instruis-les; fais-en à ton plaisir. C'est pour réparer ce morceau qui est hors de ton cœur. Et délivre le prisonnier, afin que nous soyons tous resjouis, et toutes les autres nations.¹⁹⁰

This proposal represented a significant innovation in French-Native diplomacy. It recognized French dissatisfaction with the Native custom of 'covering' the dead by offering gifts to the aggrieved kin of the victim, but it also implied a rejection of French practices of incarceration and punishment. The Innu evoked their sympathy for the loss suffered by the French, likening it to a piece of the

¹⁸⁹ 'Relation . . . de Champlain,' in *MNF*, 2:374. Of the three vessels that the company sent to Canada in 1633, only the *Saint-Jean* sailed to Québec; the others remained at Tadoussac (*ibid.*, 353–354, 362, 366). For estimates of the French population, see Trudel, *HNF*, 3(1):122–123.

¹⁹⁰ 'Relation . . . de Champlain,' in *MNF*, 2:374–375.

French heart that had been cut away; but they aspired to repair this wound by offering their own flesh—their children, ‘nostre chair qui est sortie de nous, qui est la chose que nous tenons la plus précieuse’—to make their brother’s heart whole again.

In offering two children to the French at this juncture, the Innu were making a considerable sacrifice for the purpose of maintaining their alliance with the French and Algonquin allies. Exchanges of boys and young men had been a central element of the formative period of the alliance in the St Lawrence valley. For the fur traders, the purpose of such exchanges had been to foster closer ties with specific Native nations and to encourage distant nations to journey to the St Lawrence valley each summer to trade. Often these exchanges involved taking Native individuals to France, as was the case with two Innu 1602–1603, the son of Begourat in 1603, several Mi’kmaq before 1611, and the Huron Savignon in 1610–11. Although it is clear that many of these Native envoys received religious instruction and in some cases baptism, their sojourns abroad were relatively brief and, barring accidental death,¹⁹¹ they rejoined their people fairly rapidly. The arrival of the Recollets in 1615 and the Jesuits in 1625, however, gradually altered the nature of these exchanges. Both these missionary orders reasoned that a key strategy for converting Native groups was to target children, in whom Christian beliefs and dispositions could be more easily inculcated than in adults.¹⁹² In order to be successful in this, the missionaries wished to be able to isolate these boys

¹⁹¹ As noted above, Begourat’s son, nicknamed ‘le petit Canada,’ fell ill and died at the royal residence of Saint-Germain in 1604. Another Native (probably Innu) man taken to France fell ill and died on his return voyage to Canada in May or June 1622 in the company of the Recollets (Sagard, *Histoire du Canada*, 98).

¹⁹² On early missionary strategies and the importance of seminaries, see Trudel, *HNF*, 2:319–320, 323–327; Campeau, introduction, *MNF*, 2:105*–107*; Trigger, *Children*, 376–380, 522–526; Cornelius J. Jaenen, *The Role of the Church in New France* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1976), 24–26; James Axtell, *The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 49–57.

from their native culture, either in controlled settings at Québec or in France, for prolonged periods of time. Native peoples, however, were generally unwilling to relinquish their young children under these conditions, in spite of French pressure.¹⁹³ In 1620, the Recollets took into their care a young man named Pastedechouan, whom they educated in France for six years before returning him to Canada where, having nearly forgotten his native tongue and education, he was utterly unsuccessful at reintegrating himself into Innu lifeways; nor was he accepted by the French, who considered him unreliable. He ultimately died alone in the woods, of starvation. In 1626, a fifteen-year-old Huron named Amantacha was taken to France by the Jesuits for two years, although they had promised to return him the following summer. After his return to Canada in 1628, he rejoined his people without suffering the dislocation experienced by Pastedechouan. While he subsequently assisted the Jesuits and promoted the French-Huron alliance, it appears that he did this in order so that his people could benefit from trade rather than out of religious devotion.¹⁹⁴ A younger boy, Chomina's son Naneogauachit, was instructed by the Recollets in early 1627, but was quickly reclaimed by his father, who attempted on several occasions to remove him from the Recollet convent and to prevent his baptism. In February 1628, a band of starving Innu gave three girls aged eleven, twelve, and fifteen, to Champlain in return for food. Champlain himself recognized the unprecedented nature of this act, and as Trigger has commented, it highlights the desperation of this band at a time of heightened French-Innu tensions resulting from the murder of 1627. When the English took Québec in the summer of 1629, the Innu requested

¹⁹³ For an explanation of Innu opposition to having their children taken to France, see Sagard, *Histoire du Canada*, 556-7.

¹⁹⁴ Thomas Grassman, 'Pastedechouan,' *DCB*, 1:533-534; Trigger, 'Amantacha,' *DCB*, 1:58-59; Trigger, *Children*, 397-398; 460-461, 504, 547-548; Elsie McLeod Jury, 'Chomina,' *DCB*, 1:222.

through a French interpreter that the English general prevent Champlain from taking the two remaining girls—one had run away soon after being turned over to the French—back to France. The English acquiesced to this demand, no doubt because they intended to trade out of Québec for the indefinite future and wished to have good relations with the Innu. In the 1630s, the Jesuits experienced immense difficulties obtaining Huron boys for their seminary at Québec.¹⁹⁵ These stories form an early chapter in the troubled long-term history of European attempts to indoctrinate Native children in controlled school settings. In this context, the Innu proposal of 3 July 1633 must be seen as a deliberate and sincere effort to condole the French and resolve the by-now predictable conflict created by intercultural violence.

Champlain refused the logic of their gesture outright. These children are innocent, he argued, and should not be punished for another's crimes; nor, he added, did he require hostages, since he had already detained the murderer. The murderer was moreover a 'traistre perfide,' for he had received kindness from the French in the past. Champlain reminded the Innu that since 1617 five Frenchmen had been killed by Algonquians who were their allies. The first murderer had been pardoned; the second, liberated due to the circumstances of the English invasion. Champlain affirmed that the French and the Innu had agreed that whichever side caused an injury would deliver up the guilty party to the other, and announced his intention to explain the French actions before a

¹⁹⁵ Champlain, *Voyages* (1632), in *Works*, 5:250–251, 6:104–115, 122–123, 143–144; Trudel, 'Charité, Espérance, Foi,' *DCB*, 1:199–200; Trigger, 'Champlain Judged,' 108–110. Trigger insightfully calls into doubt Champlain's narrative of one girl's 'artificial and highly theatrical' speech expressing her desire to go to France with her ward, but gives no opinion on the interpreter Marsolet's claim—denied by Champlain as a falsehood—that the Innu had met in council to see what could be done about getting these girls back. It is my opinion that Champlain would not have bothered trying to convince the English admiral Lewis Kirke to allow him to offer a gift of 1000 *livres* to the Innu if he had not truly believed in their opposition to his plan. Moreover the Innu desire to regain their children is wholly in line with their behaviour on other occasions.

grand council of the allies, 'afin qu'en derrière, l'on ne nous accusast de l'avoir fait mourir innocemment et qu'aucune nation ne prist l'alarme.'¹⁹⁶ In particular, Champlain was worried about alarming the Hurons. The very day of the murder, a canoe had arrived at Québec bearing Amantacha, a young Huron man who had been sent ahead to herald the impending arrival of an exceptionally large contingent of Hurons—500 to 700 peoples in 140 canoes. They included many important headman who were hoping to renew the French-Huron alliance. Amantacha had spent the years 1626–28 in France and was now serving as an intermediary between his people and the French. He informed Champlain that a French interpreter had been killed that spring in Huron country, possibly because he was attempting to open trade routes to rival nations.¹⁹⁷ The interpreter in question, Étienne Brûlé, had willingly gone over to the English in 1629 and therefore was regarded as a traitor by Champlain, who assured Amantacha that the French would not seek to avenge his death. Amantacha bore this good news back to the Huron fleet, probably leaving Québec almost immediately after his meeting with Champlain. Although several Hurons decided not to continue on to Québec, the majority did so, no doubt on the strength of Amantacha's words and despite the worry elicited by the news that Champlain had arrested an Algonquin man with the intent to punish him for murder.¹⁹⁸ The Hurons were the largest suppliers of furs to the French, and for

¹⁹⁶ 'Relation . . . de Champlain,' *MNF*, 2:375–376.

¹⁹⁷ On Brûlé's murder and Amantacha's role, see Trigger, *Children*, 473–479. Recognizing that the size of the Huron fleet may have been exaggerated, Trigger feels nevertheless that this was the largest such contingent to ever visit the St Lawrence valley. The goal of renewing the French alliance had prompted a large number of headman to make the journey to Québec, and this in turn motivated many Huron warriors to accompany them (*ibid.*, 469). The 'Relation . . . de Champlain,' gives the number of Huron canoes as 100 (*MNF*, 2:383).

¹⁹⁸ Le Jeune, *Relation de . . . 1633*, in *MNF*, 2:466–467. As Le Jeune supposed, and as Trigger concurs (*Children*, 479), the Algonquins of the Ottawa valley made much of this incident as the Huron contingent made its way downriver, probably to convince the Hurons to trade their furs to the Algonquins at low prices rather than risk trouble with the French at Québec.

this reason Champlain was anxious to receive them well. Moreover, as the Huron confederacy was to be the principal target of a reinvigorated Jesuit mission, it was crucial to maintain good relations with these nations.

On 4 July, a delegation of Oueskarini Algonquins, including the father and the brother of the suspect, came to meet with Champlain. They too brought two children, nephew and brother respectively to the suspect, each with a belt of wampum as compensation for the murder. It had been done without their consent and it sorrowed them deeply. The man held by Champlain, they said, was a fine warrior, and with his release they would all go to war to avenge the loss sustained by the French.¹⁹⁹ If Champlain would do this, 'véritablement en cette action il feroit chose d'un homme hors de passion, ayant beaucoup d'esprit . . . ; les oiseaux, les bestes, la terre et toutes les nations ouiroient parler de cette action.' In reply, Champlain accepted their condolences but refused to believe that the murderer was a courageous warrior; if this were true, why had he attacked an unarmed Frenchman? As Champlain understood it after having interrogated the murderer, the latter had promised an uncle to kill a certain Native man if the uncle were killed while on a raid. It was while attempting to fulfill this vow that the murderer came across the Frenchman and attacked him from behind with an axe. He later regretted having done this. (What Champlain did not say in his account and what Le Jeune revealed only incidentally is that according to the Oueskarini, the man was drunk when he committed the crime. As they argued to the interpreter Olivier Le Tardif, 'Tiens ton vin et ton eau-de-

¹⁹⁹ This last is seemingly a reference to three Frenchmen who were killed in late May when their shallop was attacked by Iroquois warriors upriver from Trois-Rivières ('Relation . . . de Champlain,' *MNF*, 2:367–368, 384—two Frenchmen were killed on the spot, another died later of his wounds). The Oueskarini reasoning on this occasion—allies should not kill each other but should direct their wrath against a common foe—is identical to that of the Illinois (Kaskaskia) headman who in 1723 tried to convince the French not to execute a Frenchmen guilty of murder; see White, *Middle Ground*, 91–92.

vie en prison. Ce sont tes boissons qui font tout le mal et non pas nous autres.’) Champlain told the Oueskarini that their law was more brutal than that of the French, since it condoned the killing of innocents and the paying of compensation through gifts. ‘Parmy nous, au contraire, l’on ne s’adresse jamais qu’à celui qui a fait le coup On ne reçoit aucuns présens. Il faut qu’il paye mort pour mort. Autrement,’ he added, ‘les mechans rèneroient et les bons seroient oppressez.’ As with the Innu, he refused the children, arguing that he had no further need of hostages and that he planned to await the arrival of the Hurons and other nations ‘afin qu’ils vissent et sceussent la procédure dont nous usions.’²⁰⁰

Champlain’s response indicates that despite the force he had at his disposal, he nevertheless felt it necessary to sound out his allies, and in particular the Hurons, before proceeding with French judicial proceedings. If his politicking was successful, it would set a precedent that he hoped would deter future attacks on French settlers; perhaps as importantly for Champlain, it would also mark a small but crucial step toward the colonization of Native minds. For while Trigger is right to point out that Champlain wished ultimately to control his Native allies—forcibly if necessary—and was only frustrated in his efforts by a lack of material resources, it is important not to dismiss Champlain’s efforts to articulate ideological justifications for his actions. He wished not only to alter Native culture, but to convince Native peoples themselves that he was justified in doing

²⁰⁰ ‘Relation . . . de Champlain,’ *MNF*, 2:376–378; Le Jeune, *Relation de . . . 1633*, in *MNF*, 2:463. On Native attitudes toward actions committed while drunk, see André Vachon, ‘L’eau-de-vie dans la société indienne,’ *Canadian Historical Association Historical Papers / Société Historique du Canada Communications historiques* (1960): 22–32; R. C. Dailey, ‘The Role of Alcohol among North American Indian Tribes as Reported in the Jesuit Relations,’ *Anthropologica* n.s. 10, no. 1 (1968): 45–59; John A. Dickinson, ‘“C’est l’eau-de-vie qui a commis ce meurtre”: alcool et criminalité amérindienne à Montréal sous le Régime français,’ *Études canadiennes* 35 (1993): 83–94; Jan Grabowski, ‘French Criminal Justice and Indians in Montreal, 1670–1760,’ *Ethnohistory* 43, no. 3 (1996): 405–430.

so. Without (French) justice, he argued, 'les mechans règneroient et les bons seroient oppressez.' Yet even a concept so basic—it sounds almost childish in Champlain's formulation—to European political thought had little meaning for people whose generally egalitarian sociopolitical organization allowed no room for the enduring reign, let alone an oppressive reign, of one over another.

The Hurons arrived at Québec on 28 July and the next day held a council with Champlain and the Jesuits. The French-Huron alliance was renewed, and the establishment of the Jesuits in Huron country discussed. As Trigger has noted, and it seems reasonable to infer that the Hurons understood that their willingness to receive Jesuits was a condition of the new alliance.²⁰¹ Several days of trading followed, during which time the Innu and Algonquins asked the Hurons to intercede on their behalf in the matter of the murder. In a council with Champlain on 4 August, the Hurons requested the release of the prisoner after having listened to Champlain's harangue regarding the murder of Étienne Brûlé. The latter, according to Champlain, was no longer a Frenchman, and the French cared nothing for him, 'd'autant qu'il méritoit la mort, pour s'estre rendu rebelle au Roy et à sa patrie.' The Huron were therefore fully justified in killing an enemy of the French. However, warned Champlain, had Brûlé still been a loyal subject, the French would have been obliged to pursue his murderer, 'car autrement, si on ne chastioit les meschans, il n'y auroit point de seureté pour eux [the Hurons] ny pour nous [the French].' It was at this point that a Huron headman spoke out, saying that 'tout ce qui estoit passé jusques à présent estoit bon; mais qu'il seroit encore mieux, si l'on mettoit le prisonnier en liberté et qu'un chacun seroit grandement satisfait et content.' Before he could continue his

²⁰¹ Trigger, *Children*, 481.

speech, the headman was interrupted by Champlain.²⁰² The long report of the latter's angry and wandering rebuttal, which did not appear in Le Jeune's relation, offers abundant evidence of Champlain's commitment to effecting the ideological conversion of his allies.

Champlain began by emphasizing the gravity of what he was about to say. The Hurons, he understood, underestimated the evil that had been done. 'Je vous veux rendre les juges de sa cause, sçavoir s'il ne mérite pas la mort selon la justice et vos coustumes,' he claimed, implying that a natural congruence existed between French and Huron law. He then launched into a lengthy reconstruction of the events leading up to the murder—how the murderer had previously been given medical treatment for burns by the French, how he had been fed and healed over the winter, how 'une meschante et endiablée volonté' had caused him to approach a Frenchman under the guise of friendship and to deliver three fatal axe blows before returning to his lodge. Champlain expressed outrage at the audacity of this act, his written account turning into a series of harsh rhetorical questions fired at the Hurons. (One naturally wonders to what resemblance this account actually bears to what was said in council, or to what was translated by the unnamed interpreter.)

Ceste signalée meschanceté se peut-elle supporter? Puis qu'il a tué, ne doit-il pas mourir? Ouy, certainement. Et quoy! l'audace n'est-elle pas grande d'avoir assassiner un homme à nos portes de la façon? Sçavez-vous pas que vos²⁰³ coustumes sont telles que, si quelqu'un tue un autre, estant pris il doit mourir? Nous l'avons.

²⁰² Le Jeune, *Relation de . . . 1633*, in *MNF*, 2:477; 'Relation . . . de Champlain,' in *MNF*, 2:387–389.

²⁰³ Could this be a mistake for 'nos coustumes'? Since whatever manuscript source was the basis for the text printed in the *Mercurie françois* is not extant, we cannot know for sure, but it would make sense, given Champlain's obvious awareness that Native customs did not in fact require the death of a murderer. On the other hand, one of Champlain's goals in this speech seems to be to convince the Hurons that their own laws would condone the execution of the prisoner.

Pourquoy ne mourra-[t]-il pas? Il le doit et ne faites estat de ce meschant non plus que s'il n'estoit point au monde. Vous auriez un grand avantage sur nous, de dire que vous pourriez faire mourir ceux qui tuent et non nous. Nous tenez-vous pour des personnes sans raison et sentiment, insensibles à la douleur comme des bestes?²⁰⁴

In this impassioned speech, Champlain seems to be appealing to a common humanity, a common experience of loss, and a shared custom of returning a death for a death. The question 'Why should he not die?' seems to be a rhetorical one, but in this case his Huron interlocutors could easily have provided serious objections. But Champlain wanted the Hurons to condone the imposition of French law: *Je vous veux rendre les juges de sa cause*. To further convince his listeners, Champlain proceeded to rationalize his conduct in the past. The first murderer had been pardoned, it is true, but 'ç'a esté pour monstrier que nous ne désirons pas perdre le pays et pour tesmoigner nostre grand bonté.' The second murderer had been held for fourteen months as a suspect, during which time witnesses were found to confirm the man's guilt, and Champlain was merely awaiting the arrival of the French fleet 'pour en faire la perquisition entière et justice.' The arrival of the English obliged the French to release the suspect, who had never confessed. But the current prisoner had, and now Champlain was determined to avoid the compromises of the past: 'C'est assez pardonné et toléré.' As brothers of the French, the Hurons should not oppose the execution of a traitor who is worse than an enemy like the Iroquois because he is hidden.

Champlain's speech seems to draw to a logical close as he insists that he called the council not to seek the advice of the Hurons but merely to inform them of his decision, but then the campaign of persuasion veers off on a different tack. As I am your brother, said Champlain, you should love me more than the

²⁰⁴ 'Relation . . . de Champlain,' in *MNF*, 2:390.

murderer. 'Car s'il ne meurt, mon Roy et les chefs à qui il donne puissance, qui sont en France, sous l'autorité desquels je marche, sçachans que j'eusse commis une telle injustice que de laisser aller ce meurtrier, après avoir pardonné ausdits autres, ils me feroient perdre la teste. Il y va de ma vie.' After this dramatic declaration, another theme is broached: Champlain asked the Hurons if they know of any other way to live in trust alongside each other, for he himself could see no other solution. Here once more Champlain invoked fundamental schemata of European political thought: social order is maintained through a justice system that punishes evildoers and protects the innocent. Finally, Champlain returned to the theme of cultural difference, recognizing that the French could not accept gifts or hostages as compensation as Natives might in such cases.²⁰⁵

This speech may never have been uttered in council, at least not in the form given in Champlain's account. Still, its general outline is reflected in Le Jeune's far briefer report, and it apparently reflects the general tenor and nature of Champlain's arguments to the Hurons. It should not be surprising that the latter seemed not to know how to reply, remarking merely that Champlain had acted wisely in not summarily executing the murderer, but in first holding councils with his allies to discuss the matter. They also explained that they had been asked by the Innu and Oueskarini to seek the prisoner's release. The Hurons did not attempt to reply to Champlain's stream of rhetorical questions and ideological assertions; they probably realized that they were dealing with an inflexible mind, and, in any event, it was customary to mull over serious propositions made in council before offering a response.

In the end, Champlain's intransigent stance and histrionic defense of the French concept of *justice* was undermined by the Jesuits' desire to begin their

²⁰⁵ 'Relation . . . de Champlain,' in *MNF*, 2:390–391.

Huron mission on a sound footing. On the evening following the French-Huron council described above, the Innu and Algonquins met with the Hurons and warned them against taking any Frenchmen—in this instance, the Jesuits and their servants—in their canoes, fearing that relatives of the murderer might seek to attack Frenchmen and, in so doing, might injure or kill their Hurons hosts. One Kichesipirini (Algonquin) headman publicly announced that anyone who carried a Frenchman in his canoe would be putting his own life in danger. The next morning, Champlain and the Jesuits invited the Huron, Innu, and Algonquin headmen to a council, where Champlain asked the Kichesipirini why he had forbidden the carrying of Frenchmen. The headman replied that he had not forbidden anything—Native leaders had no authority to control the behaviour of their people in that manner—but merely issued words of warning. The Hurons stated that they were still willing to carry the Jesuits, but pointed out that ‘la rivière n’*est*oit pas à eux’—that is, it was the land of the Algonquians, and that they could not disregard the feelings of the latter. Champlain then threatened the Algonquins: the French would go about armed and fire at will on any armed Natives; they would use dogs to sniff out Native people in the bush.²⁰⁶ Champlain would make peace with the Iroquois and together the French and Iroquois would destroy the Algonquins. The Algonquins politely ignored these ridiculous threats and expressed agreement that the French should be wary until the young Algonquin warriors had had a chance to vent their wrath against the Iroquois during raids later in the fall and the following spring. Finally, according to Champlain, the Algonquin headman advised that if the suspect was indeed to be executed, ‘que ce fust secretement et non à la veue des sauvages.’ At this

²⁰⁶ An interesting and unusual threat that echoes the use of large war dogs by Spanish conquistadors in Meso- and North America in the sixteenth century, and foreshadows Paul de Maisonneuve’s use of dogs in the defense of Ville-Marie in the early 1640s.

point, Le Jeune reported that the Jesuits intervened to ask Champlain to free the prisoner, to which Champlain repeated the weak excuse that he was answerable to the king for correctly carrying out judicial proceedings. Champlain, however, had no need to be reminded of the political clout the Jesuits enjoyed in certain court circles, and by way of compromise resorted to the face-saving tactic of delaying action until the king's opinion could be ascertained.²⁰⁷ Even so, this retreat—which is not mentioned at all in Champlain's account—did little to alter the basic problem of the anger felt by young Oueskarini warriors and the kin of the prisoner. The council ended with the decision that no Frenchmen would travel to the Huron country that year in order to prevent violence between the allies.²⁰⁸

Afterward, the prisoner's father visited Champlain and begged that his son not be executed immediately, for in the fall the father planned to camp with the young Oueskarini men and wished to be able to inform them that the French had not killed his son. Once the young men had dispersed on raids against the Iroquois, the father would return to Québec to see his son one last time. He also requested that Champlain keep another of his sons, a boy, at Québec to keep the prisoner company during his absence. Finally, in parting he asked for a blanket on credit. Champlain acquiesced in all these things, but reiterated his commitment to executing the prisoner. Less than two weeks later, the latter escaped from the French fort by means of a ruse involving his younger brother.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁷ This tactic became a time-honoured one in French-Native relations in the Great Lakes region, where local French commandants bought time by sending for instructions from the governor, and the latter by writing to the Minister of Marine. It was used for example by the French when faced with the Illinois request in 1722.

²⁰⁸ Le Jeune, *Relation de . . . 1633*, in *MNF*, 2:478–481; 'Relation . . . de Champlain,' *MNF*, 2:393–394.

²⁰⁹ 'Relation . . . de Champlain,' *MNF*, 2:395–396.

This dénouement came too late to allow the Jesuits to embark with the Hurons, who had left Québec on 6 August. Nor did it defuse Oueskarini anger, for in 1634 the threat of revenge attacks against Frenchmen traveling up the Ottawa River was still present, if possibly attenuated.²¹⁰ It did, however, eliminate the problem of having to carry out an execution that would only exacerbate an already tense situation. It is even possible that the escape was arranged or facilitated by the French themselves—if not Champlain, then perhaps someone else.²¹¹ For there was no further use for the prisoner: after the council of 5 August, it was clear that no public trial would take place. The Algonquians were prepared to accept a clandestine revenge murder and to manage as best they could with the fallout afterward, but could not countenance the overt persecution and execution of one of their kin by an ally. Yet it was precisely the public nature of the process that Champlain emphasized in his speeches and writing. To kill the murderer in his cell would represent, for Champlain, an act of barbarism; it would reinforce, rather than undermine, the very dispositions that he wanted to eradicate in his Native allies. By the time of the prisoner's escape, the ships were gone, and Québec was once more a tiny island of French settlers in a sea of Algonquians. No record survives of any effort by Champlain to seek royal or ministerial guidance on this matter; Champlain's letter to Richelieu of 15 August 1633—a day before the ships' departure and three days before the escape—deals with the problem of English trespassers and the

²¹⁰ Le Jeune, *Relation de . . . 1634*, in *MNF*, 2:732–733.

²¹¹ In one of the incidents discussed by White, the septuagenarian Odawa headman Le Pesant—the nickname referred to his girth—also 'escaped' from the French fort at Detoit after having 'surrendered' himself to the commandant there. Le Pesant was charged with the murder of two Frenchmen in 1706, and his flight, which White argues was probably orchestrated by the French, allowed the French to avoid having to actually prosecute and punish him.

need for soldiers to evict European rivals and to cow the Iroquois.²¹² Whatever the case, the escape relieved Champlain of a heavy liability. No mention is made in his account of the fate of the younger brother; did Champlain elect to hold the child as a hostage for the arrest of the prisoner as he had done on similar occasions in the past? The Jesuit reports are silent on the matter as well. Given that a vigorous manhunt for the escapee would have heightened French-Algonquian tensions and in turn left its mark in the documents, it seems fair to presume that Champlain let the matter drop. The boy was probably released into his father's care that fall.

The French-Native councils that addressed these three incidents of murder provide little evidence of any mutually acceptable ritual that promised to resolve the problems created by injury and killings implicating both French and Native communities. A ritual of surrender and pardon emerged spontaneously in 1617, but the French regarded the resolution as unsatisfactory and their Native allies seem to have interpreted it as evidence of French weakness and cowardice. Under Champlain's direction, the French at Québec seized the opportunity of subsequent incidents to attempt to institute French judicial procedures for dealing with Native murder suspects. These efforts were unsuccessful, in part because of the relative weakness of the French at Québec and a series of aggravating circumstances that made it impossible for Champlain to realize his policies, but also because the Innu, Algonquins, and Hurons did not accept the ideological foundations and cultural premises that underlay the French concept of *justice*. There was no middle ground, despite the efforts of the Innu and Oueskarini in 1633 to explore the possibility of compensating French losses with

²¹² Champlain to Richelieu, 'Quebecq', 15 August 1633, in *Works*, 1:376. The original is in the Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères (Paris). This is not to suggest, of course, that other letters from Champlain may not have broached the subject.

one-sided gifts of children. Champlain rejected this approach, and we can only speculate as to whether another French commandant would have acted differently.

The alliance was imperiled by these cases of murder, but in the end the logic of the fur trade and the anti-Haudenosaunee coalition kept the allies together. Over the next several decades, however, the devastating impact of epidemics on Native communities, the effects of enemy raids, the intensification of Catholic missions, and the growth of French manpower would significantly heighten the influence the French could exert on the Innu, Algonquins, and Hurons in the St Lawrence valley, and on the institutions that characterized the alliance.

Brothers and Children: The Native-French Alliance in the Era of the 'Beaver Wars'

The alliance of brothers that tied the Innu, Algonquins, and Wendat to the French at Québec through the first three decades of the seventeenth century endured lingering tensions over the meaning of brotherhood as well as several periods of acute crisis only to face far more serious challenges in the middle decades of the century. Native population collapse due to epidemic diseases, increased warfare, and the intensification of French missionary efforts dramatically altered the geopolitical landscape of northeastern North America between 1634 and 1667 and the relations between the allies. As relationships changed and as balances of power shifted, so too did the ways in which allies and enemies addressed each other in council. A novel set of kin metaphors emerged from the harsh crucible that microbes, violence, and evangelization brought to Native communities in the Northeast. Among them was the metaphor of French fatherhood—more specifically, the notion that Onontio was a father to the Native nations allied to the French.

The French documentary record of councils with Native nations reveals that beginning in the 1670s, through to the end of the French regime, Native diplomats representing nations allied to the French addressed the French governor as their 'father.'¹ Scholars have long recognized the existence of this ritualized form of address in the French written sources of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries but no clear account of its origin exists. William Fenton and Francis Jennings, both specialists of Iroquois political history, have located its origins in the insistence of Louis de Buade de Frontenac, governor of New France (1672–82 and 1689–98), that the Iroquois address him as such.² In a rather different vein, Richard White has analyzed the metaphor of French fatherhood as a feature of the particular set of circumstances that shaped French-Algonquian relations in the Great Lakes region after about 1680. For White, the metaphor was founded on a fortuitous congruence between French understandings of the patriarchal nature of authority and Algonquian expectations of paternal providence and benevolence. According to White, the most important of these circumstances was the political need of both French and Algonquians to form an alliance directed against the Haudenosaunee. Out of this political relationship, he argues, grew the accommodation of two models of economic exchange, the

¹ Peter Laurence Cook, *Les voyes de douceur et d'insinuation: French-Amerindian Diplomacy on New France's Western Frontier, 1703–1725* (master's thesis, University of Ottawa, 1994), 31–41. This ritualized form of address was also used in intercultural diplomacy in the Louisiana colony; see Patricia Galloway, "'The Chief Who Is Your Father': Choctaw and French Views of the Diplomatic Relation," in *Powhatan's Mantle: Indians in the Colonial Southeast*, ed. Peter H. Wood, Gregory A. Waselkov, and M. Thomas Hatley (Lincoln and London: 1989), 254–78.

² See Francis Jennings, *The Ambiguous Iroquois Empire: The Covenant Chain Confederation of Indian Tribes with English Colonies from Its Beginnings to the Lancaster Treaty of 1744* (New York and London: W. W. Norton and Co., 1984), 45; and Francis Jennings, William N. Fenton, Mary A. Druke, and David R. Miller, eds., *The History and Culture of Iroquois Diplomacy: An Interdisciplinary Guide to the Treaties of the Six Nations and Their League* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1985). The latter asserts that 'Count Frontenac addressed the Iroquois as children and required them to call him father, intending thereby to establish them as subjects owing him obedience. Since he was rigid on this point, they went along with the terms in order to be able to negotiate with him' (119–120).

French and the Algonquian, in the Great Lakes fur trade.³ To date, however, scholars have not connected the late-seventeenth-century uses of this term of address with earlier manifestations of the metaphor of French fatherhood in the complicated diplomatic relations involving the Wendat, the Algonquins, the Innu, the French, and the Haudenosaunee in the St Lawrence Valley in the middle decades of the seventeenth century.

This chapter examines the emergence of the metaphor of French fatherhood as early as the 1640s, its relation to the longstanding trope of brotherhood, and the latter's eventual eclipse by the early 1670s in this same region. These developments took place against a backdrop of rapid geopolitical change. First, Native populations in the Northeast experienced a dramatic decline due to the impact of epidemic diseases. At the same time, a slow but significant increase in the French settled population in the middle of the century, followed by a sharp increase in French immigration for a decade after 1663, led to a decisive shift in the balance of power between newcomers and Native peoples in the St Lawrence valley proper. Second, a period of prolonged warfare between Native groups, dubbed the 'Beaver Wars' in the historical literature, led to the dispersal of several Native nations and the flight or migration of others. As with the English and Dutch, the early seventeenth-century French took diplomatic and military action in order to protect their own interests in these times. The French thus found themselves embroiled in moments of open conflict with the Haudenosaunee beginning in 1641. A final important factor was the

³ Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991). For the use of the term 'father' for Onontio (the French governor) after about 1680, see 36. For French and Algonquian views of fatherhood and the resolution of a diplomatic crisis at Detroit in 1706, see 84–86. For the French acting as 'fathers' to insulate the fur trade from the market, see 94–95. For the assertion that a political alliance preceded the French-Algonquian trading relationship, see 104–105. See also 112, 116–118.

intensification of Jesuit missionization beginning in the early 1630s. Each of these circumstances affected the evolution of kin metaphors in intercultural diplomacy and therefore require further examination.

The devastating impact of diseases of Eurasian origin on Native American populations has long been clear, even if the reasons for their effects have often been misunderstood. There seems to be no evidence, for example, that Native Americans possessed any form of genetic 'weakness' that would explain the high mortality rates caused by diseases like smallpox, measles, and influenza. It is likely, however, that, in comparison to many of their European counterparts, Native Americans lacked what is called adaptive or acquired immunity—the human body's immune response to a specific pathogen—to a small range of diseases. This, combined with environmental factors like warfare, drought, deforestation, and crowding, may have contributed to the high mortality rates Native Americans experienced during epidemics of infectious crowd diseases introduced from Europe. It is also possible that the exposure to several different pathogens at the same time increased mortality among Native American groups.⁴

The timing of epidemics has also been a matter of debate. There is documentary evidence of the appearance of smallpox in American lands settled by the Spanish within a generation of Columbus's voyage of 1492. Could it and other diseases have taken the form of devastating continent-wide pandemics, spreading far beyond the view of European observers and reconfiguring indigenous societies in their wake? This does not appear to have been the case, at least in northeastern North America.⁵ Recent archaeological studies of Iroquoian

⁴ Alfred W. Crosby, 'Virgin Soil Epidemics as a Factor in the Aboriginal Depopulation in America,' *The William and Mary Quarterly* 3rd ser., 33, no. 2 (1976): 289–99; David E. Jones, 'Virgin Soils Revisited,' *William and Mary Quarterly* 3d ser., 60, no. 4 (2003): 703–42.

⁵ Dean R. Snow, and Kim M. Lanphear, 'European Contact and Indian Depopulation in the Northeast: The Timing of the First Epidemics,' *Ethnohistory* 35, no. 1 (1988): 15–33. See also

populations in the Northeast provide instead strong evidence of continuous growth through the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, with no sign of sudden, significant depopulation.⁶ And if Iroquoian populations did not suffer dramatic losses from 'virgin soil' epidemics, it is highly improbable that neighbouring Algonquian groups did either. Documentary evidence suggests that the first epidemic in the Northeast occurred in 1616–18 in New England but did not spread far. Archaeological and documentary evidence both point to 1634–35 as the probable date of the first major epidemic to strike Iroquoian populations and their neighbours in the interior.⁷

For the next several decades First Nations in the northeastern woodlands suffered repeated outbreaks of epidemic diseases. Smallpox was noted at Québec in the fall of 1639 and spread from there to the Innu, Algonquin, and Wendat.⁸ It also struck the other northern Iroquoian confederacies in the lower Great Lakes such as the Neutrals and the Haudenosaunee. In the wake of this epidemic northern Iroquoian populations were roughly halved.⁹ A similar decline

Ann F. Ramenofsky, *Vectors of Death: The Archaeology of European Contact* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987), 90–102, 174–175. Although Ramenofsky views the archaeological data as too ambiguous to confirm the hypothesis of sixteenth-century epidemics among the Iroquois, she is nevertheless inclined to assume that these did occur, largely because of the nature of acute infectious diseases.

⁶ Dean R. Snow, 'Mohawk Demography and the Effects of Exogenous Epidemics on American Indian Populations,' *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 15, no. 2 (1996): 160–182, esp. 163–169; Gary Warrick, 'The Precontact Iroquoian Occupation of Southern Ontario,' *Journal of World Prehistory* 14, no. 4 (2000): 415–66, esp. 457.

⁷ This was preceded by another disease outbreak in New England in 1633. Snow and Lanphear, 'European Contact and Indian Depopulation,' 22–23. See also Snow, 'Mohawk Demography,' 164–165 (table 1), 174.

⁸ Bruce G. Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1976; reprint, 1987), 588. See also José António Brandão, 'Your Fyre Shall Burn No More': *Iroquois Policy toward New France and Its Native Allies to 1701* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 147.

⁹ Snow suggests a mortality of 63% among the Mohawks during the 1634–35 smallpox epidemic ('Mohawk Demography,' 174). See also Trigger, *Children*, 588–589; and Dean Snow, *The Iroquois* (Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1994), 99–100.

occurred in the Algonquian population of the St Lawrence valley in the years after 1635.¹⁰ In 1646–47, another ‘general malady’ was reported among the Mohawks, and in 1655 another unspecified disease, probably smallpox, was noted among the Onondaga. Smallpox scythed through Haudenosaunee communities again in 1661–62, and the Senecas experienced a contagious malady in 1668.¹¹ While some nations offset such losses with the adoption of refugees and captives, most did not.

In the same period the French population in the St Lawrence valley grew steadily, if slowly, from about 60 in 1632 to 2 500 in 1661.¹² While far smaller than those of neighbouring European colonies, New France’s population nevertheless grew while those of most Native nations in the regions were in precipitous decline. Beginning in 1663, a variety of state-sponsored immigration schemes rapidly boosted French numbers. For most of this period, the number of professional soldiers in the colony never exceeded 200 and generally stood at around 50. In 1665, however, 1 200 royal troops arrived from France and the Caribbean. About one-third of these chose to remain in the colony when the regiment re-embarked for France at the end of the 1660s.¹³ This period also saw the emergence of Native refugee communities in the St Lawrence valley under the auspices of the Jesuits. Innu and Algonquins gathered at Sillery beginning in the late 1630s; several hundred Wendat (mostly Arendarhonon and Attignehenognahac) came to Québec in 1650–51; and families representing

¹⁰ John A. Dickinson and Jan Grabowski, ‘Les populations amérindiennes dans la vallée laurentienne, 1608–1765,’ *Annales de démographie historique* (1993) : 51–65, esp. 60.

¹¹ Brandão, *Fyre*, 147–149, and table B.1. For smallpox in 1654–55, see Trigger, *Natives*, 235.

¹² For overall population, see Trudel, *HNF*, 3:89. Details about the population in 1663, just prior to the arrival of the Carignan-Salières regiment and the *filles du roi*, can be found in Marcel Trudel, *La population du Canada en 1663* (Montréal: Fides, 1973).

¹³ For troop numbers, see Department of National Defence, *Canada’s Military Heritage*, vol. 1: 1000-1754, www.cmhg.gc.ca/cmh/en/, chaps. 3 and 4. On this and other forms of immigration, see Louise Dechêne, *Habitants et marchands de Montréal au XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Plon, 1974), 43–97.

several Iroquois nations began to settle near Montréal in the late 1660s. The migration of Algonquian and Huron refugees to the St Lawrence valley in the 1640s and 1650s was not sufficient to offset the numerical superiority of the newcomers, however.¹⁴

The middle decades of the seventeenth century also saw renewed warfare between the Haudenosaunee on the one hand and the French and their Native allies on the other. Following the allied campaign against the Onondagas in the fall of 1615, there appears to have been a cessation of hostilities between the Laurentian allies and the Mohawks. The few French sources that exist from the period provide only scant details of a peace negotiated in 1622–24 between the Laurentian coalition and the Mohawks; this agreement may have developed, as Alain Beaulieu has suggested, from a truce that had been arranged as early as 1616.¹⁵ This peace with the Mohawks was jeopardized in the mid-1620s when some Innu took the side of the Mahicans in the latter's conflict with their Mohawk neighbours. In 1627 the Mohawks killed the Innu and French envoys sent to return Mohawk prisoners and cover the dead.¹⁶ Beginning in the 1630s, the Native trading partners of the French were subjected to steadily intensifying raids by the Mohawks and the Oneidas in the St Lawrence and Ottawa river valleys. At the same time, back-and-forth raids between the Hurons and the Senecas and Onondagas resumed. The destruction of an entire Huron village in June 1642 seems to have marked a turning point in Iroquois strategy and goals,

¹⁴ Dickinson and Grabowski, 'Les populations amérindiennes,' 60. The growth of Iroquois communities around Montréal and the arrival of increased numbers of Abenaki refugees settling near Trois-Rivières would, however, give these nations a pronounced influence in diplomatic affairs by the end of the century.

¹⁵ Alain Beaulieu, 'La paix de 1624: les enjeux géopolitiques du premier traité franco-iroquois,' in *Guerre et paix en Nouvelle-France*, ed. Alain Beaulieu (Sainte-Foy: Les Éditions GID, 2003), 56–57 (few sources), 59–64 (earlier truce).

¹⁶ For a discussion of the machinations of Innu, Algonquin, and French actors involved in this embassy, see Beaulieu, 'La paix de 1624,' 75–88.

for in the years that followed parties of several hundred to several thousand fighters, often comprising men from several Iroquois nations, launched attacks on a succession of nations.¹⁷ By 1641 the French were directly involved in this fighting in the St Lawrence valley, largely as a result of their refusal to abandon their allies. During Mohawk-French peace negotiations in 1645 the French seemed to have assured the Mohawks that their protection extended only to Christian Algonquian allies.¹⁸ This apparent concession did not ensure a lasting peace, however; hostilities resumed the following year. In the Great Lakes region, concentrated Iroquois attacks on villages led to the dispersal of Algonquian and Iroquoian groups who fled northward and westward—or, in some cases, took refuge near the French in the St Lawrence valley—to escape the raiding. Iroquois aggression led to the Wendat abandoning their homeland in 1647–49; a similar fate befell the Tionnontaté in 1649–50, the Neutrals in 1651–52, and the Eries in 1653–57.¹⁹ During the Iroquois campaigns against the Eries, a nation with whom the French in the St Lawrence valley had no direct contact, the Iroquois negotiated a peace with the French which led to the establishment of a Jesuit mission near Onondaga in 1656. In these same years, the Mohawks and Onondagas used a combination of diplomacy and force to relocate Huron refugees living around Québec to Iroquois country.²⁰ Following the Jesuits' abandonment of a shortlived mission near Onondaga in 1658, the French-Haudenosaunee conflict widened as the three easternmost nations of the League (Mohawks, the Oneidas, and the Onondagas) stepped up their raids on French

¹⁷ For the destruction of an Arenderhonon village in 1642 as a turning point, see Trigger, *Children*, 660–661.

¹⁸ Francis Jennings, 'Multiple Intrigues,' in *The History and Culture of Iroquois Diplomacy*, 131–132.

¹⁹ R. Cole Harris, ed., *Historical Atlas of Canada*, vol. 1: *From the Beginning to 1800* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), pl. 35, 37. See also Trigger, *Children*, chap. 11, esp. 776–778 (Neutrals), 789–797 (Eries).

²⁰ Trigger, *Children*, 806–815.

settlements.²¹ Some factions among all these nations, however, pursued a parallel path of diplomacy, seeking to establish a durable peace with the French.²² Following the arrival of over 1 000 French troops in 1665 and an invasion of the Mohawk homeland in 1666, the five nations negotiated a peace settlement with the French in 1666–67.²³ Between 1633 and 1667, about 104 French people were captured by the Haudenosaunee and some 96 others killed.²⁴ Iroquois losses were far higher: over 1 300 were captured and nearly 1 000 killed in fighting against the French, their Native allies, and other groups.²⁵ When the fighting ended, several Iroquoian confederacies were no more and thousands of Iroquoians and Algonquians struggled to rebuild their communities far from the lands they had occupied for generations. The wars were, in short, enormously destructive of Native individuals, communities, and cultures.

The ethnohistorical literature of the past half-century offers no consensus view of the underlying reasons for these violent convulsions. Prior to the emergence of the subdiscipline of ethnohistory, George T. Hunt's *The Wars of the*

²¹ Brandão, *Fyre*, 101–113.

²² Alain Beaulieu has suggested that trade and geopolitical considerations were the primary determinants of Iroquois rapprochement with the French in the 1650s; see 'Ne faire qu'un seul peuple? Iroquois et Français à l'«âge héroïque» de la Nouvelle-France (1600-1660)' (PhD dissertation, Université Laval, 1993), 176–195, 221–222. Daniel K. Richter instead tends to view this rapprochement as the result of the emergence of francophile factions among the Iroquois, a consequence in part of the presence of sizeable numbers of Christian Huron and Algonquian captives in Iroquois country. See Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization* (Chapel Hill & London: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), chap. 5, esp. 107–113.

²³ Richter, *Ordeal of the Longhouse*, 99–104.

²⁴ Brandão, *Fyre*, table F.2. According to Table D.1 these losses were incurred in 98 separate incidents. For a map showing the spatial distribution of these attacks, see José António Brandão, 'Iroquois Expansion in the Seventeenth Century: A Review of Causes,' *European Review of Native American Studies* 15, no. 2 (2001): 7-18, Fig. 2. See also John A. Dickinson, 'La guerre iroquoise et la mortalité en Nouvelle-France, 1608–1666,' *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 36, no. 1 (1982): 31–54, and Brandão's discussion of Dickinson's figures in *Fyre*, 92.

²⁵ According to Brandão, between 1631 and 1667, 1 330 Iroquois were captured and 933 killed. See Brandão, *Fyre*, Table F.1.

Iroquois (1940) offered an explanation of Iroquois bellicosity that eschewed racial stereotypes of Native American ‘savagery’ and embraced instead the view that the Iroquois of the seventeenth century made war for the same reasons that modern ‘enlightened’ nations—the expression and scare quotes are Hunt’s—did: out of economic necessity. Hunt contended that the mid-century Iroquois perceived a need to maximize their wealth in the new colonial North American economy that had appeared ‘almost overnight,’ transforming ‘the fundamental conditions of aboriginal economy.’ What counted as wealth in this context was, simply, furs—beaver, above all else. For Hunt, the depletion of beaver around 1640 in Iroquois country made it imperative for the Iroquois to seek the destruction of the Huron confederacy, their ultimate goal being to replace the latter as middlemen in the carrying trade between the Algonquian hunters of the Great Lakes region and the European traders in their coastal and riverine enclaves.²⁶ The wars of the mid-seventeenth century were, in short, ‘beaver wars.’²⁷

In *The Children of Aataentsic* (1976) anthropologist Bruce G. Trigger presented a detailed refutation of Hunt’s thesis as part of a broader study of Wendat history in the early seventeenth century. Evidence of the extinction of beaver in Iroquois country was, he noted, inconclusive. It was not that the Iroquois had run out of furs; rather, their needs for furs—that is, for the European trade goods they could acquire with furs—had outstripped the supply of furs to which they had ready access. For the Mohawks, the short-term solution to this problem was ‘fur piracy’: raiding the fur-laden canoes of the Wendat,

²⁶ George T. Hunt, *The Wars of the Iroquois: A Study in Intertribal Trade Relations* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1940); reprint, 1972), 1–12, 11 (‘enlightened’ nations), 4 (overnight change), 34–37 (exhaustion of beaver, Huron wealth).

²⁷ See Brandão, *Fyre*, 5–18 for a historiographical perspective on what the author terms the ‘Beaver Wars thesis of Iroquois policy’ (18).

Algonquins, and others who traveled to the French posts to trade. The western Iroquois had much the same goal in raiding the Hurons in their homelands. Later, however, Seneca leaders developed a new, longer-term strategy: dispersing the Hurons entirely in order to gain access to hunting grounds in Ontario and to more easily raid Algonquian hunters around Lake Huron.²⁸ In developing this interpretation, Trigger did not ignore other motives for Iroquoian warfare: the urge to take revenge for enemy attacks, the desire of young men to acquire prestige, and the practice of taking prisoners to replace deceased kin. (Indeed, in discussing the strategy of the Senecas in the mid-1640s, Trigger suggested that 'ordinary Seneca may have viewed the dispersal of the Huron as an act of blood revenge.') Yet, concomitant with the primacy accorded to rational decision making and material interests in his approach to ethnohistory, Trigger tended to emphasize the growing dependence of Hurons and Iroquois alike on stable trade relations with Europeans as factors behind the policies of Iroquoian leaders.³⁰

In the 1980s and 1990s, new perspectives on the question of Iroquois motives emerged. Daniel Richter did not reject the notion that Iroquois warfare of the seventeenth century was in part motivated by new economic motives; he did, however, explore in detail aspects of its cultural specificity, arguing that the traditional pattern of 'mourning war'—raiding enemies to take prisoners destined for assimilation into the Iroquois body politic—did not diminish but rather crescendoed in the seventeenth century. The unprecedented mortality resulting from the epidemics only fueled the need for new captives. In Richter's formulation, Iroquois bellicosity was not only the result of policy; it was perhaps

²⁸ Trigger, *Children*, 617–664, 726–730.

²⁹ Trigger, *Children*, 68–73 (traditional motives), 726 (ordinary Senecas).

³⁰ Trigger, *Children*, 603–608 (Huron dependence), 617–618 (Iroquois dependence). See chap. 1 for a discussion of Trigger's approach to ethnohistory.

even more the result of traditional practices that had unintended consequences in the new biological, economic, and political environment brought about by the arrival of Europeans. 'While the fur trade introduced new economic goals, additional foes, and a wider scope to Iroquois warfare, it did not crowd out older cultural motives. Instead, the mourning-war tradition, deaths from disease, dependence on firearms, and the trade in furs combined to produce a dangerous spiral: epidemics led to deadlier mourning-wars fought with firearms; the need for guns increased the demand for pelts to trade for them; the quest for furs provoked wars with other nations; and deaths in those conflicts began the mourning-war cycle anew. At each turn, fresh economic and demographic motives fed the spiral.'³¹ The old ways were out of step with the new world in which the Iroquois found themselves.³²

Ideological motives, albeit rather different ones, are also foregrounded in George E. Sioui's interpretation of Iroquois warfare against the Wendat in the mid-seventeenth century. For Sioui, the pre-contact Wendat civilization was a perfect embodiment of the Native American philosophy of the circle symbolizing interdependence and redistribution. By accepting the French newcomers into the circle, however, the Wendat unwittingly doomed their bodies and their

³¹ Daniel Richter, 'War and Culture: The Iroquois Experience,' *William and Mary Quarterly* 3d ser., 40 (1983): 528–559. In a more recent survey of Aboriginal history in the eastern woodlands, Richter similarly balances an emphasis on the fact that, by the mid-seventeenth century, 'the fur trade had become absolutely crucial' for Native peoples with an insistence on the mourning war as a primary motive behind Iroquois raiding; see Daniel K. Richter, *Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2001), 50 (importance of fur trade), 64, 66 (mourning war). Anthropologist Roland Viau places even greater emphasis on the 'guerre de capture' and the meaning of mourning and violence for seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Iroquois in his *Enfants du néant et mangeurs d'âmes: guerre, culture et société en Iroquoisie ancienne* (N.p.: Boréal, 1997).

³² Richter argues that by the 1670s the Iroquois had begun to realize that the mourning-war complex was 'dysfunctional' and credits Iroquois headmen of the late seventeenth century with taking steps to limit its deleterious effects on the confederacy's relations with Native and newcomer allies; see 'War and Culture,' 544–554, 544 (dysfunctional warfare).

civilization to the negative effects of foreign microbes and ideologies. It fell to the Iroquois to preserve Native American culture in the face of growing European power: 'to enable the Amerindian race to survive, [the Iroquois] had to fight against the European powers, forcibly adopting nations that were already gravely decimated. For the Iroquois, the goal of the war [against the Iroquois] was to extinguish the power of strangers the way one extinguishes a raging fire. With extraordinary strength of character, they had to eliminate part of their own race so as to save it.'³³ Sioui's practice of *autohistoire*, an idiosyncratic theoretical and philosophical approach to the past, makes it difficult to verify or refute this interpretation on the basis of the evidence conventionally employed by ethnohistorians. Like Richter, however, Sioui casts seventeenth-century Iroquois warfare as a matter of survival.

Survival is also the note upon which José António Brandão ends his study of Iroquois warfare in the seventeenth century—the first book-length treatment of the topic since Hunt's. Explicitly rejecting the 'economic determinism' of Hunt's formulation, Brandão argues instead that the Iroquois 'fought to live, not for furs.'³⁴ More specifically, 'the Iroquois waged war for revenge, honour, to gain captives and to preserve their cultural and political integrity.'³⁵ Brandão's tabulation of every recorded incident of fighting in which the Iroquois were involved between 1603 and 1701 reveals, in particular, an noticeable correlation between epidemics and raiding: 'Almost without exception, the years during which epidemics struck, or shortly after, are followed by an increase in raiding.'³⁶

³³ Georges E. Sioui, *For an Amerindian Autohistory: An Essay on the Foundations of a Social Ethic* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), 39–46, 44 (quotation).

³⁴ Brandão, *Fyre*, 131.

³⁵ José António Brandão, 'Iroquois Expansion in the Seventeenth Century: A Review of Causes,' *European Review of Native American Studies* 15, no. 2 (2001): 7–18.

³⁶ Brandão, 'Iroquois Expansion,' 16; see also Brandão, *Fyre*, 72–77. For the data on hostilities, see Brandão, *Fyre*, table D.1.

In this way, his analysis lends weight to Richter's emphasis on the 'mourning war' pattern. In important ways, however, Brandão departs from Richter's interpretation. His rejection of Trigger's and Richter's acknowledgement of economic goals behind Iroquois warfare is rooted in the observation that written sources of the seventeenth century rarely mention pillaging or the theft of furs.³⁷ Given the nature of these sources, however, this line of reasoning may be too much for them to bear. Information about Iroquois hostilities often reached Europeans as second- or third-hand testimony; moreover, in recording these incidents, European writers had their own agendas to pursue—whether it was a Jesuit crafting a narrative of Christian heroism or a military officer displaying his zeal for 'le bien du service'—and may not have seen fit to preserve details that were not relevant to their purpose. Axiomatically, too, it is worth remembering that the absence of evidence does not prove the absence of a phenomenon. Finally, as I have noted elsewhere,³⁸ Brandão's repeated assertion that economic goals or material interests of any kind were not a primary motive for Iroquois warfare is difficult to reconcile with his acknowledgement that 'the fur trade played an important part in Iroquois policy.' He notes that 'the Iroquois did not want to control the fur trade; they sought only to use it to obtain the goods they desired for domestic use. . . . [as well as] those items they wanted to help them carry out their political, military, and cultural objectives against their native foes and the French.'³⁹ This position does not place Brandão's interpretation as far from Trigger's and Richter's as the author tends to insist. For what is survival but the ultimate material interest?

³⁷ Brandão, 'Iroquois Expansion,' 15.

³⁸ Peter Cook, review of *'Your Fyre Shall Burn No More': Iroquois Policy toward New France and Its Native Allies to 1701*, by José António Brandão, *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec* 52, no. 3 (1999): 407–408.

³⁹ Brandão, *Fyre*, 131.

Regardless of the rubric—political, economic, cultural—under which scholars subsume the ultimate motivations of seventeenth-century Iroquois leaders, it is clear that these wars were fought in part to ensure access to valued material objects introduced to the Northeast by Europeans. In most cases, this meant preserving a trade relationship with one or more groups of Europeans. It also required Native groups to have something the Europeans were interested in trading for. It is equally clear that the mid-century wars also involved the taking of prisoners on a massive scale, particularly by the Haudenosaunee. Although some of these captives were publicly tortured and executed, most were apparently assimilated into Iroquois communities. The Jesuits, who ran missions in Iroquois country in the mid-1650s and again after 1667, took careful note of the abundance of non-Iroquois in the villages.⁴⁰ Moreover, modern scholars reason that only through the practice of adoption on a large scale could the confederacy have maintained the population levels that are suggested by the historical and archaeological record.⁴¹ Adoption required captives to reject former lives and identities, create affective ties to a new family, lineage, and nation, and adhere to the values and ways of their captors.⁴² In some ways it was not unlike what European missionaries expected of converts to Christianity.

Although Roman Catholic missionaries had been active in New France since 1610, evangelization efforts intensified in both Canada and Acadia after the the treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye in 1632. Prior to 1630, less than a score of

⁴⁰ See the quotations cited in Richter, *Ordeal*, 65–66; and Brandão, *Fyre*, 78.

⁴¹ Richter, *Ordeal*, 66; Snow, *Iroquois*, 110–111. As Snow indicates, only the Senecas preserved their population at around 4 000 through to the 1660s, largely due to the absorption of Huron, Neutral, and Erie captives. The other four nations of the confederacy all experienced significant population decline.

⁴² On the treatment of prisoners and adoption among the Iroquois, see Richter, *Ordeal*, 68–74; Viau, *Enfants du néant*, 161–172. An insightful perspective on Native American adoption as revealed through the experiences of non-Native adoptees can be found in James Axtell, ‘The White Indians of North America,’ *William and Mary Quarterly* 3d ser., 32 (1975): 55–88.

missionary priests were active in the Canadian colony; between 1632 and 1658, that number increased to over forty. More than 80 per cent of the missionaries who came to the colony stayed for five or more years and most spent their lives there.⁴³ From 1632 to 1657, Jesuits from the province of Paris dominated missionary activity in Canada; the cloistered female religious, the Ursulines and Augustines, were fewer in number and had relatively limited opportunities for proselytization.⁴⁴ Moreover, the French state had refused the Récollets permission for to return to Canada in 1632, leaving the Jesuits 'in almost complete control of its church' and with a monopoly on missionary work.⁴⁵

⁴³ These data are derived from figures in Luca Codignola, 'Competing Networks: Roman Catholic Ecclesiastics in French North America, 1610–58,' *Canadian Historical Review* 80, no. 4 (1999): 539–584, tables 2 to 7 on pp. 571–576. On the basis of Codignola's tabulation, I identified 46 Jesuit priests in Canada, 37 of whom were active for 5 or more years. Note that in addition to the Jesuit priests, 17 lay brothers were active in Canada and Acadia in this period. For the general European and American context of French missions in this period, see Dominique Deslandres, *Croire et faire croire: les missions françaises au XVII^e siècle (1600–1650)* (Paris: Fayard, 2003).

⁴⁴ For the numbers of female religious, see Codignola, 'Roman Catholic Ecclesiastics,' tables 15 to 17 on pp. 582–583.

⁴⁵ Codignola, 'Roman Catholic Ecclesiastics,' 553 (quotation). Aside from the Jesuits, only a handful of secular priests could be found in Canada. There is no scholarly consensus on the reasons for the decision to bar the Récollets from returning to Canada. Codignola indicates that evidence on the matter is 'inconclusive' (553) but speculates that the Récollet order had gotten on Richelieu's bad side through their involvement in projects the cardinal-minister deemed inimical to French interests (553–555). Lucien Campeau has similarly argued that it was Compagnie des Cent-Associés—Richelieu's creation—that chose the Jesuits over the Récollets and that Richelieu favoured the Jesuits over the Récollets for diplomatic reasons having to do with the Gallican autonomy vis-à-vis the Holy See; see Campeau, ed., *MNF*, 2:61*, 3:159. For his part, historian Gustave Lanctôt identified Father Joseph, Richelieu's Capuchin advisor (the famous 'éminence grise'), and Jean de Lauson, intendant of the Compagnie des Cent-Associés, as being primarily responsible for the decision to exclude the Récollets from Canada; see his *Histoire du Canada: des origines au régime royal*, 3rd ed. (Montréal: Beauchemin, 1962), 197–198. In a much earlier work, abbé Faillon underlined the mutual admiration between the Jesuits and Richelieu, citing at length a laudatory description of the cardinal-minister that appeared in the published Jesuit *Relation* of 1633; see his *Histoire de la colonie française*, 3 vols. (Villemarie: Bibliothèque paroissiale, 1865–66), 1:279–283. (Faillon was apparently unaware that the first printed editions of this work did not contain this description, a fact which suggests that it was not written by the Jesuits in New France but rather by the Paris editor, and as an opportunistic afterthought; see Campeau, ed., *MNF*, 2:403–404.) More recently, Martin Fournier has implied that there was a sympathetic convergence between Richelieu's emphasis on reasons of state and the rational spirit of Jesuit organization

Although modest in comparison to the Society's missions in continental Europe, England, and Latin America, the Jesuit missions in French North America were, in the early 1650s, similar in importance to those in other non-European lands, including China and Japan.⁴⁶ By the middle of the 1640s, over a score of Jesuit fathers were active among Algonquian and Iroquoian nations in the lower Great Lakes region—more than half of them concentrated in the Huron country—while others were in regular contact with northern and eastern Algonquian nations like the Attikamekw and the Abenakis (figure 8).⁴⁷

In addition to this increase in human resources after 1632, the Jesuit missions headquartered from Québec benefited from the experience and linguistic expertise of the Jesuits who had worked there between 1625 and the fall of Québec in 1629. No longer reliant on the goodwill of interpreters in the

which convinced the cardinal to favour the Jesuits: 'En fait, le type d'organisation qu'il [Richelieu] souhaite mettre en place en France fonctionne déjà dans la Compagnie de Jésus'; see Martin Fournier, 'Paul Lejeune et Gabriel Sagard: deux visions du monde et des Amérindiens,' *Canadian Folklore / Folklore canadien* 17, no. 1 (1995): 85–101. All these arguments ignore the evidence for Richelieu's mistrust of the Jesuits, an attitude clearly expressed in his *Testament politique*, which was mostly composed before 1638 and compiled after the cardinal's death in 1642. In a chapter dealing with the reform of the ecclesiastical order, Richelieu pointed out the danger of allowing the Jesuits too much influence in the realm of education, underlining the order's submission ('par un vœu d'obéissance aveugle') to 'un chef perpétuel et étranger'—the pope—as well as its dependence on 'des princes, qui semblent n'avoir rien en plus grande recommandation que l'abaissement et la ruine de cette Couronne'; see Armand Jean du Plessis Richelieu, *Testament politique*, (Paris : Robert Laffont, 1947), 210. (Here, Richelieu seems to have been referring to Hapsburg Spain.) For their part, in the 1640s the Jesuits in New France openly expressed anti-Dutch sentiments at a time when Richelieu's foreign policy centred on cooperation with the Dutch republic. There are, therefore, few grounds for explaining the post-1632 Jesuit mission monopoly in Canada with assertions of unqualified state favour for the Society of Jesus. My own suspicion is that Richelieu was quite happy to allow the Jesuits and their potentially troublesome *dévôt* supporters a free reign in distant missionary work if it meant diverting their energies and attention away from opposition to his European policies.

⁴⁶ Based on the number of Jesuits attached to each. According to the Society's records, in 1653 there were over 500 Jesuits in Great Britain and Europe, 164 in Spanish America, 34 in Portuguese Brazil, 18 in both New France and China, and 15 in Japan; see Codignola, 'Roman Catholic Ecclesiastics,' 551 n. 44.

⁴⁷ For the Great Lakes missions, see Conrad E. Heidenreich, 'Settlements and Missionaries, 1615–1650,' in *The Historical Atlas of Canada*, ed. R. Cole Harris (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), pl. 34.

employ of traders, the Jesuits produced dictionaries and grammars to help other newly arrived missionaries learn Native languages.⁴⁸ Their political influence was sufficient to ensure that the Compagnie des Cent-Associés and, later, the Communauté des Habitants, did not maintain a separate network of traders and interpreters among Native nations in the interior, leaving the Jesuits as the de facto spokesmen for Onontio outside of the St Lawrence valley.⁴⁹ Increasingly, Jesuits served as political emissaries and interpreters in Native-French councils. The governors who succeeded Champlain in the period before 1665—all of whom, with the exception of Charles Huault de Montmagny, served terms of less than five years—were, like Champlain himself, unable to communicate directly with Native diplomats and thus regularly depended on Jesuit interpretation.⁵⁰ It was in this context that the fraternal trope of the Native-French commercial and military alliances of the 1620s became an important element in Jesuit missionary rhetoric as well.

Although the Jesuits understood that the very existence of their missions depended on the stable pre-existing trading relationship and military cooperation between various Native groups and the French, they nevertheless

⁴⁸ On the linguistics produced by the Jesuits in this period, see Victor Egon Hanzeli, *Missionary Linguistics in New France: A Study of Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Descriptions of American Indian Languages* (The Hague: Mouton, 1969), 20–25, 46–50.

⁴⁹ Trigger, *Children*, 470.

⁵⁰ These officials and their active terms of office were: Marc-Antoine Bras-de-Fer de Châteaufort (December 1635–June 1636), Montmagny (June 1636–August 1648), Louis d’Aillesboust de Coulonge et d’Argentay (fall 1648–October 1651), Jean de Lauson (October 1651–summer 1656), Charles de Lauson de Charny (summer 1656–August 1657), d’Aillesboust (second term, August 1657–July 1658), Pierre Le Voyer d’Argenson (July 1658–summer 1651), Pierre Dubois Davaugour (August 1658–July 1663), and Augustin de Saffray de Mézy (September 1663–March 1665). Châteaufort, Charny and d’Aillesboust (in his second term) were interim governors. No fewer than three of these officials (Lauson, Charny, and Davaugour) abandoned the colony before a successor had been appointed, leaving its direction in the hands of an acting governor. For details on these individuals, see the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*.

sought to manipulate trade and diplomacy to further missionary purposes.⁵¹ The Jesuits adapted the fraternal rhetoric of the alliance for the purpose of communicating key theological concepts—for example, the relationship between human beings and God. One of the principal challenges facing the missionaries was finding a means to convey the idea of a supreme deity to people who did not recognize any institutionalized hierarchy in their own societies. One tack was to employ Native-language terms signifying ‘leader’ to designate the Lord. In two prayers that Lejeune wrote in Innu in the 1630s, Innu *utkimau* (or *utchimau*) ‘captain’ was used to translate French *seigneur* ‘lord’ as a term of address for God.⁵² But the Jesuits also sought ways to conceptualize God as a father, both to express the deity’s ontological primacy (as creator, God preceded all other things) as well as to underline the symbolic ties which united all Christians. Lejeune explained this logic to his Innu hosts during a feast in November 1633: ‘Je vous chéry plus que mes frères . . . n’ayant qu’un mesme père, nous sommes tous frères et nous devons tous recognoistre un mesme Seigneur et un mesme capitaine.’⁵³ The Jesuits among the Wendat similarly used indigenous terms for father to refer to God and, as John Steckley notes, there is evidence that the Huron themselves—even non-Christians—accepted this usage.⁵⁴ At the same time, however, the Jesuits adapted the Wendat concept of the matrilineage (principally through use of the noun root *-h8atsir* ‘family’) to promote the idea ‘that becoming a Christian entailed becoming part of a valuable alliance that

⁵¹ Trigger, *Children*, 467–468.

⁵² *Relation de . . . 1643*, in *MNF*, 2:701, 702. For the Innu term for ‘capitaine,’ see Pierre Laure, *Apparat français-montagnais*, ed. David Cooter (Sillery: Presses de l’Université du Québec, 1988), 153. The term has cognates in Ojibwe and Cree. For other examples of Lejeune using *utchimau* in this manner, see *Relation de . . . 1643*, in *MNF*, 2:680, 703, 704.

⁵³ *Relation de . . . 1643*, in *MNF*, 2:680.

⁵⁴ John Steckley, ‘The Warrior and the Lineage: Jesuit Use of Iroquoian Images to Communicate Christianity,’ *Ethnohistory* 39, no. 4 (1992): 478–509, here 500. See also John L. Steckley, *Words of the Huron* (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2006), 74–75.

included God, Jesus, the angels in heaven, other Christian spirit figures, the Jesuits, and other French Christians.’ Through adoption—the very process by which Iroquoian families incorporated captives taken in war—God brought those believers who went to heaven into his family or, as the seventeenth-century Huron-language tract *De Religione* expressed it, a ‘lineage in the sky.’⁵⁵

French governors and trade company officials supported the efforts of the Jesuits by imitating this rhetoric in various ways. In 1633 Champlain, for example, famously told Innu headmen in council that ‘quand cette grande maison sera faite’—he was referring to the establishment of a new post at Trois-Rivières—‘alors nos garçons se marieront à vos filles et nous ne serons plus qu’un peuple.’⁵⁶ This proposition provoked laughter from his Innu listeners. The possibility that, through (Christian) intermarriage, the symbolic kinship of the alliance would become a literal one was nevertheless repeated by Champlain two years later, this time in council with the Hurons.⁵⁷ In 1636, in council with the Innu, François Derré de Gand, commissary-general of the Compagnie des Cent-Associés, connected the themes of kinship through intermarriage and kinship through coreligion. ‘... [V]ous ne vous estes point alliez jusques icy de nos François; vos filles se marient à toutes les nations voisines et non pas à nous

⁵⁵ Steckley, ‘The Warrior and the Lineage,’ 494–500, 494, 500 (quotations). As Steckley suggests, there was some incoherence in the Jesuits’ simultaneous emphasis on God as father and the matrilineage as the community of Christians. After all, the head of a matrilineage is necessarily a woman and a mother, not a father. Jesuit dictionaries provide some evidence that the Virgin Mary was presented as the founder of a holy lineage, but overall the Jesuits clearly felt it was essential to insist on God’s masculine and paternal dimensions; see *ibid.*, 497, 500–501.

⁵⁶ *Relation de . . . 1633*, in *MNF*, 2:455. Champlain’s language here, as recorded by a Jesuit author, is strikingly similar to a passage in Genesis where Jacob’s sons refuse Hamor’s request for Jacob to give his daughter, Dinah, to Hamor’s son in marriage: ‘We cannot do this thing, to give our sister to one who is uncircumcised, for that would be a disgrace to us. Only on this condition will we consent to you: that you will become as we are and every male of you be circumcised. Then we will give our daughters to you, and we will take your daughters to ourselves, and we will dwell with you and become one people’ (Gen. 34:14–16).

⁵⁷ *Relation de . . . 1635*, in *MNF*, 3:77–78.

autres. Vos enfans demeurent au païs des Nipissiriens, des Algonquins, des Attikamègues, des peuples du Sagné et dans les aultres nations; jusques icy, vous ne les avez point présentez aux François pour les instruire. Si vous eussiez fait cela dès nostre première entrée dans le païs, vous sçauriez tous maintenant manier les armes comme nous et vos ennemis ne subsisteroient pas en voste [sic] présence; vous ne mourriez pas tous les jours comme vous faites. Celuy qui a tout fait et qui nous protège vous conserveroit aussi bien que nous, puisque nous ne serions plus qu'un mesme peuple.⁵⁸ A specific purpose of de Gand's address was to convince the Innu to leave boys with the Jesuits for religious instruction; their conversion, as much as marriages between Frenchmen and Native women, would make the two 'un mesme peuple.' The newly arrived governor, Charles Huault de Montmagny, and the admiral of the company fleet, Théodore Bochart du Plessis, made the same point in council later later that year.⁵⁹ The Jesuits lauded the efforts of such officials to use the rhetoric and rituals of the alliance to further their conversion program. In council with the Hurons in September 1637, Montmagny and his lieutenant, Achille Bréhault de l'Isle, offered customary diplomatic gifts but tied these to the Hurons' acceptance of the missionaries in their villages. Lejeune approved: 'C'est une riche prudence de ces Messieurs d'appliquer pour le religion ce qui ne s'est donné quasi jusques à présent que par police. Il ne couste rien d'offrir avec une sainte intention ce qui d'ailleurs doit estre donné pour entretenir l'amitié de ces peuples. C'est l'une des belles industries de monsieur le chevalier de Montmagni et de monsieur de L'Isle, son lieutenant.'⁶⁰ De L'Isle went further by singling out a Huron neophyte for particular attention: 'Les présents faits, monsieur de L'Isle se tourne vers nostre

⁵⁸ *Relation de . . . 1636*, in *MNF*, 3:278–279.

⁵⁹ *Relation de . . . 1636*, in *MNF*, 3:283, 285, 289.

⁶⁰ *Relation de . . . 1637*, in *MNF*, 3:681.

néophyte et luy dit: “Mon frère, je ne t’ay rien donné. Cependant, nous ne sommes plus qu’une mesme chose; car tu es chrestien et enfant de Dieu aussi bien que moy. Viens-moy voir en particulier, je veux te parler.” Il ne manqua pas de luy faire une belle gracieuseté et nous aussi de nostre costé, en tesmoignage de l’amour que nous portons à ceux qui reçoivent nostre créance.’⁶¹ After the council, de L’Isle also provided several barrels of dried peas—provisions for the Hurons’ journey home, ‘en appliquant un en considération du nouveau chrestien.’ A Huron headman thanked de L’Isle, saying, “L’Isle, tu sais comme il faut faire. C’est ainsi que les frères se secourent dans leurs besoins.’⁶²

The literal side of the French project of becoming ‘un mesme peuple’ with the Native nations of the region became less important toward the end of the 1630s as it became clear that the Jesuit seminary for Native boys at Québec was not producing the expected results. Moreover, Champlain’s vision of cross-cultural marriages dissolved in the face of small numbers of converts and doctrinal obstacles. Around 1635, the Jesuits in Canada, acting with the approval of their superior in Paris, made a formal request to the Holy See to allow marriages between French men and ‘dez filles sauvages . . . non baptisées ny mesmes encore beaucoup instruites à la foy chrestienne,’ alleging that ‘cela obligera tous les sauvages à aymer les Français comme leurs frères.’ As such marriages were prohibited by canon law, the Jesuits’ request was refused.⁶³ The Jesuits and the colonial and company officials who supported them therefore turned to other means of advancing the missionary project, principally by granting converts a variety of symbolic and material advantages. Beginning in

⁶¹ *Relation de . . . 1637*, in *MNF*, 3:681.

⁶² *Relation de . . . 1637*, in *MNF*, 3:681

⁶³ ‘Raisons qui peuvent induire Sa Sainteté à permettre aux François qui habitent la Nouvelle-France d’espouser dez filles sauvages, quoy que non baptisées ny mesmes encore beaucoup instruites à la foy chrestienne’ [*circa* 1635], in *MNF*, 3:37–39.

1641, officials authorized the sale of guns—hitherto carefully controlled—to Native converts, who also enjoyed discounts on other European merchandise they traded for in the St Lawrence valley.⁶⁴ At a more symbolic level, Innu neophytes were invited to participate in religious processions at Québec, and converts who died there—and there were many in these decades of disease and warfare—were buried in the French cemetery. Canoes of Christian Natives were saluted with cannon when they arrived at or departed from Québec, as was the case with important French personages.⁶⁵ These rituals only underlined symbolically what the Jesuits said explicitly to their listeners: Christians everywhere formed a people united by the same rites and practices.

⁶⁴ Trigger, *Children*, 547, 700, 709; Denys Delâge, *Le pays renversé: Amérindiens et Européens en Amérique du Nord-Est, 1600-1664* (Montreal: Boreal, 1985; reprint, 1991), 177–178.

⁶⁵ *Relation de . . . 1636*, in *MNF*, 3:188, 200; 224, 227, 229; *Relation de . . . 1637*, in *MNF*, 3:572–573, 633; *Relation de . . . 1638*, in *MNF*, 4:127–128.

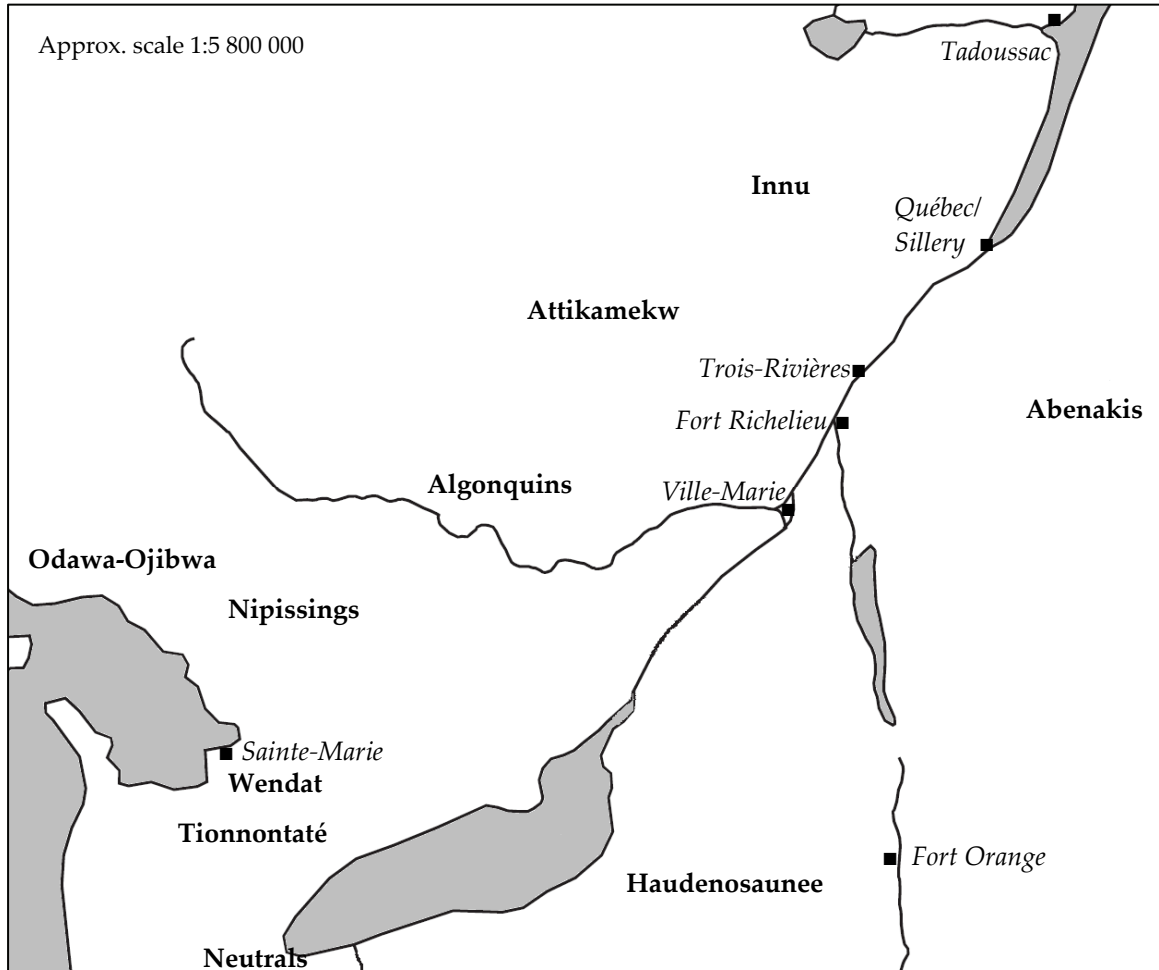


Fig. 8. Native nations with diplomatic contacts with the French in the mid-1640s. European settlements and posts in the St Lawrence lowlands are also shown. Map by the author.

The traditional belief systems of Native American peoples in the Northeast did not, however, typically recognize the notion of religious exclusivity that would have reinforced the Jesuits' message. The analogy of kinship (and, by extension, ethnicity) became, for the Jesuits, a means of translating this idea: the Christian community, they preached, was a nation founded on (symbolic) kinship ties. Lejeune articulated this analogy in speaking to an Innu headman in 1637: 'N'est-il pas vray que tu chéris davantage ceux de ta nation que les Algonquins qui sont vos alliez? Monsieur le Gouverneur en fait de

mesme. Tous ceux qui croient en Dieu sont de sa nation; il les tient pour tels et les aime comme tels; pour les autres, il ne les haît pas'⁶⁶ Beyond affective ties, the kinship of Christians also implied political solidarity, as the Algonquin leader Pieskaret—a non-Christian—observed of the Christian headmen at Sillery in 1645: they were, he stated, 'une mesme chose' and made up 'un mesme conseil.'⁶⁷ As Steckley has noted, Jesuit writings from the Huron missions provide evidence that there, the Jesuits adapted the concept of the family to express Christian community, asserting that Christians formed a sacred matrilineage whose ancestral founder was the Virgin Mary.⁶⁸ The response of Native people to this rhetoric was not uniform.⁶⁹ Some, noting that the French were not prepared to

⁶⁶ *Relation de . . . 1637*, in *MNF*, 3:591. This notion had biblical precedents. In Mark, the oldest of the gospels in the New Testament, Jesus responds to attempts by his mother and brothers to protect him from accusations of insanity by 'redefin[ing] the family to mean those who are united with him in commitment to doing the will of God ([Mark] 3:34–5). . . . Since the family was the primary ground of personal identity and obligation in Jewish society, as in nearly every other culture, Jesus' teaching here is . . . socially radical' Howard Clark Kee, 'The Formation of Christian Communities,' in *The Cambridge Companion to the Bible*, ed. Bruce Chilton, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 525.

⁶⁷ *Relation de . . . 1644 et 1645*, in *JR*, 27:238.

⁶⁸ Steckley, 'The Warrior and the Lineage,' 496–498. See also the letter of thanks sent by Christian Hurons Jacques Oachonk, Louis Taieron, and Joseph Sondouskon at Québec to a group of Jesuits at Paris in : 'Nous sommes freres, puisque la mere de Jesus est nostre mere, aussi bien que la vostre' (*Copie de deux lettres envoyées de la Nouvelle-France*, in *JR*, 41:172).

⁶⁹ Nor, indeed, was the response of Native peoples of eastern North America to European missions in the seventeenth century in general. The scholarly literature on these missions is vast and cannot adequately be addressed here; nevertheless, some general trends are worthy of note. Early ethnohistorians tended to view Christianity as having a purely 'disintegrating influence' on Native cultures; see, for example, Alfred Goldsworthy Bailey, *The Conflict of European and Eastern Algonkian Cultures 1504-1700: A Study in Canadian Civilization*, 2d ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), 43 (quotation). Some scholars emphasized Native resistance to the missionaries, arguing that conversion was nothing less than 'cultural suicide' and that Christianity itself 'was always a minority belief rejected by most Indians as a strange, complicated, and potentially dangerous ideology'; see James P. Ronda, 'The Sillery Experiment: A Jesuit-Indian Village in New France, 1637–1663,' *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 3, no. 1 (1979): 1–18, 15 (quotations). From such a perspective, it was possible to explain the fact that in the mid-seventeenth century significant numbers of Native Americans willingly identified themselves as Christians and took up Christian practices on 'mercenary' grounds or as a desperate attempt to survive through the holocaust of epidemic disease and war. Trigger, for example, emphasized the 'tangible benefits' the French offered to Christians as an explanation for

adopt indigenous beliefs in return, concluded that conversion was simply assimilation. Forming ‘one people’ was not to be a true fusion of groups and cultures, but a means of promoting French customs and doing away with Native ones. The Innu leader Etinechkaouat explained to the Jesuits his reason for not converting: ‘Je vous diray franchement que je craignois que mes gens me tinsent pour François. C’est pourquoy je ne voulois pas quitter les façons de faire de ma nation pour embrasser les vostres.’⁷⁰ An Algonquin man who, by contrast, did

Huron conversions in the the 1640s—although he did not completely neglect other emotional or cultural factors, such as the generalized Huron desire to see their loved ones again in the afterlife; see Trigger, *Children*, 707 (quotation), 708. John Webster Grant acknowledged this thesis but preferred to link mass conversions to the calamities of disease and war, arguing that the Christian approach to death offered, in such a bleak context, a more satisfying way of being: ‘Christianity, for many, was essentially a way of dying well’; see J. W. Grant, *Moons of Wintertime: Missionaries and the Indians of Canada in Encounter since 1534* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981), chap. 2, 43 (quotation); see also André Beaulieu, *Convertir les fils de Caïn: Jésuites et Amérindiens en Nouvelle-France* (Québec: Nuit blanche, 1990), 154. A number of studies have emphasized the militancy and rigorous nature of Jesuit approaches and expectations in the Canadian missions, implying that those conversions that did occur could not have been wholly superficial; see Peter A. Goddard, ‘Converting the Sauvage: Jesuit and Montagnais in Seventeenth-Century New France,’ *Catholic Historical Review* 84, no. 2 (1998): 219–239; and Deslandres, *Croire et faire croire*, esp. 394–407. Such perspectives offer a significant challenge to James Axtell’s view that the Jesuit missionaries made converts ‘because they were amazingly adept at making the Christian message palpable, relevant, and appealing to even the least intelligent Indian’; see James Axtell, *The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), chap. 2, 108 (quotation). Many scholars have asserted the syncretic nature of Native American Christianity in this period; see, for example, Cornelius J. Jaenen, ‘Amerindian Responses to French Missionary Intrusion, 1611–1760: A Categorization,’ In *Religion / Culture: Comparative Canadian Studies / Études canadiennes comparées*, ed. William Westfall, Louis Rousseau, Fernand Harvey, and John Simpson (Ottawa: Association for Canadian Studies, 1985), 182–197; Kenneth M. Morrison, ‘Montagnais Missionization in Early New France: The Syncretic Perspective,’ *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 10, no. 3 (1986): 1–23; and Kenneth M. Morrison, ‘Baptism and Alliance: The Symbolic Mediations of Religious Syncretism,’ *Ethnohistory* 37, no. 4 (1990): 416–437. More recently, scholars have produced analytically sophisticated explorations of the Native reception of Christianity in the seventeenth century, underlining how selected elements of Christian thought and practice crossed immense cultural distances—often being subtly altered or reconfigured in the process—and offered new outlets for feelings and values deeply embedded in Native cultures; see, for example, Daniel Richter’s analysis of Algonquian public confessions in mid-seventeenth-century Massachusetts (*Facing East*, 111–129); and Allan Greer, *Mohawk Saint: Catherine Tekakwitha and the Jesuits* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004).

⁷⁰ *Relation de . . . 1639*, in *MNF*, 4:322.

seek baptism found himself enduring the reproaches of those who accused him of abandoning his nation. As Ignace Amiskouapeou explained to the Jesuits: 'Quelques uns de mes gens me reprochent que je deviens François, que je quitte ma nation, et je leur respons que je ne suis ny François ny sauvage, mais que je veux este enfant de Dieu.'⁷¹

Like Amiskaouapeou, those Native people who were attracted to Christianity appropriated the trope of Christian brotherhood to rationalize their new status and to express antipathy toward non-believers. This phenomenon is evident in the speeches of Native peoples who assembled at Sillery in the late 1630s. It is noteworthy that even traditionalists accepted the notion that conversion created new kinship ties. Thus, during a period when the new Christians were debating whether or not to expel several apostates, one of the latter declared in council: 'Pour moy, si j'estoit parent des François comme vous qui avez receu leur créance, je ne voudrois pas pourtant offencer mes compatriotes' (i.e., the people of my nation).⁷² Conversions thus created conflicts of loyalty which Native peoples seem to have experienced not as confessional or sectarian differences, as was the case in a Europe divided between Catholics and Protestants, but as, for lack of a better word, ethnic differences. Converts were forced to choose between their new kin—Christians everywhere—and their former kin ('compatriotes'). In Huron villages, social networks and traditional solidarities were undermined by conversions; neophytes defended themselves from the accusation that they had abandoned their kin by saying that baptism and Christian practice created new ties to replace the old ones.⁷³ As Joseph

⁷¹ *Relation de . . . 1639*, in *MNF*, 4:314.

⁷² *Relation de . . . M. DC. XL.*, in *MNF*, 4:571.

⁷³ Trigger, *Children*, 710–714. Characteristically, in describing this process Trigger eschews the evidence of kin terms or analogies to national (ethnic) identity in the Jesuit sources and employs instead neutral, descriptive phrases—e.g., 'the bonds of friendship uniting Christians'

Chiouatenhoua annouced to his fellow Hurons, speaking of the Jesuits: 'Ceux qui m'ont enseigné sont proprement mes frères, et je ne tiens pour mes parens que ceux qui ont renoncé au diable et receu le saint baptesme. Ce sont ceux-là que véritablement j'appelle mes frères.'⁷⁴

During and after the wave of epidemics of the 1630s and 1640s and the 'beaver wars' of the 1640s and 1650s, Native peoples originating from many different nations and kin-groups took refuge near French settlements in the St Lawrence valley. These refugees employed the trope of Christian brotherhood to express a feeling of unity, solidarity, and alliance. In 1641 the Christian headman of Sillery spoke thusly to Charles Tsondatasa, a Huron neophyte who had just been baptized: 'Mon frère, tous les Sauvages que tu vois icy à l'entour de toy sont Chrestiens, nous avons tous quitté nos vieilles coutumes . . . , tu ne sçaurois concevoir la joye de nos coeurs, voyans que tu embrasses nostre creance, & que tu as choisi cette petite Eglise pour y estre fait nostre frere: oüy, tu l'es maintenant, nous n'avons plus qu'un Pere, qui est Dieu, & qu'une Mere commune, qui est l'Eglise; voicy donc tes freres qui te declarent, que tes amis sont leurs amis, & que tes ennemis sont leurs ennemis.'⁷⁵ A year later, Tsondatasa, having escaped from an Iroquois ambush, fled to the Algonquins at Trois-Rivières. When he finally returned to his own country, he related to his people how he felt among the Christian Natives there: 'Je m'y vis entouré de mes

(712), 'factional spirit' (714), 'more attached to the Jesuits than to his country or to his relatives' (714). A similar process occurred later in the century when Jesuits became active in Iroquois villages: 'When Christians divorced themselves from ceremonies that had previously ratified their bonds to fellow villagers, they began to define themselves as a distinct people'; see Daniel K. Richter, 'Iroquois versus Iroquois: Jesuit Missions and Christianity in Village Politics, 1642-1686,' *Ethnohistory* 32 (1985): 1-16.

⁷⁴ *Relation de . . . M. DC. XL.*, in *MNF*, 4:680.

⁷⁵ *Relation de . . . 1640 et 1641*, in *JR*, 20:220. Bailey had previously remarked in passing on the fact that the Native Christians at Sillery considered each other 'brothers'; see Alfred Goldsworthy Bailey, *The Conflict of European and Eastern Algonkian Cultures 1504-1700: A Study in Canadian Civilization*, 2d ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), 48.

frères les Chrestiens Montagnais, Algonquins et François. Tous me parloient d'un langage inconnu, et toutefois ils consoloient mon coeur.⁷⁶ Around the same time, an Abenaki headman who had come to Sillery to cover the body of an Algonquin man killed by his people—that is, to offer gifts as reparations—was told by the Christians there: 'Nous prions Dieu, et ne reconnoissons point d'autres amis ny freres que ceux qui prient comme nous Si tu veux doncques nous avoir pour freres et pour amis, apprends à prier comme l'on nous a enseigné.'⁷⁷ A Christian woman from Sillery expressed the same logic when she declared to those of her kin who had rejected Christianity, 'Vous n'estes point mes parens, depuis que vous avez quitté la prière, je ne connois point d'autres parens que les vrais Chrestiens.'⁷⁸ An Attikamekw man, speaking to young people of his nation, similarly emphasized the primacy of Christian kinship: 'Je vous ayme parce que vous croyez en Dieu; Vous estes mes neveux, mais ma plus forte parenté est dans la Foy. Un tel (qu'il nommoit), quoyqu'il soit d'une nation ennemie de la nostre, ne me semble plus estranger. Je le tiens pour mon parent, parce qu'il croit fortement en Dieu.'⁷⁹ Perhaps one of the period's most eloquent explanations of Christian kinship was offered by Marie Kamakateouingouetch, an Algonquin woman who escaped from an Iroquois village and fled to Montréal where she met an Attikamekw woman to whom she declared: 'La Foy est une chose admirable, elle ramasse les nations et de plusieurs elle n'en fait qu'une. C'est la Foy qui fait que les François sont mes parents, ils m'ont reçu et ils me traittent comme leur parente. C'est la Foy qui fait que je t'ayme. Quel sujet aurois-je de t'aymer? Tu n'es point de ma nation; je

⁷⁶ *Relation de . . . 1643 et 1644*, in *JR*, 26:218.

⁷⁷ *Relation de . . . 1643 et 1644*, in *JR*, 25:116–118. According to the author of the *Relation*, this council was held three years before (i.e., around 1641).

⁷⁸ *Relation de . . . 1643 et 1644*, in *JR*, 25:264.

⁷⁹ *Relation de . . . 1644 et 1645*, in *JR*, 27:156.

n'ay point d'interrest que tu demeure ou que tu t'en aille. Mais je ne sçay comme cela se fait, je sens bien que je t'ayme, à cause que tu crois en Dieu.⁸⁰

The association between conversion and alliance has been recognized by scholars as an important aspect of the Native reception of Christianity. John Steckley's study of the image of Christianity as conveyed through the Huron-language texts created by the missionaries confirms the central role of kinship metaphors in Jesuit proselytization and the resonance of these metaphors within indigenous models of alliance.⁸¹ Kenneth M. Morrison has similarly argued that, for the seventeenth-century Innu, the ritual of baptism had a similar resonance within longstanding cognitive and value systems:

The Jesuits made baptism the main symbolic vehicle by which the French offered the Montagnais religious safety as well as a political, economic, and military alliance. From the first, they exacted promises that if baptized children survived, they would be educated among the French. . . . Others who had not been baptized were accepted by French foster parents because they hoped to Christianize them, and sometimes because their relatives could not care for them, a kindness the Montagnais appreciated. . . . In other instances, prominent French people became the godparents of baptized Montagnais, effectively demonstrating that baptism extended the bonds of social solidarity. Baptism thus operated like many traditional native rituals which aimed to create and maintain alliances among all classes of people. Moreover, French godparents reserved the right to name the newly baptized, and again French custom meshed with Montagnais tradition. Changing one's name had always been a powerful way to declare a personal transition.⁸²

Like Morrison, Denys Delâge has noted that, for peoples uprooted during the years of epidemic outbreaks and disruptive raiding, Christianity served as the basis for the construction of new support networks and as a way of giving

⁸⁰ *Relation de . . . 1647*, in *JR*, 30:266.

⁸¹ Steckley, 'The Warrior and the Lineage,' 494–502.

⁸² Morrison, 'Baptism and Alliance,' 421.

meaning to traumatic experiences like epidemics and warfare; 'Le religion chrétienne pouvait remplir cette fonction sociale parce qu'elle promouvait un Dieu universel qui transcendait les barrières ethniques.'⁸³ In my view, the Native discourses cited above indicate that the indigenous conception of the new religion did not transcend but rather built upon and, in some cases, supplanted traditional senses of identity based on kinship. In the process, the conventional metaphor of brotherhood, long the symbolic basis of the trading and military alliances centred in the St Lawrence valley, accrued new meanings. The speech of Attikamekw headman Paul Ouetamourat to the French commandant and the Jesuit missionary at Trois-Rivières in the summer of 1643 suggests the coexistence of the older metaphor of brotherhood as an expression of the reciprocity inherent in the trade relationship and the newer notion of Christian fraternity, expressed here within the formal setting of a council:

Escoute ma parole, toy qui sçais bien le Massinahigan. Tiens, regarde ce que tu vois là, ce sont les lettres que j'envoie au capitaine des François qui est à Québec. Mes jeunes gens les porteront, mais toy qui a plus d'esprit qu'eux, écris-luy ce que je te diray.

L'an passé il nous fit un beau présent pour nous donner de l'esprit, nous en avons reçu un peu. Nous voulons répondre à son présent embrassant la Foy, et nous luy témoignons que ce que nous disons est véritable par cette lettre que tu luy enverras (c'estoit un paquet de castors). . . . [O]n nous a fait plaisir de nous enseigner et baptiser cet hyver passé, nous en faisons des remercimens, et demandonsla continuation de ce bien par cette autre lettre (c'estoit un autre paquet de soixa[n]te-quatre castors). Vous avez pitié de nous, les ennemis troubloient nostre rivière par leurs courses, vous la bouchez par le moyen des forts que vous bastissez contre les Iroquois. Voilà de quoy affermir ces forts, & en disant cela il jette un autre paquet de castors. Il ne reste plus qu'à vivre com[m]e frères et ne se pas quereler, puisque nous prio[n]s tous. Mais parce

⁸³ Delâge, *Le Pays renversé*, 70.

que cela est difficile quand il s'agit de la traite, voilà des peaux pour adoucir les esprits, & jette un quatrième paquet de castors.⁸⁴

Ouetamourat's gifts and rhetoric acknowledge both the logic of Christian kinship ('vivre comme frères . . . puisque nous prions tous') as well as the reciprocal exchanges of necessities and military assistance that had characterized the alliance of brothers from its inception nearly a half-century earlier.

The Jesuits and their followers were not the only group who sought to manipulate the brother metaphor in a creative fashion in this period; Haudenosaunee leaders also employed the metaphor innovatively in the two-and-a-half decades after 1641 during which they engaged in an on-gain, off-again effort to define their relationship with the French in the St Lawrence valley. At a symbolic level, the mid-century fighting and diplomacy involved two sets of brothers. On the one hand, the Innu, Algonquins, Wendat, and French had, since the first decade of the seventeenth century, established a military and commercial alliance that used the idiom of brotherhood to express the generally equal status of the partners in the relationship and the general obligation of the partners to provide each other with assistance. For their part, the Haudenosaunee had by the 1640s a generation-old trading relationship with the Dutch in the Hudson River valley that seems to have hinged on a succession of close relationships between individual Dutch traders or officials and Haudenosaunee headmen. In the 1650s Haudenosaunee diplomats were referring to themselves as brothers of the Dutch.⁸⁵ Beginning in 1641, some Mohawks sought to form a relationship with the French that would parallel their

⁸⁴ *Relation de . . . 1643 et 1644*, in *JR*, 26:80–82. For the identity of the speaker, see *MNF*, 6:143 n. 5, 146 n. 10.

⁸⁵ Richter, *Ordeal*, 87–95. In 1678 an Onondaga dated the 'ancient brotherhood' between the Dutch and the Iroquois to the time of a governor named Jacques, which Richter suspects is a reference to the Dutch trader Jacob Eelckens, fl. 1613–1633.

alliance with the Dutch but exclude the Innu, Algonquins, and Wendat. These efforts took place even as the Mohawks and Oneidas stepped up their attacks on the Native allies of the French and in the process, acquired French captives. The Mohawks who brought two captive Frenchmen to Trois-Rivières in early June 1641 explained that they had learned how to change Frenchmen into Mohawks, and now returned these men so that they could become French again, or rather 'François & Hiroquois tout ensemble: car nous ne serons plus qu'un peuple.'⁸⁶ As Alain Beaulieu and others have noted, this trope of becoming one people was a recurrent feature of Haudenosaunee political overtures to the French in the seventeenth century.⁸⁷ The rhetoric of being one people was congruent with the vocabulary the Haudenosaunee used to describe their own internal relations: the five nations of the confederacy spoke of themselves as living in one house, sharing one heart and being of one mind.⁸⁸ But the Mohawk diplomats in 1641 also used a kin metaphor to describe their hopes for the alliance: 'Nous aurons Onontio pour frere,' they said.⁸⁹ The use of this kin metaphor was not surprising to the French or their allies. What was novel about it, however, was that it also made Onontio a father—a father of not one but several nations: the Oneidas and Cayugas, and the Algonquins and Wendat.

In the kinship model that structured the Haudenosaunee confederacy in the seventeenth century, the Mohawks, Onondagas, and Senecas stood as 'fathers' to the Oneidas and Cayugas, who were addressed as the formers' 'sons'.

⁸⁶ *Relation de ... 1640 et 1641*, in JR:21:44.

⁸⁷ Beaulieu, 'Ne faire qu'un seul peuple'; see also Matthew Dennis, *Cultivating a Landscape of Peace: Iroquois-European Relations in Seventeenth-Century America* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1993), a study which tends to view this feature of political rhetoric as a concrete goal, to the exclusion of all other possible goals, in shaping Haudenosaunee behaviour in this period.

⁸⁸ William N. Fenton, *The Great Law and the Longhouse: A Political History of the Iroquois Confederacy* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), 70, 102, 122.

⁸⁹ *Relation de ... 1640 et 1641*, in JR, 21:46.

More specifically, the Mohawks, Onondagas, and Senecas stood as ‘father’s brothers’ to the Oneidas and Cayugas, their ‘brother’s sons.’ As discussed in chapter 3, Huron and Iroquois people classified ‘father’ and ‘father’s brother’ together with a single term. Additionally, a man classified his own children and his brother’s children together.⁹⁰ It therefore followed that in becoming a brother to the Mohawks, Onontio would also classify the Mohawks’ metaphorical children as his own. The earliest reference to the Oneidas as children of Onontio was, however, ambiguous. In a series of councils in 1645 at Trois-Rivières, Mohawk orators asserted that Onontio had given birth to the Oneidas—i.e., was a mother. A Wendat diplomat in these councils symbolically made a cradle for the Oneidas, and later still a Mohawk orator characterized Onontio as the father, and the Mohawks as the mother, of a recalcitrant Oneida daughter.⁹¹

A more systematic elaboration of the implications of this metaphorical kin relationship between the French and the Mohawks emerged in the 1650s in the context of French-Onondaga peace negotiations in 1653 and the proposed establishment of a Jesuit mission on Lake Onondaga. In the fall of 1655 the Jesuits Pierre-Joseph-Marie Chaumonot and Claude Dablon traveled to Onondaga to confirm this peace, the purpose of which, according to an Onondaga orator

⁹⁰ Nineteenth and twentieth-century ethnographies mention a different kinship model for the confederacy, one in which the Mohawks, Onondagas, and Senecas stood as elder brothers to the Oneida and Cayuga younger siblings. However, Hanni Woodbury has argued that extant native language data does not support this but favours the father’s brothers—brother’s sons model instead. Fenton seems to accept this (Fenton, *Great Law*, 54-55), although elsewhere he writes that “the dual divisions of the league are at once ‘fathers’ and ‘sons,’ ‘elder brothers’ and ‘younger brothers,’ respectively. These structural ambiguities run through history and are probably ancient” (ibid., 99). In Iroquois kinship terminology, terms exist to distinguish between older brothers, older sisters, and younger siblings, although According to Steckley, Wendat kinship terminology did not imply any difference of status between older and younger siblings; see John L. Steckley, ‘Huron kinship terminology,’ *Ontario Archaeology* 55 (1993): 35–59, here 45.

⁹¹ Council of 18 September 1645, in *JR*, 27:273–292; council of 20 September 1645, in *JR*, 27:292–304; and council of September/October 1645, in *JR*, 28:280–282. For details on these and other councils mentioned in the following pages, please consult the appendix.

paraphrased in the *Relation*, was ‘pour ne faire qu’un peuple avec nous, & affermir une alliance semblable à celle que nous contractasmes autresfois avec la Nation des Hurons.’⁹² This was to be, in other words, an alliance of brothers. On 9 November, Onondaga orators expressed the notion that, ‘puisqu’Onontio & Agochiendagueté [the principal Onondaga headman] n’estoient plus qu’un, il falloit que les Onneioutchoeueronons [Oneidas] fussent enfans du premier, comme ils l’estoient du second.’⁹³ Six days later, still at Onondaga, a delegation of Cayugas met with the Jesuits as Chaumonot proclaimed Onontio’s adoption of the Cayugas as his children.⁹⁴ The speeches of the French and Onondaga orators on the last day of the council made clear that the French and the Onondagas were brothers, and that the Oneidas and Cayugas were the children of both.⁹⁵ But the Onondagas went further: just as their children became Onontio’s, so must Onontio’s become theirs. To the Onondagas, Onontio’s children were the Wendat and the Algonquins. An Oneida speaker expressed the logical corollary: that the Wendat and Algonquins would thereby become *his* brothers.⁹⁶ This simply reflected a basic axiom of Iroquoian kinship: the children of my father’s brother are my brothers.

Mohawk and Onondaga diplomats of the late 1640s also appear to have inaugurated the notion that the French were fathers to their Wendat and

⁹² Council of 12 September 1655, in *JR*, 42:52.

⁹³ Council of 9 November 1655, in *JR*, 42: 94. En route to Onondaga, the Jesuits had encountered a group of Oneidas; in council, Chaumonot expressed the French desire to be their brothers (council of 31 October 1655). However, at Onondaga, the headmen defined a different relationship between the French and the Oneidas.

⁹⁴ Council of 15 Nov. 1655.

⁹⁵ Council of 15 November 1655, in *JR*, 42:100–110, 114–122, esp. 122.

⁹⁶ Council of 16 Nov. 1655, *JR*, 42: 118 (children of Onondagas), 122 (brothers of Oneidas). See also *Relation de ... 1656 et 1657*, in *JR*, 43: 280, where the author explains that the alliance with the Onondaga made the Jesuits the brothers of the Senecas and the father of the Cayugas. See also *JR* 43: 306; *JR* 44: 20. See also Le Moyne’s reference to the Cayugas as children in *Relation de ... 1660 et 1661*, in *JR*, 47:76.

Algonquin allies. The earliest recorded formulation of this idea came in September 1645 when a French embassy in Mohawk country was instructed to thank Onontio for restoring the good sense of his Algonquin children.⁹⁷ In 1655, an Onondaga delegation at Québec met with French, Wendat, and Algonquin leaders and gave a gift to strengthen the arms of Onontio in whose embrace the Wendat and Algonquins were held with motherly love. ‘Serre-les étroitement, & ne te lasse pas de les embrasser; qu’elles vivent en ton sein, car tu es le pere du païs,’ the gift declared.⁹⁸ Two years later Mohawk orators used the same kin metaphor as they sought Onontio’s sanction for their forced removal of Wendat refugees from Québec: ‘Onontio, ouvre tes bras & laisse allier tes enfans de ton sein.’⁹⁹ The Wendat and Algonquins who were referred to in this manner had formed refugee communities located near French settlements in the St Lawrence valley. Devastated by epidemics and warfare, they sought security in a close alliance with the French and were consequently more open to the ideological influence of the politically powerful Jesuits. In councils of the period, the leaders of these communities repeatedly made claims on their French brothers to provide them with assistance and, importantly, protection from the Haudenosaunee.¹⁰⁰ The Christian Wendat at Québec in particular sought shelter from the Mohawks and Onondagas who were resolved in the 1650s to assimilate as many Wendat as possible. For Haudenosaunee diplomats, to define these nations as the children of Onontio was a way of drawing attention to their dependence upon the French

⁹⁷ Council of September/October 1645, in *JR*, 28:280–282.

⁹⁸ Council of 12 September 1655, in *JR*, 42:56.

⁹⁹ Council of 29 May 1657, in *JR*, 43: 188. The ‘*Journal des Jésuites*’ gives: ‘Onontio ouvre tes bras laisse aller a Agnié tes enfans les hurons, tu me l’a deja promis,’ in *JR*, 43:46.

¹⁰⁰ See for example, the speech of an Attikamekw headman in council of summer 1643, in *JR* 26:80–82; that of an Iroquet nation (Ononchatarnon) headman in a council of 1643 or 1644, in *JR*, 25:266–268; and Piescaret’s speech in the council of 12–14 July 1645, in *JR*, 27:246–268.

and of undermining the foundations of an alliance that offered them some measure of protection.

Whatever measure of French protection existed, it did not suffice to prevent Mohawks from forcibly taking about seventy Wendat into captivity under the eyes of the French in May 1656. The following year, separate parties of Mohawks and Onondagas pressured many more Wendat to relocate to their respective villages.¹⁰¹ Bruce Trigger is certainly correct in labeling the French failure to prevent these removals as a betrayal of 'the bonds of religion and the economic and military alliances that had linked the Hurons with the French for over thirty-five years.'¹⁰² The consciousness of this betrayal is perhaps the best explanation for the reluctance of Onontio and the Jesuits to fully accept the metaphor of French fatherhood with respect to the Hurons. In the fall of 1656, the Jesuit Simon Le Moyne was in Mohawk villages where he addressed his hosts as brothers and referred to the Wendat (many of whom had been taken by the Mohawks earlier that year) as the children of Onontio.¹⁰³ This may have represented a strategic concession to Mohawk power. The following year, however, in council with Mohawks visiting Québec with the intention of carrying away the remaining Wendat, Le Moyne insisted, rather disingenuously, that 'Onontio ayme les Hurons, ce sont des enfans qui ne sont plus au maillot, ils sont assez grands pour estre hors de tutelle. Ils peuvent aller où ils voudro[n]t sand qu'Onontio y mette aucun empeschement. Il ouvre ses bras pour les laisser aller.' Later, Le Moyne addressed a farewell to a Wendat (Attignaouantan) headman, addressing him as his brother and attempting to, in the words of the

¹⁰¹ Trigger, *Children*, 806–815.

¹⁰² Trigger, *Children*, 814.

¹⁰³ Council of fall 1656, in *JR*, 43:212.

Jesuit author, alleviate the man's sorrow.¹⁰⁴ For the French, it may have been that insisting upon the fraternal metaphor was both a means of displacing the responsibility for the Wendat removal onto the Wendat themselves and of encouraging the Mohawks to treat the brothers of the French (and by extension, brothers of the Mohawks) gently. In council with the Onondagas at Québec in the spring of 1657, Le Moyne argued that 'le Huron, l'Algonquin, & le François n'estoient plus qu'une teste, & qui frappoit l'un, blessoit l'autre.'¹⁰⁵ Such soft diplomacy was, as we have seen, utterly ineffectual, for in the end the Jesuits sacrificed the Christian Wendat and Algonquins to their ambitions of establishing a mission among the Haudenosaunee.

By the end of 1658 those ambitions were in ashes as conflict between the French and the Haudenosaunee resumed and intensified. The Jesuit mission on Lake Onondaga had been abandoned. In the early 1660s the French colony experienced its highest losses yet to Haudenosaunee fighters. French discourse regarding the Haudenosaunee became frankly genocidal¹⁰⁶ even as Onontio and the Jesuits engaged in talks with some factions within the confederacy, notably among the Onondagas, who sought peace. By 1663–64, the Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas were poised to negotiate a peace, but a series of dramatic events reconfigured the geopolitical landscape before it could be definitively concluded. An English fleet seized New Netherland from the Dutch, leading to the disruption of Dutch-Haudenosaunee trade.¹⁰⁷ Louis XIV of France asserted direct royal control over New France and dispatched some 1 200 troops to the colony to

¹⁰⁴ Council of 29 May 1657, in *JR*, 43:190.

¹⁰⁵ Council of 6 May 1657, in *JR*, 43:202.

¹⁰⁶ Seem for example, a reference to the king's desire to 'plant the fleur de lys on the ashes of the Iroquois' (*JR*, 46:240); and Chaumonot's letter reporting the governor's intention of 'exterminating' the nations fighting the French (in *JR*, 46:156).

¹⁰⁷ Richter notes that the political takeover did not immediately affect the trade at Albany, but that 'the slow reorientation of transatlantic trading routes from the Netherlands to the British Isles caused occasional shortages of staple items' (*Ordeal*, 99, 102).

campaign against the Haudenosaunee. Learning of the arrival of these forces and uncertain of the relations with the new English masters of the Hudson River valley, the four westernmost nations of the confederacy made peace with Onontio in 1665. Only the Mohawks held out. In 1666 a French army invaded Mohawk country and destroyed its villages and harvests; the following year, they too came to Québec to ratify the terms of the treaty.

Unlike the French-Iroquois councils recorded in the mostly narrative sources of the 1640s and 1650s, the written record of the French-Haudenosaunee treaties of 1665–1667 barely reflect the influence of Native diplomatic protocols and political rhetoric. Instead, they are couched in the language of absolutist authority and European cultural superiority. They are not true council minutes, and despite the fact that the manuscripts in the French archives bear the ‘signatures’ (i.e., clan symbols) of Haudenosaunee participants, they cannot be presumed to reflect the latter’s understanding of the treaty. In these documents, the Haudenosaunee are described as ‘nations sauvages et barbares and infidelles’ who, as a result of the glorious victories of Louis’ armies, have been humbled and therefore accept French domination.¹⁰⁸ To be sure, several of the specific articles of the 1665 treaty, such as the concern with the return of prisoners and the sharing of hunting territories, the dispatching of Jesuit missionaries to Haudenosaunee villages, and the provision of blacksmiths did indeed reflect Haudenosaunee interests: the Jesuits, we know, were welcomed in part as guarantors of French good behaviour, while the blacksmiths were invaluable for the repair of guns and tools. But overall the written treaties show little evidence of the rhetoric and rituals we know from other sources to have shaped Native-

¹⁰⁸ Articles de paix arêtes par M. de Tracy avec Garakontié, 13 Dec. 1665, Library and Archives Canada, Fonds des Colonies, series C11A, vol. 2, fol. 187v. The printed version of this treaty erroneously gives its year as 1666; see *Traitez de paix conclus entre S. M. le Roy de France et les Indiens du Canada* (Paris: Sebastien Mabre Cramoisy, Imprimeur du Roy, 1667).

European diplomacy in the eastern woodlands before and after 1667.¹⁰⁹ Above all, they lack any reference to a kin metaphor defining the relationship between the Haudenosaunee and the French. Instead, they assert that all nations are under the protection of the king of France as his subjects.

The treaties of 1665–67 reflect the ideology of New France's newly arrived colonial administrators, men bearing commissions from the king himself, and imbued with a sense of imperial majesty and power that characterized the symbolic representations of kingship in the early days of Louis XIV's personal rule. These symbols would have been meaningless to the Haudenosaunee. In their next recorded diplomatic encounter with the French, however, it is clear that the French had found a way to broach that divide. In the summer of 1673, the newly arrived governor, Louis de Buade de Frontenac, organized an expedition to Lake Ontario where French forces began construction of a fort near present-day Kingston, in the middle of hunting territories used by the Haudenosaunee. The latter were advised well in advance of his coming and sent delegations to meet him. In his 'harangue,' Frontenac addressed the envoys from the five nations as his children, lauding them for their obedience; Onontio was the common father of all nations, including the Wendat, Algonquins, and others; they in turn must obey his command to all live as brothers.¹¹⁰

In Frontenac's speech, bald assertions of patriarchal authority had completely eclipsed the Haudenosaunee model of intercultural relations which would have seen Onontio become one with the longhouse, a brother to the

¹⁰⁹ There are a few exceptions to this: article VI of the 1665 treaty mentions how the Iroquois will hold the French tight by the body and not by the fringe of the robe only; article VII refers to the suspension of the hatchet of the French, Wendat, and Algonquins.

¹¹⁰ 'Voyage du comte de Frontenac au lac Ontario, en 1673,' in *Découvertes et établissements des Français dans l'ouest et dans le sud de l'Amérique septentrionale (1614-1754): mémoires et documents originaux*, ed. Pierre Margry, 6 vols. (Paris: D. Jouast, 1876–1886), vol. 1, pp. 195–238. The harangue is on pp. 217–226. The manuscript version is in LAC, Fonds des Colonies, series C11A, vol. 4, fol. 12–24v.

Mohawks, Onondagas, and Senecas, and a father to the Oneidas and Cayugas. The author of the account recognized that the symbolic kin structure proposed by Frontenac was an innovation: 'les autres Onontios n'en ayant pas usé avec ces marques d'autorité, et eux n'ayant jamais consenty qu'ils les traitassent autrement que frères.' (This last was, technically, untrue of the Oneidas and Cayugas, as we have seen.) Nevertheless, the Iroquois 'parurent fort contents de ce qu'Onontio, dans la première et seconde audience, les avoit traiteez d'enfans, et par là les avoit engagez à le traiter de père.'¹¹¹ If this were true, perhaps some kind of cultural accommodation was involved here. In the same speech, Frontenac referred to the French as his nephews and displayed an awareness that this model of kinship, for the Haudenosaunee, more closely approximated the attitude of deference and respect which French fathers expected from children.¹¹² As Francis Jennings, William Fenton, and others have remarked, the Haudenosaunee called no European uncle.¹¹³ That Frontenac and his advisors were aware of the significance of that kin metaphor but chose not to invoke it suggests that in French fatherhood they found a convenient middle ground between their own notions of the patriarchal nature of authority and a kin metaphor that the Haudenosaunee themselves had first applied to French-Native relations. For the Haudenosaunee, French fatherhood seems to have been a compromise they could live with. Their replies to Frontenac's speech suggest how, as with the Great Lakes Algonquians examined by Richard White and others, the Haudenosaunee saw their new father principally in the role of provider. According to the account, a Cayuga headman expressed their happiness to have found 'un père qui promettoit de les assister dans tous leurs

¹¹¹ 'Voyage du comte de Frontenac,' 227.

¹¹² For references to nephews, see 'Voyage du comte de Frontenac,' 220, 222, 225.

¹¹³ 'Glossary,' in *The History and Culture of Iroquois Diplomacy*, s.v. 'kinship,' 119–120.

besoins; que c'estoit ce qui luy faisoit espérer qu'il auroit soin d'eux, puisque n'estant pas de son honneur d'avoir des enfans gueux, il ne doutoit point qu'il ne mist un prix si raisonnable à toutes les marchandises qu'il leur feroit fournir qu'ils n'eussent sujet d'estre satisfaits.'¹¹⁴

The treaties of 1667 and the speeches of 1673 marked a turning point in the symbolism of French-Native alliances in northeastern North America. The fraternal metaphor that had characterized intercultural relations since the late sixteenth century was gone; the Mohawks who had first made Onontio a father in seeking to make him their brother now found themselves addressed as children. Yet this new symbolic arrangement did not signify the capitulation or subordination of the Haudenosaunee; rather, it offered them, along with the Algonquian nations of the Great Lakes who also became children of Onontio in the 1670s and 1680s, a new political vocabulary for articulating their expectations of the French newcomers who, though occasionally formidable, remained weak in numbers. The model of French fatherhood would not have endured had the Haudenosaunee and others chosen not to accept it.

¹¹⁴ 'Voyage du comte de Frontenac,' 228.

Conclusion

By the end of the 1670s the old alliance of Native and French brothers was but a memory. When the Wendat envoy Kondiaronk met Frontenac at Montréal in 1682 to request French protection for the Native nations gathered near Michilimackinac, he spoke as Sastaretsi, the titular headman of the Wendat and Tionnontaté refugees of the Great Lakes region, and recalled the old dispensation to the governor. 'Saretsi, ton fils, Onontio, se disoit autrefois ton frere, mais il a cessé de l'estre car il est maintenant ton fils, et tu l'as engendré par la protection que tu luy as donnée contre ses ennemis. Tu es son Pere et il te reconnoist pour tel, il t'obeit comme un enfant obeit à son pere.'¹

Although the alliance of brothers endured through the 1650s and 1660s in the St Lawrence valley, its fate had been sealed with the dispersal of the Wendat in 1648–50. The epidemics, warfare, and internal divisiveness engendered by the presence of the Jesuits had not merely undone the confederacy; it had also destabilized the very foundation of the alliance: the fur trade. The Native nations

¹ Quoted in Gilles Havard, *La grande paix de Montréal de 1701: les voies de la diplomatie franco-amérindienne* (Montréal: Recherches amérindiennes au Québec, 1992), 207.

who gathered as refugees near French settlements in the St Lawrence valley were not able to engage in regular trade with the French as they had in the past; the reciprocity that had made the fraternal model plausible was consequently undermined. In council, Iroquois diplomats of the 1640s and 1650s did not hesitate to underline the increased dependence of many Hurons, Algonquins, and Innu vis-à-vis the French. They positioned themselves as the new brothers of the French, a proposition French leaders, under Jesuit influence, were willing to contemplate if it would allow the continuation of missionary work among the sedentary Iroquois and bring a measure of security to the colony. Even before the French-Iroquois treaties of 1667, however, the French had begun to participate in the creation of a new alliance network in the Great Lakes region. This network included groups like the Huron-Tionnontaté, the Nipissings, and others who had been brothers of the French before the dispersal of the Wendat. But as it took shape in the 1680s and 1690s it also came to include many nations—Odawa, Ojibwa, Potawatomi, Mesquakie, Menominee, Miami-Illinois, Sauk, Winnebago—who had not. Like the old alliances, the new ones were founded upon the fur trade and had, additionally, military dimensions. Symbolically, however, they were imagined as a vast family in which Native children recognized Onontio as their father.² As with the Iroquois addressed by Frontenac in 1673, the new allies in the Great Lakes region accepted the notion of French fatherhood—for their own reasons. In 1701 the Great Peace of Montréal, which ended two decades of renewed hostilities between the allies and the Haudenosaunee, ratified the new order and institutionalized Onontio's role as a

² Bruce M. White, "'Give Us a Little Milk': Economics and Ceremony in the Ojibway Fur Trade' (MA thesis, McGill University, 1985), 19–30; Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), chaps. 2 to 4; Peter Laurence Cook, *Les voyes de douceur et d'insinuation: French-Amerindian Diplomacy on New France's Western Frontier, 1703–1725'* (MA thesis, University of Ottawa, 1994), 29–38.

mediator between his Iroquois children around Lake Ontario and his (mostly) Algonquian children further west.³

The new order in North America seems to have also reflected a clear distinction in seventeenth-century European thought between the 'savage' nations of the Americas and other non-European nations. In geographer Pierre d'Avity's *Les estats, empires, et principautez du monde* (1664), 'Tartarie,' China, Japan, the empire of the 'Grand Mogor,' 'le Royaume du Congo' and even 'l'empire du Prete [sic] Jean' receive treatment; not so the Native polities of the Americas. By contrast, in his *Description générale de l'Amérique* (1643), d'Avity, drawing on the works of Biard, Lescarbot, Champlain, and others, makes it clear that in 'Nouvelle-France ou Canada' Native peoples have 'chefs' and 'sagamos,' but no kings or princes.⁴ A heretical Protestant like William III of England was addressed by Louis XIV as 'brother';⁵ even the King of Persia or the 'Grand Mogol' was his 'très-cher et bon amy.'⁶ By contrast, the Catholic Huron Kondiaronk was but Onontio's child.

The alliance of fathers and children was destined for a long life. In the eighteenth century this far-flung French-Native alliance network became the

³ Havard, *La grande paix*; White, *Middle Ground*, 142–144.

⁴ *Les estats, empires, & principautez du monde, representez par la description des pays, moeurs des habitans, richesses des provinces, les forces, le gouvernement, la religion, & les princes qui ont gouverné chaque estat. Avec l'origine de toutes les religions, & de tous les chevaliers et ordres militaires. Par le sieur D. T. V. Y. gentilhomme ordinaire de la Chambre du Roy* (Rouen: Clement Malassis, 1664), table of contents; Pierre d'Avity, *Description générale de [sic] Amérique, troisième partie du monde, avec tous ses empires, royaumes, estats, et republicques* (Paris: Claude Sonnius & Denys Bechet, 1643), 26–36.

⁵ See, for example, 'Lettre du roi à Frontenac,' Versailles, 25 March 1699, Library and Archives Canada [hereafter LAC], Fonds des colonies, série B, vol. 20, fol. 136 [155]. (These folios have a dual pagination.)

⁶ 'Lettre du Roy au Roy de Perse pour l'obliger à favoriser la compagnie des Indes orientales [1669],' LAC, Fond des Colonies, série B, vol. 1, fol. 139; 'Lettre du Roy au Grand Mogol pour luy donner part de l'établissement qui a esté fait d'une compagnie pour faire le commerce dans ses Estatz [1669],' *ibid.*, vol. 1, fol. 140; 'Lettre du Roy au Roy de Perse pour accompagner les présens de la Compagnie des Indes orientales,' 5 March 1673, *ibid.*, vol. 5, fol. 18v–19.

keystone of French imperial policy in North America, permitting the French colonies to hold their own against the far more populous British colonies east of the Appalachians—at least until the Seven Years' War (1756–63), when Great Britain committed unprecedented resources to the conquest of Canada. The paternal metaphor survived the withdrawal of the French, for the British at Québec inherited the role of father with respect to the former allies of the French. (This transition was not, however, entirely smooth; Pontiac's War in 1763 represented, as White argued, the British regime's painful initiation to the duties of fatherhood.⁷) After the American Revolution, Native peoples around the Great Lakes had to contend with two fathers: the governor of British North America, on the one hand, and the president of the United States, on the other.⁸ The trope endured well into the nineteenth century, with some modifications; in the era of the first numbered treaties signed with Aboriginal nations in western Canada (1871–77), Queen Victoria was described as the 'great mother' of Native signatories.⁹ Already by that time, through the emergence of legislation and government policies that robbed Aboriginal communities of their autonomy, the 'father' metaphor had been perverted, in the British North American colonies east of the Great Lakes, into a hideous and demeaning paternalism that in short order was transferred to the 'Indian' administration of the western lands acquired through treaties.¹⁰ For many First Nations today, the repudiation of the ancient terms of the relationship forms a significant part of their struggle to

⁷ White, *Middle Ground*, 269–314.

⁸ Francis Paul Prucha, *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians*, 2 vols. (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1984).

⁹ See, for example, Alexander Morris, *The Treaties of Canada with the Indians of Manitoba and the North-West Territories*, facsimile ed. (Toronto: Prospero, 2000), 27, 58, 88, 89, 260.

¹⁰ John L. Tobias, 'Protection, Civilization, Assimilation: An Outline History of Canada's Indian Policy,' in *Sweet Promises: A Reader on Indian-White Relations in Canada*, ed. J. R. Miller (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 127–144; but see also J. R. Miller, 'Owen Glendower, Hotspur, and Canadian Indian Policy,' in *ibid.*, 323–352.

revive their communities. As Georges Erasmus, former national Chief of the Assembly of First Nations, noted: 'All that nonsense about the Great White Father is long gone. It's a puff of wind from another time.'¹¹

Yet a number of thinkers have turned to the early period of Native-newcomer relations in Canada as a model for renewing the relationship between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples today. Legal scholar Jeremy Webber, impressed with evidence of the negotiated settlement of disputes between Native groups and French settlers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, argues that despite their ad hoc nature these resolutions represented the creation of a set of 'intercommunal norms' between colonizers and colonized—practical, customary compromises that, he suggests, provide a 'promising foundation' for the modern effort to achieve justice for Aboriginal peoples in Canada.¹² In a similar vein, constitutional scholar James Tully views the relationship between Native peoples and Europeans in the era of New France as one based on the mutual recognition of each group's status as a self-governing nation: 'The Aboriginal peoples recognised the settler communities as nations because it fit in with their customary way of recognising and governing relations with other Aboriginal nations. The French and British officials participated in this system of mutual recognition because it fit in with their familiar way of recognising the governing relations with other nations and because they needed the first nations as allies.'¹³ For Mary Ellen Turpel and Ovide Mercredi, it is the Two-Row

¹¹ Quoted in Geoffrey York, *The Dispossessed: Life and Death in Native Canada* (Toronto: Little, Brown, 1990), 261.

¹² Jeremy Webber, 'Relations of Force and Relations of Justice: The Emergence of Normative Community between Colonists and Aboriginal Peoples,' *Osgoode Hall Law Journal* 33, no. 4 (1995): 623–660.

¹³ James Tully, 'A Just Relationship between Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal Peoples of Canada,' in *Aboriginal Rights and Self-Government: The Canadian and Mexican Experience in North American Perspective*, ed. R. Curtis Cook, and Juan D. Lindau (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000), 39–71, 48–49 (quotation).

Wampum, a belt design said to commemorate an original compact of non-interference negotiated by the Mohawks and the Dutch in the early colonial era, that provides the best model for the future of Aboriginal–non-Aboriginal relations in Canada.¹⁴ In this type of discourse, seventeenth-century Native–newcomer relationships serve as ancient precedents that may be mobilized to criticize or legitimate current policies. Thus, for Anthony Hall, the Nisga’a Agreement (1998) negotiated between the Nisga’a and the governments of Canada and British Columbia ‘is more about continuity than discontinuity; it is more about elaborating and projecting forward very old traditions of constitutional law than it is about breaking with our heritage in ways that lack precedent.’ Citing Richard White’s *The Middle Ground* (1991), Hall asserts that ‘Canada was, in its first incarnation, one of the continent’s most important middle grounds of collaborative enterprise between Native and newcomer The Nisga’a treaty can be pictured as yet another effort to find and hold this zone of fruitful cross-fertilization on the middle ground of an expanded, tripartite version of Canadian federalism.’¹⁵ To judge from these views, seventeenth-century Native-European relations represent in some sense an original condition to which First Nations and non-Aboriginal Canadians must return in order to achieve an equitable and just relationship.

It is the wont of contemporary historians—and perhaps historians of culture in particular—to emphasize the incommensurability of the past and the

¹⁴ Ovide Mercredi, and Mary Ellen Turpel, *In the Rapids: Navigating the Future of First Nations* (Toronto: Viking, 1993), 35; see also Gerald R. Alfred, *Heeding the Voices of Our Ancestors: Kahnawake Mohawk Politics and the Rise of Native Nationalism* (Toronto, New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 98, 100, 139–140. On the Two-Row Wampum, see Maurice Ratelle, *Le «Two Row Wampum» ou les voies parallèles* (Québec: Ministère de l’Énergie et des Ressources, 1992); and Kathryn V. Muller, ‘The Two “Mystery” Belts of Grand River: A Biography of the Two Row Wampum and the Friendship Belt,’ *American Indian Quarterly* 31, no. 1 (2007): 129–164.

¹⁵ Anthony Hall, ‘A Note on Canadian Treaties,’ in Tom Molloy, *The World Is Our Witness: The Historic Journey of the Nisga’a into Canada* (Calgary: Fifth House, 2000), 4–5.

present. 'The past is a foreign country,' we like to say, implying that what happens there is best kept there, or at is least best appreciated in that context.¹⁶ 'To live as brothers' was the shared metaphor that the Innu, Algonquins, Hurons, and French employed to characterize their alliance in the St Lawrence valley in the early seventeenth century; it may be understood, in this sense, as defining the original Native-newcomer relationship in Canada. But as this study has demonstrated, the alliance of brothers was neither an immediate consequence of first contact nor an unchanging set of shared norms. French colonizers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries did not view themselves as entering into nation-to-nation agreements with Native groups, for the concept of a French nation was vague at best; rather, they were subjects of the king of France. It was the monarchy that provided symbolic unity to the disparate regions that made up the kingdom. In the sixteenth century, French expeditionaries in the Americas were inclined to assume that Native Americans would also have kings. Locating these kings, winning their trust and, if possible, their allegiance to His Most Christian Majesty, was an important political project of early colonial ventures in Canada, Florida, and Brazil—even if it sometimes took second place to the search for material wealth or other short-term goals. The nature of leadership in most of the small-scale societies of Native America, however, was such that no single person or office provided an ultimate source of authority and power to which to the expeditionaries could apply. The Iroquoians of early sixteenth-century Stadacona, whatever their initial impressions of Jacques Cartier and his crew, employed various symbolic means to establish a relationship with the newcomers, exchanging kinsfolk and deploying aesthetically and spiritually

¹⁶ This sentence from a mid-twentieth-century novel by L. P. Hartley provided the title for David Lowenthal's influential reflection on changing perceptions of the past in *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge, New York : Cambridge University Press, 1985) and has been widely cited by historians.

valuable gifts of white shell beads in order to make the French act like kin in return; Cartier, however, opted to engineer the downfall of the lord of Stadacona and to recognize another 'king' in his stead. It was not until after the wars of religion had prompted a conceptual shift in the notion of kingship itself in France and regular patterns of seasonal coexistence and cooperation had emerged from the fisheries off the coasts of northeastern North America that the notion of brotherhood surfaced in intercultural discourse.

When the Innu around Québec and Tadoussac and the Algonquins of the upper St Lawrence valley welcomed a group of French traders as brothers-in-arms in the opening years of the seventeenth century, it was an alliance of convenience that satisfied, on the one hand, the desire of the Innu and Algonquins to secure military assistance against their enemies and, on the other, the desire of this group of traders to edge out their European rivals in the business of acquiring furs. Insofar as this meeting of interests also furthered the French crown's stated ambition of establishing colonies overseas, it received the imprimatur of the king himself. The ideal of Native-French brotherhood, a suitably vague metaphor that had served well enough in the era of seasonal trade, continued to be concretized in the ongoing reciprocal exchanges that made up the fur trade as well as in gifts of food and goods that the allies offered each other in times of need. But the metaphor also became the subject of misunderstandings as the French colonization of the St Lawrence valley progressed. These took their most dramatic form when violence erupted between members of the two groups. For the Native allies of the French, kin settled injury and murder amongst each other through rituals of condolence and reparation. For the French, murderous brothers deserved death. The discourse of the missionaries—their promotion of a symbolic brotherhood rooted in a strict and exclusive set of beliefs and practices—further complicated the trope. As much as

it challenged traditional notions of kinship, the logic of Christian kinship nonetheless proved a valuable symbolic device for those Native peoples engaged in rebuilding communities from the fragments of those torn apart in the dislocations that warfare and epidemic disease brought to northeastern North America in the 1630s, 1640s, and 1650s. To the Iroquois, however, the Christian Algonquians and Hurons were more obviously the children of Onontio rather than his brothers. The people of the longhouse—or more precisely, the moiety formed by the Mohawks, Onondagas, and Senecas—would instead become Onontio's brothers and form 'one people' with the French. This shortlived vision perished with the foundering of peace. By the end of the 1660s, with the establishment of the royal regime in New France and the increase in French military power, the Iroquois were no longer enemies to the French; but nor were they Onontio's brothers. As Frontenac indicated at Cataraqui in 1673, they were his children.

The history of a metaphor, even one central to the Native-French alliance that shaped the early history of Canada so powerfully, offers only a very partial understanding of events in early seventeenth century Canada. It is, however, a perspective that brings to the fore the specific terms in which Native and French political leaders put forth their claims to each other and enables us to gauge the resonance that these terms had in their respective political cultures. If this study of Native-French diplomatic relations offers any lesson at all for the present, it may be this: a shared metaphor is no guarantee of harmonious relations. It is but a beginning.

Appendix

Councils relative to Native-French alliances in the St Lawrence valley and lower Great Lakes, 1603–1667

The table below lists 297 council events involving Native nations of eastern Canada and the Great Lakes region and the French that took place between 1603 and 1667. The sixteenth-century encounters discussed in chapter 4 of this dissertation are not listed here, nor are seventeenth-century councils that took place in Acadia after 1608. The purpose of this list is to document the practices of intercultural diplomacy that paralleled the early French colonization of the St Lawrence valley.

This list is not exhaustive and should not be read as a history of diplomacy in the region. Many truces, alliances, and other forms of diplomatic activity are known (or may be assumed) to have occurred in this period, but only those cases for which a description of some kind exists are given here. The length of the summary provided for each event does not necessarily reflect the amount of documentation that exists about a given council; in some cases, lengthy reports of council activity (such as speeches) are summarized more briefly than are sketchier accounts. In general, however, each summary is intended to provide the reader with an idea of the level of detail provided by the sources. Where more than one source is given, the fullest account is usually listed first, unless it is deemed unreliable. For reasons of space, sources are cited in abbreviated form. The exact date of many councils is not known; in these cases, rather than giving lengthy explanations of *terminus post quem* and *terminus ante quem* for each, I have simply provided approximations (e.g., ‘late July’). The question mark is used to indicate informed guesses about unclear dates, locations, or council participation. In order to conserve space and simplify the layout, all notes are located at the end of the table.

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
1602–1603	France	French, Innu	Henri IV receives two Innu envoys brought to France by Pierre Du Gua de Monts.	Champlain, <i>Des sauvages</i> , in <i>Works</i> , 1:99–100.
1603 May 27	Tadoussac (Pointe de Saint Mathieu)	Innu, Algonquins, Etchemins, French	Innu headman Anadabijou invites François Gravé du Pont and Samuel Champlain to the allies’ <i>tabagie</i> and to hear the report of the Innu recently returned from France; Anadabijou thanks the French for Henri IV’s offer to send settlers and assistance to the Innu. The allies celebrate their victory over the Iroquois.	Champlain, <i>Des sauvages</i> , in <i>Works</i> , 1:98–101.
1603 June 9	Tadoussac	Innu, Algonquins, Etchemins	Anadabijou and Besouat, ‘sagamo des Algoumequins,’ lead celebrations of victory; Algonquin women dance and sing; Besouat speaks; gifts are exchanged.	Champlain, <i>Des sauvages</i> , in <i>Works</i> , 1:107–109.

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
1603 August	Tadoussac	Innu, French	The Innu 'sagamo' Bechourat gives Gravé du Pont his son to take to France; Anadabijou, 'grand sagamo', asks Gravé to treat him well and to show him all that the other Innu envoys had seen.	Champlain, <i>Des sauvages</i> , in <i>Works</i> , 1:188.
1604 September 16	Penobscot River	Etchemins, French	Champlain is guided up the Penobscot R. to a falls by locals; meets headmen Bessabez and Cabahis. Champlain proposes peace with Mi'kmaq and Innu, informs them that the French wish to become their allies and settle in their land.	Champlain, <i>Voyages</i> (1613), in <i>Works</i> , 1:294–296.
1605 July 5	Kennebec River	Almouchiquois, French,	Almouchiquois headman Manthoumermer welcomes de Monts; expresses desire for an alliance with the French. The Almouchiquois wife of Panounias, a Mi'kmaq, acts as interpreter.	Champlain, <i>Voyages</i> (1613), in <i>Works</i> , 1:314–316.
1605 July 9–11	Saco River	Almouchiquois, French	Young headman Honechemin hosts de Monts' expedition; trade takes place despite language barriers (Panounias's wife having evidently left the French).	Champlain, <i>Voyages</i> (1613), in <i>Works</i> , 1:323–330.
1605 mid-July	Plymouth Harbor	Almouchiquois, French	Headman Honabetha visits the French barque.	Champlain, <i>Voyages</i> (1613), in <i>Works</i> , 1:341.
1605 late July	Near Saco R.	Almouchiquois, French	Headman Marchin receives de Monts's gifts and offers in return a young Etchemin captive.	Champlain, <i>Voyages</i> (1613), in <i>Works</i> , 1:363–364.
1605 July 29	Near Kennebec R.	Almouchiquois, French	Waiting for the headman Sasinou, de Monts is visited instead by Anassou; an 'alliance' is hastily concluded.	Champlain, <i>Voyages</i> (1613), in <i>Works</i> , 1:364.
1606	Casco Bay	Almouchiquois,	Headman Marchin hails the passing French barque; Poitrin court gives	Lescarbot, <i>Histoire</i> ,

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
before September 21	(Baie de Marchin)	French	gifts, including blue and white beads, which Marchin distributes to his people. The French receive moose meat.	531–532.
1606 September 21	Saco Bay (Chouakoet)	Almouchiquois, French, Etchemins, Mi'kmaq	Local headman Honemechin and visiting headman Marchin receive Poirincourt and give him a Mi'kmaq prisoner. Secoudon (Etchemin) and Messamoet (Mi'kmaq) arrive separately. Messamoet speaks for an hour, proposing alliance and trade with the French, before giving trade goods to Honemechin. He is allegedly displeased to receive recently harvested foodstuffs in return.	Champlain, <i>Voyages</i> (1613), in <i>Works</i> , 1: 395–396; Lescarbot, <i>Histoire</i> , 533–534.
1606 after September 21	Near Gloucester Harbour (Beauport)	Almouchiquois, French	The French are received in local villages by local headmen Quiouhamenec and Cohoupech; Honemechin, who has traveled south overland, joins them, and is given a French suit of clothes which he distributes to his people.	Champlain, <i>Voyages</i> (1613), in <i>Works</i> , 1: 398; Lescarbot, <i>Histoire</i> , 535–539.
1607 June	Near Port- Royal	Mi'kmaq, Etchemins	Mi'kmaq headman Membertou assembles fighters for a campaign against the Almouchiquois of the Saco River; he solicits proof of French support in the form of dried foodstuffs for the allies' feasting.	Lescarbot, <i>Histoire</i> , 567–568.
1608 summer	Saco Bay	Almouchiquois, French, Etchemins	Champdoré mediates a treaty between Almouchiquois headman Asticou, successor of the slain Honemechin, and Oagimont, headman of the Etchemins of the Ste Croix River.	Lescarbot, <i>Histoire</i> (1609 edition), bk. 4, chap. 18.
1608 summer	Québec	French, Ononchataronon (Algonquins)	The son of Iroquet, headman of the Ononchataronon, visits Champlain at the habitation. Champlain offers French assistance against enemies; the Ononchataronon promise to bring other nations to trade with the French.	Champlain, <i>Voyages</i> (1613), in <i>Works</i> , 2:69.
1609	Near mouth	Innu,	After meeting an encampment of Innu, Algonquins, and Hurons at the	Champlain, <i>Voyages</i>

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
before June 28	of Rivière Batiscan; Québec	Algonquins, Hurons, French	Rivière Batiscan, Champlain is invited to a council with Iroquet and a Huron headman where he agrees to fulfill his promise of military assistance. The allies return to Québec, where several days of feasting and dancing ensue.	(1613), in <i>Works</i> , 2: 68–72.
1609 August	Tadoussac	Innu, French	Following Innu victory celebrations, Champlain is given a scalp and Iroquois weapons to show Henri IV.	Champlain, <i>Voyages</i> (1613), in <i>Works</i> , 2:106.
1609 August	Québec	French, Algonquins	Algonquins who were not present at the battle on Lake Champlain (July 29) give Champlain furs as thanks for his assistance.	Champlain, <i>Voyages</i> (1613), in <i>Works</i> , 2:107.
1610 early May	Québec	Innu, French	Batiscan and Champlain invite each other to feasts; in council, the promises of other traders and the summer's campaign are discussed.	Champlain, <i>Voyages</i> (1613), in <i>Works</i> , 2:120–121.
1610 late June	mouth of Richelieu River	Algonquins, Hurons, Innu, French	Champlain demands a council to convince Iroquet to take interpreter-in-training Étienne Brûlé with him; in turn he is given a young Huron, Savignon, to take to France.	Champlain, <i>Voyages</i> (1613), in <i>Works</i> , 2:140–141.
1611 late May	Québec	Innu, Algonquins, French	Batiscan refuses to lend Champlain a canoe.	Champlain, <i>Voyages</i> (1613), in <i>Works</i> , 2:174.
1611 June 13–14	near Montréal	Algonquins, Hurons, French	After deliberating among themselves, the Native allies invite Champlain to a council; Savignon gives an account of his year in France; Champlain receives 100 beaver pelts.	Champlain, <i>Voyages</i> (1613), in <i>Works</i> , 2:189–190.
1611	near	Algonquins,	After speaking with Savignon and Brûlé, Natives send for Champlain	Champlain, <i>Voyages</i>

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
June 16	Montréal	Hurons, French	around midnight; they complain of their poor treatment by other French traders. Champlain is given 50 beaver pelts and four strings of wampum from absent [Huron] headmen. Champlain proposes in turn to visit these headmen and bring them presents. Council ends at daybreak.	(1613), in <i>Works</i> , 2:194–195.
1611 June 19	8 leagues above Lachine rapids	Algonquins, Hurons, French	Champlain is invited to a council in the woods and asked whether Iroquet should host a rival trader's agent (Thomas Godefroy) over the winter.	Champlain, <i>Voyages</i> (1613), in <i>Works</i> , 2:201–204.
1611 July 12	near Montréal	Algonquins, Innu, French	Algonquins condole Anadabijou's son for his father's death; exchange gifts with Champlain and other French traders. Champlain receives a secret gift on the morrow and reciprocates.	Champlain, <i>Voyages</i> (1613), in <i>Works</i> , 2:208–210.
1611 July 15	near Montréal	Kichesipirini (Algonquins), French	Kichesipirini headman Tecouehata [Tessouat] exchanges gifts with Champlain, who sends Nicolas de Vignau to spend the winter with the Algonquins.	Champlain, <i>Voyages</i> (1613), in <i>Works</i> , 2:211–212.
1613 between 24 and 27 May	near Montréal	Algonquins, French	Champlain gives presents to obtain services of a guide for exploration.	Champlain, <i>Quatriesme voyage</i> , in <i>Works</i> , 2: 255. ¹
1613 June 3	on Ottawa River	Algonquins, French	Traveling upriver with 4 Frenchmen and one Algonquin in two canoes, Champlain stops a passing flotilla of 15 canoes and obtains the services of a second guide.	Champlain, <i>Quatriesme voyage</i> , in <i>Works</i> , 2:264–5.
1613 after June 2	near Muskrat Lake	Algonquins, French	Algonquin headman Nibachis gives Champlain tobacco and fish, and prepares canoes to take the French to Tessouat. Thomas Godefroy acts	Champlain, <i>Quatriesme voyage</i> , in

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
1613 before June 10	Morrison Island	Algonquins, French	as interpreter. Tessouat hosts a <i>tabagie</i> in Champlain's honour; as per custom, Tessouat does not eat during the feast, while Champlain is given a special meal due to his distaste for <i>sagamité</i> . Champlain announces his intention to visit the Nipissing, and Tessouat agrees to provide 4 canoes.	<i>Works</i> , 2:275–6. Champlain, <i>Quatriesme voyage</i> , in <i>Works</i> , 2:282–3.
1613 mid-June	near Montréal	French, Algonquins	Champlain arranges a public assembly for Vignau's confession; Vignau is alleged to have lied about traveling to James Bay in 1612.	Champlain, <i>Quatriesme voyage</i> , in <i>Works</i> , 2:304.
1615 between June 15 and 24	Lachine	Algonquins, Hurons, French	Natives ask for French assistance against the Iroquois, reminding Champlain of his earlier promise; Champlain agrees to accompany the Hurons. He pleases the allies with a discourse on military tactics.	Champlain, <i>Voyages et descouvertes</i> , in <i>Works</i> , 3:31–32.
1615 late July	Near Lake Nipissing	Nipissings, Hurons, French	Nipissings receive the allies with two days of feasts.	Champlain, <i>Voyages et descouvertes</i> , in <i>Works</i> , 3:39–40.
1615 late July	Shore of Georgian Bay north of Huronian	Odawa, Hurons, French	Champlain gives a hatchet to the headman of a group of 300 Odawa collecting berries in the region.	Champlain, <i>Voyages et descouvertes</i> , in <i>Works</i> , 3:43–45.
1615 August 1– 17	Various Huron villages	Hurons, French	Champlain is received 'fort courtoisement avec quelque humble accueil' in the Hurons villages he visits en route to Cahiaqué. At Cahiaqué, feasting and dancing precede the departure of the warriors	Champlain, <i>Voyages et descouvertes</i> , in <i>Works</i> , 3:46–56.

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
1615 late September or early October	between Lake Simcoe and the Bay of Quinte	Hurons, French	The French give gifts to a Huron hunter wounded by arquebuse fire during a deer hunt. on 1 September.	Champlain, <i>Voyages et découvertures</i> , in <i>Works</i> , 3:61–2.
1615 after September 8	Carentouän (Susque- hannock village)	Susquehannocks, French	The Susquehannocks receive 12 Hurons accompanied by Étienne Brûlé come to coordinate a campaign against the Iroquois. Dances and feasts are held.	Champlain, <i>Voyages et découvertures</i> , in <i>Works</i> , 3:216.
1616 after January 15	Tionnontaté villages	Tionnontaté, French	Champlain and Joseph Le Caron are received with gifts of food and feasting in 7 villages, 'avec lesquels nous contractasmes amitié,' writes Champlain. The Tionnontaté promise to visit the French at Québec.	Champlain, <i>Voyages et découvertures</i> , in <i>Works</i> , 3:95–96.
1616 late January and February	Odawa villages	Odawa, French	Champlain and Le Caron are received with great feasts by the Odawa, 'avec lesquels nous jurasmes aussi amitié.' The Odawa are invited to visit the French at Québec, and in turn ask the French for assistance against their enemies, the 'Gens du feu.'	Champlain, <i>Voyages et découvertures</i> , in <i>Works</i> , 3:96–99.
1616 mid- February	Nipissing village	Nipissing, Ononchataronon (Algonquins)	Ononchataronon headman Iroquet gives wampum to the Nipissings; according to Champlain, this was to request that the Nipissing put off a planned trading voyage to the north, and that they come to Québec in the summer to help settle a dispute between the Ononchataronon and the Arendarhonon.	Champlain, <i>Voyages et découvertures</i> , in <i>Works</i> , 3:104.

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
1616 February 17	Cahiagué	Arendarhonon (Hurons), Algonquins, French	Champlain mediates a dispute between the Ononchataronon Algonquins and the Arendarhonon over the murder of an Iroquois man adopted by Algonquin headman Iroquet and the retaliatory killing of the murderer by an Algonquin. The Algonquins give 50 belts and 100 strings of wampum, along with many kettles and hatchets, to cover the dead Arendarhonon; Champlain, claiming to act as a father, urges that, as brothers of the Algonquins and the French, the Arendarhonon should seek reconciliation rather than vengeance.	Champlain, <i>Voyages et découvertures</i> , in <i>Works</i> , 3:101–114.
1616 before April 22	Seneca or Cayuga villages	Iroquois, French	Brûlé, wandering in the woods after being separated from his escort, meets three Iroquois: they smoke together, and then proceed to a nearby village, where a chief prevents his imminent execution as an enemy. Brûlé is escorted toward Huronia after promising to arrange a peace with the French and Hurons.	Champlain, <i>Voyages et découvertures</i> , in <i>Works</i> , 3:221–5.
1616 after July 11	Québec	French, Arendarhonon (Hurons)	Arendarhonon headman Atironta speaks in private to Champlain, proposing that if the French settle at the Lachine rapids (Sault Saint-Louis) the Hurons will join them 'pour y vivre comme frères.' Atironta argues moreover that a French habitation at Lachine would make Huron traders safe from Iroquois raids.	Champlain, <i>Voyages et découvertures</i> , in <i>Works</i> , 3:171–2.
1618 before July	Québec	French, Innu	Following the revelation that two missing Frenchmen had been murdered by several young Innu, Innu headmen and French leaders arrange a council at which Cherououny, one of the murderers, is to surrender himself but receive a pardon. Under the influence of the Récollets, the French opt to delay the formal pardon until the arrival of the annual fleet, and insist that the Innu provide two boys as hostages until that time.	Champlain, <i>Voyages et découvertures</i> , in <i>Works</i> , 3:189–201; Sagard, <i>Histoire du Canada</i> , 54–57; Le Clercq, <i>Premier établissement</i> , 1:113–123.

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
1618 July 8	Trois- Rivières	Innu, French, Algonquins?	The Innu ask the French to aid them in war; Champlain refuses, insisting that the matter of the murders remains unresolved. Nevertheless, he promises to ask the king for military support. In private, Champlain and Gragé du Pont decide to seek an amicable solution to the French-Innu dispute, although the only mention of a formal ritual of pardon for the murderers comes in 1623. Later developments suggest that, as part of this accommodation, the French insisted on banning the Cherououny from the habitation.	Champlain, <i>Voyages et découvertures</i> , in <i>Works</i> , 3:209–213.
1622 summer or fall	Québec	Innu, French	Miristou gives Champlain 40 beaver pelts in return for supporting Miristou's bid to succeed his father, Anadabijou II, as chief of the Tadoussac Innu; Champlain returns several to pay for a feast. After his election and renaming as Mahigan Atic, the chief, accompanied by other headmen, gives Champlain 65 pelts in council, announcing his intention to live in peace with the French and to call Champlain his brother. Champlain promises that the French will in turn love the Innu as brothers, and provides 40 pelts worth of supplies for a feast. Offended by the presence of Cherououny at the feast, Champlain retires; on the morrow, the headmen offer 100 pelts to Champlain, de Caën, and Gragé to remove the offense and ensure unity. Champlain, seeking to formalize French recognition of Innu leaders, gives Mahigan Atic two swords as symbols of an obligation to bear arms against the enemies of the French, and sponsors another feast.	Champlain, <i>Voyages et découvertures</i> , in <i>Works</i> , 5:62–70.
1622 June 9	Québec	Innu, Mohawk, French	Innu bring 2 Mohawks from Trois-Rivières to a council at Québec, to which the French are invited. Mahigan Atic and the Mohawks kiss their hands, then clasp those of the French, hand-in-hand, they are led by the chief to the council lodge. Following several speeches, 3 Innu — one of whom is Cherououny — and the Mohawks dance, then again kiss their hands and reach for Champlain's, who pointedly refuses to	Champlain, <i>Voyages et découvertures</i> , in <i>Works</i> , 5:73–80.

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
			recognize Cherououny. Afterward, the men, women, and girls dance. On the morrow, Champlain invites the Innu headmen and the Mohawks to a feast and council at the habitation. The Innu and Mohawks announce their intention to leave each other to hunt in peace. Champlain gives trade goods worth 38 beaver pelts to the Innu to send with their envoys to the Mohawks in furtherance of the negotiations.	
1623 July 27 ²	Mouth of the Richelieu R.	Algonquins, Hurons	The allies hold a council to discuss Algonquin treatment of Huron traders passing along the Ottawa River. Accommodation is reached and pelts are exchanged as council gifts.	Champlain, <i>Voyages et descouvertes</i> , in <i>Works</i> , 5:103.
1623 July 31	Mouth of the Richelieu R.	Algonquins, Hurons, French, Innu	Claiming to act according to the will of their king, Champlain and de Caën publicly pardon the Innu who had murdered two Frenchmen several years earlier, but warn that in the future the French would seek the death penalty. As a symbol of this pardon, de Caën casts a naked sword into the river. Gifts are given to all the nations present. Some days later, the French sponsor a feast for the allies, 'selon leur coutume.'	Champlain, <i>Voyages et descouvertes</i> , in <i>Works</i> , 5:104-8; Sagard, <i>Grand voyage</i> , 154; idem, <i>Histoire du Canada</i> , 224-6.
1623 Fall	Quiueuon- ascaran (Attignaou- antan Huron village)	Attignaouantan (Hurons), Récollets	At the request of the Récollets, the Attignaouantan hold a council to deliberate upon the missionaries' desire to live apart in a separate house; the council decides that a house will be built for them if the Récollets will pray God to stop the rain.	Sagard, <i>Grand voyage</i> , 145-8.
Late 1623 or early 1624	Quiueuon- ascaran	Attignaouantan (Hurons), Récollets	After a scuffle breaks out between young Attignaouantan men and the French in the Récollet house, the headmen Auindaon, Onorotandi, Yocoisse, Ongyata, and Onnenianetani convene a council at which Nicholas Viel and Gabriel Sagard receive compensation for the rough	Sagard, <i>Grand voyage</i> , chap. 17; idem, <i>Histoire du Canada</i> ,

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
			treatment of Joseph Le Caron.	394–9.
1624 May	Quiéunon- ascaran	Attignaouantan (Hurons), Récollets	Attignaouantan headmen summon Sagard to a council wherein he is urged to ask God to stop the rains that threaten the planted corn. In return, the Récollets are given a vessel of surplus corn.	Sagard, <i>Grand voyage</i> , 261–4.
1624, spring	Quiéunon- ascaran	Attignaouantan (Hurons), Récollets	In a council held on the grass outside the village, Angoiraste (a war chief), Andatayon, and Conchionet (3 Hurons traveling to the St Lawrence valley) promise Sagard a place in their canoe, and ask him to recommend them to the French traders from whom they hope to receive trade goods at reasonable prices in return for their pelts.	Sagard, <i>Grand voyage</i> , 331–2; idem, <i>Histoire du Canada</i> , 719.
1624 late April to mid-May	Québec	Innu, Mohawks	Unknown number of Mohawk envoys come to the St Lawrence valley to treat with the Innu. Champlain discourages an Innu man named Simon from attacking the Mohawks, and later agrees to the Innu headmen's request to supply dried peas for a feast celebrating the peace. In mid-May, Innu delegates set out for the Mohawk country, returning in early July.	Champlain, <i>Voyages</i> (1632), in <i>Works</i> , 5:118–9.
1624 early summer	Lower Ottawa valley	Petite Nation (Algonquins), Hurons, French	Algonquin envoys ask the Hurons traveling downriver to wipe away the tears of 25 or 30 recent widows; the Hurons give 'un présent de blé d'Inde et de farine' to this effect.	Sagard, <i>Grand voyage</i> , 348.
1624 early summer	Cap de Victoire (a league upriver from the mouth of the Richelieu	Algonquins, Innu, Hurons, French	Algonquins and Innu inform the Hurons traveling downriver that the Mohawks had given 20 wampum belts to be advised of the Hurons' passage, and urge that the Hurons await the French at Cap de Victoire. Encouraged by Sagard and Étienne Brûlé to view this as a subterfuge, the Hurons nevertheless assemble a gift of nets, tobacco, corn, 'et autres choses' for the Innu and Algonquin headmen, in order	Sagard, <i>Grand voyage</i> , 350–1.

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
	R.)		to be able to pass.	
1624?	Mohawk villages	Mohawks, Algonquins	Kichespirini Algonquins send a large embassy to conclude peace with the Mohawks; included is French trader/interpreter Jean Nicolle.	Vimont, <i>Relation de ... 1642 et 1643</i> , in JR, 24:274-6.
1624 late July	Québec	Innu, Mohawks	Six Mohawks come to confirm the peace, notwithstanding the murder of an unidentified Mohawk by Simon some weeks earlier.	
1624 late July	Trois-Rivières	Mohawks, Nipissings, Hurons, Innu, Algonquins	Mohawk envoys meet with Hurons who have come to trade with the French, bearing Father Joseph Le Caron with them. The Nipissings and their neighbours are also present. '[I]l y a avoit des interpretes pour chacune [des nations]: on fit toutes les ceremonies ordinaires, de la chaudiere de paix, des presens, des festins, & des danses, de la part de ces nations, ausquels les François repondirent de même. Enfin la paix tant desirée fut conclué entre les Iroquois, les François, les Hurons, & nos autres alliés' (260). ³	Le Clercq, <i>Premier établissement</i> , 1:258-260; Champlain, <i>Voyages</i> (1632), in <i>Works</i> , 5:131, 133.
1626 late October	Neutral village (Ounontiston)	Neutral, French	Recollet priest Joseph de La Roche Daillon, arriving in the sixth Neutral village since his departure from the Huron country, proposes in council an alliance between the French and the Neutral, giving small knives ' & autres bagatelles qu'ils estimerent de grand prix.' Principal headman Tsouharissen adopts Daillon as his son.	Sagard, <i>Histoire du Canada</i> , 801-802.
1626/27 winter months	Ft Orange	Innu, Mahicans	Having become embroiled in conflict with the Mohawks in late 1626, Mahicans give wampum belts to Innu visiting Fort Orange and request help in war against the Mohawks.	Champlain, <i>Voyages</i> (1632), in <i>Works</i> , 5:208-9, 214-215.
1627	Trois-	Innu, Algonquins,	Innu headman Mahigan Atic invites the French to a council at Trois-Rivières where the question of joining the Mahican-Dutch alliance is	Champlain, <i>Voyages</i> (1632), in <i>Works</i> ,

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
May	Rivières	French	to be discussed; Champlain sends Eustache Boullé and an unnamed interpreter. Cherououy and Boullé argue against the alliance; the council, divided, puts off a decision until the arrival of the French fleet. Nine or ten Algonquins nevertheless go to war, taking prisoners on Lake Champlain.	5:217–20.
1627 May 23 (Pentecost)	Québec	Innu, French	At the public baptism of Chomina's son, Le Caron addresses the assembly in Innu and urges the Innu headmen to accept religious instruction. Cherououy replies that a council will be held to discuss the proposal. Mahigan Atic criticizes the neophyte Pierre Pastedechouan for his failure to provide the Innu with reliable information about the French and their religion. After the speeches, the French host a sumptuous feast.	Sagard, <i>Histoire du Canada</i> , chap. 34.
1627 July 14–24	Cap de Victoire (mouth of the Richelieu River)	Innu, Algonquins, French	A council is held to decide the fate of two Mohawk prisoners taken on Lake Champlain. Champlain affirms that the French, 'les aymant comme freres,' had helped the Innu and Algonquins in war but now considers that renewed warfare would be to their detriment, and therefore urges that the prisoners be sent home with presents 'suivant leurs coutumes, & remonstrant aussi qu'ils n'avoient pas esté pris du consentement des Capitaines ny des Anciens, mais de jeunes fols, & inconsidererez' The council deposes Cherououy and two others (one of whom is, according to Sagard, an adopted Iroquois) to accompany one of the prisoners back home, and asks that a Frenchman go as well. Pierre Magnan volunteers. The embassy departs on 22 (Sagard) or 24 July (Champlain).	Champlain, <i>Voyages</i> (1632), in <i>Works</i> , 5:221–226; Sagard, <i>Histoire du Canada</i> , 442–6.
1627 August	Mohawk villages	Mohawk, Innu, French	While Mohawks prepare a council to hear the allied embassy, Oneidas slay Cherououy, Magnan, and the others to avenge Algonquin attacks. When news of this reaches Québec, the Innu torture and	Champlain, <i>Voyages</i> (1632), in <i>Works</i> ,

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
1627 October 7– 12	Québec	French, Innu	execute the remaining Mohawk prisoner. Champlain threatens local Innu headmen with extermination unless they deliver to him the suspected murderers of two recently killed Frenchmen. The headmen suggest the Iroquois are responsible but agree to produce a man known to have threatened the French. The following day, the man in question denies the accusations, and Champlain insists in council that three young boys, the sons of headmen, be given as hostages until the guilty party is brought to the habitation. After three days of deliberation, the Innu headmen bring the hostages to Québec, asking that they be well treated. Sagard refers only to 2 hostages.	5:229–232. Champlain, <i>Voyages</i> (1632), in <i>Works</i> , 5:240–248; Sagard, <i>Histoire du Canada</i> , 816–821.
1628 May 10	Québec	French, Innu	La Forière, Innu headman of Tadoussac, brings an Innu suspected of the previous year's murders to Champlain. Despite his claims of innocence, the man is seized; 2 of 3 hostages are released.	Champlain, <i>Voyages</i> (1632), in <i>Works</i> , 5:259–264.
1628 summer or early fall	Near Québec	Innu	Angered by the detention of the murder suspect and aware of the French difficulties due to the English capture of the annual company fleet, Innu near Québec hold a council and resolve to not provide the overwintering French with eels, game, or other supplies. Chomina ignores this decision, as do other Innu.	Sagard, <i>Histoire du Canada</i> , 855.
1628 July	Québec and Trois- Rivières	Algonquins, Récollets	Algonquin headmen Napagabiscou and others offer to host several Récollets at Trois-Rivières over the winter. Once there, however, news of the departure of the English fleet and the arrival of a fleet of Huron canoes prompts the missionaries to return to Québec, despite a council at Trois-Rivières in which Napagabiscou and other headmen reiterate their willingness to care for the French.	Sagard, <i>Histoire du Canada</i> , 846–7.

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
1629 May-July	Abenaki villages	Abenakis, Innu, French	Having learned from Innu headman Erouachy of the Abenakis' desire for alliance with the French, Champlain sends a Frenchman to visit the Abenaki villages 7 or 8 days' journey to the south of Québec. Returning on 15 July, the envoy reports that Abenaki headman will soon arrive to confirm the alliance.	Champlain, <i>Voyages</i> (1632), in <i>Works</i> , 5:313, 318; 6:43-45.
1629 before June 26	Québec	Innu, French	With an English assault looming and in dire need of supplies, Champlain convokes Innu headmen to a council concerning the establishment of a triumvirate of Innu leaders headed by Chomina, offering to release his prisoner if this is done. Erouachy responds for the Innu, agreeing to recognize Chomina as a chief. The prisoner is released.	Champlain, <i>Voyages</i> (1632), in <i>Works</i> , 6:5-25.
1629 July 19-20	Québec	French, English	Champlain negotiates the cession of the habitation to the Kirkes, with Daillon acting as interpreter in Latin. Numerous formalities are observed.	Champlain, <i>Voyages</i> (1632), in <i>Works</i> , 6:53-4, 62-3, 67; Sagard, <i>Histoire du Canada</i> , 897.
1629 after 20 July	Trois- Rivières and Tadoussac	Innu, English	Innu hold a council concerning the possibility that Champlain, now a prisoner of the English and facing deportation, might attempt to take three young Innu girls away with him. An embassy is sent to the English general at Tadoussac to request that the girls be returned to the Innu.	Letter from Nicolas Marsolet to David Kirke, mentioned in Champlain, <i>Voyages</i> (1632), in <i>Works</i> , 6:104-5.
1633 May 24	Québec	Innu, French	Champlain, having taken possession of the habitation from Emery de Caën and from the representative of the Cent-Associés, meets with the unnamed headman of an Innu band to dissuade the Innu from trading with the English whose vessels are anchored at Tadoussac. Olivier	'Relation du voyage du sieur de Champlain en Canada,' <i>Le Mercure</i>

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
			Letardif interprets. Champlain threatens to confiscate goods from Innu caught trading with the English and promises to build a fort at Trois-Rivières. The headman assures Champlain that he has rejected the English offer of alliance, but warns that he cannot control the behaviour of the young men. Champlain foresees that once the Innu have settled near the French fort at Trois-Rivières, 'nos garçons se marieront à vos filles et nous ne serons plus qu'un peuple'; the Innu laugh.	<i>françois</i> (1633), in <i>MNF</i> , 2:365; Le Jeune, <i>Relation de ... 1633</i> , in <i>MNF</i> , 2:452-5.
1633 June 20	Ste-Croix, 15 leagues upriver from Québec	French, Nipissings	Fourteen canoes of Nipissings accompanied by a French interpreter arrive; Champlain gives a 'customary gift' of biscuit and dried peas in welcome. The Nipissings explain that raiding and gift diplomacy has limited the number of men coming to Québec; as well, Iroquois raiding parties are abroad. Champlain promises that within 4 years the French king will have defeated the Iroquois, but is unable to dissuade them from continuing downriver to Québec, where they wish to trade tobacco and nets with the Innu. After the council, the Nipissing trade half their beavers (about 1 000 pelts).	'Relation du voyage du sieur de Champlain en Canada,' <i>Le Mercure françois</i> (1633), in <i>MNF</i> , 2:371.
1633 July 2	Québec	Nipissings, Algonquins, Hurons, Innu, and French	Following the fatal wounding of a French labourer in the morning, 'plusieurs nations' (373) convene an evening council with Champlain. They give him presents to maintain the friendship of brothers (or as condolence?): 100 beavers' worth of beaver, wampum, and tobacco. Champlain gives in return unspecified presents of the same (monetary) value, but defers his reply until the morrow.	'Relation du voyage du sieur de Champlain en Canada,' <i>Le Mercure françois</i> (1633), in <i>MNF</i> , 2:372-3.
1633 July 3 (Sunday)	Québec	Innu, French	Having learned that a Petite Nation Algonquin is known to be the murderer, and not an Iroquois (as had been supposed), Champlain appeals in council to chiefs to agree to his execution; the chiefs respond that the matter could best be settled with presents.	'Relation du voyage du sieur de Champlain en Canada,' <i>Le Mercure</i>

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
			Champlains rejects this position.	<i>françois</i> (1633), in MNF, 2:374.
1633 July 3	Québec	Innu, French	Innu chiefs bring two children bearing wampum to their brother, Champlain, offering them in exchange for the release of the alleged murderer held by the French. Champlain rejects this proposal, and expresses his determination to have the alleged murdered executed following a general council of the allies. 'Ce jour se passa en harangues, qui ne leur profita guères' (376).	'Relation du voyage du sieur de Champlain en Canada,' <i>Le Mercure françois</i> (1633), in MNF, 2:374-6.
1633 July 4	Québec	French, Algonquins	Algonquin chiefs visit Champlain with two children, each bearing a wampum belt, and ask that the prisoner be released. An explanation of the killing is proffered. Champlain rejects the proposal, arguing for the superiority of French criminal justice and European values.	'Relation du voyage du sieur de Champlain en Canada,' <i>Le Mercure françois</i> (1633), in MNF, 2:375-8; Le Jeune, <i>Relation de ...</i> 1633, in MNF, 2:460.
1633 July 29	Québec	Hurons, French	About sixty Hurons hold a council with Champlain and Jesuits Jean de Brébeuf and Paul Le Jeune. The alliance of brothers is confirmed; Champlain receives 184 beavers. Brébeuf announces the Jesuits' intention to visit the Huron and to be their brothers.	Le Jeune, <i>Relation de ...</i> 1633, in MNF, 2:469-72; 'Relation du voyage du sieur de Champlain en Canada,' <i>Le Mercure françois</i> (1633), in MNF, 2:383-5.
1633	Québec	French, Hurons	Champlain announces the Jesuits' intention to establish themselves in the village of Ossossané, and reassures the headman of rival villages:	Le Jeune, <i>Relation de ...</i> 1633, in MNF,

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
July 31?			'Ayez un peu de patience et vous aurez tous des François en vos bourgades.' Afterward Brébeuf convenes a council at which it is agreed that the Jesuits will travel up-country in the canoes of the other villages.	2:474-6.
1633 July 31 (Sunday)	Québec	Algonquins, Innu, Hurons	The Algonquins, apparently supported by the Innu, ask the Hurons to request the release of the prisoner held by the French.	Le Jeune, <i>Relation de ... 1633</i> , in <i>MNF</i> , 2:478.
1633 August 3-4	Québec	French, Hurons	Champlain holds a feast for the Hurons 'selon l'usage du pays'; there is singing and dancing. The next day, he convenes a council: gives gifts to the Hurons (mostly metalwares) to thank them for coming; declares that he considers the late Étienne Brûlé a traitor and therefore will not seek revenge for his murder; explains (at length, in response to a Huron headman's suggestion that it were best that the Algonquin prisoner be released) his reasons for detaining the man and seeking his execution; promises to write to Louis XIII and Richelieu about supporting a campaign against the Iroquois. Inviting the Hurons to return next year, he gives 'sept gros vignots ... de quoy ils font de la pourcelaine' (wampum)	'Relation du voyage du sieur de Champlain en Canada,' <i>Le Mercure François</i> (1633), in <i>MNF</i> , 2:386-92; Le Jeune, <i>Relation de ... 1633</i> , in <i>MNF</i> , 2:477.
1633 August 4	Québec	Innu, Algonquins, Hurons	In an evening council, the Innu and Algonquins ask the Hurons not to carry French in their canoes because of the danger that young men of the Petite nation Algonquins, angered by the detention of their countryman, may attempt revenge attacks. The Hurons acquiesce.	'Relation du voyage du sieur de Champlain en Canada,' <i>Le Mercure François</i> (1633), in <i>MNF</i> , 2:392; Le Jeune, <i>Relation de ... 1633</i> , in <i>MNF</i> , 2:47-8.

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
1633 August 5	Québec	French, Innu, Hurons	Champlain demands to know why no French are to be taken in Huron canoes and threatens to use force to punish any nations protecting the murderers of Frenchmen and to keep trade routes open. The Hurons reply: the river is not theirs, they must respect the feelings of the Algonquins. Algonquin headman Tessouat, responding to Jesuit efforts to obtain a stay of execution for the prisoner, explains that until the prisoner is truly free the young men will remain angry. The headmen agree that the French should be on their guard; if the prisoner is to be killed, Champlain should do it clandestinely. The Innu will winter on Lake Champlain and raid the Iroquois in the spring: this will appease their 'jeunesse folle.' No Frenchmen will accompany the Hurons this year.	'Relation du voyage du sieur de Champlain en Canada,' <i>Le Mercure françois</i> (1633), in <i>MNF</i> , 2:392-4; Le Jeune, <i>Relation de ...</i> 1633, in <i>MNF</i> , 2:478-81.
1633 August 19	Québec	French, Innu	Following escape of Algonquin murder suspect on August 18, Etouet, Innu chief from Tadoussac, visits Champlain. The Innu have decamped hastily, fearing French reprisals; Etouet promises to kill the escapee if the occasion arises; asks for provisions. Champlain declares that in the future murderers will be executed immediately.	'Relation du voyage du sieur de Champlain en Canada,' <i>Le Mercure françois</i> (1633), in <i>MNF</i> , 2:396-7.
1634 summer?	western Great Lakes	Hurons, French, Gens de mer	Seven Huron envoys, accompanied by Jean Nicolle, arrange peace with a nation 300 leagues to the west (possibly the Winnebago nation). Jean Nicolle, clad in a damask robe and carrying two pistols, is greeted as a 'Manitouiriniou,' an Algonquian term meaning (according to Vimont) 'l'homme merveilleux.' ⁴	Vimont, <i>Relation de ...</i> 1642 et 1643, in <i>JR</i> , 23:276-8.
1634 around July 7	Trois- Rivières	Algonquins/ Nipissings, Hurons, French	Algonquin or Nipissing headman 'La Perdrix' advises Hurons not to carry Frenchmen upriver in their canoes; Charles Du Plessis-Bochart ⁵ convenes a council with the Algonquians, and several others with the Hurons, to ensure that the Jesuits will be embarked. To that end he he	Le Jeune, <i>Relation de ...</i> 1634, in <i>MNF</i> , 2:732-3; Brébeuf, <i>Relation de ...</i> 1635,

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
1634 after October 23	Québec	Innu, Algonquins, Mohawks	give several gifts, 'tant publics que particuliers,' including 'de la porcelaine' (wampum) Innu release a Mohawk prisoner in order to open negotiations for a truce, probably with the support of visiting Algonquins; sometime in late 1634, a peace is concluded. (In January 1635, an Oneida headman shows Dutch trader Harmen Meyndertsz van den Bogaert belts and strings of wampum relating to a recent treaty with the 'French Indians'.)	pt. 2, in <i>MNF</i> , 3:85-7. Le Jeune, <i>Relation de ... 1635</i> , in <i>MNF</i> , 3:68; <i>A Journey into Mohawk and Oneida Country, 1634-1635: The Journal of Harmen Meyndertsz van den Bogaert</i> , 14-15.
1635 July 22	Québec	French, Hurons	Champlain commends the Jesuits to Huron care, promising that many more French will go to live and marry among the Huron, teaching them to make ironware; he suggests that the Hurons bring young boys in 1636 to be educated in the Jesuit seminary at Québec. Du Plessis-Bochart also speaks in favour of the Jesuits. A Huron headman undertakes to deliver Champlain's letter to Brébeuf and notes that while all his nation loves the French, the French seem to love only the village of Ossossané.	Le Jeune, <i>Relation de ... 1635</i> , in <i>MNF</i> , 3:77-8.
1636 after March 28	Ossossané?	Hurons, Nipissings, Algonquins	Tessouat ('le Borgne de l'Île') and 3 other Kichespirini Algonquins, bearing 23 wampum belts, request assistance in war against the Mohawks, who have recently killed 23 Algonquins en route to Fort Orange. The Attignaouantan are pointedly not asked. The Hurons and Nipissings decline to provide warriors.	Brébeuf, <i>Relation de ... 1636</i> , pt. 2, in <i>Écrits en Huronie</i> , 84-7.
1636 [April]	Oenrio?	Attignaouantan Hurons, Jesuits	Attignaouantan headman Aenons, reminding Brébeuf of his attachment to the French, enjoins the Jesuits to come and live in a large new village to be established from the fusion of 5 others,	Brébeuf, <i>Relation de ... 1636</i> , pt. 2, in <i>Écrits en</i>

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
			including Ouenrio and Ihonatiria. Several days later, headmen from the 5 villages hold a council to which Brébeuf is invited.	<i>Huronie</i> , 158–63.
1636 [April]	Ihonatiria	Village headmen, Jesuits	The transfer of the Jesuit mission to Aenons's new village having been delayed by the upcoming Feast of the Dead, Brébeuf asks the headmen of Ihonatiria to hold a council regarding the repair of the Jesuits' lodge. Brébeuf gives tobacco and skins, but the latter are returned.	Brébeuf, <i>Relation de ... 1636</i> , pt. 2, in <i>Écrits en Huronie</i> , 163–4.
1636 [April]	Ossossané?	Attignaouantan Hurons, Jesuits	The Jesuits are invited to a large council to plan the Feast of the Dead. Louis Amantacha interprets. Brébeuf presents a wampum belt of 1 200 beads to 'aplanir les difficultés du chemin du paradis'; reads a letter from Champlain and Du Plessis-Bochart exhorting the Hurons to embrace Christianity. The matter of how to include the bones of deceased Frenchmen — Brûlé in particular — is discussed.	Brébeuf, <i>Relation de ... 1636</i> , pt. 2, in <i>Écrits en Huronie</i> , 59–60, 189–91.
1636 May 4	Trois-Rivières	Innu, Algonquins, French	Unnamed headman asks François Derré de Gand, commissary-general of the Cent-Associés, to convey a request for military assistance to colonial leaders. De Gand replies: had the Natives given women to the French as wives and children to the missionaries as promised, they would now be as proficient in arms as the French with whom they should form 'un mesme peuple'; the French will bide their time and increase their numbers before avenging their losses to the Iroquois, whom they will exterminate; he will take this message to the colony's captains on their behalf, in spite of the Natives' frequenting 'foreign' (i.e., Dutch) traders.	Le Jeune, <i>Relation de ... 1636</i> , in MNF, 3:278–9.
1636 mid-May	Ossossané	Attignaouantan, Jesuits	Southern Attignaouantan villages hold a Feast of the Dead, which includes the giving of gifts to foreign allies by the master of ceremonies. Anenkhiondic presents Brébeuf with a robe of 10 beavers	Brébeuf, <i>Relation de ... 1636</i> , pt. 2, in <i>Écrits</i>

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
1636 June 8	Ihonatiria	French, Odawa (‘Nez-Percés ou ... nation du Castor’)	to reciprocate the wampum belt the missionary had presented in council in April. Brébeuf refuses the robe, stating that he only wished the Huron to listen to the Jesuits and to believe in God.	<i>Brébeuf, Relation de ... 1636, pt. 2, in Écrits en Huronie, 88.</i>
1636 July 2	Québec	Innu, French	Unnamed Odawa envoy asks Brébeuf that a Frenchmen be sent to reside with the Odawa for the summer to dissuade attacks by the Aoueatsiouaenrrhonon or ‘Gens puants.’ Brébeuf’s response is not given. Innu headmen convene council with Governor Charles Huault de Montmagny and Du Plessis-Bochart. The Innu present gifts of beaver. Etouet, attired in French clothes, addresses Du Plessis-Bochart as his elder brother; hopes that his love for the French will be reciprocated; asks for help in war. Tchimeouiriniou urges the French to forestall the bitterness that will afflict them if they do not help their friends the Innu. An unnamed ‘hoary’ elder explains the custom of giving gifts in council. In reply, the French say they do not make war for beaver, but out of friendship; nevertheless, they have not enough men this year to help the Innu; moreover, the Innu have not allied themselves through marriage with the French, nor given children to the missionaries so that they may all be ‘un mesme peuple.’ Etouet remarks that if the French are valiant in combat, they will be sought after in marriage; as for children, such exchanges should be reciprocal. The French insist on their lack of manpower and criticize Native methods of warfare.	<i>Le Jeune, Relation de ... 1636, in MNF, 3:282–4.</i>
1636 late July	Rivière Richelieu	Algonquins, Innu, French	Du Plessis-Bochart meets with allies and mediates a dispute, giving gifts ‘pour avaler plus doucement, comme ils parlent, leurs mécontentements.’ Algonquins suspect Innu headman (Tchimeouiriniou?) of accepting presents from the Iroquois and of	<i>Le Jeune, Relation de ... 1636, in MNF, 3:287–9.</i>

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
1636 August 14	Trois- Rivières	Innu, French	betraying the Algonquins. Makheabichtchiou, recalling French losses to the Iroquois in 1633, presents Du Plessis-Bochart with an Iroquois prisoner, notwithstanding the French failure to join the campaign. Du Plessis-Bochart reiterates French criticism of Native warfare and vows that when the French go to war, they will go in force and destroy entire villages; at Natives' request, orders young Frenchmen to dance to the music of a hurdy-gurdy 'en signe de réjouissance.'	Le Jeune, <i>Relation de ... 1636</i> , in <i>MNF</i> , 3:295–6.
1636 August 19 or 20	Trois- Rivières	Hurons, French	Hurons give presents 'pour essayer les larmes et pour avaller plus doucement l'amertume que nos Français recevoient de la mort de feu monsieur de Champlain,' and to renew the alliance. After a period of trading, a second council is held. Du Plessis-Bochart's presents soothe the tired arms of the Hurons and tie a rope to their canoes so they will return the following year. He declares that if the Hurons truly love the French, they will send children to enter the Jesuit seminary; in turn, the French will send as many men to defend the Huron villages. The Hurons express their reluctance to leave children at Québec; Jesuit Antoine Daniel counters their arguments. Subsequently the Hurons, inspired by Attigneonongnahac headman Endahiaconc, resolve to leave six boys with the French.	Le Jeune, <i>Relation de ... 1636</i> , in <i>MNF</i> , 3:300–302; idem, <i>Relation de ... 1637</i> , in <i>MNF</i> , 3:611–12.
1636 before September 4	Trois- Rivières	Hurons, French	Recently arrived Hurons remind the Jesuits at La Conception of Champlain's words ('que les Français et les Hurons ne seroient qu'un seul peuple') and offer to leave boys for the seminary; the Jesuits put off the request on the grounds that, Du Plessis-Bochart and the Huron interpreter having already left, 'il n'y avoit personne qui peust tenir conseil avec eux.'	Buteux to Le Jeune, mentioned in Le Jeune, <i>Relation de ... 1637</i> , in <i>MNF</i> , 3:638–9.

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
1636 November 27, 29	Ihonatiria	Hurons, Jesuits	Jesuits host a feast to express their sorrow for Hurons losses due to the epidemic currently ravaging the country; 'pour procéder à la façon du pays,' give 400 beads of wampum, axes, and moose hides; exhort Hurons to adopt Christianity. Two days later, some village headmen convene a council in the Jesuit lodge to consider this proposition; Brébeuf leads a formal prayer, promising God to build a chapel if the epidemic abates.	Le Mercier, <i>Relation de ... 1637</i> , pt. 2, in MNF, 3:734.
1636 December 5, 6	Ouenrio	Hurons, Jesuits	Aenons, Onaonchiaronk and other village headmen invite Brébeuf (their 'nephew') to a council to solicit God's help; Brébeuf outlines what the Hurons must do to win God's favour, but the headmen consider that to abandon their own customs would be to turn the country upside down ('renverser le pays'). Brébeuf responds that while each nation has its own customs, 'quand [sic] à ce qui estoit de Dieu, que tous les nations devoient avoir les mesmes sentiments.' On 6 December Onaonchiaronk convinces the headmen to follow Brébeuf's advice.	Le Mercier, <i>Relation de ... 1637</i> , pt. 2, in MNF, 3:737-8.
1636 December 11, 12	Ossossané	Hurons, Jesuits	At Brébeuf's urging, headman Anenkhiondic convenes a council at which the Jesuit preaches; on 12 December, the council resolves to announce publicly that the village will adopt Christian ways.	Le Mercier, <i>Relation de ... 1637</i> , pt. 2, in MNF, 3:741-2.
1636 December 15	Québec	French, Algonquins	Montmagny holds a feast for an Algonquin hunting band. In the council that follows, Le Jeune declares that it is the governor's wish that the Algonquins undertake religious instruction and learn to believe in and obey their 'real father' (God).	Le Jeune, <i>Relation de ... 1637</i> , in MNF, 3:573-5.
1637 January 16	Ihonatiria	Hurons, French	Brébeuf is invited to a council at which Aenons urges him to give no credence to rumours that some Hurons are planning to execute or banish the Jesuits, whom they suspect of witchcraft and the source of	Le Mercier, <i>Relation de ... 1637</i> , pt. 2, in

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
1637 February 5	Onnentsati (Attignaou- antan village)	Hurons, French	epidemic disease. Jesuit François Le Mercier is invited to a council concerning the current epidemic; a shaman proposes means of stopping it; ritually burns tobacco.	MNF, 3:751. Le Mercier, <i>Relation de ... 1637</i> , pt. 2, in MNF, 3:764.
1637 March 17	Iahenhouton (Attignaou- antan village)	Hurons, French	Brébeuf and Le Mercier meet with village headmen to discuss the adoption of Christianity, the future marriage of Frenchmen to Huron women, and the possible fusion of several villages. The headmen agree to consider the first proposition, welcome the second, and remain undecided as to the third.	Le Mercier, <i>Relation de ... 1637</i> , pt. 2, in MNF, 3:770-1.
1637 March 29	Ihonatiria	Hurons, French	Jesuits convene a council with village headmen to discuss the possible fusion of their village with Ouenrio and the adoption of Christianity.	Le Mercier, <i>Relation de ... 1637</i> , pt. 2, in MNF, 3:772-3.
1637 late winter	Québec	Innu, French	War chief Makheabichtichiou, having fallen out with the Jesuits, meets with Montmagny, who urges him to continue his instruction.	Le Jeune, <i>Relation de ... 1637</i> , in MNF, 3:569.
1637 April 16	Québec	Innu, French	Makheabichtichiou brings 6 or 7 headmen to the Jesuit residence; after smoking, they listen to Le Jeune speak. 'Enfin, ils conclurent comme les Athéniens: "Nous t'entendrons encore une autre fois discourir sur ce point."'	Le Jeune, <i>Relation de ... 1637</i> , in MNF, 3:647.
1637 [spring]	[Attignaouantan villages]	Hurons, French	Brébeuf attends various councils, hoping to resolve disagreements among the Attignaouantan; prepares 1 200 beads of wampum for a general council to be held at Andiatæ, but which is called off due to Aenons's refusal to attend.	Le Mercier, <i>Relation de ... 1637</i> , pt. 2, in MNF, 3:771.

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
1637 April 24, 26	Québec	Innu, French	An aged Innu headman from Tadoussac, on his way to war, visits Montmagny, 'son amy,' and outlines his projected campaign; Montmagny sends him to the Jesuits for instruction.	Le Jeune, <i>Relation de ... 1637</i> , in <i>MNF</i> , 3:648.
1637 April 27	Québec	Innu, French	An unnamed Innu headman and Makheabichtichiou convene a council with Montmagny and Le Jeune; Letardif and Nicolle interpret. Makheabichtichiou recalls Champlain's promise to help the Innu settle at Trois-Rivières, and requests assistance to do so. Replying for the governor, Le Jeune tells the Innu that since they lack writing, they have forgotten that Champlain's promise of aid was conditional upon the Innu giving their children to the Jesuits for religious instruction.	Le Jeune, <i>Relation de ... 1637</i> , in <i>MNF</i> , 3:650-2.
1637 May 17	Ossossané	Hurons, French	At Brébeuf's request, a general council is held to approve the relocation of the Jesuits from Ihonatiria to Ossossané; later, the Jesuits give unspecified presents to condole the family of their host, who had recently fallen ill and died.	Le Mercier, <i>Relation de ... 1637</i> , pt. 2, in <i>MNF</i> , 3:782, 784-6.
1637 June	Ossossané	Odawa, French	Odawa ('Cheveux-Relevez') envoys visit Jesuits in Huron country; offer presents so that the Jesuits will spare them from illness. The Jesuits refuse to accept these gifts. A second embassy offers the Jesuits a 2 400-bead wampum belt to compensate an alleged theft from the late Brûlé; this the Jesuits also refuse. ⁶	Le Mercier, <i>Relation de ... 1637</i> , pt. 2, in <i>MNF</i> , 3:794-5.
1637 July 1	Québec	Petite nation Algonquins, French	Unnamed headman, having heard that Montmagny 'est grand amy du soleil' and has 'grande cognoissance du manitou,' asks the governor why the Natives are dying while the French are not. Montmagny sends him to the Jesuits for religious instruction, declaring that the priests hold this secret.	Le Jeune, <i>Relation de ... 1637</i> , in <i>MNF</i> , 3:657-8.

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
1637 July 9	Québec	Innu, French	An Innu headman (Tchimeouiriniou?) offers Montmagny his assistance in preventing Innu and Abenaki traders from traveling to Trois-Rivières to trade wampum for the furs of the Algonquins.	Le Jeune, <i>Relation de ... 1637</i> , in <i>MNF</i> , 3:658–9.
1637 after July 8	Angoutenc (near Ossossané)	Hurons, French	At the suggestion of war chief Ondesson, the Jesuits are invited to a village council where, under suspicion of witchcraft, they are asked to explain their reasons for coming to the Huron country and for visiting the sick. The Jesuits bring a gift of tobacco to open the council; a headman summarizes their speech.	Le Mercier, <i>Relation de ... 1638</i> , pt. 2, in <i>MNF</i> , 4:138–9.
1637 August 2	Trois- Rivières	French, Hurons	Montmagny proposes that several Huron families settle alongside the French at Trois-Rivières; the Hurons promise to discuss the issue.	Le Jeune, <i>Relation de ... 1637</i> , in <i>MNF</i> , 3:661.
1637 evening August 4	Ossossané	Hurons, French	A general council of the confederacy is convened to question the Jesuits on their activities and to discuss war and peace. The Jesuits present 300–400 beads of wampum ‘pour leur donner quelque tesmoignage comme nous prenions part aux interests du public.’ The first session, in the evening, deals with foreign relations; the second, beginning at 8 p.m., deals with the epidemic. The Attignaouantan sit across from the Attigneonongnahac and Arendarhonon. Ontitarac, a blind elder, presides; announces that the purpose of the council is to uncover the causes of the illness. Headmen enumerate the deaths in each family; several accuse the Jesuits, their ‘nephews,’ of spreading the illness by means of a piece of bewitched cloth. Brébeuf, calling the Hurons his brothers, says he has no knowledge of the epidemic and attempts to speak of God instead; some headmen ask Brébeuf what must be done to appease God, while Endahiach, headman of Ossossané, complains that the Jesuits speak only of their Oki. The council adjourns to await the return of the Huron traders from Québec	Le Mercier, <i>Relation de ... 1638</i> , pt. 2, in <i>MNF</i> , 4:142–7.

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
1637 August 6	Trois- Rivières	Hurons, French	before passing judgment. Attignaouantan headman Aenons, deathly ill, summons interpreters and designates an unspecified gift for Montmagny, 'le suppliant de gratifier les Hurons.'	Le Jeune, <i>Relation de ... 1637</i> , in <i>MNF</i> , 3:662.
1637 early September	Trois- Rivières	Hurons, French	Two Huron headmen address Achille Bréhaut Delisle, Montmagny's lieutenant: the French are extraordinary beings (<i>okis</i>), and despite the epidemic the Huron have traveled far to see them and to confirm the alliance; their presents, like the numbers of Hurons still living, are few. Delisle presents Montmagny's excuses for being detained at Québec; dispels rumours that the late Champlain plotted to destroy the Hurons after his death. After trading at the company store, another council is held. French presents — hatchets, arrowheads, kettles — are displayed. Delisle thanks the Hurons for their gifts and friendship; explains that when plague strikes the French, the priests provide guidance; Le Jeune declares that Christ is a chief who allows devils to afflict us when we do not obey him. Huron neophyte Pierre Tsiouendaentaha, whom Delisle addresses as his brother, preaches. Delisle urges the Hurons to send several families to settle among the French; gives several barrels of dried peas.	Le Jeune, <i>Relation de ... 1637</i> , in <i>MNF</i> , 3:677–81.
1637 [October]	Ossossané	Tionnontaté, Jesuits	'Nous eusmes bien de la peine a nous desfaire de certains sauvages venus exprès de la nation du Pétun, lesquels après avoir veu et admiré nostre chapelle, nous offrirrent une robe de castor, à ce que, disoient ces pauvres gens, nous fissions cesser la maladie qui faisoit un si grand ravage dans leur país.' Jesuit response is not recorded.	Le Mercier, <i>Relation de ... 1638</i> , pt. 2, in <i>MNF</i> , 4:150.
1637	Ossossané	Hurons, Jesuits	Following the return of the Huron traders from Québec in early October, the Jesuits attend a council convinced that they will be	Le Mercier, <i>Relation de ... 1638</i> , pt. 2, in

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
[October]			sentenced to death; elders and a headman propose a general council which the Jesuits agree to attend (but which seems not to have taken place). Brébeuf holds his <i>atsataïon</i> (feast hosted by those about to die) — prematurely, for anti-Jesuit sentiment subsides abruptly with the end of the epidemic.	MNF, 4:150–1.
1638 January 9	Ossossané	Hurons, Jesuits	Anenkhiondic, aware of the Jesuits' desire to resume public preaching, hosts a feast, invites headmen, and then announces that Brébeuf has convened them to council. Brébeuf takes the opportunity to preach; neophyte Joseph Chiouatenhoua refutes criticism of the Jesuits.	Le Mercier, <i>Relation de ... 1638</i> , pt. 2, in MNF, 4:169–70.
1638 February 1	Ossossané	Hurons, Jesuits	Having convened a larger assembly than that of January 9, Brébeuf preaches in Huron on the theme of Hell; a headman informs Brébeuf that, having fulfilled his desire to preach, he should acknowledge his joy in council. The headmen resolve to henceforth recognize Brébeuf as a village headman with the right to assemble councils.	Le Mercier, <i>Relation de ... 1638</i> , pt. 2, in MNF, 4:171.
1638 spring or summer	Teanaustayaé	Hurons, Jesuits	With Ihonatiria nearly deserted following the epidemic, Brébeuf meets with village chiefs to arrange the relocation of the Jesuits to the large village of Teanaustayaé.	Lalemant, <i>Relation de ... 1639</i> , pt. 2, in MNF, 4:386.
1638 summer	Ossossané	Hurons, Ouenrohonon	Envoys from the Ouenrohonon [Wenro] nation negotiate the resettlement of some 600 of their people to Huron country.	Lalemant, <i>Relation de ... 1639</i> , pt. 2, in MNF, 4:373.
1638 summer?	Québec	Innu	Four lodges of Innu near Québec hold council regarding Christianity. Makheabichtichiou urges his people to be constant in their new faith. These Innu had been afflicted by disease but had been succoured somewhat by the Jesuits.	Le Jeune, <i>Relation de ... 1638</i> , in MNF, 4:127.

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
1638 summer	Morrison Island?	Kichesipirini, Hurons	Huron traders give 2 hatchets and a sword blade to free Jérôme Lalemant, their traveling companion, from an Algonquin, whose grief over the death of a child (whom a Frenchman had unsuccessfully attempted to cure through bleeding) had led him to seize the Jesuit. The Algonquin replies that he will do so if a kettle is added, but agrees to accept a shirt instead. Washing his face and swallowing the water, the man declares that his tears have been washed away and his anger dissipated; later, sends beaver meat to the Hurons.	Lalemant to Le Jeune, n.d., quoted in Le Jeune, <i>Relation de</i> ... 1638, in <i>MNF</i> , 4:129; Dupéron to his brother, 27 April 1639, in <i>MNF</i> , 4:212.
1638/39 winter	Ossossané	Hurons, Jesuits	Jesuits are invited to a council where they learn that a woman of the village has fallen ill after being told by an apparition that she would receive from each of the nations of the region, including the French, a characteristic gift. The headman have organized the appropriate festival, the <i>ononharoia</i> , to fulfill her dream, and enquire if the Jesuits will contribute the blanket required of them. Arguing that the apparition was an evil spirit, the Jesuits refuse to give anything. A headman urges his people to continue to observe the customs despite Jesuit disapproval, but observes that in time his people may well hearken to the missionaries.	Lalemant, <i>Relation de</i> ... 1639, pt. 2, in <i>MNF</i> , 4:425-7.
1638/39 winter	Scanonaenrat (Huron village)	Tahontaenrat, Jesuits	Jesuits meet with 10 or 12 headmen and request permission to preach publicly; the headmen give their approval. Subsequently, the Jesuits and Chiouatenhoua attend various 'private' councils of headmen, distributing tobacco as gifts.	Lalemant, <i>Relation de</i> ... 1639, pt. 2, in <i>MNF</i> , 4:398-9.
1638/39 winter	Paris	French, Mi'kmaq	The son of headman Jouachou meets Louis XIII, Anne of Austria, and the infant dauphin; lays at the feet of the king a 'crown' of wampum. In return, the king gives six suits of royal clothes.	Le Jeune, <i>Relation de</i> ... 1639, in <i>MNF</i> , 4:267-8, 272-3.

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
1639 summer	Ataron- chronon village	Hurons, Jesuits	Seeking permission to develop a new mission headquarters, Jesuits make unspecified presents to the Ataronchronon, who agree to allow an establishment on the Wye River.	Lalemant, <i>Relation de</i> ... <i>MDCXL</i> , pt. 2, in <i>MNF</i> , 4:671-2.
1639 mid- August	Québec	French, Innu, Algonquins, Hurons, Mi'kmaq	Mi'kmaq headman Jouanchou and his son, having borne the gifts of Louis XIII to Québec, find Montmagny and the Jesuits determined to apportion the suits of clothes to other allied groups, 'pour éviter la jalousie'. The Mi'kmaq keep three suits, while the three others are given to neophytes from the Innu, Algonquin, and Huron nations. Following a religious procession on 15 August (Assumption), Montmagny hosts a feast for 100 Natives, after which a council is held in the Jesuit house. Two headmen point out that the French will need to provide more assistance if the project of establishing a sedentary Native community at Sillery is to proceed. Montmagny, Jesuit superior Barthélemy Vimont, and Ursuline convent foundress Marie-Madeleine de Chauvigny de La Peltrie promise to seek support for this in France. Jouanchou pledges to consult his people about coming to Sillery. At this council, or shortly thereafter, Native converts present 'une petite robe à la sauvage' to the Jesuits as a gift for the dauphin.	Le Jeune, <i>Relation de</i> ... 1639, in <i>MNF</i> , 4:267-73.
1639 fall, early winter	Contarea (Arendar- honon village)	Hurons, Jesuits	Jesuits Antoine Daniel and Simon Le Moyne meet with Arendarhonon headmen to explain their intention to preach in Contarea, and are housed with one of the chiefs, Atironta. After initial successes, anti-Jesuit hostility becomes general as epidemic disease strikes; the eldest woman in Atironta's longhouse speaks out against them in council. ⁷ Atironta arranges a council at which the Jesuits have the chance to defend themselves publicly; Chihouatenhoua arrives and speaks at length on the Jesuits' behalf. The headmen remain cool to the missionaries' advice, but the council, according to the Jesuits, has the	Lalemant, <i>Relation de</i> ... <i>MDCXL</i> , pt. 2, in <i>MNF</i> , 4:722-3.

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
1639/40	Québec	French, Innu	effect of calming the angry mood of the people. In honour of the dauphin Montmagny stages a tragic-comedy; at his request, and for the edification of Innu spectators, the Jesuits contribute an episode depicting the torment of a soul by two demons 'qui parloient en langue algonquaine.'	Le Jeune, <i>Relation de ... MDCXL</i> , in <i>MNF</i> , 4:566.
1640 March	Saint-Louis (Ataron-chronon village)	Hurons, Jesuits	A general council is held to debate policy regarding the Jesuits; according to the latter, all but one nation favoured killing the missionaries, who are suspected of having caused the epidemic of 1639/40. An elder advocates killing all the Huron witches first to see if this will stop the spread of illness. No agreement is reached.	Lalemant, <i>Relation de ... MDCXL</i> , pt. 2, in <i>MNF</i> , 4:686-7.
1640 April 11	Teanaustayaé	Hurons	Ondihoahorea and other village headmen decide to expel the missionaries following an anti-Jesuit riot.	Brébeuf's spiritual diary, 11 Apr. 1640, in <i>Écrits en Huronie</i> , 256, 313-14.
1640 spring	Sillery	Innu, Algonquins	Neophytes Pigarouich, Negabamat, and Etinechkouat speak in favour of Christianity and recommend the eviction of non-Christians, one of whom advises against internecine conflict.	Le Jeune, <i>Relation de ... MDCXL</i> , in <i>MNF</i> , 4:570-71.
1640 spring	Sillery	Innu, Algonquins	Following an election of Christian chiefs by ballot conducted with the help of the Jesuits and with the support of Montmagny, a council resolves that the elected chiefs will work in conjunction with a traditional chief, a prayer leader, and two youth leaders; the decision to raise crops at Sillery is confirmed. Young men fire a gun salute to honour the elected chiefs. The following day, the new Christian leaders convene a council with the women, urging them to convert	Le Jeune, <i>Relation de ... MDCXL</i> , in <i>MNF</i> , 4:571-4.

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
1640 spring	Sillery	Innu, Jesuits	and to obey their husbands. Following the sowing of crops, Christian Innu propose that the Jesuits contribute to a present of wampum they wish to make to invite the Innu of Tadoussac to settle at Sillery.	Le Jeune, <i>Relation de ... MDCXL</i> , in <i>MNF</i> , 4:575-6.
1640 summer	Québec or Sillery	Innu, Algonquins, French	Headmen from Trois-Rivières and Sillery ask Montmagny to inform Louis XIII that the suits of clothes they received last year were destroyed in the fire that razed the Jesuit residence on 14 June.	Le Jeune, <i>Relation de ... MDCXL</i> , in <i>MNF</i> , 4:648-9.
1640 November?	Tionnontaté village	Tionnontaté, Jesuits	Jesuits hold council with headmen to explain their intentions; the Tionnontaté refuse their presents, and one headman advises the missionaries to leave immediately.	Lalemant, <i>Relation de ... 1640 et 1641</i> , pt. 2, in <i>JR</i> , 21:176-8.
1640 after November 6	Teotongn- iaton (Neutral village)*	Neutrals, Jesuits	Jesuits Brébeuf and Pierre Chaumonot, widely believed by the Neutrals to be witches but accompanied by servants masquerading as traders, present a 2 000-bead wampum belt to Neutral headmen, offering to establish 'une particulière alliance' and to preach in the villages. On grounds of absence of leading headman Tsohahissen, the confederacy council replies that it cannot accept the belt but gives the Jesuits permission to proselytize.	Lalemant, <i>Relation de ... 1640 et 1641</i> , pt. 2, in <i>JR</i> , 21:206-8.
1640 fall	Neutral villages	Neutrals, Hurons	Aouenhokoui, nephew of a headman on the Huron confederacy council, meets with Neutral confederacy council, offering a gift of nine trade hatchets if the Neutrals will kill Brébeuf and Chaumonot without implicating the Hurons. After an all-night deliberation, the council rejects this proposal.	Lalemant, <i>Relation de ... 1640 et 1641</i> , pt. 2, in <i>JR</i> , 21:212; Ragueneau, <i>Relation de ... 1648 & 1649</i> , in <i>JR</i> , 34:170-2.

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
1640/41 winter	Teotongn- iaton	Neutrals, Jesuits	With Tsohahissen still absent, the confederacy council, having heard from Oëntara and other Hurons that the Jesuits are malevolent witches, meets to formally refuse the Jesuits' belt. When pressed for explanation, the council claims that it has not the means to reciprocate such a great gift; the Jesuits counter that they do not wish anything in return, only that the Neutrals hold them as brothers. A headman warns the Jesuits of Aouenhokouï's mission and urges them not to endanger themselves and the Neutrals by their presence.	Lalemant, <i>Relation de ... 1640 et 1641</i> , pt. 2, in <i>JR</i> , 21:214–16.
1640/41 winter	Trois- Rivières	French, Algonquins	French commandant François de Champflour confronts Kichsipirini Algonquin headman Tessouat with the accusation that the latter assaulted and threatened Jesuit Jacques Buteux with death. Tessouat acknowledges that he angrily threw ashes at Buteux after the missionary accused him of killing people with his curing rituals, but denies having harboured homicidal intentions.	Le Jeune, <i>Relation de ... 1640 et 1641</i> , in <i>JR</i> , 20:262–4.
1641 March or April	Mohawk villages?	Mohawks, western Iroquois?	Following the capture of François Marguerie and Thomas Codefroy by Mohawk fighters in February, western Iroquois nations offer presents to secure the men's release. A council resolves to send the two back to Trois-Rivières come spring.	Le Jeune, <i>Relation de ... 1640 et 1641</i> , in <i>JR</i> , 21:28.
1641 May	Québec or Sillery	Innu, French	A headman from Tadoussac having come to remind Vimont of the Jesuits' promise to send a priest to his people, the Christians of Sillery propose sending a joint embassy with Montmagny to invite the Innu of Tadoussac to settle at Sillery.	Le Jeune, <i>Relation de ... 1640 et 1641</i> , in <i>JR</i> , 21:82.
1641 early June	Trois- Rivières	Mohawks, French, Algonquins	Some 350 Mohawks having arrived Trois-Rivières with Marguerie and Codefroy, Champflour is asked to meet leaders in council pending the arrival of Montmagny, but sends Jean Nicolle and Jesuit Paul Ragueneau, both speakers of Huron, in his stead. Mohawk orators	Le Jeune, <i>Relation de ... 1640 et 1641</i> , in <i>JR</i> , 21:32–64.

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
			<p>express a desire to ally and trade with the French; the French reply that their answer must await the arrival of the governor, who comes in force from Québec. After Montmagny's arrival, Ragueneau and Nicollet attend a council in the Mohawk encampment, where they take seats upon shields in a circle of men. Mohawk orator Onagan, invoking the sun as witness to his sincerity, explains that whereas the Mohawks once feared the French as demons, they have now learned to change Frenchmen into Mohawks; they have brought these two men back so that they may become French once again, or rather 'François & Hiroquois tout ensemble: car nous ne serons plus qu'un peuple.' Releasing the prisoners, Onagan gives two wampum belts and two packets of beaver; expresses the hope that 'nous aurons Onontio pour frère.' The following day, Montmagny confers from his shallow with three Mohawk headmen in canoes: gives blankets, hatchets, robes, and knives for the Mohawks and the other Iroquois nations, in thanks for the release of the prisoners. The Mohawks give four wampum belts and packets of beaver, asking for a French settlement in their country, visits from the French, arquebuses in trade; express their intention to make a separate peace with the Innu, Algonquins, and Hurons. Montmagny asks that Algonquin prisoners held by the Mohawks be released immediately, to which the Mohawks make no reply. On the morrow, mutual mistrust leads to skirmishing, and the Mohawks decamp under cover of night.</p>	
1641 early September	a bay on Georgian Bay, 20 leagues north of Huronia	Nipissings, Hurons, Algonquins, Saulteurs, Jesuits	<p>Nipissings host a large Feast of the Dead, inviting Algonquins, Hurons, Saulteurs, and Jesuits Charles Raymbault and Claude Pijart. Some 2 000 people attend; each invited nation gives a gift to the Nipissings; games and dancing take place. Nipissing headmen are installed in office and several names are raised ('la resurreccion des personnes de marque'). The bones of the deceased are displayed and</p>	Lalemant, <i>Relation de ... 1642</i> , pt. 2, in <i>JR</i> , 23:204-22.

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
1641 mid- October	Sault Ste Marie	Saulteurs, Hurons, Jesuits	adorned. Following a feast of beaver, corn, and dogs (for the Huron guests), two separate councils are held: in one, the Nipissings give present of furs and wampum to the Algonquins and Saulteurs; in the second, the Nipissings give lavish presents to the Hurons and the Jesuits.	Lalemant, <i>Relation de</i> ... 1642, pt. 2, in <i>JR</i> , 23:224-6.
1642 spring? ¹⁰	Sillery	Innu, Algonquins	Saulteur headmen ask Raymbault and Isaac Jogues, who have reached the Straits in Huron canoes, to remain and live there 'com[m]e leurs frères.' The Jesuits reply that they may do so in the future. Having learned of recent Mohawk raids upon upper Algonquins (Kichesipirini), the Christian Algonquians condole the Algonquins at Sillery with three presents: 1 st , wipes away their tears; 2 nd , raises the nephew of an Algonquin headman; 3 rd , encourages them to convert. The Algonquins accept the first two, but put the third aside while they deliberate upon it.	Le Jeune, <i>Relation de</i> ... 1642, in <i>JR</i> , 22:50. ¹¹
1642 summer	Tadoussac	Innu	Christian Innu from Sillery gives 2 presents (provided by Jesuit Jean de Quen) to visiting Innu from the Saguenay region: 1 st , awls to open their ears to 'ce qui se dit au Ciel'; 2 nd , tobacco to burn, as a symbol of the burning (i.e., rejection) of their old customs. Saguenay headman replies that they are mistaken in thinking him a chief; he has no sense, and speaks only for himself, yet his ears are already open to the Jesuits. He will convey this proposal to his people, and hope that his voice will become louder and his ears open wider.	Le Jeune, <i>Relation de</i> ... 1642, in <i>JR</i> , 22:234- 8.
1642 July	Trois- Rivières	Hurons, French	In councils with Huron traders, Montmagny unveils a new policy: his customary gifts, formerly given 'sous le titre de l'alliance qu'on désiroit avec eux,' are now intended to signify 'ques les véritez que	Lalemant, <i>Relation de</i> ... 1642, pt. 2, in <i>JR</i> , 22:310.

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
1642 late August	Trois- Rivières	Algonquins, Jesuits	nous [i.e., the Jesuits] leur preschons estoient très-assurées. Jesuits convey news of recent fighting at Fort Richelieu to gathered Algonquins and exhibit spoils of war. A headman responds: hitherto he believed the French in league with the Mohawks, but now considers that the French are truly friends to his people.	Le Jeune, <i>Relation de ...</i> 1642, in <i>JR</i> , 22:280.
1642 late August	Québec or Sillery	Innu, French	Innu of Sillery give two gifts to Montmagny, returning from Fort Richelieu and fighting with Mohawks: 1 st , thanks him for opposing the Mohawks; 2 nd , wipes away French tears over the capture of Jogues and other French losses.	Vimont, <i>Relation de ...</i> 1642 et 1643, in <i>JR</i> , 24:20–22.
1642 summer?	Sillery	Abenakis, Algonquins, Innu	Abenaki headman brings presents to metaphorically wipe away the tears of the family of an Algonquin killed by Abenakis. The Algonquins accept the presents, and Sillery neophytes encourage the headman to convert in order to form a more lasting alliance: 'Nous prions Dieu, et ne reconnoissons point d'autres amis ny frères que ceux qui prient comme nous ...'	Vimont, <i>Relation de ...</i> 1643 et 1644, in <i>JR</i> , 25:116–18. ¹²
1642/43 winter	Abenaki villages	Innu, Abenakis, Sokokis	Charles Meiachkaouat, a Christian Innu from Tadoussac now settled at Sillery, escorts a Sokoki prisoner (ransomed from the Algonquins at Trois-Rivières) to Abenaki country, whence the captive is to return home. It is implied that the French are behind this diplomatic effort, hoping thereby to forestall revenge attacks and a widening of the conflict with the Mohawks, allies of the Sokokis.	Vimont, <i>Relation de ...</i> 1642 et 1643, in <i>JR</i> , 23:280–2; 24:58–60, 182–4, 192.
1643 early April	Montréal	Algonquins, French	Recently baptized Algonquin headman Paul Tessouat and war leader Simon Piescaret meet with commandant Paul de Chomedey de Maisonneuve and Jesuits Jacques Dupéron and Joseph-Antoine Poncet to explain that, notwithstanding their promise to settle at Montréal,	Dupéron to Vimont, n.d., quoted in Vimont, <i>Relation de ...</i> 1642 et 1643, in <i>JR</i> ,

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
			they intend to move to Trois-Rivières where a larger summer gathering will take place to mourn recent losses in war against the Mohawks and to determine if French military assistance is forthcoming.	24:258–60.
1643 April	Mohawk villages	Sokokis, Mohawks	The Sokoki prisoner ransomed by the French and escorted to Abenaki country by Meiachaouat sends presents to the Mohawks, asking that in consideration of Montmagny's gesture they release a French prisoner. The Mohawks accept the presents but release no captives.	Jogues to Lalemant, 30 Aug. 1643, quoted in <i>Relation de ... 1642 et 1643</i> , in <i>JR</i> , 25:52– 54.
1643 summer ¹³	Trois- Rivières	Attikamekw, French	Attikamek headman ¹⁴ meets with local commandant Desrochers and Jesuit Buteux; asks Buteux to write a <i>massinahigan</i> (i.e., letter) which his young men will bear to Québec along with 4 packs of beaver testifying to the truth of his words. 1 st , thanks Montmagny for last year's gift to the Attikamek, encouraging them to convert; 2 nd , consisting of 64 pelts, asks that Montmagny continue his support for their instruction and baptism; 3 rd , strengthens the forts which the French have built to defend the rivers from the Iroquois. The fourth sweetens the minds of all, so that they may 'vivre com[m]e frères et ne pas se quereler [<i>sic</i>], puisque nous prio[n]s tous.'	Vimont, <i>Relation de ... 1643 et 1644</i> , in <i>JR</i> , 26:80–82.
1643 mid- August	Mohawk villages	Mohawks	Mohawk council, possibly impressed by Dutch and Sokoki efforts to ransom Jogues, decides that neither he nor Guillaume Couillard will be killed. Prior to this, Jogues had been taken to each Mohawk village in turn; he later reported that during his captivity he was regarded as a chief among the French.	Jogues to [Le Jeune?], 14 Jan. 1644, quoted in <i>Relation de ... 1642 et 1643</i> , in <i>JR</i> , 25:68– 72.
1643/44	Québec or	Algonquins,	Headman of the Iroquet nation tells Montmagny that he has brought his people (his 'nephews'), the remnants of a once-flourishing nation,	Vimont, <i>Relation de ... 1643 et 1644</i> , in <i>JR</i> ,

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
winter?	Sillery	French	to Québec out of affection for their brothers, the French, who they hope will protect them from the Mohawks. But the French have received them poorly. Gives 20 beaver pelts as evidence of their poverty, asks for compassion and assistance. Montmagny gives presents in return, but reminds the headman that having multiple wives makes his baptism impossible; forbids communication with certain apostates.	25:266-8.
1644 spring?	Québec	Innu, French	Upon returning from the hunt, Sillery headmen Noël Negabamat and Jean-Baptiste Etinechkaouat hold a council with Montmagny. The governor complains that several men at Sillery still have 'concubines' (i.e., more than one wife each); Noël Negabamat replies that although he disapproves of their conduct, he is not their headman to command them. (The men in question, one of whom is Étienne Pigarouich, appear to be Algonquins.)	Vimont, <i>Relation de ... 1643 et 1644</i> , in <i>JR</i> , 25:144.
1644 June 19	Mohawk villages	Mohawks	Large council (2 000 people were said to have gathered) decides that Jesuit Francois-Joseph Bressani, a captive taken on 30 April 1644, will be adopted; he is given to an elderly woman whose grandfather had been killed by Hurons. She later ransoms him to the Dutch.	Vimont, <i>Relation de ... 1643 et 1644</i> , in <i>JR</i> , 26:48-50.
1644 summer	Tadoussac	Innu	The name of deceased Innu headman Etouet is raised and bestowed upon Georges Nehap, thereby bringing a great leader back to life. Gifts are given to representatives of nations invited to attend, including the French (in the person of Father Jean de Quen). Etouet declares that he lacks the wisdom and liberality of his predecessor, but will learn the former from his people and will strive to match the latter through his industry.	Vimont, <i>Relation de ... 1643 et 1644</i> , in <i>JR</i> , 26:154-162.
1644	Trois-	French, Hurons,	Montmagny, anxious to redeem three Iroquois prisoners held by his	Vimont, <i>Relation de ...</i>

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
late July or early August	Rivières	Algonquins	allies (two by the Hurons, one by Algonquins), is given (by some Algonquins?) 32 or 33 sticks, indicating 'qu'un pareil nombre de prisonniers que les bouches les plus éloquentes du monde.' Montmagny accordingly assembles three 'presents' (separate assortments of hatchets, blankets, kettles, arrowheads, etc.) in the square of the fort and convenes a council with the Hurons and Algonquins. Latter accept presents to wipe away the tears of mourning Algonquins and relinquish the prisoner. Hurons headman declines Montmagny's gifts: 'Je suis homme de guerre, et non point un marchand. . . . Ma gloire n'est pas de rapporter des présents, mais de ramener des prisonniers.' Another Huron, noting that Montmagny's presents are excessive, explains that the honour of young warriors depends upon bringing prisoners back to the villages, where elder headmen will decide their fate; the warriors here today cannot make such a decision; 'on nous regardera comme des gens sans esprit d'avoir déterminé d'une affaire de telle conséquence sans avoir consulté les anciens du pays.' ¹⁵ One of the Hurons' prisoners makes a speech lauding Onontio's efforts to redeem him, saying that even should he die at the hands of the Hurons, his people will nevertheless be grateful to the French; a Huron headman assures him that he will not die, for the Hurons will wish to send him home 'afin d'aplanir la terre, et de rendre douce toute la grande rivière.' Montmagny declares himself satisfied to leave the peace negotiations with the Mohawks to the Hurons, who better understand the customary diplomatic protocols.	1643 et 1644, in <i>JR</i> , 26:56–70.
1645 May 18	Sillery	Algonquins, Innu, French	Algonquin war leader Simon Piescaret meets with chiefs Noël Negabamat and Jean-Baptiste Etinechkaouat and Montmagny in the Jesuit residence; delivers to the governor 2 Mohawk prisoners recently	Vimont, <i>Relation de . . .</i> 1644 et 1645, in <i>JR</i> ,

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
1645 May/June	Mohawk villages	Mohawks, French	taken on Lake Champlain. Of the chiefs and governor, Piescaret says: 'Vous qui n'êtes qu'une mesme chose, qui n'avez qu'un mesme secret, vous qui vous parlez à l'oreille. . . . vous n'êtes qu'un mesme conseil.' Asks them to make peace with these prisoners. Another war leader, Bernard Kinebikoumitou, confirms Piescaret's words. Montmagny honours their courage and loves them (who have become his brothers through baptism); his gratitude is clothed with robes, armed with power and lead ('conformément à leur [i.e., the Natives'] façon de s'énoncer'). One Mohawk prisoner thanks Onontio for giving him life; anticipates that peace will be made: 'Tout mon pays en sera reconnaissant, la terre va estre toute belle, la rivière sera toute calme et toute unie, Les âmes de mes ancestres massaczrez par les Algonquins sont disparues, je les ay sous mes pieds. . . .' Dances and sings, casts a hatchet into the fire: 'Voilà ma colère à bas.'	27:238–244.
1645 July 12–14	Trois- Rivières	Mohawks, French, Algonquins, Hurons, Innu, Attikameks	Tokhranhenehiaron, a Mohawk prisoner taken by Algonquins in 1644 and delivered to the French, bears Montmagny's words to Mohawks: Onontio is grateful for the release of Jogues and Bressani; has ransomed a Sokoki captive; has recently redeemed 2 more Mohawks whom he wishes to send back, 'que l'occasion d'aplanir la terre et de faire une paix universelle entre toutes les nations estoit toute belle.'	Vimont, <i>Relation de ...</i> 1644 et 1645, in <i>JR</i> , 27:244.
1645 July 12–14	Trois- Rivières	Mohawks, French, Algonquins, Hurons, Innu, Attikameks	Kiotseaton, Tokhranhenehiaron, and a third unnamed Mohawk envoy meet with French, Algonquin, Huron, Innu and Attikamek leaders in the courtyard of the French fort; the Mohawks ask to be seated with the French and opposite the Algonquins, Attikamek, and Innu; the Hurons are seated to the side. Kiotseaton presents 17 wampum belts: 1 st , thanks Onontio for the release of Tokhranhenehiaron; 2 nd , releases his 'nephew' Guillaume Couture; 3 rd , assures Onontio that the Mohawks have informed their allies of	Vimont, <i>Relation de ...</i> 1644 et 1645, in <i>JR</i> , 27:246–68.

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
			<p>French overtures; 4th, affirms that their kin killed by the Algonquins no longer cry for revenge; 5th, clears the river; 6th, smooths the rapids; 7th, calms Lake St Louis; 8th, makes a straight and even road between Québec to the Mohawk villages; 9th, lights fires to welcome the French in the villages; 10th, ties a knot binding Mohawks, French, and Algonquins together; 11th, invites the French to eat fresh game with them; 12th, dispels the clouds so that light and truth prevail; 13th, reminds the Hurons of previous peaceful overtures; 14th, bids the Hurons to speak; 15th, explains that the Mohawks had always intended to send back Jogues and Bressani, and that if Marguerie and Godefroy had remained, they would now be married 'et nous ne serions plus qu'une nation'; 16th, lowers the weapons of the French and Algonquins. The 17th belt is sent to Jogues from his adoptive Mohawk 'aunt', who is also the mother of Honateniate, one of the Mohawks still held by the French.</p>	
1645	Trois-	Mohawks,	<p>On July 14, Montmagny replies with 14 gifts. Algonquin war leader Piescaret gives furs to Mohawks to cover the grave of those killed in recent fighting. Noël Negabamat gives 5 moose hides to protect the feet of the ambassadors from rough stones on the road, and 5 more to cover the bodies of the dead and allay the grief of their families; declares that as the people of Sillery are of one heart with their older brother Onontio, they make but one present with the latter's.</p>	
July 12 or 13?	Rivières	French	<p>In a private conference with Montmagny, Kiotseaeton¹⁶ offers a large present to accompany his proposition that the French and Hurons should make a separate peace with the Mohawks, abandoning the Algonquins. Montmagny, perceiving the envoy's negative response to his initial refusal, consults with Vimont and Le Jeune before replying: the Christian Algonquins ('unum simile nobis, Christiani intelligebantur') must be included in the peace; as for the non-</p>	<p>Lalemant, 'Journal des Jésuites', Jan. 1646, in <i>JR</i>, 28:148, 315 n. 16.¹⁷</p>

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
1645 late summer	'dans le milieu des bois'	Hurons, western Iroquois	Christians, who are unlike the French ('alterum dissimile') and not united with them, they are 'masters of their own actions.' Besieged by a Huron army, a group of Iroquois initiate diplomatic proceedings by throwing down their arms, offering belts of wampum, sharing game, and distributing tobacco. A council is held, but at some point hostilities are renewed, with the Iroquois routing the Hurons.	Ragueneau, <i>Relation de ... 1644 et 1645</i> , pt. 2, in <i>JR</i> , 29:248-50.
1645 September 18	Trois- Rivières	Mohawks, French, Innu, Attikamekw, Algonquins, Hurons	5 Mohawk envoys meet allied leaders to confirm the peace; their spokesman delivers 18 presents: 1 st , declares that the thundering voice of Onontio has blown weapons away from their hands, beyond the sky; 2 nd , urges reciprocal visits; 3 rd , lays down a mat for French visitors to rest upon; 4 th , gives warmth to the traveler; 5 th , gives food to the hungry traveler; 6 th , applies an unguent to the travelers' injuries; 7 th , relieves the burden of the French traveler on the portage to Mohawk villages; 8 th , promises wives to French who wish to marry; 9 th , urges the Algonquins to speak; 10 th , urges the Hurons to speak; 11 th , reveals the Mohawk headmen smoking at home, awaiting word from the Algonquins and Hurons; 12 th , observes that the souls of Mohawks killed in war are deep underground; 13 th , underlines that all summer Mohawks have not engaged in hostilities, but have sung and danced; 14 th , asks if their dances should continue; 15 th , reduce the weariness of French envoys; 16 th , requests the return of a Mohawk woman (bapt. Anne-Thérèse) captured in 1636 and sent to France; 17 th , asks Onontio to urge the Algonquins and Hurons to speak; 18 th , promises that a French boy still in Mohawk hands will return later with any Huron and Algonquin envoys who visit. Another Mohawk, 'le plus considerable,' adds 4 belts: 1 st , reveals that many Huron and Algonquin women are seated on stumps outside the Mohawk villages (i.e., are free to leave, having weak roots	Vimont, <i>Relation de ... 1644 et 1645</i> , in <i>JR</i> , 27:274-292.

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
			<p>like dead trees); 2nd, observes that a Huron girl (Khionrea bapt. Thérèse) in captivity would return when the Hurons make peace, otherwise she will remain with the Mohawks as a host for French visitors; 3rd, notes that the Mohawks' allies have received Onontio's gifts; 4th, declares that Onontio had given birth to the Oneida village, but the latter was still too young to speak (i.e., would need to be given a larger present to ensure adherence to the peace). Mohawk orator then dances and sings, taking hold of a Frenchman with one arm, and a Huron and Algonquin with the other. Huron headman Jean-Baptiste Atironta speaks: 'C'en est fait, . . . nous sommes frères, la conclusion est prise, nous voilà tous parents, Hiroquois, Hurons, Algonquins & François.' The Mohawk orator lauds the hunting prowess of the Algonquins and foresees their nations roasting game together on one spit; an Algonquin headman replies that he cannot speak for joy; he is but a child; Onontio has great words: 'c'est luy qui fait la terre.' Montmagny exhorts all to peace, 'les asseurant qu'il leur seroit tousjours amy & parent fidel.'</p>	
1645 September 20	Trois- Rivières	French, Mohawks, Algonquins, Hurons	<p>Montmagny apportions Mohawk belts to the Hurons and Algonquins; gives 2 gifts to the Mohawks: 1st, wipes away the tears of the family of Anne-Thérèse, who has died in France; 2nd, hopes that her name can be raised or her bones buried in her own country. Onontio gives one present each to the Hurons and Algonquins, asking them to speak regarding the peace. A Huron headman presents Onontio with a Mohawk prisoner and a belt of wampum; both are then led to the Mohawks. The Huron headman gives 14 gifts (beaver pelts and wampum belts) to the Mohawks: 1st was the bonds of a Mohawk captive who had escaped and died in the wilderness; 2nd, carries his bones back to his homeland; 3rd, binds those bones together; 4th, makes a road from Huron to Mohawk villages; 5th, opens the doors of</p>	Vimont, <i>Relation de ... 1644 et 1645</i> , in <i>JR</i> , 27:292-304.

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
			<p>their longhouses to the Mohawks; 6th, invites them to visit Mohawks remaining among the Hurons; 7th, makes a cradle for the Oneidas (i.e., hopes they will join the peace); 8th, causes weapons to fall from the hands of the Mohawks; 9th, removes the shields from their backs; 10th, lowers their 'étendart de guerre'; 11th, silences their arquebuses; 12th, washes warrior's paint from their faces, thereby clearing their vision; 13th, smashes the kettle in which Huron prisoners are cooked; 14th, requests that a mat be laid out for Huron visitors.</p>	
			<p>Algonquin headman gives 5 gifts (apparently of beaver pelts): 1st, shows that he is Algonquin; 2nd, causes the rivers to wash away blood shed in war; 3rd, opens the gates of Mohawk villages to his people; 4th, is something to smoke in a shared pipe; 5th, has all sail in one canoe, 'en sorte que n'estant plus qu'un il ne faudra plus qu'une même</p>	
			<p>bouygade, une mesme maison, un mesme calumet & un mesme canot.' Montmagny adds 2 gifts: 1st, assures Mohawks that Onontio will ensure that the Hurons and Algonquins keep the peace; 2nd, sends word to his child, the Oneidas, that he wishes to make the land beautiful and smooth. Mohawk orator, looking to the sun, replies that Onontio has dispersed the clouds. Montmagny holds a feast for 400 (the Native delegations); his guests note: 'Voilà qui va bien, . . . nous mangeons tous ensemble, & n'avons qu'un mesme plat.'</p>	
1645 September, October	Mohawk villages	Mohawks, French, Hurons, Algonquins	<p>An allied embassy comprising 2 Frenchmen (one is Guillaume Couture), 2 Algonquins, and 2 Hurons visits Mohawk villages. Couture gives a present to the Mohawk envoys escorting him in order that 'les paroles d'Onontio qu'ils avoient receu par leurs oreilles, sortissent sans peine et sans rudesse de leur bouche'; he and the envoys then speak to Mohawk headmen. Latter prepare a response for Onontio, with gifts (presumably belts): 1st is a refreshing bath or ointment for the weary ambassadors; 2nd, affirms that the hatchet</p>	Lalemant, 'Journal des Jésuites,' Sept. 1645, in <i>JR</i> , 27:78–80; Lalemant, <i>Relation de ... 1645 et 1646</i> , in <i>JR</i> , 28:280–82.

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
			suspended in their hands is thrown far away; 3 rd , shares Mohawk anguish over their daughter's (i.e., the Oneidas) unwillingness to listen to the counsel of her mother (the Mohawks) and father (Onontio) and her persistence in hostilities; 4 th , thanks Onontio for flattening the earth and uniting their hearts; 5 th , thanks Onontio, the father who has restored the good sense of his Algonquin children. In October, news of the murder of 3 or 4 Algonquian Christians from Sillery prompts Montmagny to send word to Couture to tell his hosts that if the attackers were Mohawks, the peace will hold as long as reparations are made.	
1645 October?	Mohawk villages	Mohawks, Sokokis	Sokoki ambassadors present scalps and a wampum belt ('qui devoit servir de fers pour les [i.e., the Algonquins] mettre à la cadène'), urging the Mohawks to continue hostilities against the Algonquins. In the presence of Couture, the Mohawk council refuses these gifts.	Lalemant, <i>Relation de ... 1645 et 1646</i> , in <i>JR</i> , 28:284.
1646 January	Trois- Rivières	French, Algonquins	Local commandant Jacques Leneuf de La Poterie warns a council of Algonquin headman that he has heard from a Mohawk wintering at Trois-Rivières that the Mohawks understood the recently concluded peace to exclude the Algonquins and that Mohawk war parties would strike the latter this winter.	Lalemant, 'Journal des Jésuites', Jan. 1646, in <i>JR</i> , 28:148.
1646 January	Trois- Rivières	Algonquins, Hurons	Annerahouy, Acahro, and Tandihetsi, Hurons wintering in the St Lawrence valley, convene a council with Arendarhonon headman Atironta and Algonquins to discuss rumours that the French had agreed to exclude the Algonquins from the peace and that 300 Mohawks intended to attack Algonquins this winter. The council is inconclusive as the rumours remain unsubstantiated.	Lalemant, 'Journal des Jésuites', Jan. 1646, in <i>JR</i> , 28:148-50, 154.
1646	Trois-	Mohawks,	Seven Mohawk envoys bring gifts to confirm the peace; disavow the	Lalemant, 'Journal

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
February	Rivières	French	murders of several Christian Natives the previous fall.	des Jésuites, Mar. 1646, in <i>JR</i> , 28:170.
1646 May 7, 9, 13	Trois-Rivières	Mohawks, French, Hurons, Algonquins	<p>Montmagny meets with Mohawk envoys, the leader of whom (Kioisaeaton) 'entonna une chanson d'actio[n] de graces,' gives several presents: to the Algonquins to wash away the blood of their murdered kin; several strings of wampum to the Jesuits to warm the place where Father Anne de Noue died last winter (of exposure near Sorel); other presents expressing Mohawk joy at having concluded peace with the French, Hurons, and Algonquins; presents to the Hurons to advise them that the western Iroquois have not yet had their ears pierced (i.e., have not hearkened to peace proposals); a <i>brasse</i> of wampum to kindle a council fire at Trois-Rivières; and a 3 000-bead wampum belt as wood to keep it burning.¹⁹</p> <p>Two days later, Montmagny gives the Mohawks his presents in return: 1st, thanks the Mohawks for keeping their word; 2nd, expresses his contentment at seeing the earth flattened and the hatchet cast away; 3rd, a 1 000-bead belt promises that the council fire at Trois-Rivières would keep burning; 4th, signifies his wish for the return of a French boy held by the Mohawks; 5th, signifies his wish for the return of the Huron girl Thérèse.²⁰</p> <p>Kichesipirini headman Tessouat chants a song; looks to the sun to bear witness to the sincerity of what he says; chants another song; announces that he speaks for all the Algonquins. Presents several gifts/words, each comprising two moose robes 'bien peintes & bien passementées à leur mode': 1st, affirms that the Algonquins would not be the ones to break the peace and that his mistrust of the Mohawks was gone; 2nd, makes a bed upon which the Mohawk envoys could rest; 3rd, hopes that the Algonquins and Hurons will walk with the French on the smooth paths that Onontio has made; 4th, shows that the</p>	Lalemant, 'Journal des Jésuites,' May 1646, in <i>JR</i> , 28:186; Lalemant, <i>Relation de ... 1645 et 1646</i> , in <i>JR</i> , 28:290–302.

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
			<p>Algonquins have cast their hatchets far away; 5th, wishes that hunting territories be open to all; 6th, anticipates that the Algonquins and Mohawks shall smoke together at the council fire at Trois-Rivières, and that no pipes shall burn. In conclusion Tessouat gives 4 robes to each of the three Mohawk villages, promising that Mohawks who escort Algonquin captives home will find themselves well satisfied with fat in their stomachs and grease on their heads.</p> <p>Kiotseaeton accepts these gifts; gives two presents to the Hurons: 1st thanks them for their kind treatment of Mohawk captives and warns them that the western Iroquois have still not joined the peace; 2nd advises the Hurons to put a kettle on the fire in order to feast the Mohawks who will visit them soon.</p>	
1646 June 10	Oneugiouuré (Mohawk village)	Mohawks, French	<p>On 13 May, in the lodge of an Algonquin headman (Tessouat?), Montmagny gives 2 presents to the Mohawks: 1st thanks them for refusing to accept the Algonquin scalps offered them by the Sokokis; 2nd announces his intention to send Isaac Jogues and Jean Bourdon to Mohawk villages.</p>	Lalemant, <i>Relation de ... 1645 et 1646</i> , in <i>JR</i> , 29:52–58.
			<p>Jogues, in the company of Bourdon and 2 Algonquin envoys, speaks before Mohawk headmen: relates French joy at receiving Mohawk ambassadors and at the conclusion of the peace; affirms that a council fire has been lit at Trois-Rivières; gives a 5000-bead wampum belt to cut the bonds retaining a young French boy, and another such belt to free Thérèse; thanks the Mohawks for rejecting the Algonquin scalps proffered by the Sokokis; gives a 3 000-bead belt to the Wolf clan to keep a fire ever lit to receive French guests. Jogues then presents 10 moose hides on behalf of the Algonquins; the Mohawk respond with 2 gifts, and 2 others intended for the Hurons.</p> <p>Mohawk council gives Jogues a 2 000-bead belt representing the bonds of the French boy, who is free to return to his people, and a</p>	

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
1646 June 23	Québec	Innu, French	<p>1 500-bead belt showing their willingness to free Thérèse once she returns to their country (she is now away with her husband's people). The Wolf clan gives a string of 36 <i>palmes</i> of wampum affirming that a fire and mat are ready to receive Jogues and other Frenchmen.</p> <p>Jogues gives a 2 000-bead belt to visiting Onondagas so that they should understand the purposes of the French who would soon visit them; alludes to three roads by which the French may visit the Iroquois (via the Mohawks, the Onondagas, and the Senecas). Mohawk elders point out that the safe road Onontio has opened leads through the Mohawk villages; the others are dangerous. The Mohawks urge the swift departure of the allied embassy, fearing that western Iroquois war parties in the area might act against the Algonquin ambassadors.</p>	Lalemant, 'Journal des Jésuites,' June 1646, in <i>JR</i> , 28:204.
1646 summer	Abenaki villages	Abenakis, Innu	<p>Abenakis who had wintered at Sillery bear Innu headman Noël Negabamat's words to Abenaki headmen: though he loves them, this love will end with their deaths unless the Abenakis become Christians, in which case it will endure forever. Headmen respond by requesting that a missionary be sent to them.</p>	Lalemant, <i>Relation de ... 1645 et 1646</i> , in <i>JR</i> , 29:68–70.
1646 early July	Île Percée	Innu, Mi'kmaq, Algonquins, Nipissings ²¹	<p>Mi'kmaq Ignace Ouandagareau, Tadoussac headman Simon Nechabeouit, and a headman from the Baie des Chaleurs mediate a peace between the people of Betsiamites and the people of Miscou and 'Acadia'. Speaking for all of the latter, including his kinsman the headman of Rigibouctou, an unnamed headman of 'Acadia' and Ouandagareau present a bag of wampum, 24 blankets, 13</p>	Jacques de La Place, ²² 'De ce qui s'est passé à Miskou,' in <i>Relation de ... 1645 et 1646</i> , pt. 2, in <i>JR</i> , 30:138–42.

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
1646 September	Trois-Rivières	Hurons, French, Algonquins	harquebuses, powder, lead, and swords to the 2 Betsiasmite envoys. Acting as interpreter for the latter, Nechabeouit accepts the present and affirms that hereafter they shall all have one heart; 'bon nombre de paquets de peaux de castors' are given in return. Feasting and dancing ensue.	Lalemant, <i>Relation de ... 1645 et 1646</i> , in <i>JR</i> , 29:232. ²⁴
1646 October 18	Mohawk villages	Mohawks	A general council of the Mohawk nation debates the fate of Jogues, who has recently returned following an epidemic and poor harvest that the Mohawks link causally to a small box of clothes Jogues had left among them on a previous visit. The headmen decide not to execute Jogues as a witch, but before their decision is announced Jogues is killed by members of the Bear clan.	Lalemant, <i>Relation de ... 1647</i> , in <i>JR</i> , 30:114-16; <i>ibid.</i> , 32:24; Buteux to Le Jeune, 29 July 1647, in <i>MNF</i> , 7:50.
1646 October	Sillery	Jesuits, Innu	Jesuit meets with three Christian headmen of Sillery ²⁵ to exhibit a portrait of Louis XIV, Anne of Austria, and Philippe d'Orléans with the message that their majesties wish that people everywhere would join their 'sujets nouvellement convertis' in embracing Christianity. Gifts from Montmagny are also presented: three robes to keep warm their devotion and three arquebuses to defend it. A headman replies that despite the recentness of their baptism, it is dear to them; asks the Jesuit for instruction on how to speak to God.	Lalemant, 'Journal des Jésuites,' in <i>JR</i> , 28:238-40; Lalemant, <i>Relation de ... 1645 et 1646</i> , in <i>JR</i> , 29:234-8.
1646 September	Trois-Rivières	Hurons, French, Algonquins	Montmagny, hoping to ransom an Oneida prisoner taken by the Hurons, urges the Hurons (some 300 of whom had come to the St Lawrence valley, including 60 Christians) to ensure his security. ²³ The French deliver Mohawk gifts to the Hurons and Algonquins: if individual Mohawks join Seneca raids and are killed, the nation will not seek vengeance. Huron gifts to the Mohawks are delivered to Jogues, who is to leave soon for their villages.	Lalemant, <i>Relation de ... 1645 et 1646</i> , in <i>JR</i> , 29:232. ²⁴

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
1647 spring to fall	Huron villages and Onondaga	Hurons, Onondagas	The Onondaga headman Annenraes, captured by the Hurons but freed clandestinely by headmen interested in making peace with the Senecas, conveys peace proposals to his nation which in turn sends an embassy to the Hurons under Soionés, a Huron adopted long ago by the Onondagas, to return 3 Huron prisoners. A Huron delegation under Atironta takes gifts of beaver pelts ('précieuses dans le pays ennemy') to Onondaga and receives 7 wampum belts, each of 3 000 to 4 000 beads. Atironta returns escorted by elder statesman Scandouati and accompanied by 15 Huron prisoners. ²⁶	Ragueneau, <i>Relation de ... 1647 & 1648</i> , pt. 2, in <i>JR</i> , 33:117–125.
1647 spring and summer	Andastoé	Hurons, Susquehannocks	Responding to a Susquehannock embassy that arrived in the Huron country in early 1647, a Huron delegation under Charles Ondaatondiont travels to Andastoé in the spring. Ondaatondiont visits nearby New Sweden and returns home in early October bearing some 14 000 wampum beads ²⁷ but without news of the outcome of a simultaneous Susquehannock embassy to the western Iroquois with the goal of arranging an end to fighting and establishing an anti-Mohawk coalition. One Huron remains among the Susquehannock.	Lalemant, <i>Relation de ... 1647</i> , in <i>JR</i> , 30:252; Ragueneau, <i>Relation de ... 1647 & 1648</i> , pt. 2, in <i>JR</i> , 33:128–36, 184–6.
1648 May 18	Montréal	French, Iroquois	7 or 8 Iroquois approach the French fort and inform Maisonneuve that they are at war with the Algonquins but wish to have peace with the French; exchange game in return for French bread.	Lalemant, <i>Relation de ... 1647 & 1648</i> , in <i>JR</i> , 32:144–6.
1648 May 13 to July 17	Trois-Rivières	French, Iroquois	2 Iroquois, one a former Huron, give themselves to the French, claiming to have come to the St Lawrence valley to hunt game and to raid Algonquins. They later encourage 3 other Iroquois from a nearby band to join them as hostages. One of the hostages is released to invite the headmen of his band to a parley, while the former Huron is sent to Montreal. The former Huron meets a raiding party of Iroquois who, learning from him that the hostages are to be killed, decide in turn to	Lalemant, <i>Relation de ... 1647 & 1648</i> , in <i>JR</i> , 32:148–76.

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
1648 August 6	Trois- Rivières	French, Hurons	<p>take French captives. After capturing 2 Frenchmen, they encounter another band of 100 Iroquois who have prepared 4 wampum belts to redeem the Iroquois prisoners at Trois-Rivières. This band proceeds to Trois-Rivières, where they learn that the Iroquois hostages are alive. Envoys, including a man who claims to be a relative of Guillaume Couture, parley with the French, asking for food; the hostages urge their compatriots to return French prisoners. Before anything can be concluded, the Huron trading flotilla arrives and routs the Iroquois.</p>	Lalemant, <i>Relation de ... 1647 & 1648</i> , in <i>JR</i> , 32:184–6.
1648 summer?	Québec?	French, Innu	<p>Innu headmen from Tadoussac and Québec express to Montmagny their concern that the governor, in holding several Iroquois prisoners at Trois-Rivières, may be planning to arrange a separate peace with their enemies; they encourage the French to continue warring against the Iroquois. Montmagny replies that the Innu have kept secrets from him; he questions, for example, the arrival of many new peoples at Québec. A headman explains that these people are ‘orphans’ who have lost their fathers and chiefs and have come to take refuge with their friends and allies.²⁸</p>	Lalemant, <i>Relation de ... 1647 & 1648</i> , in <i>JR</i> , 33:38–40.

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
1648 after late August	Québec?	French, Innu	Newly arrived governor Louis d'Ailleboust de Coulonge et d'Argentay holds council with Native headmen (presumably, those of Sillery in particular) to insist that their people observe French prohibitions on the sale and abuse of alcohol. Later, at Sillery, a headman explains these laws to his people, emphasizing that it is not merely the captain of the French who wishes the laws to be obeyed, but the headmen of Sillery as well.	Lalemant, <i>Relation de ... 1647 & 1648</i> , in <i>JR</i> , 33:48–50.
1650 ²⁹ June 15	Québec	French, Huron	Skandahietzi, a Huron man, arrives from Trois-Rivières claiming to be sent by the Iroquois to make peace with the French; he allegedly hid his wampum belts at Trois-Rivières to avoid drawing the attention of the Algonquins. The French imprison him and ask the Hurons and Algonquins for counsel—he is judged by them 'digne de mort' and is, after baptism, formally executed by a Huron on 21 June in the presence of French, Hurons, and Algonquins. Another Huron, Outarahon, makes a speech justifying this conduct.	Lalemant, 'Journal des Jésuites,' in <i>JR</i> , 35:46–48.
1650 fall/winter?	Neutral villages	French, Hurons, Neutrals	Ohenhen, a Huron refugee at Québec, bears 2 wampum belts from d'Ailleboust to the Neutral confederacy. ³⁰	Lalemant, 'Journal des Jésuites,' in <i>JR</i> , 36:132.
1651 September	Québec	French, Sokokis	On 22 September, 3 Sokoki ambassadors arrive; one had previously come on an embassy in the spring. The French consider their attitude belligerent; 2 flee but one remains, only to steal away 2 days later in a stolen canoe.	Lalemant, 'Journal des Jésuites,' in <i>JR</i> , 36:140–142.
1651 summer, fall?	Seneca villages	Arendarhonon, Senecas, Tahontaenrat	Arendarhonon Huron refugees among the Senecas hold councils with their kin and propose an alliance against the Mohawks. A delegation of Tahontaenrat and Seneca envoys is to travel to Québec to discuss	Lalemant, 'Journal des Jésuites,' in <i>JR</i> , 36:142.

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
1652 July 2	Trois-Rivières	Iroquois, French, Hurons, Algonquins	<p>this with Onontio.</p> <p>A group of Iroquois led by Aontarisati engages in inconclusive skirmishes and shouted parleys with Hurons, Algonquins, and French. The Iroquois release a Huron captive and ask that the French, Algonquins, and Hurons each send an envoy to them; the allies refuse. Several Hurons lure the canoe bearing Aontarisati to shore, then seize him and 2 others. Aontarisati and another leader are baptized by Father Menard prior to their execution by the allies.</p>	Lalemant, 'Journal des Jésuites,' in <i>JR</i> , 37: 110; Lejeune, <i>Relation de ...</i> [1651–1652], in <i>JR</i> , 38:54.
1653 May 26	Québec	French, English, New England Algonquians, Innu and Algonquins of Sillery, Hurons	<p>An embassy of 4 New England Algonquians³¹ arrives bearing 36 large wampum belts, other gifts, and a letter from John Eliot of Massachusetts. Two ambassadors are elders; the 2 others were members of a party captured in November 1652 by Ononchataron Algonquins of Sillery but released through the diplomacy of Noël Tekouerimat and sent home with 3 sticks to remind them: 1st, to relate their capture and release; 2nd, to return the following summer; 3rd, to secure the release of several Algonquians of Sillery held by the Sokokis. At a council held in the Jesuit residence, the oldest ambassador presents 6 gifts: 1st, a belt representing the friendship of his nation; 2nd, a belt showing the route to their land; 3rd, a stick (<i>baston</i>) of wampum to pierce their listeners' ears 'afin que nous puissions nous parler les uns les autres, comme font les amis;' 4th, 6 belts representing robes to clothe the 6 nations with whom they seek an alliance ('comme nous n'avons plus qu'un coeur, il ne faut plus qu'une façon d'habits, ou de robes: afin que tous ceux qui nous verro[n]t, croyent que nous sommes tous frères, vestus de mesme parure'); 5th, 2 large tobacco pipes (<i>petunoirs</i>) of green stone so that the brothers will have but one breath and soul; and 6th, belts and strings of wampum showing the bonds from which the tormented captives have</p>	Lejeune, ³² <i>Relation de ...</i> [1652–1653], in <i>MNF</i> , 7:608–613; Lalemant, 'Journal des Jésuites,' in <i>JR</i> , 38: 172–4.

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
1653 June 26	Montréal	Onondaga, French	been freed; the people of Sillery are blameless, for it was the aggression of the Iroquois that caused them to mistake friends for enemies. Noël Tekouerimat thanks the ambassadors and praises their desire for renewing the ancient alliance. Dancing and singing (men and women separately) ensue.	Lejeune, <i>Relation de</i> ...[1652–1653], in <i>JR</i> , 40:88–90; 164.
1653 summer	near Sault Ste Marie	Hurons, Neutrals, Petuns, Nipissings, Odawa, Ojibwe (Saulteur)	60 Onondagas request a parley. The French plan deceit, but are softened by the approach of unarmed envoys. Gifts are exchanged, 'et après une réjouissance publique, de part et d'autre, ils s'en retournèrent en leur pays,' pledging to show the Oneidas the French gifts. One leader pledges to travel to Québec to see Onontio and speak for peace.	'Journal des Jésuites,' in <i>JR</i> , 38:180.
1653 July 21	Montréal	Oneidas, French	Several hundred Algonquians and some Huron-Petuns and Neutrals assemble and discuss their alliance; 3 canoes are sent to the French bearing 7 envoys: Aenons (Huron), Mangouch (Nipissing), Maoutisson, Eentawai, Totaenchiarak, Teochiawenté (Odawa), and Otontagonen (Odawa).	Lejeune, <i>Relation de</i> ...[1652–1653], in <i>JR</i> , 40:90–92.; Lalemant, 'Journal des Jésuites,' in <i>JR</i> , 38:178.
1653 late August	Trois-Rivières	Mohawks, Hurons, French	Oneidas send an embassy led by Tehoatirhon with a large wampum belt in order to be party to the peace begun by the Onondaga. They tell the French that 600 Mohawks have set out to take Trois-Rivières. After several days of 'siege' by 500 Mohawks, the allies begin informal parleys through the intermediary of several Hurons; finally 10 or 12 Mohawk leaders bearing a white flag and led by Teharihogen come among the French and several ³⁵ remain to accompany the Onondaga to embassy to Québec. Governor Pierre Boucher gives gifts to save the	Lejeune, <i>Relation de</i> ...[1652–1653], in <i>JR</i> , 40:112–116, 168–182; 'Journal des Jésuites,'

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
			life of Father Poncet, recently captured by other Mohawks. The Mohawks release several captured Hurons, including the Christian headman Aaoueaté, who then joins the Onondaga embassy as well. A 40-days' truce is promised whilst a council in the Mohawk village debates the possibility of peace.	in <i>JR</i> , 38:194.
1653 September 7	Huron village on island of Orléans	Onondagas, Hurons, French	An unnamed Onondaga leader meets Governor Jean de Lauson and presents gifts of beaver pelts and wampum in council, invoking the sun as witness to his sincerity and as a torch that banishes darkness from his heart: 1 st , wipes away tears of grief for fallen warriors; 2 nd , a drink that washes away French bitterness over their losses; 3 rd , provides bark or a blanket to cover the dead; 4 th , buries the dead and pats down the earth over their graves; 5 th , tightly enfolds all weapons; 6 th , clears the river stained with blood; 7 th , exhorts the Hurons to accept Onontio's decision regarding peace. Lauson replies with gifts of cloaks, blankets, and kettles: 1 st , makes the hatchet fall from the hands of the Onondagas; 2 nd , breaks the kettle in which captives are cooked; 3 rd , makes them cast aside the knives used for that purpose; 4 th , makes them lay down bows and other weapons; 5 th , washes away the paint and red dyes of men going to war; 6 th , hides the canoes used by the Onondagas in war.	Lejeune, <i>Relation de</i> ...[1652–1653], in <i>JR</i> , 40:164–168; 'Journal des Jésuites,' in <i>JR</i> , 38:194.
1653 mid- September?	Québec	Mohawks, French	Andioura, with 5 other Mohawks who had accompanied the Onondagas to Québec, speaks to Onontio with eight gifts: 1 st , brightens the sun made dark by war; 2 nd a dish to feed Onontio that he might listen to speeches of peace; 3 rd , a swab to clean out Onontio's ears; 4 th , raises a French habitation in Mohawk country; 5 th , gives all those who make peace one heart and one mind; 6 th , a canoe to bear Onontio at will to Mohawk country; 7 th , carries a request to come and go in peace; 8 th , requests a common hunting ground and shared	Lejeune, <i>Relation de</i> ...[1652–1653], in <i>JR</i> , 40:182–90; 'Journal des Jésuites,' in <i>JR</i> , 38:194.

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
			<p>dishes. Onontio replies with 10 gifts: 1st straightens the mind of Andiouara; 2nd assures Andiouara that the French and Mohawks share one heart; 3rd, straightens and clears the roads between the Mohawk country and Québec; 4th, lays out a mat at Trois-Rivières for councils; 5th, makes a space in Mohawk country for displaying Onontio's gifts; 6th, breaks the bonds holding Father Poncet captive among the Mohawks; 7th, raises Poncet from the place where he was lying bound; 8th, opens the door of the cabin where he was kept; 9th, eases the fatigue of Poncet's return journey; 10th, 6 capots, 6 caps, and 2 large wampum belts to protect the envoys against bad weather and to ease the fatigue of their return.</p> <p>After, Noel Tekouerimat speaks, recalling Mohawk attacks on Algonquins and calling for return of captured Algonquin women and their Mohawk husbands. A Huron headman states that the old quarrels must cease. Onontio declares his desire for peace and warns that Annonhiasé³⁴ will soon arrive with soldiers 'pour ranger nos ennemis à leur devoir.' A Huron headman speaks last, urging the Mohawks to return Poncet quickly.</p>	
1653 September 29 ³⁵	Largest Mohawk village	Mohawks, French	After having been presented to the Dutch governor, Father Poncet, an adopted captive of the Mohawks, is present at a council where the Mohawks decide to make peace with the French.	Lejeune, <i>Relation de</i> ...[1652-1653], in <i>JR</i> , 40:144-146.
1653 November 6	Québec	Mohawks, French	The Mohawk envoys conducting Father Poncet home via Montréal and Trois-Rivières offer Onontio the 16 gifts their village has selected in order to ratify the peace. On 9 November the French give 23 gifts in return; the hospital nuns and the Jesuits provide separate feasts for the ambassadors.	Lejeune, <i>Relation de</i> ...[1652-1653], in <i>JR</i> , 40:155; 'Journal des Jésuites,' in <i>JR</i> , 38:196.
1653	Trois-	Hurons,	The Hurons and Algonquins give an unspecified gift to the Mohawk	'Journal des Jésuites,'

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
November 17	Rivières	Algonquins, Mohawks	ambassadors who escorted Poncet to Montréal.	in <i>JR</i> , 38:198.
1653 November 19	Québec	French	Having learned that 3 Hurons had killed an Iroquois and a man from the Nation du Loup near Montréal, the French hold council to determine how to respond. Lauson decides to give 3 presents to the Mohawks at Trois-Rivières: 1 st , asserts the French had no part in the killings; 2 nd , informs the Mohawks that he knows of their gift of 3 wampum belts Tegarihogen gave in secret to the Hurons; ³⁶ 3 rd , states that the French will keep the peace no matter what the Hurons and Algonquins do.	'Journal des Jésuites,' in <i>JR</i> , 38:198.
1654 mid-January	Montréal	French, Onondagas	Annonchiasé (Maisonneuve) presents 7 Onondaga envoys with two large kettles to dissuade them from traveling to see the Hurons at Québec; unsuccessful, he convinces 2 Onondagas to return home with a gift of 2 blankets signifying Annonchiasé's friendship.	'Journal des Jésuites,' in <i>JR</i> , 41:18.
1654 January 31	Island of Orleans	Onondagas, Hurons	Having stayed overnight at the Jesuit residence at Quebec, 4 Onondaga envoys proceed to the Hurons on the Island of Orleans. En route, they are met by Jesuit vice-superior Lalemant, who gives them a <i>brasse</i> of tobacco. The envoys hold a secret council at night with Huron elders and chiefs. A Christian Huron, Jacques Atsiouens, later informed the Jesuits that at the council, it was revealed that the Hurons had made 2 presents to the Onondaga the previous fall. Tsira'enie, the chief Onondaga envoy, pledged that in the spring 400 men and 100 women would come to bear away the Huron community from the Island. He bore 4 wampum belts which he intended to present at a later council. ³⁷ The Hurons replied that their intention had been only to place a mat at Onondaga for their nephews taken in war (i.e., that the live of captive Hurons be spared should hostilities	'Journal des Jésuites,' in <i>JR</i> , 41:18-20.

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
1654 February 4	Québec, at the Jesuit residence	French, Hurons	At a secret evening council, Huron elders including Oek and Ationionrask&a meet with Lauson, d'Ailleboust, Ragueneau, Chaumonot, and Le Mercier. The French advise the Hurons to urge the Onondagas to ask Onontio to allow the Hurons to leave. It is agreed that the French response to such a request will be 'que la chose sera possible ... lorsque la paix sera bien affermie.' The oldest Huron reportedly says to Lauson: 'C'est à toy maintenant, Onontio, et non pas à nous de parler. Nous sommes morts depuis quatre ans, que nostre pais fut désolé. Nous ne vivons qu'en toy; nous ne voyons que par tes yeux; nous ne respirons qu'en ta personne; et nos raisonnements sont sans raison sinon en tant que tu nous en donnes. C'est donc à toy, Onontio, à nous tirer de ces périls, nous disant ce qu'il nous faut faire.'	'Journal des Jésuites,' in <i>JR</i> , 41:22; <i>Relation de ... 1653 & 1654</i> , in <i>JR</i> , 41:58–60.
1654 February 5	Québec, at the Jesuit residence	French, Onondagas	Before Onontio and some 30 Frenchmen, Tsira'enie gives 6 presents: 1 st , calms the minds of the alarmed French; 2 nd , shows that his heart is on his tongue (i.e., that he speaks sincerely); 3 rd , plants a tree of peace in the St Lawrence River opposite the seat of Onontio; 4 th , digs a deep pit into which all slander and suspicion capable of upsetting the peace shall be cast; 5 th , removes the clouds blocking out the sun – the clouds in question being the distrust of the Algonquins and Innu; 6 th , buries the war-kettle deep underground.	<i>Relation de ... 1653 & 1654</i> , in <i>JR</i> , 41:50–52; 'Journal des Jésuites,' in <i>JR</i> , 41:22.
1654 after February 5	Québec	French, Hurons, Onondagas	The Hurons display the 4 wampum belts given them by Tsira'enie and reply with 2 other presents: 1 st , postpones the Huron departure for a year; 2 nd , asks the Onondaga to build a residence in their country for the Jesuits. Onontio (Lauson) gives 6 presents in support of this plan: 1 st , exhorts Onondaga to receive Hurons warmly when they come; 2 nd ,	<i>Relation de ... 1653 & 1654</i> , in <i>JR</i> , 41:60–64.

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
1654 after May	Montréal	Onondagas, French	<p>asks the Onondagas not to pressure Huron families to accompany them; 3rd, asks that the Hurons be free to choose where they will go or if they will stay with the French; 4th, informs the Onondagas that they may treat with Annonchiassé as they would with Onontio; 5th, transplants the tree of peace from Québec to Montréal; 6th, reunites the minds of the five Iroquois nations in order to remove all jealousy.</p> <p>Onondaga envoys return a young French surgeon (whom they'd ransomed from his Oneida captors) to Maisonneuve and give 20 wampum belts; 1st, strengthens the tree of peace Onontio had transplanted to Montreal; 2nd, cheers up Maisonneuve, indignant over the capture of a well-loved nephew; 3rd, an emetic to rid Maisonneuve of the bile and poison in his heart; 4th, casts the ropes binding the surgeon's hands and arms into the fire; 5th, breaks the bonds around his legs; 6th, burns the bonds around his waist; 7th, destroyed the scaffold where the captive had been tied up; 8th, shows how the Senecas drew the captive from that place; 9th, shows how the Oneidas did the same; 10th, shows how the Oneidas burned the wooden scaffold, thus destroying it forever; 11th, unites the minds of the French, Hurons, and Algonquins in peace; 12th, removes the rocks and shoals between the Onondaga country and the French; 13th, hopes that a Jesuit will come to Onondaga country; 14th, pledges to clean daily the mat where the Jesuit will sleep; 15th, pledges to listen to his teachings; 16th, notes that the warlike young men will bear arms against the Erie instead of the French; 17th, wings on which an Onondaga envoy will fly to the French should anything happen to endanger the peace; 18th, opens the ears of the French; 19th, links the arms of the Onondaga and the French 'par un lien d'amour'; 20th shows that the sun witnesses all these deeds.</p>	<p><i>Relation de ... 1653 & 1654</i>, in <i>JR</i>, 41:70-74.</p>

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
1654 after July 2	Québec	Mohawks, French	Mohawk envoy Le Bâtard Flamad, having conducted 2 French captives back to Québec, urges Onontio to send French envoy Father Simon Le Moyne (Ondessonk) to the Mohawks rather than to the Onondagas: 'N'est-ce pas par la porte qu'il faut entrer en la maison, & non par la cheminée, & par le toit de la cabane, . . . ? Nous ne faisons qu'une cabane, nous autres cinq Nations Iroquoises; nous ne faisons qu'un feu, & nous avons de tout temps habité un mesme toit. . . c'est par nous autres Annierhronnon qu'il falloit commencer.'	<i>Relation de . . . 1653 & 1654</i> , in <i>JR</i> , 41:86-88.
1654 August 5	Onondaga	Onondagas, French	French envoy Le Moyne gives Onondaga chiefs 2 presents: 1 st , wipes their faces, so that they would look on him with favour and without sadness on their brows; 2 nd , to remove any gall in their hearts. After consulting among themselves, the headmen return 2 'richer' presents.	<i>Relation de . . . 1653 & 1654</i> , in <i>JR</i> , 41:100.
1654 August 10	Onondaga	Onondagas, Oneidas, Cayugas, Senecas, French	Le Moyne (with the aid of a written list) names the council attendees 'par Nations, par bandes, par familles, & chaque personne en particulier, qui estoit un peu considerable', gives 19 presents in 2 hours; 1 st , a wampum belt, 100 tubular red glass beads, and a moose hide declare that Le Moyne bears the words of Onontio, and through him, those of the Hurons and Algonquins; 2 nd , cuts the bonds of 8 captives returned to Montréal from Seneca villages; 3 rd , breaks the bonds of captives from the Nation du Loup; 4 th , thanks the people of Onondaga for returning a French captive; 5 th , thanks the Senecas for rescuing the captive from the scaffold; 6 th , thanks the Oneidas for the same; 7 th , thanks the Oneidas for breaking his bonds; 8 th , 9 th , 10 th , and 11 th , give the Onondagas, Oneidas, Cayugas, and Senecas each a hatchet for war against the Nation du Chat; ³⁸ 12 th , 'pour refaire la teste au Sonntoehronnon, ³⁹ who had lost people in these hostilities; 13 th , strengthens the Seneca palisades; 14 th , paints the faces of Senecas fighters; 15 th , a wampum belt, some tubular glass beads, and a moose	<i>Relation de . . . 1653 & 1654</i> , in <i>JR</i> , 41:108-120.

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
			<p>hide so that the nations would have one mind; 16th, opened Annonchiassé's door to the Iroquois; 17th, 3 presents to exhort the Iroquois to listen to Jesuit preaching; 18th, 3 presents to prevent attacks on the Algonquins and Hurons; 19th, wipes away the young men's tears at the death of Anneneraes.</p> <p>After 2 hours' deliberation, 'celuy des Capitaines qui est la langue du Pais, & comme l'orateur,' repeats Le Moyné's words and then gives 3 presents: 1st, 2 large wampum belts thank Onontio for his goodwill; 2nd, 2 wampum belts from the Mohawks thank the French for saving the lives of 5 people from the Nation du Loup; 3rd, 2 wampum belts from the Senecas thank the French for saving 5 Senecas.</p>	
1654 August 13	Onondaga	French, Onondagas	<p>An Oneida headman, calling Onontio 'le soutien de la terre,' gives 4 wampum belts to thank Onontio for encouragement in the fight against the Nation du Chat and for peace: 'nous aimerons les François à cause de toi.'</p> <p>The Onondaga speaker concludes with 4 propositions, accompanied by 'leurs plus riches presents': 1st, expresses the wish to acknowledge 'celuy dont tu nous as parlé, qui est le maistre de nos vies'; 2nd, plants a tree of peace at Onondaga for future negotiations; 3rd, asks the French to choose a site for a French settlement in Onondaga country; 'Ayez pour nous des soins de Peres, & nous aurons pour vous des soumissions d'enfants'; 4th, despite new wars they have only thoughts of peace for Onontio.</p>	<p><i>Relation de ... 1653 & 1654, in JR, 41:120.</i></p>

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
1655 September 12	Québec	Onondagas, French, Hurons, Algonquins	<p>cabin; 2nd, throws down the first piece of bark for the new longhouses.</p> <p>Onondaga delegation of 18 men meets with Lauson and Huron and Algonquin delegates. In council at noon, the Onondaga orator displays 24 wampum belts: 1st, wipes away the tears of the Hurons and Algonquins; 2nd, wipes away the blood that has stained the land; 3rd, removes weapons from their hands and thoughts of war from their minds; 4th, restores reason ('l'ame raisonnable du corps') driven away by sadness and anger; 5th, medicine to expel bitterness from the hearts of the Hurons and Algonquins; 6th, opens their ears to words of peace and reason; 7th, assures them that the hearts of the Onondagas, Oneidas, Cayugas, and Senecas are united in peace; 8th, promises to remove the hatchet from Mohawks; 9th, dries the tears of the French; 10th, washes away blood shed in violence; 11th, calms the minds of the French; 12th, gives a sweet medicine to the French; 13th, invites Onontio to send some Frenchmen to Iroquois country 'pour ne faire qu'un peuple avec nous, & affermir une alliance semblable à celle que nous contractames autrefois avec la Nation des Hurons'; 14th, requests Jesuits to teach Iroquois children; 15th, asks for French soldiers to protect Iroquois village against the Nation du Chat; 16th, gives the French a place in the centre of Iroquois country; 17th, spreads out a mat for the repose of the French who will come; 18th, plants a lofty tree of peace before the new house of the French; 19th, fixes the sun in place above the tree of peace '[afin] que tous les conseils & les traitez qui s'y feroient, ne fussent point dans les tenebres de la nuit; mais que tout y fust en plein jour, éclairé du Soleil, qui voit tout'; 20th, lights a fire for all who visit the new house; 21st, strengthens the arms of Onontio who, having protected the Algonquins and the Hurons 'avec autant d'amour qu'une mere tient son enfant entre ses bras', now extends to the Iroquois a Father's care and love. 'C'est toy, Onontio, . . . qui as</p>	<i>Relation de . . . 1655 & 1656</i> , in <i>JR</i> , 42:48–56.

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
			<p>soustenu la vie à toutes les Nations qui te sont allies, & qui se sont jettées entre tes bras. Serre-les étroitement, & ne te lasse pas de les embrasser: qu'elles vivent en ton sein, car tu es le Pere du païs'; 22nd, assures the French that the Onondagas, Oneidas, Cayugas, and Senecas share one heart, one thought, of peace; 23rd, asks for weapons to use against the Nation du Chat. Another headman, a Huron adoptee, presents the 24th belt to the Huron envoys as sign of the sincerity of these proposals.</p>	
1655 September 17-18	Mohawk village	Mohawks, French	<p>Mohawk headmen present Le Moyne with 3 wampum belts upon his arrival: 1st, checks any bloodshed or treachery; 2nd, cheers his heart; 3rd, annoints his feet and allays fatigue. The next day, in council, Le Moyne displays presents from Onontio, invoking God (instead of singing as is the custom), 'le prenant à témoin de la sincérité de son coeur, et le conjurant de prendre la vengeance de ceux qui fausseroient leur foy, et qui contreviendroient à une parole donnée si solemnellement à la veue du Soleil et du Ciel. Ce qui agréa puissamment à ces peuples.'⁴⁰ A Mohawk headman then gives 3 presents (of wampum?), the first and finest being 'une grande figure du soleil, faite de six mil grains de porcelaine, afin que les ténèbres n'ayent point de part à nos conseils, et que le Soleil les éclaire, mesme dans le plus profond de la nuit.'</p>	<i>Relation de ... 1655 & 1656</i> , in <i>JR</i> , 42:38.
1655 October 31	Near Otaitangué [La Famine], en route from Lake Ontario to Onondaga	Onondagas, Oneidas, French	<p>The Onondaga party escorting Fathers Pierre-Joseph-Marie Chaumonot and Claude Dablon encounters 60 Oneida warriors led by Atondatochan to raid the Neds percés. A council is held in which Chaumonot gives wampum to protect the French among the Neds percés, understanding that a request to halt the raid would be refused. A feast concludes the council.</p>	<i>Relation de ... 1655 & 1656</i> , in <i>JR</i> , 42:76-8.

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
1655 November 5	Onondaga	Onondagas, French	Chaumonot and Dablon are met a league outside the village by Gonatezeron, who leads them to a spot 0.25 leagues from the palisade where the elders await with food; a headman named Okonchiarennen speaks. Another council is held that evening in the Jesuits' cabin, during which the Jesuits are given 2 wampum belts of 500 beads each: 1 st , wipes away tears shed by the French over the killings in their country; 2 nd , clears French throats choked with grief. Chaumonot responds with a 200-bead wampum belt to open the door of the longhouse so all the French might see the welcome given the Jesuits. Two days later, on Sunday, a secret council is held in which the opposition of the Mohawks is discussed.	<i>Relation de ... 1655 & 1656</i> , in <i>JR</i> , 42:84–90.
1655 November 8	Onondaga	Onondagas, French	Chaumonot discusses the negotiation of peace between the Onondaga and the Algonquin nations.	<i>Relation de ... 1655 & 1656</i> , in <i>JR</i> , 42:92–4.
1655 November 9	Onondaga	Onondagas, French, Oneidas	Oneida delegates hold council with Chaumonot and state that since Onontio and Agochiendaguesé ¹⁰ were now one, the Oneidas must be the children of the former as well as of the latter. Chaumonot gives a present for their adoption.	<i>Relation de ... 1655 & 1656</i> , in <i>JR</i> , 42 :94.
1655 November 14	Onondaga	Cayugas, French	After public prayers on Sunday, the Jesuits receive envoys from Oiogoien (the Cayugas). Around 10 a.m. Chaumonot gives 2 presents in greeting; the Cayugas respond with 2 others, and a third to petition to postpone the ceremony to the morrow.	<i>Relation de ... 1655 & 1656</i> , in <i>JR</i> , 42:98.
1655 November 15	Onondaga	Cayugas, French, Onondagas, Oneidas	In council, Chaumonot adopts the Cayugas. Displaying a wampum belt that showed he spoke for the French, Hurons, and Algonquins, Chaumonot gives 33 presents: 1 st , wipes away the tears of the Cayugas; 2 nd , calms their minds; ¹¹ 3 rd , a drink to dispel their grief; ¹² 4 th ,	<i>Relation de ... 1655 & 1656</i> , in <i>JR</i> , 42:100–110, 114–122.

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
			<p>a wampum belt (to do the same); 5th, 6th, 7th and 8th, beaver skins to wipe away blood and sadness in the Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca nations; 9th, a small tree and wampum to represent the continuity of Iroquois names and lineages; 10th, 2 wampum belts showing that Annenrai and Tahaionhacoua, although dead, were united with the French; 11th, a wampum belt and a handkerchief stained on one side with the ashes of Teotegouisen and on the other, those of the French, 'qu' eux & les François n'estoient tous qu'un, & avant & apres la mort' (104); 12th, a wampum belt to requicken Teotegouisen; 13th, 'le plus beau collier de tous,' representing 'un remede bien souverain, pour toutes sortes de maux: . . . la Foy'; 14th, a clean sheet of paper and a soiled one, symbolizing, respectively, 'la pureté de la Foy' and the calumnies uttered against it; 15th, the Ursulines of Québec open their doors to Iroquois girls; 16th, the Hospital nuns do likewise for the nursing of any Iroquois who might fall ill while at Québec; 17th, asks that a chapel be erected in Iroquois country; 18th, asks that supplies be provided for the Jesuits' sojourn; 19th, 20th, 21st, and 22nd, pledge that in the spring other Frenchmen would come to join the Jesuits and recommend that a mat be prepared to receive the Algonquins and Hurons who would follow; 23rd, 24th, invite the Oneidas and Cayugas to move their villages closer to Onondaga; 25th, exhort them all to stay the hatchets of the Mohawks; 26th, unites the minds of all; 27th, 28th, 29th, 30th, gifts from the Algonquins promising to send an embassy in the spring, to join their allies once the French and Huron have settled among the Iroquois, to secure the return of a captive, and to remind them of presents given them by the Ondataouaouats; 31st, requests the release of Charles Garmant, a young Frenchman held captive among the Oneidas; 32nd, clears a path for all to walk in the Iroquois country and in the country of the French; 33rd, reminds everyone of all that has been said.</p>	

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
			<p>The next day (November 16), with an elder speaking for Agochiendaguesé, the Onondagas reply to Chaumonot, singing 6 songs: 1st, the beautiful land the French will occupy; 2nd, good news, my brother, we are speaking together, 3rd, welcome, brother, the beautiful voice you have, the beautiful voice I have; 4th, brother, I salute you and welcome the heaven you have shown me; 5th, farewell, hatchet, for in the future we will be brothers; 6th, farewell, war: the affair is all beautiful and you uphold the longhouse when you are among us. These songs are accompanied by 4 gifts: 1st, shows that Agochiendaguesé and Onontio are now one; 2nd, since the Hurons and Algonquins are Onontio's children, they must also be Agochiendaguesé's; 3rd, a 7 000-bead wampum belt wrapped around Chaumonot's waist, showing that Agochiendaguesé embraced the faith as he did the Jesuit; 4th, the kettle for the war against the Nation du Chat is over the fire.</p> <p>The Cayuga envoy thanks Onontio for adopting the Cayugas and sings of the excellence of this while dancing. He offers 6 presents: 1st, explains that what the Jesuits call the faith, they call <i>gaianderé</i>, 'chose tres-excellente'; 2nd, thanks Onontio on behalf of the Cayugas' twin brother, the Oneidas; 3rd, assures the Jesuits that the gift intended to unite the minds of the Mohawks with the other Iroquois would have that effect; 4th, the father (the Onondagas) and the children (the Oneidas and the Cayugas) would embrace the faith; 5th, adopts the Hurons and Algonquins as his brothers; 6th, joins these three together in bringing the French, Hurons, and Algonquins to Iroquois country in the spring. Chaumonot replies with 2 presents: 1st, repairs the longhouse so that it can contain the many visitors the Jesuits receive each day; 2nd, cleans the mat for future councils.</p>	

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
1656 early January	Québec	Senecas, French	A delegation of 10 Seneca ambassadors arrives, including a pro-French headman. They offer 21 presents, the richest being the one asking for religious instruction (i.e., for Jesuits), due to the positive reports of Christian Hurons living among them. ⁴⁶	<i>Relation de</i> [1656–57], in <i>JR</i> , 43:100–102.
1656 January 20	Onondaga	Onondagas, French	Onondaga elders council present Chaumonot with a belt of 2 000 beads in return for one the French had given requesting deliverance of Charles Garmant among the Cayugas.	<i>Relation de ... 1655 & 1656</i> , in <i>JR</i> , 42:168.
1656 February 5	Onondaga	Onondagas, Senecas, Cayugas, French	Many Seneca and Cayuga hunters come to Onondaga; Chaumonot greets each nation with a belt of 2 000 beads, saying that they enter not only the land of the Onondaga but that of the French, 'puisque ce n'estoit plus qu'un mesme peuple' (184). They give presents in return; the Jesuits withdraw and allow the Iroquois to continue with war feasts. On 7 February the village elders give the newcomers gifts to encourage them to pay the French respect, and 'de se comporтер envers nous comme sont obligez de bons enfants envers leur pères.'	<i>Relation de ... 1655 & 1656</i> , in <i>JR</i> , 42:184.
1656 February 11	Onondaga	Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, Senecas, French	An Oneida envoy tells Chaumonot that the peace between the French and the Mohawk is secure. In council, Chaumonot gives a 1 000-bead belt to each of the 4 nations. The Oneida envoy gives Chaumonot 3 presents: 1 st , a 2 000-bead wampum belt wipes away the blood shed by the Mohawks; 2 nd , thanks Onontio for adopting the Oneidas as children and asks him 'd'estre vray Pere, non seulement de parole'; 3 rd , encourages the French-Onondaga enterprise. He then sings of his joy at being adopted by Onontio and dances before speaking for a further 2.5 hours about his relatives at Québec, Trois-Rivières, and Montréal, and in Oneida country.	<i>Relation de ... 1655 & 1656</i> , in <i>JR</i> , 42:188–90.

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
1656 February 29	Onondaga	Onondagas, French	Onondagas insist in council that the French must not delay the settlement any longer.	<i>Relation de ... 1655 & 1656</i> , in <i>JR</i> , 42:200–2.
1656 late April	Trois-Rivières	Mohawks, French, Onondagas	3 Mohawk chiefs leading a band of 300 hold council with the local governor, who tries to persuade them from continuing to Québec to carry away the Hurons. The governor gives 3 presents. The Mohawk orator replies with eight others, 4 of which are described: 1 st , a large wampum belt signifying an indestructible iron chain binding the Dutch, the French, and the Mohawks together; 2 nd , he and Onontio recognize each other's sincerity; 3 rd , whatever misfortune might occur, the French and Mohawks will mourn together and have but one heart; 4 th , as Onontio requests, the Mohawks will return home without attacking the Hurons; in return, though, Onontio must close the doors of his house to the Onondagas. Just as the council concludes, an Onondaga chief, Jean-Baptiste Ochionagueras, arrives; the Mohawk beg the governor not to say anything of their present asking him to close the door to the Onondaga (108–110). When this news reaches Québec, Le Moynes is dispatched; he gives 10 presents to the Mohawks in their fort to induce them to disband (110–12).	<i>Relation de [1656–57]</i> , in <i>JR</i> , 43:106–112.
1656 spring	An island in the Great Lakes region ^v	French, Hurons, Algonquins, Odawa, Pauoestigonce, Amnickkoik, Nadouicénago, Ticacon	Some 500 people of several nations gather near the fort of French traders to accompany them to the St Lawrence valley, but rumours of Iroquois activities threatens the expedition. The French traders call a council. The elders try to dissuade them from the voyage because of the Iroquois threat, but the French insist upon speaking in public. On the day of the council, 800 men gather, seated on the ground, in a circle around the elders and the French. The trader Médard Chouart des Groseilliers speaks: 'Who am I? Am I a foe or a friend? If I am a foe, why did you suffer me to live so long among you? If I am friend,	Radisson, <i>Explorations</i> , ed. Adams, 98–100. ⁸

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
1656 early July	Near Otiatanne- hengué, on the shore of Lake Ontario east of	Onondagas, Senecas, French	<p>and you take [me] so to be, hearken to what I shall say. You know, my uncles and brethren, that I hazarded my life going up with you. If I have no courage, why did you not tell me at my first coming here? And if you have more wit than we, why do you not use it [and] be preserving your knives, your hatchets, and your guns that you had from the French? You will see, if the enemy will set upon you, that you will be trapped like castors in a trap. How will you defend yourselves? Like men that is not courageous, to let yourselves be caught like beasts? How will you defend your villages? With castors' skins? How will you defend your wives and children from the enemy's hands? Des Groseilliers continues to berate his listeners, claiming that it is the hope of the Iroquois the allies will delay going to trade with French until they are 'quite out of stock' (i.e., out of goods) and may be dispatched with ease. 'Do you think that the French will come up here? You know that they cannot come up here without you. Shall they come to baptize the dead? Shall your children learn to be slaves among the Iroquois for their fathers' cowardness? You call me Iroquois. Have you not seen me disposing my life with you? Who has given you your life, if not the French?'</p> <p>Following this speech, the allies deliberate, sending word to the French that on the morrow, the council will convene privately and invite them to hear its decision.</p>	<i>Relation de</i> [1656–57], in <i>JR</i> , 43:146.
1656 early July	Near Otiatanne- hengué, on the shore of Lake Ontario east of	Onondagas, Senecas, French	<p>As the Senecas leave the French-Onondaga expedition the French give them 2 presents of 1 000 beads: 1st, to prepare the country for the Jesuits; 2nd, to forget the fatigue of visiting the French to make an alliance. Additional presents are given to the Seneca headmen.⁴⁹</p>	<i>Relation de</i> [1656–57], in <i>JR</i> , 43:146.

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
Oswego				
1656 July 17	Onondaga	Onondagas, French	While French workers are building redoubts and lodgings at Lake Gannentaa, Father Le Mercier sets out for Onondaga, 5 leagues distant, with an escort of 15 soldiers. The villagers await in crowds outside. A quarter league from the village, the elders bid the French halt to listen to a speech by a chief, who then leads them into the village. Upon entering, the French soldiers fire a salute. That evening, envoys from various nations pay respects to Achiendassé (Le Mercier) and give him a present expressing the wish that his mat be the place for holding councils and meetings. The Mohawks contributed presents, but also criticized Chaumonot, saying that at Québec they were given presents that were indivisible (to excuse the fact that they had not shared them with the other Iroquois). Le Mercier replies that the French never forget anything, for their pens and paper remind them of all. He proceeds to enumerate all the wampum belts, the arquebuses, the coats and the nations and persons for whom each was intended; his Mk detractor was 'surprised'. Some days later, Seneca and Cayuga envoys arrive; the Jesuits give the former a gift because they are mourning the death of Ahariantouan, a chief killed by the Mohawks near Trois-Rivières.	<i>Relation de</i> [1656–57], in <i>JR</i> , 43:162–6.
1656 July 24–25	Onondaga	Iroquois, French	A 'grand conseil' takes place to reconcile the Mohawks and Senecas, discuss the establishment of the Jesuits, and invite the nations to contribute something to the kettle of war. Chaumonot gives 12 presents: ⁵⁰ 1 st , 2 nd , 3 rd , 4 th , 5 th , 6 th , 7 th , and 8 th condole the Iroquois for recent deaths on behalf of the French, the Hurons, and the Algonquins and announce that Achiendassé, the mouth of Onontio, had come to unite with Agochiendagueté to restore the country; 9 th , thanks the Iroquois for sending two children taken from the Nation du Chat to	<i>Relation de</i> [1656–57], in <i>JR</i> , 43:168–78.

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
			<p>Onotio; 10th, acknowledges the fine reception the Jesuits have received; 11th, asks that news be sent to Québec; 12th, a beautiful wampum belt reminds the Iroquois of their pledge to listen to the Jesuits.</p> <p>The following day the envoys of the five nations reply—a Mohawk orator repeating everything Chaumonot had said the day before—and give unspecified presents in return.</p>	
1656 July 30	French settlement on Lake Gannentaa	Onondagas, French	Onondaga headmen come to see the French, bearing gift 'pour nous lier si estroitement avec eux, que nous ne fussions plus qu'un peuple' and to warn of the deceit and treachery of the Mohawk.	<i>Relation de</i> [1656–57], in <i>JR</i> , 43:180.
1656 August	Ste-Marie-de-Gannentaa	Onondagas, Senecas, Cayugas, French	The French are visited separately by: an Onondaga chief who gives Le Mercier a wampum belt ('il voulut lier avec luy una amitié de frere, & pour la noïer estroitement il luy presenta un colier de porcelaine'); a Seneca reputed to be a great hunter who gives the French a covering to keep their friendship warm; and, finally, an elderly chief from the country of the Cayugas who asks for Jesuits.	<i>Relation de</i> [1656–57], in <i>JR</i> , 43:182–4.
1656 late August	Québec	Odawa, French	Odawa headmen ⁶¹ visit Governor Lauson in Fort Saint-Louis, 'portant leurs paroles en la main, c'estoient deux présents, qui passent pour des paroles parmy ces peuples. L'un de ces présents demandoit des François pour aller passer l'hiver en leur país, et l'autre demandoit des Pères de nostre Compagnie pour enseigner le chemin du Ciel à toutes les nations de ces contées. On leur répondit à leur mode, par des présents, leur accordant très-volontiers tout ce qu'ils demandoient.'	<i>Relation de ... 1655 & 1656</i> , in <i>JR</i> , 42:218–22.

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
1656 late August	Gandagan	Senecas, French	Chaumonot, accompanied by Father Ménard as far as a Cayuga village, continues on to the principal Seneca village where, in council, he gives the usual presents of alliance plus 3 fine presents to explain the principal truths of the Gospel.	<i>Relation de</i> [1656–57], in <i>JR</i> , 44:20.
1656 September 2	Montréal	Mohawks, French	A troop of Mohawks, having ambushed the Odawa fleet on Wednesday 30 August, bring the fatally wounded Father Garreau to Montréal and give the French 2 presents 'selon leur coutume, l'un pour témoigner qu'ils estoient marris de l'accident qui estoit arrivé; l'autre pour essayer nos larmes, et apaiser nos regrets.'	<i>Relation de ... 1655 & 1656</i> , in <i>JR</i> , 42: 236.
1656 fall	Mohawk village	Mohawks, French	Despite death of Garreau, Le Moynes undertakes the embassy to Mohawk country where he speaks in council: his brothers, the Mohawks, must have lost their minds to attack the Hurons, the Odawa, and the French; Onontio has opened his arms to let his children (the Hurons), go free; the Mohawks have but to lay aside their weapons and the Hurons will follow them (this last accompanied by a wampum belt from the Hurons). A Mohawk elder replies, urging Ondesonk, his brother, not to be angry because the young men have acted without sense; 'prend cette emplastre que jet e donne (c'estoit un collier de porcelaine) mets-le dessus ton coeur, & ta colere se passant, tu seras guery; gives another wampum belt for the Hurons.	<i>Relation de</i> [1656–57], in <i>JR</i> , 43:212–214.
1656 November 3	Near Québec	Oneidas, Hurons, French, Algonquins	Four Oneidas from a party of 40 that had come to Trois-Rivières seeking to carry away the Hurons at Québec present 4 gifts at a council held in the house of Anotaha, a Huron, in the presence of the French and Algonquins: 1 st , a wampum belt takes the Hurons by the arm to lead them away so that, as once was the case in the past, they will form one house and one country; 2 nd , places a mat in Oneida	'Journal des Jésuites,' in <i>JR</i> , 42:252–254.

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
1656 before November 17	Trois- Rivières	Oneidas, French	country for the Hurons; 3 rd , gives the Hurons some land for growing maize; 4 th , lifts the Hurons from the ground. ⁵² Father Paul Ragueneau gives 9 presents to Oneidas (the Algonquins having contributed the 3 rd , 7 th , 8 th , and 9 th): 1 st , 3 cloaks (one for each of the 3 families who have come) grease their legs on arrival; 2 nd , a wampum belt assures the Oneidas that they will always be welcome among the Jesuits; 3 rd , 2 000 wampum beads inform them that their weapons will be repaired, as requested, 4 th , a wampum belt urges them to speak to Achiendaté (Le Mercier) at Onondaga, regarding their desire that the Jesuits go to the Oneidas; 5 th , a wampum belt reprimanding the Oneidas for having left Quebec 'dans une fausse crainte des Algonquins'; 6 th , reminded them that the French-Onondaga peace included the Hurons and Algonquins; 7 th , a wampum belt places a mat in the Oneida country (where they have lit a fire) for visits by the French, Hurons, and Algonquins; 8 th , 8 beaver pelts so that they will hunt freely and share meat from the kettle with the Algonquins should they meet; 9 th , a moose-hide informing them of the peace between the Mohawks and Algonquins.	'Journal des Jésuites,' in <i>JR</i> , 42:254-8.
1656 ³³	Oneida	Oneida, French	Chaumonot and Ménard, accompanied by an Onondaga chief and women carrying provisions, travel to Oneida, where the first day is spent giving and receiving small presents such as are given between individuals; the next day, the 'présents solonnels' were given; the Jesuits give 20 presents, the 3 finest were (1) to adopt the Oneida as children of Onontio, and (2 and 3) to instruct them in the Faith The Father speaks at length, 'sans estre interrompu; ceux qui parlent dans ces assemblées, ayant droit de dire tout ce qu'il leur plaist, sans qu'aucun ait droit de les interrompre' (32).	<i>Relation de</i> [1656-57], in <i>JR</i> , 44:30-32.

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
1657 May 7	Québec	Onondagas, French, Mohawks, Hurons, Algonquins	In a council held in the hall of the Jesuit residence, an Onondaga envoy gives 6 gifts of wampum with the message that the Onondagas throw away the hatchet and are the brothers of the French, the Algonquins, and the Hurons (who comprise 3 nations). After singing, the Mohawk envoy gives 6 presents of wampum, thanking the French, the Algonquins, and the 3 Huron nations for receiving his elder brother, the Onondagas. That evening, the French, Hurons, and Algonquins make their replies. To the Onondagas, the French speaker gives <i>brasse</i> of wampum urge them to keep their promise not to attack the Hurons; the Hurons state that it is good that the Onondagas have thrown away the hatchet; the Algonquins say that 'nous somme freres de tous temps' and that like the French they will keep their word. To the Mohawks, the French speaker says that if the land is to be united it will depend on the Mohawks. ⁵⁴	'Journal des Jésuites, in <i>JR</i> , 43:36-8; see also <i>Relation de</i> [1656-57], in <i>JR</i> , 43:200-204.
1657 May 10-11	Québec	French, Hurons, Onondagas, Algonquins	A council intended to discuss whether the Hurons would leave Québec with the Onondagas is forced also to deal with the wounding of an Onondaga man (shot by a Frenchman who claimed the man was committing a theft in his house). Father Simon Le Moyne applies a 'bandage' (a wampum belt) to the wounded man. The Onondaga leader likewise gives the French 3 gifts: 1 st , calms the French, who are alarmed at the behaviour of the young Onondaga men; 2 nd , pays for the cows killed by the young men; 3 rd , asks the French to open their arms and allow the Hurons to leave for Onondaga. Somewhat later, a Huron individual reported to the Jesuits that the Onondaga headman had secretly given a wampum belt to the Arendarhonon (Hurons), urging this nation to come to Onondaga. On May 11, Atsenha 'dit le plat', a Huron speaker, responded to this wampum belt with 2 gifts. On the same day, an Algonquin speaker gave 5 moose-hides to the Hurons: 1 st , restores to the Huron the head	'Journal des Jésuites,' in <i>JR</i> , 43:38-42.

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
			<p>that the Mohawks had cut off; 2nd, wipes away the tears of the Hurons; 3rd, gives a drink; 4th, asserts that the Algonquins and Hurons are brothers; 'risquons ensemble' toujours; 5th, advises that the Hurons not join the Mohawks or Onondagas immediately but await news of the French at Onondaga and of their brothers in Mohawk country. A Huron speaker 'respondit de bouche a ces presens sur l'heure':³⁵ 1st, the Algonquins give him life; 2nd, he sees the sun more easily; 3rd, his heart is restored to its normal state; 4th and 5th, will think upon his reply.</p>	
1657 mid-May?	Québec	Hurons, Onondagas	<p>An embassy of composed of 3 Hurons and some Onondagas, en route to Onondaga with the gifts of the Hurons, breaks up (allegedly due to Mohawk interference) around Trois-Rivières and Montréal. Before fleeing, a Huron envoy gives Dupéron the 3 gifts of the Hurons (which the Onondaga envoys refused to carry themselves) to Father François, who in turn reports the accompanying propositions to the Jesuits at Québec.</p>	'Journal des Jésuites,' in <i>JR</i> , 43:48–50.
1657 May 29–30	Québec	French, Mohawks, Hurons, Algonquins	<p>In a council held in the hall of the Jesuit residence at the request of the Mohawks, 25 of whom have come to Québec to carry away the Hurons, the Mohawk speaker gives 2 wampum belts to the Hurons: 1st, assists their brothers, the Hurons, to rise and go with the Mohawks; 2nd, pledges that the Hurons will be received as cherished relatives. The speaker also gives 3 belts to Onontio: 1st, urges Onontio to open his arms and release his children, the Hurons; 2nd, knows that Onontio loves prayer, so the Mohawks will believe as do the Hurons; 3rd, asks Onontio to lend the Hurons shallops. Ondesonk replies for Onontio on the following day with 3 moose-hides, stating that the Hurons are no longer babes but are old enough to go where they wish, that Ondesonk will teach his Mohawk brothers</p>	'Journal des Jésuites,' in <i>JR</i> , 43:46–8; <i>Relation de</i> [1656–57], in <i>JR</i> , 43:188–92.

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
1657 early June	Québec	Attignouantian (Hurons), French	<p>to pray, and that no shallops can be lent as they are all needed elsewhere. An Attignouantian (Huron) speaker named Atsena ('Le Plat') states that he will go into the canoe of his Mohawk brother even if it should mean his death; he hopes his Huron cousins, the Arenderhonon and Attigneonognahac, will observe how he is treated before embarking.³⁶ Another headman gives 3 gifts to the Mohawks: 1st, a wampum belt to make the earth firm when Atsena disembarks in Mohawk country; 2nd, a mat on which he may rest; 3rd, a handkerchief to dry the tears of Huron women and children saddened at finding themselves in a new country. A third headman declines to go with the Mohawk.</p>	<i>Relation de</i> [1656–57], in <i>JR</i> , 43:194–6.
1657 August 3	En route from Montréal to Onondaga; 4 days upriver from Montréal	Onondagas, French	<p>The 30 Onondaga escorting 50 Christian Hurons, Father Paul Ragueneau, and some French, fall upon the Hurons, killing men and taking women and children prisoner. Ragueneau, who advised the French to do nothing during the violence, assembles the Onondaga and 15–16 Senecas to a council. Ragueneau claims to have the heart of a father and the tenderness of a mother for the Christian Hurons. He delivers three words: 1st, stays fury and hatchets, stops bloodshed; 2nd, urges Onondagas to treat captives decently, 'ne les considérant plus comme une nation différente de la vostre, mais comme un mesme</p>	Letter of Ragueneau to [?], 9 Aug. 1657, in <i>Relation de</i> [1656–57], in <i>JR</i> , 44:68–76; see also Radisson, <i>Explorations</i> , ed. Adams, 55–56.

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
1657 September 2 and 6	Québec	Onondagas, Hurons, Algonquins, French	peuple avec vous' (74-6); 3 rd , 'que nous continuons nostre voyage, come si rien n'estoit arrive.' Ragueneau employs 6 000 wampum beads for this. But the Onondaga leader who precipitated the massacre tells Ragueneau publicly that the governor, Mercier and Chaumonot had acquiesced to the act, an allegation which Ragueneau denies.	'Journal des Jésuites,' in <i>JR</i> , 43:56-8.
1657 fall?	Iroquois country	Onondagas, Mohawks	Upon arrival the Onondagas are welcomed with 3 presents, 'au nom de nos 3 nations' [French, Algonquins, Hurons]. On the 6 th , in council, the Onondagas give 3 wampum belts and some strings of wampum to invite the remaining Hurons to join them, 'à l'occasion d'un Père et de Kahik8an, ambassadeur algonquain, qui doit aller avec eux à Onontaghé.'	<i>Relation de ... 1657 & 1658</i> , in <i>JR</i> , 44:156.
1657 October 24	Québec, in the fort	French, Hurons, Algonquins	Ragueneau alleged that following d'Ailleboust's imprisonment of some Iroquois in response to the murder of 3 Frenchmen near Montréal in October 1657, the Mohawks and Onondagas held a secret council at which they decided to resume war against the French, but first would employ Father Le Moynes to secure the release of their people before falling upon the 50-60 French at Onondaga, whom they planned to use as hostages. On the same day that he holds a meeting with the principal French inhabitants regarding his Iroquois policy, D'Ailleboust assembles Hurons and Algonquins; presents 2 wampum belts received by Ragueneau at Onondaga: '1 ^o , que les anciens n'avoient point trempé dans la trahison faite contre les Hurons; 2 nd , que c'estoient pour payer les damages et les tors que la jeunesse d'Onontagé avoit fait aux François en leurs habitations. Les sauvages demandèrent quomen [sic] ils se comporteroient envers les Iroquois d'en hault et d'en bas. La	'Journal des Jésuites,' in <i>JR</i> , 43:64-6; see also <i>Relation de ... 1657 & 1658</i> , in <i>JR</i> , 44:192.

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
			<p>réponse fut 1^o qu'il leur seroit libre de se deffendre ou d'attaquer les premiers; qu'il seroit à propos néanmoins qu'il n'attaquasse point par nos habitations; 2^o que le François deffendra les Hurons et Algonquins à la veue des maisons françaises; 3^o le François ne frappera pas le premier et ne rompera pas le premier la paix; 4^o tous les François ont consenti à tout ce que dessus.'</p>	
1657 October 29	Montréal	Oneidas, French	<p>3 Oneidas appear at Montréal to see Maisonneuve; 5 days earlier the Oneidas had shot and killed 3 Frenchmen, taking 2 scalps. The Oneida speaker presents 9 belts as 7 presents: 'J'essuie le sang répandu sur la natte, ou sur la terre, où je suis; J'ouvre ta bouche, afin de bien parler; Je calme ton esprit irrité par ce mauvais coup; Je couvre la terre souillée de sang, et j'enferme dans l'oubly cette méchante action; Je te fay sçavoir que c'est l'Oioguermonn qui t'a tué; Je te donne un breuvage, pour te guérir; Je raffermis le may ébranlé, après duquel se doivent tenir les conseils des Iroquois et des François.' Maisonneuve receives the gifts and invites the Oneida to remain with the French, but they flee by night.</p>	<i>Relation de ... 1657 & 1658</i> , in <i>JR</i> , 44:194.
1657 November 5	Québec	French, Algonquins	<p>D'Ailleboust meets with his Native allies to discuss his plan to send 2 captive Mohawks to inform Ondesonk (Le Moyne) of the murders of late October near Montréal and the detaining of Mohawks by the French. The messages to be carried to the Mk elders are: 1st, 3 Frenchmen were killed at Montréal by 30 Iroquois; 2nd, 'Que les parens des défunts se vouloient venger sur les Agneronnons qui vinrent aux Trois-Rivières, bientost après que la nouvelle de ce massacre y fut apportée'; 3rd, Onontio had opposed this mode of vengeance; 4th, the men were arrested and were not harmed; 5th, the French will hold these prisoners until envoys return after elders have confirmed that their young men committed the crime; 6th, the men in custody will be</p>	<i>Relation de ... 1657 & 1658</i> , in <i>JR</i> , 44:196-8.

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
1657 November 19	Québec	French, Algonquians	well treated. D'Aillesboust explains that all this is will be written to Ondesonk and has been explained to the envoys. D'Aillesboust holds council with 'sauvages des terres' who have arrived from Trois-Rivières by shallop.	'Journal des Jésuites,' in <i>JR</i> , 43:70.
1658 February 4– 12	Québec	Mohawks, French, Algonquins, Hurons	Having arrived on 31 January, 3 Mohawk ambassadors present 9 fine wampum belts ('neuf colliers de porcelaine assez beau') at the fort in the presence of d'Aillesboust and the Jesuits, the first 7 of which are for Onontio: 1 st , shows that Ondesonk is alive and living with the Mohawks; 2 nd , attaches Onontio to the iron chain linking the Iroquois and the Dutch; 3 rd , the Mohawks did not kill any French at Montréal; 4 th , expresses joy at seeing his brothers alive; 5 th , his wish to see them return to Mohawk country; 6 th , a hammer to break their iron fetters and set them free. To the Algonquins and Hurons: 1 st , shows that his heart is in the right place; 2 nd , prevents them from wounding the Mohawks in Onontio's house. ⁵⁷ Having deliberated with the French at Québec and with his Native allies in separate meetings on 5 February and prepared a written response, d'Aillesboust meets with the ambassadors again on 12 February in a great hall in the presence of the French, Algonquins, and Hurons; an interpreter delivers the message, 's'accommodant au genie & aux coutumes du pais': You consider me a child; you imagine that you will kill me when you like, as you do with a captive. You treat me like a dog. You kill the Frenchman, you throw a belt mockingly, saying 'Tay-toy, nous sommes amys.' 'Sache que le François n'oublie pas ta perfidie continuele. Il s'en vangera' (86). Make reparation or name the murderer. I know your army is in the field, yet you seek to beguile me with a belt. 'Le sang de mes frères crie bien fort. Si je ne	'Journal des Jésuites,' in <i>JR</i> , 44:84–90; <i>Relation de ... 1657 &</i> 1658, in <i>JR</i> , 44:206–12.

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
			<p>suis bientôt appaisé, je donneray satisfaction à leurs asmes. C'est Ondesonk q[ue] je voulois veoir.' You ask that we restore the axes and kettles to your people; have you returned the things pillaged from French houses? Say war or peace. You ask what the Hurons and Algonquins have in their hearts. Your brother the Onondaga has betrayed the Hurons, as you do in seeking to kill the Algonquins. The Hurons and the Algonquins obey me; I have restrained them from killing you, using the belt you have given them to strangle you.</p> <p>An Algonquin headman speaks: We know you have seen the scalps of the slain Frenchmen carried through your villages, for your people are but one house with five fires. My brother, do not be surprised to see Mohawks in chains. Onontio, who is our father, chains us as well when we are drunk.</p>	
			<p>The Mohawk speakers makes 2 further gifts: 1st, does not know who killed the Frenchmen, but pledges to find out; 2nd, wipes away (in advance) the blood of these murders.</p>	
			<p>On 15 February, Onontio gives 3 gifts to the departing Mohawks: 1st, Your treachery deserves worse. Tell your elders that your people are coming; the irons you saw on their feet are to give them sense, not to kill them. 'J'en fais autant à mes vrayes frères les Algonquins] et Hurons lorsque quelque-fois ilz sont folz' (88–90); 2nd, Tell your elders I wish to know the Montréal murderers. Everything there is still covered in blood, 'qui crie une pleine satisfaction contre ceux qui ont troublé toute la terre' (90); 3rd, I wish to see Ondesonk in person.</p>	
1658 February	Mohawk village	Iroquois	<p>According to the Jesuits, a secret council in one of the Mohawk villages was attended by chiefs and elders of all the five nations, where it was determined that the French at Ganntataa would be killed once the Mohawks and Onondagas had regained their people being held by the French; if the latter were not released, some French</p>	<i>Relation de ... 1657 & 1658</i> , in <i>JR</i> , 44:212–14.

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
1658 May 22	Québec	Mohawks, French, Algonquins, Hurons	<p>would be killed and the others used as hostages. The report makes reference to an earlier secret council at Onondaga where the decision to kill the French was reached but then delayed.</p> <p>Having arrived with 3 Mohawks (one an elder) on 21 May, Le Moynes 'rapporte la voix des Agneeronons',⁸⁵ delivering to d'Aillesboust 7 gifts (propositions) Le Moynes had received from the Mohawks: 1st, wipes away sweat and mud; 2nd, returns 3 prisoners, one of each nation; 3rd, the French seek a quarrel; the Mohawks do not, having returned Marguerie; 4th, the Mohawks wish to be Onontio's brother; 5th, urges the Algonquins to loose their Mohawk prisoners; 6th, asks that Mohawks not be put in irons; 7th, advises the French to be like the Dutch and not meddle in conflicts between Native nations. (The Dutch apparently received a gift to act as witnesses.)</p>	<p>'Journal des Jésuites,' in <i>JR</i>, 44:96-8; <i>Relation de ... 1657 & 1658</i>, in <i>JR</i>, 44:220-24.</p>
			<p>D'Aillesboust's replies: 1st, greases the feet of Ondesonk; 2nd, unbinds the nephews of the Mohawks; 3rd, dispels the fears of the elders; 4th, insists that it was the French who took the Mohawks captive, and not the Algonquins and Hurons, who obey Onontio; 5th, blames the Mohawks for starting the quarrel by returning French prisoners (Marguerie and Normanville) while attacking Onontio's brother, the Algonquins; 6th, removes brush from the path the elders will travel; 7th, the Mohawks who remain at Québec will care for the council fire that was kindled there formerly; 8th, 'Je ne parle pas, ta voix est encore perdue avec tes presentz, lorsq[ue] les anciens viendront icy, je parleray' (98).</p>	
			<p>After the council, a Mohawk envoy divides a wampum belt in two pieces to make 2 gifts: 1st, claims that the Oneidas are responsible for French deaths, as they are thoughtless and sometimes even do the same to their Mohawk father; 2nd, offers thanks for the release of his</p>	

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
1658 August 1–3	Québec	French, Algonquins, Hurons	<p>nephews.⁵⁹</p> <p>Pierre de Voyer d'Argenson, newly arrived governor of New France, meets with the Algonquin and Huron envoys. The Algonquins give 2 presents of 10 beaver pelts each: 1st, congratulates him on a safe journey; 2nd, acknowledges him as their captain. The Hurons give 2 presents 'qui signifioient le mesme que ceux des Alguonquins': 1st, a 3 000-bead wampum belt; 2nd, a 100-bead wampum string.</p> <p>On 2 August, d'Argenson hosts 'un festin de 7 chaudieres' for 'tous les sauvages.'</p> <p>On 3 August, d'Argenson replies with 3 presents to the Algonquins: 1st, 12 livres of powder and 30 livres of shot; 2nd, 12 swords; 3rd, 2 guns. He also gives 3 presents to the Hurons: 1st, 12 swords; 2nd, 200 iron arrow-heads; 3rd, 12 hatchets. The messages accompanying each trio are identical: 1st, wipes away their tears at seeing their people killed; 2nd, a beverage to strengthen their voices in encouraging the young men to go to fight; 3rd, urges them to believe what the Jesuits teach and to avoid polygamy and drinking.</p>	'Journal des Jésuites,' in <i>JR</i> , 44:102–4.
1658 August 31	Montréal	Onondagas, French	<p>In council with Father Le Moyne, Onondaga envoy Garakontié hangs 26 presents 'sur la perche' in bringing back two French prisoners taken by Oneidas: 'apres t'avoir essayé tes larmes, ouvert le gosier, & essayé le sang,' 1st, cleans the places where blood was spilt; 2nd, a drink to calm the heart of the French; 3rd, wipes away the shame that the Oneidas have caused Garakontié; 4th, the same again; 5th, buries the Frenchmen who died while going to Québec with Achiendase (Le Mercier); 6th, throws sand on the graves where blood was spilt; 7th, hopes that the French will speak good words; 8th, plants once more a tree of peace at Montréal; 9th, re-attaches the sun there, which had been eclipsed; 10th, rekindles the council fire; 11th, spreads out the</p>	'Journal des Jésuites,' in <i>JR</i> , 44:110–14.

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
1658 September 7	Québec	Mohawks, French	<p>council met; 12th, removes rocks from the rivers; 13th, asks Onontio to receive Garakontié's nephews at Montréal as hunters; 14th, a bond to link the French tightly with 4 Iroquois nations; 15th, asks the Jesuits to return to Onondaga country and teach the people to pray; 16th, assures the Jesuits that their house at Gannentaha is still there; 17th, the Mohawks have already reproached the Oneidas; 18th, breaks the ties holding Garakontié's nephew Atiohonchiot, a prisoner of the French; 19th, assures Le Moyne that Garakontié has complained of the murder [of Frenchmen] at Montréal in the Mohawk country; 20th, regrets the Oneidas' use of his name to capture Frenchmen; 21st, does not resent the death of two nephews killed by the French; 22nd, places rocks on their grave so that no more will be said of it; 23rd, asks the French to let the Onondagas pass when they come to attack the Algonquins; 24th, asks that together they find a pretext for attacking the Algonquins; 25th, brings back two of Le Moyne's nephews; 26th, 200 of Garakontié's nephews are campaigning against the Nation du Feu.</p> <p>Le Moyne replies with 3 presents the same day on behalf of the Jesuits, in secret: 1st, assures Garakontié that the Jesuits did not leave Gannentaha ill-disposed to the Iroquois; 2nd, informs him that the Jesuits left Gannentaha due to unresolved murders at Montréal; 3rd, assures him that the Jesuits are prepared to return to Onondaga country once matters are settled.</p>	
1658 September 7	Québec	Mohawks, French	<p>D'Argenson meets with 7 Mohawks captured by the French near Trois-Rivières. Atog&atk&ann, 'La Grande Cueilliere' [<i>sic</i>], speaks for the Mohawks: 1st, lays his head at the feet of Onontio; 2nd, dispels distrust between the French and the Mohawks; 3rd, states his intent to ascertain whether the Mohawks kept in captivity by Onontio are still alive; 4th, clears the minds of the Hurons of false rumours.</p> <p>Onontio replies: 1st, despite numerous invitations, the Mohawk</p>	'Journal des Jésuites,' in <i>JR</i> , 44:106-8.

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
1658 September 28	Montréal	French, Onondagas	elders still have not come—the French, the Algonquins, and the Hurons, who are inseparable, have decided that 2 of Atogatk8ann’s group shall return to inform the elders that all the prisoners are still alive; 2 nd , asks that the Mohawks prove their desire for peace by bringing back all French, Algonquin, and Huron captives; 3 rd , the council fire shall be lit at Trois-Rivières.	‘Journal des Jésuites,’ in <i>JR</i> , 44:116–18.
1658 November 20–25	Québec	Mohawks, French, Dutch	Chaumonot, acting for Onontio, gives 4 presents to Onondaga envoys A’enhia and Otchiondi (an adopted Huron): 1 st , weeps for the two Huron captives of the Onondagas who were killed when the French tried to capture them; 2 nd , joins his voice to that of Gannonchiasie in thanking Garakontié for having brought back his nephews and for the gifts given; 3 rd , informs the Onondaga elders that if they wish the Jesuits to return, they must send Onondaga girls to live with the Ursulines; 4 th , councils are to be held at Trois-Rivières. A 5 th present is given to Sokenda’ti, a Huron captive of the Oneidas, to take to Oneida elders to inform them that 5 Iroquois captured by the French are alive.	‘Journal des Jésuites,’ in <i>JR</i> , 44:120–28.
1658 November 20–25	Québec	Mohawks, French, Dutch	Six Mohawk ambassadors and a Dutchman, accompanied by Le Moyne, meet with Onontio, who gives them 2 ‘petits presents chacun d’une grande brasse de pourc[Elaine]’: 1 st , opens their eyes, 2 nd , clears their throats. The ambassadors reply with 3 gifts, ‘chascun d’une brasse’ (of wampum): 1 st , washes away blood; 2 nd , wipes away tears; 3 rd , unblocks the throat. On 22 November, Tegarihogen, the main Mohawk orator, delivers 16 presents: 1 st , he speaks for all 3 nations—of the Bears, of the Wolves, and of the Turtle; ⁶⁰ 2 nd , begs Onontio to cast away iron chains used to bind people; 3 rd , returns 7 of Onontio’s nephews; 4 th , replaces the sun so it may illuminate the depths of their thoughts; 5 th , thanks Onontio for returning his nephews; 6 th , ‘je suis femme et porte sur ma	‘Journal des Jésuites,’ in <i>JR</i> , 44:120–28.

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
			<p>queue de cheveux les Hurons et Algonquins'; 7th, the Senecas, the Cayugas, the Onondagas, the French of Gannentaha, the Oneidas, the Mohawks, and the Dutch are 7 allied nations; 8th, he is deputed to seek Onontio's opinion; 9th, calms the river so we and our children can travel it peacefully; 10th, the Dutchman Otsindiakhon accompanies me; 11th, Onontio and I hold each other by the arm; 12th, my child, the Oneidas, has caused the recent difficulties, but he has given up his French captives; 13th, asks Onontio to unchain the Oneidas kept prisoner by the French; 14th, leaves to Onontio the task of establishing 'une bonne paix'; 15th, names Mohawk country as the place of council to which he hopes to carry Onontio's voice; 16th, asks for canoes and guns to use for the return journey.</p> <p>On 25 November, Onontio replies: 1st, 6 coats and a length of cloth; 2nd, a fine wampum belt thanks them for their first 4 presents; 3rd, a wampum belt thanks them for the second group of 4 presents; 4th, a belt in return for the third group of 4 presents; 5th, a belt in return for the last group of 4 presents.</p> <p>Onontio also gives presents to be taken to Iroquois country: 1st, Onontio speaks for the French, the Algonquins, and the Hurons in order to make peace and open the way for the Jesuits; 2nd, Onontio will send Ondesonk to Iroquois country to negotiate peace; 3rd, the Algonquins will send an embassy in the spring; 4th, Onontio will keep 4 Iroquois captive to guarantee Ondesonk's safety, given that the Iroquois young men are so disobedient; 5th, wishes for the peace to be longlasting; therefore they should dwell amongst each other; 6th, an arquebus wipes away the blood shed at Trois-Rivières and Montréal; 7th, removes the bonds from the Oneida prisoners and sends one back with the ambassadors, 'à ce que Garontag8ann sçache que je suis meilleur père qu'il n'est enfant' (128); 8th, an arquebus turns Mohawk guns away from people and toward animals; 9th, lead and powder</p>	

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
1659 April 5-6	Québec	Oneidas, French, Algonquins, Hurons	<p>asks them to take care of Ondesonk; 10th, hopes that the nations will gather to hear his voice through Ondesonk.</p> <p>Tegarihogen responds with 2 presents: 1st, casts reproaches deep into the earth; 2nd, asks Onontio to take care of the 4 Iroquois hostages.</p> <p>Having arrived on 3 April, 3 Oneida ambassadors⁶ (Soen' res, Ionnon8ara, and Otarannhont) deliver 24 presents: 1st, takes the hatchet away from the people killed at Montréal; 2nd, 3rd, 4th, places a shroud on each of the dead; 5th, cast the dead deep into the earth to stifle vengeful feelings; 6th, asks the French and Algonquins to keep their promise to send ambassadors to Mohawk country, as peace depended on it; 7th, plants the tree of peace; 8th, strengthens the tree so the wind cannot topple it; 9th, kindles a fire in the shade of the tree where the French, Algonquins, and Hurons can meet to discuss 'une bonne paix'; 10th, gives a healing drink made of white roots; 11th, asks Onontio and his soldiers to think of peace; 12th, replaces the sun to dispel clouds and darkness; 13th, the Mohawks await Ondesonk and the Algonquin ambassadors; 14th, the Onondagas remind Onontio that they were linked by an iron chain which the French broke by leaving Iroquois country clandestinely; 15th, the Onondagas take the French by the arm again; 16th, the Onondagas have preserved the house of the French at Gannentaha; 17th, wishes to secure the release of Mohawk prisoners; 18th, the elders ask that these prisoners be given up; 19th, asks Onontio to free Oneida prisoners as well; 20th, asks that all prisoners be freed; 21st, the Mohawks, the Oniedas, and the Onondagas will see their release as the opening of Onontio's heart to them; 22nd, urges the French to open their eyes and ears to the note how the Iroquois have returned French prisoners; 23rd, urges the Algonquins to make their embassy; 24th, asks the Hurons to no longer boo the Iroquois who visit them.</p>	'Journal des Jésuites,' in <i>JR</i> , 45:82-6.

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
1659 April 28	Québec	Oneidas, French, Algonquins	<p>In the evening, an ambassador secretly gives Chaumonot a fine wampum belt to urge him to press Onontio for a quick response.</p> <p>Following the return of Noël Negabamat from hunting on 26 April, the Oneidas receive their reply. (In the intervening weeks, Onontio had given each a coat to assure that the delay was due merely to the wait for Negabamat's return.) Onontio gives 7 presents in return for the 24 of the Oneidas: 1st (in return for nos. 1–5), Onontio is happy that the Oneidas acknowledged their responsibility for the conflict; 2nd (for nos. 6–10), the French and Algonquins would make an embassy; 3rd (for nos. 11–13), the Iroquois young men should obey their elders as the French obey Onontio; 4th (for nos. 14–16), Sagochiendage' te says that he would have returned to Onondaga had Otreouti not fled; 5th (for nos. 17–18), Onontio notes that the irons broken by Tegarihogen have been reforged by the violence of the young men; 6th (for nos. 19–21), returns 2 Oneida prisoners, one Mohawk, and Gatog8an; 7th, wampum belts are insufficient to strengthen the voices of the elders and so in the future people must be exchanged.</p>	'Journal des Jésuites,' in <i>JR</i> , 45:88–90.
1659 spring	Oneida village	French, Algonquins, Oneidas	<p>Le Moyne's words to the Oneidas as decided after the April embassy: 1st, draws the hatchet from the heads of the young men of Trois-Rivières who mistreated the Oneidas, not knowing that Garontag8an had already released 3 French captives to the Onondagas and Mohawks; 2nd, casts a shroud over the dead; 3rd, places a bandage on the wounded; 4th, buries all evil deep within the earth; 5th, plants the tree of peace once more; 6th, adds roots to it; 7th, offers a drink; 8th, calms the minds of the elders and the young men; 9th, replaces the sun; 10th, makes its rays shine over the place where the Oneidas are seated; 11th, unites the 5 Iroquois nations in thought so they have but once voice; 12th, rekindles the council fire; 13th, lays out a mat on which to</p>	'Journal des Jésuites,' in <i>JR</i> , 45:90–4.

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
1659 July 3–8	Québec	French, Mohawks, Algonquins	<p>Le Moyne and the Algonquin ambassador Eiiita8ikiik return from Mohawk country with 4 Mohawk ambassadors seeking the release of ‘La grande Cuillier’ (Atog8atk8ann) and the other Iroquois hostages. Four councils are held over several days.</p> <p>In the first, a Mohawk orator delivers 3 messages: 1st, thanks Onontio for keeping the Mohawks alive; 2nd, wipes away Onontio’s tears at the recent capture of French people by the Onondagas; 3rd, unblocks Onontio’s throat and stops his sobbing by holding out hope that those taken will be returned soon. Onontio replies: 1st, thanks the Mohawks for caring for the lives of his ambassadors; 2nd, wipes away the tears of the Mohawks at their losses in war with the Nation du Feu; 3rd, stops his sobbing over the same.</p> <p>In the second council, Le Moyne relates his embassy to the Mohawks.</p> <p>In the third council—presumably involving only the French and possibly their Algonquin allies—the decision is made to release La Grande Cuillère and another Mohawk hostage but to keep 2 Oneida prisoners pending the release of French people taken by the Onondagas.</p> <p>In the final council, Onontio addresses the Mohawk envoys: 1st,</p>	<p>Journal des Jésuites, in <i>JR</i>, 45: 100–104.</p>
			<p>sit near the fire; 14th, calls a council upon that mat; 15th, returns 2 of their nephews; 16th, 17th, Onontio cares for the 2 Oneidas remaining at Québec; 18th, Onontio asks for peace; 19th, asks for his nephew Charles Picard to be returned for further instruction, after which he may return to the Oneidas; 20th, Onontio wishes peace so the Jesuits may preach freely; 21st, asserts that paradise awaits the good, and hell the wicked; 22nd, opens their ears to the voice of God; 23rd, ‘Je proteste que c’est ta faute sit u te damnes, je suis prest de revenir quand tu auras appaisé les troubles.’</p>	

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
1659 late summer ^{ca}	along the Ottawa River	Saulteurs, Iroquois	<p>informs them of the decision to release the Mohawks; 2nd, explains that the Algonquin ambassador did not expressly include the people of Tadoussac in the peace, contrary to Onontio's wish; 3rd, the Algonquins and Hurons are responsible for the release of La Grande Cuillère; 4th, the Mohawks should come openly to see Onontio, and not secretly. The Mohawk reply: 1st, thanks Onontio for releasing the hostages; 2nd, thanks the Algonquins and Hurons for their part; 3rd, begs that his son, the Oneidas, should not be so closely confined; 4th, assures Onontio that the sound of his hatchet will no longer be heard in these parts and that the earth will no longer be bloodied; 5th, invites the Algonquins and Hurons to visit Mohawk country to trade; 6th, thanks Onontio for saving the life of an Iroquois (an adopted Algonquin) captured in war; 7th, asks Onontio to help the envoys return swiftly to their homes.</p>	Radisson, <i>Voyages</i> , ed. Scull 179–80.
1659 fall	south of Lake Superior	French, Saulteurs	<p>Pierre-Esprit Radisson and Médard Chouart des Groseilliers give three presents to the village of the Saulteurs who guided them from Montréal. The first, to the men, consists of a kettle (to hold a feast with their allies for the death of a comrade), two hatchets (to encourage the young men to defend themselves against the enemy), six knives (to signify the might of their French allies), and a sword blade (to underscore the power of the French). The second gift, to the women, consists of awls (to encourage them to visit French trading posts), needles (to make the beaver robes the French loved), scrapers (to prepare the pelts), combs ('to make themselves beautiful'), and mirrors ('to admire themselves'). The third is brass rings and beads cast</p>	Radisson, <i>Voyages</i> , ed. Scull 199–200.

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
			among a throng of children, 'to make them merry & remember us when they should be men.' After this the French are called to a 'Council of welcome and to the feast of friendship.' The dead are mourned and the 'dancing of the heads' takes place; Radisson and Groseilliers give 4 'small gifts that they should continue such ceremonies, w[h]ich they took willingly and did us good, that gave us authority among the whole nation' (200).	
1660 late winter/ spring	south of Lake Superior	Menominees, Nadoneser- onons, French	Eight Nadoneseronon ambassadors visit Radisson, Groseilliers, and their Menominee hosts, offering gifts of maize and wild rice. In ceremonies they grease the legs and feet of the French, clothe them in 'cloathe of buffe and of white castors,' weep upon their heads, offer them ceremonial pipes to smoke, and perfume them (i.e., blow tobacco smoke upon them). The next day, after smoking the calumet in council, the French tell the ambassadors through an interpreter that they accept these gifts and consider the Nadoneseronon their brothers and under their protection. The French arrange their arms alongside the calumet to emphasize this, and throw gunpowder upon the fire in imitation of a tobacco sacrifice.	Radisson, <i>Voyages</i> , ed. Scull 207–9.
1660 winter/ spring	south of Lake Superior	Over 18 nations, including the Saulteurs, Menominees, and Nation of the Beef ³	Ceremonies and councils are held in a large square fort, preparatory to the Feast of the Dead. A headman welcomes the embassy of the Nation of the Beef with a speech 'w[h]ich would be long to writ it' (210). Radisson and Groseilliers are invited to the council of the chief of the Nation of the Beef who presents the French with 4 gifts: 1 st , beaver pelts to make the path to their villages easy for the French; 2 nd , confirms the alliance between the nations gathered for the Feast of the Dead; 3 rd , opens the door of the fort so the men may go forth to fight their enemies, the Christinos; ⁴ 4 th , bison hides asking the French for	Radisson, <i>Voyages</i> , ed. Scull, 210–217.

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
1660 winter/ spring	south of Lake Superior	Saulteurs, Menominees, Nation of the Beef, Christinos, and others	<p>assistance in war and for a gun, in particular. Following the council, Radisson and Groseilliers attend a feast where they are bidden to smoke the calumet. The French reply that they take the Nation of the Beef for brothers. The calumet is smoked again after the feast.</p> <p>The French reply to these gifts on the following day, with 4 others, making use of an interpreter: 1st, a kettle to acknowledge them as 'our brethren and children'; 2nd, 6 hatchets showing that the French, as 'masters of peace and wars,' had adopted the Christinos 'for our children' and wished to enforce a general peace between the nations; 3rd, urges them to accept these propositions and invite the Christinos to the Feast of the Dead; 4th, 2 dozen knives to thank them for free passage through their country. Radisson and Groseilliers also give gifts of graters, awls, needles, metal mirrors, bells, ivory combs, and vermilion. To thank a man who spoke favorably on their behalf, they give a hatchet, to every elder a sword blade, and to the young women who presented them the calumet, necklaces and bracelets. 'The last gift was in general for all y^e women to love us and give us to eat when we should come to their cottages. The company gave us great <i>Ho! ho! ho!</i> that is, thanks.'</p>	Radisson, <i>Voyages</i> , ed. Scull, 218–19.
1661 late June or	Montréal	French, Cayugas	<p>The Christinos join the other nations in the Feast of the Dead. 'The renewing of their alliances, the marriages according to the country customs, are made; also the visit of the boans of their deceased friends, ffor they keepe them and bestow them uppon one another. We sang in our language as they in theirs, . . . We gave them severall gifts, and received many. They bestowed upon us above 300 robs [<i>sic</i>] of castors.'</p> <p>A delegation of 4 Cayugas returns 4 French captives, seeking the release of 8 Cayugas in custody at Montréal since the previous year.</p>	<i>Relation de . . . 1660 &</i>

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
July			<p>They arrive in 2 canoes bearing a white flag. A Cayuga chief, in council, gives 20 presents to accompany 8 propositions: 1st, replaces the sun in the sky; 2nd, restores the earth by making it smooth, clearing away rocks on land and rapids in the rivers; 3rd, covers up the blood that had been spilt; 4th, restored the mind of the French; 5th, cleared their throats to speak pleasant words; 6th, a large wampum belt (“grand & large collier”) invites the French to return to his mat at Gannentaha; 7th, especially the ‘saintes filles’ (the Ursuline and Hospital nuns);⁶⁵ asks that a Jesuit return with them, for ‘la vie de vingt François captifs à Onnontagué, est attaché à ce voyage’ (230). These proposals are discussed at Québec by ‘tous les François’ and the decision is taken to send Father Le Moyne to Iroquois country with the Cayuga hostages. In response to the Cayugas’ presents, Onontio speaks 3 words: 1st, breaks the bonds of the Cayuga prisoners; 2nd, sends Ondesonk with the embassy to seek the release of French captives among the Onondagas; 3rd, reminds them to honour a pledge to return in 40 days with the prisoners and with Cayuga elders.</p>	1661, in <i>JR</i> , 46:226–40.
1661 early to mid- August	Onondaga	French, Iroquois	<p>Garakontié and 4 or 5 other ambassadors greet Le Moyne 3 leagues from Onondaga; as they continue to the village, people offer him berries, bread, and other things; Le Moyne makes his ‘cry d’ambassadeur’ periodically. All 5 Iroquois nations are present. In council on 12 August in one of largest longhouses in the village, Le Moyne offers 3 words to the Onondagas ‘avec les presents accoustumez’ (78): 1st, asks if it is true that the Onondagas’ son, the Cayugas, were deputed to seek a union between Onontio and Sagochiendagueté; 2nd, asks if it is true that the Onondagas intend to release their French captives; 3rd, offers the bones of his recently slain nephews so that they might be buried with in Onondaga graves and be spoken of no more. To the Senecas, Le Moyne gives a wampum</p>	<i>Relation de ... 1660 & 1661</i> , in <i>JR</i> , 47:76–80.

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
1661 after October 5	Montréal	French, Onondagas	<p>belt to confirm their wish to visit Onontio and ask him to send some of his nephews to their country. Le Moyne refuses to address the Mohawks publicly. 'L'assemblée de retira, après les ceremonies ordinaries, & après les compliments reciproques, qu'on se fait les uns aux autres, dans ces Conseils' (78).</p> <p>Several days later, the elders assemble and inform Le Moyne that Garakontié is to lead an embassy returning 9 French prisoners to Montréal while 10 other captives are to remain with Le Moyne at Onondaga.</p>	<i>Relation de ... 1660 & 1661</i> , in <i>JR</i> , 47:100–102.
1662 March or April ⁶⁶	Sillery and Québec	French, Iroquois	<p>Six Iroquois, including Oï8re8ati, Aharrhron, and an unnamed woman, meet with the governor, Chaumonot, and the governor's nephew. In council, they give 'quelques présens qui ne disoient rien.' The Fr reply with 4 gifts: 1st, to bring back Le Moyne and the French; 2nd, to bring little girls here; 3rd, to erect the tree of peace and the storehouse at Montréal; and 4th, to ask that Father Echon be there.</p>	'Journal des Jésuites,' in <i>JR</i> , 47:276.
1663 May	Montréal	Mohawks, French	<p>Seven Mohawks come to parley and propose a 'célèbre ambassade pour ne faire plus qu'une terre de celle des François et des Iroquois.' The French approve the proposition and give 3 presents to welcome</p>	<i>Relation de... 1662 & 1663</i> , in <i>JR</i> , 48:86–8.

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
1663 fall	Montréal	Onondagas, French	the future envoys, as long as the latter are accompanied by the rest of the captive Frenchmen. 4 Mohawks remain as hostages, while 3 others return. ⁸⁷	<i>Relation de ... 1663 & 1664</i> , in <i>JR</i> , 49:142–4.
1664 May		Onondagas	Onondaga envoys arrive under a white flag in order to propose peace talks on behalf of all Iroquois nations save the Oneidas; they bear letter confirming this addressed to Mézy from a Dutch notable. Due to French distrust arising from recent hostilities, the envoys are sent back with only 'bonnes paroles.'	<i>Relation de ... 1663 & 1664</i> , in <i>JR</i> , 49:136–44.
1664 September 18	Québec	Cayugas, French	Garakontié heads a large embassy to the St Lawrence valley, comprising 30 ambassadors and 100 wampum belts, 'qui est l'or du pays' (144) — some over a foot in width. They are escorting 2 French prisoners home. Algonquin fighters ambush and rout the embassy below the great sault, killing some and capturing others. ⁸⁸	'Journal des Jésuites,' in <i>JR</i> , 48:236–8; <i>Relation de ... 1663 & 1664</i> , in <i>JR</i> , 49:148–50.
1665 summer	Ottawa River valley	Odawa, Iroquois	Cayugas ambassadors, led by 'un de nos anciens amis, qui estoit l'hoste du Père René Ménard lorsqu'il estoit en mission parmy les Iroquois,' give 20 presents to the French (the finest for the Bishop of Petraea and the Jesuits), asking for instruction from the Jesuits and for Hospital Nuns and Ursulines to receive them when they are sick or bring their daughters for instruction. They also gives 10 gifts to the Algonquins, 'avec lesquels ils témoignent vouloir lier une amitié qui jamais ne se rompra' (49:150). The Jesuits believe these propositions to be insincere; nevertheless, 'On leur respondit par autant de présens et davantage' (48:238).	<i>Relation de ... 1664 & 1665</i> , in <i>JR</i> , 49:244–6.

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
1665 July	Québec	French, Hurons, Algonquins	<p>vous à nous attaquer? –and offer a wampum belt in order to cross the river. The Odawa allow the Iroquois to fetch water. Later, the Iroquois give more presents to smooth their path and to remove rocks that might shatter the canoes, saying ‘Mes frères, que tardez-vous icy si longtemps?’ The Odawa move on, although both sides had lost people in skirmishes.</p> <p>The Hurons receive the newly arrived governor, Prouville de Tracy, ‘selon les costumes de leur país, c’est-à-dire par les compliments, accompagnez de presens’ (226). An elder offers 6 gifts to ‘Grand Onnontio’: 1st, a painted moose hide testifies to the joy and renewed hope the Hurons feel upon Onontio’s arrival; 2nd, blackens Onontio’s gentle countenance to render it forbidding in war; 3rd, advises the French soldiers to arm themselves well against the Iroquois; 4th, girdles the soldiers’ garments so they may run swiftly in pursuit of the enemy; 5th, advises Onontio to win the support of the many captives adopted by the Iroquois; 6th, gives the French forces the courage to face the hard road to Iroquois country. De Tracy replies that he wishes to restore the Huron nation.</p> <p>Some days afterward, Noël Tekouerimat, speaking for the Algonquins, gives 9 presents to Onontio: 1st, recognizes the king of France as master of the earth; 2nd, regards de Tracy as ‘un bras droit du Roy’; 3rd, 4th, 5th, and 6th, weapons for fighting the Iroquois; 7th, rekindled the war fire; 8th, strengthens the unity of the French and Algonquins, both Christian nations fighting a common enemy; 9th, offers Algonquin support in the campaign against the Iroquois.</p>	<p><i>Relation de...</i> 1664 & 1665, in <i>JR</i>, 49:226–36.</p>
1665 early	Trois- Rivières or	French, Odawa	<p>De Tracy gives Father Claude Allouez 3 presents to take to the Odawa: 1st, the king of France is about to bring the Iroquois to their senses and will support the land of the Odawa; 2nd, if the</p>	<p><i>Relation de...</i> 1664 & 1665, in <i>JR</i>, 49:248–50.</p>

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
August	Québec		Nadoussiouek will not make peace, he will compel them by arms; 3 rd , exhort the Algonquins [Odawa] to embrace the faith.	
1665 after October 1	Chequamegon Bay	French, Odawa	In a large village comprised of 7 or 8 nations gathered together, with 800 warriors and fields of corn, ⁷⁶ Allouez is convoked to a general council of 10–12 neighbouring nations whose elders wish to stay the hatchets of some young warriors who wish to make war on the Nadouessi. Allouez takes the opportunity to speak on behalf of de Tracy, 'dont il portoit les paroles avec trois présents, qui en sont les truchements' (278). Allouez speaks of de Tracy's war against the Iroquois, affirming that the king's arms will make commerce safe between the French and the Algonquin peoples, 'netoyant tous les chemins de ces pirates de rivières' (280). As well, His Majesty wished God to be acknowledged 'par toutes ses terres, et qui n'agréoit point de peuples sous son obéissance, qui ne fussent soumis au créateur de tout l'univers' (280). Finally, Allouez explains the chief articles of Christianity.	<i>Relation de ...</i> [1666–67], in <i>JR</i> , 50:278–80.
1665 December 4–13	Québec	Onondagas, Oneidas, Cayugas, Senecas, French	Garakontié and 5 other Iroquois ambassadors escort Charles Le Moyne to Québec. Garakontié gives 7 or 8 presents—laying each at the feet of de Tracy—to renew the peace with Onontio and offers condolences for the death of Le Moyne (Ondesonk). He also asks for the release of 3 Onondaga prisoners held by the French.	<i>Relation de ...</i> [1665–66], in <i>JR</i> , 50:126–130; 'Journal des Jésuites,' in <i>JR</i> , 49:176–8. ⁷¹
1666 May 25	Québec	Senecas, French	Seneca ambassadors ask for the king's protection. At first, de Tracy refuses their 34 presents, 'mais voyant que ce refus leur estoit extrêmement sensible, et qu'ils le prenoient pour la dernière injure qu'on pût leur faire, il accepta enfin leurs porcelaines'	<i>Relation de ...</i> [1665–66], in <i>JR</i> , 50:136. ⁷²

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
1666 July 6–8	Québec	Oneidas, French	24 Oneida envoys arrive in the barque of Jacques Le Ber and are lodged with the Jesuits. In council on the 7th, 'ils n'ont pas dit grand chose'. The 8th, the French reply: 'Le P. Chaumonot leur a dit de la part de Mons ^r de Tracy toutes leurs véritez en bons terms et d'une bonne façon. On en retient quelques-uns des principaux, on renvoye le reste avec le P. Bechefer qui va avec eux en ambassade à Orange accompagné de Mons ^r de La Tesserie pour interprète, et Boquet pour l'assister.' ⁷³	'Journal des Jésuites,' in <i>JR</i> , 50:190. ⁷⁴
1666 August 31	Québec	Senecas, Cayugas, Onondagas, French	A large Iroquois embassy (some 100 Senecas and Cayugas, including 30 women and children) as well as 2 or 3 Onondagas. On 31 August, representatives of all five Iroquois nations are present at a council held in the enclosure of the Jesuit residence. The two 'nations d'en hault' (Senecas and Cayugas) give 52 wampum belts.	'Journal des Jésuites,' in <i>JR</i> , 50:196–8; see also <i>Relation de ...</i> [1665–66], in <i>JR</i> , 50:138–40.
1666 September 6	Québec	Senecas, French (Jesuits)	'Onnonkenrite8i chef de Sonnont8an icy en personne avec 3 autres nous prennent en particulier chez nous, le P. Chaumonot et moi, nous présentent un collier pour retenir le bras d'Onnontio levé sur Annié. Nous répondons 1 ^o que nous ne nous meslons point d'affaires de guerre, 2 ^o que l'Annié est estourdy, 3 ^o qu'Onnontio ne souffrira point son insolence,' 4 th , that the Senecas will always be welcome.	'Journal des Jésuites,' in <i>JR</i> , 50:198.
1667 April 27	Québec	Mohawks, Oneidas, French	Le Bâtard Flamand (Mohawk) and 2 Oneida envoys arrive at Québec without the Huron and Algonquin families the French wished them to return. 'On prend résolution en conseil de retenir icy toutes les femmes et de renvoyer les hommes dans le pais, à la réserve de deux'; moreover, de Tracy warns that if within 2 moons the 'articles proposez' are not fulfilled, the French army will campaign again.	'Journal des Jésuites,' in <i>JR</i> , 50:208.

Date	Location	Participants	Summary	Source
1667 July 8–10	Québec	Mohawks, Oneidas, French	Mohawk and Oneida envoys arrive with Father Jacques Frémin. On 8 August, they give presents, the Mohawk speaker asking for 2 Jesuits to visit them, the Oneidas for one. On 10 August, the French respond positively to both requests. Several Iroquois families remain with the French as hostages. Several days later, the Jesuits Frémin, Pierron, Bruyas and their servants Boquet and Poisson depart for the Mohawk and Oneida villages.	'Journal des Jésuites,' in <i>JR</i> , 50:210, 212; <i>Relation de ...</i> [1666–67], in <i>JR</i> , 51:80–82.

Notes

¹ Marcel Trudel has written that Champlain's *Voyages* was published in 1613, and that the *Quatriemes voyage* appeared the following year (*HNF*, 2:190, 203 n. 68); his evidence for this is the fact that the *privilege* for the former work is dated 9 January 1613 and Champlain's assertion in 1632 that the latter work appeared in 1614 (see Champlain, *Voyages* [1632], in *Works*, 3:37). Rare book catalogues such as Sabin and *European Americana*, however, indicate that extant copies of the *Voyages* of 1613 invariably include the *Quatriemes voyage* as a separately paginated section. This is true of the copy at Library and Archives Canada: the *Quatriemes voyage* has a separate title page, but the printer's imprint is not repeated. It thus seems more likely that the two appeared as a single publication either in late 1613, following Champlain's return to France in the fall, or in 1614. For the sake of contextual precision, I have elected to cite the *Quatriemes voyage* as a distinct work, even if, as a publication, it is more properly considered part of the *Voyages*.

² The source gives July 17, but given that these events followed others that took place on July 23, 17 is likely a mistake for 27.

³ Le Clercq states that 25 'Iroquois' (probably Mohawk) envoys came; Champlain gives their number as six. Champlain indicates that trading with the 'sauvages' (presumably the Hurons and Nipissings) as well as with the 'Canadiens' (the Innu) took place at Québec on 10–14 July, after which these nations embarked on the voyage home. He makes no reference to a large council at Trois-Rivières; De Caën is only mentioned as going to Trois-Rivières 'pour traiter avec d'autres sauvages s'il en rencontroit' (5:132). Champlain's knowledge of these negotiations seems to have been quite limited. Although writing long after these events, Le Clercq's source for this was, as Alain Beaulieu

Notes continued

surmises, probably an account by Joseph Le Caron; see Alain Beaulieu, 'La paix de 1624: les enjeux géopolitiques du premier traité franco-iroquois,' in *Guerre et paix en Nouvelle-France*, ed. Alain Beaulieu (Sainte-Foy: Les Éditions GID, 2003), 53–101.

⁴ Vimont included this anecdote in a short biography penned in 1643, after Nicollet's drowning death. While the Jesuit states clearly that the purpose of Nicollet's mission was to arrange a peace between the Hurons and the 'Gens de mer,' Trigger wonders if this is not an error, for there is little evidence of direct Huron-Winnebago contact for this period. Possibly Nicollet was acting on behalf of the Odawa (Trigger, *Children*, 355–356).

⁵ Referred to in the *Relations* as 'the general' or as Bochart du Plessis, this personage appears in the *DCB* as Charles Du Plessis-Bochart. Campeau gives his full name as Théodore Charles Bochart du Plessis (*MNF*, 2:802).

⁶ Trigger suggests that the 'Cheveux-Relevez,' (which Le Mercier further qualifies as a 'nation algonquaine') mentioned here are in fact the Nipissings, on the grounds that the number of deaths attributed to this group is identical to the Nipissing losses given elsewhere (*Children*, 536, 852 n.7). It is possible that Le Mercier made an error, but it should be noted that by the late 1630s the Jesuits were accustomed to distinguishing the Nipissings (or 'Sorcières') from other Algonquian-speaking nations like the Odawa. See, for example, François Dupéron's enumeration of nations in a letter written less than a year after his arrival in the Huron country. Dupéron to his brother, 'La Conception de Nostre-Dame dans le pays des Hurons,' 27 April 1639, in *MNF*, 4:213.

⁷ Marie de l'Incarnation to Mother Ursule de Ste-Catherine, 13 September 1640, in Oury, ed., *Marie de l'Incarnation, ursuline (1599–1672): correspondance* (Solesmes [France]: Abbaye Saint-Pierre, 1971), 117–118, reports at length the anti-Jesuit speech given by a Huron woman — an important text, since it remains virtually the sole account of a woman speaking in Native councils of the period. All that Marie provides in terms of context for this speech is a reference to councils held to debate the execution of the Jesuits, and there were several of these in late 1639 and early 1640. Yet there are grounds for inferring that Marie's report pertains to the anti-Jesuit opposition described in Jérôme Lalemant's narrative of the mission to the Arendarhonon in the *Relation de ... MDCXL*, chap. 9. The Huron woman's description of the spread of the epidemic, as reported by Marie, fits well with what Lalemant says of the outbreak that occurred shortly after the arrival of Daniel and Le Moynes at Contarea. Lalemant reports no speeches, but he does refer to the hostility of 'une mégère, qui est la maîtresse de la maison' in which the Jesuits were lodged (*MNF*, 4:722). His 'mégère' may be Marie's speaker. Note also that Marie continues her letter with an account of a Huron vision of Jesus, an event which also figures in Lalemant's chapter. The Ursuline goes on to laud in general the efforts of Joseph Chiouatenhoua, whose efforts among the Arendarhonon are more fully described by Lalemant. It is possible that Marie took her account of the woman's speech from a passage of the manuscript of the Huron relation that was subsequently omitted in publication; alternatively, she may have acquired this information from Pierre

Notes continued

Pijart, who had come down to Québec with the Hurons in the summer of 1640 and from whom she claims, in this same letter, to have learned of the peril facing the missionaries in the Huron country.

⁸ Although not named in the *Relation de ... 1640 et 1641*, Tshohahissen's village has been identified by Trigger as Teotongniaton (*Children*, 688).

⁹ The first part of the *Relation de ... 1640 et 1641* is chronologically confusing; many stories are told of the edifying behaviour of neophytes and the opposition of 'pagans', including Tessouat, but few precise chronological markers are given. Nevertheless it is clear from both external and internal evidence that the episodes relating to Tessouat's visit to Sillery and his overwintering at Trois-Rivières can only have taken place in 1640–41, and not in 1641–42, as Savard implies in *L'Algonquini Tessouat* (18, 25, 29). In the fall of 1641, heightened conflict with the Mohawks prompted the Algonquins to abandon Trois-Rivières entirely and to winter away from the river for greater safety, as reported by, among others, Marie de l'Incarnation (letter to Mother Ursule de Ste-Catherine, 16 September 164, in Oury, 143–144).

¹⁰ The Algonquins who normally wintered at Trois-Rivières split up in the fall of 1641 to seek greater protection from Mohawk raids. Some took refuge at Sillery, while others returned to the Ottawa Valley where they fell under attack. The island where the attack was said to occur was probably Morrison Island, traditional home of the Kichespirini (whom the French by convention called 'de l'Isle,' of the Island), and not Manitoulin Island, as Brandão suggests (*Your Fyre Shall Burn No More*, table D.1). I have relied however upon Brandão's reconstruction of the chronology of this conflict (*ibid.*). For Morrison Island as the location of the attack, see Trigger, *Children*, 637–638.

¹¹ Although the letter that prefaces the *Relation de ... 1642* is signed by Barthélemy Vimont, internal evidence (such as references to Vimont in the third person and the narrator's claim to have authored previous *Relations*) suggests that the actual author or compiler was Paul Le Jeune, who spent the winter of 1641/42 in France. See Guy Lafèche, 'Les relations des jésuites de la Nouvelle-France: un document anthropologique majeure de l'américanité française au XVII^e siècle,' *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec* 29, no. 2 (1999): 81.

¹² These events are narrated retrospectively as part of the background to the story of the baptism of this headman, whose name is only given as Jean-Baptiste, in Vimont's *Relation* for 1643–44. The superior states that this embassy took place three years previously; logically, in 1641. In fact it seems to have taken place in 1642. This headman was said to have spent a winter with Charles Meiachkaouat; this was doubtless during the latter's embassy to the Abenakis in 1642/43, for the previous year's *Relation* mentioned an unnamed Abenaki captain who was stirred by Meiachkaouat's preaching, and who then returned to Sillery in the summer of 1643 for instruction. His request for baptism — of which there is unfortunately no trace in the Sillery register (Campeau, ed., *MNF*, 6:63 n. 1) — was granted in the fall of that year (*Relation de ... 1642 et 1643*, in *JR*,

Notes continued

24:58–60, 62–64). In writing that the headman's first visit took place three years ago, Vimont — writing at the end of the summer of 1644 (his prefatory letter is dated 5 September) — probably meant three *summers* previously, i.e. 1642.

¹³ Although most of the content of the relevant source, the *Relation de ... 1643 et 1644*, deals with events from September 1643 to September 1644, the chapter on the mission of La Conception at Trois-Rivières for 1643, having been omitted from that year's *Relation*, appeared instead in that of the following year. See Thwaites' editorial notes (*JR*, 26:10).

¹⁴ According to Campeau, this is Paul Ouetamourat, baptized at Trois-Rivières on 29 June 1643 (*MNF*, 143 n. 5, 146 n. 10).

¹⁵ In the *Relation* this Huron speaker is identified only as Charles. This may well be, as Trigger assumes (*Children, 703*), the convert Charles Tsondatasa, who is mentioned frequently in the *Relations* of the early 1640s. Campeau, on the other hand, affirms that the speaker is Charles Ondaadiondiont, a war leader of the Attingneenongnahacs who later played a prominent role in Huron-Susquehannock diplomacy (*MNF*, 6:137 n. 7, 6:772–73).

¹⁶ In the Jesuit journal, the Mohawk envoy is identified as Le Crochet, but, as Thomas Grassman argues, this must be the same person as Kiotseaeton ('Kiotseaeton,' in *DCB*, 1:404).

¹⁷ Francis Jennings has inferred that the author of this entry was Vimont (Jennings et al., eds., *History and Culture of Iroquois Diplomacy*, 153), but it seems certain that it was instead Jérôme Lalemant, who began the journal in September 1645 when he returned from the Huron mission to serve as superior at Québec. It seems that while Vimont and Le Jeune were aware of Montmagny's secret council with Kiotseaeton, neither they nor Montmagny informed the new superior of what had transpired (Grassman, 'Kiotseaeton,' in *DCB*, 1:404).

¹⁸ Vimont, who was a witness to this council, writes that with this gift the Huron headman said: 'Voicy le lien qui rassemblera ces os, & qui vous les fera rapporter plus aisément.' He then explains: 'En un mot, il les vouloit consoler & essayer leurs larmes à la façon des Barbares qui font des presens aux parens de leurs amis trespasses' (*Relation de ... 1644 et 1645*, in *JR*, 27:296). Although from other sources we know that the wiping away of tears was a common diplomatic metaphor, in this context that phrase occurs as part of the superior's explication (which itself may have been shaped by his knowledge of the conventions of diplomatic language among Iroquoians).

¹⁹ A brasse was approximately 1.6 metres (Lester A. Ross, *Métrologie archéologique: systèmes de poids et mesures anglais, français, américain et canadien pour l'archéologie historique de l'Amérique du Nord*, Histoire et archéologie, 68 [Ottawa: Parcs Canada, 1983]), 71–73. Lalemant uses the word *collier* to describe the belt of 3 000 beads; the Thwaites edition misleadingly translates this as 'necklace'.

Notes continued

²⁰ In the council of 18 September 1645, the Mohawks had proposed that Thérèse should remain with the Mohawks, arguing that since she had been educated for several years by the Ursulines, she would be able to prepare French-style food for Onontio's envoys visiting the Mohawk villages (Vimont, *Relation de ... 1644 et 1645*, in *JR*, 27:2286–288). In this speech, Montmagny asks for Thérèse's return 'afin qu'elle preparast du bled d'Inde à leur façon, pour les festiner, quand ils nous voudroient visiter' (*Relation de ... 1645 et 1646*, in *JR*, 28:296).

²¹ The source identifies the principals in attendance as 'Montagnais, Algonquins, trois de la nation[n] des Sorciers, & deux Betsiamites.' Jesuits in the St Lawrence valley used the ethnonym 'Sorciers' to refer to the Nipissings (e.g., Paul Le Jeune to Vitelleschi, in *MNF*, 2:348; 'Relation du voyage du sieur de Champlain en Canada' [1633], in *MNF*, 2:370).

²² Although this source appears as the eighth and final chapter of Part 2 of the *Relation* of 1645–46, it is clearly not part of Ragueneau's Huron relation. Thwaites gives the probable author as Jacques de La Place (*JR*, 30:303 n. 8).

²³ There is some confusion as to who actually took this Oneida captive. In the published *Relation*, Lalemant clearly identified the Hurons as the man's captors in the course of a lengthy anecdote. But in an August entry in his journal, Lalemant recorded receiving the news that the Oneida was taken by the Iroquet nation or Ononchataronon ('Journal des jésuites,' in *JR*, 28:224). Trigger seems to prefer the latter account (*Children*, 655); Brandão, the former ('*Your Fyre Shall Burn No More*,' table D.1). One possibility is that the initial report to reach Lalemant was mistaken, and that in preparing the manuscript relation later that year Lalemant penned a more accurate account based on Huron eyewitness accounts.

²⁴ Lalemant recorded in the Jesuits' journal that a detailed account of Montmagny's diplomacy was to be found in the 'archives,' but these documents are not extant ('Journal des jésuites,' in *JR*, 28:228).

²⁵ According to Campeau, these probably would have been Jean-Baptiste Etinechkaouat, Noël Negabamat, and Georges Etouet (*MNF*, 6:634 n. 21).

²⁶ In early January 1648, the Hurons sent a new embassy to Onondaga. Its members were ambushed by Mohawk attackers and 4 of its 6 Huron members killed. Scandaouati, the Onondaga diplomat who had remained in the Huron country, subsequently committed suicide, apparently out of shame that his Mohawk allies would willfully endanger him by attacking the Hurons.

²⁷ Presumably obtained in trade with the Susquehannocks or with New Sweden (Trigger, *Children*, 732–33).

Notes continued

²⁸ In the fall of 1647 an unspecified epidemic disease spread among the nations that had come to Tadoussac in the summer. Lalemant, *Relation de ... 1647 & 1648*, in *JR*, 33:18.

²⁹ The intensified warfare of the late 1640s and the dispersal of the Huron nations in 1649–50 seems to have interrupted the regular publication of the Jesuit relations, which by convention had since the mid-1630s included two parts: a relation produced at Québec and another from the Huron country. In 1647, Ragueneau's relation from the Huron country did not reach Québec for autumn departure of the ships and was never published; in 1649 and 1650, the Jesuits at Québec did not produce a separate relation and only the Huron relations were published. As a consequence, information about formal councils held in this years in sparse. Lalemant's journal mentions some councils but generally provides little detail. On the publication history of the relations, see Lafière, 'Les relations des jésuites de la Nouvelle-France,' 80–81.

³⁰ The entry gives little information about this embassy, noting only that word has arrived from the Neutral country that Ohenhen has received the belts. Trigger has surmised that d'Ailleboust's message was directed to the Tahontaenrat refugees among the Neutrals or to the Neutrals themselves and involved proposing trade and an alliance against the Iroquois (*Children*, 786, 790).

³¹ The identity of this nation is not clear.

³² Although the prefatory letter is signed by François Le Mercier, the published *Relation* seems to have been assembled in Paris by Paul Lejeune (*MNF*, 8:561, 581 n. 49).

³³ The published *Relation* declared that four or five remained, while the 'Journal des Jésuites' gives the number as six or seven.

³⁴ The governor of Montréal, Paul de Chomedey de Maisonneuve.

³⁵ The feast day of St Michael.

³⁶ Huron elders showed these wampum belts to the French on 18 November, explaining that they were intended to convince the Hurons at Québec to settle among the Mohawks (*JR*, 38:198). It is unclear when Tegarihogen presented these belts in secret; possibly this happened during the negotiations of August–September of the same year.

³⁷ The Jesuits reported that these belts were given 'dans l'obscurité & l'horreur de la nuit, à ceux qu'il [Tsira'enie] croioit estre personnes de confiance, avec promesse d'en garder le secret inviolable' (*Relation de ... 1653 & 1654*, in *JR*, 41:56).

Notes continued

³⁸ Francis Jennings has argued that 'If standard practice was followed, the metaphorical weapon was accompanied by a present of real weapons'; see Jennings, *The Ambiguous Iroquois Empire: The Covenant Chain Confederation of Indian Tribes with English Colonies from its beginnings to the Lancaster Treaty of 1744* (New York and London: W. W. Norton and Co., 1984), 105. Jennings does not make clear what 'standard practice' he is referring to, but likely he meant the sometimes considerable gifts of guns and ammunition given to Native allies by British and French colonial authorities in periods of intense imperial rivalry (generally from the late 17th- through to the mid-18th centuries). In Le Moyne's embassy of 1654, however, it is highly unlikely that any significant gift of weapons was delivered. The principal French source for the period, the *Jesuit Relations*, continually registers suspicion regarding Iroquois motives for making peace; moreover, there's no evidence of that the Jesuit bore much in the way of baggage (or, indeed, that any sizeable contingent of Frenchmen accompanied him). Clearly the French were glad of the Iroquois war with the Eries, since it turned the attention of the Iroquois away from the St Lawrence valley, but it seems unlikely that in such a context they would actually provide the Iroquois with weapons. Georges Sioui, citing this passage from Jennings's *Ambiguous Empire*, has affirmed that 'Nous savons que . . . les jésuites contribuèrent financièrement à la destruction des Eriés'; see Georges E. Sioui, *Les Wendats: une civilisation méconnue* (Sainte-Foy: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1994), 323 n. 360. This is, in my view, a similarly unwarranted inference.

³⁹ Thwaites's translation of this phrase is, 'to renew the courage' of the Senecas (*JR*, 41:111). Restoring the mind of a grieving relative was a feature of the Iroquois condolence ceremony; this is perhaps what Le Moyne intended here.

⁴⁰ Here, Le Moyne seems to have modified slightly the Iroquois custom of invoking the sun as witness of one's sincerity, by adding reference to God and heaven.

⁴¹ Presumably Agochiendaguété, 'qui est comme le Roy du pais,' according to Dablon (*Relation de ... 1655 & 1656*, in *JR*, 42:88).

⁴² To symbolize this, Chaumonot 'leur fit une couronne du collier qu'il leur presentoit, & leur appliqua sur la teste l'un apres l'autre. Ils furent d'abord surpris de cette nouveauté, à laquelle ils se plurent . . . ' (100).

⁴³ The text implies that Chaumonot handled an actual kettle at this point, in addition to offering 'un beau collier'.

⁴⁴ Dablon does not specify why he considered this the most beautiful of all the belts Chaumonot presented at this council. Given that he describes the 7 000-bead belt that the Onondagas presented during their reply on the morrow (p. 118) in similar terms — 'le plus beau de tous ceux qui ont paru icy' — it would seem that the size of the belt (i.e., the number of beads involved) was a factor.

⁴⁵ Fenton sees *gaianderé* here as '*kayendere*, the Huron form of Mohawk *kayanereh*,' referring to the Great Peace (*The Great Law*, 249).

Notes continued

⁴⁶ After this council the Seneca went to hunt beaver between Québec and Trois-Rivières. The Jesuits reported that a Mohawk band surprised the headman alone and shot him dead.

⁴⁷ Huron and Odawa refugees had gathered on this island, which Adams suggests may have been Prairie Island, Minn. (Radisson, *Explorations*, ed. Adams, 96 n. 87).

⁴⁸ Adams situates this narrative in the early 1660s, arguing that it conflates the events of an unwritten voyage of the mid-1650s with a later voyage of 1661–63. Here I have followed Grace Lee Nute in assuming that the third voyage described in Radisson's manuscript — referred to by Radisson as 'the Auxoticiat Voyage' — took place in 1654–56 and did not involve Radisson at all.

⁴⁹ 'Nous [the Jesuits] donnâmes en particulier deux capots et quelques autres petits présens aux principaux pour les gagner.'

⁵⁰ Or 14 presents: the text states that 'huit ou dix presens' were given in condolence (172).

⁵¹ These headmen had traveled to Québec in a fleet of some 50 fur-ladens canoes in the company of two young Frenchmen (one of whom was probably Médard Chouart des Groseilliers; see Grace Lee Nute, 'Chouart des Groseilliers,' in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 1:224).

⁵² No reply to these propositions was recorded. This entry in the journal the Jesuits kept at Québec possibly represents the earliest non-narrative record of a council in the archives of the French regime, in that it is more akin to a *procès-verbal* than, as was more typical in the published accounts of this period, a series of quotations or paraphrases forming part of a longer narrative in which the author(s) felt the need to explain the acts and gifts of the diplomats. The minute-taking approach to recording councils — essentially, noting only the metaphors and gifts presented in council — became the norm for French and English colonial administrations later in the seventeenth century. It is perhaps not surprising that the Jesuit journal holds an early example of this style of record-keeping: the journal was not intended for publication and this new style reflects, perhaps, the growing familiarity of the Jesuits with the protocols and conventions of Iroquois diplomacy.

⁵³ There is no precise indication of when this council occurred, but the reference to travel over ice and snow hints that it took place during the winter.

⁵⁴ The *Relation* for 1657–57 gives another version of this council, in which there is no reference to a Mohawk envoy or to the Algonquins; nor is any precise date given. The published version relates lengthy speeches by Le Moyne, an Onondaga speaker, and a Huron speaker. Each referred to the other as a brother and several gifts — at least one of which was a wampum belt — were exchanged. It is possible that the published

Notes continued

version confuses this council with the one of May 10–11. No precise dates are given, but the narration of events preceding the council in the *Relation* matches most closely the one of May 7.

⁵⁵ De Quen (the author of this entry in the journal of the Jesuits) may have meant that, contrary to customary practice, a reply was made immediately and without the usual presents.

⁵⁶ The Jesuit author of the *Relation* actually identifies these three Huron nations as the Cord, the Rock, and the Bear. As Trigger notes, the two latter terms can be equated with the Arendarhonon and Attignoutanan with some certainty; by implication, the Cord would then designate the Attigneonongnahac—despite the fact that ‘Cord’ appears to be ‘a nonsensical gloss’ (Trigger, *Children*, 436 n. 5). John Steckley considers there to be sufficient linguistic grounds for rehabilitating ‘the Cord’ as a suitable translation of this nation’s name (*Words of the Huron*, 32–33).

⁵⁷ A letter sent by Le Moyne from the Mohawk country is cited in the *Relation* of 1658–58; it notes that these 3 ambassadors set out with 3 gifts (messages) sanctioned by Mohawk elders: 1st, we have been killed in the persons of the French, whom we come to bury; 2nd, Ondesonk is free and alive; 3rd, we ask for our nephews now in your hands (*JR*, 44:202). The *Relation* gives the arrival of the Mohawks as 3 January, but the Journal is probably correct with 31 January.

⁵⁸ The Journal states that Le Moyne took up these gifts at a council in Mohawk country on 19 April, ‘en p[rese]nce des hollandois les plus considerables de Manatte’ (*JR*, 44:96).

⁵⁹ At some point during this council, which was being held on a gallery of the governor’s fort overlooking the St Lawrence River, the flooring collapsed. None of the participants was injured, and the council continued as normal (*JR*, 44:222).

⁶⁰ The three Mohawk clans. In other texts of the period, the Jesuits use the term ‘famille’ to refer to Iroquoian clans; here, however, ‘nation’ is used.

⁶¹ A marginal note in the Journal, opposite the 5th gift, states that these are the gifts of the Mohawks—apparently signifying that at least some of the propositions emanated from Mohawk, rather than Oneida, councils. Onontio’s reply (on 28 April) indicates that the Mohawks were the authors of at least two propositions (*JR*, 45:90).

⁶² The chronology of the four voyages Radisson recounted in this narrative from the late 1660s is notoriously difficult to determine and has been the subject of much debate among scholars. Here, I follow Germaine Warkentin (and Grace Lee Nute) in situating the Lake Superior

Notes continued

voyage in the years 1659–60; see her 'Discovering Radisson: A Renaissance Adventurer between Two Worlds,' in *Reading beyond Words: Contexts for Native History*, ed. Jennifer S. H. Brown, and Elizabeth Vibert (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 1996), 43–70.

⁶³ Also referred to in the narrative as the Nadoneseronon, this ethnonym apparently refers to a group of Dakota Sioux; see Bruce M. White, 'Encounters with Spirits: Ojibwa and Dakota Theories about the French and Their Merchandise,' *Ethnohistory* 41, no. 3 (1994): 369–405.

⁶⁴ The Crees.

⁶⁵ In relation to these final belts, the Jesuit author noted that 'les gestes, & les postures, dont il assortit deux presens, qu'il fit pour cela, montroient bien, que c'estoit plustost par galanterie, qu'il en usoit ainsi, que dans l'esperance d'en venir à l'execution,' implying that one could distinguish between a serious council proposal and an empty one (*JR*, 46:228).

⁶⁶ On the Feast of the Annunciation.

⁶⁷ The hostages were lodged at Montréal in the cabin of some Christian Hurons who had settled there. After an evening of feasting, singing, dancing, presents, and evening prayers, the Mohawks arose at night, killed 3 Hurons, and fled with 3 girls.

⁶⁸ Although this embassy never arrived, the Jesuits reported its intent: 'Depuis que la guerre est allumée entre nous et les Iroquois, nous n'avons point encor veu de leur part de plus solomnelle ambassade que celle qu'ils avoient préparée le printemps dernier, soit pour le nombre et la qualité des députez, soit pour la beauté et la multitude des présens. . . . Ils publient qu'ils veulent réunir toute la terre, et jeter la hache si avant dans le fond des abymes, qu'elle ne paroisse plus désormais; qu'ils veulent attacher au ciel au soleil tout nouveau; qu'ils veulent applanir toutes les montagnes et oster tous les sauts des rivières; en un mot, qu'ils veulent la paix; et pour marque de sincérité de leurs intentions, qu'ils viennent se livrer entre les mains des Français, non pas tant pour ostage de leur fidélité, que pour commencer à ne plus faire qu'une terre et une nation d'eux avec nous' (*JR*, 49:136).

⁶⁹ The 'Journal des Jésuites' gives 400 (*JR*, 49:160).

⁷⁰ Later in the *Relation*, Allouez describes his abode as being between 2 large villages; the second one, distant 3/4 of a league from the first, consists of 45–50 large cabins, with 2 000 inhabitants (50:300).

⁷¹ A French record of the treaty is in 'Articles de paix demandés par six ambassadeurs iroquois,' 13 December 1665, Library and Archives Canada (LAC), Fonds des Colonies, series C11A (Correspondance générale, Canada), vol. 2, fols. 187–190v. The original, with signatures, appears to be in the Bibliothèque Nationale (France) (BN), Collection Baluze, 196, fol. 72–77v. See also 'Explication des onze présents faits par les

Notes continued

ambassadeurs iroquois le premier décembre 1665,' LAC, Fonds des Colonies, series C11A, vol. 2, fols. 261–262v. Another copy of this last document can be found in LAC, Fonds des Colonies, series F3 (Collection Moreau de Saint-Méry), vol. 2, fols. 17–19v. The text of the 'Articles de paix demandés par six ambassadeurs iroquois' appears as the last of three treaties in *Traitez de paix conclus entre S. M. le Roy de France et les Indiens du Canada* (Paris: Sebastien Mabre Cramoisy, Imprimeur du Roy, 1667), but is erroneously dated 13 December 1666. The correspondence of colonial administrators for the years 1665–67 provides some additional information on the context of these councils, but are these documents are not cited here for reasons of space; see LAC, Fonds des Colonies, series C11A, vol. 2 for these sources.

⁷² See also 'Copie du traité fait à Québec avec les Iroquois,' 22 May 1666, LAC, Fonds des Colonies, series C11A, vol. 2, fols. 232–233, as well as 'Traités entre Louis XIV et les Iroquois (25 mai–12 juillet 1665),' BN, Collection Baluze, 196, fols. 78–79v. Another copy of this treaty between de Tracy and the Senecas has been inventoried in LAC, Fonds du Ministère des Affaires étrangères, series Mémoires et documents: Amérique, vol. 5, fols. 201–2. A printed version of this treaty and the following one were published in *Traitez de paix conclus entre S. M. le Roy de France et les Indiens du Canada*.

⁷³ According to Thwaites, this is Jacques Descailhaut, sieur de La Tesserie (JR, 50:325 n. 20). Boquet is probably Charles Boquet, who appears to have been a servant of the Jesuits. Boquet accompanied de Tracy's army in September 1666 (JR, 50:200).

⁷⁴ See also 'Traité fait avec les Iroquois,' 7 July 1666, LAC, Fonds des Colonies, series C11A, vol. 2, fols. 234–235v; Treaty between de Tracy and the Oneida, LAC, Fonds du Ministère des Affaires étrangères, series Mémoires et documents: Amérique, vol. 5, fols. 207–9; and 'Traités entre Louis XIV et les Iroquois (25 mai–12 juillet 1665),' BN, Collection Baluze, 196, fols. 80–82.

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