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A HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED LATIN MANUSCRIPT
OF THE JESUIT MISSOURI PROVINCE ARCHIVES:
A PROOEMIUM CONCERNING THE HISTORY
OF THE MISSOURI MISSION OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS
AND THE FIRST CHRISTIAN EXPEDITIONS
AMONG THE ILLINOIS INDIANS
DISSERTATION
Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University
By
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ABSTRACT

This dissertation focuses on a Latin manuscript written shortly after 1837. It provides a history of Jesuit missionary activity in the St. Louis area. There are many gaps in our knowledge of the succession of Jesuit priests who worked among the Illinois Indians following Father Marquette. This, however, is the very subject which the author of the manuscript contained herein has undertaken. It thus may provide needed information to fill in some of those gaps, although a detailed reconstruction of the history of the Missouri Mission is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

The manuscript edited in the fifth chapter is currently preserved in the Jesuit Missouri Province Archives of the Pius XII Memorial Library, St. Louis, Missouri. The author is a Belgian Jesuit who came from Maryland in 1823, probably Father Verhaegen. The manuscript is presented here as closely as possible to the original. Where the edited version does depart from the original, the original text is preserved by means of footnotes.

The Latin manuscript is introduced by three chapters of background material. The first chapter discusses the Counter-Reformation and the founding of the Society of Jesus, including a look at Jesuit spirituality. The second chapter deals with the political aspects of early contact between Europe and the Americas, as well as a brief treatment of the quest for supremacy in North America. Included here is a discussion of the Jesuit role in
the exploration of the Mississippi River Valley. The third chapter briefly deals with the
dissolution of the Jesuit order, its impact upon the Illinois missions, and the eventual
restoration of missionary labors in the St. Louis area.

The fourth chapter serves as a commentary to the Latin text, including such topics
as style, sources used, and historical accuracy. Sources used may include an addendum to
Thwaites' extensive collection. Some discussion concerning the "noble savage" concept is
also included. The final chapter provides a translation of the edited text with the hope that
this will make the dissertation more accessible to those who do not read Latin.
IN MEMORIAM

To Father Verhaegen
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INTRODUCTION

This study focuses on a Latin manuscript written in the first decades of the nineteenth century, which provides a history of Jesuit missionary activity in the St. Louis area. Many works have been published on the Jesuit missionaries and missions in New France, especially Canada. Some work has been done as well on the Jesuit missions of the Mississippi River Valley, and in particular, the missionary efforts of Father Jacques Marquette. As I researched this topic, I discovered that there were many gaps in our understanding of the succession of Jesuit priests who worked among the Illinois Indian tribes following Father Marquette. This, however, is the very subject which the author of the manuscript contained herein has attempted to undertake. It is my hope that this dissertation will provide needed information to fill in some of those gaps, although a detailed reconstruction of the history of Jesuit missions and missionaries in the St. Louis area is beyond its scope. On the other hand, the author indicates that the manuscript is written primarily for the Jesuits who have resumed the work in the Missouri Mission. The fact that the manuscript is written in Latin and in many ways reflects the Ratio Studiorum, including the Livy/Lucian concept of History, “classical” rhetoric, etc., indicates that the manuscript was indeed written for fellow Jesuits rather than the general public.
The main portion of what follows, and which in fact is the fifth chapter, is a hitherto unpublished Latin manuscript in the Jesuit Missouri Province Archives of the Pius XII Memorial Library, St. Louis, Missouri. It was written shortly after the restoration of the Jesuit Order and the resumption of Jesuit missionary activity in the St. Louis area, probably shortly after 1837. The author is a Belgian Jesuit who came from Maryland in 1823. Before presenting this document, however, it will be necessary first to provide some background information. Chapter 1 will discuss the founding of the Jesuit Order and the missionary activities of its early members, and will also reflect upon Jesuit spirituality and educational theories and practices. This discussion will include a survey of the calls for reform within the Church and events leading up to the founding of the Society of Jesus. On October 31, 1517, Martin Luther nailed his “Ninety-five Theses” to the door of the church in Wittenburg, setting in motion a chain of events against the perceived corruption in the Roman Church, a movement which came to be known as the Protestant Reformation. Five years later, Ignatius of Loyola spent ten months in retreat at Manresa following a pilgrimage to Montserrat, where he devoted himself to the service of Our Lady. This time of retreat laid the foundation not only for the Spiritual Exercises, but also for the formation of a new Order, the Society of Jesus, which formed one branch of the Roman Church’s response to the call for reform. The Order, confirmed by Pope Paul III on September 27, 1540, and known as the Jesuits, became very instrumental in the missionary outreach of the Roman Church in Europe, Asia, and on the American continents. Indeed, Roman Catholics in many ways displayed more missionary
zeal than did Protestants during this period, especially in America, where they were instruments of colonization and worked on behalf of Indians and African slaves.¹

The survey of Ignatius of Loyola and the founding of the Jesuit Order will be followed by a brief examination of early Jesuit emphasis upon missionary work, especially as it pertains to New France. I discuss as well the *Spiritual Exercises*, written by Loyola and required for all novices of the Society. Because the Jesuits were instrumental in establishing schools for the Indians of New France, and because the Classical emphasis in Jesuit education highly influences the style of the author, this chapter will conclude with a look at the Jesuit philosophy concerning education, both for the religious and laity.

To consider Jesuit spirituality and educational philosophy in New France, it is helpful to look at early French exploration and political activity, as this was closely interwoven with early Jesuit missionary activities in New France. Chapter 2 will briefly survey the early explorations of and the quest for supremacy in North America, with emphasis on French explorations, and especially the exploration of the Mississippi River Valley and the establishment of Jesuit missions among the Illinois people whom they encountered along the banks of this mighty river in their attempts to extend French territory and control southward into the Gulf of Mexico. Extensive research has been done on the explorations of the Mississippi River Valley by Louis Joliet and Father Jacques Marquette,² but because Father Marquette was responsible for establishing missionary activity among the Kaskaskians, this chapter will conclude with a discussion of his visits to the village of Kaskaskia, his ministry among the Illinois Indians there, and his death in 1675, after celebrating Easter Sunday mass.
with these same people. This discussion will be helpful because the author of the manuscript contained herein does deal with Father Marquette’s death in some detail.

The third chapter will briefly discuss the dissolution of the Jesuit order, its impact upon the Illinois missions, and the eventual restoration of missionary labors in the St. Louis area. Because the author of the manuscript does not attempt an apology for the early order, and accordingly does not give any details concerning the dissolution of the order, an account of the events leading to the world-wide suppression of the order is largely irrelevant to this work.

Chapter 4 will then discuss the manuscript itself and its author, dealing with such topics as style, sources used, and historical accuracy. Some discussion concerning the “noble savage” concept will be included in this chapter, as some scholars believe that the Jesuits of New France were responsible for the introduction and development of this concept, especially in France, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It will also be noted that the manuscript, although written in the early nineteenth century, is still influenced greatly by earlier thinking. The document was written to inform those priests who would come to the restored mission in the St. Louis area of its earlier history. Resources at hand for the author were few, but he does refer continually to a certain document from Quebec, as well as to Charlevoix’s extensive work. It is my thought that this mysterious document from Quebec may be a possible addendum to the extensive collection of Thwaites, The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, in 73 volumes, although the author certainly had access to some documents which are now a part of Thwaites’ collection. I will discuss our author’s historical accuracy in light of the documents Thwaites has preserved, with the hope that this particular
manuscript may add some needed information in the reconstruction of the history of Jesuit missionary activity in the area now known as St. Louis, Missouri. Using Thwaites' collection as well as the manuscript edited herein, I will then construct a catalogue of Jesuit priests among the Illinois Indians from Marquette's death in 1675 to that of Sebastian Meurin in 1777, after the dissolution of the Jesuit Order throughout the world.

In 1812 Napoleon brought Pius VII to Fontainebleau. When the Pope returned to Rome in 1813, he apparently was determined to restore the Society to its former status. Almost forty years had passed since Meurin's death. After the complete restoration of the Society in 1814, it grew tremendously in the United States. On April 11, 1823, a group of Belgian Jesuits left Maryland in order to restore Jesuit missionary activities in the Saint Louis area and the Northwest. This group included Father Peter John Verhaegen, who is the probable author of the manuscript edited in the fifth chapter of this dissertation. In general, we have adopted a conservative approach in the editing process. For the most part, the orthography and grammatical constructions used by the author have been maintained. The manuscript has been presented here as closely as possible to the way it was originally written. Where the edited version does depart from the original, or where the original Latin is awkward or impossible to read, changes have been made as was necessary, but the original text has been preserved by means of footnotes. Marginal and interlinear glosses are also indicated by footnotes. Changes in punctuation, however, have not been indicated.

The final chapter of this dissertation is a translation of the edited text. Again, we have been conservative in our translation, but it is not literal in every respect. For example, sexcenti has been translated as “countless.” For the most part, we have attempted to relay
what the author was trying to say in the original text. It is hoped that the translation will make this dissertation more accessible to those who do not read Latin.

Notes


2. Orthography varies from source to source on the spelling of Joliet. Unless using a direct quotation, I will adhere to the use of a single “I.” Early sources also vary on the spelling of Mississippi. Again, unless quoting directly some of the early references, I will use the accepted contemporary spelling. One other variant concerns the Recollets. The French spelling is used except in some direct quotations, where the English “Recollects” may appear.
CHAPTER 1

SOCIETY OF JESUS

_The Reformation and Counter-Reformation_

The European world during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries witnessed great change in the ecclesiastical realm as Europe began to separate church and state, completely breaking with Rome in some places and partially in others. Palmer calls this process "secularization," and states that "Latin Christendom was the first modern society to embark" on this "momentous, troublesome, and long drawn out process." In one sense, however, this was not actually a separation of church and state as much as a rise of political sovereignty, for in countries where Protestants won political power, the people became Protestant, and where Catholics retained governmental power, the majority of the people remained Catholic. This process of secularization was felt in various ways, one of which was the Conciliar Movement.

The Conciliar Movement took place within the Roman Church itself, and was an attempt to remove some of the authority of the pope, and to place this authority instead in the hands of a universal council. After Urban VI became pope in 1378, his predilection to appoint his own relatives to positions of power led to a second election by the same body
of cardinals whereby Clement VII also became pope. By this action the papacy held power both in Rome, under Urban VI, and in Avignon, under Clement VII. This situation developed into what is known as the Great Schism and the Babylonian Captivity of the papacy. Many believed that a universal council was the answer to the problems of these troubled decades and the continuous calls for reform within the Catholic Church.²

Members of both lines of the papacy joined together to call a council which met in 1409 in Pisa. The council deposed both popes and elected another, Alexander V. The two popes in power, however, refused to resign, and as a result, there were now three popes. Another council was then held in 1414 at Constance. All three popes were removed from power, and a new pope, Martin V, was elected. John Huss was condemned as a heretic at this council, and was burned at the stake. Most of the council members wanted general councils to be incorporated as a regular structure in the governing body of the church.³ As soon as Martin V was elected, however, he reaffirmed the papal power. This council met again in 1423, but shortly after it gathered for the third time in 1430, Martin V died, and his successor, Eugene IV, declared the council dissolved. The council refused to adjourn, and for a while seemed to prevail in supplanting the power of the papal office. This victory was brief, however, for in 1449 due to the Turks' threat to Constantinople, Eugene IV moved the council, and it finally disbanded.⁴

Eugene IV was the first Renaissance pope.⁵ His main efforts were directed toward embellishing the city of Rome. His successor, Nicholas V (pontificate, 1447-1455), tried to establish Rome as a political capital of the Italian states and as an intellectual capital of Europe, and he did not hesitate to execute those who opposed him. He was succeeded by
Calixtus III (1455-1458), who placed more emphasis on military campaigns than on his priestly duties. Most of the popes who immediately followed were more concerned with being patrons of the arts and repaying their supporters by various papal favors. Papal corruption reached its peak under Alexander VI, who became pope in 1492, the same year initial contact was made between Europe and the Americas. Alexander VI had several children by various women, who were legally married to other members of his court, and at a time when the Turks were threatening Europe, he allegedly dealt secretly with the sultan. Needless to say, under popes such as these, the corruption of the papacy caused many to lose faith in the ability of the pope to act as a spiritual and political leader. When Leo X (1513-1521) attempted to finance the completion of the basilica of St. Peter in Rome by the sale of indulgences, this final outrage that led to the Protestant Reformation.

The term "Protestant Reformation" refers to events set in motion by Martin Luther on October 31, 1517. From a reading of Romans 1:17, Luther developed a doctrine of justification by faith alone; good works were merely the outward manifestation of the inner grace one receives from God through simple faith. This doctrine in and of itself caused him no real problems at first, but an incident of 1517 began a chain of events which caused him eventually to challenge the pope’s authority as well as that of the emperor. Luther, who was a professor at Wittenberg, posted his ninety-five theses under these circumstances:

A friar named Tetzel was traveling through Germany distributing indulgences, authorized by the pope to finance the building of St. Peter’s in Rome. In return for them the faithful paid certain stipulated sums of money. Luther thought that people were being deluded, that no one could in this way obtain grace for himself, or ease the pains of relatives in
purgatory, as was officially claimed. In the usual academic manner of the
day, he posted ninety-five theses on the door of the castle church at
Wittenberg. In them he reviewed the Catholic sacrament of penance.
Luther held that, after confession, the sinner is freed of his burden not by
the priest's absolution, but by inner grace and faith alone.*

Luther's challenge to the pope's authority eventually led to his doctrine of the
priesthood of all believers, an idea which implied that the priesthood was an unnecessary
link in the relationship between God and humankind, and one which was extremely
revolutionary for its time. Luther was eventually threatened by a papal bull of
excommunication if he did not recant. When Luther refused, and publicly burned the
papal bull, the Emperor, Charles V, summoned him to appear before the diet at Worms,
but Luther again refused to recant. By these actions he thus challenged the authority of
the pope and the emperor.9 Thus began the Protestant Reformation.

Many members of the Roman Church, however, had long seen the need for reform,
and accordingly a movement was started which in the end did not break with the Roman
See.

The Catholic movement corresponding to the rise of Protestantism is
known as the Catholic Reformation or the Counter-Reformation, the
former term being preferred by Catholics, the latter by Protestants. Both
are applicable. On the one hand the Catholic church underwent a genuine
reform, which would probably have worked itself out in one way or
another even if the stimulus of revolutionary Protestantism had been
absent. On the other hand the character of the reform, the decisions made,
and the measures adopted were shaped by the need of responding explicitly
to the Protestant challenge; and certainly, also, there was a good deal of
purely "counter" activity aimed at the elimination of Protestantism as
such.10

Eventually a council for reform within the Roman church was held at Trent in 1545, which
was able to meet, although irregularly, for almost twenty years, and which helped to
develop the doctrines and policies of modern Catholicism. Its task was two-fold, to form a statement of Catholic doctrine, and to reform abuses in the church. At this council, three Jesuits were extremely instrumental in guiding the course of the reforms within the Catholic Church. It is with this background that we now turn to St. Ignatius of Loyola.

_The Founding of the Society of Jesus_

_Ignatius of Loyola: A Brief Biography_

Palmer describes the renewed zeal for reform within the Catholic Church following the council of Trent as a "counter-crusade." It developed especially in Spain, where, under the influence of Queen Isabella and Cardinal Francisco Jimenez de Cisneros, there had already been a great deal of zeal for reform even while Luther was still young. Spain was also the native country of St. Ignatius Loyola. Ignatius of Loyola was born in 1491, one year before Columbus established contact between Europe and the American continents. He was the youngest of thirteen children and dreamed of a military career with honor and glory. Accordingly he entered active military service with apparently no thought of future religious commitment. He was

... no saint in his soldiering days. His wrongdoing was less spectacular than that of the sinful Augustine of the early chapters of the _Confessions_, but he was worldly, ambitious, and probably not wholly chaste.

Fulop-Miller agrees that “like other young knights of his time, Inigo pursued the most vulgar sensual pleasures and was constantly getting entangled in some dubious adventure or other.” Ignatius lost his mother at an early age and was then placed at court by a wealthy aunt. There he grew to love all the splendor of courtly life, and longed for the
His dreams were shattered, however, when he received wounds in both legs on May 21, 1521, at the siege of Pamplona in Navarre, the first of the wars between Francis I of France and Charles I of Spain. One of his legs was improperly set, and he thus walked with a limp for the rest of his life. During his long convalescence he read Ludolphus of Saxony's *Life of Christ* along with a collection of saints' lives. These works convinced him that the saints were far greater in their accomplishments than any knight.¹⁷

During this period of convalescence Ignatius also had a vision, which he recalls in his *Autobiography*, referring to himself in the third person as is his custom.

Lying awake one night, he clearly saw the image of Our Lady with the Holy Child Jesus, and with that vision he received remarkable consolation for a long time, and was left with such repugnance for his former life, and especially for things of the flesh, that it seemed like all the images that had been painted on his soul were erased.¹⁸

De Guibert sees five distinct stages in the development of Ignatius' spirituality, with the first stage corresponding to this period of convalescence and conversion. Following his recuperation Ignatius made a pilgrimage to Montserrat on March 25, 1522, where he devoted himself to the service of Our Lady, thus beginning the second stage in the development of his spirituality. De Guibert points out, "This stage was entirely dominated by the desire to do great things for Christ, by the thoughts which in the *Exercises* make up the contemplation on the Kingdom of Christ and the meditation on the Two Standards or flags."¹⁹ He then spent ten months at Manresa, and it was during this period in his life that his self-discipline led to the formulation of the *Spiritual Exercises*,²⁰ a key document used in the novitiate of those entering the Society of Jesus, although the document did not
receive its written form until 1548. Ignatius' *Autobiography* indicates that he struggled with a deep sense of his own sin much as Luther had done, and like Luther, he too came to experience the grace and forgiveness of God.21 The results of these similar struggles, however, were quite different. Whereas Luther's experience led to an eventual split with the Roman Church, Ignatius' did not. The *Spiritual Exercises* became the soul of the *Constitutions* which he provided for his order, and consequently the Society of Jesus "institutionalized some of the deepest themes of the Catholic Reformation"22 and "came to be one of the main instruments of the Catholic offensive against Protestantism."23

Ignatius made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land following his retreat at Manresa. He hoped to become a missionary to the Turks, but was forced to leave by the Franciscans, who already had established missionary activities there.24 He then entered various universities in Europe in order to further his education, eventually being accepted at the University of Paris at the college of Montaigu in 1528, thus becoming "a fellow alumnus of a Frenchman who had left the college some time before, Jean Cauvin, whom we know as John Calvin."25 Ignatius refers to this period as one of "distraction by study."26 He eventually gathered a small band of followers, received his Master of Arts degree at Paris in April, 1534, and then departed for Spain one year later. His small band of followers returned with him to Montserrat in 1534 in order to make solemn vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience to the pope.
The Gathering of the First Jesuits and Recognition of the Order

Ignatius apparently had the kind of personality and spirituality that naturally drew others to himself. As he searched for God's will in his life, there had been several inconclusive attempts to assemble a band of followers. He arrived in Barcelona on his journey to the Holy Land only to find the port closed for a time because of the plague. While waiting for the port to open, Ignatius gathered a small group of female followers, women of rank who were influenced by Inez Pascual, whom Ignatius had met on his journey to Manresa. This band came to be known as the “Inigas,” but they did not become the first Jesuits. Another failed undertaking occurred during his early university education. Ignatius began his own studies at the University of Alcala in Barcelona, where he spent two unsuccessful years. Here too there was a small group of youths, male and female, “led by a pale and worn man of thirty-two, who went barefoot from house to house, begging their bread, and passed from the schools in the evening to the hospitals or the homes of the poor, or stood boldly in the public squares and told sinners to repent.” These youth were some of the first persons to reap the benefits of what were to become the Spiritual Exercises. Ignatius worked systematically with the youth, encouraging them to recall their sins, repent, and overcome the evil in their lives.

Ignatius left Spain late in 1527 and set out for Paris to continue his education. Although he began to draw together the first Jesuits during his years of study at the University of Paris, there was one further attempt to work with a band of followers which involved three Spanish students, who were forced to leave his spiritual guidance by their fellow students. This was the final failure, however, and Ignatius soon began to draw to
himself the men who would become the original members of his order.

An accident of college administration gave Ignatius his first Jesuits-to-be. With two younger men he had to share one of the rooms assigned to students. These companions were Pierre Favre (Peter Faber), a Savoyard peasant-farmer's son, and Francisco Xavier, a young intellectual from a Basque family in Navarre. Faber was led by Ignatius through the *Spiritual Exercises* to accept a religious vocation, while Xavier was drawn more slowly to that same decision. He at first was more ambitious, with his sights set on a more worldly goal, but he too eventually made the decision to enter a religious vocation. With this decision we find the beginning of a deep and inspiring friendship between Xavier and Loyola.

Within the next two years Ignatius gathered to himself four more members of the original Jesuits. These were Diego (James) Laynez (or Lainez), Alfonso Salmeron, Nicholas of Bobadilla, and Simon Rodriguez, a Portuguese. These six men together with Ignatius united their spiritual lives together on August 15, 1534, shortly after Ignatius graduated from the University of Paris.

On the feast day of the Assumption (August 15) they met in a little chapel on the hillside of Montmartre. Peter Favre, already a priest, said Mass; the others received Communion at his hands and uttered their vows of poverty, chastity, and the resolve to go to Jerusalem and work there.

The Order of the Society of Jesus, known as the Jesuit Order, was authorized by Pope Paul III in 1540. The group formed a new type of monastic order in that they were less cloistered and were more directly involved in worldly affairs. Their initial desire was to work among the Turks in the Holy Land, but by the time the order gained final approval from Pope Paul III in 1540, Protestantism posed such a threat that the Society of Jesus
rather developed into one of the principal forces used by the Catholic Church against this threat. This, of course, is the popular view of the Jesuits, but for Ignatius and the other early Jesuits the emphasis in their ministry was on preaching the Gospel and ministering to the needs of bodies and minds. The emphasis for the Order from the beginning was on missionary activities among non-Christians. The original band of followers, who returned with Ignatius to Montserrat in 1534, numbered about a dozen and included Peter Faber and Francis Xavier, who had been his roommates at the College de Montaigu. It also included Diego Laynez and Alfonso Salmeron, who would play an important role at the Council of Trent (1545-1563).

The original plan of the first group of seven men to evangelize the Turks was never fulfilled. As a matter of fact, for the next six years the members of the Order worked in various locations and in different areas of ministry, although all of them did complete their studies and receive their priest's orders. Pope Paul III granted permission to the band to go as missionaries to the Turks in the Holy Land, but the Veneto-Turkish war broke out, leaving the group stranded in Venice and unable to fulfill their mission. They already had decided that if this first plan failed, they would offer themselves to the service of the Pope, who gave an oral approbation in the fall of 1539. The official recognition of the order, however, did not come about until a year later, when Paul III approved the order on September 27, 1540, in the Bull *Regimini militantis ecclesiae*. It seems that the Pope first appointed Laynez and Faber to deliver theological lectures at the university in Rome, and then, before officially recognizing the new order, he departed for Nice to attend a peace conference between Francis and Charles V. The Society of Jesus was indeed established.
as a special religious military unit sworn to total allegiance to the pope. Originally membership in the Society of Jesus was limited to sixty, and at the time of the approval of the order there were only ten members. After the order was approved, Ignatius turned to recruitment and to organizational matters, and it was during this period that he wrote the Constitutions. Recruitment, however, was not taken lightly, and from the very beginning, members of the Order were expected to fulfill certain spiritual, pilgrim, and service requirements. Even with these strenuous requirements, however, the Society of Jesus soon grew beyond its limit of sixty members, and at the time of Ignatius’ death on July 31, 1556, only sixteen years later, there were approximately fifteen hundred members.

Early Jesuit Missionary Efforts: Africa and the Far East

Early Jesuit efforts placed great emphasis on missionary activity and the pursuit of souls for the Kingdom of Heaven, both at home and abroad. Indeed the Jesuits did not forget their original missionary goal. Bartholomew Dias had rounded the Cape of Good Hope in February, 1488, beginning the Portuguese exploration and invasion of the eastern coast of Africa. Missionary activities had already begun on the western shores with the baptism of the Congo ruler in the early 1480’s. Mozambique on the eastern coast, however, presented a different problem, again related to the Muslim thorn in the flesh of Christian Europe. Upon his arrival at Mozambique, Vasco da Gama found that many of its inhabitants were Muslim, and thereupon bombarded the city. The first Portuguese priests arrived at Mozambique in 1506, but their main task was to minister to the Portuguese garrisons. Eventually missions to the interior were attempted by some
Dominicans and Jesuits, including Gonzalo de Silveira, who converted and baptized the
king of Zimbabwe. He was eventually murdered in his sleep, apparently by Portuguese
traders, who feared that his missionary success would undermine their commercial
ventures.\textsuperscript{43}

When Pope Alexander VI divided the non-Christian lands between Spain and
Portugal in 1493, Portugal received the Far East as well as Africa.\textsuperscript{44} Vasco da Gama's
voyage in 1498 to India proved that a sea route was not only possible, but profitable as
well. The Portuguese thus began to establish various military bases at strategic locations.
King Joao III of Portugal requested six Jesuits for his colonies in the Orient, but Loyola
could only send two. One of these, however, became one of the most famous Jesuit
missionaries, Francis Xavier,\textsuperscript{45} a member of the original band who had taken their solemn
vows in 1534. Xavier arrived at Goa, the capital of the Portuguese territory in India, in
May, 1542, and worked among the people of India until 1546. In 1549 he sailed with
three Japanese converts and two other Jesuits to plant the first but unfertile seeds of the
Christian faith in Japan. Xavier's final missionary zeal was directed toward China, to
which he sailed in 1552, but was never able to enter the country. He died on an island
outside the Chinese empire, awaiting the time when China would be opened to receive
Christian missionaries.

Xavier's work was followed by two other notable Jesuits who are excellent
examples of the Jesuit tendency to allow themselves to be assimilated into their
surrounding culture in order to bring that culture to the knowledge of the Gospel of
Christ. Robert di Nobili became a missionary to India, where he adapted his methods to
the caste system. Matteo Ricci was able to enter China, where he followed a method similar to that of Nobili. He gathered a small circle of intellectuals who met regularly in his home.46

Early Jesuit Missionary Efforts: New Spain

While Cortez, Pizarro, and their Spanish successors were busy establishing their political fiefdoms on the American continent, the Roman Church responded to their missionary imperative to convert the heathen. Pope Leo X authorized the Franciscans Juan Glapion and Fray Juan de los Angeles to go to the American continent on April 25, 1521. The death of Glapion and the election of de los Angeles as general of his Order in 1523 prevented this papal authorization from being fulfilled. It did, however, result in the organization of the mission of "The Twelve" by Father de los Angeles in 1524. The arrival in May of the first Friars Minor marked the beginning of Franciscan evangelism in New Spain. The Franciscans set for themselves the task of converting the natives, destroying their temples and idols, and establishing convents. The Dominicans responded to the call as well in 1526, when twelve of their Order arrived in Mexico, although five of them died within the year.

By 1600 the Jesuit order also was firmly established in New Spain. One of the most energetic and effective was Pedro Claver,47 who arrived in Columbia in 1610 while still a novice. Because of his observations of the sufferings of black slaves, he took an additional vow when he took his final vows in 1622: "Petrus Claver, aethiopum semper servus." His monastery purchased some slaves to act as interpreters for him, and he
together with his interpreters would meet each slave ship as soon as it arrived, and just as soon as he was permitted to do so, he ministered to the needs of the slaves. He would provide them with fresh water, clothing, and fruit, he would bury the dead and tend to the needs of the sick, and finally, using his interpreters, he would minister to their spiritual needs. He eventually founded a leprosarium to treat the leprosy common among the slaves. He suffered from a paralyzing disease during the last days of his life, and died in 1654, but eventually, more than two centuries later, his ministry was honored and he was deservedly canonized.

This same decade also saw the first Jesuit presence on the North American continent. The colony which would become the first permanent one in the United States was established by the Spanish in 1565 at St. Augustine under Pedro Menendez de Aviles, after he destroyed the French Huguenot settlement of Fort Caroline. Missions to the Indians were begun by Jesuits under Menendez. The Spanish Jesuit settlement in present-day Virginia, called by the Spanish Ajacan, was established in 1570. It seems that the Spanish during the 1550's were concerned about French exploration along the Atlantic coast moving closer to their route for silver from Mexico. Don Luis de Velasco enlisted the help of Menendez to secure the east coast of North America from French encroachments. Exactly how this came about is surrounded in mystery, but Menendez eventually directed his efforts toward settlement of the Chesapeake area, and his goals included the presence of Jesuits. Fathers Pedro Martinez and Juan Rogel along with Brother Francisco Villareal arrived in 1566. Martinez was killed by Indians, and the missionary team was revived with the arrival in 1568 of Fathers Baptista de Sequra,
Gonzalo del Alamo, and Antonio Dedeno, along with three Brothers and six catechists, most of whom were martyred. In spite of these martyrdoms, however, the missionary efforts brought some initial success, and were enlarged by the arrival of eleven Franciscans in 1595. By 1634 there were between twenty-five and thirty thousand Indian converts in Spanish Florida.

In New Spain the Jesuits patterned their work in a way similar to that which would later develop in New France. Rather than following the Franciscan pattern of organizing Indian villages near Spanish settlements, the Jesuits built their villages for Indian converts in areas where European influence was barely felt. Success also was due in part to the Jesuit educational and moral philosophy. The Jesuits, perhaps because of their Thomistic philosophy and mastery of Indian languages, were more willing (as compared with Franciscans and Dominicans) to accommodate Indian behaviors and beliefs that did not fly in the face of Church teachings. These villages were theocracies, and although native leaders were elected, final authority on any matter lay with the resident missionary. The Jesuits would usually win the support of these leaders by means of gifts, and then would baptize the infants and children. The village was built around the church as its central focal point. Most property was held in common, as were the herds, tools, and seeds. The main enemies of these villages, however, were not the other Indians, but the other Europeans. In Paraguay the Portuguese colonists resented the fact that the Jesuits would not allow them to enslave the Indians. In New Spain the Spanish would have preferred to have the Indians provide labor under their system of encomiendas. When the Portuguese from Sao Paulo began to attack Jesuit missions in 1628 in order to capture the Indians as
slaves, the Jesuits decided to arm the Indians, and were finally victorious over the Portuguese in 1641. Afterwards the missions of Rio de la Plata flourished, and continued to do so until the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767.

Early Jesuit Missionary Efforts: New France

French priests of the Society of Jesus played a large role in the colonization and exploration of New France. Two French Jesuits, Pierre Biard and Enemond Masse, were the first Jesuit missionaries to settle in New France at Port Royal in Acadia and at St. Sauveur on the coast of Maine. Previously two secular priests had baptized more than one hundred Micmac Indians. The two Jesuits arrived on Pentecost, May 22, 1611, and soon encountered opposition from the governor. Samuel de Champlain, Baron de Poutrincourt and governor of New France, had sailed from France in 1610, bringing with him a secular priest, Jesse Fleche of Langres, who baptized one hundred and forty Micmac Indians. Biard and Masse at first attempted to continue this work among the Micmac, and built the first Jesuit mission at St. John, across the bay from Port Royal. Champlain, however, quarreled with Mme. de Guercheville, who had made the financial arrangements for the arrival of the Jesuits in New France. She in turn arranged for a second ship and two more Jesuit priests to help Biard and Masse. This ship carried the four Jesuits to Mount Desert Island in Maine, where the English eventually attacked in 1613, killed one Jesuit, and sent the others back to Europe. Thus ended the first Jesuit mission in New France. Biard ended his ministry by teaching in the Jesuit colleges, but Masse made two more trips to New France, once in 1625, only to be expelled once again by the English
after three years, and finally in 1634. This third and final trip to New France yielded a ministry among the American Indians that lasted for twelve years until his death.66

In 1615, the French trading company in Quebec brought to New France six Recollet priests. Champlain's policies had three aims — exploration, commerce, and evangelization.57 He accordingly sought missionaries for the work of evangelization, but turned to the Recollets rather than the Jesuits. Although they were a reformed branch of the Franciscan Order, akin to the Friars Minor of Spanish America, the Recollets had the distinction of being exclusively French.58 Thus in 1619, four years after the destruction of the Jesuit mission in Maine, the Recollets resumed missionary work among the Micmac. The group of Recollets included Father Chretien Le Clercq.59 Ten years later the first Jesuit missionaries arrived in Quebec. The Recollets came to Quebec following upon the success stories of their fellow Franciscans in Spanish America, where the Friars Minor manned some five hundred convents. They were determined to press the local Canadian Indians into a European mold, as had been done in New Spain by their Spanish brothers,60 and in this method they formed a marked contrast to the later Jesuit method of missions among American Indians. In 1625 the Recollets were reinforced by the arrival in Quebec of six Jesuits, including Charles Lallemant, Ennemond Masse, and Jean de Brebeuf.61 For a while Recollets and Jesuits worked together to evangelize the Canadian natives.

In 1629 an English fleet seized control of the river and starved the French garrison at Quebec into submission. Champlain was forced to surrender. Three years later, however, Canada was restored to the French by the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye. Cardinal Richelieu forced the Recollets to abandon the Canadian mission field, while the
Jesuits were allowed to return. After the English restored New France in 1632, and the Jesuits resumed their missionary activities, Fathers Paul le Jeune and Anne de Noue embarked for Quebec. Champlain was again appointed governor in 1633 and returned to New France, bringing with him Fathers Jean de Brebeuf and Enemond Masse, along with some new settlers. Eventually New France would fall to the British in the second half of the eighteenth century, but before that took place, France would be responsible through Jesuit missionaries for some of the most laudable missionary efforts among American Indians on the North American continent.

The Jesuits were eventually able to establish a model village at Sillery, and they achieved some success, especially among the Hurons. The mission of St. Joseph was founded in 1637 by Le Jeune and became the main center for the converted Montagnais and Algonkin. Like the Jesuits in South America, the French Jesuits learned that it was far better to allow themselves to be culturally assimilated while instilling in the Indians the fundamentals of the Christian faith. This could best be done with the Indian converts segregated from the French settlers and apart from any attempts to “Frenchify” them. For this reason the Jesuits were far more successful in their missionary endeavors than were the Recollets. The missionary efforts of the French Jesuits were greatly enhanced after 1640, when the generosity of the Duchesse d’Aiguillon made possible the building of a hospital at Sillery. Here the Ursuline sisters, who also had established a missionary center in New France, did their part in bringing about the religious conversion of their native patients. At the same time they aided the efforts of the Jesuits by beginning a school for Indian girls.
At first the various Indian chiefs seemed eager to receive Brebeuf and Masse. The death of a Recollet, Father Viel, however, changed this situation. Champlain held an Algonquin in prison, charged with the murder of Viel. Champlain accordingly advised the two missionaries to postpone their voyage into Huron territory. Jean de Brebeuf did enter Huron territory, however, and established a successful mission among the Hurons. In many ways a survey on early Jesuit missions would be incomplete without looking at Brebeuf’s life and work, and even a brief sketch of his life reveals how he followed the teachings of Loyola. He was born in 1593 in Normandy to a prosperous family. In 1617 he entered the Society of Jesus and served as a college administrator until he was accepted to join the first Jesuit mission to Quebec. He arrived with Champlain in 1626, lived among the Hurons, learned their ways, prepared a grammar and lexicon of their language, and baptized both the dying and those just born. He, like the founder of his order, was also a mystic, a fact revealed especially in his notebooks.

“On the 9* of May, [1640] when I was in the village of Saint Joseph, I was, as it were, carried out of myself and to God by powerful acts of love, and I was transported to God, as if to embrace Him.” This union, he goes on to say, was disturbed by the appearance of an old woman whom he supposed to be the devil in disguise. In a later entry (27 May) he speaks of his experience while at prayer before the Blessed Sacrament on the feast of the Pentecost: “I saw myself in a moment invested in a great fire which burned everything which was there around me, without consuming aught. While these flames lasted, I felt myself inwardly on fire with the love of God, more ardently than I had ever been.”

These flames became real some nine years later. In 1649 the Iroquois attacked the Hurons. Brebeuf was captured, tortured, scalded, and finally burned to death on March
16, and was eventually canonized in 1950. Such was the result of the actions of faith of one French Jesuit missionary to the Hurons.72

Jesuit Spirituality and the "Spiritual Exercises"

Jesuit spirituality in and of itself is a vast topic, and one which has been treated at great length by Joseph de Guibert, S.J., and Rene Fulop-Miller, among others. It does seem necessary, however, to have some general background into Jesuit spirituality to understand fully the manuscript transcribed and analyzed herein. Perhaps the starting point for this subject should be that used by de Guibert, that is, a definition of the term "spirituality."

The word "spirituality" can designate many objects. First, it can mean the personal interior life of a man, or the thoughts on which that life is more habitually nourished, or forms of prayer, or various practices, or special graces which sustain and develop that life. Second, the word can signify the manner of directing others which this or that person employs in his ministry, the principles he teaches, the means of training he employs, and the particular goals he points out or suggests. Third and last, the word often means the spiritual doctrine formulated in the person's writings, or the doctrinal synthesis of matters pertaining to the spiritual life which he expounded, insinuated, or took for granted in his writings, or which at least we can draw from his pages.73

In de Guibert's own analysis of Jesuit spirituality, he considers all three "objects" in the life of St. Ignatius, beginning with a discussion of his "personal interior life," treated herein to some extent in the above brief biography of St. Ignatius. He concludes above all else that St. Ignatius was a mystic,74 and places much emphasis on the individual examination of conscience. Secondly, de Guibert looks at the manner in which St. Ignatius trained his followers, treated below to some extent in the section on the education of Society
members. De Guibert then turns his attention to a detailed discussion of the spiritual writings of St. Ignatius, and points out that the *Spiritual Exercises* were important from the very beginning of the Order.⁷⁵

The *Spiritual Exercises* are a set of instructions, not to be read or used by the individual performing them, but by the one who is guiding the other through the exercises. A novice begins his novitiate by making these exercises under the guidance of a fellow religious. They are essentially a manual for meditations divided into four *Weeks*, with the directives of the meditations being "methods for examining the conscience, for engaging in prayer both vocal and mental, for deliberating or making a choice, and the like."⁷⁷ The time and manner of composition is disputed.⁷⁸ The work begins with a general definition: "By the term 'Spiritual Exercises' is meant every method of examination of conscience, of meditation, of contemplation, of vocal and mental prayer, and of other spiritual activities that will be mentioned later."⁷⁹ This introductory section also gives a brief outline of the complete work:

Four Weeks are assigned to the Exercises given below. This corresponds to the four parts into which they are divided, namely: the first part, which is devoted to the consideration and contemplation of sin; the second part, which is taken up with the life of Christ our Lord up to Palm Sunday inclusive; the third part, which treats of the passion of Christ our Lord; the fourth part, which deals with the Resurrection and Ascension; to this are appended Three Methods of Prayer.⁸⁰

De Guibert admits that the *Spiritual Exercises* does not constitute a spiritual treatise, nor is it a series of exhortations or meditations. He explains that the purpose for these introductory remarks is more to enlighten the director, although the one making the Exercises may also profit from them.⁸¹
The issues raised are many and varied. A militant spirit is seen throughout the *Exercises* in various ways, promoting absolute and unquestioning support for the hierarchy of the Roman Church. There is special insight into Jesuit spirituality and the teaching concerning the good and evil spirits, but this issue is often part of the military imagery in the *Exercises*. The Protestant emphasis on grace is seen as a threat to the requirement of good works and free will, which in itself is related to our ability to reason. Thus Aristotelian influence and support of "the scholastic doctors" is found as well. The work is troubling in its few references to women, but it is delightful in its emphasis on prayer in general, including the use of the senses in one's prayer life, and in the way it leads one to a personal identification with Christ in his passion.

Ignatius had dreamed of a military career, and in many ways one could say that when he entered the religious life he merely extended this military dream in order to become a soldier for Christ. Axtell points out that Ignatius "fell naturally into the language of war when he penned the institutes for his new Society of Jesus." The *Spiritual Exercises* supports the hierarchy of the Roman Church from the very first Week: "For to be the cause of one acting against such pious recommendations and regulations of superiors, or to do so oneself, is no small sin." Choices should be made in line with "our Holy Mother, the hierarchical Church, and not bad or opposed to her." This absolute obedience to the Roman Church went even beyond the blind obedience expected of a civil soldier. One not only obeys his superior without question, and one not only wishes to obey his superior, but one must also think the same as the superior, "submitting his own judgment to the superior so far as a devout will can bend the understanding."
Guibert states that for Ignatius “there was no obedience without the complete submission of the will, and even of the judgment, to the orders and directions of the superior.” This form of reasoning gave birth to the famous thirteenth rule:

If we wish to proceed securely in all things, we must hold fast to the following principles: What seems to me white, I will believe black if the hierarchial Church so defines. For I must be convinced that in Christ our Lord, the Bridegroom, and in His spouse the Church, only one Spirit holds sway, which governs and rules for the salvation of souls. For it is by the same Spirit and Lord who gave the Ten Commandments that our holy Mother Church is ruled and governed.

Ignatius did not ask anything of his Jesuit disciples, however, which he was not willing to do himself. Shortly after his conversion, his departure from the Holy Land, at least in part, was due to his deep sense of his duty to obey the Roman See and its representatives. Ignatius was determined to remain in the Holy Land, even when the Franciscan Friar Angelo confronted him with the news that he must leave, until he learned that the Friar had been given authority over all Christians in Jerusalem by the pope. At that point he agreed immediately to leave the Holy Land. Furthermore, this emphasis upon obedience was not handed down in the manner of a dictatorship, but was formulated in the spirit of brotherhood.

It was in the beginning by no means easy to obtain agreement on the question whether there should be a strict obligation to discipline and obedience in the order, for, at the time when the first disciples had gathered together, there had been no talk of obedience. There was a long debate on this momentous subject, and the grounds for and against the establishment of strict discipline were exhaustively discussed. At the end of this debate, they all acknowledged that, if the other orders found obedience necessary, the new community, whose members would be scattered over the whole world, needed it still more; and it was finally decided to formulate the duty to obey in the strictest terms.
This military spirit is carried over into Ignatius' presentation of the spiritual realm as well. Our response to Christ is compared to that of good subjects to a human king, but Fulop-Miller describes the portrayal of Christ in the *Exercises* in terms even more militant.

... in the *Exercises*, Christ is not merely the object of reflective contemplation; here, He approaches the exercitant, speaks to him, and requires of him decision and action. Here, Jesus is not by any means the Lord of Heaven, peacefully enthroned in His glory; on the contrary, He appears as a militant King, fighting for His kingdom. He turns to man, and requires his service in the great battle against Lucifer.

The "Meditation on Two Standards" uses military imagery in speaking of the standard of Satan and the standard of Christ.

This call to arms is repeated even more impressively in the famous "Meditation on the Two Standards." Here, with the "application of all the senses," Jesus has to be represented "on the field before Jerusalem" as the supreme Captain of His army, while over against Him "in the region of Babylon" Satan calls together his demons for the last decisive battle.

Finally, in "Rules for the Discernment of Spirits," Ignatius states:

The conduct of our enemy may also be compared to the tactics of a leader intent upon seizing and plundering a position he desires. A commander and leader of an army will encamp, explore the fortifications and defenses of the stronghold, and attack at the weakest point. In the same way, the enemy of our human nature investigates from every side all our virtues, theological, cardinal and moral. Where he finds the defenses of eternal salvation weakest and most deficient, there he attacks and tries to take us by storm.

The Aristotelian influence upon the *Spiritual Exercises* is seen in the very systematic presentation of the work as a whole. Ignatius even uses Aristotelian terminology when speaking about the role of thoughts in the discernment of spirits.
We must carefully observe the whole course of our thoughts. If the beginning and middle and end of the course of thoughts are wholly good and directed to what is entirely right, it is a sign that they are from the good angel.\textsuperscript{95}

In addition, Ignatius explicitly supports scholasticism:

\ldots it is characteristic of the scholastic doctors, such as St. Thomas, St. Bonaventure, the Master of the Sentences, and others, to define and state clearly, according to the needs of our times, the doctrines that are necessary for eternal salvation, and that more efficaciously help to refute all errors and expose all fallacies.\textsuperscript{96}

Scholasticism is the term used first for the theology that developed in the medieval schools.\textsuperscript{97} Scholastic theology reached its apex with Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274), to whom Jesuit professors are to adhere "as their standard in theology."\textsuperscript{98} One of the characteristics of later scholasticism, however, was an "increasing rift between philosophy and theology, between what reason can discover and what is known only through divine revelation."\textsuperscript{99} John Duns Scotus, for example, disagreed with earlier theologians who believed that doctrines such as the immortality of the soul could be proven true by only the use of reason, a tendency which continued to develop further in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.\textsuperscript{100}

This support of scholasticism on the part of Ignatius is in direct response to the Protestant emphasis on grace, which is explicitly seen as a threat to the need for works and the doctrine of free will. After all, how does one reconcile the doctrine of the divine omnipotence of God with that of human freedom of the will?

Likewise we ought not to speak of grace at such length and with such emphasis that the poison of doing away with liberty is engendered. \ldots one may speak of faith and grace that the Divine Majesty may be praised. But let it not be done in such a way, above all not in times which are as
dangerous as ours, that works and free will suffer harm, or that they are considered of no value.\textsuperscript{101}

The connection between the doctrine of free will and reason is established during the first week.

\ldots using the memory to recall the first sin, which was that of the angels, and then in applying the understanding by reasoning upon this sin, then the will by seeking to remember and understand all to be the more filled with shame and confusion when I compare the one sin of the angels with the many sins I have committed.\textsuperscript{102}

Reason is also important in making choices,\textsuperscript{103} and this includes the ultimate choice of complete surrender. Explicitly this would include one's will.

Then I will reflect upon myself, and consider, according to all reason and justice, what I ought to offer the Divine Majesty, that is, all I possess and myself with it.\ldots I will make this offering of myself. Take, Lord, and accept all my liberty, my memory, my understanding, and my entire will.\textsuperscript{104}

Ignatius did indeed bequeath to his disciples the doctrine of the supreme importance of the human will,\textsuperscript{105} and this inheritance in turn is related to the connection with Aristotle and scholasticism. Fulop-Miller, in his discussion concerning Aristotelian influence upon the Jesuit doctrine of free will, discusses at some length the writings on Jesuit moral casuistry, and how in certain cases deception is permissible in that emphasis is placed upon the end justifying the means.\textsuperscript{106} Jesuit theologians modified the Thomistic doctrine of grace. To God as the source of grace, they attributed "a middle knowledge (scientia media) of things that might occur under any possible or probable circumstances, between the knowledge of present or future existing things and the knowledge of things simply possible." Human freedom of will was then affirmed in that it was a human responsibility to cooperate with God in accepting the grace which brought about salvation.
This teaching developed into a doctrine known as congruism, and led to endless discussions within the Catholic Church itself.\(^\text{107}\)

Concerning Jesuit spirituality and prayer, the ideal is to practice "habitual union with God." De Guibert, however, feels that prayer in and of itself was not as important to Ignatius as was result and action. Ignatius himself likens this habitual union with God to a constant but active meditative form of prayer.

In view of their goal of study, the scholastics cannot have prolonged meditations. But over and above the exercises which they have for the sake of virtue, namely, to hear Mass daily, an hour for saying prayers and for the examen of conscience, and confession and communion every eight days, they can exercise themselves in seeking the presence of our Lord in all things, such as their conversations, their walks, in all that they see, taste, hear, and understand, and in all their actions, since it is true that His Divine Majesty is in all things by his presence, power, and essence. This manner of meditating which finds God our Lord in all things is easier than raising ourselves to the consideration of divine things which are more abstract, and to which we can make ourselves present only with effort. This good exercise, by exciting good dispositions in us, will bring great visitations from the Lord, even though they occur in a short prayer. In addition to this, one can frequently offer to God our Lord his studies and the effort they demand, seeing that we undertake them for his love while sacrificing our personal tastes, in order that in something we may be of service to His Divine Majesty by helping those for whom He died.\(^\text{108}\)

Thus de Guibert concludes, "Prayer was not an end, but a means to what is the chief end, namely, the service of God."\(^\text{109}\)

As stated above, Jesuit spirituality places great emphasis upon the use of the senses in connection with one's prayer life. The exercitant is instructed throughout the *Exercises* to see "with the eye of the imagination" or to hear, smell, taste, and touch in the same manner. This imagination leads to experience in a very deep and real sense.
He who goes through Loyola’s *Spiritual Exercises* has to experience hell and heaven with all his senses, to know burning pain and blessed rapture, so that the distinction between good and evil is for ever indelibly imprinted in his soul. With this preparation, the exercitant is brought to the great “election,” the choice between Satan and Christ; it is to this election that actual life will bring him again and again, and it is on this that his good or bad conduct will constantly depend.110

There seems to be a tension between mysticism and prayer in Jesuit spirituality, but this would be a direct result of the life lived in "habitual union with God" with its emphasis on action rather than contemplation.111 Meadows concludes his brief discussion concerning Jesuit spirituality by stating, "If we seek for one trait as distinctive of sanctity achieved within the Jesuit order, we shall find it in an intense devotion to the Person of Jesus Christ."112

*Jesuit Philosophy of Education*

As stated above, the *Spiritual Exercises* were very important in the education and training of members of the Society from the very beginning. De Guibert sees in their early use “the practice of a radical abnegation, of the complete renunciation of one’s ease, honor, and especially of one’s own judgment and will through a complete obedience.”

In the programs for training which he drew up for the novices, as also in his practice, what took first place were the *experimenta*, the tests, among which the Exercises were the most important. But we do not see that beyond these any rather lengthy prayers were provided for or practiced by the novices with the purpose of habituating them to mental prayer. Ignatius seems to have thought, therefore, that these Exercises, with their various methods of prayer, constituted in themselves a sufficient initiation. Through it the young religious, if they were truly mortified in their passions and solidly founded in abnegation, would have no difficulty in finding God in everything, according to this formula of which he was fond.113
The Jesuits were responsible for much more education, however, than merely that of their own members. Schools were established wherever the Order was found, and were attended by Protestants as well as Catholics, at least in Germany. Since their "teaching was orthodox, erudite, and free," it became popular among all classes of people, and this apparently throughout Europe. Jesuits entered various universities in various nations as professors, resulting at first in diverse methods throughout the order. Hughes points out that there developed both a need for unity in their method and uniformity in their doctrine, and he makes an important differentiation between philosophical speculation and education. He then concludes, "In this view, therefore, definiteness of matter, no less than unity of method, were required from the first for an effective system of education."

The result of this dual need was the Ratio Studiorum, a method of education developed under Claudius Aquaviva, elected as the fifth General of the Order in 1581. The method received its final form in 1599, after fifteen years of development. Hughes devotes the last half of his work to describing this course of study for the Jesuit educator. The course was divided into the "formation of the Master" and the "formation of the Scholar," a system which "results in the formation of Professors," with the ability to teach being "the criterion of having learned sufficiently well." The Order is divided into ranks (professed, spiritual coadjutors, and brothers), indicating the individual's intellectual ability, or how far one proceeds in his education. In summary, the literary courses include Grammar, Humanities, and Rhetoric, a curriculum finished before entering the Order but extended after admission to the Order so as to "grasp them from the standpoint of the teacher." Kennedy concludes that because the Spiritual Exercises and the Ratio
studiorum "allowed for a greater variety of individual taste, mental capacity, and spirituality," and provided an orthodox, classical, and liberal education, the Jesuits thus were prepared for any given situation. It is significant here to note that many grammars and lexicons of native languages have been written by Jesuits. History and Geography are also important in their early works, as is Mathematics. Classics, and especially Latin, is important throughout the course. The Jesuit will eventually turn to higher studies, which include the courses of divinity. In other words, the Ratio Studiorum is a heavy course in liberal education plus the expected theological and philosophical studies.

Summary

The Protestant Reformation was answered in the Roman Church with a Counter-Reformation. Instrumental in this counter-crusade for reform were members of the Jesuit Order, founded by Ignatius of Loyola, and officially recognized by Pope Paul III in 1540. Although this Order became an instrument used in the Counter-Reformation, Ignatius had originally intended the Order to establish missions among the Turks. This original zeal for missions was not completely lost in all the rhetoric and politics of the Reformation period, although most Jesuits became teachers instead of missionaries. From the first, Jesuit priests made their way to all parts of the world, including America, where they ministered to both Indians and African slaves. Of particular importance to understanding the early missions among the Illinois Indians are the early efforts of the Jesuits of New France. In Canada they formed a base from which they were able eventually to reach southward into the interior of what would become the United States. In part, their success was due to
their own particular spirituality and training, which allowed them more flexibility in their missionary efforts among the Indians. They were more able to allow themselves to be assimilated to a degree into the indigenous cultures than were their Dominican and Franciscan counterparts. As a result, they were also a major factor in the colonization of the New World. Thus it is helpful to discuss the political environment in which they worked.

Notes


2. Gonzalez. Vol. I, p. 343. Gonzalez means by "Babylonian Captivity" that period in time when the papacy resided in Avignon and served mainly as "a tool of French interests." He states (p. 343) that the Conciliar Movement "hoped both to heal the schism and to put an end to such corrupt practices as simony and nepotism, without substantially challenging accepted Christian dogma." See Vol. II, p. 6, and Palmer, pp. 44-47. Palmer implicitly explains how this was an attempt at secularization: "Professors at the universities, advisers to kings, enlightened bishops, thoughtful burghers, about 1400, believed the pope (or rather, popes) to be incapable of reforming existing abuses. They demanded a great Europe-wide council of the entire church at which all the gravest matters that were troubling Christendom might be discussed and decided. They would introduce into the church, that is to say, the type of parliamentary institutions which at this time were functioning in the civil affairs of almost all countries."


10. Palmer, pp. 81-82.

11. For a detailed discussion of the decrees of the Council of Trent, see Palmer, pp. 83-85.


15. Fulop-Miller, p. 34.


17. Ozment, p. 410. See also Palmer, pp. 85-86, and de Guibert, p. 22.


19. De Guibert, p. 27.

20. See McCabe, pp. 7-8, for a very colorful description of Ignatius' life at this time, and Fulop-Miller, pp. 42 ff.


22. Ahlstrom, p. 34.


24. Gonzalez, Vol. II, p. 117. McCabe (p. 9) states, "The Franciscan monks who controlled the Christian colony at Jerusalem had sent him home very quickly, fearing that his indiscreet fervour would lead to trouble with the Turks."

25. Meadows, p. 3.


27. Fulop-Miller, pp. 49-50.

28. McCabe, p. 10. See also Fulop-Miller, p. 58.

30. See Fulop-Miller, pp. 61-62.

31. Meadows, p. 3.

32. Meadows, p. 4.

33. Meadows, pp. 4-5. See also McCabe, p. 15.

34. Palmer, p. 86.


36. Ozment, p. 413. Laynez became the General following Ignatius' death. The original group included Favre, Xavier, Laynez, Salmeron, Bobadilla, and Rodrigues, along with three who joined them a short time later, LeJay, Broet, and Codurc. See also Meadows, p. 9, and de Guibert, p. 77.

37. Meadows, pp. 4-5.

38. Fulop-Miller, p. 67.


41. Meadows, p. 8.


44. For Jesuit missionary activities in the Orient, see Gonzalez, Vol. I, pp. 403-409.


48. Lewis, pp. 12-25. For details on the martyrdom of these priests, see pp. 44-48. See also the discussion by Lanning, pp. 35-58.


53. Reff, p. 252.


56. See Kennedy, pp. 4 and 19.


59. James White, p. 293.

60. Axtell, pp. 36, 49; Cragg, p. 185; Ahlstrom, p. 61.

61. See Kennedy, pp. 33-34.


63. Charlevoix, Vol. II, pp. 64-65. See also Meadows, pp. 69 ff., for a detailed discussion of the missionary work of the early Jesuits among the Hurons. See Kennedy, pp. 56 ff., for a summary of the accomplishments of Le Jeune and the early Jesuit missionaries of New France, including Frs. Jacques Buteux, Julian Perrault, Brebeuf, Barthelemy Vimont, Gabriel Druillettes, Isaac Jogues, Francois Xavier de Laval de Montmorency, Rene Menard, Claude Allouez, and the Jesuit missions at Tadoussac, Three Rivers, Cape Breton Isle, St. Charles on the Gulf of St. Lawrence, Ihonatiria, Ste. Marie, St. Louis, St. Ignace, St. Joseph (later changed to Sillery), missionary work among the Iroquois, etc.

64. Concerning the village at Sillery see Axtell, p. 61, and James T. Moore, Indian and Jesuit: A Seventeenth-Century Encounter (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1982), pp. 15-19.
65. J. White, p. 293.

66. See, for example, Moore, pp. 131 ff.


68. Ahlstrom, p. 64.

69. Charlevoix (Vol. II, pp. 70-71) recounts the incident using language far from objective: “But these Indians, after having thus spoken in public with all the equity to be expected from the most reasonable men in the world, quite often change their tone when it comes to execute the judgment dictated by themselves, and you must not always expect them to cover with a plausible pretext their inconsistent conduct. . . . One of their chiefs declared bluntly that he could not take any missionary or even any Frenchmen in his canoes, unless the governor first set at liberty the Algonquin who was in irons. . . . The conduct of this Huron chief portrays well the character of this nation, the ablest of all in Canada, but against whom we must always be on our guard.”

70. For a brief synopsis of Brebeuf’s life, see Ahlstrom, p. 62.

71. Ahlstrom, p. 62.

72. For a detailed description of Brebeuf’s martyrdom, see Meadows, pp. 74-75, Wynne, pp. 201 ff., and Talbot, pp. 287 ff.

73. De Guibert, p. 2. Meadows (p. 19), on the other hand, defines and discusses Jesuit spirituality using two “objects.” “In the General Examen, a document put before all who wish to enter the Society, the two objects of the Jesuit vocation are stated very clearly: ‘The purpose of this Society is, not only to labor for the salvation and perfection of our own souls with the grace of God, but with the help of the same divine grace to strive intensely for the salvation and perfection of our neighbor’ (i,2). Ignatius Loyola’s own words in the Constitutions are simple and concise: ‘The goal at which this Society directly aims is to help the souls of its members and those of others to attain the last end for which they were created’ (IV, Proem).”

74. See De Guibert, pp. 44-62.

75. De Guibert, p. 78: “On the spiritual training of his first companions between 1530 and 1540 we have only fragmentary information which gives us a glimpse chiefly at the exterior setting. But one important fact is beyond doubt. In every case the decisive means of formation was the Exercises practiced in their entirety throughout a month.”

76. See Dunne, p. xiv: “The exercises are divided into four ‘Weeks.’ Each Week corresponds not to a seven-day period but to a distinct kind of inner experience. So the exercises may be made over the period of a year, or several months, making one exercise
per day. Part of it may be made more intensely; for example, retreating into solitude for a week and making four or five exercises a day.”

77. De Guibert, p. 111.

78. See Fulop-Miller, p. 46.

79. Puhl, p. 15 (Spiritual Exercises, 1).

80. Puhl, p. 16 (Spiritual Exercises, 4).

81. De Guibert, pp. 110-111, with a detailed discussion of the sections of the Spiritual Exercises and their intent, pp. 110-151. De Guibert also includes a description of the various manuscripts extant. The original was written in Spanish, but there are also “three principal Latin translations, two of them ancient (the Versio Prima and the Vulgata Versio) and one modern (that of John Roothaan). The second of the two ancient Latin versions, commonly called the “Vulgate,” was made under the eyes of Ignatius himself by Father Andre des Freux (Frusius) during his stay at Rome in late 1546 and early 1547.” (p. 113)

82. Axtell, p. 91. Axtell then discusses a papal bull and the sanctioning of the order in 1540 by Pope Julius III. There are problems in this section, however, since Julius III did not become pope until 1550. All other sources state that the order was sanctioned by Paul III in 1540, but the phrases quoted by Axtell clearly reveal the military nature of the Jesuit order: “... Pope Julius III (sic), whose bull Regimini militantis Ecclesiae sanctioned the order in 1540. Having received a special vow of obedience from the Jesuits, he regarded them as ‘soldiers of God beneath the banner of the cross,’ ‘clad for battle day and night’ in the ‘militia of Christ.’ Both men agreed that Christ’s will was that they should ‘conquer the whole world and all [his] enemies’ and that only uncommon men bound by a vow of unquestioning obedience to their superiors could successfully spearhead the attack.”

83. Puhl, p. 31 (Spiritual Exercises 42).

84. Puhl, p. 69 (Spiritual Exercises 170).


86. De Guibert, p. 91.

87. Puhl, pp. 134-5 (Spiritual Exercises 365.13). The need for obedience is directly related to the militant spirit of the Order. See, for example, Fulop-Miller, p. 18.

88. Fulop-Miller, p. 57.
89. Fulop-Miller, p. 79.

90. Puhl, pp. 48-49 (SE 92-97).

91. Fulop-Miller, p. 11.


93. Fulop-Miller, p. 12.


95. Puhl, p. 125 (SE 333.5).


98. See T. Hughes, p. 148. In a letter of preparation for the Ratio Studiorum, this was the first directive made by Aquaviva.

99. Gonzalez, Vol. I, pp. 363-364: "Saint Thomas and his contemporaries had held that there was a basic continuity between faith and reason. This meant that certain revealed truths — such as the existence of God — could also be reached by the proper use of reason. But shortly after the death of the great Dominican theologian, others began questioning the basic assumption of continuity between faith and reason."


102. Puhl, p. 35 (SE 50).

103. Puhl, pp. 72-3 (SE 182).


105. Fulop-Miller, p. 85. In discussing the responsibility which comes with our free will, Fulop-Miller (p. 142) states: "This fateful association of ethics with the problem of the will can be traced back to certain doctrines of Aristotle, . . . But it was Aristotle, in his Nicomachean Ethics, who was the first to work up into a system this relationship between the will and ethics; and his conclusions accordingly became the basis of most later conceptions in morality and law. Aristotle sets out by assuming that virtue is a form of activity of the will; the will can, however, be regarded as the underlying basis of morality only if it be recognized as having full consciousness. He considers that our will is at all
times able to form conscious decisions, and, accordingly, it is always within the power of
man to decide whether to do right or wrong.”

106. See Fulop-Miller, p. 151. He includes one such example in the form of a
delightful anecdote, pp. 303-304. Kennedy also discusses the end and the means for Jesuit
missionary activity in New France, pp. 57 ff. Conversion was the end, while the means
varied from colonization to civilization of the Indians to commerce and finally to conquest.
See especially p. 73 for the role commerce played in the Illinois mission.

107. See Kennedy, pp. 8-10. This doctrine is sometimes called “Molinism” from
the work of a Jesuit named Molina, whose publication of the *Concordia* in 1589
“embodied the most complete system of congruism.”


110. Fulop-Miller, pp. 6-7.

111. See Meadows, p. 21.

112. Meadows, p. 22.

113. De Guibert, pp. 85-86.

114. Hughes, p. 4.

115. Kennedy, p. 12. By “orthodox,” he probably means Catholic as opposed to
Protestant. Much of what the Jesuits did and promoted was in fact challenged by other
members of the Roman Church. For example, the order at first admitted descendants of
Jews; it did not recite the divine office in choir; it advocated frequent reception of the
Eucharist, etc.

116. T. Hughes, p. 141: “The Order, as it branched out into the world, found a
variety of systems in vogue; and the Jesuit Professors conformed, as best they could, to
the local traditions of populations very diverse, in universities which were distinct and
mutually independent. But, while they endeavored to better such systems, in accordance
with the plan of their own Constitution, it was clear that they fell short of realizing the idea
of their founder.”

117. Hughes, p. 143.

118. T. Hughes, p. 154.

119. T. Hughes, p. 158.
120. Kennedy, p. 81.

121. As a matter of fact, Kennedy states (p. 11), “Latin dominated the subject matter.”

122. We have all reaped the benefits of this system in one way or another. See Fulop-Miller, p. 28: “Prominent thinkers of modern times, such as Voltaire, Descartes and Diderot, in their youth were educated in the spirit of the Spanish cavalier; distinguished poets, such as Molière and Corneille, received their first theatrical impulses from Jesuit school dramas; great artists were urged on in their work by Jesuitism; and eminent scholars, in their zeal for the success of Loyola’s teachings, have enriched science in all its branches by their researches and discoveries.”
CHAPTER 2
EARLY CONTACT AND THE QUEST FOR SUPREMACY IN NORTHERN AMERICA

European Events Leading to Initial Contact Between Europe and the Americas

In many ways the events leading up to the initial contact between Europe and the Americas began in the thirteenth century with Marco Polo, who greatly influenced Christopher Columbus. Marco Polo was the first to begin to shed some light on the true geography of Earth. He was born in Venice about 1234, the son of Nicolo Polo and nephew of Maffeo Polo, both of whom were Venetian merchants. In line with their trading operations, Nicolo and Maffeo Polo made an overland journey in 1260 to China. Not long before this, Genghis Khan had mastered the vast region, and his grandson Kublai had established his court in Peking. Apparently the religion of the Polo brothers made quite an impression upon the Great Khan, for he, knowing that religion could strengthen his imperial power, eventually sent them back to Europe in order to obtain Christian missionaries for his realm. The Polo brothers returned to Venice, where Nicolo found that his wife had died during his absence of fifteen years. Accordingly he took with him the young Marco on his second journey to the court of Kublai Khan. In time Marco was welcomed into the service of the Grand Khan, and he traveled to various remote parts of
China and witnessed the vast wealth of that country. The Polo brothers returned to Venice in 1295, and three years later Marco was taken prisoner in a naval battle. He was taken to Genoa, and while there as a prisoner of war he dictated his book, describing the marvels and wealth of the Far East.  

In time, however, the land route to the Far East was blocked by the advance of the Turks and, with them, the faith of Islam. The barriers to intercourse with the east by land grew stronger when the Turks crossed from Asia to Europe hoping to secure Constantinople, the great city which, during more than ten centuries, had been a world centre of commerce and of culture. With Constantinople the maritime cities of Italy, and chiefly Venice and Genoa, had long carried on a great trade and their sailors had been the most skilful and enterprising on both the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, but now the Turks ended this supremacy. What happened on May 29, 1453, has profoundly influenced later history. By land and by sea the Turks had closed in on Constantinople, and that day they took it by storm. Constantine, the last of the Christian emperors, was slain defending his walls, and the Moslem victor, Mohammed II, rode past the dead body lying amid heaps of other corpses, and went straight to the church of St. Sophia. On the spot where, the night before, Constantine had prayed for victory and had received the Christian sacrament, Mohammed knelt in prayer to the God of Islam.  

The Turks eventually were successful in cutting off the trade between Europe and Asia by gaining control of all the islands of the eastern Mediterranean. However, this in and of itself did not encourage Europeans to begin their exploration of the seas. Marco Polo's book had revealed to Europe a great body of water on the far eastern side of Asia. Thus the idea developed that the land masses of the earth were surrounded by water, and that contact between Europe and Asia was possible by sailing over the great span of water which separated them.
Portugal led in sea exploration by seeking a route around Africa to Asia. This was begun in about 1415 under Prince Henry the Navigator, son of King John of Portugal. In 1486, Bartholomew Dias of Portugal rounded the Cape of Good Hope and opened a sea route to the Far East. In May, 1498, Vasco da Gama of Portugal made his way to India by this same sea route, and Portugal began to extend her kingdom and rule to what was considered the extreme end of the great land mass of planet Earth.

In addition to the actual exploration, which opened the sea route to the Far East, there were at least two other factors contributing to the initial contact between Europe and the Americas. One was also economic, seen in the plight of the poor wage workers and their unsettled social condition, and the other was political, found in the rise of the New Monarchies, which could financially support the necessary exploration of the vast oceans of the world. To these may possibly be added a third factor, an intellectual one, in that the Renaissance had instilled in Europeans a new concept both of themselves and of the world in which they lived. The Church at this point in time seemed corrupt and unable to offer solutions to many problems. This in turn led to various expressions such as the performance of the Dance of Death and the celebration of the Black Mass. Add to this the centralization of power, which began to take place under the New Monarchies, and the result was a "formless violence," going "historically under many names: the Hundred Years War between England and France (ended in 1453), the Hussite wars in Germany and Bohemia (ended 1436), Jack Cade's rebellion in England in 1450, the Wars of the Roses in England (ended 1485), peasant uprisings or jacqueries in France, social restlessness in the cloth towns of Flanders." Gradually, however, the New Monarchies
were able to establish their reign and control, and each of these in turn played their own roles in the quest for supremacy in the Americas. Meanwhile those in scholastic circles were rediscovering the classics at the same time Mediterranean merchants were making great fortunes in trade. Perhaps together these gave rise to a new concept of the human as an individual who could shape his own destiny.\(^9\) It was "inquisitive men of the Renaissance" who "reached out over a round world unified by great waters, and found vast islands of land mutually accessible by means of sailing-ships."\(^{10}\) It is with this Renaissance mentality, coming from a poor background and inspired by this economic setting, but backed by Spanish monarchs, that we at last come to the one individual credited with "discovery" of the American continents — Christopher Columbus.

**Division of the World and Earliest Contacts with America**

Although Christopher Columbus claimed American soil under Spanish auspices, he was in fact an Italian, as were many of the early explorers. Although Italy had been checked by Islam in the Mediterranean, she was still able to provide sailors for other nations.\(^{11}\) Columbus appealed to the monarchs of Portugal, England, and France, but in the end, Spain provided the support for his first voyage.\(^{12}\) Columbus set sail on August 3, 1492, and ceremoniously took possession of a new land on October 12,\(^{13}\) slightly more than two months later.

Todorov reveals a threefold motivation behind the daring voyage of Columbus. The first motivation, and perhaps the one seen first by posterity, was the desire for wealth. His journal is filled with his expressed desire to find gold, and indeed on the surface he
does seem to be preoccupied with this one concern. Nor was Columbus alone in this desire to obtain wealth. His sailors and the rulers of Spain all hoped for a profit in his adventures and explorations. Yet, as Todorov points out, this is but one of three things which motivated Columbus, and indeed it may well be the least in importance of the three, for it is merely the means, while the other two are the ends.

Officially the crusades had ended in 1270, but the mentality of the crusades continued well into the sixteenth century. When the Spanish Armada raised their sails in 1588, they displayed the emblem of the cross. This was an inspiring sign to begin the crusade against the Protestant heretics of England. Even Vasco da Gama’s fleet displayed large red crosses on their sails, and so the contact between Europe and the Americas in many ways became an extension of the crusades. Columbus proved indeed to be a good example of the continuation of this crusader mentality, for the real motivation for his adventure lies not simply in finding gold, but in finding the great kingdom of the Grand Khan of China described so vividly by Marco Polo. His desire to find this great kingdom, however, was not simply due to a desire for wealth. Polo’s book had greatly influenced Columbus, and he had read that "the Emperor of Cathay some time since sent for wise men to teach him the religion of Christ." Columbus wanted to spread the good news of Christianity to the kingdom of Cathay at least as much as he desired to find gold. Related to this is another desire, which shows even more clearly his crusader mentality. The Moors had held various strongholds in Spain since 711, long before the crusades began. Yet on January 2, 1492, Granada, the last Moslem stronghold in Spain, fell to Ferdinand and Isabella. At this point in time the Moslems still held Jerusalem, and in the
journal entry for December 26, 1492, Columbus reveals that he hoped to find gold "in so great quantity that the Sovereigns within three years would undertake and prepare to go and conquer the Holy Places." He then states, "I declared to Your Highnesses that all the gain of this my enterprise should be spent in the conquest of Jerusalem; and Your Highnesses smiled and said that it pleased you, and that even without this you had that strong desire."  

With two major European countries now involved in the quest for supremacy in the conquest of Africa and Asia, the Church became involved to settle territorial disputes. One could properly ask, "Who gave the Pope the right to divide the lands newly discovered between the various powers of Europe?" The question, however, would never have arisen in the minds of European explorers and their royal patrons.  

From the first days of contact the west claimed the right to rule the east, for it believed that only a Christian ruler had any title to sovereignty and the east was not Christian. The Pope claimed to be Vicar of Christ, the lord of all the kingdoms of the earth, and had promised to Portugal sovereignty over the pagan lands which she might discover. Thus it happened that, though Vasco da Gama had reached countries with an ancient civilization and settled governments, he claimed them for Portugal.  

Accordingly in May, 1493, Pope Alexander VI divided the lands to be explored and conquered between Spain and Portugal. The division was recognized by the two countries in the Treaty of Tordesillas on June 7, 1494, but with the change of the line of demarcation moved 270 leagues farther west. When Brazil was discovered in 1500, because it lay beyond the boundaries set by the treaty, Portugal received Brazil and Asia, while Spain received all the rest of the Americas. Accordingly, ownership rights to
Canada went to Spain before Europe knew of its existence. These "rights" of Portugal and Spain were soon challenged, however, by France.

With regard to the French, Parkman's comments concerning the developments in Europe following Cartier's first voyage deserve to be quoted in full.

The spirit of discovery was awakened. A passage to India could be found, and a new France built up beyond the Atlantic. Mingled with such views of interest and ambition was another motive scarcely less potent. The heresy of Luther was convulsing Germany, and the deeper heresy of Calvin infecting France. Devout Catholics, kindling with redoubled zeal, would fain requite the Church for her losses in the Old World by winning to her fold the infidels of the New. But, in pursuing an end at once so pious and so politic, Francis the First was setting at naught the supreme Pontiff himself, since, by the preposterous bull of Alexander the Sixth, all America had been given to the Spaniards.21

The French had never really accepted Pope Alexander VI's decision to divide the New World between Portugal and Spain. Palmer points out that "France was not much attached to a papal, Rome-centered, or international Catholicism,"22 and apparently Francis I was scornful of the division by the Pope of the New World between Portugal and Spain.23 Accordingly, Francis I hoped to find a northern passage to the Far East to rival that discovered by Magellan. This hope provided the motivation for the first official French voyage to the New World by Verrazano in 1524, who was quite possibly accompanied by Cartier.24
The Quest for Supremacy in North America

A Shared Resource: The Fisheries of Newfoundland

The Spanish were by no means the first Europeans to set foot on American soil. The legends of the Norse tell of the travels and adventures of Eric the Red and Leif Ericsson, some five centuries before Columbus. These legends provided the first information concerning valuable fisheries in the waters of North America. Thus the waters off Newfoundland were regularly visited by Europeans of various countries by the beginning of the sixteenth century. John Cabot, on his first voyage to North America in 1497, reported that he had found fish so abundant in places that the sailors could dip them from the water in buckets. On his second voyage in 1498, he found those same waters filled with fish and even saw bears catching them in their claws. According to Parkman, the fishery at Newfoundland was frequented by "Normans, Bretons, Basques, Castilians, Portuguese, and the French." During the period between the voyages of Cartier and the establishment of Champlain's first permanent French colony in 1604, the fisheries continued to be important and developed into ports for the fur trade as well. Thus North America provided a resource of wealth that could rival the silver and gold from Central and South America. When Louis XIII issued a charter to the Company of New France, granting "the profits from trade commerce, and the produce of the soil," the cod and whale were exempted and declared free to all French subjects.
The Spanish in North America

As indicated above, the Spanish quest for supremacy in North America began with Columbus. The true Spanish conquest began in 1504, more than a decade later, when Hernando Cortez sailed for Santo Domingo. Diego de Velasquez and Hernando Cortez subsequently began the conquest of Cuba in 1511, which Cortez extended to Mexico on the mainland in 1518.

The story of the Spanish conquest of Mexico is filled with violence and destruction. In 1518, the year in which Magellan began his great voyage, Cortez established a fort at Vera Cruz on the coast of Mexico. He destroyed the idols of the various tribes in his militant march to the Aztec capital of Tenochtitlan, with the exception of the Tlascalans, who were powerful, and whose support was vital against the Aztecs. The natives were forced to accept the religion of the Spanish or lose their lives, and many were either carried off as slaves or forced to work in the mines, giving their labor to the search for precious metals. The crusader mentality continued in Spanish policies concerning New Spain. Spain had used the principles of the crusades in her wars against the Moors, and now those same principles were applied to the conquest of the American Indians. The Spanish were given a great deal of freedom by the Roman Church, and as a result, the church in New Spain was almost a national church. The Spanish of New Spain developed the encomienda system. After the Roman Church and Spanish crown had forbidden the enslavement of the Indians, this system developed as an alternative means for controlling the natives and for teaching them the doctrines of Christianity. The encomienda was a grant of land made to a Spanish settler, who obtained with the grant
the right to collect goods and services from the resident Indians, in return for which the
*encomendero* was to see that the Indians received religious instruction and were otherwise
made into good Christians and subjects of the Spanish crown. The Indians worked the
land of the *encomienda* four days a week, and were then given their own plot of ground to
work during the two remaining work days. In some ways this system was worse than
slavery, for the *encomenderos* had no vested interest in the natives.34

After the Spanish completed the initial phase of the conquest of the Aztec empire,
they continued moving northward in search of two legendary places, a sea passage to the
Asian mainland and the "Seven Cities of Gold." The result was extensive exploration of
the Gulf of California. Later, as the French began to extend their political claims from
Louisiana, and with the Russians moving southward along the Pacific Coast, the Spanish
from Mexico were forced to settle in Texas and California.35

The Spanish even in their early explorations, however, were not limited to South
and Central America. In 1513, Ponce de Leon received authorization to explore and
colonize what is now the state of Florida. His main quest was the legendary fountain of
youth.36 He made two expeditions to Florida, received a wound from fighting with the
Indians on the second expedition, and died as a result of that wound later in Cuba.
Hernando de Soto explored the area in 1539 and 1540, but made no attempt to colonize
it. While Cartier was exploring the waters of the St. Lawrence, de Soto was moving into
the interior along the waterway of the Mississippi.37

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The French in North America

As the Spanish consolidated their political holdings in Mexico, Central America, and South America, and while the struggle for reform within the Church continued throughout Europe, the French began to establish their own political base in North America. The first official French voyage to North America was not until 1524, when Francis I sent Giovanni da Verrazano in search of a western passage to Cathay. Giovanni Verrazano, like Columbus and Cabot, also was an Italian by birth. In 1524, commissioned by Francis I, he set sail in a single ship in search of a northwestern passage to Asia and its wealth. He apparently reached the shores of the present Carolinas, and explored the coastland northward in search of a passage to China. He also made contact with some of the Indians, for he seized a small boy from the hands of an old Indian woman as a “trophy” of his voyage. Verrazano spent some days at the mouth of Hudson Bay, and returned to Dieppe on July 8, 1524, with the knowledge that a sea route to China was blocked by a huge continental land mass. France later claimed all of North America on the basis of Verrazano’s voyage. Although Verrazano explored the Atlantic coastal region from North Carolina to Maine, he made no attempts to convert the native people to the Christian faith. After his four month voyage of exploration, he concluded that the indigenous people:

... have neither religion nor laws, that they do not know of a First Cause or Author, that they do not worship the sky, the stars, the sun, the moon, or other planets, nor do they even practice any kind of idolatry. ... We consider that they have no religion.
Ten years later Pope Clement VII granted to Francis I the right to explore lands "not discovered by other crowns." Francis I accordingly sent Jacques Cartier on his first voyage to North America. Cartier was a Breton sailor, born in 1491. He may well have accompanied Verrazano on his voyage of 1524, but shortly after Brittany fell to Francis I by inheritance in 1532, Cartier sought support from the monarch for his own expedition by sea. On April 20, 1534, he set sail from St. Malo with two ships and sixty men, all of whom had taken a solemn oath of loyalty to the king. Cartier reached Newfoundland on May 10, entered the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and claimed the mainland for France. He was warmly received at Gaspe Bay by the Algonquians and Iroquois from Stadacona (Quebec), but nevertheless abducted two young Indians, taking them back to France. During the year between Cartier's first voyage and his second, the young Iroquoians did not receive baptism, but were trained primarily as interpreters.

Cartier returned to the port of St. Malo on September 5. For his second voyage he was given three ships, and his crew, all Catholics, included some men of rank. He returned to North America early in July, 1535, and again, although his crew was Catholic, he brought with him no Catholic priests, but he did return with the two Indians seized at Gaspe on his first voyage. At Stadacona he met Donnacona, "Lord of Canada," and although both sides were friendly toward each other, there were suspicions on both sides. Donnacona presented Cartier with two children, and Cartier accepted one, a little girl, whom he later took back with him to France. Cartier eventually reached a small bay, which he named the Bay of St. Lawrence, a name later extended to the entire gulf and river above it. He also ventured inland when he set out on September 19 for the
Hochelaga tribe, a journey of thirteen days. On September 29 he was forced to dock his ship and proceed in boats. Near Hochelaga he was greeted by a large crowd of natives. He continued then on foot past fields of corn, until at last he reached Hochelaga in the midst of these fields, and with a high mountain looming up in the distance. Cartier accordingly set out to climb this great mountain, and when he beheld the regal panorama from its summit, he named the mountain Mount Royal.\textsuperscript{31}

Cartier returned to find that his men had built a fort at Stadacona. His men began to die of scurvy during the harsh winter which followed, and although their prayers failed to bring healing, the local Indian medicine finally did.\textsuperscript{52} When he departed in May of the following year, he again showed his "gratefulness" to the natives by abducting five adults, including three leaders. These Indians along with five children, who had been given to him as gifts, never returned to their native land.\textsuperscript{53} Concerning the fate of Donnacona and his fellow tribesmen, Parker states that "their souls had been better cared for than their bodies; for, having been duly baptized, they all died within a year or two, to the great detriment, as it proved, of the expedition."\textsuperscript{54}

Donnacona's stories, backed by Cartier's reports, were apparently enough to encourage the King of France in his rivalry with Spain for a passage to the riches of the East.\textsuperscript{55} Cartier received a royal commission in 1540, the same year that Pope Paul III approved the Jesuit Order, and returned to the North American continent in 1541. This royal commission to establish a French colony in North America as well as that granted to Roberval in 1541 ended in failure. Both groups returned to France within a year or two,\textsuperscript{56} but the failure may have been due in part to strife between Cartier and Roberval.\textsuperscript{57} The
fishermen of St. Malo had formerly been willing to sail for Newfoundland, but now they were more hesitant. They even tried to discourage others from making the voyage. Thus Cartier and Roberval were both forced to seek crew members from condemned prisoners in the jails.\textsuperscript{58} Prisoners under sentence of death were given the option of going to New France with the understanding that if they ever returned to France, they would face certain death. Roberval and Cartier met at St. Malo early in May. Cartier had already made the necessary preparations for his third voyage, but Roberval found that he lacked ships properly equipped for military use. Cartier thus set sail alone on May 23 with five ships, several hundred people, and provisions for two years. He waited for some time in Newfoundland for Roberval to join him, and when Roberval failed to appear, he proceeded on to Stadacona on August 23.

Although he had returned with none of the natives taken to France from his second voyage, Cartier was nonetheless welcomed a third time. His crew spent the winter a few miles farther up the river from where they had wintered on the previous voyage, and at this site they made a new discovery. They found veins of gold and silver in the rock.\textsuperscript{59} Cartier set sail to return to France in the following spring. He met Roberval in Newfoundland with his own three ships equipped for war and staffed with people from French jails. Cartier returned to France, in spite of Roberval's order to proceed to Canada, while Roberval continued his journey and arrived at Stadacona in July. Roberval built another fort at Stadacona, but with winter came scurvy. Cartier had learned how to fight this dreadful condition by using native medicine, but apparently no one in Roberval's party knew the native secret. Many died during the winter, and others were surely discouraged
by Roberval's severe means of keeping order. He pressed westward with seventy men on
June 6 of the following year, hoping to find the route to the riches of the East. It is here,
however, that the historical account "breaks off abruptly." Apparently Roberval did
return to France, but without any of the riches of the East.

During the last half of the sixteenth century, France was involved in civil wars of
religion, and thus little was done to advance a political base in North America. The
Huguenots, as the French Calvinists were called, were a major factor in this series of civil
and religious wars. During this period French Protestants made some effort to establish
colonies outside of France. The first was an attempt to settle in Brazil under the
leadership of Nicolas Durand, who is known as Villegagnon. Another attempt was made
to settle in Florida under the leadership of Jean Ribaut in 1562. This colony was
eventually destroyed by the Spanish, because it represented a French claim to Spanish
Florida. When an ecclesiastical reason is added to this political claim in that the settlers
were also Protestant, Catholic Spain had a double reason for destroying the French
colony.

In 1598 Henry IV issued the Edict of Nantes, thereby closing the French Wars of
Religion. Henry IV had been a Huguenot, but in order to heal the deep religious wounds
of France, he converted to Catholicism while granting tolerance to Protestants. This edict
allowed Protestants to exercise their religion in some places, and gave them civil equality
with Catholics. Henry IV granted a ten year monopoly of the Indian trade to one of his
Protestant officers in the religious wars, Pierre du Gua, Sieur de Monts, which led to the
founding of a settlement at Port Royal in 1605. De Monts' cartographer and geographer
was Samuel de Champlain, who founded Quebec in 1608 on the third of his eleven voyages to Canada.\textsuperscript{57} The French now had a political base in North America,\textsuperscript{58} and it was time to deal with ecclesiastical needs. The chronology reveals the true order of priorities.

When Champlain founded Quebec at the foot of a massive rock overlooking the St. Lawrence in 1608, the French at last had a suitable place and a genuine need for Catholic missions, which were not long in coming.\textsuperscript{59}

Champlain worked to develop Canada as a colony by promoting the fur trade, exploring the interior, and evangelizing the Indians until his death in 1635.\textsuperscript{70}

_Early French Exploration of the Mississippi River Valley_

European exploration of the Mississippi River Valley actually began with Spanish explorers, who were inspired mainly by stories of great wonders and wealth. De Soto, for example, was motivated by the tales of Cabeza de Vaca of great wealth and strange races of people.\textsuperscript{71} Much has been written concerning De Soto's explorations, but this event has little bearing on the present study, except for the fact that it added credence to rumors throughout England and France of a great river passage through the interior of the North American continent that might provide access to the wealth of Asia. In this fact one must admit, therefore, that wealth was not absent from the motives of French exploration. De Soto's exploration of the great river valley, however, was mainly limited to the lower valley region, while exploration of the upper valley was accomplished later by the French. It is this early French exploration which concerns us more here, because this led directly to the founding of Jesuit Missions in the present St. Louis region.
Exploration of the upper valley region actually began under Champlain. One of the main motivating factors for this exploration was the Iroquois confederacy.

The one instance in Colonial history where implacable enmity on the part of the Indian was incurred by the French, (sic) was the result of an error of policy upon the part of Samuel Champlain, the founder of Quebec. In the long existing feud between the powerful Iroquois of the “finger lake” region of central New York and the Huron tribes of Canada, Champlain naturally sided with the Hurons and aided them in battle.

The Iroquois barred the way to French exploration southward, . . . Exploration activities, therefore, took a westward trend, Lake Huron coming more thoroughly within the ken of the French before Lakes Ontario and Erie.\[^{72}\]

In 1618 Champlain was joined by Jean Nicolet. Champlain had already experienced success in working among the natives by the use of a *coureur de bois*, Etienne Brule. He accordingly assigned young Nicolet to a nine-year term of living among the Indians east of Lake Huron.\[^{71}\] Nicolet returned to the St. Lawrence settlements in 1633, and one year later led an exploration party to Green Bay and the Fox River. He possibly visited a group of Sioux Indians who lived on a great river. Support for his exploration of the upper Mississippi River valley is found in the fact that the Jesuit *Relation* for 1640 lists the various Indian nations around the upper lakes region, including the Sioux, and the author attributes this list to Nicolet, who apparently claimed to have visited these various tribes and nations.\[^{74}\]

The next exploration of the upper valley region was actually undertaken by two fur traders, Menard Chouart des Grosseilliers and Pierre Esprit Radisson. They set out on a voyage west of Lake Superior in 1659, and returned again in 1660. Both were apparently quite controversial figures, and there is dispute concerning an earlier voyage in 1654.
there seems to be agreement that the pair did spend the winter of 1660 among the Sioux, and while there, they met some Hurons who had migrated to a large river. There seems to be agreement among the various accounts of this voyage that Grosseilliers and Radisson had visited this nation on the banks of the Mississippi River.

As the Iroquois, prompted by the various economic concerns of the English and Dutch trading companies, began to drive the Hurons westward, Jesuit attention accordingly shifted to the western Great Lakes region. Here “their concern began to shift from evangelism to exploration.” Perhaps the best known example of this later emphasis found among French Jesuits is seen in the life of Father Jacques Marquette, a Jesuit who accompanied Louis Joliet in 1673 down the Mississippi River past the confluence of the Missouri and Ohio Rivers to the mouth of the Arkansas River, one hundred thirty-two years after its first exploration by Europeans.

In 1665, Louis XIV appointed Jean-Baptiste Talon intendant of New France, and French interest in the exploration and fur trade of the Mississippi Valley increased. Knowledge concerning the Valley, however, had been growing, due in part to the missionary efforts of Father Claude Jean Allouez, a Jesuit who worked among the Chippewas at the Mission of the Holy Spirit at La Pointe in Chequamegon Bay. He, in fact, was the first to mention the great river “Messipi,” whose location he had learned from the Dakotas. In the autumn of 1668, Marquette was in charge of the Mission at Sault Sainte-Marie, where he met a few months later Allouez and Father Claude Dablon, who had been appointed Superior of all the Ottawa missions in the summer of 1669. Dablon established his headquarters at Sault Sainte-Marie, sending Marquette to succeed
Allouez at La Pointe and Allouez on to Green Bay to establish missions there. Dablon established a mission on the island of Michillimackinac (now shortened to Mackinaw or Mackinac), and then left for Quebec due to his appointment as Superior General. Almost simultaneous with his departure, Marquette arrived with his Ottawa and Huron converts, who were fleeing the Sioux. Thus Marquette has been partly credited with the founding of the Mission of St. Ignace in 1670 "on the mainland north and opposite the Island of Michellimackinac." Marquette, following the example of his Jesuit brothers at Sillery, did not discourage completely native cultural and religious practices. In 1669 he wintered with an Ottawa band, who Christianized their traditional feasts under his influence. Marquette reported that in order to encourage changes of this sort, "I keep a little of their usage, and take from it all that is bad."

Meanwhile Talon had ordered Simon Francois Daumont, Sieur de Saint-Lusson, to take possession of the interior of the continent in the name of the king of France. This was accomplished with great ceremony on June 14, 1671, and among those present was Father Allouez. Talon further enlisted Louis Joliet to lead the first expedition. Joliet was a Canadian by birth, and had been educated for the priesthood, but had become more interested in the fur trade. He left Quebec in October, 1672, and on December 8 arrived at the Mission of St. Ignace on the strait of Mackinac, where he joined forces with Father Marquette. They passed the winter at the mission, and on May 17, 1673, they set out on their famous voyage of discovery. Their route crossed the northern section of Lake Michigan to Green Bay. From there they entered the Fox River, where they visited the village of the Maskoutens, who had been visited earlier by Dablon and Allouez. From the
Fox River they proceeded to the Wisconsin River, and on June 17 they reached the mighty Mississippi. On June 25, they were warmly received by a group of Illinois Indians living on the west bank. Their journey continued southward to some point in present-day Arkansas, where they were assured that the river continued its course southward into Spanish territory. On their return home they again visited the Illinois Indians, who in turn advised them of a shorter route by water to Lake Michigan by way of the Illinois and Des Plaines Rivers.

One other French explorer must be mentioned, although again there is no need to go into great detail, for while his explorations were in the Mississippi River Valley, his target was the mouth of the great river and has little to do with the development of Jesuit missions in the present St. Louis area. These explorations were led by Robert de la Salle, and were concerned with the establishment of the Louisiana territory. Joliet and Marquette had failed to follow the Mississippi River all the way to its mouth in the Gulf of Mexico due to fear of entering Spanish territory. This task of exploration still presented a challenge to the French. The challenge was accepted, and the task accomplished, by Rene Robert Cavalier, born in Rouen, France, in 1643, and educated for the priesthood under Jesuits.

Cavalier arrived in Canada in the spring of 1666 with high hopes of finding a passage to China. He accordingly established his home below Montreal, naming it La Chine. He obtained permission from Frontenac to explore the region south of the Great Lakes, and set out on this first voyage of exploration on July 6, 1669, before Marquette and Joliet had obtained permission to explore more to the west. He was accompanied,
not by Jesuits, but by Sulpicians. It seems that his brother had become a Sulpician, and Cavalier now joined forces with the Sulpician missionary Dolliere de Casson, and another named Gallinee, whose journal of the expedition has left us a record of the voyage. The joint group made their way to Lake Ontario by early August and then on to Lake Erie, where the parties met Joliet and then separated. While the Sulpicians and Joliet made their way back toward Niagara, Cavalier continued his journey southward, and succeeded in being the first European to enter the Ohio River. He apparently made his way down this river as far as the falls at Louisville, but was then deserted by his men and forced to return to Canada.

The news of Marquette and Joliet’s discovery further inspired Cavalier’s desire to find a passage to China. He accordingly set out for France in 1677 in order to obtain a patent from the king. The patent was granted on May 12, 1678, with two notable conditions, along with a title of nobility, Sieur de la Salle. He was given permission to establish a line of forts from Lake Ontario to the mouth of the Mississippi, thereby “cutting off other nations from the interior of the continent.” He first had to reinforce Fort Frontenac with stone, and he was given only a five year limit to establish his line of forts. He sailed from La Rochelle on July 14, 1678, with thirty men and with Henri de Tonti, who had lost a hand and had in its place an iron hook, and returned to Quebec by early September. Chambers calls upon the Muse of History before addressing the pair as “Seigneur of the Iron Purpose and Chevalier of the Iron Hand.”

La Salle immediately began the task of reinforcing Fort Frontenac at Catarocouy on Lake Ontario by rebuilding it in stone. This was the first in the series of forts.
November 18, 1678, he sent a party out from Lake Ontario which reached the Niagara River on December 6. They were joined later by La Salle himself, and the united group then wintered near the falls, where the second fort was built. Among their number was the Recollet, Father Hennepin, who gave the first European description of Niagara Falls.

Because navigation was blocked by the falls, La Salle decided to build a ship above the falls. His supply ship had been lost, however, and he decided to return to Fort Frontenac for supplies, leaving Tonti in charge along with thirty men. He was forced to spend the spring of 1679 at Catarocouy, mainly due to financial problems, thereby incurring the first of several delays in accomplishing his task. He finally returned to Niagara and found that Tonti had completed the ship, the ill-fated *Griffon*. La Salle set sail on the *Griffon* in August, 1679, this time with forty men, and resumed his journey of exploration on to Lake Erie, up the Detroit River to Lake Huron, and anchored for a few days at the Mission of St. Ignace. From there Tonti descended to the Illinois, while la Salle took all but four of his men, and first apparently continued on to Lake Michigan and Green Bay, where he picked up a large cargo of furs and pelts. These he decided to send back to Niagara in the *Griffon*, with the command to return with supplies. The *Griffon* set sail on September 18, but was never seen again. Her fate remains a mystery even today.

La Salle, meanwhile, continued his quest. He made his way to the Miami River, where the third fort was built, and then on to the Illinois River. Here on January 14, 1680, he established the fourth fort in his line, and named it *Creve Coeur*, Broken Heart. He decided to send Father Hennepin up the Mississippi River in search of its source in February, 1680. Hennepin made his way to Minnesota, discovered the falls of St.
Anthony, and then was captured by some Sioux. He was eventually rescued by Daniel
Greysolon Dulhut, but he never rejoined la Salle’s party. La Salle remained at Fort Creve
Coeur until November, and then returned once more to Catarocouy. On this return he
determined the site for another fort opposite the Illinois village of Kaskaskia. He left
Tonti and some of his men at the site to begin building the fort, and left others behind at
Fort Creve Coeur. 97

Tonti abandoned the fort opposite Kaskaskia on September 11, 1680, due to
hostilities of the Iroquois. At that time his own garrison included only five men and two
Recollets, one of whom was killed by some Kicapous on the journey to winter on Lake
Michigan. La Salle, unaware of Tonti’s retreat, returned to the fort early in the spring of
1681. Apparently he returned with more men, for he left some men at the fort opposite
Kaskaskia, and sent others to build Fort Saint Louis. He himself then rejoined Tonti at
Michillimakinac, and together with Tonti and his men proceeded to Catarocouy in order to
recruit more men and obtain supplies. La Salle with this additional force returned to the
two forts among the Illinois.

Early in February, 1682, he extended his exploration of the Mississippi River
Valley southward. Near present-day Memphis he established Fort Prud’homme on the
Chickasaw Bluffs, and then continued on downstream. On April 6, 1682, the group
reached the point at which the mighty river divides into three separate channels before it
empties into the Gulf of Mexico. La Salle accordingly divided his men into three groups,
and each group sailed down a separate channel towards the river’s mouth. Three days
later their desired destination was reached. On April 9, 1682, La Salle “erected a cross
blazoned with the French coat of arms and by proclamation took formal possession of the river and all its tributaries, and of all the lands watered by the river and its tributaries, in the name of Louis XIV, King of France. In honor of the French King he named the river St. Louis and the land Louisiana. La Salle’s attempt to establish a colony in Louisiana ended in his death in 1687 “at the hands of two treacherous followers,” and in 1698 a second attempt was made by Pierre Le Moyne, Sieur d’Iberville. He established Fort Maurepas on Biloxi Bay in 1699, while his brother planted New Orleans in 1718. La Salle, however, succeeded in creating a second center for French missionary work, but because he preferred the Recollets to the Jesuits, Louisiana became a point of friction in the ecclesiastical affairs of New France, especially at the time of the dissolution of the Jesuit Order. As a result, there was little communication between the Jesuits who eventually settled in Louisiana and those from Quebec.

Jesuit Missions in the Upper Mississippi River Valley

Marquette had been compelled by Joliet to continue the journey of exploration, but he had promised the Illinois Indians that he would return and establish a mission for them. He and Joliet returned to the Mission of St. Francis Xavier on Green Bay following the route suggested by the Illinois Indians. Here, however, Marquette became seriously ill with dysentery, and, in the spring of 1674, Joliet resumed his journey homeward without him. By autumn Marquette felt that he was well enough to return to the Illinois country, and on October 25, 1674, he set out with the blessing of Dablon and with two other Frenchmen, Pierre Porteret and Jacques Langillier. His health was not wholly restored,
however, and he was forced to spend the winter at the mouth of the Illinois River. He recorded in his journal that he was visited by some of the Illinois Indians while there.  

In March, 1675, he finally resumed his journey, and arrived in April at the village of Kaskaskia on the Wednesday of Holy Week, where he remained long enough to celebrate Mass on Easter Sunday and to establish the Mission of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin among the Illinois Indians. Due to his failing health, however, he decided to return to the Mission of St. Ignace on the Straits of Mackinac, but he never reached his destination. He died on May 18 or 19, near the present town of Ludington, Michigan, at the mouth of the little river that now proudly bears his name. He was buried by his two companions on a hill, with the spot marked by a cross. His obituary reads in part, "[H]e always entreated God that he might end his life in these laborious missions, and that like his dear St. Francis Xavier, he might die in the midst of the woods bereft of everything. . . . He obtained that which he solicited with so much earnestness; since he had . . . the happiness to die in a wretched cabin on the shore of Lake Illinois, forsaken by all the world."

Additional Jesuit missions to the interior followed Marquette and a line of energetic Jesuit missionaries, including Claude Allouez, Sebastien Rasles, Jacques Gravier, Julien Bineteau, and Gabriel Marest, continued the work in Marquette's mission. Allouez had met the Illinois Indians in 1667, several years before Marquette made his famous voyage of discovery. He and Marquette began to work with the "Kiskakon" band around 1669. It seems appropriate that he should be the one to have succeeded Marquette in the missionary work at Kaskaskia. He set out from the mission at De Pere
near the end of October, 1676, wintered at Green Bay, and arrived at Kaskaskia on April 27, 1677, where he immediately began to instruct the Indians. Allouez remained at Kaskaskia at least until 1679, when apparently he left that mission due to the approach of La Salle. He returned to the mission in 1684, and was there with Gravier in 1687. He seems to have left the Illinois mission by 1689 or 1690, and died at the mission on the St. Joseph’s River in late summer, 1690.

Future Link to Maryland

The southwestern movement of Jesuit influence would eventually link this Illinois site with Maryland. As a matter of fact, the beginning of a link with Maryland is found during the time of Talon, when Dablon in 1674 sent Jean Pierron from the Iroquois to Acadia and from there to Maryland and Virginia. Dablon mentions this action in a letter to the French provincial dated October 24, 1674. Pierron traveled throughout New England, Maryland, and Virginia, hiding from the heretical English as he moved about in disguise. In Boston, however, he was suspected of being a Jesuit and accordingly was cited to appear before the Parliament. Pierron went instead to Maryland, where he found two Fathers and a Brother. He offered to assist these Jesuits of Maryland in establishing a mission among the Indians there, but Dablon considered this impracticable.

When Calvert, the brother of Lord Baltimore, established the colony of Maryland, he brought with him two Jesuits, White and Altham. Father Andrew White, “the Apostle to Maryland,” was probably the first Englishman to reduce an American Indian language to writing. With John Altham, another English Jesuit, he was able to renew
the Jesuit mission in the Chesapeake area attempted under Spanish auspices in the early 1570's. They arrived in Maryland in 1634. Father White labored for fourteen years on behalf of both English and Indian. This work was not without problems. In 1642 the Maryland mission was destroyed by Puritan raiders from Virginia, but the work of the English Jesuits did result in many converts from among the Patuxents and Piscataways.

The latter part of the seventeenth century was not conducive to the growth of Roman Catholic missions in the English colonies.

Maryland did remain virtually the only stronghold of the Roman Catholic church, but even here . . . under serious disabilities. The period from 1692 to the American Revolution justifiably became known as the Penal Period, during which the church subsisted on a private, almost clandestine basis, while individual Catholics constantly were threatened or visited with legal actions.

The American Revolution was just one of many major incidents which took place during the dissolution of the Jesuit Order. This event, together with the French Revolution, was in part responsible for the restoration of the order, as will be seen in the following chapter.

Notes

1. One could perhaps argue that the foundation for such contact was established even earlier. See George M. Wrong, The Rise and Fall of New France (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1928), Vol. I, p. 2: "The discovery of America was due to Europe's efforts to explore the mysteries not of the west but of the east. In ancient times contact with Asia had been closer than it was during the Middle Ages. Greece had waged war with Persia; Alexander of Macedon had led an army to India; since the time of Christ missionaries had gone as far as China. But, later, the followers of Mahomet had cut off intercourse, and the knowledge of farther Asia died out in Europe." In addition, Sir John Mandeville, who supposedly traveled to India and China, published a book around 1360, which also painted a picture of India as a land of "splendid wealth and soft luxury." This book merely added to the legends abounding during the Middle Ages of a great Christian
Empire in the Far East ruled by a legendary Prester John, whose empire supposedly lay somewhere in eastern Africa. See Wrong, p. 3.


3. For a detailed account of the travels of Marco Polo see Wrong, Vol. I, Ch. 1, pp. 1-9.


6. See Palmer, pp. 45 and 90-95.


10. Graham, p. 3.


12. Spain and Portugal had been long rivals, with disputes and even war between them over Madeira and the Canary Islands. Because of the long struggle with the Moslems, however, Spain had become weak and divided into several rival states. When two of these states, Aragon and Castile, were united in the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella in 1468, the result was a strength and unity in Spain which could rival Portugal’s accomplishments at sea, as well as destroy the Moslem presence in Spain. See Wrong, Vol. I, p. 21.

13. Wrong, Vol. I, p. 27: “Some hours later, wearing a crimson robe over his coat of mail, he made a ceremonious landing. He unfurled the royal banner, knelt on the beach to give thanks to God for His protection, and took possession of the country in the name of Ferdinand and Isabella, solemnly calling upon all present to bear witness that he did so. There was no thought of any rights belonging to the Grand Khan or any other ruler.”

14. The cross on the sails recalls an incident in the life of Constantine in A.D. 312. He was in the midst of a war, and dreamed of a cross. After he awoke, he had his soldiers paint a cross on their shields. In the ensuing battle his army was victorious. Constantine then converted to Christianity, and the cross subsequently was used during the Middle Ages by military forces when they went into battle, particularly against Muslims and other non-Christians.
15. See Palmer, p. 111.


18. Quoted by Todorov, p. 10. Columbus is also motivated by a pure delight in the natural world, and this in turn brings about his own contribution to the concept of the “noble savage,” a theme which will be discussed at some length in the discussion on the style of our particular manuscript.


20. Graham, p. 5.


23. Wrong, p. 47. See also Graham, p. 6.


27. See Graham, pp. 11-12, and Kennedy, p. 17.


29. Kennedy, p. 35, n. 11.

30. Palmer, p. 92, states, “The Spaniards, hoping to beat the Portuguese to the East (which da Gama had not yet reached), received Columbus' first reports with enthusiasm.”


37. See Wrong, Vol. I, pp. 75-76.

38. Parkman, p. 189.


42. Axtell, p. 12, n. 20, from Lawrence C. Wroth, *The Voyages of Giovanni da Verrazano, 1524-1528* (New Haven, 1970), p. 141. Axtell points out that what Verrazano and other early explorers actually missed in Indian life were “the familiar signs of institutionalized religion that would have struck any foreign observer who walked into a contemporary French or English town: churches and meetinghouses, prominent crosses,” etc.

43. Wrong, Vol. I, pp. 50-51. See also Graham, p. 6, n. 6.


45. Parkman, p. 203. Wrong gives a less poetic account of the event, p. 54. Parkman states that as “autumnal storms were gathering,” Cartier and his men “took counsel together, turned their prows eastward, and bore away to France, carrying thither as a sample of the natural products of the New World two young Indians, lured into their clutches by an act of villainous (sic) treachery.”


47. Axtell, pp. 24-25.


52. See Wrong, Vol. I, p. 64.

53. Axtell, p. 27. See also Parkman, p. 218, and Wrong, Vol. I, p. 65.


56. For the account of these expeditions see Parkman, *Pioneers of France in the New World*, pp. 219-230.

57. Wrong, Vol. I, p. 68, states that Roberval was given letters patent only three months after Cartier’s commission, with power not only to establish colonies, but also to wage war, administer justice, etc.


61. For the Huguenot attempts at colonization in Florida and South Carolina in 1562 and 1564 see Graham, pp. 10-11. Concerning these wars, Palmer, p. 116, states: “They were not civil wars of the kind where one region of a country takes up arms against another, each retaining some apparatus of government, as in the American Civil War or the civil wars of the seventeenth century in England. They were civil wars of the kind fought in the absence of government. Roving bands of armed men, without territorial base or regular means of subsistence, wondered about the country, fighting and plundering, joining or separating from other similar bands, in shifting hosts that were quickly formed or quickly dissolved.”

62. For an account of this attempt to colonize, see Wrong, Vol. I, pp. 78 ff.

63. Wrong, Vol. I, p. 82.

64. Cragg, p. 18, n. 1. See also Palmer, p. 118.

65. Axtell, p. 33.

66. For Champlain’s contributions to the evangelization of American Indians, see Chapter 1.

67. Ahlstrom, p. 56. See also Graham, p. 28.

68. Canada was not the only site in North America for French colonization efforts. Louisiana began as a French colony at the mouth of the Mississippi River. In 1682, about
the same time that Eusebio Kino, a Jesuit, began working in Mexico and Arizona (Gonzalez, Vol. I, pp. 387 ff; Tylenda, Joseph N., S. J., Jesuit Saints and Martyrs [Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1984], p. 734.), Rene Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle, descended the Mississippi River and took possession of the entire valley in the name of Louis XIV of France, naming the entire area Louisiana in his honor. This event, however, is more appropriately included in the discussion of the exploration of the Mississippi River Valley in the following section of this chapter.

69. Axtell, p. 32.
70. O’Brien, p. 5.
71. Chambers, p. 31. See also Bell’s translation of Garneau, Vol. I, p. 246: “Were we to express, in the briefest of terms, the motives which induced the leading European races of the 15th and 16th centuries who came to the Americas, we should say that the Spaniards went thither in quest of gold, the English for the sake of enjoying civil and religious freedom, the French in view of propagating the gospel among the aborigians.”
72. Chambers, pp. 34-35.
73. Spears, pp. 2-3.
75. Spears and Clark, p. 7, quoting Thwaites’ edition of the Relations, Vol. XLV, pp. 163 and 235. For a more detailed account of these voyages, see Spears, pp. 5-7, and Wrong, Vol. I, pp. 419-420. For details concerning the controversy of these two men, see Caruso, pp. 123-148.
76. For a brief discussion of Jesuits who remained in the northern regions, see Kennedy, pp. 83 ff. He briefly discusses Lallemant, Silvy, Maillard, Brebeuf, Crepieul, Joques, Rasles, Aulneau, Dablon, and Marquette, and agrees that exploration attracted many of the Jesuits.
77. Ahlstrom, p. 64.
79. See Kenton, Jesuit Relations, pp. 333-387, and Thwaites, Jesuit Relations LIX, Doc. CXXXVI, pp. 86 ff., for entries from Marquette’s journal concerning this trip.
80. Parkman, p. 15. As related earlier, de Soto had first explored the Mississippi River Valley under Spanish auspices in 1540. See also Bangert, pp. 263-4, and Charlevoix, Vol. III, pp. 179-186.

81. Caruso, p. 149.

82. Steck, p. 110.

83. See Kennedy, pp. 58-59. Dablon had established an Iroquois mission in 1655, but apparently was forced to flee it after only three years. He then worked with Druillettes in 1660 on Lake St. John, and then went on alone to work among the Ottawas. He later became superior at Quebec, but continued to “expand the missionary frontiers; to that end he assigned Marquette to accompany the explorer Joliet to the Mississippi, and edited the priest’s accounts of his travels.”

84. Steck, p. 111.

85. Kenton, p. 6, n. 3. Garraghan credits Claude Dablon with the establishment of this mission to the Ottawa, Vol. I, p. 3. See also Shea’s Charlevoix, Vol. III, p. 119, n. 1, who tells of the founding of the mission of Ste. Marie du Sault by both Marquette and Dablon, but credits Marquette with establishing the Hurons at this post, Vol. III, pp. 170-171. White refers to “the wonderful canoe voyage of discovery by the two Sulpicians, Galinee and Dollier de Casson, in 1669-70,” who were welcomed by both Marquette and Dablon at Mackinac, pp. 293-294. Steck credits Marquette with moving the mission from the island to the mainland, p. 144.

86. Axtell, p. 111, using Jesuit Relations 54:181. Fulop-Miller, pp. 273-4, summarizes the Jesuit success story among the American native people: “The brothers of the order won over the Indians of the primeval forests of Canada by the same means as they had employed in the south: the priests spoke to them in their own language, and lavished presents upon them. The results achieved by this policy can best be seen in an extract from a report of the Marquis of Denonville to the government in Paris: ‘The Indians can be kept in order only by these missionaries; the fathers alone are able to win them over to our interests, and keep them from the rebellion which might otherwise break out at any moment. According to my own observations, I am firmly convinced that the Jesuits are the most suitable people to make the Indians peaceably disposed towards us.’”

87. Wrong, p. 422.

88. J. R., LIX, Doc. CXXXVI, pp. 86 ff., with preface, p. 16.

90. Chambers, p. 39.

91. Wrong, p. 426. Kennedy states another reason for La Salle's dislike of the Jesuit order, p. 47: "La Salle . . . was educated by the Jesuits and had tentatively entered their order. When he took that step he signed over his rights of inheritance to them; later, when he decided to withdraw from the order, he found that he could not recover his property. Embittered and impoverished, La Salle set out to make his fortune in New France."

92. Wrong, p. 452.

93. Chambers, p. 41.

94. For the explorations of La Salle, see also Shea's Charlevoix, Vol. III, pp. 200-216, and Vol. IV, pp. 61 ff.

95. Charlevoix does not state whether or not these were the same thirty men who embarked at La Rochelle. One can possibly assume that Fort Frontenac already had some men stationed there, and possibly some of these traveled with La Salle to Niagara. Charlevoix does not state that La Salle was himself accompanied by anyone as he made his way back by land to Cataracouy.

96. One can assume that along with provisions, La Salle also obtained additional men from Fort Frontenac. Although Charlevoix does not state this fact concerning his first return to Cataracouy, he does indicate later that La Salle recruited more men when he once again returned for supplies.

97. Again Charlevoix does not specify any numbers, except to note that Tonti found only seven or eight men at Fort Creve Coeur when he returned after receiving news of a revolt at that fort.


100. Ahlstrom, p. 57.

101. See Kennedy, pp. 48-49.


103. Donnelly covers the establishment of this mission in great detail, pp. 230-252.

104. See J. R. LIX, Doc. CXXXVIII, pp. 184 ff., and Shea V, p. 131, n. 3.


110. Shea, III, p. 186, n. 2. See also Kennedy, p. 45. Father Rene Menard prepared the way for the far-western missions but died in 1661. Three years later Allouez went west and remained with the Ottawa tribes for the rest of his life. He and his companions established the mission of St. Ignace at the mouth of Lake Michigan and revived the mission of Sault Ste. Marie on the eastern end of Lake Superior.

111. *J. R.* LXI, Doc. CXLIV, with preface, p. 12.


114. Steck, p. 132.


118. Ahlstrom, p. 337.


CHAPTER 3
DISSOLUTION AND RESTORATION OF THE JESUIT ORDER

Decline of Jesuit Influence

Because of the fear of slave hunters and the influence of encomenderos, Jesuit missionaries in Paraguay and New Spain tended to establish Indian villages apart from European settlers. Accordingly, the Jesuits allowed themselves to some degree to be assimilated into the indigenous cultures. At first the Jesuits of New France followed the examples set by the Recollets in their missionary work among the various Indian tribes. The goal was to acculturate young native boys by sending them to Europe to spend a few years in a religious house. After New France was restored, the Jesuits who returned continued a similar practice. In 1636 a boarding school was founded north of Quebec, and boys between the ages of ten and fourteen were admitted, while younger children were sent to French families in Quebec. The school was destined to fail, though its failure actually proved to be a blessing in disguise, at least in terms of examples set forth for mission work among American Indians. Consequently the Jesuits came to the conclusion that they needed to change their approach.

The Jesuit program closely resembled that of the Recollets until 1640. The major shift occurred after the founding of Sillery, endowed in 1637 by Noel Brulart de Sillery and established for older Indian converts. The Jesuits had little success in convincing
Indian men to forsake their life of hunting for one of farming — work that traditionally had belonged to the women of the tribes. They were successful, however, in constructing a new judicial system, in which the villagers elected by secret ballot three magistrates, who were responsible for enforcing a new, strict morality code, especially against female independence. This mixed success along with the unexpected responses from various bands of Indians, who wished to become members of this new village, led the Jesuits to change their missionary tactics in other mission fields as well.

The new Jesuit plan called for sedentary as well as nomadic missions, but both segregated from French society. The goal was to Christianize the pagans of Canada, but without Frenchifying them first. Unlike the Recollects who preceded them and the Sulpicians who followed them to New France, the Jesuits felt that the natives possessed innate civility and goodness which needed only to be plated and polished by Christianity to make them complete “men.”

Success often begets enemies. Such was the case for the Jesuit missionaries. Their methods were attacked on all sides, and in the major European countries forces were at work that eventually led to their dissolution as an Order by Pope Clement XIV in 1773. Most of these forces worked from within the Catholic Church itself, many of its members resenting the ultramontanism of the Jesuits. The Jesuit tendency to promote their own interpretations of doctrine often offended members of the older orders. As a result, there were bitter hostilities. Moreover, their willingness to experiment in their missionary tactics made them appear revolutionary. These revolutionary methods were based upon the principles set forth by Ignatius of Loyola. In the Constitutions he had stated that in choosing religious targets one should concentrate on those people who could in turn influence many others under their authority. Accordingly, the Jesuits would
attempt first to gain the support of the political leaders of the individual native groups, and would then try to move into the leadership roles held by the native shamans. This in turn was accomplished, not by trying to press the Indians into a European mold, but by learning the native languages and adopting native customs as much as their Christian faith would allow. The energy and success of the Jesuits, however, seemed to antagonize not only the Protestants, who naturally objected to any evangelistic advances of Roman Catholicism, but also other Roman Catholics, especially members of other Orders less successful in their missionary endeavors. Moreover, the Jesuits in Europe seem to have followed a similar course, for Jesuit confessors were found throughout European royal courts in the years preceding the suppression of the Society. These regal positions placed the Jesuits in a precarious position in the eighteenth century as monarchies began to decrease in power, and Parliaments began to grow stronger in the political arena. Add to this the intellectual atmosphere of the Enlightenment, and the dissolution of the Society was perhaps inevitable.

North American Jesuits were not exempt from these processes. The attempts to establish a colony in Louisiana by La Salle and Le Moyne in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries took place during this period of decline. La Salle was accompanied, not by Jesuits, but by Recollets and Sulpicians. It seems that Frontenac, who was appointed governor of New France in 1672, and La Salle, his lieutenant, were of one mind in their distrust of the Jesuits, and apparently La Salle opposed the Jesuit practice of keeping the natives isolated from European influence. The ecclesiastical war against the Society of Jesus was waged in Illinois country just as it was in Europe. Evidence comes
mainly from the *Jesuit Relations*, which documents include several letters dated from 1698 to 1768 in which the Jesuit missionaries express their concern and note their aid given to the Seminary priests.

The letter patent of 1698 gave responsibility of the mission at Cahokia to the Seminary priests. Early in the collection is a letter from Gravier to Laval dated September 20, 1698, in which Gravier announces the arrival of the Seminary priests at Mackinac, and even expresses joy at their arrival. He recounts some of the help already given to these priests, and pledges Jesuit support in their missionary efforts. At the same time, however, he inserts a few parenthetical phrases to remind the bishop of the work already done by the Jesuits in this field. For example, when mentioning the "strangers" in the "Akansea" mission, Gravier parenthetically inserts, "where Father Marquette seems to have gone first, in order to open the entrance to it for his brethren."

In 1699 both Julien Bineteau and Gabriel Marest were stationed in the Illinois mission. The Seminary priests are mentioned in a letter from Marest dated April 29 of that year.

Three Gentlemen of the Quebec Seminary, sent by Monseigneur the Bishop to establish Missions on the Mississippi, passed through here. We received them as well as we were able, lodging them in our own house, and sharing with them what we could possess amid a scarcity as great as that which prevailed in the village throughout the year. On leaving, we also induced them to take seven sacks of corn that we had left, concealing our poverty from them, so that they might have less objection to receiving what we offered them. In another of our Missions, we also fed two of their people during the whole of last winter.

As these Gentlemen did not know the Illinois language, we gave them a collection of prayers, and a translation of the catechism, with the notes that we have been able to make upon that language, in order to help
them to learn it. In fine, we showed them every possible attention and kindness.

Three years later, however, Marest complains about the intrusion of Seminary priests into the Jesuit mission field, and in another letter dated later in 1702, he accuses the priests of establishing "ineffective and useless" missions. Marest refers to a letter he has written requesting a grant, and then he asks for Lamberville's support, stating, "Shall it be said that the gentlemen of the seminary, who work less than we do, will continually receive both grants and pensions for living in missions where they do nothing, and which they abandon at once?" Marest then follows his own question with some examples. Gravier, just before his death, wrote an account of the Louisiana mission in 1708, and he refers there to the "unpleasant relations between the Jesuits and the Seminary priests." This document is followed by another letter from Marest dated November 9, 1712, in which he relates how he has buried the Seminary priest at Cahokia.

In 1759, Quebec finally fell to the English, and although the capitulation of Canada on September 8, 1760, granted religious freedom to Canadian Catholics and preserved the missionaries in place at that time, it did prevent the immigration of more priests and "deprived the Jesuits and Sulpicians of the safeguards of French law for their property." Yet Kennedy argues that this English conquest actually helped to preserve Jesuit missionary work in that the suppression of the order of 1761 in France under Louis XV did not affect the Canadian Jesuits. Once the papal decree to suppress the order was issued, however, England declared the order dissolved, and laid claim to its Canadian property.
The suppression of the Society in France led to similar proceedings elsewhere. Thwaites reports that the Superior Council of Louisiana, "by a decree dated July 9, 1763, expelled the Jesuits from that colony." Document CCXXVIII seems to have been written by Watrin who was exiled from Louisiana. He goes into some detail concerning the circumstances of their expulsion from Louisiana. A special council issued a decree on July 9, saying "that the Institute of the Jesuits was hostile to the royal authority, the rights of the bishops, and the public peace and safety," and declared the vows of the Jesuits null. Their property was confiscated, and their sacred vessels given to the Capuchin Fathers. The Jesuits were then ordered to return to France immediately. Marest then assumes a Ciceronian manner, and imagines that he presents several witnesses for the defense of the Jesuits of Louisiana, presenting proof that the Jesuits did in fact care for their missions, contrary to the charges brought against them. This section of the document includes a miniature version of the history of their missions in the Mississippi River Valley. In the course of the document, however, the tension between Jesuits and Capuchins is revealed.

The decree of expulsion reached Kaskaskia on September 23, 1763. All Jesuit property was seized and sold, and they were sent one month later to New Orleans. There they appeared before the council, and Meurin pleaded for permission to remain at his post among the Illinois Indians. The council granted this request.

Father Meurin asked the Gentlemen of the council for permission to return to the Illinois. This was a brave resolution, after the sale of all the property of the Jesuits: he could not count upon any fund for his subsistence, the French were under no obligation to him, and the savages have more need of receiving than means for giving; furthermore, the health of this Father was very poor, as it had always been during the twenty-one years which he had spent in Louisiana. But he knew in what danger the Illinois neophytes
were of soon forgetting religion if they remained long without missionaries; he therefore counted as nothing all the other inconveniences, provided he could resume the duties of his mission. His request was granted.

The collection contains one final letter from Father Meurin to Bishop Briand dated June 11, 1768. One senses Meurin's feelings of isolation in this document. He fears to go to New Orleans because of the Capuchins there, and Kaskaskia, where he has taken refuge, is now in English territory. This in turn has brought him into conflict with some Protestants. Meurin no longer seems to be as enthusiastic about his mission as before in New Orleans. He even asks the bishop to send him to a clergy house where he might die in peace. He further adds that he has heard rumors that the Jesuits "are to be expelled from the British dominions" as well. Thus closes the first chapter on the Jesuit missions of the Mississippi River Valley, a chapter which began with so much enthusiasm and positive accomplishments, but which ends with the fears of a sixty-one year old solitary Jesuit priest.

Dissolution of the Jesuit Order

Pope Clement XIII died on February 2, 1769, almost one year after the Jesuits of Parma were marched to the border. Meadows reports that some 23,000 members of the Society in 41 Provinces by this time had declined to about 11,000 Jesuits in 13 Provinces. In May Clement XIV took the papal throne, and lines began to blur as to whether he would spare the Order or not. In July he granted sacerdotal powers for seven years to Jesuits leaving for missions, but in September he assured Louis XV of France that he intended to suppress the Order. Charles III of Spain received the same assurance in
November. Bangert notes that the new pope in various ways tried to discredit the Jesuits.  

In 1772 there was still hope for survival of the Society. The Empress of Austria, Maria Theresa, liked the Jesuits. Yet she was committed to the arranged marriages of her children into the other European royal families, and in April, 1773, she informed Charles III that she would no longer hinder the Bourbon program. Yet the year 1772 did yield one event destined to play a major role in the survival of the Order during the suppression. Catherine the Great of Russia took possession of her portion of Poland, where she was greeted by Jesuits.

The year 1773 brought papal suppression throughout the world. Pope Clement XIV signed the brief *Dominus ac Redemptor* either on or before July 21. The brief was read to the Jesuits in Rome in August, and their churches there were closed. A letter was then sent to the bishops ordering proclamation of the brief. Apparently this was necessary for the brief to take effect. Bangert also emphasizes the fact that this was a brief, not a papal bull. When the brief arrived in Poland, Catherine ignored it and would not allow it to be published. Frederick the Great of Prussia refused to allow the brief to be read for three years. Thus there was a seed left in Prussia and Russia from which would come the revival of the Society of Jesus.

The Jesuits of North America did not suffer expulsion and confiscation of their property to the same extent as their brothers in Europe. The Jesuits in Louisiana, who had worked among the Yazoos, Arkansas, and Illinois since the 1720's, and who had been involved in hostilities with the Capuchins ministering to the French settlers, were expelled.
in 1763. Their property and slaves were confiscated, their sacred vessels were handed
over to their enemies, the Capuchins, and their church was destroyed. In Maryland the
Jesuits were able to stay on as secular priests, and planned for the future by making
"property arrangements." After the papal dissolution of 1773, Sebastien Meurin had
refused to leave his mission field in Illinois country. He had confronted the council in New
Orleans, and had been granted permission to return to his mission. In 1766 Fr. Meurin
had said the first mass and recorded the first baptism in the village of Saint Louis, which
had had its own birth only two years before. He was the first priest to minister in the
Creole settlement of St. Ferdinand de Florissant, and he also was the first priest to
officiate in the new settlement of St. Louis. He was appointed Vicar-General in the
West, and was able to continue in his ministry until 1777. His death closed the work of
his Order in the Northwest in 1781.

The last of the presuppression Jesuits to survive in the West was the
veteran missionary, Sebastien Louis Meurin, who died at Prairie du
Rocher, Illinois, February 23, 1777. His remains lie with those of the Jesuit
founders of 1823 in the historic graveyard at Florissant, Missouri, a
precious link of association between the old and the new Society of Jesus
in the Middle United States.

The Interim and Survival of the Jesuit Order

There seems to be debate as to whether Clement XIV really wanted to suppress
the Society or not, but even Bangert believes that the pope did actually try to embarrass
the Jesuits. Be that as it may, circumstances began to change during the next year
following the papal suppression. When Catherine received the papal brief, she ignored it
at first. In January, 1774, she issued a ukase in which she ordered the Jesuits of Poland to alter nothing. Both she and Frederick had political rather than ecclesiastical reasons for their actions. Both apparently felt that the Jesuits could be instrumental in keeping the Polish Catholic population loyal to their new reigns. Then on September 22 of the same year, Clement XIV died, and the race began anew to replace him with a pope of the same persuasion concerning the Jesuits.

On February 15, 1775, Pius VI became pope, and he does seem at first to have acted cautiously. During July and August some of the Jesuit prisoners were released from the Vatican prison, but their general, Ricci, died on November 24 while still in prison. By the end of the year, however, Pius VI and Frederick reached an agreement concerning the Silesian Jesuits. They could remain in Prussia, but not as members of a religious order. They would furthermore remain under the jurisdiction of the bishops. McCabe sees this agreement as practically secularizing this group of Jesuits. On January 3, 1776, Frederick officially recognized the brief, dissolved the Society in Prussia, and gave his priests in Silesia a new name, Priests of the Royal Schools Institute.

Events moved slowly for the next few years. During the reign of Joseph I of Portugal, affairs of state were controlled by the chief-minister, Carvalho, Marquis of Pombal, who worked to weaken the power of the nobility and church, and in the process sent the Portuguese Jesuits to prison. In 1777 Joseph I died. This led to the dismissal of Carvalho, and the Jesuits who had survived the Portuguese dungeons were released. Meanwhile the remnant continued to survive in Russia. They opened a novitiate in Polotski in the winter of 1780, and in 1782 Catherine allowed them to elect a vicar-
general. McCabe states that Pius VI issued two briefs denying any approval of the
Society, but Bangert states that on March 12, 1783, Pius VI gave "positive approbation"
to Catherine concerning the Russian Jesuits.

Meanwhile events in Europe were changing the attitudes of rulers concerning the
Jesuit exiles. Both the American and French Revolutions took place during the
suppression of the Society, and opinions seemed to sway toward accepting Jesuit teachers
as capable of keeping the revolutionary spirit oppressed. After the dissolution of the
French monarchy in 1792, however, there arose in France Napoleon Bonaparte, and in his
hands Pope Pius VII seems to have become a puppet unable to stand against him of his
own free will, while Pius VI had a similar experience as well.

**Restoration of the Jesuit Order**

One factor leading to the restoration of the Jesuit Order was directly related to
France. The French monarchy was dissolved in 1792, and Louis XVI was tried and
executed in January, 1793. In that same year, Ferdinand of Parma requested the return of
the Jesuits, and Pius VI allowed three to leave Russia for Italy. Ferdinand continued to
press Pius VI for a more extensive restoration, however, because he believed that an
earlier restoration could have prevented the revolutionary mentality of the times. This
became the first seed bed from which the restored Society would spring.

Then in 1794, a group of Jesuits fleeing the revolution in France settled in Belgium
and founded the Society of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, providing a second seed bed for the
restored Society. A third such seed bed began in Italy in 1797, when Paccanari founded
the Fathers of the Faith of Jesus. Paccanari was not an ex-Jesuit, but he founded his organization on certain Jesuit principles, especially those which supported the pope. Meanwhile, Charles IV of Spain remained firm in his conviction that the French Revolution had arisen because of Jesuit teaching. In February, 1797, Pius VI was seized by French troops and taken into exile at Florence, but not before he had suggested to Paccanari that he and his followers unite with the Belgian group. Early in 1799, Paccanari met with Varin of the Sacred Heart group, and the two decided to consolidate under Paccanari.

Pius VI died in exile at Valence on the Rhone on August 29, 1799. As pro-Jesuit sentiment began to increase in Europe, the Jesuits of Prussia began to react to Frederick’s modifications of their order. In 1800, his successor made further modifications to their educational system, and some Jesuits left Silesia for Russia. Meanwhile Paul I of Russia granted permission to the Society there to establish a college at St. Petersburg. Then on May 8, 1800, Pius VII became pope, and he seemed determined to restore the Society in any country requesting their presence.

Paul I, influenced by Gabriel Gruber, pressed Pius VII to revive the order, and although Spain reacted against this, the pope pronounced his formal sanction of the Society in Russia on March 7, 1801, in the Brief *Catholicae Fidei*. The pope further instructed that the Russian vicar-general become general of the Society, and Gruber became the first general since the death of Ricci.

Paul I of Russia, who had been so instrumental in preserving the remnant band of Jesuits, died in the spring of 1801, and was succeeded by Alexander, who eventually
expelled the Jesuits from Russia shortly after Pius VII restored the Society completely in 1814. Meanwhile, the tide continued to turn. Ferdinand of the Two Sicilies requested Jesuit teachers. The pope notified Gruber, and on August 6, 1804, the Society was restored in the Two Sicilies. These Jesuits were eventually forced to flee with Ferdinand, but it is significant that the pope was willing to oblige Ferdinand in this partial restoration. During the same year, Varin's group appealed to the pope and received his approval to separate themselves from Paccanari. Paccanari eventually served two years in prison, and then passed into oblivion upon his release.

The final and complete restoration took place after Napoleon had held the pope captive for two years. When Pius VII returned to Rome in 1813, he did so with the determination to restore the Society with the hope that it in turn could restore order to the chaos following the collapse of the Napoleonic Empire. On August 7, 1814, Pope Pius VII signed the bull *Sollicitudo Omnium Ecclesiarum*, thereby restoring the Society of Jesus as an official Order of the Catholic Church. When Fr. Fenwick in New York received news of the restoration, he wrote:

> The Society of Jesus is then re-established! That Society which has been denounced as the corrupter of youth . . . degraded by the Church, rejected by her ministers, outlawed by her kings and insulted by her laity! Hitherto cooped up in a small corner of the world . . . she is now called forth as the only plank left for the salvation of a shipwrecked, *philosophered* world; the only restorer of ecclesiastical discipline and sound morality; the only dependence of Christianity for the renewal of correct principles and the diffusion of piety! What a triumph!
Restoration of Jesuit Presence in the St. Louis Area

The Society grew tremendously in the United States. In 1805 there were five Jesuits in the nation, and at the time of the restoration in 1814 there were twenty Jesuits at Georgetown College ministering to Catholics in Maryland, Pennsylvania, and New York. Within fifty years Belgian Jesuits had settled in Missouri, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, and the Oregon Territory. French Jesuits were again located in Louisiana, Alabama, Kentucky, and New York. More came from Italy and Germany, and by 1914 there were over 2,000 Jesuits in the United States. This number had grown to 7,442 in 1986.49

The French in St. Louis apparently remained pro-Jesuit during the suppression of the Order, for when Bishop Benedict Joseph Flaget of Kentucky visited St. Louis in 1814, Louis W. V. Du Bourg, Religious Administrator of Upper Louisiana, asked him to recommend a Jesuit as Bishop for St. Louis.50 This same attitude of admiration for the Jesuits was also found among numerous Indian tribes.

Numerous tribes through the vast expanse of the continent, instructed by these Jesuits, passed on from generation to generation loving memories of their teachers. In 1821 a report from America to Propaganda made this observation about the Indians: "They have a great veneration for the Black Robes (so do they call the Jesuits). They tell how the Black Robes slept on the ground, exposed themselves to every privation, did not ask for money."51

The restoration of Jesuit missions in the St. Louis region is closely linked to the Jesuit Mission of Maryland, founded in 1634 by Father Andrew White. During the period of the suppression of the Society, the former Jesuits of Maryland formed a legal body known as the Corporation of Roman Catholic Clergymen in order to keep possession of the property which had belonged to the Society in Maryland before the dissolution, with
the hopes of recovering that same property should the Society be restored. Even before the papal restoration, Gruber allowed the ex-Jesuits of Maryland to be affiliated with those of Russia. Bishop Carroll, himself an ex-Jesuit, called a conference in May, 1805, and on August 18 of that same year two ex-Jesuits renewed their vows while Charles Neale, only a novice before the suppression, took his vows for the first time. A novitiate was opened in October, 1806, and the Society once more had roots in the New World. Eleven years later this group was enlarged, after a priest in Kentucky, Charles Nerinckx, who was born in Belgium, recruited some of his fellow countrymen to missionary work in the United States. The number of Belgian Jesuits increased in 1821, when Nerinckx arrived with a second group of young men. From these two groups would spring the revival of Jesuit missions in the St. Louis area.

The novitiate of Maryland was beset with financial problems, and it became increasingly difficult to support the novices. A decision was reached in 1823 to close the novitiate, but other forces had been at work to open a way to the fulfillment of the Belgian novices' dreams of carrying on missionary work among the Indians. Du Bourg seems to have done all that he could to see that the Jesuits were reestablished in the Mississippi River Valley. He made repeated attempts "to secure the services of Jesuit cooperators," both in the ecclesiastical realm and the political. He finally obtained financial aid from the Federal Government to establish an Indian school in Missouri. Du Bourg had obtained funding for four missionaries, but because of the financial situation at the Maryland novitiate, he was forced to transfer the entire novitiate to Missouri.
The party of Jesuits that left White Marsh early on the morning of April 11, 1823, to open in the country beyond the Mississippi the first house of their order since its restoration in 1814 consisted of Father Charles Felix Van Quickenbome, superior, master of novices and general director of the expedition; Father Peter Joseph Timmermans, assistant master of novices; seven Belgian novices, Felix Livinus Verreydt, Francis de Maillot, Judocus Van Assche, Peter John Verhaegen, John Baptist Smedts, John Anthony Elet and Peter John De Smet; and three coadjutor-brothers, Henry Reiselman, Charles Strahan, and Peter De Meyer. With the party were six Negro slaves, Tom, Moses and Isaac with their respective wives, Polly, Nancy and Succy, all of whom had been employed on the White Marsh plantation and were now assigned to service in Missouri.

They reached St. Louis on May 31, 1823, less than sixty years after Chouteau had founded that city. Within a week they were in the village of St. Ferdinand de Florissant, and the transfer of the novitiate was complete.

The novitiate at Florissant, however, technically closed on October 10, 1823, when the six scholastics took their first vows, but Father Timmermans died on May 21, 1824, exactly one year after the group had arrived in St. Louis. His place was filled by Father De Theux, also from Belgium, on October 10, 1825. The dominant character throughout these early years, however, is Father Charles Felix Van Quickenbome.

Thus "Maryland and Missouri became the two important watchtowers from which the Jesuits surveyed the amazing growth of the new republic and developed their strategy." The Maryland group concentrated primarily on the Northeast, while the Midwest group played a major role in the development of the western frontier. As Jesuit missions faced the dawn of the twentieth century and the growing possibility of world wars, the same peril of Europeanization of American Indians was extended to include the whole world.
To complicate this adjustment an old hazard reappeared. Under a new but equally invidious form arose the familiar danger of Christianity being identified with Europe and European political power or culture. The Society's expansion into mission lands coincided with the vast colonial splurge which the European nations made in Asia and Africa. Soldiers, traders, administrators left home in droves in the Europeanization of the rest of the world. Priests and religious went too, and from this common movement resulted the sorry entanglement of interests and objectives. Western rule and the Church were two birds in parallel flight. Under these circumstances some mission areas, especially where Catholic powers were the colonizers . . . became seed beds of future trouble, because, when nationally conscious eyes began to look with aversion on the European presence, the church too fell within that field of vision.62

With this historical background on the Society of Jesus one can now turn to the manuscript in the fifth chapter and judge whether or not it can help in some way to reconstruct the history of Jesuit missionary activities, especially among the Illinois Indians in the St. Louis area.

Notes

1. Fulop-Miller, p. 283.

2. There was one major exception, however, in Portuguese Brazil. Here the Jesuits founded missions "very similar to those of Paraguay, except for one important difference: instead of placing them as far as possible from the settlers, they built them where the Indians could serve in the plantations. The missionaries . . . offered the labor of the Indians in what practically amounted to slavery." (Gonzalez, Vol. I, p. 410)

3. For these early attempts to acculturate, see Axtell, pp. 55-57.

4. Axtell, p. 57: "Only a miracle could have prevented the change of air, diet, dress, housing, and occupation from taking its toll on the homesick Indians. In the first two years pleurisy, slow wasting fevers, catarrhs, and colds laid several students low and carried off the two most promising Hurons. The prevailing European remedies of bleeding and purging only made matters worse. In 1638 three of the latest arrivals from Huronia sized up their chances of happiness or even survival, stole a canoe and supplies, and went home. . . . The Jesuits were also disappointed by their own failure to obtain adequate replacements from Huronia or the north shore."
5. Axtell, p. 61.

6. Axtell, pp. 62-64. Axtell (p. 69) quotes in part from the Jesuit historian, Pierre de Charlevoix (Vol. IV, p. 198), who in 1744 defended the Jesuit method against Louis de Buade de Frontenac’s desire to “Frenchify” the Indians: “Frontenac had defined his hidebound philosophy of Frenchification on the strength of ‘twelve years’ stay’ in the country. ‘An experience, not of [twelve] years, but of more than a century . . . has taught us that the worst system of governing these people and maintaining them in our interest, is to bring them in contact with the French.’ ” Axtell concludes (p. 70), “The Jesuits’ plans for converting native Canada to Christianity needed no apologies or justifications in 1744, nor do they now.”


8. Ozment, p. 413.


10. Ahlstrom, p. 65.


17. See Kennedy, pp. 53-54.


22. Meadows, pp. 115 and 120. McCabe states that there were 22,589 members of the Society at the time of its abolition, p. 363.


25. Meadows states that the brief was signed on June 8 and dated July 21, p. 125.

26. McCabe gives August 7, while Bangert gives August 16. Meadows acknowledges both dates.

27. Mitchell, p. 189. See also Kenton, J. R., pp. 475-484, for an account of the banishment of the Jesuits from Louisiana.


35. Bangert, p. 402.


38. Both McCabe and Bangert discuss this event, but with emphasis placed according to their purposes. McCabe emphasizes the political dismissal of Pombal, while Bangert vividly describes the condition of the dungeons, and emphasizes the fates of the Jesuits.


40. McCabe, p. 373.


42. McCabe, p. 386, and Bangert, p. 422.


44. McCabe, pp. 382-383.

46. McCabe, p. 378.

47. Bangert, p. 428.


49. Bangert, pp. 478-9. Riemer reports that there were about 35,000 Jesuits in 1969, and that 7,775 of these were in the United States. "About 2,400 of the U. S. Jesuits were 'scholastics' in various stages of training for the priesthood, and 1,200 were 'brothers,' that is, those who live as Jesuits but do not intend to become priests." George Riemer, The New Jesuits (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1971), p. xiii.


53. Garraghan, p. 34.

54. Du Bourg was appointed the second Bishop of Louisiana and the Floridas. In addition to Garraghan, see also William Barnaby Faherty, S. J., "The Personality and Influence of Louis William Du Bourg: Bishop of 'Louisiana and the Floridas,'" in Frenchmen and French Ways in the Mississippi Valley, McDermott, ed., pp. 43 ff.

55. See Garraghan, pp. 40-55.

56. Garraghan, p. 58.

57. Garraghan, p. 79. De Smet was sent in 1840 to work among some Indians in the Rocky Mountains. For an account of his ministry among these Indians, see James J. Walsh, pp. 179-193.


60. Bangert, p. 480.
61. Bangert, pp. 481 and 483. The story of the expansion of the Midwest group is told extensively in Garraghan's three volumes.

CHAPTER 4
COMMENTARY

The present chapter offers a description of and commentary on the manuscript presented in its edited form in the fifth chapter. As stated earlier, the author indicates that he is writing primarily for the Jesuits who are resuming the work of the Missouri Mission as an inspiration for them to follow the examples of the earlier missionaries. I begin with a look at the probable authorship and date of the manuscript, and including a general overview concerning influences on the author’s style. The second section of this chapter will then discuss the author’s style in more detail, moving from some general observations, including the overall structure of the work and what the author has to say about his own approach, to a consideration of specific stylistic peculiarities. I shall comment upon the author’s Latinity and, in particular, his orthography and vocabulary. This will be followed by an examination of the various rhetorical devices and sources used and how these are influenced by the author’s view of the world in which he lives. This world view includes his perception of the American Indians as it has been influenced by the “noble savage” concept. The third section will provide a physical description of the actual manuscript, as well as the various editorial principles used in the text of Chapter 5. The final section will
consider the possible value of this text, considering, in particular, the author's historical accuracy.

Authorship and Date

The manuscript was written shortly after the restoration of the Society and the return of the Jesuit missionaries to the Illinois mission. Internal evidence for a date ca. late 1830's or early 1840's is found especially in the author's references to a very recent (nuperrime) visit from the French astronomer Nicolet, whom the author indicates to have visited in the year 1837 (13.23). The manuscript was probably written shortly after Nicolet's visit, for the author also refers to a heavy snowfall of 1784, which the inhabitants still remember vividly (11.30). Memories of deep snows likely would not survive more than one generation, and this event would have taken place almost forty years before the astronomer's visit. That the author perhaps composed his Prooemium during the winter months while confined more or less indoors is suggested by the fact that he mentions the deep snows of the area frequently (11.21, 11.31, 18.9, and 20.5-6). The manuscript appears to have been written by a single hand, although interlinear glosses and corrections by a later hand are found throughout.

The author was probably one of the Belgian Jesuits who first returned to the restored mission in 1823, and the oral tradition of the Society in St. Louis gives credit to Father Verhaegen, who was a member of this group. Father Verhaegen would have been influenced greatly by the liberal education of the Ratio Studiorum, and certainly the influences of the theological and classical elements of that method are found throughout
the text. The miraculous abounds everywhere, especially in his treatment of the Fathers. Moreover, he quotes from both Classical authors and the *Vulgate* with equal ease, as well as mixing Classical mythology with the Christian miraculous. The author has also been influenced by the political and theological struggles between Roman Catholic and Protestant elements, due mainly to the political struggle between France and England for supremacy of the area. On page 46 he refers to the English three times in his description of the martyrdom of Father Rasle, and almost as if using Homeric formulae, he describes them as *haeretici* twice (46.9 and 17), and places them in apposition to the noun *haeresis* once (46.12). He also blames the British for the forced return of the Jesuits to France due to British hostility toward the *Vera Religio* after they gained possession of the area in 1764 (55.33-35).

As stated above, Verhaegen's audience was probably fellow Jesuits. His original intent may have included novices and scholastics, who might be convinced to volunteer for the Missouri Mission, as well as Jesuit superiors, who wielded the power and authority to fund, staff, and otherwise continue missions in the Americas and elsewhere. In this regard, the many miracles in the text and the "mini-hagiographies" at the end of the *Prooemium* serve to demonstrate two things: God's active participation in the lives of Missouri missionaries (and thus God's own investment in them), and the heroic, Christ-like and saint-like sacrifices of the missionaries (again, something to be emulated by novices and supported by superiors). Many Jesuit missions outside Europe faced a manpower shortage, and thus they competed among themselves for both men and money. Histories
such as this were written for every Jesuit mission with the main concerning being to convince the Jesuit reader that this particular province was special.

**Style**

**General Observations**

The manuscript begins with a biblical quotation from Psalm 101, with the subject and verb changed from singular to plural. It is written in large letters, almost as a title. The author indicates at the beginning and end of his work that he is writing this *Prooemium* to help those Jesuits who are returning to the mission after the restoration of the Society in order to reap the harvest of fruits sown by the pre-Suppression missionaries. Thus he chooses this particular passage and changes the subject and verb from singular to plural: *Scribantur haec in generatione altera, et populus, qui creabitur, laudabit Dominum.* This quotation is followed by a very brief *Praemonitio*, in which the author forewarns the reader that he will present some things which will seem miraculous. He is merely following in the footsteps of others who have already recorded such things, and he reminds the reader that the document is not so much an article of faith as it is a record of history.

The *Prooemium* then begins with the author's statement that he believes it will be helpful for those who will be continuing the work in the mission to know its history in order to learn from the examples of their elders. He begins in Ciceronian fashion with a long periodic sentence stressing the importance of this knowledge, and even uses
quotations from Cicero and Livy to show how beneficial history can be. One might say this section is an *apologia* for the genre he has chosen.

The author concludes his discussion on the importance of this particular *Prooemium* at 7.23, and begins his history with a brief look at initial contact between Europe and North America. Having provided sufficient general background (11), he moves to the main portion of his history by presenting an outline of what is to follow. He states that he will discuss the climate of the area, its fruits and other advantages (which actually leads to a discussion of the geography of the Mississippi River Valley), and the nature, customs and language of the Aborigines, before he moves on to discuss the history of the mission itself. He then proceeds in the order he has outlined, introducing his discussion of the *mores Aboriginum* (13.29). It is here, however, where we find the first of several digressions. Before the author can discuss the *mores* of the Indians, he must first refute the belief that they had no concept of a Supreme Being before contact with Europe. Biblical and patristic quotations and references abound in this section, as well as references to a few Jesuit authors and others. One can also sense the tension in this section concerning the theological doctrines of an omnipotent God and human free will, which the author links in his argument to natural reason (*ratio*).

The author feels that he has proven his point after almost four pages, and returns to the topic of the natives. He begins with an appeal for compassion (17.16), his reason being that in spite of their innate ability to know God, they have been in darkness for thousands of years (17.20). He then offers a physical description of the Indians (17.30), and on page 19 he briefly discusses the Illinois language and includes a short poem from
Gravier's work. He then moves to the *natura* of the rustics (*agrestes, 20.1*), including a look at their spirituality and spiritual beliefs, and concludes with a general statement concerning their virtues and vices.

The author now turns to his catalogue of missionaries to the Illinois Indians (32.13). I shall document in more detail later his historical accuracy and treatment of the various missionaries, but it should be noted here that the first two names, Fathers Dequerre and Drocoux, are not found in Thwaites' 73 volume set of *Jesuit Relations*. Included in this discussion are two epitaphs, one for Marquette (36.2 ff.) and one for Rasles (46.8 ff.). He also refers often to lost or destroyed records. His discourse includes several digressions, including a lengthy departure from the daily duties of Marest to those of the missionaries in general. The latter names are listed almost in catalogue form, due mainly, so the author indicates, to a lack of records. He then concludes the *Prooemium* with a eulogy to that particular mission field and an exhortation to those who are going to reap its harvest with several verbal echoes from the beginning of his work.

While the author in general follows the form of his chosen genre, he has been influenced greatly by ecclesiastical literature, by the authors he uses as sources, and by the political situation of his time. The British are not treated kindly nor are the English Protestants. Yet if we recall the hostility of the English toward the Roman Catholic faith, perhaps we can justify some of his statements, especially in light of the way Rasles was murdered. The author is sincere in his presentation, but lightens his serious tone by his word play and use of various rhetorical devices. In so doing, he manifests his erudition in
various ways, which will be discussed in more detail in the following sections concerned
with specific style.

The Author's Latin

Orthography:

If only one word could be used to describe the author's style, that word would
have to be *variatio*. This is easily seen in his orthography. While he shows some
influence of medieval Latin in the change of “t” to “c” in certain letter combinations, and
also maintains a great deal of Classical orthography, *variatio* abounds. For example, we
find both *dumtaxat* (12.14; 14.4; 19.6) and *duntaxat* (5.3; 16.8; 17.33; 18.3; 42.9). Both
are found in Classical Latin, but monuments before Augustine always present the word as
two separate words, dum... taxat.¹ We also find both *imprimis* (9.11; 20.3; 23.4; 23.29;
36.14; 39.5; 43.1; 56.25) and *inprimis* (1.7; 11.16; 14.7; 16.20; 23.20; 33.10; 55.34;
56.1). Likewise, we find *appliquant* for *applicant* (22.17), but the author has used the
Classical form with “c” at 21.28. The author uses *de novo* at 40.14, but *denuo*, the
contracted form, at 40.18, just a few lines later. *Imposterum* is used for *in posterum*
(9.18), but we also find *inposterum* (48.2).

Indications of confusion between “c” and “t” are seen, sometimes with the
Classical “t” changed to “c” and sometimes with Classical “c” changed to “t.” Examples
include: *annunciare* for Classical *annuntiare* (40.1), *commentitius* for *commenticius*
(26.16), *concio* for *contio* (38.5), *delitiose* for *deliciose* (29.27), *exanlare* for *exanclare*
(5.34; 7.1; 50.27), *fictitius* for *ficticius* (26.22), *inficias* for *infitias* (1.14), *planiciem* for
planitiem (12.4), and pronunciare for pronuntiare (20.29). A combination is found in the word arctius for artius (29.3). Concerning other consonants, confusion is found throughout the text with “l” in that sometimes a single “l” is doubled, and sometimes a double is made single. Examples include: millia for milia (17.20), and miliarium for milliarium (12.30; 34.9; 37.41; 42.5), with milliaribus found twice (51.30; 52.12, emended). Other consonant peculiarities include demetitus for demensus (from demetiri, 13.27), misti for mixti (9.16), quocunque for quocumque (23.5), tanquam for tamquam (46.25), and utcunque for utcumque (15.10, although we also find utcumque, 6.1).

Classical immo is always spelled with a single “m” (1.25; 11.35; 22.8).

Another area reflecting humanistic tendencies of hypercorrection concerns long vowels and diphthongs, especially where a Classical long-e is changed to the diphthong “ae.” Examples include caepit for cepit (34.8), caeteroquin for ceteroquin (14.3; 22.27; 24.28), the various forms of caeterus for ceterus (Praemonitio 7; 11.5; 13.22; 17.34; 23.15; 25.25; 26.36), effraenatus for effrenatus (25.36; 30.16), and feminarum for feminarum (23.31), although he does use feminae at 31.15. He also prefers foecundus to fecundus and foetus to fetus (34.36; 23.33), although both forms are found in Classical Latin. We even find the reverse is true, where a Classical diphthong is changed to a single “e” in preconem for praconem (38.23), and variatio is seen in the word idaea (19.17; 21.26; 26.18; 26.23; 29.6), which is also found as idea (16.30; 20.14). Other vowel changes include indelibilis for indelebilis (20.15), incunabila for incunabula (6.35; 56.46), and lubet for libet (52.28).
Vocabulary

The manuscript contains numerous examples of rare Classical words, late antique and post-Augustan words, words found only in poetry, as well as the ecclesiastical and Greek words one would expect to find in a document of this sort. I will discuss a few specific words used, but reserve the rest for the lists which follow.

Various prepositional phrases are altered somewhat. The author uses the later ad libitum for ad libidinem (41.53), ad primum Solis crepusculum for prima luce or antelucio (49.15), and ex abrupto for abrupte (20.26). Bruta (14.24) is used by Pliny several times, but only late Latin uses this term for animals as opposed to men.\(^2\) Citra is used in its post-Augustan sense (20.10), meaning “without regard to.” Other late Latin uses include cooperari (10.27, late Latin and Vulgate), and omnifariam (1.6, post-Classical and rare, but used by Marcus Aurelius). Rare Latin words are also found, such as cicurare (23.17; 35.1; 38.37, found only once in Pacuvius as quoted by Varro, De Lingua Latina), cymbula (24.7, found only once in letters of Pliny), and Russus (41.29, used to indicate Russians; Classical Latin only uses this word as an adjective meaning “red,” and even this is very rare). The most interesting pair of words are combustio (39.13) and divinator (28.13), both of which are found only once in the work of Firmicus Maternus (fl. A. D. 340), a mathematician. The writer also uses some non-Classical forms such as obmutere for obmutescere (20.24) and scaturiginis (8.27; use of the singular is not Classical). In addition to the many Greek words, we also find semileuca (52.10).

Although leuca is found in a few Latin Sources, it is nonetheless a Celtic word.\(^3\)
Post-Classical, theological and ecclesiastical Latin words include: *albedo* (20.6), *altare* (55.35n.), *carnalis* (30.27), *condolere* (17.18), *Missionarius* (41.7 and often), *mortificatio* (55.11), and *sanctificare* (28.37). Rare Classical words used include: *bigener* (9.16), *Borealis* (41.21), *comestibilis* (20.11), *communio* (36.21, found several times in Cicero, but otherwise rare), *contribulis* (31b.14), *fundatio* (32.34; 37.41), *nitratus* (38.39), *persistere* (18.24, found in Cicero, Livy, Vulgate, and Ausonius), *sermocinari* (18.29), and *temerarie* (15.5). Late Latin words include: *abnegatio* (36.38), *benefactor* (56.26), *campana* (49.35), *cooperari* (10.27), *delitiose* (29.27), *inconscius* (48.18), *influxus* (14.19), *jejunare* (27.27), *motivus* (44.30), *populatio* (55.37, used in late Latin sense), and *scopula* (54.3). Post-Augustinian words include: *breviarium* (41.36; 33.7, eccl.), *collector* (55.43, only in Augustine’s *Confessions* meaning “fellow student”), *colluctari* (18.17, and rare), *consummatio* (53.30), *efficacia* (36.43; 40.4), *fructifer* (12.13, for Classical *frugifer*), *occidentalis* (56.13), *ordinatio* (41.49, mostly post-Augustan and used here in ecclesiastical sense), *prodigialiter* (16.11, poetic and post-Augustan prose), *radicata* (16.10, used several times in *Vulgate*), *rationalis* (16.14), *seminudus* (18.7), *specialis* (55.5), *spiritualis* (21.26, ecclesiastical Latin), and *transfretare* (29.29).

The most interesting area in this list of our author’s choice of words concerns those which are found nearly exclusively in Classical Latin poetry: *fraga* (12.15, although also found in Pliny), *salutifer* (46.16, poetic in Classical Latin for *salubris*, although the author also uses the prose word in the quotation from Livy, 2.15, as well as at 11.17 and 39.38), *silvicola* (16.28), *trilix* (12.6), and *tentamen* (22.14, and rare, found only twice in
Ovid's *Metamorphoses*). All these poetic words, with the exception of *salutifer*, are employed in the author's description of the geography of the land and its native inhabitants, probably thus influenced by the many descriptions in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries of publications describing the "noble savage" and his domain.\(^4\) The poetic term *salutifer*, on the other hand, is used to describe the cross before which Father Rasle was martyred.

Neologisms used are numerous and include such obvious words designating locations within the New World such as *Canada* (8.7, etc.), *Mexicanus* (12.33, etc.), and *Mississippi* (12.26, etc.), as well as a few terms designating places in Europe such as *Laudini* (36.2), *Macloviensi* (8.6), and *Rothomagensis* (13.15, for Classical *Rotomagis*). Another obvious area where neologisms are used is in referring to the various American Indian tribes. Other words which may be less obvious include: *aedificiolum* (33.15), *benedictio* (40.40, ecclesiastical Latin), *beneplacitum* (55.6, from Vulgate), *cantillatio* (28.23), *catechesis* (43.39, ecclesiastical Latin), *confrater* (56.50), *conjecturare* (38.30), *correspondere* (42.38), *efformare* (42.52), *ethnicus* (44.4, etc.), *hodieum* (41.6).

*Incohaerentia* (26.23), *incontroversus* (53.38, found only in a false reading in Cicero, *De Oratore* 1.57.241),\(^5\) *inoffensivus* (25.20), *invanum* (35.36), *libitu* (40.10), *naviculator* (41.24), *nededignare* (44.27, for non *dedignare*), *residentia* (46.29, etc.), *supernaturalis* (36.24), *superpelliceus* (43.25), *undequaque* (39.23, etc.), and *valor* (18.5).

The text also includes several words taken directly from Greek. There are, however, several non-ecclesiastical Greek terms used. The Greek ecclesiastical words used include: *apostolicus* (32.31, etc.), *baptismum* (41.39, etc.), *baptizare* (39.22),

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baptisma (48.19), canon (41.46), catechumenus (49.16, 49.26), Catholicus (32.5, etc.), Christianus (40.12, 23.6, although found also in Pliny), clericus (43.27), diabolus (40.35), ecclesia (41.33, etc.), episcopus (41.47), evangelicus (33.11; 39.10; 46.32), evangelisare (48.5, for evangelizare, also used, 46.30, etc.), Evangelium (45.24, etc.), haereticus (46.9; 46.17) and haeresis (46.12), all referring to the English Protestants), holocaustum (55.7), idololaria (41.38), laicus (47.18), martyr (53.32), martyrium (33.1; 48.12), metropolita (41.48) and metropolitanus (41.47), neophytus (16.21; 46.22; 49.26), and parochia (33.23, 47.4; 51.23; 51.24; 51.25; 53.1). Non-ecclesiastical terms of Greek origin used include: agon (46.24; 54.21), antiphona (41.43), catalogus (50.34), cataractes (12.35), chirurgicus and chirurgus (28.26 and 28.18, found only in Latin medical works), chorus (31b.16, etc.), eclipses (31.29), epilogus (index for p. 56), geographus (8.4; 41.28), heros (42.15; 45.41; 53.11), ichnographia (13.27), ichographicus (34.25), idaea (sometimes spelled idea, 16.30, etc.; see above), idioma (8.35; 12.25; 43.15, etc.), methodus (28.22, and rare in Latin), pharetra (31b.11), pharmaci (28.27, not found in Latin), praxis (19.9), scopos (30.37), sesamum (12.8), strophe (19.35, where the author uses the Greek case determination rather than Latin), and thesaurus (41.37; 53.22).

**Terminology**

The main characters in our author’s history are the missionaries and the Indians, and in referring to both he again is fond of variatio. The various missionaries are usually introduced using the title Pater (32.17, 32.33, etc.), and are even referred to as a group.
using the term in the plural (11.3). They are also designated as *antesignani*, and more will
be said about this term later in discussing the military metaphors used by our author. The
missionaries are also referred to as *Operarii* (4.21; 6.23; 10.5; etc.), *Missionarii* (10.7;
16.20; 19.26, etc.), *Majores* (1.11; 1.19; 3.23, etc.), and *Socii* (6.3; 10.31, etc.). The
latter term is always capitalized when referring to a fellow Jesuit, but not when referring to
a traveling companion. More will also be said about this later. Like the term *Majores*
above, it is always capitalized when referring to the former Jesuit Missionaries, but of the
two times it is used for Indian elders, once the author capitalizes the word and once he
does not (26.2; 31b.5).

The most frequent word used to designate the Indians is *Aborigines*, sometimes
capitalized and sometimes not (4.12; 8.24; 9.1, etc.). Yet they are also referred to as *Indi*
(8.35; 9.9; 16.20, etc., always capitalized), *Indigenae* (13.34; 14.3; 17.23; 18.34, etc.,
sometimes capitalized and sometimes not), and *Barbari* (10.14; 16.3; and 17.30, as he
begins the physical description of the Indians, etc., again sometimes capitalized and
sometimes not.) One other word used once concerning the Indians is used for their
lodges. The usual term the author uses for this designation is *tugurium* (23.30; 30.1;
34.11; 44.17; 49.33; 50.2), including the abode of Pinet (33.28), but as he begins to
discuss the *natura* of the Indians and their physical senses, he describes their lodges as
*mapalia* (20.7), the term used in Classical Latin to refer to African huts.

One of the most interesting things about the author’s terminology, however, is his
use of formulaic phrases, a trait which in itself could be considered poetic. Although the
author uses an extensive vocabulary with *variatio*, at the same time he has pet phrases
which he repeats quite often, much like the poetic formulae. For example, the Catholic faith is most often designated as *Vera Religio* (21.36; 32.9; and 55.34), but other phrases are used as well. Most often the author refers to Roman Catholicism as *Fides*, but uses various modifiers: *probata fides* (*Praemonitio*, 12; 35.37), *vera Fides* (23.20), *Fides Divina* (25.16), *recta fides* (29.4), and *suscepta fides* (39.23). He also refers once to *doctrina revelata* (38.12).

The arrival of a missionary is frequently indicated with *eo appulsus* (33.8; 34.11; 37.29-30; 39.21, *appulsus* alone; 47.39), used often in conjunction with some form of *proficiscor*, although the author is not above using this verb alone (7.28; 32.17; 33.37; 48.36, etc.). The combination *appulsus-proficiscor* is likely a reflection of one having sailed across the Atlantic to the missions of the New World. The location of the mission is stressed with the use of *occidens*, usually in the phrase *ad occidentem extrema Missio* (4.7-8; 4.17-18, with *plaga*; 7.9-10; 17.15, also with *plaga*) with some variations again: *de nostra in extrema occidente Societate* (5.29-30), *in hac ad Occidentem extrema sua vinea* (6.22-23), *ad occidentem borealem extremae* (32.12). and *in hac ultima ad occidentem Missione* (56.3). The same prepositional phrase is used to locate the place of the dead: *amoenissimi ad occidentem loci* (29.26). Perhaps the author stressed this location because the Illinois Mission served as a base from which the missionaries were able to travel to the bands of Indians in the far Northwest.

The missionaries also endure hunger, inconveniences, and “frequent” shipwrecks, and usually die worn out by and finding an end to *aerumnae*, or else the author transfers this trouble filled situation to the mission itself. Perhaps a few examples will suffice:
quibus cum aerumnarum generibus decertaverint, 7.1-2

Viae laborum, inediae, frigoris, aeris intemperie atque omnis generis incommodorum sunt patientissimi, 18.12-14

continuis viae laboribus et sexcentis incommodis, 22.12-13

has aerumnosas Evangnelii expeditiones, 32.35-36

aerumnis confectus, 33.33

frequentem inediam et omnis generis aerumnas . . . perpessus est, 36.13

aerumnissimae Missionis, 42.10

Famem magnam, grandia itinerum incommoda et naufragia crebra in procellosissima lacuum fluviorumque navigatione perpessus, 45.25-26

missionem hanc aerumnis et periculis plenam, 47.20-21

finem aerumnarum reperit, 48.27

inediam atque omnis generis aerumnas perpessus, 51.5-6

aerumnis et laboribus confectus, 52.25

grandia itinerum incommoda et naufragia crebra perpessus, 53.6-7

finem aerumnarum reperit in morte, 55.31

One last example will also serve to show how another phrase is repeated. In the transition from the general back to the particular in his discussion of the daily duties of Father Marest, the author ends this section thus: *ad omnia itineris pericula et incommoda esse aptus et expeditus* (50.21-22). Father Marquette is also described by these same adjectives, *aptus et expeditus* (36.12).
Other formulaic phrases are used to describe the mission as a field to be cultivated. Sweat and blood are often used in combination, or sweat described as "fertilizing" or "fertile" is used alone. The mission field is cultivated *sudore et sanguine* (1.11; 6.27; 6.31-32, with the adverb *feliciter*, 55.42-43), with a twist, *vel sudore vel industria* (10.22), and *foecundo sudore* (34.36; 46.36; 51.6-7). Missionaries are often described as *intentus* in the cultivation of their field (33.9; 45.34; 50.12; etc.), and often win over the Indians by their word and example, *verbo et exemplo* (32.37; 43.9; 52.34, with the latter being a reversal, *exemplo et verbo*).

**Constructions and Sententiae**

Examples of good Classical Latin constructions abound, as do non-Classical ones. For example, the *Prooemium* begins with *Quantus sit* plus dative of possession used with a form of *esse*, the subjunctive in indirect question, and thus a good basic Classical Latin construction. Another good example follows in the use of *inficias ire* (1.14). The word *infitas* is found in Classical Latin only in the accusative with *ire* and very rarely without a negative, as we find it here. Of the verbs which usually are followed by *ut* and the subjunctive rather than an infinitive in indirect statement, the author uses *rogare* in this way (17.16-17), but with the verb *curare*, which likewise is usually followed by *ut* and the subjunctive in Classical Latin, he chooses instead to use a gerundive clause (9.20-21; 45.1-3). Again *variatio* is found, for while the author uses *magis magisque* (39.23; 43.24), and *magis magis* (54.29; 55.12), he also uses *novis et novis* in almost the same sense (17.29). We also find the use of the Greek accusative of respect, *picti corpora* (24.23). Sometimes
a or ab is used to indicate agency, and sometimes it is omitted (41.7 and 42.27). The
author also is not consistent with the use of e or ex before a vowel or consonant. We find
both e Nova Gallia and ex Nova Gallia in close proximity (52.36 and 39). The use of the
supine is found at 3.26, 8.23, and 18.32, and partitive genitives are found in such phrases
as id muneres (28.15), hic tumuli (29.23), and tum temporis (8.26; 32.16; 47.9).
Constructions of time also show a great deal of variatio. The usual form used to
announce the arrival of a missionary is the ablative of time when, but duration of time is
not so consistent. Duration is expressed by use of the ablative (toto vitae tempore, 25.38;
46.13-14; multis annis, 32.4), by the use of per plus the accusative (per duos illic annos,
45.18; per 27 circiter annos, 49.14), and by the accusative (viginti continuo dies, 40.25),
as well as a or ab plus the ablative (a 1000 vel 2000 tantum annis, 14.11-12; ab anno
1695, 19.23). Gerunds and gerundives are plentiful, as are constructions used to express
necessity. The passive periphrastic is found throughout the text, but the author also uses
necesse, necessitas, necessaria, opus, and oportet (1.7; 1.24; 5.5; 5.14; 9.15; 14.27;
19.16; 19.18; 24.29; 27.30; 38.1).

The author seems to be fond of Cicero, using Ciceronian quotations several times
in the body of his text (1.24, 2.8, 3.32, 22.14). He also begins his Prooemium with a long
periodic sentence much in Ciceronian style. Perhaps the first periodic sentence to cause
the reader to stumble is found on the very first page of the text, lines 20-26. I will arrange
the sentence here in a logical diagram, but indicate the actual word order using numerical
notations in square brackets.
[1] Equidem

[3] mecum deliberato constituere solem

[4] dum in hanc rem,

[5] ut fit,

[9] opus puto

[6] intentiore cura et studio inquirere

[7] non otiosi et delicati animi,

[8] sed de se ipso et bono familiae universo soliciti,

[2] ita

[10] historiam

[12] longe imo perlonge vincere et superare


Rhetorical Devices

One rhetorical device used by the author causes the reader to stumble in several places in the text. The author is especially fond of the use of asyndeton, so frequently employed that it would be impractical to list all of the examples here. He seems to avoid the use of *et* except in certain lists. Some of his favorite connectives include: *nec non* (title; 11.6; 16.1; 22.13; 28.6; 28.10; 38.11, which is in line with his use of a double negative to make a positive statement, discussed below), *cum . . . tum* (1.1-2; 2.21; 37.20), *vel . . . vel* (7.3-5; 8.29-30; 10.3-5; 10.20; 10.35; 14.26-27; 21.5; 21.30; 44.29), *tam . . . quam*, which seems to be used for parallels (31.29, *tam solis quam lunae*; 31b.3, 119
tam pace quam bello, and 34.29-30, *tam ob . . . quam ob*), and *tum . . . tum*, also used sometimes with parallel constructions (26.12-13, *tum quia . . . tum quia*, 43.25-26, *tum pro . . . tum pro*, 55.36-37, *tum inter . . . tum inter*; see also 8.9-10; 8.13; 9.6; 20.4; 37.18; 40.11; 42.31; 45.22-23; 49.23-24, *tum Corporis tum animae*). When the author does choose to use *et*, it is sometimes awkward or unnecessary. Twice he begins a sentence with *Quin et* (8.3; 54.33), once with *Quin etiam* (26.4), and twice we find *sed et* (17.35; 31b.28; see also 44.14, *suaviter sed et fortiter*). We also find the use of two consecutive enclitics (21.25, *summoque constantique labore*). He does, however, use a single *et* to mark one of several examples of chiasitic arrangement (*47.11, injuria temporis et malevolentorum culpa*).

**Metaphors**

Most of the metaphors the author uses are common to ecclesiastical works concerning mission. The metaphor of a field complete with sowing, harvest, and reaping abounds. Yet this is nothing unusual, for we still today speak of the “mission field” (1.7 ff.; 1.15, *agri dominici*; 6.7 ff.; 6.14; 6.30 ff., etc., for the field metaphor; 1.11-12; 6.33; 10.11, etc., for reference to the harvest; 1.10; 10.10; 33.21-22, etc., for the sowing metaphor, very much in line with some of the parables of Jesus). Another metaphor used for the mission, and one also found as a biblical metaphor, is that of the vineyard of the Lord (5.33-34; 6.23; 47.31-32; 48.23-24; 53.4; 55.20; 55.27). Another biblical metaphor is also found in the references to a flock (i.e., the Indians) and the shepherd (i.e., the missionary): 43.8; 46.18; 50.19; 50.24-25.
Two other metaphors are used throughout the text, one concerning the missionaries which emphasizes the military aspect of the Order, and the other used specifically to refer to the early years of the Illinois mission. Both metaphors are used at the beginning and end of the text, forming a poetic type of ring composition. Although the metaphor of the soldier of Christ is not unique to the Jesuit Order and is found throughout Christendom, it is used in various forms within the text and seems to stress the military nature of the Order. The missionaries are described as setting up their first military post, *tirocinium* (43.17; 46.15). Their work is a struggle, much like in a contest or battle (*agon*, 46.24; 54.21; *certamen*, 42.16; *decertare*, 7.2). They are designated as front-line soldiers, *antesignani* (4.18; 33.4; 53.19, and thus we see the first example of verbal echoes from the beginning and end of the text), while fellow Jesuits are referred to as *Socci*, differentiated from a regular traveling companion by the use of capitalization (6.3; 10.31; 48.4; 48.33; 50.23; 51.11; 53.4; see also 35.21; 36.16; and 42.7, where the term is used without capitalization). The metaphor used for the early Illinois mission is that of infancy, and again we find the metaphor established at the beginning of the text and not only repeated, but even stressed at the end (6.35; 9.31; 54.12; 56.8; 56.21; 56.24; 56.26; 56.29). This stress on the infancy of the early mission is coupled with an exhortation to those who are resuming the work to carry the mission through the other ages which follow. It is also very striking to note that the author seems to use no metaphors when describing the Indians. This is a rhetorical device reserved for the mission and its missionaries.
Word Play

Assonance and alliteration are common rhetorical devices throughout the text, and are often used when the author appears to be playing with words. Before listing the many incidents of assonance and alliteration, however, I would like to point out a few specific examples of word play. At the beginning of the text we find the oxymoron *impotente potentia* (2.3), which presents a paradox along with assonance. The author also uses the same verb twice in close proximity, almost in two different senses (*erigere*, 4.1, 4.4), or displays his erudition by using two different Latin words with nearly the same English meaning in close proximity (*praeterire* and *praetermittere*, 4.33-34, again with assonance). He seems to be playing with the ambiguity between Latin *animus* and *anima* when discussing the Indians’ concept of the souls of the dead, since within the same sentence we find *animo, animas*, and *animatas* (29.7-9). His erudition also is displayed in his play with the Greek “Saints” Exomologesis and Synaxis, who personify the confessional and collection box (50.9-10). As he describes a boat overturning in which Allouez had been carried, one can almost hear the waves of the water in the rhythm of the words as the passage is read aloud: *eversa navicula undarum* (38.34). And finally, he describes the infancy of the mission by placing an adjective such that it can modify either *Mater* or *Societas*, probably intending both: *tenella haec Societatis optimae Matris infans* (56.24).

Examples of assonance and alliteration are numerous, but due to “lack of space and time” (as our author would say), I will only list some rather striking examples, with the rest given only by page and line number following. I will “pass over in silence” the
obvious examples of alliteration such as *magis magisque* and *tum temporis*, or the places where it would be difficult to avoid a rhyming pattern due to the inflected nature of Latin, as well as phrases such as *sudore et sanguine* already discussed above. The first very striking example also involves a rather brief metaphor of the boat of life. The author uses the letter “n” to give alliteration and assonance and a rhythm which almost rocks as it is read aloud: *ne nobis in eadem navi versantibus* (3.20). Another example which really draws attention to itself is used to emphasize the perfidious nature of the Ottawa band who left Fathers Garreau and Mesnard on the road to die: *summa ignavia in via* (38.21). Other striking examples of alliteration include: *perfecit porroque perficiet* (6.24), *gnavos generososque genuisse* (6.26), *cortice confectis cymbis* (8.17), *lenociniis lectorem pium pia in re* (10.29), *ausim asserere* (12.1), *certissimo compendio longe lateque* (12.12), *religionis revelatae et regenerationis* (14.15-16), *incredulos ad credendum* (15.7), *sexcentis Scripturae Sacrae* (15.11), *allegoriiis aliisque abundat* (21.15), *cruribus circumligatis cantillantes* (24.24-25, where the reader can almost hear the beat of the drum), *vulneratosque vocati invocato* (28.19), *seu Spiritus sui consilium* (29.1, another case where an interlinear gloss addition gives assonance), *frug[u]m fructuum<que>* *sponte sine* (30.31), *fraudes, quo facilis eorum infirma fide* (39.3), *propagationem plurimum proderant* (44.5), *lancem ligneam vel e cortice confectam* (44.33), *interrupturus importunisque sui interpellatoribus* (44.41), *vix vivus evasit* (45.27), *cruribus communitis* (46.21), *illis in os illato* (49.9), and *canticorum concentus* (49.36; 50.4). Sometimes assonance and alliteration are achieved by means of repetition, with or without variation: *quin eam habeant quam habere* (10.32), *vel omnia persequi vel quae*
persequor (10.35), partim nota nobis, partim ignota (12.19), nomen . . . nullis . . . nullis . . . Numen nullum (13.34-36), atque intercipere, atque in interceptos (22.30-31), omnia omnibus factus ut omnes (45.7), and non paucos . . . Paucis (46.7-8). One example even involves two parallels with expansion in the second pair: in itineribus, in navigationibus, ad operas, ad quasvis expeditiones aptus et expeditus (36.11-12).

Other Rhetorical Devices

Another device used by the author involves parallel constructions, sometimes with either expansion or contraction. These constructions are often set up by the repetition of a connective or preposition. A few examples should suffice: a male faciendo et a re male gerenda (3.7), vel ad eam juvandam vel ad illius inopiam supplendam (21.5-6), tum commerciorum causa tum longinquiores lustrandi plagas gratia (8.13-14, giving yet another example of variatio), in illius essentiam describendo . . . et in definiendo (29.3-5), plus the numerous parallel constructions set up by tum . . . cum or tam . . . quam, such as tam ob . . . quam ob . . . (34.29-30, etc.).

The author also follows an ancient habit of choosing to represent a large number by using a specific number, in this case, sexcenti. The first use of this word is found in the digression in which the author attempts to prove that the Indians do have an innate concept of a Supreme Being. He cites that there are sexcenti passages in the sacred scriptures which serve to prove his point (15.11, a passage already cited above for its assonance and alliteration). The Indian is hardened by a life of sexcenta incommoda (22.13), their medicine people have sexcenti different methods of healing (28.21), Father
Marquette faced *pericula sexcenta* (36.31), and Father Rasles' body was mutilated *sexcentis modis diverse* (46.22). In addition to the dangers, Father Marquette was also willing to undertake *non duas tantum, verum ducenta* Missiones (36.9; note also the Jesuit emphasis in this passage on obedience).

The text also contains some examples of repetition and redundancy, most of which appear to have been used for rhetorical effect. For example, 15.36-16.1 repeats 14.4-5, almost as if this were a formulaic phrase. Even the repetition of words is found, many examples of which have already been noted in the discussion on assonance and alliteration. A few other sentences where this takes place are 33.9, where the adjective is repeated (*magna . . . magnos*), 45.4-5, with the repetition of *silvestribus . . . silvestria*, and 48.43-49.1, *aerumnosissimus . . . aerumnarum*. There is also an example of anaphora in which three consecutive sentences begin with *Magnum* (2.25, 2.28, and 2.31). In addition, there are numerous examples of the use of litotes. The use of *nec non* has already been discussed above under connectives and asyndeton; however, this is but one of many examples: *nec minori* (19.23-24), *minime inelegans* (43.18), *nec infructuose* (48.38), *non raro* (18.17; 48.42), *non sine ignom*<in>ia* (49.11); *non sine* (44.5; 49.36); *non parum* (3.18), *non omnino inutile* (6.4), *nec minore* (8.15), *non exigui momenti* (8.24-25), *nec absque* (19.20; 36.5), *et non sine* (11.8), *nec sine honore* (35.32-33, concerning the second burial of Marquette), *et non unum* (37.13, where the author means "not just one" or "more than one"), *non uno* (47.36), *nec sine impudentia* (38.24), *non levia . . . vulnera* (38.40), *nec sine exhortatione* (43.31), *nec exiguis* (43.38), *non paucos* (46.7, with the next sentence beginning *Paucis*), *nec saepe* (46.42), and *minime indecora* (37.23). The
author also presents a few additional examples of paradox. Speaking of the words *meum* and *tuum*, the author adds a relative clause concerning their power: *quae in cordibus nostris charitatis ardorem extinguendo omnium concupiscientiarum jurgi<or>umque fomitem inflammant* (24.34-36). Likewise, in speaking about those who may have come to know God through natural reason, he uses the phrase *de parvo vel magno . . . numero* (15.31-32).

A few other devices should also be noted. The author states that he wants to discuss the nature of the Indians before moving on to the history of the mission and its missionaries so that he will not need to break the thread of his narrative later (although he does from time to time break that thread in his use of digressions). In stating, however, that he does not want to break this thread, he does so in the very use of a parenthetical statement which separates the direct object (*filum*) from the rest of the sentence: *deinde filum, necessario saepe et non sine nausea, hujus generis descriptionibus interrumpere debeam* (11.8-9). He also uses the missions to provide verbal transitions from one missionary to the next. For example, as he is concluding his discussion on Pinet, he mentions that Marquette stayed at the same mission for three years (33.34). Likewise in the transition from Bineteau to Gravier, they too shared the same mission (47.5). We even find an *action* in this history as the author explains how a river took its name from Father Marquette (35.33 ff.). But perhaps the most obvious aspect of the *Prooemium* is its catalogue nature. It is obvious in places that sources were scarce, but we even find a catalogue within a catalogue when the author digresses to name the six parishes which formed the Illinois mission (51.20-35).
Not only does the author quote Cicero several times, but he also uses several Ciceronian rhetorical devices in his narrative. Other than the long periodic sentences broken by various interrogative pronouns, perhaps the two most obvious devices used by the author which echo Cicero's rhetorical works are the use of *Paucis* (usually followed by a long periodic sentence) and *praeteritio*, the act of passing over something in silence while mentioning the very thing one is pretending to pass over. Examples of *Paucis* followed by a long periodic sentence are found at 25.15-24 and 37.2-8. The word does introduce short sentences at 44.15, 45.4, and 46.8. For *variatio* we also find *Brevi* (56.23-27). One of the most beautiful passages in the whole text is written in Ciceronian style with a series of interrogative pronouns beginning phrases or sentences, and is almost poetical with the use of imagery linking this particular section to various metaphors used for the mission (6.5-12):

\begin{quote}
Nam quo ex fonte tam multi,
    tamque salutares rivuli emanarunt;
quae ex radice tot tantique nati sunt flores et fructus; 
quo auctore tanta intra paucos annos existere potuit
evangelici seminis seges ac copia, 
nisi ab illo uno, 
qui verbi sui seminatoribus et irrigatoribus incrementum dat,
Deus, 
    bonorum nimirum omnium 
et fons et principium et origo?
\end{quote}

As for passing over things in silence or reserving them for a time of longer leisure, this too is a rhetorical device reserved for the missionaries. The first instance concerns Marquette when the author states, *Quoties mortem sibi varie imminetem evaserit, dicere longioris est oti* (36.32-34), but continues his eulogy until the middle of the following
page, pointing out Marquette’s faithfulness to the faith, being taken as a god by the
Indians, and his allegiance to Xavier (36.34-37.8). The next missionary to receive this
treatment (perhaps justifiably) is Rasles, who is treated with all the respect of a martyr of
the faith. Rasles is introduced at the very first as a martyr (43.12), and the author briefly
discusses his work of some 37 years, but concludes his general discussion of Rasles’
ministry with a statement almost identical to that used of Marquette: *Quoties autem
mortem sibi varie imminentem evaserit, dicere longioris est otii* (45.31-32). He once
again refers to the hardships faced by the missionary, then feigns fear of being a bore to
the reader (*ne lectori repetitis eisdem continuo descriptionibus taedio sim*, 45.39-40), and
concludes that he must pass over the rest in silence (*invito sane dissimulo silentio*, 45.42).
His treatment of Rasles then moves to the discussion of his death at the hands of the
*Haeretici Angli*, introduced by *Paucis* (46.8), and not concluding his treatment of Rasles
before 46.26. The next missionary introduced is de la Place, who is given but half a page
before we are told that he contracted a fever and died. The author once more explains
that he is omitting other things which he could say due to a desire for brevity (*quaef
brevitatis studio omitto*, 47.1-2), and then moves on to his discussion of Gravier after first
referring to the archives of Kaskaskia. We may suspect that perhaps his sources were
limited for de la Place. Gravier likewise receives an apology for not being treated in more
detail due to lack of time and space (*ut verbis id consequi, praesertim concessi mihi
exigui spati et temporis penuria, haud possibile sit*, 48.24-26). Marest is the next
missionary introduced, and a discussion of his daily order leads to a digression which will
be discussed below. This long digression, however, is brought back to Marest with the
author concluding once again that he will pass over those things concerning Marest which have already been published at Lyons (50.27-28), and then proceeds to give a summary of their contents. The final use of this device is found in the catalogue of non-Jesuit priests. The author indicates that these things have been described in the annals of those times, and therefore *quaer hic referre longioris utique esset otii* (53.8-9), with verbal echoes of Marquette and Rasles.

Two other rhetorical devices used by the author deserve a brief mention before looking at his use of digression, quotations, and mythology. There is one instance of a transferred adjective, much like the poetic transferred epithet. Usually lakes are described as being very gusty, but in this case the adjective is used to describe the navigation: *in procellosissima lacuum fluviorumque navigatione* (45.26). We also find several examples of chiastic arrangement, beginning with the *Praemonitio*, 4: *praesagia futurorum, arcanorum manifestationes*. Other examples of this device are: *venatu ferarum pisciumque captura* (18.15), *magna itinera, labores magnos* (33.9, with assonance in the repetition of the adjective), *inuria temporis et malevolorum culpa* (47.11), and *minutissime consectantes recenseant copiosissime* (21.8-9).

**Digressions**

The first major digression in the text, as was briefly mentioned above, begins at 13.29 and continues through 17.12. It is here the author refutes the belief that the Indians had no concept of a Supreme Being before contact with European Christianity. He begins by placing the blame for the error upon certain historians, including Jesuit authors, with a
marginal reference to Orlando and Maffes. The author then begins his argument to the contrary by pointing first to the archaeological belief of his time that the American continent had only been inhabited for one or two millennia. Since their ancestors came from Europe, the inhabitants surely were aware of the religio revelata before contact with Columbus. Moreover, because God is compassionate, he has provided salvation for anyone who does not resist the gift, revealing in this statement the theological tension between the doctrine of an omnipotent God and that of human free will. To further prove his point, the author cites several examples from the Bible of persons he considers divinely illumined and fully informed by natural reason (14.34). The specific examples are followed by several biblical quotations, discussed in greater detail in the following section. The author then concludes that the American Indians have thus at some point in time had some knowledge of God (15.33-35).

The author now attempts to reconcile his theology with the fact that the American Indians did not worship in a traditional Christian way by stating that they had turned to omens, auguries, and soothsayers (15.35-16.1). Their very superstitions, however, give further proof that they inherently know of the existence of a Supreme Being, but this also accounts for their unorthodox form of worship. The author further concludes that the error on the part of the historians was a direct result of their failure to understand the Indians, as well as the inability on the part of the Indians to grasp the European questions and concepts placed before them by the historians. In other words, the problem was one of communication. He concludes that the Indians certainly can distinguish between good and evil, and the fact that the historians had an insufficient understanding of the Indians’
languages, customs, and nature serves as a transition back to the discussion in the text on these very topics.

The text contains one other major digression. At 49.13 the author states that he is going to submit to the reader the daily order for Marest, and begins by using singular subject and verb forms. Within a few lines, however, he moves from the specific to the general with a transition to a plural subject and from imperfect to present verb tenses (49.22 ff.). The transition back to the specific takes place one page later with a plural subject (Missionarii, 50.18) and a singular impersonal verb (debet, 50.21) and singular adjectives (aptus et expeditus, 50.22). The following sentence begins by specifically naming Father Marest. The digression appears to be a daily order for the Jesuit missionaries in general.

One other minor digression occurs perhaps because it was part of the source used at the time by the author. The later missionaries are named in almost catalogue fashion with little more information than names and years. At 51.20 the author includes a catalogue of the six parishes which constituted the Illinois mission in the early eighteenth century. This brief catalogue is followed by a mention of Charlevoix (51.36-52.6) before the author returns to his catalogue of missionaries.

Quotations and Echoes

The author indicates direct quotation several times in the body of the text. He actually begins the Praemonitio, as has already been pointed out, by quoting from Psalm 101:19: *Scribantur haec in generatione altera, et populus, qui creabitur, laudabit*
Dominum. This biblical verse has been altered from the Vulgate which actually begins, *Scribatur hoc in generatione novissima.* The remainder of the quotation corresponds to the Vulgate text of the psalms based upon the translation from the Septuagint.

In the body of the text, the author on the very first page quotes Cicero’s *De Oratore* II.ix.36. Concerning history, he states that the *Eloquentiae Pater* says, “*Est enim testis temporum, lux veritatis, vita memoriae, magistra vitae, et vere sapientiae speculum.*” Cicero actually places these words in the speech of Antonius, who explains the importance of oratory in the exposition of historical works. The original sentence is actually a question: *Historia vero testis temporum, lux veritatis, vita memoriae, magistra vitae, nuntia vetustatis, qua voce alia, nisi oratoris, immortalitati commendatur?* The actual quotation makes no mention of *sapientiae speculum,* and a word search has shown no use of this phrase by Cicero. Yet *speculum* is the word which the author uses to begin his next thought. Furthermore, a question would not serve the author’s purpose here, for his argument is an attempt to prove the importance, not of oratory, but of history. In addition, this initial Ciceronian quotation is followed by a long periodic sentence which builds upon the final word in the quotation as given.

On the second page of the *Prooemium,* the author quotes both Cicero and Livy as he continues his discussion on the importance of history. He refers first to a passage from the *Pro Archia* VI.14: *Quam multas nobis imagines, non solum ad intuendum, verum etiam ad imitandum, fortissimorum virorum expressas, scriptores reliquerunt? Quas ego mihi semper in administranda Republica proponens, animum et mentem meam ipsa cogitatione horum excellentium conformabam.* He departs from the original Latin in that
he omits the phrase *et Graeci et Latini* before *reliquemt*, and changes *hominum* to *horum*. Since he is relying mainly on Jesuit and secular historians of the American continent, a reference to Greek and Latin authors would have no meaning in his own text.

His quotation of Livy is also altered somewhat, mainly in the omission of Livy’s final phrase. Our author quotes, “*Hoc illud est praecipue in cognitione rerum salubre ac frugiferum: omnis te exempli documenta in illustri posita monumento intueri, unde (instead of inde) tibi tuaeque Rei publicae, quod imitere, capias,*” omitting *inde foedum inceptu, foedum exitu, quod vites*. Page 3 of the manuscript contains a quotation from Cicero to Caecina, *Epistulae ad Familares* VI.vi.12, which is complete from the original with the exception of the omission of *enim*. Continuing his discussion on the importance of history, the author quotes, “*Levât dolorem communis quasi legis et humanæ conditionis recordatio.*”

The next quotation on page 6 is a biblical passage from James 1:17, with the insertion of *enim*: *Omne enim datum optimum et omne donum perfectum desursum est, descendens a Patre Luminum,* omitting the remainder of that verse and moving instead to an echo from the Apocalypse 1:8. The author continues in direct quotation: *qui Alpha et Omega principium et finis dicit Dominus Deus qui est et qui erat et qui venturus est Omnipotens*. The biblical quotations continue on page 15 with a verse from Psalm 86:4, “*Memor ero Rahab et Babylonis scientium me. Ecce alienigenae, et Cyrus, et populus Aethiopum, hi fuerunt illic.*” This time the quote is complete and correct, but again this passage is linked immediately to another, Romans 11:2b-4: *An nescitis in Elia quid dicit Scriptura, quemadmodum interpellat Deum adversum Israel? Domine, prophetas tuos*
occiderunt, altaria tua suffoderunt, et ego relictus sum solus, et quaerunt animum meam.

Sed quid dicit illi divinum responsum? Reliqui mihi septem milia virorum, qui non curvaverunt genua ante Baal. This quotation has only minor variation in that the author transposes responsum divinum and changes genu to genua, adding ante before Baal.

These verses in turn lead immediately into a third biblical quotation from 1 Peter 3:19-20, but this time omitting a major portion. The author quotes, "Et his, qui in carcere erant, spiritibus veniens praedicavit, qui increduli fuerant aliquando, quando," omits expectabat Dei patientia in diebus Noe cum, and then continues the quotation, “fabricaretur arca,” completely ignoring the remainder of the passage, in qua pauci, id est, octo animae salvae factae sunt per aquam. Page 16 contains one further biblical quotation from the Book of Wisdom 13:9. This quotation agrees in every respect with the Vulgate: Si enim tantum potuerunt scire ut passent aestimare saeculum, quomodo huius Dominum non facilius invenerunt? All of these biblical quotations fall within the author’s discussion that the Indians innately knew of the existence of a Supreme Being and are offered as proof to his theory. It would thus detract from his argument to include the fact that only eight souls were saved in the ark of Noah.

Two further quotations are found, one classical and the other biblical. The author once more turns to Cicero, Tusculans II.15, quoted correctly and in full except for an enclitic enim: Consuetudo laborum perpessionem dolorum efficit faciliorem (22.14-15). Here the author uses Cicero’s belief that accustomed labor makes one more able to bear pain, which lends support to his discussion of how well the Indians endure the pain of battles as well as of a difficult life. The final biblical quotation has been given no marginal
gloss (54.15-16): *Nisi efficiamini sicut parvulus iste non intrabitis in regnum caelorum.*

All three synoptic Gospels record these words of Jesus, and all three differ somewhat from the author’s quotation. The closest parallel is Matthew 18.3: * nisi conversi fueritis et efficiamini sicut parvuli, non intrabitis in regnum caelorum.* Mark 10:15 uses the singular as the author does here: *Quisquis non receperit regnum Dei velut parvulus, non intrabit in illud.* Luke 18.17 appears to be a composite of both: *Quicumque non acceperit regnum Dei sicut puer, non intrabit in illud.* The reference to conversion would be useless to the author in this context where he is discussing the apostolic life of the Jesuit missionaries. Thus the omission of the first portion of the Matthew passage is understandable. The author appears also to have confused the singular *parvulus* of Mark with the plural of Matthew.

There are references to other biblical passages and Church Fathers in the marginal notations, but these are very difficult to link to the body of the text in places. For example, page 14 contains the marginal notation “Genesis 49.” This text records Jacob’s blessings on his sons before his death, and there seems to be no connection at all to the body of the text. On that same page there is also a marginal reference to 1 Timothy 2. The author is stating how he believes God wants all humans to be saved. 1 Timothy 2:3-4 says, “*Hoc enim bonum est et acceptum coram salutari nostro Deo, qui omnes homines vult salvos fieri et ad agnitionem veritatis venire.*” The reference therefore supports the author’s statement.

In addition to the biblical direct quotations, the text is also filled with biblical echoes, which are not usually indicated by marginal glosses. Direct biblical references are
found in the first digression intermingled with direct biblical quotations. The author first refers to Peter, sent by God to the centurion Cornelius (14.28-29). This is in reference to Acts 10, when the Gospel is first extended to the Gentiles. The author then mentions Melchizedek, Job, Rahab, and the three Magi (14.35), all non-Jewish people to whom God had shown favor in one way or another. The author accordingly links the American Indians with the gentiles of the Bible while (perhaps unconsciously) linking the missionaries to the Hebrews and early Jewish Christians. A further direct biblical echo almost counteracts this linkage, however, when in the actual discussion of native traditions the author sees traces of Jewish law in their customs of the women’s moon hut and certain feasts (31.11 ff.).

The biblical echoes in the last half of the text are mostly indirect, due mainly to the treatment of the missionaries as apostles of the faith. For example, the missionaries are often depicted as reaping a harvest. La Place is described as gathering fruits growing white (albescentes, 46.37), an echo of John 4:35. The missionaries trampled under foot the treasures which rust and moth consume, an indirect echo of Matthew 6:19-20. Likewise, they present themselves to God as living sacrifices (55.7), an indirect reference to Romans 12:1.

The author displays his erudition in echoes of classical mythology as well. Early in his description of the geography for the site of the Illinois mission he likens the whole region to the Valley of Tempe (11.18), mentioned by some prose writers, but used mainly in Greek and Latin poetry to indicate a pleasant sort of paradise. In discussing the spirituality of the Illinois Indians, he admits that he has never read that they believe in
anything like the mythological *monstra* of the Romans, Greeks, and Egyptians (27.10-11, an indication that he was unfamiliar with Native American storytellers and their tales). In this same section, however, he links the native practice of keeping an object to represent a tutelary spirit to the Roman worship of the Penates (27.35-36). Further parallels are drawn in his discussion of American Indian beliefs concerning life after death. Rather than referring to their place of blissful peace as "heaven" (or *caelum*), he chooses instead to call this place the Elysian Fields (29.28). He draws a further parallel in stating that before the soul of an Indian can arrive in the Elysian Fields, it must first pass over a river and defend itself from a legendary hound (29.30). In case the reader is not reminded immediately of the stories of Homer and Virgil concerning the place of the souls of the dead, the author is quick to point out this parallel by a direct reference to these classical works (30.6). He furthermore relates in brief the fact that American Indian mythology also includes a story quite similar to that of Orpheus and Eurydice (30.8-9).

The author also alludes to his knowledge of classical mythology as he eulogizes the beginnings of the Illinois mission and likens those simple beginnings to that of Rome (56.16-18), a greatness which began without notice, *a lupae uberibus, a pastorum latrocinii, a moenibus saltu superatis*, referring indirectly to the Roman stories of Romulus and Remus. This classical reference is immediately followed by the conclusion that simple beginnings should bring no shame, with a subtle parallel drawn to Agesilaus and the reed or shaft (56.22). This is probably a reference to Plutarch’s *Life* in which the son of Pharnabazos formed a bond of *xenia* with Agesilaus by presenting him with a javelin. Agesilaus responded with a gift of elegant horse trappings.
Sources Used by Author

Lost or Destroyed Records

The author of the manuscript laments the lack of sources available to him as he tries to reconstruct an accurate history of the Society in New France while writing on the New Continent: *Neque enim scribenti mihi Nova in Continente copia librorum atque instrumentorum ex Parisinis et Romanis Archiviis ad condendam accuratam historiam necessaria suppetit* (4.23). In truth, a great many records and letters of correspondence have been lost forever. The story of the fate of Jesuit documents, in particular those concerned with the Society before the suppression of the Order, is one of plundering, intercepting, and burning of records. In addition, there was the “policy of silence,” intended as a means of protection for members of the Society, especially against the attacks of their enemies within the Roman Church. Thomas Hughes introduces his extensive collection of documents concerned with the history of the Maryland mission with a detailed discussion on the sources available, as well as an explanation for sources no longer extant. Although his discussion is directed specifically at England and the English Jesuit mission of Maryland, nevertheless the fate of the Maryland records is similar to that of records from other archives and missions.

During the “Titus Oates agitation” before the end of the seventeenth century, the provincial archives were ransacked and Father Harcourt himself was sent to the gallows at Tyburn. The Annual letter for 1685 concludes with these words: “Much more could be said about our English Mission, but the violence of the last persecution [that of the Titus Oates Plot] did away with almost all our documents; whole libraries of ours were pillaged;
all our desks with their papers and notes were robbed. Further destruction of records came with the Orange Revolution three years later, and it became increasingly more difficult even for Annual letters to be sent from Maryland to Rome. During this period the Society also had to work under a policy of silence, especially in controversial issues such as Jansenism. The final blow, however, came with the suppression of the society in 1773 by Clement XIV.

When it was revived a generation afterwards by Pius VII., the French Revolution and other episodes being then recognized as having been intimately connected with the phase of its suspended vitality, there could be restored to the Society its status, its work, and its privileges in the Catholic Church; but not the property that had been appropriated or squandered by every agency in Europe. Of books, papers, and archives only a fraction remained to be returned by His Holiness.

Sources Used by the Author

The author refers to several classical works, especially in the early section of the manuscript. These references, however, are used mainly to stress the importance of history, and are not used in any sense to reconstruct his history of the Illinois mission. In addition to these works, the author also explicitly mentions other historical sources, but at the same time limits his sources by omitting those authors who might be of doubtful credibility (4.32-33). Here he may be referring to any document written by the Protestant English. He mentions first Fathers Jouvency and Charlevoix, and indicates in a marginal gloss that he also uses James Hall’s Sketches of the West and Alphons Wetmore’s Gazetteer. He further notes by means of marginal glosses Isaac Weld, Fathers Orlando and Maffeus (whom he attempts to disprove), and S. Kircher.
In addition to the sources mentioned explicitly by the author, the probability remains that he could have had access to some of the Jesuit Relations published during the first period of the Order, as the above story suggests. See, for example, the reference to an annual letter published at Lyons on page 50, and the reference on page 52 to a collection of letters from Meurin to the Quebec Episcopate. As a matter of fact, the document of Quebec to which he refers several times may be part of the Relations. Kennedy states that the Jesuits of the first period “deluged France with letters and petitions” in order to obtain the support they needed. Generally, news about the missions was published in reports known as the Jesuit Relations, and Kennedy believes that the idea of a written report from the mission field actually originated with Xavier, “who, soon after he established his order in India, ordered all the missionaries under his jurisdiction periodic reports of their activities. These reports, sometimes edited or consolidated, he forwarded to Rome.” Eventually the Roman authorities made this a standard practice for all foreign missions.

The “Noble Savage” Concept of the American Indians

The author’s treatment of the Indians is affected by literary developments concerning the concept of the “noble savage” during the seventeenth century, but one could argue that the concept is found as early as Homer’s Iliad. One aspect of the early concept found elements of nobility and savagery in individuals in positions of heroic leadership. Only a few examples from Classical literature and mythology should suffice to show that this concept has actually been part of the European educational system since the
early Greeks listened to the bards sing of Achilles or Heracles. Homer's *Iliad* is the story of Achilles, "a great man who through a fault in an otherwise noble character (and even the fault is noble) brings disaster upon himself since the death of Patroklos is the work of free choice on the part of Achilles, and the anger of Achilles, turned first against Agamemnon, then against Hektor, is at last resolved in a grudging forgiveness when the body of Hektor is given back to the Trojans.\(^{15}\) Yet this hero of a noble character displays savage behavior when he returns to the battle after the death of Patroklos. He makes the waters of the River Xanthos red with Trojan blood, spares twelve young Trojans only to sacrifice them later, and eventually turns his wrath on the river itself.\(^{16}\) Hesiod likewise presents Herakles as a noble savage. Herakles kills the three-headed Geryones, the Hydra of Lerna, the Lion of Nemea, and the eagle which tormented Prometheus, but in the end he is deified.\(^{17}\)

Roman authors continued this tradition, perhaps taking the concept one step closer to its development as used concerning the American Indian as "other." Virgil has his Turnus, a Rutulian who proves to be a worthy opponent for Aeneas. Nor is classical poetry the only genre to contain the beginnings of the concept of a noble savage. The roots of such a concept are found as well in classical historians. Herodotus presents Xerxes as a noble king of Persia. Yet he orders the Hellespont to receive three hundred lashes, and even after declaring the Lydian Pythius his friend, Xerxes later orders the death of his eldest son by having his body cut into two halves and placed on either side of the road so that his army might march between.\(^{18}\) Livy portrays the young Hannibal as a man worthy to follow in his father's footsteps and as a capable general. Yet in the same
paragraph he lists both virtues and vices, painting a paradox of nobility, perfidy and cruelty. Tacitus comes even closer to the sixteenth century concept as he describes both Britains and Germans. The Britains are barbarians who are strong enough to challenge danger, but cowards in that they avoid it. The Germans hate peace, and therefore love to fight, but at the same time they are lazy.

More examples from Classical literature could be added, but it is not the objective here to provide an exhaustive treatment of the development of the noble savage concept. These few examples should suffice to show that the idea is found in Western European thought much earlier than the sixteenth century. Perhaps the reason is simply the need to have a worthy opponent. There would be no need to fight if the opponent were not barbaric, and no honor in the fight if the opponent were ignoble. Frazer acknowledges that we do owe a debt to the “savage” and the “savage or barbarous society” where men are often found “to whom the superstition of their fellows ascribes a controlling influence over the general course of nature.” Herakles certainly fits this pattern, as does Achilles in his fight with the River Zanthos. Frazer briefly touches upon the “fatal” flaw of this savage system in its “conception of the nature of life,” but then quickly comes to the defense of that same savage system.

Contempt and ridicule or abhorrence and denunciation are too often the only recognition vouchsafed to the savage and his ways. Yet of the benefactors whom we are bound thankfully to commemorate, many, perhaps most, were savages. For when all is said and done our resemblances to the savage are still far more numerous than our differences from him; and what we have in common with him, and deliberately retain as true and useful, we owe to our savage forefathers who slowly acquired by experience and transmitted to us by inheritance those seemingly fundamental ideas which we are apt to regard as original and intuitive.
Even Columbus was influenced by Classical mythology in his interpretation of the things he observed in this new world. When discussing the motivations behind Columbus's voyage Todorov states, "One might say that Columbus has undertaken it all in order to be able to tell unheard-of stories, like Ulysses." These "unheard-of stories" did include such marvels as the Cyclops and mermaids, Amazons, and men with tails.²⁴

Todorov, in his extensive discussion on the subject of "the discovery self makes of the other," notes that Columbus was extremely interested and attentive to the things of nature in this new world which he had stumbled upon, but the problem arises when he begins to see the human beings of this new place as merely part of the natural surroundings.²⁵ In his description of these things of nature, superlatives abound,²⁶ and this becomes true as well when he describes the Indians.

Allier gives credit to Montaigne (1533-1592) as the main author to lay the foundation for the later development of the concept of the noble savage, and who was probably inspired by Villegagnon's voyage to Brazil in 1555.²⁷ Others who contributed to the concept include Voltaire and Rousseau.²⁸ Perhaps the greatest contributions made to the development of the noble savage concept, however, are found in the *Relations* and other documents produced by the French Jesuits as they worked among the American Indians in New France. Kennedy credits especially the French Jesuits of the early seventeenth century with introducing the concept of the savage to France.²⁹ The first Jesuit missionaries to New France were Biard and Masse, who were sent back to Europe by the English after their mission had been destroyed in 1613. Although Masse eventually returned to New France, Biard never did. He returned to France in 1614, to end his
career and life teaching in Jesuit colleges. During these years he published two works which told of his missions among the Indians of New France, the *Relation de la Nouvelle France* (1616) and *Relatio rerum gestarum* (1618). Masse likewise spent ten years at the Jesuit college of La Fleche, where he too was able to influence other Jesuits with his stories of New France. The Jesuit missionaries helped to perpetuate the image of the noble savage by means of their annual *Relations* published for the French public.

The concept of the noble savage did not cease with the close of the eighteenth century. As a matter of fact, the tendency to portray the American Indian in this way was still very much in vogue when T. J. Campbell, S. J., wrote *Pioneer Priests of North America* at the beginning of the twentieth century. Speaking of Allouez he states, “He passed the winter among the Pottowatomies, whom he found wretchedly poor and deplorably stupid. They had not wit enough, he said, to make a dish or to scoop out a ladle.” In the following April, Allouez left the Pottowatomies for the Menominee, and from there to Lake Winnebago. Then Campbell asserts that he was regarded as a manitou by the Indians. Their “nobility” made them reverence the Father, but at the same time their wretchedness and stupidity kept them in the category of “savages.”

Thus it is no surprise that we find the portrayal of the American Indian in our manuscript as a noble savage. The author begins to discuss the native culture (p. 13) by first refuting the erroneous theory that the American Indians had no concept of a Supreme Being, and that they had no laws or political institutions. He believes that the Indians innately knew God much in the way the Gentiles Melchisedec, Job, Rahab, and the three Magi did, through divine illumination thereby informed by natural reason. The three
biblical quotations from Psalm 86, Romans 11, and 1 Peter 3 are further used to strengthen his argument. The problem arose in that those wretches (miseri) had been deceived and drawn away by their belief in omens, auguries, and soothsayers, as well as their medicine priests (impostores). Yet they still possess the seed of the knowledge of good and evil, and it is clear that they admit some distinction between the two.

The author now turns his attention to a physical description of the natives: Barbari hujusce regionis incolae corporis statura plerumque magni, specie pulcherrimi, complectione sani, robustis lacertis, lata facie, grandibus oculis, nigris capillis (17.30-31). Note the use of the superlative. Because the men pluck out facial hair, they were thought to be beardless by many explorers and authors. In addition, both sexes dye both their skin and their garments. These wretches, although very beautiful, nevertheless are very able to endure a life of toils, lack of food, cold, excesses of weather, and disadvantages of every kind (18.12-14). Note again the use of a superlative. Yet in their wretched lives, sustained by hunting and fishing and zealously searching for roots, these rustic people in certain ways surpass by far the nations accomplished both in literature and in every refinement (20.2-3). This is true especially in the use of the senses, both external and internal. Their sense of smell and their sense of sight, as well as their ability to remember places and directions, are described as if they were almost superhuman. In addition, their rhetorical style is unrushed and would justly be admired, even by the Greeks. Furthermore, these noble creatures are fearless in battle, although, like savages, they take the scalps of their enemies and then display them in their triumphs.
As the author turns his discussion to those Indians who dwell in villages and receive instruction from the Jesuit Fathers, however, this lofty manner of describing his subjects begins to turn toward the dichotomy found in the phrase “noble savage.” As long as they remain in the town with the Fathers, they are industrious and sagacious and easily taught. In the same sentence, however, we are told that, although they are industrious, they are also always lazy and unable to tolerate labors (23.25-29). Concerning the charge of laziness, a common charge even from Spanish Jesuits, Reff states, “The fact is that native Americans were not accustomed to the pursuit of private property or the accumulation of material possessions.” Presumably, the Illinois were industrious and became “lazy” when surplus production was geared to individual accumulation of wealth rather than the redistribution of surplus (the aboriginal norm).

The Indians are also used as examples for proper European behavior. For example, the author states that their mutual respect and gentleness toward one another is a matter for great admiration, and can scarcely be found among those refined in every art and humanity (24.28-32). It is in this passage, however, where reference is made to the lack of the words meum and tuum in the native languages, so perhaps the author is following rather closely Charlevoix’s thoughts here.

The author continues in this vein for several pages, and finally concludes on page 31 bis by drawing attention to two particular vices.

Nam primo vindictae cupidissimi sunt, atque in hostes suos raro aperto Marte sed ex insidiis plerumque atque inopinantes captos, immani et plane belluina crudelitate saeviunt, jugulatos magno apparatu nonnumquam devorant. Secundo suspiciosi et mendacissimi sunt, et cum primis dolosi perfidique atque incautorum advenarum praedatores.
Note once again the use of superlatives. Yet in spite of these vices, if the Indians are
treated rather humanely and brought to obedience, especially by means of small rewards,
there is no doubt that by means of interaction with Catholic Priests and urbane, well-
mannered humans (*hominés*), they can gradually be inured to the worship of the true God
and civil conversation (32.5-7). No doubt he means by these phrases the Christian faith
and a European language.

*The Manuscript*

**Description of the Manuscript**

The manuscript is located in the Jesuit Missouri Province Archives of the Pius XII
Memorial Library, St. Louis, Missouri, original shelfmark number 1, with a later library
mark, written in pencil at the top of the first page, J977.73. The outer binding is early 19th
century parchment. There is no title on the spine, but the upper front cover in rubric
reads: *Historia Missionis*. There are no chains, clasps, ties or thongs of any kind, and
there are no coats-of-arms either externally or internally, but there is a seal at the top of
the *Praemonitio*, in ink, which reads: *Laudabil' est nomen Domini ab ortu solis.usque ad
occasum*. The outer measurements of the manuscript are 315 x 203 x 5 mm. The
manuscript is written on paper in Latin, but there are no water marks visible. The outer
cover and title/index pages serve as a binding for the inner gatherings. The only signs of
trimming appear on pp. 1 and 55 at the top. There is no indication of trimming at the
bottom or on the sides. 31 Pp. II + 57 + i + 1, with pagination ranging from 1 to 59,
including pages 31 and 31 bis. Further indication that the manuscript was bound after it
was written is seen in the fact that the *Praemonitio* lacks pagination, while the text of the *Prooemium* ends on p. 56, with the index pagination 59. The original text appears to have ended at the bottom of p. 55, with p. 56 added as a summary after the manuscript was bound, and to be written by a single hand, although evidence of a later correcting hand is found in a few places. There are no prickings visible and no vertical ruling. There are faint horizontal lines, however, throughout the manuscript 8 mm apart, but ignored in the latter portion of the text. The manuscript includes a title page, *Praemonitio*, and an index at the end, p. 59, with some marginal commentary and an extensive footnote, p. 41.

Measurements: 315 x 200 mm. The average written area of text is 300 x 150 mm with an average of 36 lines per page through p. 35, and 43 lines per page for pp. 36 through 56. Marginal glosses increase the written area to 300 x 188 mm. There are no line numbers, but the manuscript does contain pagination from 1 through 59, including 31 bis. There are no pastedowns, worm holes, nor warble-fly holes, but a water stain on the upper front cover is also seen on the title page, and is faintly visible through the *Praemonitio*. Sewing is visible in some places and appears to be the same age as the binding, indicating that the manuscript is in its original binding. Although the manuscript appears to have been bound after it was written, there are no catchwords, and as stated above, there are only two indications of trimming horizontally, p. 1 and 55.

Embellishment is limited to the title page, *Praemonitio*, and the very beginning of the text itself, and to the index at the end. The manuscript contains 4 gatherings with the cover and title/index acting as an outer binding: I(12), II-III(6), IV(4).
Incipits, Explicita and Colophon

Title page: Prooemium in Historiam S. J. Missourianae Missionis; nec non de
prima christiana expeditione apud Ilinenses et primae Missionis illic fundatae origine,
progressu, et incrementis, A primaeva Societate Jesu, Epitome.

Incipit of Praemunio (p. ii): Admonendum puto Lectorem, nonnulla me obiter
attacturum in Patrum nostrorum elogiiis praeclareque in hac Missione ab eis gestis, quae
cum vires humanas superent, miracula videri possent.

Title (p. 1): In Historiam Missionis S. J. missouriae Praefatio.

Incipit of text (p. 1): Quantus sit thesaurus Societati nostrae cum universae, tum
omnibus et singulis ejus membris, accuratissima Missionum singularum initii, progressus
incrementorume cognitio.

Explicit of text (p. 56): Ea itaque quae ad exemplum praecipue valent, quaeque
ad causae momentum faciunt maxime, cum conor exponere, Deum precor O<ptimum>
M<aximum>, ut conanti adsit propitius et Confratrum meritis precibusque laborem
optimo utique fine assumptum praestet legenti esse utilem, Societati nostrae et universae
Ecclesiae catholicae honorificum.

Colophon (p. 59): A<d> M<aiorem> D<ei> G<loriam>.

Editorial Notations

Two editorial notations have been used in the text as printed herein. Square
brackets [ ] are used to mark words or letters which are better left omitted when reading
the text. Pointed brackets <> are used to indicate letters or words inserted by the editor
in order to make the meaning of the text clearer. In a few places the meaning and syntax of the original text was unclear. In places where conservative changes have been made to the body of the text, the actual reading of the manuscript has been preserved in footnotes. This is true as well for single words or short phrases which have been changed from the original in the present text. Punctuation in the original text often led to confusion in meaning. Accordingly, the original punctuation is not followed strictly, nor have these changes been indicated by means of footnotes. Capitalization has been maintained as in the original document.

**Historical Veracity**

As stated above, the author is probably one of the Belgian Jesuits who returned to the restored Missouri mission. He is very learned, and would have been well schooled in the Classics as well as theology. He would also quite probably have been familiar with some of the Jesuit works which helped to develop the noble savage concept. He admits to having access to some local oral traditions as well, and he does follow Charlevoix very closely in places. It is doubtful, however, that he had much personal experience with Indian missions. Thus his characterization of the American Indians tends to be based mostly on Charlevoix, hearsay, and perhaps the Jesuit documents promoting the noble savage concept.

With regard to his treatment of the Jesuit Fathers, there are areas where he stands in conflict with the documents in Thwaites, but there are also places where he seems to have a document in addition to that extensive collection. The author for the most part is
in agreement with Charlevoix and Thwaites in his discussions concerning Fathers Marquette, Allouez, Rasles, Gravier, du Rue, de Ville, and Lafitau. As a matter of fact, much of his information for Fathers Marquette, Allouez, and Rasles seems to have been taken directly from Charlevoix. The one problem with his discussion of Allouez arises perhaps from his use of the Quebec document. He introduces Father Allouez, promises to return to him at the proper place, and then lists a Father Daloes before continuing. According to Thwaites, Daloes is an alternative spelling for d’Allouez, but the author treats him as a separate missionary. When he does return to Father Allouez, he introduces the missionary as he joins a band of Ottawas. The order of events in the Father’s life from that point parallels the order given by Charlevoix. Likewise, the author’s account of the martyrdom of Father Rasles seems to have been taken almost word for word from Charlevoix.

When he begins to list the missionaries “with a running pen,” he acknowledges that his sources include the archives of Quebec and Kaskaskia. The dates for Father du Rue, the first missionary mentioned in this fashion, are very close to those given by Thwaites, and the author actually gives additional information concerning the specific ministry of the missionary to the Bayagoulas. He further confirms the scanty information contained in Thwaites for Fathers de Guyenne, Watrin, Vivier, and Fourre. Additional information is obtained from the manuscript, however, in that we learn Father de Guyenne ministered among the Creeks.

There are also areas where the author differs from Shea and Thwaites. For example, he differs in his dates for Fathers la Place, Bineteau, and Marest. Apparently
using as a source the archives of the Kaskaskia mission (47.3-4), the author states that Father la Place arrived in the Illinois mission in 1692 and was recalled to Quebec in 1699. Father Bineteau took over the Illinois mission in 1696, but contracted a fever and died in 1707 (46.33 ff.). Thwaites states that la Place arrived in Canada in 1637 and returned to France in 1658, while Bineteau arrived in Canada in 1691 and died at Kaskaskia December 25, 1699. Father Marest succeeded Gravier in the Kaskaskia mission in 1698 or 1699. A discrepancy arises, however, concerning the date of his death. The author asserts that Father Marest died in Kaskaskia on May 16, 1727 (50.30-32), while Thwaites dates his death on September 15, 1714, and Shea gives the year 1715. In addition, the author records Father Marmet, who arrived at the mission in 1708, and apparently remained there until his death in 1736. Thwaites lists no Father Marmet, but he does record a Father Mermet, who died in the Illinois mission September 15, 1716.

Some information is gleaned in addition to Thwaites. For example, the catalogue of missionaries begins with Fathers Dequerre and Drocoux. Neither name appears in Thwaites or Charlevoix, although the author indicates that both were Jesuits. It is possible that these first priests belonged to another religious order. The same is true for Father Buenin, whom the author lists following Marquette. The catalogue ends with a list of names again not found in Thwaites. These missionaries were probably Seminary priests who replaced the Jesuits, and thus the manuscript provides a historical bridge between the two periods of Jesuit missionary activity in the area. In spite of the letter patent of 1698 giving responsibility of the mission at Cahokia to Seminary priests, the Jesuits continued their work among the Illinois Indians and French colonists. The Catalogue of the Order
for 1749 records the names of those priests ministering among the Illinois, listing Alexander Xavier de Guyenne as superior, assisted by Fathers Joseph Julien Fourre, Louis Vivier, Philippe Watrin, and Sebastien Meurin.\textsuperscript{38} The \textit{Catalogue} for 1756 omits Fourre, but adds Julien de Verney.\textsuperscript{39} St. Louis was founded in 1764, and the first Roman Catholic church there was dedicated in 1770 by Father Gibault of Kaskaskia,\textsuperscript{40} but Meurin had already been the first priest to officiate at St. Louis.\textsuperscript{41} Meurin alone of the Jesuit priests was allowed to remain at his post after the Jesuit Order was expelled from Louisiana. He remained at this mission post until his death in 1777.

\textit{Value of the Manuscript}

At first glance the major concern is a lack of agreement in dates given by the author with those provided by Thwaites. Yet in places Thwaites and Shea fail to agree. Charlevoix had as his own sources many of the \textit{Relations}, but Thwaites has provided an extensive collection of these same \textit{Relations} along with other related documents. On the other hand, however, all authorities are in agreement with the author of the manuscript that Jesuit documents and records from before the suppression of the Order have been lost or destroyed. The author refers repeatedly to an official document from the episcopate of Quebec. It is just possible that this document is in addition to those of Thwaites’ collection. The author also refers to the records and documents of the local parish of Kaskaskia. These documents may also be an addition to those available to Thwaites. In other places the author has obviously followed almost word for word the record of
Charlevoix. Yet while the accuracy of facts may be debated, the manuscript still remains a valuable witness of the earlier Illinois mission and should not be taken altogether lightly.

Notes


2. See Lewis and Short, p. 253.

3. See Lewis and Short, p. 1053.

4. See “The ‘Noble Savage’ Concept of the American Indians” following this discussion of the author’s Latinity.

5. See Lewis and Short, p. 927.

6. The combination *sudore et sanguine* is also used by such Classical authors as Ennius and Livy.


8. For further examples of assonance and alliteration, see *Praemonitio*, 13; 1.25-26; 2.19-20; 3.1; 3.4-5; 3.22-23; 3.26; 4.1; 5.1; 5.22; 6.15-16; 7.11; 9.22; 12.24; 13.2; 19.28-29; 20.25; 21.16; 22.18; 22.19; 23.12; 24.14; 24.36; 25.12; 26.22; 28.21-22; 29.13; 29.22 in *aggeris . . . aggesta*; 30.12; 31.2; 31.4; 31b.15-16; 31b.18, *peregrinos . . . perhumaniter*; 31b.22; 33.16-17; 33.19, *cultu . . . cultura*; 33.22; 35.37; 37.2; 37.3-4; 37.14; 38.10; 39.37; 40.22; 41.3; 42.16-17; 42.21; 42.36; 43.33; 44.14; 44.15; 47.19; 47.30; 53.19; 53.22; 54.7; 54.23; 54.39-40; 55.15 (*centesimum centa* in chias tic arrangement); 56.8-9; 56.11; 56.12; 56.16-17; 56.27; 56.35; Index for page 32, *aggreditur et primus ingreditur*.

9. See, for example, Theocritus 1.6, Horace, *Carmen* 1.7.4 and 1.2.9, Virgil, *Georgics* II.469, and Ovid, *Metamorphoses* I.568-569 and VI.222.


12. Kennedy, pp. 77-79. "After 1632 the Jesuit superior at Quebec forwarded an annual Relation to his chief, the provincial in Paris. Sometimes the superior wrote a completely original narrative from notes and interviews he had made during the past year. But more often the report consisted of accounts that he received from various Canadian posts and either edited or simply passed on to Paris without change." The provincial would then edit the documents and send them on to the publishers for reading by the public.

13. See, for example, Allier (translated by Rothwell) and Kennedy.

14. For a history of the development of this concept in French literature and philosophy, see Allier and Kennedy.


16. Iliad XXI.


18. Herodotus VII.


24. Todorov, pp. 11 and 16.

25. Todorov, p. 34.


27. Allier, p. 10. For a detailed account of Villegagnon, also known as Nicolas Durand, and his attempt to establish a French colony in Brazil, see Wrong, Vol. I, pp. 78 ff. Kennedy also cites Montaigne’s Cannibals of 1580, p. 175.

28. Both Allier and Kennedy discuss in some detail the development of the “noble savage” concept through the works of Voltaire, Rousseau, and others.
29. Kennedy, preface.


31. T. J. Campbell, pp. 159-160. Thwaites also discusses some of the problems the Jesuit missionaries faced in their dealings with the Iroquois. He speaks specifically about how the Iroquois “frequently raided lands into which the missionaries had ventured, and swept everything before them with fire and tomahawk.” He then concludes, “These are the Indians of whom we read in Cooper’s Leatherstocking Tales. But the noble savage therein described is a creature of the novelist’s fancy; the real Indian, even at his best, was a far less agreeable being.” (Reuben Gold Thwaites, *Father Marquette* [New York, 1902], p. 42.)

32. Reff, p. 265, concerning a statement by the Spanish Jesuit, Father Gasper Valera, on the “general laziness which was common before their conversion.”

33. See, for example, p. 41 of Ms.

34. Thwaites, LXXI, p. 158.

35. The manuscript indicates 1699, but Thwaites, LXV, pp. 264-265, dates his arrival in 1698.

36. Thwaites, LXV, p. 264-265.

37. Thwaites, LXXI, p. 162.

38. Thwaites, LXIX, pp. 74 ff.

39. Thwaites, LXX, pp. 80 ff.


CHAPTER 5
MANUSCRIPT TRANSCRIPTION

Prooemium

in Historiam S. J.

Missourianae Missionis:

nec non

dec prima christiana expeditione

apud Illinenses, et

primae Missionis illic fundatae

origine, progressu, et incrementis,

A primaeva Societate Jesu

Epitome.

A. M. D. G. 

157
Scribantur haec in generatione altera, et populus, qui creabitur, laudabit Dominum.
Psalm 101

Praemonitio

Admonendum puto Lectorem, nonnulla me obiter attacturum in Patrum nostrorum elogiiis praecclare[que] in hac Missione ab eis gesta, quae cum vires humanas superent, miracula videri possent: praesagia futurorum, arcanorum manifestationes, et — si quae sunt alia hujusmodi — <id est,> beneficia item in miseris mortales eorum intercessione divinitus collata. Demum nonnullis sanctimoniae vel martyrii videbor appellationem tribuere. Caeterum horum pleraque jam pridem a gravissimis Scriptoribus prodita fuerunt, atque a me totidem pene verbis e gallico latine redditis ex ipsis descripta. Verum haec omnia meis Lectoribus ita propono, ut nolim ab illis accipi tamquam a Sancta Romana Sede examinata atque approbata; sed tamquam quae a Sola Suorum Auctorum probata fide pondus obtineant, atque adeo non aliter quam humanam historiam.
Quantus sit thesaurus Societati nostrae, cum utilitas et necessitas universae, tum omnibus et singulis ejus membris, accuratissima Missionum singularum initii, progressus incrementorumque cognitio; quanta sit illius dignitas, quam varia et multiplex utilitas, denique quam salutaris sit et omnifaria necessaria illis inprimis, quos Deus Optimus Maximus in agro illo suo praedilecto collocavit porroque collocabit, ut sint et ipsi fideles divini seminis satores sedulique abundantium illarum, a Majoribus jam pridem et sudore suo et sanguine quandoque ipso feliciter irrigatarum, segetum messores; nemo prudens aut callidus quidem rerum aestimator umquam inficias ibit. Quae enim expeditior et promptior esse potest agri dominici excolendi ratio quam ab exemplo aliorum didicisse tibi quod in hoc omnium divinissimo opere ex usu fiet? Exempla autem quae dico unde petas potius quam a praeteritarum a Majoribus nostris domi forisque rerum gestarum scientia? Equidem ita mecum deliberato constituere soleo, dum in hanc rem, ut fit, intentiore cura et studio inquirere non otiosi et delicati animi, sed de se ipso et bono familiae universo solici opus puto, historiam omne aliud eruditionis et scientiae genus longe imo perlonge vincere ac superare. Est enim, ait Eloquentiae pater, testis temporum, lux veritatis, Oratore vita memoriae, magistra vitae, et vere Sapientiae speculum. In quod speculum intueri diligenter decet praecipue eos, qui ad Clavum Provinciarum aut Communitatum sedent, ut considerato ordine rerum et eventuum in variorum consiliorum et coeptorum

compositione utendum erit, sicubi tamen ipse de meo aliquid interjecero ac inseruero, stylus ad illorum quos sequar auctores formam accommodabitur, ne [5.10] scriptura a sese dissidere videatur. Attamen non longus a me de Illinensibus et Missourianis tractatus\textsuperscript{16} exspectandus in hoc prooemio. Notior enim illorum eorumque primorum Missionariorum historia quam ut multa\textsuperscript{17} de illis praefari necesse sit. [5.15] Nam et P<ater> Josephus Juvencius luculenter ejus\textsuperscript{18} Missionis originem, progressum atque incrementum latine descriptit, et P<ater> Franciscus Xaverius de Charlevoix idem idiomate Gallico evulgavit, et alii deinceps ejusdem Societatis Scriptores atque hujusce Continentis [5.20] historici in commentaria digesserunt pleraque quae annis consequentibus evenerunt. Ipsa denique res fama, vastissimis in illis terrarum tractibus gestis, orbem implevit universum. Quia tamen causae et effectus\textsuperscript{19} est tam arcta conectio\textsuperscript{20} ut sibi invicem [5.25] lumen afferant, et actiones mortalium prout res a quibus ortum ducunt, variantur, atque easdem causas, manentibus iisdem circumstantiis, eosdem semper effectus producere praeteritorum saeculorum demonstrat experientia,\textsuperscript{21} <mihi> scripturo de nostra in [5.30] extrema occidente Societate, perpaucis de aboriginum moribus locique dispositionibus praemittendum erit, ut, cum de causa constiterit eorum etiam quae sint merita, quae a Societate in hac Domini vinea aut exantlata\textsuperscript{22} aut tolerata sunt, certius [5.35] intelligatur. Parvulum equidem fateor meum [6.1] atque exiguum utcumque commentariolum, sed ad majorem Omnipotentis gloriam, Societatis decus atque ornamentum, et Sociorum incitamentum, non omnino inutile, ut spero, futurum. [6.5] Nam quo ex fonte tam multi, tamque salutares rivuli emanarunt; qua ex radice tot tantique nati\textsuperscript{23} sunt flores et fructus; quo auctore tanta intra paucos annos existere potuit evangelici seminis seges ac copia, nisi
evangelicae veritatis defensores hoc [7.15] convenerant, Societas Jesu non esset
propagata. Nunc autem Missourianae Societatis statum, qui ignorant loca, nisi prius
rudem saltem animo sibi figuram eorum adumbrent, difficile cognoscent. Et id
laborandum [7.20] historico est, ut quanto res magis obscura ac longinqua sunt, tanto,
ad eas sub conspectum ponendas, majorem quasi facem claritate narrationis adhibeat.
Hinc exordiar.

Orbem terrae universum tres in partes divisit antiquitas. [7.25] Inventi demum novi
illi tractus, reliquis tribus magnitudine ferme aequales, quartam adjecere, Americam ab
Americo Vesputio Florentino27 dictam, qui Emmanuelis Lusitaniae Regis auspiciis a
Gadibus anno 1497 profectus, primus ex Europaeis, eam est ingressus. Quantum quidem
constat.28 (Quamquam prior [7.30] Christophorus Columbus Genuensis, Ferdinandi et
Isabellae Hispaniae Regum sumptu, jam anno 1492 insulas Sinus mexicani adierit et illius
Continentis felix investigator29 merito est habendus.) Vocatur autem eadem terra India
Occidentalis, tum quod utriusque incolis similis ac pene eadem [7.35] vivendi ratio, tum
quod codem tempore, quo India orientalis in Asia, haec etiam detecta fuit. [8.1]
Vastissima tamen novi illius orbis pars ad aquilonem occidentalem sita non ita pridem a
Gallis, illiusce primis investigatoribus perlustrata fuit. Quin et in variis ejus30 amnibus ac
lacubus describendis moderni quoque, utut insignes, Geographi [8.5] non parum deinde
hallucinati sunt. Jacobo Cartier Macloviensi Gallo, Francisci primi Galliae Regis mandato,
oras Canadae maritimae anno Domini 1534 ingresso, Novae Franciae nomen omnibus
plagis Septemtrionalibus impositum fuit, tum quia Galli omnium primi in [8.10] regionis
illiusce penetrarunt interiora, tum quia pacifice, coloniis aliquot auctoritate regia deductis,
historica hac narratione complecti. Id ut facerem, duplex me quoque vel maxime causa permovit. \textit{Inprimis}, ut si forte miserentis Dei bonitati \textit{visum fuerit ex hac minima Evangelii semente}, laetam aliquando messem in Ecclesiae Catholicae horrea per Missourianae Missionis operarios congregare melius intelligamus, a quibus inde temporibus admiranda Omnipotentis opera in horum Barbarorum conversione \textit{sint depraedicanda}. Deinde si ex eventu quodam seu occulto Dei \textit{optimi Maximi} judicio sperati fructus saltem non apud aboriginum tribus provenerint, cognoscamus quantum minima haec Societatis Jesu Missio, jam inde ab ipso ingressu in hac\textsuperscript{45} novae \textit{continentis parte}, vel egerit, vel passa sit ad hanc infidelitatis velut nemorum vastitatem perrumpendam, et quanto vel sudore vel industria hoc ipsum novale excolendo in spem magnam evocarit. Porro totum hoc, de quo nunc agendum, \textit{negotium\textsuperscript{46}} quis ambigat omnium divinorum esse divinissimum, ut magnifice quidem sed citra elationem Dionysius Areopagita demonstrat, quando cooperamur Deo in salutem tot animarum? Plus igitur veritatis candore quam verborum lenociinis lectorem pium pia in re delectare conabor. Nihil sane\textsuperscript{47} hac mea brevi narratione detractum volo Sociorum vel antiquis annalibus, vel privatis litteris, quin eam habeant quam habere par est in veritatis auctoritate firmitatem. Neque enim instituti mei est in hoc historiae primaevae Societatis \textit{compendio} vel omnia persequi vel quae persequor exhaurire, quin alia multa contigerit quae narrari \textit{quoque potuissent}. Praeterea consilium mihi est sicut: jam lectorem benevolum praemonui, antequam Patrum in Aboriginum animis ad Evangelii lucem adducendis exantlatos labores exponam, pauc\ae adhuc de hujusce regionis climate terraeque frugibus ac caeteris commoditatibus \textit{nec non de\textsuperscript{48} Aboriginum}
indole, usibus atque linguis praemittere, ne hujusce Prooemii et nostrae postea Missionis
Historiae deinde filum, necessario saepe et non sine nauseae, hujus generis descriptionibus
interrumpere debeam. [11.10] Ex hac tanta hujusce regionis amplitudine, non ab ortu
solum in occasum, verum etiam ab Austro in Aquilonem, fit ut tanta quoque sit rerum
nascentium varietas, quae sub ejusdem regionis caelo producuntur, quanta sit climatum
Regio tamen tota inprimis amoena, et caeli adeo jucunda salubrisque temperies, ut ab
omnibus antiquis scriptoribus valli tempe seu Paradiso voluptatis assimilaretur. Hiberna
tamen frigora supra climatis [11.20] modum intensiora, duabus fortasse causis imputanda:
immensis nivium molibus, quae hic hibernis mensibus undique valles et colles obtegunt; et
silvarum densitati, quae solum non modum ita opacant ut solis radii ad illud pertingere et
reflecti non possint, [11.25] sed etiam multos vaporest et nebulas generant, quae ab
aquilonari huc per lacus immensos glacie obductos propelluntur. Sed nec frigus omnibus
annis aequale, nam qui hic nati vel diu hibernarunt testantur, se [quandoque] vix ullum
frigus sensisse quando, ut [11.30] anno 1784 (ab incolis le gros hiver epochae ad instar
dicto) evenit, in frigoris niviumque ad trium pedum altitudinem ascendentium severitatem
ipsa pecora inhorruisse. Quod ad soli feracitatem attinet, illud in universum cum fide dici
potest, quod etiam ab antiquis scriptoribus asseritur, [11.35] omnia, quae ad humanum
cultum et victum imo et delicias faciunt, non aliunde importari, sed domi [12.1] nasci.
Quin etiam ausim asserere omnia prope, quae in Europa videmus, in hac occidentali plaga
reperiri, et si quae desunt, longe pluribus aliis, quibus Europa caret, compensari. Terra
autem, partim in planiciem exspatians, partim [12.5] in colles clementer assurgens, felix
praepinguibus glebis, et riguo solo Colonorum industria omni trilici[o] apparatu abundat,
et, credita illata ex vetere orbe omnis generis frumentorum ac leguminum semina, levi
labore multipli reddid faenore. At Sesamo praesertim est ferax, quod caeleste donum
hordeo siligineque utique praeferendum, [12.10] et ea ex merce coloni vel maximum
capiunt emolumentum, siquidem navibus in dies per urbes perque oppida evecta certissimo
compendio longe lateque divenditur. Ad haec est videre complures omnis generis
fructiferas arbores, quae ob culturae defectum fructuum bonitate dumtaxat a nostratibus
[12.15] superantur: vites innumeraras, rubos, fragas et similes fructus; herbas proceras et
radices ad usum humanum utiles passim multas, quas percensere nimis longum sit;
piscoscque et aves coloris eximii, et quadrupedes plurimas, sed ferme silvestria, partim nota
nobis, partim ignota, in quibus [12.20] utique apparat quam miris modis ac variis divina
sapientia ludat in orbe terrarum. Ea tota ferme plaga scatet fontibus atque amnibus
inclytis: e quibus, ut reliquos taceam, inter illustria totius terrarum orbis flumina facile
principem locum [12.25] tuetur is, qui jam Aboriginum idiomate Mississippi, Mechassipi,53
seu Mescha-Chebes, id est, undarum Pater jure appellabatur. Etenim, etiam quoad
colorem, rapidissimis se Missouri fluvii aquis confundens,54 quia55 tantum ramus est, per
[12.30] immensum 4400 milliarium decurrens, multosque <diversos> navigabiles fluvios
ab utraque parte receptos secum ducit ad suum ostium, Sinum scilicet mexicanum.
Praecipueus vero summi illius fluminis rivus Missouri nuncupatus ex praealtis rupeis
[12.35] montibus decurrir, cataracti[bu]s in principio abundat immensae altitudinis, deinde
utraque [13.1] ejus ripa peramoena est, solo leniter versus ripas declivi et sensim sese in
colles attolente, ubique autem silvis et pratis vestiuntur gratissimo sane aspectu. De jugis
septemtrionalibus [13.5] et meridionalibus multi rivi, torrentes et nobilissimi amnes
descendunt et ab amplissimo illo flumine absorbentur. Alter vero illus rivos, improprie, ut
jam notavi, Mississippi dictus, non a quodam Patre Hennepin, ut vulgo creditur, [13.10]
sed a Patre Josepho Marquette jam inde ab anno Domini 1673 detectus fuit. Is cum
Domino Joliet, Novae Franciae colono, in illud flumen per amnem ejus tributarium
Ouisconsin ingressus, usque ad Arkansas primus Europaeus ipsius alveum dimensus est.
Anno vero [13.15] 1680 illustris Dominus de la Salle Rothomagensis, a quo dein detecta
fuere Mississippi ostia, cupiens praelaudati Patris explorationem perficere, misit
Canadensem nomine Dacan cum Pater Ludovico Hennepin, qui flumen ad scaturigines
usque ascenderent. At illi ad 46 gradum [13.20] latitudinis pervenientes immenso aquae

penetrarit Deo inspirante Societatis haec Missio planum fiat. Ante omnia breviter
notandum arbitror confutandumque errorem, qui in plerasque Historias irrepsit. Nam ex
eo quod vel ipsum Entis Supremi nomen esset apud indigenas [13.35] inauditum, quoque
nullis legibus, nullis institutis politicis ferarum plerumque in modum agentes Numen
nullum [14.1] ulla religionis specie cultuven verarentur. Arbitrati sunt hinc quidam, etiam

Hoc propterea fusius demonstro ut intelligas in omni Aboriginum gente aliquos saltem aliquando Illius desiderio flagrasse, qui semper est, fuit, eriti<ue> expectatio gentium. Divinitus enim illuminati et naturali ratione ut [14.35] quondam Melchisedec, Job, Rahab,
et tres Magi, et c<eteri> edocti, intelligebant quantis tenebris pene genus suum [15.1] universum involutum esset.\textsuperscript{73} Sane opera Dei, ea praesertim quae in animis suam ad imaginem creatis pretiosissimoque Filii cruore a Tartari captivitate liberatis in dies adhuc opera<n>tur, in historiis vel exploratorum commentariis [15.5] minime exquirenda sunt, atque a nullis\textsuperscript{74} mortalibus temerarie perscrutanda. Veteris Testamenti haec paucia exempla et plurium aliorum demonstrant possibilitatem, et vel incredulos ad credendum abunde inducunt, et sub novo etiam Testamento in barbaris quoque hac atque illac gentibus, alios atque alios fuisse, qui Verum [15.10] Numen et Servatorem utcunque Divinae utique bonitatis clementia, cognoverunt. Quod et sexcentis Scripturae sacrae locis, patrum testimoniiis, et mirabilium ad fidem conversionum exemplis a primis nostris Missionariis relatis posset confirmari. Dicit enim per os prophetarum Spiritus ille\textsuperscript{75} Veritatis:\textsuperscript{76} "Memor [15.15] ero Rahab et Babylonis scientium me. Ecce alienigenae, et Cyrus, et populus Aethiopum, hi fuerunt illic." Et per Gentium\textsuperscript{77} Apostolum:\textsuperscript{78} "An nescitis in Elia quid dicit Scriptura, quemadmodum interpellat Deum adversum Israel? Domine, prophetas tuos occiderunt, altaria [15.20] tua suffoderunt, et ego relictus sum solus, et quae sunt animam meam. Sed quid dicit illi divinum responsum? Reliqui mihi septem mil[i]ia virorum, qui non curvaverunt genua ante Baal." Sic vulgo creditur ad unum omnes qui diluvio perierunt aeterno perisse, cum tamen [15.25] S<anctus> Petrus diserte contrarium docet:\textsuperscript{79} "Et his, qui in carcere erant, spiritibus veniens praedicavit, qui increduli fuerant aliquando, quando fabricaretur arca." Eodem prorsus modo vulgari nimimum praedichtig errant, qui sibi persuadent\textsuperscript{80} Verum Deum nullos habuisse porroque habere [15.30] inter barbaras Aboriginum tribus electos. At quidquid sit de parvo vel
magnae electores ejusmodi numero, absque ulla haesitatione et hoc affirmare non dubito:
indigenas illos omnes aliquam saltem de Deo, rerum omnium conditore, conservatore, 
atque gubernatore, habuisse semper cognitionem. Nam ab omnibus confirmatum est scriptoribus miseris illos ominibus atque auguriis deditos fuisse nec non ariolis atque impostoribus semper quaeestui. Ex proprio itaque illorum testimonio, ut necessariam consequentiam, ineluctabili argumento, barbaros illos Entis Supremi existentiam cognoscere jure infertur atque abunde eruitur. Nam si indigenas illos agnoscent fuisse superstitiones, eodem argumento confessentur Numen illos aliquod, falsa utique Religione seu vitiioso cultu, fuisse semper veneratum, siquidem omnes theologi tenent superstitionem esse vitium, quod duntaxat religioni oppositum secundum excessum. Fateor immanis contra naturam scelera multarum generationum usu radicata, dum corpus corrumpunt, animam prodigialiter excaecare atque ad sensus a ratione detorquere. Haec tamen nefanda scelera mentes eorum non tam supina crassaعلوم 
obruere potuere ignorantia, ut omnis rationalis naturae de rerum omnium Conditore veluti scintillatas penitus extinguerint. "Si enim," teste Scriptura Sacra, "tantum potuerunt scire ut possent aestimare saeculum, quomodo hujus Dominum non facili inflammatur?" At ut nunc paucis concludam longius sane illud argumentum, quod tamen nemini molestum, sed Indorum inprimis Missionariis ad suos etiam excitandos consolandosque Neophitos usui futurum confido, cum et publica omnium fama experientiaque teste constet, has gentes in paucis esse judicii perspicaces, facili conjectura colligi potest diversarum historicorum opinionum judicium de Aboriginum Numinis alicujus cognitione et cultu, deque recte aut perperam factorum post

In hujusce operis decursu de usibus et moribus cuilibet genti propriis agetur, nunc vero aliquos tantummodo ex iis attingam, [17.15] quos omnes istius® ad occidentem extreame plagae Aborigines amplactuntur. Sed primum eos rogo, qui Prooemium hoc lecturi sunt, ut ex iis, quae dicentur, ansam arripiant kondolendi, Deumque O<ptimum> M<aximum> pro hujus gentis salute deprecandi potius quam de remedio desperandi [17.20] memores, hos miseris tot jam retro lapis annorum mil[I]ibus ita infidelitis tenebris obvolutos ut eorum aliqui nullum hucusque; aut fortasse vix ullum <omnino> Evangelicae Lucis radium aspexerint. Cui nihilominus ab innata Indigenarum solertia

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idaeis, mentisque habitualibus barbarae cogitationibus adaptetur necesse est. Quae sane
singula non nisi constanti cum Barbaris commercio [19.20] ac quotidiana familiarique
consuetudine, nec absque gratuita linguarum scientiarumque omnium Magistri gratia,
assequi posse in confessum est. Pater Jacobus Gravier, Societatis in hac plaga primae
Missionis fundator, jam ab anno 1695, summa utique eruditione nec minori labore,
onium Illinensium idiomatum dictionarium [19.25] et grammaticam elucubraverat, ac
futurorum in usum Indorum Missionariorum sua manu nitidissime descripserat. At dono
Ill<ustrissi>mi et R<espectissi>mi S<anc>ti Ludovici Antistitis in hujusce veteris
Missionis nostrae monumenti Nostris sane omni auro pretiosioris, possessionem venit
praelaudatus Galliae [19.30] astronomus Nicolet. Interim, ut paucis expendiam, quiqi
harum idiomatum aliquam habuere notitiam, in id conveniunt omnes, Indorum loquendi
genus lepore abundare multiplici <et> nescio quid roboris emphasisque possidere, atque
verba ipsa ad unum omnia esse nervose signantia. Adjungam speciminis ad instar
litteralem [19.35] alicujus Illinensium strophes interpretationem:

"Pekiziane manet 8e || Quae latine sic sonat: "O salutaris hostia.
Piaro nile hi Nanghi || quae continuo immolatur, et vitam donat, Tu, per
Keninama 8i Kangha  || quem in caelum ascenditur, omnes impugnamur.
Nero 8 inang 8 Tiang hi." || Eia age; robora nos."

[20.1] Venio nunc ad alia quaedam agrestium istorum naturae commoda mentisque
praesidia atque excellentias, quibuscum sane nationes etiam litteris et omni humanitate
politas longe superare videntur. Imprimis sensuum tum externorum tum internorum
perfectione Europaeos [20.5] multum antecellunt. Nam quamvis sex mensium intervallo

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nivium albedo oculorum illorum aciem perstringere visuique suffocans mapalium fumus
caliginem offundere soleant, est tamen oculorum sensus ita acer ac perspicax ut nec
humani vestigii vel minima tenuitas illorum fugiat aciem, ex qua [20.10] deinde, citra
erroris periculum, de hostium adventu aut fuga judicium sibi efformant. Ignis rerumque
comestibilitum olent praesentiam a longinquo, multoque citius quam ut externo signo
videre possent. Imaginandi facultate ad miraculum pollent. Sufficit ipsis semel adivisse
locum ad illius ideam \textsuperscript{114} sibi [20.15] distinctam, rei convenientem atque menti
indelibilem,\textsuperscript{115} effing[u]endam. Longissima itinera absque aberrandi periculo per
incognitas silvas, per vastissimos lacus, perque invias solidines instituunt.
Nebulosissimo etiam tempore et solarem cursum per plures dies sequuntur et temporis
horas disting\textless u\textgreater unt [20.20] exactissime. Nemini itaque mirum videbitur, vel
experimentissimis belli ducibus impossibile esse ejusmodi hostes inexplicabilia
etiam laqueis a via deducere, aut illorum disturbare consilia. Imaginationis venustas illius
vivacitati respondet. De re quacumque interrogati, multum abest ut obmuteant, quin
[20.25] etiam ad quaesita illico\textsuperscript{116} argute acuteque respondeant; et quamvis eorum
orationes ex abrupto\textsuperscript{117} plerumque sine praevia meditatione dicantur, de industria tamen
compositae videntur, et tantis abundant luminibus ut si Romae aut Athenis et rostris vel
suggesto pronunciatae, non sane usitato applausu [20.30] assentiente populo, secundis
quoque Senatus admurmurationibus fuissent acceptae. Consummata illorum in
persuadendo facundia illam habet vim, ingenuitatem et ad motus ciendos aptitudinem,
quae nec Rhetorum praeceptis neque ulla arte acquiritur, quaeque [20.35] a Graecis jure in
barbaris admirabatur. Et quamvis sermonem nec manuum gesticulatione [21.1] nec
aequanimitate excelso, ut fortitudine et dolorum perpessione viros quoque vera Religione
et omni roboratos philosophia [22.1] non parum antecellunt. Semper sui compotes, in
omni adversae secundaeque fortunae genere aequabiles, nec in ipso subitissimo
vitae discrimine, aliquid de imperturbati animi serenitate imminuunt. Capti in proelio
(crebra enim inter eos [22.5] nulla de causa bella excitantur) ad mortem crudelissimam
pergunt alacres et securi: editisque contra ipsosmet percussores facinoribus, magnifice in
ipso torturae articulo gloriantur, quin imo ut saevissimae sibi necs genus a victoribus
infligatur, ipsimet auctores sunt [22.10] atque machinares perfidissimi. Ad tantam
autem [se] in doloribus fortitudinem animique excelsitatem jam inde a prima juventute
obdurescere solent continuos viae laboribus et sexcentis incommodis, nec non
horribilibus saepe tentaminibus. Nam, teste Tulliv[22.15] laborum
perpessionem dolorum efficit faciliorem." Saepe et ipsi utriusque sexus infantes
experimenti causa, conjunctis invicem fune lacertis, carbones appliquant ardentes, ut
tentent, uter amborum dolore victus, prior prunas sit excusurus. Minime igitur
mirandum si cum tanta animi [22.20] firmitate mentisque altitudine in periculis omnino
vacui sint timore atque contra omnes hostium ictus invictissimi. Hinc cum pluribus
pareant ducibus, qui ut plurimum discordes ad bellum et vindictam sint proni, jugiter
continuis pugnis in mutuam [22.25] perniciem saeviunt. Sed ne hujusmodi caedibus in
dies bellatorum numerus imminuatur, ac brevi tota gens, caeteroquin non admodum
populosa, civibus exhauriatur, receptum apud omnes barbaros est effatum non decere
illos aperto marte sed fere ex insidiis grassari, et [22.30] sese ex improviso mutuo
opprimere atque intercipere, atque in interceptos vel crudelissime saevire. Etenim iis

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capita praecidunt comarum gratia, quas in triumphis suis exultabundi circumferunt. Si qui tamen ex hostibus in demortui filii aut fratris [22.35] locum adoptantur, illos ut carissimos protegunt, defendunt, atque omni comfovent cura atque officio.


At quod omnibus, equidem arbitror, in gente caeteroquin barbaro, majorem adhuc commoveat oportet admirationem, tanta est illorum erga se invicem observantia ac mansuetudo, quanta inter viros omni etiam arte atque humanitate perpolitos vix inveniri

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[25.10] Inter quaedam a communi hominum usu recedentia, praeter alia omnia praecipuum tenacissime admittunt principium: hominem homini nihil deberi, ex quo sane et illam saltem justam deducunt consequentiam, in neminem umquam, qui te prius non offenderit, licere esse injuriosum. [25.15] Paucis, ut miseri isti sint ab omni parte beati, praeter Fidei Divinae lumen et justam ab Albis corruptissimis disjunctionem, id unum superest: ut sicut in privata consuetudine unus alterum, ita et in rebus publicis nationes se invicem tractent, neque tam tumultuarie [25.20] vel inoffensivos saepe populos, qui nullam sane ad bella illis inferenda causam dedere, malignis nonnumquam insidiis aut aperto etiam marte adorirentur, protenderentque eorum vindictas ultra omnem et commissae injuriae et temporis intervalli terminum.

Omnes [25.30] homicidium, fur tur et mendacium ut scelera damnant, explicatissimum a
teneris habent alterum praeceptum Charitatis, quod tibi non vis fieri, alteri non feceris, et
cetera. 

Mirum quam alte evehant juvenum erga seniores venerationem, in laborum
dolorumve perpessione constantiam et magnanimitatem, [25.35] atque in hostibus aut feris
insectandis intrepidam effraenatamque audaciam. Generatim loquendo Parentes nihil
negligunt ut ejusmodi principia pueris inculcent, quae ipsi deinde toto vitae tempore
conservant, et in hoc unico omnis, qua juvenili indole a parentibus expoliatur,
institutio continetur. [26.1] At quando hisce de rebus cum liberis agunt, semper illos
indirecte, Majorum suorum egregia facta et Nationis bellica facinora exag<erando, ad
similia aemulanda exempla virtutum inflammabunt. Quin etiam [26.5] ad preces
quandoque et lacrymas descendent, ut liberorum emendent defectus, sed numquam ad
minas et castigationes, quae150 animos suae libertatis et independentiae tenacissimos
modice admodum tangere possent, recurrendum esse arbitrantur. Ex omnibus etiam
maxime indifferentibus [26.10] Indigenarum agendi rationibus, primitivae Religionis
vestigia detegenda sunt, quae exploratorum minus oculatorum aciem fugere, tum quia non
intimam illorum morum et consuetudinem habuere notitiam, tum quia labentibus deinde
saeculis primum illud lumen magis obscuratum fuit instructionis defectu, [26.15] quam
mixtione cultus superstitosi adulteratum, et traditione commentitia depravatum atque
omnino fortasse151 immutatum.

Nihil sane apud illos certius,152 sed nihil etiam obscurius, quam Primi Entis ideae.

Omnes in id generatim conveniunt, in illum ut primum Supremumque Spiritum, [26.20]
Dominum ac Mundi Conditorem agnoscedo; At si illos in angustias urgeas ut distinctius
Entis illius essentiam describant, male consutis, fictitis, futileisque imaginibus et verbis sensu carentibus\textsuperscript{153} idaearum suarum incohaerentiam demonstrabunt. Nec equidem dubito illos inde ab initio Supremum\textsuperscript{26.25} Spiritum et unicum numen adorasse, quid ipsi Caeli Ducem nonnumquam vel alio nomine, Caeli Spiritum, appellabant; ex\textsuperscript{154} quo apparat veteres Indos opinatos fortasse Caelum animatum, ejusque animam pro supremo numine coluisse. Infra\textsuperscript{26.30} hoc numen etiam\textsuperscript{155} varios spiritus montium, fluminum, plantarum, animalium tutelares atque omnium denique rerum, quas aut impense diligebant aut horrebant, pro suo cuique libitu superstitione venerabantur. Solem vero colebant praecipuo cultu, \textsuperscript{26.35} persuasi Primum Mundi Spiritum huic sideri inter caetera principem locum assignasse, idque [27.1] optime de rebus humanis mereri. Luna ut ejus conjux a quibusdam habebatur. A quacumque tandem re malum quid sibi metuebant, illam, non quod amabant, sed metuebant, religiose colebant. [27.5] Quidquid mirabile aut captum videbatur superare, id similiter vocabant suo idiomate [a] Manitous, et eodem plane modo cohonestabat. De Supremo vero illo Caeli Spiritu, deque Spiritibus illius ministris, nusquam legi Indos ea vitiorum\textsuperscript{27.10} monstra evulgasse. quae nostri Romani. Graeci, Aegyptii vitiorum patrocinium in diis quaerentes evulgarunt. Ex quo sperari merito potest de immensa Dei miserentis benignitate, non paucos e veteribus apud Indos in lege naturae\textsuperscript{27.15} salutem invenisse, adjutos peculiari illo auxilio, quod nemini facienti quod in se est solet Deus denegare. Indorum Manitous corporei sunt et nostro ferme vivendi modo, sed fortunate beateque absque ullo humanitatis incommodo perfruuntur. [27.20] Unus quisque talem tutelarem Spiritum habet, ad quem in omni periculo, et ante omnia majoris momenti molimina recurrit. Non tamen sub tali patrocinio se nasci
arbitrantur. Multae enim ad illud totius vitae majoris momenti negotium, [27.25]
requiruntur dispositiones, quarum hic quasdam subjungam. Ante omnia infantis facies
nigro depingitur colore, deinde per octiduum jejunare ab omni prorsus alimento debet, et
intra illius temporis spatium Spiritus ejus tutelaris illi in somno se [27.30] manifestet
opertet. Spiritus autem tutelaris ille erit, in quem inter somniandum frequentius intenta
fuit cogitatio; nimium, aut volucris<-> caput, aut feri pes, <aut> ligneum frustum, aut
aliud denique minoris pretii, communiorisve usus objectum sub cujus symbolo aut figura
Spiritus se exhibuit, quod tamen deinceps [27.35] tanta sollicitudine asservatur et
colitur, quanta Veneres cum penatibus factitare solembant. [28.1] Quam primum itaque ex
somnis innotuit infantis tutelaris Spiritus, illum quoque sedulo instruunt atque a [a] teneris
adsuefaciunt parentes, quanta veneratione colere, qua docilitate ejus deinceps in somnis
accepta sequi [28.5] monita, aliosque favores atque continua beneficia demereri, nec non
salutari fiducia accurationeque summa omnes erga illum observationes debeant
adimplere, ne pro patrocinio indignationem in se derivare velint. Illis deinde Spiritibus
omnis generis oblationes et libationes fiunt, nec non jejunii et abstinentiis ac miris
votis religiose servatis, in omni vitae periculo poters illius auxilium promereri conantur.

Barbari illi magos quoque habent atque suos divinatores, quos quandoque
Prophetas appellant, tanta dignatione [28.15] ut ipsi duces plerumque id muneris obire
minime detrectant. Hi omnes miris ridiculisque miseros infatuant traditionibus atque
illusionibus. Idem et medicorum et chirurgorum munia obeunt. Ad aegros vulneratosque
vocati, invocato prius Spiritu [28.20] titulari, partes affectas tentant, halitu suo humectant,
et sexcentos alios adhibent jocos plane mimicos. Methodus enim medendi plane exotica
est et fere choreis et cantillationibus aegros delectant aut potius fatigant et ante tempus enecant. [28.25] Eodem pene modo\textsuperscript{165} vulnera curaturi adhibent, at neutrum gratis cum, ante chirurgicam operationem aut pharmaci administrationem, jam ferina aut pellibus ab aegris donentur. Itaque ex fusius huc usque dictis abunde patem illam, a quibusdam omni [28.30] et Numinis et Religionis notitia cultuque destitutam scriptoribus, sua omnia et cogitata et dicta et facta et ipsa somnia\textsuperscript{166} in religiosum quemdam Numinis cultum vel ad ipsum aliquid Numen, ceu finem ultimum, referre. Et sane tantum abest ut nullos omnino colant Deos, ut [28.35] omnes ad unum\textsuperscript{167} actiones suas Numinis auspicio aggrediantur illiusque perfici auxilio arbitrentur, ac ritu quodam superstitione in illius honorem adhibito\textsuperscript{168} sanctificantur. [29.1] Nihil casu fortuito vel sorti adscribunt, et in omni re praesagium seu Spiritus sui consilium ominantur.\textsuperscript{169} At inter dogmatum capita perpetuam animae durationem arctius amplexantur. Sed in illius essentiam describendo non parum a rectae fidei principiis deviant, nam illam non pure [29.5] spiritalem, sicut et Spiritus suos\textsuperscript{170} tutelares, arbitrantur, et in definiendo semper haesitantes, neutrius adaequatam efformare idaeam valent. Interrogati quid agitent animo. dum sibi animas hominum repraesentare velint, asserunt illas sibi cogitatione ut Corporis animatas umbras aut figuras depingere. Ex qua notitione illud [29.10] etiam concludunt, omnia in mundo universo esse animata, eorumque animas pro Spiritu tutelari colendas esse.

Dum autem mentis de anima humana cogitata enuntiant, saepe animam cum suis\textsuperscript{171} facultatibus et facultates cum operationibus suis confundunt, quamquam illa omnia et singula, si velint, [29.15] distinguere noverint. Asserunt animam e corpore egressam easdem quam ante separationem propensiones habere; inde etiam provenit ut, dum
mortuorum suorum cadavera scrobe efferant in visceribus terrae condunt, simul et
pateram, qua potare solitus est, lebetesque cum cibis [29.20] tumulo superimponant, sicut
et vestes, secures, arcum, sagittas et quidquid vivi possederunt juxta collocent, et terra
aggeris in modum aggesta operiunt, tignis superinjectis et assere, quem rubrica quadam
tingunt. Hic tumuli apud illos honos; animarum vero immortalitatem cum profiteantur,
[29.25] easque a corpore separatas in longinquis regionibus et amoenissimis ad
occidentem locis cum amicis defunctis delitiose vivere opinantur. Asserunt etiam
animas illas e corpore egressas, antequam ad Eliseos campos perveniant, procellosum
transfretare flumen, in [29.30] cujus undis plures naufragantur, et Cane aliquo aegre se
defendere posse. Loquuntur et de poenarum loco, in quo errores et commissi defectus
expiantur, et de alterius generis tormentorum loco ad quem Captivorum animae,
quorum corpora cremata fuere, [29.35] quam tardissime poterunt, intimis sensibus
excruciaturae accedunt. Hinc evenit ut Indigenae post extremum captivorum supplicium,
ne miserorum illorum animae [30.1] prope Tortorum tugurium remaneant tam ad mortem
suam acerbissimam ulciscendam, quam ad proprii sanguinis poenas repetendas. sollicite
loca cuncta perlustrent bacillo timentes sine intermissione et horrendos [30.5] edentes
clamores, ut sic illas a sua abigant habitatione. Inter varias inferorum virgilii homerieque
simillimas fabulas, una praesertim enarratur, cujus si nomina dumtaxat mutes, tibi ferme
adamussim Orphei atque Eurydicis refert eventum. Sed de impiorum scelerorumque
[30.10] hominum apud inferos poenis nullus apud Indos sermo, nisi forsan ex communi illa
Indorum opinione, animas mortalitatis exuviis exutas iisdem quam antea boni vel mali
cupiditatibus inflammari, et illud probis praemia improbisque poenas de se ipso repetentis

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Terram insuper ac caelum, praemiorum poenarumque [31.5] locum confundunt, in illo etiam brutorum animas addicunt aeternitati; quippe quas aliquatenus ratione compotes et sub Spiritus alicujus tutela vivere arbitrantur. Mira quoque fabulantur de mundi creatione atque diluvio; at illae cognitionis divinae veluti umbrae tam supina et crassa
jam [31.10] pridem obrutae fuere ignorantia ut\textsuperscript{182} penitus nunc extinctae videantur.

Nonnullae quoque Judaicæ legis vestigia inter Indigenarum consuetudines reperiuntur; verbi gratia, in quibusdam conviviis nec cultris aliove instrumentorum genere uti, neque animalium, quibus tum vescuntur, ossa [31.15] comminuere aut frangere licet.

Sic feminae dum menstrua patientur\textsuperscript{183} infirmitate, ne supellectilem familiariumque polluant, a viri natorumque commercio\textsuperscript{184} sejunctae ac communì rerum domesticarum usu interdictæ, separatim habitant. Manes defunctorum et [31.20] Spiritus malignos impense metuunt, ita ut interdum imaginario et vano illorum terrore subito examinantur. Quidam nonnumquam stipitibus <in> solo defixis et muneribus quibusdam illis alligatis eos nituntur placare.


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Sordidis semper illotisque manibus discumbunt humi, et [31b.25] cibum primoribus digitis ori non tam ingerunt quam injiciunt. Tabacco utuntur frequentissime, dicercem etiam abutuntur, nisi jam Albi plerique ipsorum vitium non modo aequarent, sed et superarent. At ut breviter absolvam, duobus praecipuis vitii vel maxime obnoxii [31b.30] sunt, nam primo vindictae cupidissimi sunt, atque in hostes suos raro aperto marte sed ex insidiis plerumque atque inopinantes captos, immani et plane belluina crudelitate saeviunt, jugulatos magno apparatu nonnumquam devorant. Secundo suspiciosi et mendacissimi sunt, et cum primis [31b.35] dolosi perfidique atque incaperorum advenarum praedatores,
ita ut neque blanditis ipsorum neque verbis promissisque fides sit habenda. Verum si
humanius tractentur ad obsequium prompti, exiguae mercede operam suam [32.1]
addicunt, et longissima quoque itinera velocissime admodum absolvent, majori fide quam
a barbaris hominibus jure <ali>quis expectet. Illinenses autem sunt omnium
septemtrionalium humanissimi et maxime pacifici et jam multis annis amicitiam et summam
pacem [32.5] cum Gallis coluerunt. Neque dubium est, consuetudine catholicorum
Sacerdotum et urbanis agendi rationibus\textsuperscript{191} bene moratorum hominum, illos ad veri Dei
cultum et civilem conversationem sensim assuefieri posse, cum praeterita saeculorum
experiectia palam sit, permultos eo modo vera imbutos religione primorum christianorum
autem Historiae modernae Societatis Jesu, ad occidentem borealem extremae, Prooemium,
succincta Veteris ejusdem apud illas gentes\textsuperscript{192} atque Operariorum nostrorum descriptione
concludam.

Anno humanae salutis MDCLIII primus omnium [32.15] e Societate Jesu\textsuperscript{193} in
immensum hoc tum temporis inexploratum Europaeis territorium venit Pater Joannes
Dequerre. E lacu Superiore profectus, ut documentum authenticum ex actis publicis
Episcopatus Quebecensis decerptum refert, signa Evangelii explicavit [32.20] inter
populosissimas Illinensium at ignaras Christi nationes, solidisque fundamentis
florentissimam illic fundavit Missionem, quam deinde ipse suis manibus solidavit et
perfectus usque ad annum MDCLX. Operarius sane magni zeli atque adeo multarum
palmarum, [32.25] quas in horridis et inviis istiusce immensae regionis populorum silvis
primus legit. Inter continuata vitae mortisque pericula, rei christianae praestantem sua

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eloquentia operam, quaquaerum excurrans, barbarosque utramque Mississipi ripam accolentes invitans, indefesse navabat,\textsuperscript{[32.30]} donec tandem anno Domini MDCLXI in medio laborum apostolicorum curriculo ab illis cruenta morte interceptus fuit, quos intentissimis studiis ad vitam quaesiverat aeternam. Alter Societatis Jesu Pater Joannes Carolus Drocoux, cui secundum hujusce Missionis fundationis honorem perhibet idem \textsuperscript{[32.35]} praefati Archivi documentum. Jam anno MDCLIV has aerumnosas Evangelii expeditiones obibat pedibus\textsuperscript{[32.35]} cultu obsolete, et magnam istic animarum messem collegserat verbo et exemplo apprime potens, \textsuperscript{[33.1]} martyrium quoque non desiderio tantum sed spe etiam complecteretur, cum anno MDCLVII a Moderatoribus suis Quebecum revocaretur.\textsuperscript{[33.5]} Tertius vero e Societate Jesu Operarius, vexilli crucis antesignanus, de quo mentio fit in actis publicis \textsuperscript{[33.5]} Episcopi Quebecensis, fuit Pater Hugo\textsuperscript{[33.5]} Pinet. Is ad hanc evangelicam apud Illinenses expeditionem anno MDCLXX, crucifixo de more e collo suspenso, cum solo breviario perrexit, in dimicationem alacer. Eo appulsus <in> Illinensium salutem, tota contentione intentus, magna itinera, labores magnos \textsuperscript{[33.10]} in illa Missione exantlabat. sed inprimis in Tamariorum agro, quem lucis evangelicae radiis totum propemodum collustravit. In illius centro, ab indigenis adjunctus, praealta Crucis vexilla a se solemni ritu et precationibus consecrata defixit, tum suis orsus est manibus ac laboribus Deo O\textsuperscript{<ptimo>} M\textsuperscript{<aximo>} Sacellum extruere. \textsuperscript{[33.15]} Cujus in aedificiolum ipsemet\textsuperscript{[33.15]} suis humeris ligna proximis e silvis bajulabat, atque indefesso labore ejusmodi quotidiamum obiens munus, ita adjuvandis barbarorum animis exemplo et verbo instabat, ut brevi temporis intervallo\textsuperscript{[33.20]} omni ex parte perfecerit. Ita strenue subinde in agri illius evangelici omni huiusque \textsuperscript{[33.20]} cultu vacantis cultura industiae suae vires
exercuit, ut in plurima patientiae segete laetam Verbi divini sementis a se jactae messem viderit, dum anno reparatae Salutis MDCLXXXVI Dominus Bergier, Seminarii Missionis Quebeccensis Sacerdos, qui Parochi munere fungeretur, advenit. Huic concessis aedibus tanto sudore constructis, illico ad Sancti Ludovici Missionem, in qua alter jam e Societate sacerdos vicem curionis fidelem et laboriosam implebat, generose commigravit. Illic prope Missionis ecclesiam in paupere tugurio, post egregias et ibidem de infidelitate impietateque reportatas victorias, permultis Christo lustratis, in pace tandem obdormit XVII to Kal. Augusti, commemoratione solemni B<eatae> Imm<aculatae> Virg<inis> Mariae de monte Carmelo sacro, quam devinctissime honorarat, anno salutis MDCCIV, aetatis vero Septuagesimo nono aerumnis confectus et mortem flammis illustrem desiderio solo complexus. Illic et per triennium commoratus est Pater Josephus Marquette, qui anno MDCLXXII, ut jam supra monstravi, in fluminis Mississippi detectionem profectus e Sinu lacus Michigan, trans Amnem Outagamis, a modernis Fox river anglice et gallice La Riviere des Renards nuncupatum, frequentibus cataractis periculosissim<im> et post aliquam cymbae in terra ventionem, per fluvium Ouisconsin, tandem versum 42 1/2 ab Aequatore gradum XV to Kal. Junii in hoc nobile flumen inventus est. Praedictum subinde flumen descendens vix undas ali-quandiu secaverat, dum Illinensis nationis cognitionem ex barbarorum aliquorum intuitu et alloquio caepit, ac sexto a Mississippi et Missouri, ab indigenis dicti "Pekitanoui," id est, aquae turbidae, confluenti milliari in trium illius gentis pagorum conspectum venit. Eo appulsus singulos vicos et tuguria paulatim obivit modestia et comitate obligans homines aetatum omnium, a quibus vicissim laeto
benignoque vultu perhonorifice exceptus, aliquantulum a longissimo [34.15] requievit
itinere, diutiusque inter illos populos quoque remansisset, nisi id impense efflagitantibus
obstitissent et illorum linguae inscitia, et suscepta a Domino Talon, Novae Franciae
Intendente, explorandi Mississippi summi utique momenti provincia. Attamen miseris
[34.20] valedicens, sui desiderium illa lenivit consolatione, qua peracta expeditione
facturum se quidquid posset, <et> spopondit ut quam citissime ad illos rediret. Flumen
interim usque ad ejus confluentem cum Ackansas circa 33 latitudinis gradum
descendit, et nitidissimse illius[ve] sinuosi alvei et adjacentium riparum [34.25]
ichographicam descriptis mappam, quae hodiedum adhuc in Mazarinorum bibliotheca
Parisiis asservatur. Cum autem de Mississippi fluminis in Sinu Mexicano ore sibi nullum
amplius super est dubium, nec ipse prudens videretur longius progredi, tam ob
imminentes hostilium Indorum [34.30] infestationes, quam ob totius pene itineris
com eatus consumptionem, vestigia relegens flumen istud remensus est ad fluvii
Illinensis confluentem. Unde Chicago pervenit, ubi a Miamis humanissime receptus fuit.
Itaque in praecipuo gentis illius vico [34.35] sedem fixit et indigenas per reliquos vitae
annis foecundo sudore convertit. Nam quamvis jam anno praecedenti Societatis Patres
Allouez et Dablon immensos illius regionis tractus summa defatigatione percurrentes
[35.1] ad illos barbaros cicurandos at erudiendos omni industria incubuissent, ab
amplectenda tamen lege Domini immaculata illorum inveterata turpitudo vitiorum
morumque perversitas retardaverant, [35.5] et praeter aegrorum infantiumque baptismum
vix fructuum aliquid ex tantis laboribus reportaverant.
Interea Pater Josephus Marquette promissa perficere votoque se liberare

invanum ad Patris opem confugere plures probatae fidei testes, a jam jam imminente
interitu liberati omni asseveratione affirmarunt.

Fuit Pater Josephus Marquette Laudini, in oppido Picardiae nobilissima domo
natus, et unus ex illustrissimis Novae Franciae Missionariis, cujus ferme omnes regiones
more apostolico percurrit, plurimasque nec absque eruditis observationibus a se
ipso detectas descripsit. Vir sane laboris assidui et patientiae robustioris laude praecelarus.
Ad regulas earumque singulas circumstantias perquisite attentus. Pareundi tam fuit avidus
ut non duas tantum, verum ducentas Missiones subire se paratum diceret, si
obedientia ita vellet. Quare fuit semper in itineribus, in navigationibus, ad
quasvis expeditiones aptus et expeditus. In quibus et frequentem inediae et omnis generis
eaerumnas per invias imprimitis solitudines perpessus est. In longissimis ipsis repetitisque
navigationibus quidquid ad religiosam interioris hominis disciplinam spectabat,
adamussim implebat, sociis vectoribusque interea inserviens. Divinum Officium suis
semper temporibus devotissime recitabat, mane ante Sacrum, sub Sacro alia media, tum
Sacro celebrando et gratiarum actione horam unam dabat. Cum aliquando se
sacris vacari omnino non posse videret eo die communione, quam Spiritualem vocant,
saepe repetita damnunm compensare conabatur. Oratio autem illi felix fuit citra ulla
turbamenta interpellantium cogitationum. Non nisi supernaturalibus (si ita loqui fas est)
principiis ac effatis nitebatur, nulla cura respectuum humanorum. Ignitum erat
ejus eloquium vehementer, paucis verbis lacrymas eliciebat ex illorum oculis quos vel
alloquebatur vel confidentes audiebat. Assiduo praeterea se afflictandi studio ac perpetuis
jejuniis fuit mirabilis, nuda humo plerumque pro lectulo contentus, famem, sitim,

atque omnis generis laboribus ac ministeriis Indigenis utilitates attulisse abundantes

[37.20] dicunt cum alia publica documenta, tum annorum illorum Societatis Annales.

Tandem mense februario, anno MDCXCII, S[anc]ti Ludovici vitae immortalis
immarcescibilem, ut bona spes est, coronam morte obita minime indecora invenit.

Eodem ipso anno ac Pater Buenin ad Illinenses profectum [37.25] P<atrem>
Joannem Daloes, S.J., perhibent praefatum Quebecensis Episcopatus documentum.

Huic enim Missio Patri Marquette destinata a Moderatoribus committebatur, quo difficili
utique munere eo erat magis idoneus, quod apprime idiomata Oumiamis, Illinensium
quam simillima, calceret. Eo [37.30] tamen appulsus vix per duos annos illic
commoratus est. Considerans enim barbarae atque effera incolarum ingenia nec minus in
crapulam veneremque projecta, nec minus eorum indolis mobilitatem, quae, cum sedem
frequentius venationis ratione mutaret, non exiguo [37.35] stabiliendae propagandaeque
religioni erat impedimento, fractus idcirco animo debilitatusque aliam expetiit a
Moderatoribus majoris fructus missionem atque ipsa obtinuit, et in illa plurimis ad
Christi fidel adductis, morte laboribus atque itineribus acclarata felix occubuit.

[37.40] Itaque hujusce difficilis Missionis, sexto a Missourii cum Mississippi
confluente milliari sitae, proprie debetur fundatio Patri Jacobo Gravier, S.J., cui etiam prae
ciaeris omnibus universa haec [38.1] Illinensis Missio maximam habeat gratiam oportet.

Ille enim venerabilis memoriae Pater non tantum linguarum Indigenarum ab omni
Europaec sermone penitus abhorrerentis incommode ut ac studior superavit, ut et ad
concessiones [38.5] audiendas et ad habendas conciones idoneus esset. Sed in ea
brevissima temporis uso tantos etiam habuit progressus ut, singulis istiusce idiomatis

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Verum generosus ille vir pro nihilo duxisset omnes illorum insectationes et contumelias, si efferatam mentis barbariam in scelestis epulis atque infandis superstitionibus assuetam suavi suo agendi modo cicurare tandem atque Evangelii praeceptis erudire potuisset.


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protulit: "O Domine sero nimius te amare incoepi." Eodem quoque tempore illuc
advenerunt 112 Outagarmis, 200 Sakis et 80 Illinenses, et abundantium [40.40]
benedictionum fuerunt participes quibus Deus O<pimus> M<aximus> longe lateque Viri
Apostolici labores aspergere solebat. Illinenses ut natio tunc ferme ab Iroquensibus
expugnata atque extincta habebantur. [41.1] Nihilominus plus quam 40,000 animarum249
completetabatur gentis universae census. P<ater> Claudius Allouez in illo etiam oppido
Evangelium primus plurimis gentis250 Scioux sed ope interpretis annuntiavit, sicut cum
variis aliis nationibus illic tractavit, quorum nomina [41.5] non amplius nisi in praelaudati
Missionarii commentariis reperiuntur. Alia forsan hodie dium in vicinorum indigenarum
idiomatis voce denominantur. Sioux vero Missionario significarunt, suam regionem ad251
extremam Mundi versus Aquilonem partern in immensum extendere, versus occidentem
autem gentem Karesis habitare, ultra quos terram [41.10] ab252 immenso "aquaetoe tidae"
spatio, quo nomine Oceanum Pacificum significare voluere, esse praecisam. Pater etiam
Josephus Marest, Illinensis Missionis Superior, subinde annis253 MDCLXXXVII et
MDCLXXXIX apud Sioux excurrens, illam quoque gentem ob morum lenitatem et
consideratam vivendi rationem [41.15] laudat. A mactandis etiam ac torquendis captivis
abstinebant254 et satis distinctam Unius Supremi Numinis omnium rerum creatoris ac
Domini cognitionem retinuere. Sinensium accentibus syllabas pronunciandi modum
possidere, atque in omnibus vitae actionibus Tartaris probe similes esse videntur. (*)

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[41.20] (*) Jam anno Reparatae salutis 458, igitur 1033 ante Columbi aetatem,
Sinenses ad oras occidentales Americae Borealis circa 50um ab Aequatore gradum

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adorationem nomini tuo Sancto." In summo vero Canonum Synodalium P.2da Serm. 6to.
Cap. 19no de canonibus constitutis super Episcopos et Metropolitanos, simul habetur in
Canone Theodosii Patriarchae haec verba:238 "Hae Sex Sedes capita Provinciarum et
Metropolitae, videlicet Hilam, Nzivin, Prath, Assur, Bethgarmi, et Halah, qui digni habiti
sunt, ut ordinationi 4150 Patriarchae interveniant, nec absunt ut alii quarto quoque ano
apud Patriarcham conveniant. Sic etiam Episcopi magnae Provinciae nimium reliqui
Metropolitae, Chnae, Indiae, Pases, Mauzorum, Xam, Raziqueorum, Herionae, et
Smarcandiae, qui longissime absunt, nec vastissimi montes et turbulentissima maria non
permittunt eis transitum ad libitum, mittant litteras conscensionis ad Patriarcham semel
sexto quoque anno." Quidquid sit, primi 4155 S.J. Patres ex gentis traditione et repertis
monumentis asserunt S<ancet> Thomam et has plagas adivisse.

[41.19] Interim, cum P<ater> Allouez [42.1] intelligeret gentem Nipissings ad oras
Lacus Alimipegon, versus259 septemtrionem lacus Superioris siti. emigrasse, transfugas
plerumque christianos in eadem prorsus statu reperit quam Hurones de quibus supra
mentionem feci, illosque pari successu ad pristinum fervorem260 425 revocavit. Inde iter
1500 milliarium demum revolvens Chagouamigon reversus est, et illic stabilem fundare
Missionem cupiens, se itineris socium adjunxit turmae Outaouais in Montreal pro
pellium commutatione profecturae. Inde pervenit Quebeccum, ubi duos duntaxat dies a
longissima via acquiescens, Patre 4210 Ludovico Nicolas in261 aerumnosissimae
Missionis suae supplementum adlecto, rursus absque viatico vel ulla alia praeter Dei
providentiae ope cum iisdem barbaris, quorum jam bis expertus erat perfidiam, ad praedilectam Missionem vestigia relegit. Paucis in variis eisque longissimis itineribus heroe digna et gessit et passus est, totus in opere, totus in certamine, per ludibia fluctuum, per naufragia, per invias solitudeines, ad ultima rerum properans ut animas Christo lucifaceret, ubique vero sine requie laborare, eniti, contendere, ut jam transcriptos in partem Sortis Sanctorum, ad vitam professione dignam adduceret, ut se contra vitia violentiamque praestigiatorum tueretur, ad ulteriora honesti proveheret et propius admoveret Deo. Pater Allouez subinde vicinas gentes Kickapoux et Mascoutins invisit, quae ob vicinitatem et communia utriusque rei publicae commoda, inter sese intima semper Societate fuere conjunctae. Illic et 3000 Miamis, auxilium adversus Iroquenses et Sioux implorantes, reperiiit. Ab omnibus illis barbaris perspicuis amicitiae demonstrationibus exceptus, illis Jesum Christum praedicavit. Sed omnis praedicationis fructus in admirationem quamdam recidebant, qua illum ob singularem facundiam Deum esse fingentes, ab illo tum morborum curationem tum contra hostiles adversariorum insectationes victoriam petierunt. Pater vero respondit se tantum Ministrum et Servum esse illius Numinis a cujus solo nutu victoria dependebat; Illum esse Creatorem Caeli et terrae, illum omnia sua essentia, potentia et praesentia replere, illum semper exstitisse, porroq exstiturum; illius potentiam non habere terminos atque huic correspondere bonitatem. Quibus verbis barbarorum in se voluntates commovisse videbatur. Sed Moderatorum jussu illos relinquere et ad gentem Outagamis excurrere debuit. Non bonam a gente illa receptionem expectare poterat, cum aliqui a Gallis male tractati, jurejurando promisissent numquam se vindictam inultam relicturos.


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invenit ut imagines muris circumdaret, quo spectaculo ii, qui invisebant Ecclesias, bona
cognitionum caelestium semina conciperent. Nulli quoque sumptui in caetera Sacri
ministerii supellectile ac luminaria parcebat ut sic Aboriginum fervorem magis magisque
inflammaret. Quadraginta Indorum [43.25] pueros toga superpelliceoque amictos tum pro
Missae, benedictionis Sanctissimi ac Supplicationum ministerio, tum pro Musicae
Cantusque concentu, Clericorum ad instar adhibebat, tanta ordinis pietatisque
compositione, ut undequaque Indi nec sine animarum emolumento ad Officia divina
confluerent. Bis de die omnes illuc [43.30] convocabat Neophytos, mane pro Sacro
audiendo et sub solis occasum pro vespertinis precibus nec sine exhortatione aliqua
recitandis. Et quamvis in colendis natu grandioribus nihil omnino omitteret, attamen
tenere potissimum ad aetatis culturam, quae cum facilius ad Christum flectitur tum
[43.35] jactam tempestive sementem fovet altius omnes suas industrias et vigilias strenue
conferebat. \textsuperscript{273} Quotidie igitur sacro cum gratiarum actione peracto, Juventuti fidei
elementa et Religionis mysteria exponebat et cum nec exiguus pro vectioris aetatis numerus
illis semper catechesibus interesseret, et illos precibus [43.40] ac promissis adducebat ut.
suis responsis summa cum docilitate factis, minoribus exemplo praeirent, ita ut brevi
tempore omnes imbuebantur necessariis ad vitam aeternam principiis atque doctrinis, quos
varius subinde blandimentis allectos et alio etiam tempore ita ad suavem [44.1] Dei legem,
Ecclesiaeque precepta paulatim instiuebat, ut puerorum ad instar illos deinceps in omni re
ad manum haberet. Hi postea quoque partim\textsuperscript{274} exemplo, partim per otium iis quae a Suo
Missionario acceperant, ethnicis inculcandis, ad Evangelii [44.5] propagationem plurimum
proderant, non sine advenientium gaudio peculiari, quorum in auribus oculisque non

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Jam Pater Sebastianus per duos illic annos maximam laborum suorum
Apostolicorum complegerat messem, cum sui demissione zeli magnitudine [45.20] longe
lateque illius Sanctimoniae percrebrescente fama Missioni Illinensium suo viduatae pastore
a Moderatoribus destinaretur. Incredibilia fere sunt quae tum in arduis illis
peregrinationibus tum duorum annorum fructuosa sua in hac Missione commoratio
pro Evangelii regni promulgatione et fecerit et passus fuerit. [45.25] Famem magnam,
grandia itinerum incommoda et naufragia crebra in procellosissima lacuum fluviorumque
navigazione perpessus aliquando vix vivus evasit et flumine congelato. Saepe illi humeris
bajulanda erat navicula e cortice arborum, qua per occurrentes sinuosos torrentes
vehebatur. Extrema esuries [45.30] illum aliquando ad glandes et ad arborum cortices
aqua turbida maceratos edendos adegit. Quoties autem mortem sibi varie imminentem
evaserit, dicere longioris est otii. Sub dio cubans, frigora et solis ardores, pericula omnis
generis sustinuit, ingenio, virtute, labore totus in animas intentus. In longis [45.35]
repetitisque undequaque suscepsit excursionibus, quidquid ad ordinem diurnum sibi ab
initio assumptum, quidquid ad religiosam disciplinam vel ad Ministerium erga proximos
spectabat officii ad amussim implens, innumeris Aboriginum turmas mitigavit et Christo
subegit. Sed ne lectori repetitis eisdem continuo [45.40] descriptionibus taedio sim, ad
alia festinans, quae in praedilecta sua Abnaquensi Missione heroe digna ad mortem usque
gessit pro fide et passus sit, invito sane dissimulo silentio. Omnes enim [46.1] Continentis
illius ferme Aboriginum linguas callebat, et pro illorum aeterna salute quaquaversum ad
omnes quasi illiusce nationes excurrens, inter continuata vitae mortisque pericula,
confectis etiam feliciter negotiiis ad quae expedienda a Gallicano Gubernio [46.5]
mittebatur Legatus, sanctoque labore per annos 37 impenso rei christianae commodi
permultum attulit. Perhibent et mortem suam praescivisse aegrosque ab illo persanatos
non paucos, alios oleo s<anc>to, alios vero baptismo. Paucis, extrema ubique omnia
passus, nihil tamen inhumanum magis quam Haereticos Anglos expertus est. Feritatis
enim oblitae [46.10] gentes barbarae integerrimi Viri Apostolici innocenti
discebant, cum ecce tibi Sanctitatis inimica, Deumque nesciens Haeresis cum Anglis
missionem inr[r]upit. Difficillimae expeditionis ingens pretium fuit viro uni acerrimam
adferre necem, qui toto vitae tempore tortores intentissimis studiis ad vitam ab omni
parte beatam [46.15] quaesiverat. Narantsouak igitur, ubi Missionis tirocinium olim
posuerat, in pervigilio festi S<anc>ti Bartholomaei Apostoli ante Crucis salutiferum a se
erectum Signum ab haereticis Anglis barbarae immanitate trucidatus fuit anno
MDCCXXIV, quod pro temporali aeternaque gregis salute animam non dubitaret ponere.
Cadaver Viri Dei repertum innumeris [46.20] pene vulneribus perforatum, capite securis
ictu hinc inde contracto, ore oculisque luto repleto, cruribus communitis, atque reliquis
membris sexcentis modis diverse mutilatis; et a suis deinde Neophytis maxima qua potuere
reverentia et pompa ut Martyrem Christi in ipsa agonis suae arena religiosissime
tumulatum fuit. Aiunt Corpus [46.25] ejus admirabili quadam fragrantia praeditum
tanquam Viri S<anc>ti et veri Christi Martyris, ipsis etiam ethnicis fuisse venerationi.

Interim Pater Ludovicus Hyacinthus Simon de la Place, S.J., se ad Missionem
S<anc>ti Ludovici apud Illinenses sitam contulerat anno MDCXCII, et inde post duorum
annorum stabilem residentiam [46.30] varias Mississippi oras evangelizando pererraverat,
dum anno MDCXCIIX a Moderatoribus illum Quebeccum revocatum enarrant Acta
Ecclesiae illius, quae deinde evanglicam ad Illinenses expeditionem Patris Juliani Binetteau circa annum MDCXCVI describunt. Hic vir vere Apostolicus per totum temporis illius intervallum S<anc>ti Ludovici missionem et circumjacentia loca foecundo sane sudore rigabat, dum autem ardentissimi sui zeli albescentes undique fruges colligeret, inedia et aerumna[e] longissima[e] atque plurima[e] confectus, illic anno MDCCVII cursum victoriae atque Apostolicae fortitudinis explevit. Cum enim Indos ad a<46.40>estivam illorum venationem comitaretur in vastissima prata, per altissimas herbas incedens, sudore manans de die, noctuque sub dio rore expositus et humi cubans, nec saepe undam reperiebat ad sitim explendam crudelissimam, ex quibus aliisque, quae brevitatis studio omitto, incommodis febrim contraxit, qua intra paucos dies confectus est. De illo etiam egregii Evangelii praecone Archiviae Missionis Kaska<s>kiensis mentionem quoque faciunt, qui hujus paroeiae curam una cum R<everendo> P<atre> Gravier, totius Illinensis Missionis Superiore, cujus nunc mors enarranda venit, gesserat.* Nomina autem Societatis Jesu Missionariorum, qui primam illam Missionis Illinensis praecipuam residentiam inceperunt jam anno MDCLXXXIU apud Kaskaskias, qui tum temporis 2,000 bellatores numerabat, et una cum Gallis quibusdam Urbem istius nomini fundavere, injuria temporis et malevolorum culpa interierunt.

Album enim Ecclesiae Kaskaskiensis usque ad hunc locum sacrilega manu fuit destructum, et Acta Quebecensis Episcopatus tantum expeditiones Patrum nostrorum exhibent, [47.15] qui ex Nova Francia illuc missi fuerunt, omissis reliquis ex Nova Aurelia, ubi Societas nostra duodecim semper operarios alebat, hinc inde submissis. Reticent etiam laicorum in rebus domesticis adjutorum nomina, quae quamvis nobis ignota, in libro
tamen vitae conscripta [47.20] in aeternitate manifestanda conservantur. Hi missionem hanc aerumnis et periculis plenam a Moderatoribus lacrymis nonnumquam impetravere, et fideles ubique et humiles\textsuperscript{285} coadjutores Patrum suorum labores piis desideriis, precibus assiduis et mira industria adjuvabant. Orantes inter manuum labores, [47.25] pietatis et patientiae singulares <in> virtutum solidarum exemplum apud quos degebant perinsignes. Coqui, pistores,\textsuperscript{286} hortulani et omnia domestica peragebant munia\textsuperscript{287} circa ullam laborum taedium, circa ullam pietatis detrimentum, sudorem orationi continuae jungebant, quamquam et ipsi Sacerdotes, nullo etiam ad humilia illa ministeria exercenda [47.30] adjutore admisso, ipsi seipsis contenti essent. Quidquid sit certum est numerum Nostrorum, qui hanc abundantissimis fructibus florentem vineam coluere, majorem fuisse quam praedictae Ecclesiae Acta perhibent, cum omnes illiusce loci senes unanimi voce hodiedum adhuc asserant,\textsuperscript{288} Residentiam S.J. parvum fuisse [47.35] mundum (un petit monde). At P\textless ater\textgreater Jacobus Gravier, Societatis Jesu per Illinensem Missionem Superior, non uno se continere solebat domicilio; nec enim istic ullo\textsuperscript{289} aerumnarum aut expeditionum genus fuit in quo venerabilis ille vir non fuerit apprime versatus. Eo appulsus neminem plerisque in oppidis [47.40] Christianum reperit, <et> moriens vero ipse cum Sociis paucissimis tantum profecerat, ut omnes quasi Christo lucratus esset, qui vivebant fere instar Ecclesiae quam primitivam vocamus. Linguas complures [48.1] apprime didicerat pro gentium salute magnopere idoneas, et Missionis suae futuris necessitatibus inposterum prospecturus, <scripsit> et harum linguarum praecepta et copiosissimum lexicon, quibus minori temporis intervallo Socii deinde absque tanto taedio illius, [48.5] quam evangelisare deberent, gentis linguam perdicare possent. Ardentissimo
cum esset ingenio, adeo tamen se subegit ac mansuefecit ut fuerit benignissimae charitatis
et omnibus Patris ac Matris instar; piaque pro Evangelii promulgatione industria foris,
inter nos autem accurate attenti ad minima [48.10] quaeque religiosae disciplinae
observanda exempli documento memoriam imitationem commeritus. Diu et saepe
flagrabat desiderio martyrium pro Christo patiendi. In missionis suae principio in
continuo capitis periculo erat ex Praestigiatorum Veneurorumque insidiis. Alias in
fluminibus et saepe [48.15] denique vivebat in umbra mortis, quam naufragia, sitis, famas,
frigus et aestus insoliti, vel praestigiatores minaciter intentabant. Et illud ei periculorum
laborumque aiebat maximum fuisse praemium, quod plures infantes, inconsciis parentibus,
baptismate lustraverit, qui brevi e vita discessere. [48.20] Promptus ingenio aspera
quaeque perferebat pro Evangelii dilatatione hominumque salute; mira vero patientia et
singulari mansuetudine omnia vincebat obstacula. Apostolicorum virorum elogio, tam
bonus Christi Domini vineae operarius et custos fuit vigilantissimus, ut verbis [48.25] id
consequi, praeertim concessi mihi exigui spatii et temporis penuria, haud possibile sit.
Apud peoreas finem aerumnarum reperit in vulnere quod illi barbari odio fidei accensi
intulere. Fuit Philosophus, Theologus, Missionum et Superior et Apostolus insignis;
Scribendi dote, [48.30] dicendi nervo et auctoritate, regendi animos felicitate et ingenio
praestans; erga subditos autem aegrotosque charitate[m], laboribusque animarum plane
mirabilis.

Illi Socius ut magni Zeli, ita religiosae vitae atque innumerorum a praestigiatoribus
ei suscitatorum [48.35] periculorum successit Pater Gabriel Marest, qui anno
MDCXCIX ad Illinenses profectus, in oppido Kaskaskias praestantem Evangelio operam
navans, illius aliarumque, quas nec instructuose pererravit, missionum descriptiones eleganter minutissimeque^ exaravit. [48.40] Ad tres diversos pagos vicosque saepe excurrens, cum dispersos interdii incolas instituere et erudire non posset, non raro eam ob rem apud eos vacuos opere pernoctabat. Incredibile est quid^ in aerumnissimis illis excursionibus [49.1] aerumnarum, quid a praestigiatoribus vexationum, ludibriorum ac verberum passus fuerit. Cum enim veneficorum, quorum illic tum magna erat vis nec minor apud Indos auctoritas, praestigias ac fraudes aperiret, ab illis saepe quaesitus [49.5] ad necem, clam se eorum manibus subducens, Divina protectus Providentia, ex imminenti mortis periculo ereptus fuit. At Pater Gabriel dum ipsaet quidquid ad omnem erga aegros vulneratosque charitatem spectatabat, officii ad amussim impleret, cibo quoque illis in os illato, paulatim tantam [49.10] sibi conciliavit auctoritatem benevolentiamque Indorum ut, amandatis non sine ignom<in>ia procul a pagis Venefricis, ad eum in omni infirmitate atque adversitate recurrerent. Ordinem diurnum nunc lectori subjiciam, quem per 27 circiter annos in suis Missionibus religiose observavit. [49.15] Ad primum Solis crepusculum^ ad preces catechumenos in Ecclesia congregabat; quibus alta voce recitatis ad eosdem habebat instructionem quam subinde excipiebat cantorum sacrorum concentus. Illis abeuntibus S<ancta> Missa celebrabatur^ cui omnes christianis, viri a mulieribus [49.20] separati, intererant. Et ipsi deinde inter se recitant preces matutinas, et audita Instructione dormum se recipiunt unusquisque ad suos labores. Missionarii subinde visitant aegrotos ut illorum tum corporis tum animae infirmitates propriis cuique remediis cure<atque> [49.25] sole<atque> tur et instruant^ eorum mentes. A prandio omnes conveniunt ad Ecclesiam, neophyti et catechumeni, viri et pueri, juvenes et senes atque
absque aetatis conditionisque distinctione, et in elementis fidei christiana in modo
catechismi interrogationibus et responsis instituuntur. Cum hi barbari [49.30] nesciant
legere sintque valde ad pigritiam inclinati, brevi Religionis revelatae mysteriorum
obliviscerentur nisi quotidianae instructione ad illorum memoriam animum revocarent. Per
reliquum diei tempus tuguria luissant Missionarii, et vespere omnes indiscretim ad
Ecclesiam [49.35] convocant sono campanae pro Instructione audienda et precibus
vespertinis non sine canticorum concentu recitandis. Hisce autem exercitii diebus festivis
et dominicis additur præterea Exhortatio ad omnes post decantatas Vesperas. Mirari satis
non potest Neophytorum fervor [49.40] et in frequentiandis singulis exercitiis
accuratissima diligentia. Ad primum cæspinae signum labores interrumpunt, et si
longius a pago absunt citius sese expediunt ut assignato temporis puncto mature se ad
Ecclesiam conferre [50.1] valeant. Quin etiam diem solent claudere privatis in tuguriis
congressibus ubi viri et mulieres separatim coronam Beatissimae Virginis duobus distincti
choris recitant, et adulta etiam nocte canticorum concentus miro fervore reddunt, [50.5]
vicebusque referunt. Cantica illa vere instructiones sunt quas eo facilius retinent. quod
summopere delectantur in vocum modulatione, quam solent nullo negotio memoriae
imprimere. Usus sacramentorum est apud illas gentes frequens; altera saltem hebdomada
ad Sanctam Exomologesim et Sanctam [50.10] Synaxin miro devotionis affectu et
candore accedunt, et frequentius adhuc recurrerent, nisi ab initio Missionarii
impediissent, cum eorum continuis confessionibus excipiendis intenti, vix temporis aliquid
vacui caeteris [50.15] Ministeris necessariisque occupationibus dare possent. Cum
autem Indi plerumque carnibus aut piscibus furro vel sole exsiccatis vescantur

[51.1] Pater Ludovicus Maria Deville, S.J., ex nova Francia ad Illinenses missus anno 1707, in oppido S[ti] Ludovici sancto labore usque ad annum 1712 impenso, illic et in vicinis locis rei christianae commodi permultum attulit. [51.5] Inde ad alias

Circa illud tempus P<ater> Fr<ancis> Xav<ier> de Charlevoix, S.J., et hanc missionem pererrans de mandato Regis Galliae ejusdem reliquit historiam omnibus numeris absolutam. Vir erat et ob fidei catholicae propagandae studium, atque ampo ad omnem litterarum ingenio, felici calamo, suavitate morum, omnibus optimis corpori suo pessime faciendi artibus insignite praestans. Fuit P<ater> de Charlevoix ut non patricia, ita admodum speciosa equestri genitus familia, gravis, sanctus, innocens, scribendi potissime arte praecelus, innumera pene volumina elucubravit, quae hodieum adhuc admirantur ab omnibus. P<ater> Fr<ancis> Xav<ier> inde in Galliam rediit versus annum 1721.

praecone litterae supersunt Lugduni et Parisiis impressae quas consule si lubet. Familiares ad Episcopum Quebeccensem Epistolae Patris Philippi Meurin et [52.30] multae sunt et maximae aedificationis.

Christianae rei utilitatem attulerint egregii illi Christi crucis antesignani. Ac plane
conspiciemus [53.20] eos vere, maledicti hujusce mundi relictis abominandis illecebris,
adeo amabilissimo Salvatori suo se dedicasse, ut conculcatis thesauris, quos aerugo et
tinea comedit, lumbisque paupertate et humilitate praecinctis, non contenti terrarum
[53.25] finibus usque ad Occidentis extremos tractus penetrarint, ac eorum aliquos ita
Domini amor perstrinexterit, ut etiam proprii Sanguinis prodigi, ut Verbum Dei inibi
efficacius plantarent, Martyrio voluntario se supposuerint. Tolerarunt [53.30] sane usque
ad consummationem gloriae durissima supplicia; nec illis quidem unquam cesserunt, sed
fortissimis Ch<ris><ti> martyrribus supplicia ipsa cesserunt. Finem utique dolorum, quem
omnia non dare poterant tormenta, coronae immarcescibiles [53.35] dederunt. Eja,
Frates dilectissimi, non degeneremus a praecelsis cogitationibus filiorum Dei!

Caeterum annuis Societatis Jesu relationibus, quae felicium illorum temporum
habemus, plane incontroversum est sicut et constanti accolentium traditione, tantam hisce
[53.40] missionibus unctionem semper adhaesisse, ut nostri omnes illas splendidissimis
furtunosissimisque quibusvis aliiis expeditionibus videantur praetulisse. Haec procul
dubio inde proveniebat quod natura hic nihil sive quod ad [54.1] commodioris vitae
blandimenta sive quod ad vanitatis incitamenta, egregiorum etiam S<anc>ti Ministerii
successuum nimis ordinaria scopa, reperiens, miserentis Dei gratia vel abundantissime
absque ullo obstaculo operaretur. Praeterea [54.5] Deus O<ptimus> M<aximus>, qui se
numquam vinci liberalitate servorum suorum patitur, sine ulla mensura gnavis illis operariis
intime se communicabat, qui sibi et mundo mortui omnibus sine modo periculis et
aerumnis continuo sacrificarent, et inter medias excursiones et omnis generis [54.10]
difficultates animam in interna pace nullae\textsuperscript{313} mutationi obnoxia possidentes se ipsos in illa simplicitate et Spirituali infantia perfectissime constituerant, quam Salvator noster adeo discipulis inculcaverat, ut Sequacium suorum praecepuaam indolem atque Apostolicae vitae propriam virtutem, \textsuperscript{[54.15]} dicens: "Nisi efficiamini sicut parvulus iste non intrabitis in regnum caelorum." Illi itaque genuini Lojolae filii intime persuasi suae vocationis esse, diversa loca peragrare et vitam agere in quavis mundi plaga, ubi magis Dei obsequium et animarum auxilium speratur, lacrymis \textsuperscript{[54.20]} a Moderatoribus has impetravere missiones, atque ad illum gloriae agonem per calcatos parentes et amicos absque viatico autullo humano auxilio, inedia, aeris intemperie et insolitis Solis aestibus brevi conficiendi, vel a barbaris durissimo mortis genere excruciandi laeti trans maria \textsuperscript{[54.25]} et per inhospitas solitudines advolavere. Ut hospites et peregrinos\textsuperscript{314} sese aspirantes in hac lacrymarum valle non nisi excelsas admittebant inclinationes, nimirum procurandae animarum aeterno perdendarum salutis et magis magis cum Evangeli promulgatione Dei \textsuperscript{[54.30]} gloriae extendendae. Sub armata minacium manu barbarorum sperabat mortem potius quam timebant. Cernebant etiam gaudentes rogos ardentissimos, quos illis exurendis praeparabant. Quin et pro amore Jesu candentes tolerabant secures et ignita e collo appensa \textsuperscript{[54.35]} collaria fortissimo silentio, vel caelestia qua poterant loquebantur, et hoc quoque dum superior pellis e vertice capitis detrhebatur, dum amputati pedes, caro ipsae e coxis ad ossa usque avulsa a tortoribus suis vorabatur. Non mirum itaque missiones ejusmodi pro nostris semper \textsuperscript{[54.40]} Seminarium fuisse solidarum virtutum. Vividissima fide animati et ipsi erant, dum praeter fidei propagationem nihil faciebant et omnem illam sanguine obsignandi avidissime consectabantur\textsuperscript{315} occasionem. Spes unica illorum et
[55.1] consolatio et vita, cum nullo illis justiores ad aeternam coronam titulos haberent, qui cum reliquis omnibus pro Christo, pro quo et cui animam devovebant, usque in vitam finem legitime decertarent. Puerorum adinstar [55.5] speciali Dei providentiae se committebant, cum sibi firmiter persuasum haberent illum, cui se beneplacito in vivum consecrassent holocaustum, de omnibus vitae necessitatis in terra extranea orbatos provisurum. Tales etiam a Christo admittebantur ad intimam familiaritatem [55.10] atque amicitiam, quae exercitio plurimarum virtutum, fortitudinis nimirum, temperantiae, mortificationis, patientiae magis magis vincebatur et arctius constringebatur.

Quibus omnibus Deus, ut quantopere illae sibi placent expeditiones ostenderet, fructum praeterea [55.15] Missionibus centesimum, centena messis brachia dedisse videretur, cum par hominum interdum ea praestare quae nisi usurparemus oculis, etiam a plurimis minime confici potuisse crederemus.


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Interim cum anno 1764 Britann regione hac essent potiti et Verae Religioni et
inprimis Societati Jesu fore<nt> hostiles, [55.35] nostri Patres ad unum omnes
Galliam redire maximumque sui desiderium tum inter aborigines tum inter populationem
a coloniis oriundam relinquentes sicut nec mediocres sane possessiones suo labore jam
florentissimas. Attamen conscientiae optimaes [55.40] testimonio contenti, quod radicitus
stabilitam a se fides agnoscerent, intenti in uniam Dei voluntatem impleam carissimam
sudore et sanguine irrigatam messem aliis collectoribus reliquerunt. [56.1] Postremo res
loquebatur ipsa aequam esse, ut quorum inprimis virtutum laborumque exemplo et fructu,
christiana res tota niteretur in hac ultima ad occidentem Missionem. Horum S.J.
operariorum una cum accurata loci et aboriginala prima exploratione, [56.5] si minus
facunda splendidave, certe quoad fieri poterat sincera dareetur explicatio, antequam ad
modernam Missionis hujusce expositionem transiremus. Nos jam Majorum insequentes
vestigias non pudebit nostrae Missionis infantiam lectori legendam praebere. Nam tametsi
pretiosissimam divino Sanguine [56.10] redemptarum et a nobis ipsis animarum
enarranda suscipit conversio, tamen quae hactenus in re omnium divinarum divinissima
huc usque perfecta sunt, ita sunt exigua (si cum ea Majorum nostrorum, quae Dei utique
O<ptim> M<axim> benignitate in hac occidentali plagae ita pridem perfecerere
comparentur) ut alicui [56.15] fortasse non satis digna videri possint, quae Societati
universae atque adeo christianorum orbis oculis obtrudantur. Verum enim vero magnitudo illa
Romana a lupae uberibus, a pastorum latrociniiis, a moenibus saltu superatis, sine nota
solet inchoari. Quocirca neque nos pudebit hujusce Societatis missionis [56.20]
undequaque minimae cunas, crepundia, unguiculos, et si quid est infantilius proponere.

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Nam etiam haec in pueris solent, ut Agesilao quondam equestri[s] arundo, minime
displicere. Brevi, ut ex omnibus loci incolarumque indiciis confidimus, tenella haec
Societatis optimae Matris infans, caelestibus [56.25] imprimis aucta favoribus, desiderata
toties adjunctis subsidiiis et benefactorum auxiliis, infantiles excutiet fascias et in
grandiorem giganteamque adspirabit aetatem. Posteri utique nostri successores, dante
Domino incrementum, caeteras infantiae, prout res excreverint, superaddent aetates.

[56.30] Quin etiam a nobis imbecilibus Evangelii praeconibus arbitor, quid agamus,
non quo dicamus modo, (non enim facile tempus utrique suppeteret) expectari, maxime
cum nuda veritas, de rebus a nobiset ipsis ad animos promovendos gestis loquens,
inornata videtur ornatior.

[56.35] Et profecto a nobis, nostrae Missionis initia, progressus et incrementum
nunc prosecuturis, non mira sed vera expectantur, nec quae ex virtute acta sunt omnia, sed
quae per temporum vicissitudes et mutationes, per locorum difficultates et temporis
spatiique superesse [56.40] potuerunt angustias. Ut aequi bonique consulere debeat,
amice Lector, si pauca de multis et spe minora narrentur. Sicut enim in exiguae
coloniae transmigratione jam populosissimam regionem urribus oppidisque frequentem
cernere vanum esset, ita in [56.45] missionis modernae fundatione et stabilimento, illius
jam ab incunabilis a Nostris gestorum illibatam seriem texere impossibile est. Ea itaque
quae ad exemplum praecipue valent, quaeque ad causae momentum faciunt maxime, cum
conor exponere, Deum precor O<ptimum> M<aximum>, ut [56.50] conanti adsit pro-
pitius et Confratrum meritis precibusque laborem optimo utique fine assumptum praestet
legenti esse utilem, Societati nostrae et universae Ecclesiae catholicae honorificum.

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[59.1] Index rerum memorabilium quae in hoc Prooemio et Primaevae S.J. Illinensis Missionis Historia continentur.

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+ A<ae> M<aiorem> D<ei> G<loriam>
Notes

1. Ad maiorem Dei gloriām.


4. Later interlinear addition: suo.

5. Later interlinear addition: quidem.

6. Classical infinitas.

7. Marginal gloss: Cic. Lib. 2 de Oratore, although “Sapientiae speculum” is not part of the original quotation.

8. Marginal gloss: Pro Arch. poēta.


10. Later interlinear addition: historicorum omnium facile princeps.

11. Ms. reads: vitia crasium in natura corrupta.

12. Constituti has been deleted, probably by the original hand, before laboribus.

13. No marginal gloss is given, but the quotation is taken from a letter to Caecina, Epistulae ad Familares VI.vi.12.


15. Original Ms. contains a deletion of nostrae before missionis, probably by the original hand.

16. Original reading: longum . . . tractatum, emended in Ms.

17. Ms. reads: multis.


20. Classical conexio.


22. Classical exanclata.

23. Later interlinear addition, probably by original hand: nati.

24. Marginal gloss: Jacob. 1, 17.


27. Later interlinear addition: Florentino.

28. Ms. reads: Europaeis, quantum quidem constat, eam est ingressus.


33. Emended in Ms. from original reading: utrasque . . . ripas.

34. Emended in Ms. from construcere.

35. Caelibites is underlined in Ms.

36. Original reading: uxores adjunxissent, later emended.

37. Classical mixti.

38. Ms. reads: imposterum.


40. For depraedationis.

41. Original reading: callido, deleted with aequo added later as an interlinear gloss.

42. Emended. Original reading illegible.
43. Emended in Ms. from original reading: *conabor adhuc praeter loci hujusce historiam.*

44. Originally followed *potui,* later deleted and added here in Ms. The word is found only once, Claudianus Mamertus (fl. A.D. 362), *De Statu Animae.*

45. Later interlinear addition: *hac.*

46. Marginal gloss: *de cæles. hier. c.3,* a reference to Pseudo Dionysius the Areopagite, *De cælesti hierarchia.*

47. Emended later from original reading: *praeterea.*

48. Later interlinear addition: *de.*

49. Later interlinear addition: *nostrae.*

50. Later interlinear addition: *quoque.*

51. Originally *evenit* was placed after 1784, deleted, and moved to the end of the line by a later and different hand.

52. Classical *planitiem.*

53. This variant spelling is a later interlinear addition to the original.

54. Ms. reads: *Etenim rapidissimis se Missouri fluivil aquis, etiam quoad colorem, confundens,* with interlinear glosses to indicate correct word order.

55. Ms. reads: *cujus.*


57. Classical *Rotomagis.*

58. Emended in Ms. from original reading, now illegible.

59. Later emendation in Ms. from original *praeventi.*

60. Originally followed by *regionis,* deleted in Ms. either later or by the original hand.

61. Marginal gloss: *A<nno> 1837.*
62. Classical demensus.

63. Original reading: plerosque Scriptores, emended later in Ms.


65. Original reading: Continentem jam inde, deleted in Ms. either later or by the original hand.


67. Marginal gloss: prop<rior> condemn<avit> Alex. VIII.

68. Ms. reads: dummode.


70. Marginal gloss: 1 Tim. 2.

71. Later addition: est, fuit . . . -que.

72. Marginal gloss: Gen. 49.

73. Emended in Ms., but original reading is illegible.

74. Later interlinear addition: nullis.

75. Later interlinear addition: ille.

76. Marginal gloss: Ps. 86.

77. Later interlinear addition: Gentium.

78. Marginal gloss: Rom. 11.


80. Ms. emended; original reading: credentes, deleted with qui sibi persuadent added later.

81. Later interlinear addition: illos.

82. Later interlinear addition: saltem.
83. Original reading: *contestatum*, later emended.

84. Later addition: *semper*.

85. Later interlinear addition: *abunde*.

86. Later interlinear addition: *semper*.

87. Later interlinear addition: *duntaxat*.

88. Marginal gloss: *H. Th. q. g 2. a.2*. This may be another reference to Aquinas.

89. Marginal gloss: *Sap. 13*.

90. Deletion of word before *Scriptorum* in Ms. by original hand, illegible.

91. Original reading: *hujus*, deleted by original hand.

92. Corrected in Ms. later from the original reading: *ut nullum umquam aliqui hodie adhuc, aut*.

93. Later interlinear addition: *interim*.

94. Later interlinear addition: *plumis intexto*.

95. Later interlinear addition: *ita*.

96. *Id est, evellunt*.

97. Emended in Ms. later from *per errorem*.

98. Ms. reads: *cutum non modum*.

99. Ms. reads: *tingunt*.

100. Later interlinear emendation: *tribus auris cujusque foraminibus*; original reading illegible.

101. Emended in Ms. by original hand from *inauribus*.

102. Later interlinear addition: *insuper*.

103. Ms. reads: *pedibus*.

104. Later interlinear addition: *inediae*.

105. Ms. reads: *factum id esse*. 

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106. Later interlinear addition: *supra iam*.

107. Original reading: *verbi*, emended by an interlinear gloss to *exempli* later.

108. Later interlinear addition: *etiam*.

109. Originally *possit* was placed before *efficacia*, deleted and moved to the end of the sentence, and then emended to *possint* by the original hand.

110. Originally *habitualibus* was placed after *cognitionibus*, later deleted and added to the beginning of this line of text.

111. Later interlinear addition: *nec absque*.

112. Original reading: *liberaliori utique . . . Antistitis munificentis*, later emended to read as presented here.

113. Later interlinear addition: *multiplici*.

114. Originally *idaeam* was placed after *indelibilem*, but was later deleted and an interlinear addition was made placing *ideaem* here.

115. For *indelebilem*.

116. Later interlinear addition: *ad quaesita illico*.

117. Classical *abrupte* or *ex tempore*.

118. Later interlinear addition: *ipsi*.

119. Later interlinear addition: *ad*.

120. Original reading: *quantis de rebus*, deleted by original hand.

121. Later interlinear addition: *nec tamen*.

122. Later interlinear addition: *statim*.

123. *Rem acu tangunt* is a proverbial phrase found only in Plautus, *Rud*. 1306.

124. Original reading: *deviari*, emended later by interlinear gloss.

125. Later interlinear addition: *secundaeque*.

126. Later interlinear addition: *nec*.

127. Original reading: *imponetur*, emended by interlinear gloss later.
128. *Id est, auctores suae mortis fiunt.*

129. Later interlinear addition: *obdurescere solent.*

130. Original reading: *perpessis,* deleted before *incommodis* by original hand.

131. Deletion in Ms. before *nam,* original reading illegible.

132. Marginal gloss: *2 Tusc. 15.*

133. Later interlinear addition: *infantes.*

134. Original reading: *excutiat,* later emended in Ms. to the reading given here.

135. Later interlinear addition: *tota.*

136. Later interlinear addition: *caeteroquin.*

137. Later interlinear addition: *illos.*

138. Ms. reads: *Euraepeis.*

139. Original reading: *etiam,* later emended to *non solum impigre.*

140. Ms. reads: *maritos.*

141. Ms. reads: *egredientes.*

142. Original reading: *percurrunt,* later emended by interlinear gloss to *persecant.*

143. The following sentence originally began after *procellosissimos.* The remainder of this sentence, as well as the first two words of the following which were deleted, have been added later.

144. Later interlinear addition: *aut.*

145. Marginal gloss: *S<anctus> Jo<annes> Chrys<ostom>.*

146. Later emendation in determination; original ending is no longer legible.

147. Original reading: *posse,* deleted by original hand before *pastiones.* The word is smudged, and the author possibly could have intended *passiones.*

148. Ms. reads: *tenerem.*

149. No marginal gloss is given, but the author is alluding to a negative “Golden Rule.” See Matthew 7:12 and Luke 6:31. Metzger and Murphy (*The New Oxford*
Annotated Bible, New York: Oxford University Press, 1991) note, “Others had formulated a negative Golden Rule that counsels inaction (“Do not do to others . . .”); the positive . . . requires active contribution to the welfare and happiness of others.” (p. NT 10)

150. Original reading: *recurrent*, deleted before *quaee*, probably by the original hand.

151. Later interlinear addition: *fortasse*.

152. Emended in Ms. from *certior*.

153. Later interlinear addition: *sensu carentibus*.

154. Original reading: *ejus*, deleted before *ex* by original hand.

155. Original reading: *colebant*, deleted before *etiam*, probably by the original hand.

156. Original reading: *illius*, deleted probably by original hand before *cogitatio*.

157. Ms. reads: *pes ligneumque*.

158. Later interlinear addition: *denique*.

159. Later interlinear addition: *sub cujus symbolo aut figura Spiritus se exhibuit*.

160. Emended in Ms. Original reading illegible.

161. Later emendation in Ms. Original reading illegible.

162. Original reading: *observationes observare debeant*, with *observare* later deleted and *adimplere* added at the beginning of the next line of text. Note the alliteration and assonance of the original reading.

163. Original reading: *sibi*, deleted probably by the original hand.

164. Ms. reads: *conentur*.

165. Original reading: *Neutrum tamen gratis*, with the next word emended probably by the original hand to *Eodem*. The original word is now illegible, but was followed by *pene modo*, emended to *modum*.

166. Later interlinear addition: *et ipsa somnia*.
167. Original reading illegible for the first word of this line of text, later emended to *omnes*. Ms. now reads: *omnes ad unam*, followed by the deletion of *ad omnes suas*.

168. Original reading: *ritu sacro in illius honorem sanctificantur*, later emended to read as given here.

169. Later addition below the original line of text: *seu Spiritus sui consilium ominantur*.

170. Later interlinear addition: *suos*.

171. Later interlinear addition: *suis*.

172. Classical *deliciose*.

173. Ms. reads: *Loquantur*.

174. Original reading: *ubi*, emended to *ad* in Ms. by original hand.

175. Later addition within line of text: *tibi*.

176. Later interlinear addition: *felicitate*.

177. Later emendation: *sed*; original reading illegible, but may have been *ea*.

178. Original reading: *loco fortunatissimo*, emended by original hand to the reading given here.

179. Emended in Ms. Original reading: *unum*.

180. Later emendation in Ms. from *se illo . . . in praesenti*. Complete original reading is now illegible.

181. Later interlinear addition: *divinae*.

182. Later interlinear emendation: *obrutae fuere ignorantia ut*. Original reading began with *ignorantia*, followed by a word now illegible.

183. Later interlinear emendation from *laborant*.


185. Ms. reads: *Sagas*.

186. Ms. reads: *traditur*.  

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187. Ms. reads: *clavum*.

188. Ms. reads: *contribulos*.

189. Original reading: *abundant*, emended in Ms.

190. Ms. reads: *Sordibus*.

191. Later interlinear addition: *agendi rationibus*.

192. Later interlinear addition: *apud illas gentes*.

193. Original reading: *Jesu ex Lacu Superiore*, deleted probably by original hand.

194. This line of text has been emended by a later hand. *Utramque* was added at the beginning of the line, and the endings of *ripam, accolentes*, and *navabat* were changed, but the original reading is illegible.

195. Ms. reads: *pedes*.

196. Original reading: *revocatur*, emended by interlinear gloss in Ms.

197. Original reading: *Hugues*, later emended in Ms.

198. Ms. reads: *ipsimet*.

199. Original reading: *brevi opus omni*, later emended by interlinear gloss in Ms.

200. Later interlinear addition: *Missionis*.

201. *Nuncupatum* has been added as a later interlinear gloss.

202. Original reading: *cataractibus*, later emended in Ms.

203. Ms. reads: *cimbae*.

204. Later interlinear addition: *eius confluentem cum*.

205. Original reading: *sub*, later emended by interlinear gloss to *circa*.

206. Later interlinear addition: *sinuosi*.

207. Ms. reads: *oris*.

208. Later interlinear addition: *super*.

209. Later interlinear addition: *istud*.
210. Original reading: *quo remigato*, later emended by interlinear gloss to *unde*.

211. Emended in Ms. Original reading illegible, but *fluvii* was originally the first word in the next line of text and has been deleted.

212. Later interlinear addition: *rite*.

213. Emended in Ms. Original reading: *vicinas silvas*.

214. Original reading: *locum, condictum*.

215. Originally *consumaturum*, with the later addition of the first "m."

216. Original reading: *illius ad illud*, later emended by interlinear gloss to *ad ipsum*.

217. Later interlinear addition: *cujus etiam undae*.


219. Later interlinear addition: *ab uno*.

220. An additional *fuit* has been deleted in the Ms. at the end of this sentence.

221. Later interlinear addition: *ad*.

222. Original reading: *liberati sancte asseverare*, with the last two words deleted, probably by the original hand before he finished the sentence.

223. Ms. reads: *duo*.

224. Original reading: *operari*, later emended by interlinear gloss in Ms.

225. Original reading: *videretur*, corrected to *videret*.

226. Original reading: *maximis*, later emended by interlinear gloss to *effatis*.

227. Later interlinear addition: *omnimodo*.

228. A word, now illegible, has been deleted in Ms. before *anno*, probably by the original hand.

229. Later interlinear addition: *in Illinois*.

230. Later interlinear addition: *anno*.

231. Later interlinear addition: *magis*.
232. Original reading: *ideomate*, emended later to *ideoma*.

233. The enclitic *-que* is a later addition in the Ms.

234. Later interlinear addition: *ita*.

235. Later interlinear addition: *conciones*.

236. Original reading: *ut*, deleted probably by original hand.

237. Original reading: *videtur*, deleted probably by original hand.

238. Original reading: *laborisae*, later emended.

239. Later interlinear addition: *etiam*.

240. Original reading: *etiam exposuerant*, later emended to *in via expositos reliquerat*.

241. Later interlinear emendation: *singulari atque*. Original reading is now illegible.

242. Original reading: *sollitario*, later emended in Ms.

243. Later interlinear addition: *adeo*.

244. Ms. reads: *adultos, Christum*.

245. Original reading: *edoctos adultos sacro*, with *adultos* deleted in Ms.

246. Ms. reads: *benovenlentiae*.

247. The enclitic *-que* is a later addition.

248. Ms. reading has been maintained treating *auscultare* as a deponent verb.

249. Original reading: *animas*, later emended in Ms.

250. Later interlinear addition: *plurimis gentis*.

251. Later interlinear addition: *ad*.

252. Original reading: *esse praecisam*, deleted probably by the original hand and placed at the end of the sentence.

253. Ms. reads: *anno*.
254. Original reading: *abstinent*, later emended in Ms.

255. Original reading: *in navem*, emended in Ms.

256. Ms. reads: *vocatur*.

257. Ms. reads: *Sacramenti*.

258. Ms. reads: *habetur Canon Theodosii Patriarchae in haec verba*.

259. Original reading: *ad*, later emended in Ms.

260. Original reading: *redegit fervorem*, emended probably by original hand before the addition of *revocavit*.

261. Later interlinear addition: *in*.

262. Original reading: *barbaris revertus est*, deleted by original hand.

263. Ms. reads: *adduceret; ab vitiorum ad praestigiatorum violentia tueretur*.

264. Original reading: *debuit. Et quamvis Miamis et Mascoutins patrem ut dissuaderent ad se*, deleted probably by original hand.

265. Original reading: *relicturum*, emended in Ms.

266. Original reading: *flexit illectam*, deleted probably by original hand.

267. Original reading: *fuit redire*, deleted probably by original hand.

268. Original reading: *ut dignetur, quam*, deleted probably by original hand.

269. Later interlinear addition: *reverteretur*.

270. Original reading: *spopondereque*, with emendation of the verb to *spoponditque* and *se* added later. The final word in the line, *suo*, was probably added at the same time, and *illius* was changed to *illi*.

271. Original reading: *absoluta inventurum*, deleted probably by the original hand.

272. Later interlinear addition: *vario*.

273. Original reading: *contulebat*, later emended in Ms.

274. Later interlinear addition: *partim*.
275. Original reading: *consiliaque*, emended to *atque approbando*, probably by original hand before he concluded the sentence.

276. Later interlinear addition: *de*.

277. Later interlinear addition: *si justa*.

278. Ms. reads: *ut*.

279. Ms. reads: *quibuscum*.

280. Original reading: *a pueris annis*, later emended in Ms. to *a teneris*.

281. Later interlinear addition: *ab*.

282. Later interlinear addition: *deinde*.

283. Original reading: *Binetteau describunt*, deleted probably by original hand.

284. Later interlinear emendation: *cujus nunc mors enarranda venit, gesserat*. Original reading: *et P<atre> Gabriele Marest, de quo aliqua dicam, gerit*.

285. Ms. reads: *humilis*.

286. Ms. reads: *pistoris*.

287. Later interlinear addition: *peragebant munia*.

288. Ms. reads: *asseverant*.

289. Classical *ulli*.

290. Ms. reads: *principuo*.

291. Enclitic *-que* added later.

292. Original reading: *sunt quid*, changed to *quae*, and then emended to *est quid*.

293. Classical *prima luce* or *antelucio*.

294. The two verbs in this sentence have been corrected in the Ms. from present tense to imperfect by a later hand.

295. Ms. reads: *instruet*.

296. Corrected in Ms. from present indicative to present subjunctive.
297. Original reading: *exercitiis exactitudo*, deleted, probably by original hand.

298. Original reading: *mira fac*, emended in Ms. to *solent*.

299. Later interlinear addition: *ab initio*.

300. Original *pro* has been deleted before *caeteris*, probably by original hand.

301. Ms. reads: *colligere*.

302. Ms. reads: *dissiminavit*.

303. Later interlinear addition: *a se*.

304. Original reading: *cursum expleret*, emended to *expleturus* with interlinear additions of *jam jam* and *revocetur*.

305. Original reading: *1817*, emended probably by original hand.

306. Ms. reads: *situm*.

307. Ms. reads: *milliaribus*.


309. Ms. reads: *proficiscitur*.

310. Original reading: *circam*, emended possibly by original hand.

311. Later interlinear addition: *passim*.

312. Later interlinear addition: *videantur*.

313. Original reading: *pace quae nulla*, emended in Ms.

314. Ms. reads: *perigrinos*.

315. Original reading: *occupa*, emended to *consectabantur*, probably by original hand.

316. Ms. reads: *nullus*.

317. Original reading: *nullus certiores ad*, later emended above original line of text as presented here.
318. Original reading of two words, the first illegible, followed by *illi*, deleted probably by original hand.

319. Original reading: *Maternae de*, deleted probably by original hand.

320. Original reading: *Totum se divinae*, deleted before *speciali*, probably by original hand.

321. Ms. reads: *quem*, corrected to *quae*, but the final “m” has not been deleted.

322. Later interlinear addition: *praeterea patres*.

323. Later interlinear addition: *quidem*.

324. Original reading: *a Chicasas*, deleted possibly by original hand before *in medio*.

325. Original reading: *1764 novum Angliae Gubernium*, later deleted and emended with interlinear gloss as presented here.

326. Marginal gloss: *excepto P<atre> Philippo Meurin, mortuo in oppido Prairie du Rocher et sepulcro sub fenestra juxta Altare ad latus Evangelii*.

327. Original reading: *plaga perfecer*ere, deleted probably by original hand.

328. Ms. reads: *amicus*.

329. Ms. reads: *vanus*.

330. Ms. reads: *fluminis*.
CHAPTER 6

MANUSCRIPT TRANSLATION

Preface
to the History of the Missouri Mission
of the Society of Jesus:
and also the first Christian expedition
among the Illinois Indians, and
the origin, progress, and growth
of the first Mission established there,
from the early period of the Society of Jesus:
an Abridgment.

To the Greater Glory of God.
Let these things be written for another
generation, and a people, who will be created,
will praise the Lord.

Psalm 101

Preface

I think the reader must be forewarned, that along the way I will mention some things in
the eulogies of our Fathers accomplished splendidly by them in this Mission, which
whenever they surpass human strength, could be regarded as miracles: prophecies of the
future, manifestations of sacred mysteries, and — if there are any other things of this sort
— favors divinely bestowed in like manner on wretched mortals because of intercession on
their behalf. Finally I will seem to be ascribing to some a title of sainthood or martyrdom.

On the other hand, very many of these facts have been recorded long ago by the most
eminent writers, and I have transcribed almost as many from the same authors with the
words translated from French into Latin. But I am placing all these things before my
readers in this way because I do not wish that the material be accepted by them as tested
and approved by the holy Roman See, but as gaining their weight from the singular
demonstrated credibility of their authors, and so not otherwise than as human history.
To the Greater Glory of God

Introduction to the History of the Missouri Mission of the Society of Jesus.

How great a treasure our society has, not only as a whole, but also each and every one of its members, that is, a very accurate knowledge of the beginning of the individual missions, their progress and growth; how great is its worth, how varied and manifold its usefulness, and finally, how beneficial it is and in every way necessary especially to those whom God the Almighty has placed in that very beloved field of his and to those whom he will place there in the future, so that they themselves may also be faithful sowers of the divine seed and diligent reapers of those abounding crops, fruitfully irrigated long ago by our Elders both with their sweat and sometimes with their very blood; no one who is knowledgeable or indeed a clever appraiser of things will ever deny this.

What account of the cultivation of the Lord’s field indeed can be more expedient and more productive than for you to have learned from the example of others what will be of use in this work most divine of all? Moreover, from where would you seek the examples about which I speak, rather than from the knowledge of things in the past accomplished by our Elders at home and abroad? Indeed, having thought seriously about it, I usually decide, while I think it necessary to look into this subject matter, as it happens, with rather intense care and with a desire for a mind not indifferent and soft, but concerned about itself and about the general good for the family, that history conquers and surpasses by far every other kind of erudition and knowledge. Indeed, the Father of Eloquence says, history is “the witness of the times, the light of truth, the life of memory,
the teacher of life,” and truly the mirror of wisdom. [1.29] Into which mirror it is fitting especially for those to gaze attentively who sit in the Senate of the Provinces or Communities, so that after the order of facts and events in the unfolding of various intentions and undertakings has been considered, [2.1] as well as the feeble power of opportunities and circumstances in administering those same Provinces, thence they may come to know the nature of the business to be managed which has been divinely entrusted to them, and they may seek the knowledge of correctly steering and guiding the little boat of the same. [2.6] Which is both declared and confirmed by that well known saying of the very laudable Marcus Tullius, whereby he says: "How many distinct images of the bravest men have writers bequeathed to us, not only to gaze at, but also to imitate? Always placing these images before my eyes in administering the Republic, I used to shape my own rationale and intellect by that same way of thinking as those distinguished men." [2.13] But Livy, easily the foremost of all historians, in the beginning of his excellent work says: "This is that which is especially advantageous and fruitful in the knowledge of affairs: that you consider the lessons of every example placed on an illustrious monument, whence you may take for yourself and your Republic what to imitate." [2.19] And although Cicero, Titus Livy, and many others eloquently and wisely have discussed many things concerning the true usefulness and profit of histories in both public and private life, nevertheless those who are zealous for solid virtues and apostolic perfection must here be brought to deeper considerations. [2.25] It is a great thing indeed for the highest moderators to communicate their plans, for which there is no place except when matters are in doubt, both in public and domestic affairs. It is a great thing to foretell the
favorable or adverse results of opportunities, and to be able by means of a lofty mind to endure the reversals of falling fortunes. [2.31] Finally, it is a great thing, both to restrain the abominable monsters of desires, and to correct the defects of a corrupt nature or of areas, ages and positions of life. But there is no greater and richer fruit from histories than that we acknowledge the Giver of every perfect gift himself [3.1] and the greatest Author, the Preserver and the Pilot in even the smallest matters. [3.3] Then we read histories so that we may communicate plans which are beneficial, by virtue of the nature of our calling, to others situated in favorable or harsh circumstances, and that which is certainly the greatest and most excellent reason, so that we might be able to lead others over from acting badly or from managing a matter badly to piety and good action. [3.9] For indeed this task is so great that to it God himself brings together all his own energies. [3.10] In this type of work he reveals the wholeness of all things, and, what transcends every summit of miracles, the taking on of human nature, the highest labors of a mortal life, and the endurance of a death so very, very harsh.

[3.15] Finally, one may drink in manifold consolation from histories, sometimes even in the same labors and adverse circumstances. [3.18] Moreover, that recollection of the common law, as it were, and of the human condition is sufficiently effective, so that, since we are all turning hither and thither in the same boat, we may neither demand a particular or distinguished fortune, nor may we refuse the common one. [3.22] Last of all, if we weigh the calamities and losses of our Elders, and in this treatment we are eager to make our afflictions seem lesser, to cure wounds, to alleviate pains, this will be easy for us to do as long as we comprehend the fact that our predecessors, men certainly
distinguished, have already trod this way in times past. [3.28] For if, as Socrates testifies, as we look at the misfortunes of others, it helps to bring them together in a heap with our own perils, very many are going to bring back home their own problems, which they had taken from their home, more willingly than those of others. [3.32] Cicero says to Caecina, "Recollection of the common law, as it were, and of the human condition alleviates pain." [3.34] The collected works of Seneca and Plutarch, with which they were eager to cheer up their friends fixed in sorrow, are not at all unknown to the zealous reader. [4.2] Nor does the rationale of our institute allow someone to compose a historical volume for a Prooemium itself, or to set up a theater of apostolic life now in the beginning of our work.

[4.6] Nevertheless there remains something worthy of observation concerning the Fathers of the first period of the Society, who laid the first foundations of that Mission outermost to the West. [4.9] For indeed, since in the description of this mission of the modern Society I will often have to refer to certain places and posts surveyed in times past by our Elders, and to refer to the practices, customs and religion of the indigenous people, reformed in times past by them and improved with all diligence and labor, I think that it would be worth the effort, [4.15] before I begin the history proper of the Missouri Mission, to grasp just a few things briefly in this Prooemium concerning those same zealous antesignani of the Standard of the Cross in this outermost region of the West, and about the settlements once erected by them, which will seem both to give some clarification to our narrative, and to be an incentive for our own day laborers. [4.21] If these things are completed not quite accurately, I ask for grace from my well-disposed readers. [4.23] For I do not have at hand as I write on the new Continent an abundance of 252
books and tools from the Archives of Paris and Rome, which are necessary for composing an accurate history. [4.26] Nor did the writers and all the records, which I have been able to gather together here, transmit the same things concerning the same matters, so while they do not differ on the majority, they do disagree on many minor things. [4.28] But if I am willing to follow these individual accounts carefully, and to review what one and then another has said concerning the same matter, my work will be even more extensive than an introduction of this kind needs to be, and a whole work would arise about each individual subject. [4.32] Wherefore it seemed best to me to omit the conflicting narratives of historians of doubtful credibility, unless it was something of the greatest importance.

[4.34] With such a matter omitted, the very integrity of this history may be ready to fall.

[4.35] Now let no one be amazed that the diction is varied, and not in all ways consistent within itself, or find fault with the style of speech. [5.2] Since indeed it is necessary for me to gather together as a contribution an Epitome, strictly speaking, of our annals from the public records of this region and from various authors, who are here in hand, in many places, their own diction and composition will have to be used, yet if anywhere I myself shall interject and insert something from myself, the style will be adapted to the form of those whom I follow as sources, lest the composition seem to be at variance with itself.

[5.10] But yet, in this introduction, one must not expect a long treatise from me concerning the Illinois and Missouri Indians. [5.12] For the history of them and of their first Missionaries is too well known for it to be necessary to preface many things concerning them. [5.15] For both Father Joseph Juvencey has brilliantly described in Latin the origin, progress and growth of this Mission, and Father Francis Xavier de Charlevoix through
published the same in the French idiom, and other authors thereafter of this same Society and historians of this continent have arranged in their commentaries very many things which happened in the years following. [5.21] Finally, the matter itself has filled the world full of its fame, and of the accomplishments in this very vast territory. [5.23] Nevertheless, because the connection between cause and effect is so close that they bring light to one another mutually, and because the actions of mortals vary, just as do the things from which they derive their origin, and because experience of ages past shows that, when circumstances remain the same, the same causes have always produced the same effects, [5.29] it seemed necessary to me, intending to write about our Society in the far West, to set forth at the beginning a few things concerning the customs of the indigenous people and the dispositions of the place, so that when there is agreement about the cause, and also what may be worthwhile, there may be a clearer understanding of what was either endured or borne by the Society in this vineyard of the Lord. [5.35] Indeed I confess that my own little commentary is very small and ever so scanty, but it will be not altogether useless, so I hope, for the greater glory of the Almighty, for the adornment and embellishment of the Society, and for the incentive of my comrades. [6.5] For from what fount have so many and so healthful brooks flowed out; from what root have so many and so great flowers and fruits been born; by what author has so great a crop and abundance of evangelical seed been able to come into existence within a few years, except from that one, God, who gives increase to the sowers and irrigators of his word, the fount and beginning and origin of all things undoubtedly good? [6.12] To whom, even just as in the final end, whatever things are good in his field must be returned, accordingly this very
small Missouri Mission of our Society will be distinguished. "Indeed every very good thing given and every perfect gift is from above, coming down from the Father of Lights, who is the Alpha and the Omega, and the beginning and end of all things." [6.19]

Therefore, to recall those things, which God the Almighty himself, for his own glory, by the hands of our day laborers, has accomplished and will accomplish in the future in this outermost vineyard of his to the west, will result in the greater glory of His Name. [6.25]

But the Society itself will have the distinction and propriety that so many sons, so zealous and noble, have been brought forth from it, who have enriched the Church of Christ the Lord with the memorials of their own sweat and blood, and have enlarged it so much by the access of diverse natures and the languages of nations. [6.30]

Nor to those, who with the same passion will voyage here hereafter from the Society intending to gather the harvest even overflowing with the sweat from our Elders and watered auspiciously with their blood and already growing white, will it be less pleasant or useful to know what labors the brothers endured from the very cradle, as it were, of this Mission, [7.1] and with what kinds of hardships they contended, and to know the founts, from whence they themselves can draw the things which will be of use either for irrigating those colonies more everyday and restoring more copious yields for the crops, or for sharpening their own diligence by the experience and investigation of their predecessors and augmenting it without the loss of their own perfection. [7.8]

But now if someone should survey how great an area of lands this mission of our Society outermost to the west has embraced, that person will easily notice that from the time when these vigorous defenders of evangelical truth first had come together here, that the Society of Jesus has been extended in less than
eighty years in almost every part of the Illinois and Missouri territory. [7.16] Now, moreover, those who are not familiar with the locations, unless they previously sketch at least a rough figure of these in their own mind, will learn with difficulty the status of the Missouri Society. [7.19] And the historian must work hard at this, so that to the extent that matters are obscure and remote, to such an extent, in order to place these things in view, he may apply a greater torch, as it were, by means of the clarity of his narrative. From this point let me begin.

[7.24] Antiquity divided the world into three parts. Those new tracts finally discovered, almost equal in magnitude to the other three parts, added a fourth, called America from Amerigo Vespucci of Florence, who having set out from Gades in the year 1497 under the auspices of King Emmanuel of Lusitania, first of the Europeans stepped onto it. [7.29] Indeed so much is agreed. (Although earlier Christopher Columbus from Genoa, at the expense of the Spanish monarchs, Ferdinand and Isabella, in the year 1492 reached the islands of the bay of Mexico and deservedly must be considered the fortunate explorer of that continent.) [7.33] Moreover the same land is called Western India, both because the mode of life of the inhabitants of each was similar and nearly the same, and because this land was also disclosed at the same time as eastern India in Asia. [8.1] Nevertheless the most enormous part of that new world situated to the northwest was surveyed not so long ago by the French, the first explorers of that area. [8.3] In fact, even in describing its various rivers and lakes, modern geographers, however remarkable, have also quite often wandered from fact. [8.5] After Jacques Cartier of St. Malo in France, by a mandate of Francis I, King of France, had stepped onto the coastal shores of Canada in
the year of our Lord 1534, the name of New France was placed upon all the northern
regions, both because the French were the first of all to penetrate into the interiors of that
region, and because, after several colonies had been founded by royal authority, they after­
wards took possession of the area peacefully as their own. [8.12] Meanwhile the
inhabitants of this New France immediately afterwards, both for the sake of commerce and
in order to survey the more remote regions, with the greatest difficulty measuring out by
foot the largest tracts of lands, and not with less danger overcoming tempestuous lakes
and very rapid rivers with small boats produced from the bark of a tree, began to travel to
the more remote regions. [8.18] I mention this rather copiously, moreover, because the
most ancient colonies of these western territories have no other cause or origin. [8.21] For
indeed I consider it certain and witnessed by the testimonies of all the historians, that the
French, a little after the possession of New France, went from there to go into the trade of
shaggy hides with the woodland tribes of indigenous people, and that they did not abandon
the colonies of small importance in the most suitable locations of the vast Missouri and
Illinois Territory, which at that time extended into the immense space from the Rocky
Mountains to the outermost bubbling spring of the Ohio River. [8.29] Nevertheless, the
locations of the colonies were excellent, whether settled from the beginning on both banks
of the Mississippi or at the streams, chiefly tributaries of that very long river. [8.32] But
this immense territory received already from the very first exploration of the region the
name "Illinois," derived from one of the tributaries of the Mississippi River, evidently by
which appellation, in the idiom of the Indians living nearby, the "stream of humans" was
signified. [9.1] Moreover, the new colonists, so that they might render themselves more

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formidable to their Indian neighbors of the place, and so that they might keep their own colonies safe from the enemies streaming in from the north, established at the very beginning a militia. Then by means of numerous garrisons also, who by order of the King of France had been transferred here both from New France itself and from Paris across the ocean and through the Bay of Mexico across the Mississippi River, they constructed many fortresses, with which they might be able more effectively to control the friendly tribes of Indians in their service, and, when the insults had been checked on both sides, to preserve them in the greatest peace, but first and foremost so that they might be able to protect themselves and their possessions against the attacks and pursuits of unfriendly tribes approaching from different directions. But since men for the most part celibate had undertaken long expeditions of this sort, who afterwards compelled by necessity had taken wives for themselves from among the Indians, they were not producing offspring except biracial of mixed blood. The King of France, desiring exceedingly to lessen for the future so much inconvenience to the Colonists, and, desiring consequently by means of a more numerous population to free them from every fear of invasion and plundering, provided for more families to be sent across to that place from France. Moreover, because our knowledge about the very beginnings of so many great expeditions and of the very first colonies, which as the generations slipped by rose up into large towns, may be so inaccurate, it will not seem surprising, indeed in my judgment, to an appraiser equal to the task, provided one contemplates attentively, that the beginnings of those towns in their origin were so small and meager, that they seemed not at all to promise that greatness and opulence would follow thereafter. And
hence it happened that those who were eager to rear from the cradle the annals of that region from its infancy, if I may say so, worked to commit nothing completely to memory, as things indeed at that time seemed unworthy of remembrance. [9.34] Therefore, so that from this destruction of oblivion I might rescue the beginning of our Society in the vast boundaries of this region and lay claim to the first fruits of Christianity among the primitive nations of the Indians, whereby shortly afterwards [10.1] they emulated the ardor of the first Christians, in addition to the historical description of this place now given, I will try to include succinctly by means of this historical narrative those things also, which I have been able to find either from public documents, or from the tradition of those of our people born in the colonies, or finally from the commentaries of the first laborers of the Society, that is, about the climate of the place, the nature of the Indians, and the labors of the first missionaries. [10.8] A double motive moved me especially to do this. First of all, if by chance there has been a vision of the compassionate goodness of God from this tiny sowing of the Gospel, we may sometimes better understand how to gather a fertile harvest into the barns of the Catholic Church through the efforts of the laborers of the Missouri Mission, from which times thence the admirable works of the Almighty in the conversion of these Barbarians must be declared. [10.15] Secondly, if from a certain event or if by means of the hidden judgment of God the Almighty, hoped for fruits did not come forth, at least among certain tribes of the Indians, we may learn how much this tiny Mission of the Society of Jesus, even thence from its very entrance into this part of the new continent, performed, or how it endured to break through this vastness of faithlessness even as of forests, and with how much sweat or diligence by cultivation summoned this same fallow
land to great hope. [10.24] Furthermore, who would doubt that this whole business
with which I must now deal is the most divine of all divine things, as Dionysius the
Areopagite points out magnificently indeed, although short of exaltation, when we work
together with God in the salvation of so many souls? [10.28] Therefore I will try to delight
the pious reader in a pious matter more with the candor of truth than by the allurements of
words. [10.30] I really want nothing detracted in this, my brief narrative of my comrades,
neither from the ancient annals, nor from private letters, from their having that firmness
which is suitable to have in the authority of truth. [10.33] Nor indeed is it my intention in
this compendium of the history of the first period of the Society either to pursue all things,
or to drain dry the things which I do pursue, even though it happens that there are many
other things which could have been narrated as well. [11.1] Furthermore my plan is, as I
have already forewarned the well disposed reader, before I set forth the labors of the
Fathers which were endured in bringing the souls of the Indians to the light of the Gospel,
to get a few things out of the way first about the climate of this region and the fruits of the
land and the other little advantages, as well as about the nature of the indigenous people.
namely, their customs and languages, so that I will not need then to break the thread of
this Prooemium and of the History of our Mission later, a thing done often by necessity in
descriptions of this sort, but not without disgusting the reader. [11.10] By reason of the
so great expanse of this region, not only from east to west, but also from south to north, it
happens that there is also as great a variety of things growing, which are brought forth
under the sky of this same region, as there is great diversity of climates, because some
things are raised up under a cold sky, and others more fruitfully under a more moderate
Nevertheless, the whole region is especially pleasant, and the temperateness of the climate is so delightful and so healthful that it was likened by all the writers of old to the Valley of Tempe or a Paradise of pleasure. The colds of winter, however, are rather intense beyond the measure of the climate, and perhaps two reasons must be taken into account: first, the immense masses of snow, which cover the valleys and hills everywhere here during the winter months; and second, the density of the forests, which not only shade the ground so much that the rays of the sun are not able to reach it and be reflected back, but also generate many vapors and mists which are driven here from the north across immense lakes covered with ice. But the coldness is not the same every year, for those who were born here or have spent the winters here for a long time bear witness that they scarcely felt any cold when, as happened in the year 1784 (called by the inhabitants the harsh winter in the manner of an epoch), the herds themselves shivered in the severity of the cold and of snows mounting up to a height of three feet.

Concerning the fruitfulness of the soil, it can be said in general with confidence, a thing which even the writers of old claimed, that all the things which grow for the care and nourishment of humans, and indeed even delicacies, are not imported from elsewhere, but are grown at home.

But I also would not dare to assert that nearly all the things which we see in Europe are found in this western region, and if some things are lacking, they are balanced against other things far more numerous which Europe lacks. The land, moreover, part spreading out into a plane, part gently rising up into hills, is fertile in very rich soils, and it both abounds in earth irrigated by every diligence of the colonists by means of a
triple-stranded apparatus, and, since trusted seeds of every kind of grains and legumes have been brought in from the old world, with light labor, it returns produce of many kinds. [12.8] But it is especially fertile in sesame, which heavenly gift is certainly preferable to barley and white wheat, and from this commodity the colonists receive the greatest possible profit, since indeed it is carried out daily by boats through the cities and through the towns, and is sold in separate lots far and wide for a most dependable profit. [12.12] In addition to these one can see very many trees that bear fruits of every kind, which only because of deficiency of cultivation are surpassed in the excellence of the fruits from our countries: innumerable vines, blackberries, strawberries and similar fruits; [12.16] tall stalks and roots, many of which are beneficial here and there for human use, and which are too numerous to count; both fish and birds of exceptional color, and very many quadrupeds, but nearly all belonging to the woodlands, part known by us, part unknown, in which it certainly is apparent how in wonderful and various ways divine wisdom is at play in the world. [12.21] Nearly this whole region gushes with springs and famous rivers: of which, so that I may pass over the rest in silence, this river easily holds the first place among the illustrious rivers of the whole earth, this river which now in the idiom of the natives is justly called the Mississippi, the Mechassipi or Mescha-Chebes, that is, the Father of Waters. [12.27] For indeed, even as far as its color, it pours itself together with the very rapid waters of the Missouri river, which is only a branch, runs down through an immense 4400 miles, and it brings with itself many other navigable rivers, which it gathers together from both sides, to its own mouth at the Gulf of Mexico. [12.33] The river named the Missouri, truly the principle tributary of that very great river, runs
down from the very high Rocky Mountains, abounds in cataracts at its source because of its immense altitude, and from there its bank on both sides [13.1] is very pleasant, with the ground gently sloping down toward its banks and gradually rising into hills, and everywhere the banks are clothed with forests and meadows in a most pleasing sight indeed. [13.4] From the northern and southern ridges many streams, torrents and very renowned rivers descend and are absorbed by that very large river. [13.7] Indeed another stream of that river inappropriately, as I have already noted, called the Mississippi, was detected, not by a certain Father Hennepin, as is commonly believed, but by Father Jacques Marquette\textsuperscript{13} in the year of our Lord 1673.\textsuperscript{14} He with Lord Joliet, from the colony of New France, entered into that river through its tributary stream, the Wisconsin, and thus was the first European to measure its stream bed all the way to the Arkansas. [13.14] But in the year 1680 the illustrious Sieur de la Salle of Rouen, by whom afterwards the mouths of the Mississippi were detected, desiring to complete the exploration of the very laudable Father, sent a Canadian by the name of Dacan with Father Louis Hennepin, to ascend the river all the way to its springs.\textsuperscript{15} [13.14] But when they reached the 46th degree parallel latitude, they were impeded by an immense waterfall, which Father Hennepin called the Cataract of Saint Antony. [13.22] The erudite astronomer of the King of France, Lord Nicolet, has very recently\textsuperscript{16} clearly proven the error of the origin of the Mississippi discovered by Hennepin and of the other descriptions. He both discovered the true sources of the Mississippi hitherto unknown, and after he had measured the immense tract of the region by means of observations, he described its ground plot with boundary lines most elegantly.
[13.29] But the practices of the natives need to be described, so that it may be clear to what parts this Mission of the Society made its way for the sake of the Gospel by the inspiration of God. [13.32] I think that an error, which has crept into many histories, must be noted briefly before all else, and be confuted. [13.33] For from this error comes the so-called fact that even the very name of the Supreme Being was unheard among the natives, and that they lived having no laws or political institutes very much in the manner of wild beasts, and that they worshiped no Divinity with any appearance of or care for religion. [14.1] Hence certain ones, even authors of the Annals of the Society, men wise and of rather good judgment in other respects, thought that none of these natives worship gods at all, and that they have been given up to madness in so far as they believe in omens and auguries, and one must feel pity because of their soothsayers and those who deceive for the sake of gain. [14.6] That this is altogether false is confirmed by the following well-founded arguments: for first of all the wisest possible investigators of natural things, because of the frightful vastness of secluded places and the paucity of the population compared to the great size of the tracts of land conclude, not without foundation, that the whole new continent had been inhabited only from 1,000 to 2,000 years, and that all its neighboring peoples had their origin from the inhabitants of the Old World, which had already for some time been enlightened. [14.14] Thence they are led by means of the most dependable conjectures to surmise that even in this very continent, the mysteries of the revealed religion and of rebirth had already been promulgated before the arrival of Christopher Columbus. [14.17] Moreover, by the doctrine of faith it is specified that even the Infidels receive the inflowing from Jesus Christ the Lord and Savior of all humans.
and that it is the right of the divine foreknowledge of a compassionate Divinity to provide
salvation available to all for anyone who comes into this world, provided that it is not
hindered on the part of that person.\textsuperscript{20} [14.23] From which if someone nurtured in the
forests among irrational animals were to follow the leading of reason in an appetite for
good and an avoidance of evil, one must believe most surely that God would either reveal
to him through internal inspiration those things which are necessary to believe, or would
direct some herald of the faith to him, just as he sent Peter to the centurion Cornelius;
[14.29] for God wants all humans to be saved, and to come to a knowledge of the truth.\textsuperscript{21}
[14.31] Therefore I point this out rather extensively so that you may understand that in
every race of native peoples there are some who at least sometimes have blazed with a
desire for Him, who always is, has been, and will be the object of longing of the nations.\textsuperscript{22}
For indeed those who are divinely illuminated and fully informed by natural reason, as
formerly were Melchisedec, Job, Rahab, and the three Magi, and others, understood by
how great a darkness almost their whole race had been enveloped. [15.1] Indeed the
works of God, especially those which work from day to day hitherto in souls created in his
image and freed from the captivity of Hell by the most precious blood of his Son, must be
searched for least of all in histories or in the journals of explorers, and must not be
examined thoughtlessly by any mortal. [15.6] These few examples from the Old Testament
and very many others, as well as examples in the New Testament even among barbarian
races here and there, demonstrate the possibility, and sufficiently lead even unbelievers to
believe that there have been various people at various times, who have come to know the
True Divinity and Savior one way or another especially by the mercy of divine goodness.

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[15.11] This could be confirmed by countless places in the Sacred Scripture, by the testimonies of the Fathers, and by examples of miraculous conversions to the faith as told by our first Missionaries. [15.14] For indeed that Spirit of Truth says through the mouth of the prophets: "I will make mention of Rahab and Babylon of those who know me. Behold foreigners, and Cyrus, and the people of Ethiopia, these have been there."[23]

[15.17] And through the Apostle of the Gentiles: "Do you not know what the Scripture says of Elijah, how he prays to God against Israel? 'Lord, they have killed your prophets, they have torn down your altars, and I alone am left, and they seek my life.' But what does the divine response say to him? 'Seven thousand men remain for me, who have not bent their knees before Baal.'"[24] [15.23] Thus it is commonly believed that without exception all who perished in the flood perished for eternity, although Saint Peter clearly teaches the contrary: "And coming to those spirits who were in prison, who were unbelievers when the ark was being built, He preached."[25] [15.27] Exactly in the same way and in the pre-judgment undoubtedly common, those are in error who persuade themselves that the True God has had and in turn now has no chosen ones among the barbarian tribes of the Indians. [15.31] But whatever there may be from a small or great number of the elect of this kind, without any hesitation or doubt I also affirm this fact: that all those natives have always had at least some knowledge about God, the Author, Preserver, and Governor of all things. [15.35] For it is confirmed by all writers that those wretched ones had been given up to omens and auguries and also to soothsayers, and to those who deceive always for gain.
And so from their own testimony, as a necessary consequence, with inextricable proof, it is justly inferred and abundantly brought to light that those barbarians are cognizant of the existence of the Supreme Being. For if they acknowledge that those natives have been superstitious, by the same argument they acknowledge that they have always worshiped some Divinity, in a religion certainly false or in a faulty worship, if indeed all theologians hold that superstition is a vice, which is an inferior deviation if merely compared to religion.

I admit that monstrous crimes against nature, rooted in the practice of many generations, while they corrupt the body, make the spirit strangely blind and turn it away from reason to the senses. Nevertheless these unspeakable crimes could not overwhelm their minds with an ignorance so passive and dense that they extinguished the sparks of all rational nature deep within concerning the Author of all things. "For indeed if," as the Sacred Scripture bears witness, "they were able to know so much that they could appraise their generation, how did they not rather easily discover its Lord?"

But now so that I may with a few words put an end to that rather lengthy argument, which I am confident nevertheless is annoying to no one yet will be of use especially to the missionaries of the Indians to arouse and comfort the neophytes, since it is well known from the public report and experience and witness of all that these nations are especially sharp sighted in their judgment, it can be concluded with an easy conjecture that the judgment of the different opinions of the historians concerning the natives' knowledge and worship of some Divinity, and concerning the reward or punishment after death for things done rightly or wrongly, is simply the result of different ways of examining and interrogating those barbarians.

For indeed those Woodland
Indians for the most part do not immediately grasp the force of our limits, their application, or the connection of ideas. [16.30] But what if the same idea were put forth with formulas of this sort: it doesn’t seem equally laudable to them, does it, to slaughter or to sustain those parents who are now growing weak because of poverty? [16.33] What do they decide about two, of which the one dies by a cruel wound to protect the well-being of the benefactor, while the other is caught in the act while building a snare against the life of a benefactor, should he be killed by another’s hand? [17.1] It would become clear that those natives certainly would admit that there is some distinction between good and evil, and between a just remunerator and an avenger of evils. [17.3] But if they do not have a universal code of religion and laws, and they express their worship in sacred ceremonies, at least thence, in my opinion, it cannot be inferred that they never perceive in their soul any sense of piety in their own First Principle and ultimate end of all things. [17.9] This error of authors (so that I may protect their authority) thence crept in because they did not sufficiently know the languages, customs and nature of those people, concerning which a few things now must be said.

[17.13] In the course of this work I will discuss the practices and customs particular to any tribe, but I will only briefly mention some of these now, which all the native peoples of this region far to the west embrace. [17.16] But first I ask those, who are going to read this preface, that from these things which will be said, they seize the opportunity to feel the pain of others, and to entreat God the Almighty for the salvation of this race rather than despairing of a remedy, remembering that those wretches have been covered by the darkness of unbelief now for so many thousands of passing years, that
some of them have caught sight of no ray of Evangelical Light thus far, or perhaps scarcely any ray at all. [17.23] Of this Light, nevertheless, so much still remains from the innate quickness of mind of the indigenous peoples and their discernment in judgment, and certainly because of the goodness of a merciful God, which we have accepted by nature, that they easily acknowledge their own blindness, and they may confess it, but still they are very ignorant of how they can free themselves, since meanwhile the most hostile enemies of the salvation of their souls, with new and fresh spies sent to them daily, impiously struggle for their eternal destruction! [17.30] The barbarian inhabitants of this region for the most part are large in the stature of body, very beautiful in appearance, healthy in their complexion, with firm muscles, a broad face, large eyes, and black hair. [17.33] All the males, with their hair flowing down from their head and simply interwoven with feathers, pluck out the hair in the other parts of their face and body so that for a long time they were thought to be beardless by very many explorers and authors. [17.35] Both sexes dye not only their skin with a certain red clay, but also their garments, which they sew together with barbarian diligence from hides. [18.1] But themselves having skin of a bronze color, from time to time they stain their whole body with sap from citrus wood. [18.2] Moreover they have earrings inserted at an early age in order to be charming, some simply in their lower ear, others even with three holes in each ear, earrings that are very long and made of stone or of iron and are of no value, a really hideous sight. [18.5] Some moreover decorate their outer skin with certain marks and prickings so that they may appear more beautiful. [18.7] In the summer indeed they go seminude, but in the winter they cover their whole bodies with the hides of wild animals, and since there are very deep snows here
(such that occasionally they cover the ground to a height of three feet) when they indulge in hunts, they underpin their feet with small wicker frames, so that they can more safely fix their footsteps on top of the snows. [18.11] They are very able to endure the labors of a journey, lack of food, cold, excesses of weather, and disadvantages of every kind. [18.15] They sustain themselves by hunting for wild animals and by fishing, but when these also fail, they live a life completely destitute, and in frequent misery they struggle with hunger. [18.18] Then they search out roots zealously, and at last they slaughter their dogs, and they do not abstain from the hides with which they are clothed, or occasionally from filthy and rotting carcasses. [18.21] Whenever a lack of food falls upon them, they spend a three day period fasting; the same ones, if ever an abundance of food is at hand, persist in feasts from dusk to dawn. [18.24] Their arms are bows and arrows, and wooden clubs armed with stones or with the bones of fish. [18.26] They travel around in bands in a simple order, in an astonishing silence, but the wife goes before her husband. [18.27] Although they seem to be of a melancholic temperament of body, nevertheless they are cheerful and prone to laughter. [18.29] They converse slowly and clearly, as those who want to be understood, and rather often, earnestly meditating, they leave the conversation hanging, and begin it again at intervals. [18.32] Nor is their language completely difficult to learn, and it is almost similar for all the western tracts of indigenous peoples, with the exception of the names of certain things which are acquired, some from some tribes, others from others. [18.36] But the manner of their nature and circumlocutions is altogether the same for them all, however many have been rightly noted.
Of three elements from the alphabet, namely F, L and R, there is no use among this race. By no means, in the absurd observation of certain people, does this happen by divine intervention, because of the fact that, as has already been said above, they lack words such as Faith, Law, and Regent. Very many of their ABC’s are pronounced with the throat more or less, without any motion of the lips; ou, for example, is one of their numbers and therefore was written by our Fathers with the arithmetic notation 8, an excellent distinction. Practice is the only teacher of the idioms of the Indians; for although it is clear from those things which I have said above, that although the supply of individual words and even terms has itself a very rich means of expression, it very little meets the needs of the missionaries to allow them to deal usefully with the indigenous peoples, and disclose and perpetuate more effective words of salvation aptly and suitably, especially by means of rather lengthy connection. Since the Indians themselves have their own ways of elocution, they must be passionate about the composition and order of words, and conversation must be adapted to the nature of the indigenous people, to their temperament, ideas, and habitual thoughts of their barbarian mind. Which things indeed, as is generally agreed, it is not possible to comprehend individually except with constant communication with the Barbarians and with daily and familiar social intercourse, and not without the freely given favor of the Teacher of all languages and knowledge. Father Jacques Gravier, the founder of the first mission of the Society in this region, already by the year 1695, certainly with the highest erudition and with no less toil, had composed laboriously a dictionary and grammar of all the idioms of the Illinois Indians, and for the use of the future Missionaries of the Indians he had
transcribed these most elegantly with his own hand. [19.26] But indeed the very laudable astronomer, Nicolet, of France, came into possession of this monument of our early mission, more precious than all gold to our missionaries, by a gift of the Most Illustrious and Most Highly Respected Saint, Bishop Louis. [19.30] Meanwhile, so that I may set the record straight in a few words, whoever has had some acquaintance with these idioms, in this they all agree, that the Indians' manner of speaking abounds in manifold charm and possesses something of strength and emphasis, and that all the words themselves without exception are strongly graphic. [19.34] I append as an example a literal interpretation of some strophe of the Illinois Indians:

"Pekiziane manet 8e
Piaro nile hi Nanghi
Keninama 8i 8 Kaugha
Nero 8 inang 8 Tiang hi."

Which in Latin means thus: "O salutary Victim, who is sacrificed continuously, and gives His life, You, through whom there is ascent into heaven, we are all being attacked. Come on, strengthen us."

[20.1] I come now to the other things which are proper to the nature of those rustic people and to the aids and excellence of their minds, with which indeed they seem to surpass by far even the nations accomplished in literature and in every refinement. [20.3] In the first place, they are greatly superior to the Europeans in the perfection of the senses both external and internal. [20.5] For although for an interval of six months the whiteness of snows usually dulls the keenness of their eyes, and the suffocating smoke of the huts...
pours a mist over their vision, nevertheless their sense of sight is so keen and sharp that
not the very least trace of human tracks escapes that keenness, from which then, without
risk of error, they form their own judgment about the arrival or flight of enemies. [20.11]
They smell the presence of a fire and of things edible from a distance, and much more
quickly than they would be able to see it visibly. [20.13] They are strong in the ability of
imagining to a miraculous degree. It is sufficient for them to have gone once to a place in
order to form a distant visual image of that place distinct for themselves, consistent with
the place and indelible in the mind. [20.16] They undertake very long journeys without the
danger of losing their way through unknown forests, over the most extensive lakes, and
through trackless wildernesses. [20.18] Even in the very foggy season they both follow the
course of the sun through several days and distinguish the hours of time very accurately.
[20.20] And so it will seem astonishing to no one, either that it is impossible even for the
most experienced generals to draw enemies of this kind away from their path even by
means of intricate traps, or to throw their plan into confusion. [20.23] The beauty of their
imagination corresponds to its liveliness. When interrogated about any matter
whatsoever, they are far from being speechless, but in fact they even respond craftily and
keenly to questions on the spot; and although their orations are spoken extemporaneously
for the most part, without previous contemplation, nevertheless, they seem to have been
composed assiduously, and they abound in so much clearness, that if they had been
delivered from the rostra or platform of Rome or Athens, they would have been accepted
by the people showing their approval by means of unusual applause, as well as by the
favorable murmurings of the Senate. [20.31] Their eloquence, excellent in its art of
persuasion, has that force, frankness, and aptitude for rousing others to act, which is acquired neither by the rules of rhetoricians nor by any art, and which was rightly admired in barbarians by the Greeks. [20.35] And although they sustain their conversation neither with gesticulation of their hands nor with the motion of their eyes and inflection of voice, [21.2] nevertheless they themselves seem to have been persuaded, and they influence others in the way they wish. [21.3] It certainly would be marvelous, except that they connect a very excellent memory with so beautiful an imagination. Because they utterly lack any support, we have devised those things which either help or fulfill their need; nevertheless, it can scarcely be believed about how many matters and with how much order they conduct business in their councils, and following the individual issues most minutely, how they examine each one in the greatest detail. [21.9] They will speak for four or five continuous hours, but gifts will extend the time to twenty, and each one indeed requires an entire oration. [21.11] They will not fail to mention every detail of the things being displayed, and they will explain them one by one in succession without delay or hesitation. [21.14] Their narration is polished, clear and concise, even though it abounds in allegories and other rhetorical figures, nevertheless, it is powerful in vigorous fervency, and is animated by means of charming pictures and the other embellishments which their language allows. [21.18] They are endowed with an upright and firm judgment, they hit the nail firmly on the head, and seeking nothing else except an untried turning point of the matter, they would never allow themselves to be distracted from it by any additional circumstances or to be stopped in the middle of the things they had begun. [21.21] They seize whatever falls into the range of their understanding with little trouble. [21.22] But to
learn the arts even moderately, which thus far they have lacked, and which therefore they
look down upon with the greatest contempt as being useless to them, would require
constant and most intensive effort. [21.26] They can also scarcely form some idea of
purely spiritual matters for themselves, and do not deign to use self-discipline, or to apply
intellect to the knowledge of any matter whatsoever. [21.29] Moreover, while they are
sharpened by the enticement of curiosity or the hope of profit, they neither disregard
anything without consideration nor decide anything too quickly. [21.31] And where there
are those who are more moderate and fair when it comes to beginning a matter, there too
are those who are more eager and incited to follow a deliberation through to the end.
[21.34] Very many are outstanding in mind, so great and lofty in true nobility and
patience, that in their fortitude and endurance of pain, they surpass by far even men who
have been strengthened by the true Religion and every philosophy.

[22.1] They are always in full possession of themselves and uniform in every kind
of adverse and favorable fortune, nor in that very most sudden crisis of life do they lose
anything of the serenity of an unperturbed soul. 28 [22.4] When they are captured in battle
(indeed frequent wars are aroused among these people for no reason), they proceed, quick
and carefree to the cruelest death; and when the outrages against the assailants themselves
have been disclosed, they glory magnificently in the very moment of torture, and in fact so
that a kind of death most fierce may be inflicted on them by the victors, they themselves
become the authors and most treacherous contrivers of their own death. [22.10] Moreover
they are accustomed to growing hard to the point of such courage in situations of pain and
such loftiness of the spirit, even from earliest youth, by means of the continuous labors of
life and countless disadvantages, and even by often horrible tests. [22.14] For, in the
witness of Tullius, "The habit of labor makes the endurance of pains easier." [22.15] And
often for the sake of a test, they apply burning charcoal to infants of both sexes, after their
arms have been tied together alternately with a rope, so that they may test which of the
two, overcome by pain, first shakes off the live coal. [22.19] Least of all, therefore, should
one wonder why with so much firmness of soul and depth of mind they are altogether void
of fear in dangers and most invincible against all the blows of their enemies. [22.22]
Hence, since they are obedient to very many leaders, who, as discordant as possible, are
inclined towards war and vengeance, they continually rage in mutual destruction by means
of constant battles. [22.25] But lest the number of warriors be diminished daily by
 slaughters of this sort, and their whole race, otherwise not at all populous, be drained dry
of citizens in a short time, an obligation has been declared among all the barbarians that it
is not proper for them to proceed by means of open war but for the most part from an
ambush, and in turn to conceal themselves and unexpectedly intercept their enemies, and
to vent their rage most cruelly on those who have been intercepted. [22.32] For indeed
they cut off their heads for their scalps, which they carry about in their triumphs as they
leap for joy. [22.34] Nevertheless, if one of the enemies is adopted in place of a dead son
or brother, these, loved as much as possible, they protect, defend, and foster with all care
and sense of duty.

[23.1] These nations of the Illinois, in fact, were once by far the most populous of
the indigenous peoples, who now to a great extent have become extinct because of the
perpetual wars among themselves, and because of various other diseases, and especially
because of that very bad habit of washing themselves in cold water by whatever disease they are finally distressed, [23.6] and because very many have embraced the Christian faith, they are prohibited from marrying more wives by those laws, and they are unable to produce as many offspring today as they once were. [23.9] Finally, since the clansmen often glut themselves with the very plentiful drink of burnt wine,\textsuperscript{30} which was introduced by the Europeans, they are not as exceedingly long-lived and prolific in offspring as they once were. [23.12] Generally the Christians, so that they can be instructed more suitably by our Fathers, have been united together in villages. [23.14] They occupy lands, some of which already have been tilled in cultivation, and the rest as yet uncultivated are occupied by the infidels, who are fierce and wild peoples, and not yet entirely tamed by trade with the French, who dwell intermingled with them. [23.18] And these, nevertheless, are said to have made a great amount of progress by their pleasant association with the French in the refinement of their customs and in their esteem for the true Faith especially because of the numerous exhortations of the Fathers. [23.21] They are all very changeable in their innate nature, and they change their places of residence for a slight reason, and hence sometimes even those who are already neophytes at the same time slide back into their old customs and savage habits because of the lack of the presence of the Fathers. [23.25] They are indeed diligent and acute, and very easily taught even those things which address religion as long as they confine themselves in the towns together with the Fathers, but they are always lazy and especially unable to tolerate labors. [23.30] The males only give their effort to the hunts, build huts and go forth to war. [23.31] The condition of the women, however, is most unfair. [23.32] Not only do they cultivate the fields, they also collect
firewood and gather the harvest. [23.33] Not only do the women fresh from childbirth energetically and immediately after giving birth (from which they are set free often while alone and on the crossroads, where they immediately cleanse themselves and their newborn in the river) undertake all their domestic duties, but also when their husbands [24.1] are setting out to war or to the distant hunting grounds, they carry all the necessary equipment together with their nursing child. [24.3] These people build their homes, in fact, near a river or spring. [24.5] These consist of the branches of trees bent and tied together, and then they are covered with logs or bark or hides by a thickness so as to be very safe from the harshness of the winds, cold and heat. [24.7] They have small boats hollowed out by fire from solid wood or constructed from the barks of trees, with which they go down the rivers with marvelous speed and cut through the most stormy lakes. [24.10] And these, whenever they need to, they carry on their shoulders in order to avoid a waterfall or for the sake of a shorter distance. [24.11] Stretched out on the ground or upon mats of reeds they take their sleep as well as their food. [24.13] Their household utensils are simple and few, namely, a mat and wooden dishes and pipes, from which they draw the smoke of tobacco. [24.15] These, with which they make their treaties of peace or war, are hollowed out from flint not at all inelegantly, so that it is a wonder how in so great a deficiency of tools they can carve such pipes. [24.18] They have no ax or hoe, except of stone. [24.19] Instead of a plow they have poles with which they may open the earth. [24.20] They enjoy nothing more earnestly, nor are they delighted by anything more, than dances, in which they indulge for whole days as they hum to the disorderly and hoarse sound of a wooden drum, and they dance with their bodies painted and adorned with
various feathers and with green pebbles fastened to their arms and legs. [24.25] They have very little desire for or knowledge of riches and they have a very small concern and regard for cultivating the earth.

[24.28] But indeed, in my opinion, the thing which must arouse a great admiration moreover for them all, in a people otherwise barbaric, is the fact that their respect and gentleness mutually towards one another is so great as can scarcely be found among men even refined in every art and humanity. [24.32] This without doubt comes about in part because those cold words, “mine” and “yours,” are unknown to those natives, words which kindle the tinder of all covetings and quarrels by extinguishing the flame of love in our hearts. [24.37] Nor is it certainly worthy of less admiration that [25.1] in all their actions of life and in their very play there is a natural seriousness and at least a common circumspection. [25.3] In refinement their elders surpass themselves mutually in true honor and modesty, and they never provoke anyone, as happens among us, with stinging or improper words, nor strive among themselves by means of quarrels and rebukes. [25.6] At any rate, these individual examples abundantly show that those natives are endowed with the best innate character and intelligence, and that they all have in their own possession the feeding of the soul. 31

[25.10] Among certain things receding from the common practice of humans, above all else they most tenaciously admit this particular principle: one person is indebted to another in no way, from which, to be sure, they deduce that consequence, at least fair, that no one ever is allowed to be harmful to anyone, who has not first offended you. [25.15] In a few words, so that the wretches may be blessed in all respects, in addition to 279
the light of the Divine Faith and their just separation from very corrupt whites, this one thing remains: that just as one should treat another in private practice, so also the nations should mutually conduct themselves accordingly in public affairs, so that in sometimes spiteful ambush or in open war they might not attack so hurriedly people who are often unoffensive, who have given no reason at all to wage war with them, and extend their revenge beyond every limit both of the injury committed and of the interval of time.

[25.25] In all other respects the fathers provide for their families with the greatest care and diligence for their own, respecting their livelihood and manner of dress. [25.26] Parents truly are accustomed to embrace their infants with tender affections above measure, but the children, on the contrary, usually with age let slip from their minds the tender feeling of kindness toward their parents. [25.29] They all condemn murder, theft, and lying as crimes, they have another very clear cut precept of love from a tender age, that you should not do to another that which you do not wish to be done to you, etc. [25.33] It is a wonder how highly they regard the respect of the young toward their elders, steadfastness and bravery in the endurance of labors or pains, and calm and unbridled daring in attacking enemies or wild animals. [25.36] Generally speaking, the parents overlook nothing in order to impress principles of this kind upon their children, which the children themselves then preserve through the whole course of their life, and in this unique way, all instruction by which the youthful nature is refined by the parents is preserved.

[26.1] But when they interact with their children concerning these things, they always arouse them indirectly to emulate similar examples of virtues by exaggerating the exceptional deeds of their elders and the war-like actions of the nation. [26.4] In fact, they
will even stoop to prayers sometimes and tears so that they may correct the failures of their children, but never do they think that they must revert to threats and punishments, which might be able to touch ever so slightly minds which cling most tenaciously to their freedom and independence. [26.9] From all these accounts, neither especially good nor bad, of the action of the native peoples, traces of their primitive religion are to be detected, which escaped the less perceptive eyes of the explorers, both because they did not have a very profound concept of their customs and habits, and because with the passing of time thereafter that first light was more obscured because of their failure in giving instruction than it was corrupted by a mixing with a superstitious culture, and distorted and perhaps altogether changed by invented tradition.

[26.17] Indeed nothing among them is more certain, but nothing too is more obscure than their concept of First Being. [26.18] In acknowledging him as the very first and most Supreme Spirit, Lord and Creator of the world, they all agree in general; but if you were to push them into a corner to describe more distinctly the essence of that Being, they will demonstrate the incoherency of their concepts by using images badly stitched together, artificial, and futile, and with words which lack sense. [26.24] Indeed I have no doubt that they have worshiped from the beginning a Supreme Spirit and single divinity which they themselves call Chief of the Sky sometimes or by another name, Spirit of the Sky; from which it is clear that the ancient Indians perhaps believed a living sky, and that they worshiped its soul as a supreme divinity. [26.29] Under this divinity they also used to worship superstitiously each according to its own pleasure the various tutelary spirits mountains, rivers, plants, animals, and, in short, the spirits of all things that they either
esteemed exceedingly or dreaded. [26.34] In truth, they used to worship the sun with particular care, persuaded that the Prime Spirit of the World had assigned it the foremost place from among the rest of the stars, and that it deserved the best from human beings. [27.1] The Moon was considered by certain ones to be his wife. [27.2] Finally, from whatever they feared something evil for themselves, that they used to worship religiously, not because they loved it, but because they feared it. [27.5] Whatever was amazing or seemed to surpass understanding, this in like manner they used to call Manitou in their own idiom, and clearly in the same way they honored it. But concerning that Supreme Spirit of the Sky, and concerning its Spirit servants, nowhere have I read that the Indians have imagined those monsters of sins, which our Romans, Greeks, and Egyptians imagined when they sought justification for their sins in their gods. [27.12] From which it can rightly be expected, from the immense kindness of a merciful God, that not a few of the ancient ones among the Indians found salvation in the law of nature, assisted by that particular help, which God is accustomed to deny to no one doing what is in himself. [27.17] The Manitous of the Indians are corporeal and almost enjoy living in our way, but fortunately and blessedly free from any inconvenience of humanity. [27.20] Each person has such a tutelary Spirit, to whom he returns in every danger, and before all undertakings of greater importance. [27.22] Nevertheless, they do not think that they are born under such protection. [27.23] Many arrangements, in fact, are required for that moment of great importance for one's whole lifetime, arrangements of which I shall add certain examples here. [27.26] First of all the face of a little child is painted with the color black, then he ought to fast for eight days from any nourishment at all, and during the space of 282
that time his tutelary Spirit ought to manifest itself to him in his sleep. [27.30] Moreover, the tutelary Spirit will be that one in whom recognition has been rather frequently extended in the course of dreaming; no doubt it will be either the head of a bird, or the foot of a wild animal, or a wooden scrap, or, finally, another thing of less worth, or an object of rather common use under whose symbol or figure the spirit has presented himself, which nevertheless finally is preserved and worshiped with as much responsibility as the ancients were accustomed to do with the Penates.

[28.1] And thus as soon as the tutelary Spirit of the infant has become known from dreams, the parents also instruct the child diligently and train it from its tender years in how much reverence to worship it, with what docility to follow its warnings received successively in dreams, and to earn other favors and continuous kindnesses, and also with beneficial trust and the greatest carefulness they ought to take every precaution towards that Spirit unless they want to draw to themselves indignation instead of protection. [28.9] Then offerings and libations of every kind are made to those spirits, and with fastings and abstinences and amazing vows religiously observed, they try to be deserving of that Spirit's help, powerful in every danger of life.

[28.13] Those barbarians also hold their magicians and their soothsayers, whom they sometimes call prophets, in so much respect that, for the most part, even the chiefs themselves refuse to undertake that duty. [28.16] All these make fools of those wretched people by means of their amazing and ridiculous traditions and illusions. [28.17] The same ones undertake the duties of both medicine men and surgeons. [28.18] When they are called to the sick and wounded, they first invoke the tutelary spirit, then they feel the
affected parts, they moisten them with their own breath, and they use countless other jests that are clearly farcical. [28.22] Indeed their method of healing is clearly exotic and for the most part they amuse the sick with dances and humming or rather they wear them out and pester them to death before their time. [28.25] They use almost the same method when they are going to care for wounds, but neither is for free since, before a surgical operation or the administration of a drug, they are gifted with the flesh of wild animals or hides by those who are sick. [28.28] And so from the things I have said rather extensively thus far, it is abundantly clear that that race, deprived by certain authors of every concept and worship both of divinity and religion, attributes all its own thoughts and words and deeds and dreams themselves to a certain religious worship of divinity or even to some divinity itself as if it were the ultimate end. [28.34] And doubtless they are so far from worshiping no gods at all, that they all to a man approach their own actions by the auspices of a divinity and think that they are accomplished by its help and are sanctified by a certain superstitious rite performed in its honor.

[29.1] They ascribe nothing to accidental chance or fate, and in every matter they augur the prediction or advice of their own Spirit. [29.2] But among the main points of their doctrines, they quite firmly embrace that of the perpetual duration of the soul. [29.3] But in describing its essence they deviate a great deal from the principles of proper faith, for they think that it is not purely spiritual, just as their own tutelary Spirits, and always at a loss in defining it, they succeed in forming an adequate concept of neither. [29.7] When asked what they turn over in their minds, provided they want to represent the souls of humans for themselves, they claim to imagine them as animated shades or figures of a
From this notion they also conclude that all things in the whole world have a spirit, and that their spirits must be worshiped just as a tutelary Spirit.

Moreover, while they reveal the thoughts of their mind concerning the human spirit, they often confuse the soul with their own abilities and its abilities with their own works, although they know how to distinguish between all these individually, if they wish. They claim that the spirit after it has left the body has those same propensities as before its separation; thence it also happens that, while they bury the bodies of their dead in a grave dug in the innermost parts of the earth, at the same time they also place on top of the mound a flat dish from which it usually drank, and pans with food, just as in like manner they also place clothing, axes, a bow, arrows, and whatever else they possessed while alive, and they cover all this with earth piled up in the form of a mound, and with logs placed on top, and a pole, which they color with a certain red clay.

This type of mound is an honor among them; but when they acknowledge the immortality of souls, they imagine that those same souls after separation from the body live pleasantly in distant regions and places most pleasant in the west with their dead friends. They also claim that those souls which have gone out from the body, before they arrive at the Elysian Fields, cross over a stormy river, in whose waves many are shipwrecked, and that they scarcely can defend themselves from some dog. They also speak about a place of punishments, in which they atone for their sins and failures committed, and about a place of torments of another kind which the souls of prisoners, whose bodies have been cremated, approach as slowly as they possibly can intending with very profound feelings to torture their killers. Hence it follows
that, after the final execution of their captives, lest the souls of those wretches [30.1]
remain near the hut of the executioners as much to avenge their most bitter death, as to
demand in compensation penalties for their own blood, the natives anxiously traverse all
the places beating with a little staff without interruption and giving out horrendous shouts,
so that in this way they may drive those souls away from their own dwelling place. [30.6]
Among the various stories of the underworld very similar to those of Virgil and Homer,
one in particular is told which, if you should only change the names, almost exactly repeats
to you the incident of Orpheus and Eurydice. [30.9] But there is no talk among the Indians
about punishments of impious and wicked people among the dead. [30.11] Except perhaps
for that common belief of the Indians, that souls having put off the clothing of mortality
are inflamed by the same desires for good or evil as before, it should seem both that the
proof of the recurring doctrine in and of itself, that there are rewards for the good and
penalties for the bad is made necessarily from the premises, and it should seem to be
logical. [30.16] After the soul has been tortured because of its unbridled and insatiable
lusts, vexed by the memory of its past crimes, and in addition turned toward whatever
things are most foul, it should have this same maximum penalty continually. [30.19] In
short, in the same way they seem to have obscured somewhat the shadow of revealed
truth concerning the good fortune of those living forever in heaven, who have finished
their mortal life, with ridiculous clouds of stories. [30.22] Indeed the happiness, which
they promise themselves in a life lasting forever after death, not as recompense for virtue,
but for dexterity and intrepid boldness in war and in the hunt, consists of the sole
satisfaction of sensual desires, and of land, perpetual springtime, an abundance of booty

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from hunting and fishing, and all the best luxuries of the carnal life. [30.28] Thus as long as someone was always fortunate in expeditions, and has killed or ruined many enemies, and has slaughtered his personal enemy, they imagine to themselves that he, after death, in a place most fertile in fruit trees and produce brought forth of their own accord without any labor, lives a life packed and full of the pleasures of the senses. [30.34] And that is the only thing for which they ask in life from their tutelary Spirits. [30.35] All the songs of the Indians, which have drawn their origin from their prayers, have as their goal the reproach of the Indians' present physical circumstances, and they never make conversation about life that will endure for eternity, nor in their vows [31.1] themselves, which they sometimes utter, in the belief that the happier they are in the present, the more happiness they will enjoy in the future.

[31.4] Besides they confuse the earth and heaven, the place of rewards and punishments, to which they assign even the souls of the stupid for eternity; indeed, they think that those souls live to some extent in possession of reason, and under the protection of some Spirit. [31.8] They also tell marvelous stories about the creation of the world and about the flood; but those shades of divine, as it were, knowledge have been hidden for a long time by ignorance so indifferent and dull that they seem now to be completely lost. [31.11] Some traces of Jewish law are also found among the customs of the Indians; for instance, at certain feasts it is permissible to use neither knives nor any other kind of instruments, nor to shatter or break the bones of the animals on which they feast at that time. [31.15] Thus the women, as long as they are in their monthly cycle, so that they may not pollute the furnishings and family, separated from their dealings with their husband and
children and prohibited from the common use of domestic things, dwell apart. [31.19]
They fear exceedingly the ghosts of the dead and malicious Spirits, so that sometimes they are suddenly scared out of their wits by an imaginary and empty terror of those. [31.22]
Certain ones sometimes strive to placate them, sometimes with stakes set up in the soil and with certain gifts bound to them.

[31.24] They also have sages, worthless humans, who indeed have limited knowledge of magic, but are familiar with amusing and influencing the minds of wretched people; they incite admiration for themselves by means of certain strange shakings of their body and gesticulations, and win their trust with certain false miracles. [31.28] They scrupulously observe, and not without panic, the eclipses of the sun and moon, although they are completely ignorant of the causes, but they will contrive ridiculous ones: that the Sun, no doubt, angry at them, hides its face and threatens evil; the Moon is sick or is wrestling with monsters; and if the eclipse is total, the Moon is dead or dying. [31.33] And they are alarmed only at this, that it is about to in fact fall and cover up their race. [31.34] And so they cry aloud, they shout and with whips they compel their dogs to howl, persuaded that the Moon is freed by such bellowing. [31.36] They keep the memory of deeds done in an utterly remarkable way. For although [31b.1] they have no knowledge of any kind of writing, either through letters or through characters, nevertheless they preserve the memory of antiquity, and they give an account of all their deeds both in peace and in war. [31b.4] For they are very careful to hand down to those younger what they have learned from their elders, and those younger are very careful to preserve the things which are passed down to them. [31b.6] Moreover, they make up for their lack of letters
in part with paintings although very rough, and with figures of various colors. [31b.7]

They undertake nothing rashly but with the Council of Warriors consulted often, in whose hands is the greatest power over affairs, the administration of business matters. [31b.9]

Nevertheless, in all their expeditions the chiefs lead the way, carrying in one hand a long staff, and in the other a bow, with a quiver thrown behind their back, and the rest of the band of warriors follow with bows and arrows. [31b.12] They always make an attack with the loudest shouts and with bellowing. [31b.13] Having returned home after obtaining a victory, they summon all the tribal members, and they feast night and day for a whole three day period, spending the time in humming and in dancing, and they lead the chorus adorned with the scalps of their enemies who have been killed. [31b.17] Finally, they solicit nothing more earnestly than praise for their hospitality, and therefore they have their hands full receiving all strangers very kindly, feeding them, and earning their praise by means of small gifts. [31b.19] Nor moreover do they hate any vice more seriously, nor consider any more disgraceful, than avarice. [31b.21] In feasting, they observe neither an appointed time nor moderation, but where crops abound, with no anxiety for the future, they themselves both generously indulge their appetite and share with their neighbors and guests. [31b.24] They recline on the ground to eat with hands always dirty and unwashed, and they do not put their food into their mouth as much as they fling it with their fingertips. [31b.26] They use tobacco very often, I would even say they abuse it, except that already very many whites not only are equal to, but even surpass the vice of those people. [31b.28] But to finish briefly, they are very especially guilty of two particular vices. For in the first place, they are most eager for revenge, and against their enemies,
who have rarely been captured in open war but mostly from ambush and taken by surprise, they rage in savage and clearly bestial cruelty, and sometimes after the throats of their captives have been cut, they devour them with great ceremony. [31b.34] Secondly, they are suspicious and very much given to lying and, in particular, they are cunning and treacherous and marauders of incautious strangers, so that one must have faith neither in their flatteries nor in their words and promises. [31b.37] But if they should be treated rather humanely, they are inclined to obedience, and give their assent to their work for little pay, [32.1] and they finish in full very long journeys most quickly with greater faith than one would rightly expect from barbarians. The Illinois, however, are the most cultivated of all the northern tribes and especially peaceable and, now for many years, have cultivated friendship and the highest peace with the French. [32.5] Nor is there any doubt that, by means of interaction with Catholic Priests and the urbane manner of acting of men of good moral character, they can gradually be made accustomed to the worship of the true God and civil conversation, since it is well known from the past experience of the ages, that very many who have been instructed in this way by the true religion have renewed the pleasing sight of the very first Christians. [32.10] But so much for their practices and customs. Now, however, let me conclude the preface of the modern history of the Society of Jesus, farthest to the northwest, with a succinct description of that same early mission among those nations and of our Laborers.

[32.14] In the year of human salvation 1653, Father Jean Dequerre was the very first to come from the Society of Jesus into this immense area of the territories unexplored at that time by the Europeans. [32.17] Having set out from Lake Superior, as an authentic
document derived from the public records of the Episcopate of Quebec reports, he exhibited the standards of the Gospel among the nations of the Illinois, who were very populous but ignorant of Christ, and there he founded a very flourishing mission on firm foundations, which thereafter he himself with his own hands strengthened and completed until the year 1660. [32.23] No doubt he was a laborer of great zeal and of so many palms of victory, which he gathered first in the rugged and impassable forests of the peoples of this immense region. [32.26] Amid prolonged dangers of life and death, running out and back wheresoever, and inviting the barbarians who dwelt on both banks of the Mississippi, tirelessly he used to perform a work of Christianity exceptional because of its eloquence, until finally in the year of the Lord 1661, in the middle of the course of his apostolic labors, he was cut off in bloody death by those whom he had sought for eternal life by means of the most vigorous studies. [32.33] The second from the Society of Jesus was Father Jean Charles Drocoux, for whom the same document of the aforementioned archives cites the next honor of the founding of this mission. [32.35] By the year 1654 he already was traveling on these trouble-filled expeditions of the Gospel by foot with threadbare clothing, and he, especially powerful in his word and example, had gathered a great harvest of souls there, [33.1] and would embrace martyrdom, not only in his longing but even by his hope, when in the year 1657 he was recalled to Quebec by his Moderators. [33.3] But the third Laborer from the Society of Jesus, a front soldier before the standard of the cross, whom the public records of the Episcopate of Quebec mention, was Father Hugues Pinet. [33.5] With a single breviary he proceeded to this evangelical expedition among the Illinois in the year 1670 with a crucifix hanging from his neck, according to
custom, eager for the struggle. [33.8] Driven there for the salvation of the Illinois, intent in his whole effort, he endured long journeys and great labors in that Mission, but especially in the territory of the Tamarorians, which he nearly completely lit up with the rays of evangelical light. [33.12] In the center of this mission, helped by the natives, he set up very lofty standards of the cross which he himself had consecrated in a solemn rite and with prayers, and then he began with his own hands and labors to build a chapel for God Almighty. [33.15] This same man used to carry logs from the forests nearby on his own shoulders into its small building, and undertaking his daily duty with tireless labor of this kind, he was so eager to help the souls of the barbarians by example and word that in a short interval of time he completed it in every respect. [33.19] So vigorously thereupon did he exercise the strength of his diligence in the cultivation of that whole evangelical field and of this one which was lacking in care, that in a very great crop of patience he saw a harvest fertile because of the seed of the divine word which had been sown by him, until the Reverend Bergier, a Seminary priest of the Quebec Mission, arrived in the year of restored salvation, 1686, to perform parochial duty. [33.24] After the buildings, which had been constructed with so much sweat, had been turned over to him, he nobly moved straightway to the mission of St. Louis, where another priest from the Society already held the faithful and laborious position of curate. [33.27] There, near the church of the Mission in a poor hut, after exceptional victories and at the same time won from infidelity and impiety, with very many purified to Christ, at last he fell asleep in peace on July 16 on a solemn feast day of the Blessed Immaculate Virgin Mary from sacred mount Carmel, whom he had honored devoutly, in the year of salvation 1704 at the age of 79, worn out
by hardships and having embraced by his only request the illustrious death by flames.

[33.34] For three years Father Jacques Marquette also stayed there, who in the year 1672, as I have already shown above, set out for the discovery of the Mississippi River from the bay of Lake Michigan, crossed the Watagame River, [34.1] whose modern name in English is the Fox River, and in French *La Riviere des Renards*, a very dangerous river with frequent waterfalls, and after some transporting of the boat on land, he sailed through the Wisconsin River and finally back 42 ½ degrees from the equator on May 18, into this noble river. [34.5] Immediately afterwards he went down the river mentioned before and cut through the waves for some time with difficulty, until he obtained knowledge of the Illinois nation from the view of and conversation with other barbarians, and six miles from the confluence of the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers, called by the natives Pekitanoui, that is, turbid waters, he came in sight of three villages of that race. [34.11] After he landed there he traveled gradually to the individual villages and huts, putting humans of all ages under the obligation of discretion and politeness, by whom in turn he was welcomed very respectfully with cheerful and favorable looks, and so rested somewhat from his very long journey; and he would have remained even longer among those people, except two things stood in the way of those earnestly insisting that he stay: ignorance of their language, and the very important charge he had undertaken from Sieur Talon, Intendant of New France, of exploring the province of the Upper Mississippi. [34.19] But still saying goodbye to those wretches, he alleviated their regret for him by means of the consolation that after he had completed his expedition, he would do whatever he could, and he vowed that he would return to them as quickly as possible. [34.22] Meanwhile he went down the
river all the way to its confluence with the Arkansas at about 33 degrees latitude, and he very brilliantly drew a ground plan both of its winding riverbed and the adjoining banks, a map which even still today is preserved in the Library of the Mazarins in Paris. Since he had no further doubt, however, about the mouth of the Mississippi River in the Bay of Mexico, and it did not seem prudent to him to proceed further, as much because of the threatening disturbance of hostile Indians as because of the consumption of the supplies for nearly the entire journey, retracing his steps he went back over that river to its confluence with the Illinois River. From there he reached Chicago, where he was received by the Miami Indians most courteously. And so in the principal village of that nation he set up his residence and converted the natives by means of fruitful sweat throughout the remaining years of his life. For although in the preceding year Fathers Allouez and Dablon of the Society traveling through the immense tracts of that region with the greatest exhaustion had already with every diligence devoted themselves to taming and instructing those barbarians, nevertheless, the abiding foulness of their vices and the perversity of their customs had held them back from embracing the immaculate law of the Lord, and other than the baptism of the sick and infants, they had brought back scarcely any fruits from so great efforts.

Meanwhile Father Jacques Marquette, desiring to fulfill his promises and to free himself from his vow, was planning a new voyage on the Mississippi, intending to introduce the Gospel to the three villages of the Illinois mentioned above. He had already prepared himself for the difficult journey, and from Chicago, the innermost part of Lake Michigan, he traveled to Michillimakinac. However, since on May 18, 1675,
on the anniversary day of his own discovery of the Mississippi, he entered the riverbed of the river called by his own name afterwards, at its mouth at the outermost parts of a lower place, and on the right bank of the river, he built an altar for himself, and there celebrated the sacrament with the deepest passion of devotion. [35.17] After these things had been completed with proper religious observances, going back a little into the nearby forest to give thanks according to his custom, he asked the two companions of his journey not to disturb him for the span of a half hour. [35.20] But when after the time had passed he did not return to the place upon which they had agreed, his companions searched for him, and finding only his lifeless body in the last numbness, they remembered that those words of the Father had slipped out by chance at the entrance of the river: that he was going to complete his journey in that place. [35.25] Meanwhile, since that place was too far from Michillimakinac, so that it did not seem possible for the body to be carried out for burial at that town, it was buried there on the bank of the river, whose waves even from that very time gradually, as if because of reverence for the dead, have receded all the way to the promontory, and also washing away the deepest parts of it, they have today made a new mouth for themselves in the lake. [35.30] But in the following year the body of the Venerable Servant of God, removed from the grave by one of those two men, was carried down to Michillimakinac, and there it was buried with honor. [35.33] Moreover, the river from that time is called the River of the Black Robe in the idiom of the Indians, and by the French, the Riviere du Pere Marquette, and on every dangerous nautical expedition of Lake Michigan they never neglect to ask for his help. [35.36] And very many witnesses of
proven faith, freed from a death already imminent, confirmed with all earnestness that flight to the help of the Father was not in vain.

[36.2] Father Jacques Marquette of Laon, born in a town of Picardy from a very noble home, and one of the most illustrious Missionaries of New France, passed through nearly all its regions in the manner of an apostle, and described very many of them which he himself had discovered, not without learned observations. [36.6] Truly he was a man distinguished in the praise he received for his tireless labor and quite firm endurance. [36.7] He was accurately attentive to rules and their individual circumstances. He was so eager to be obedient that he said he was ready to enter not only two, but two hundred Missions, if obedience were to will it so. [36.10] Therefore he was always on journeys, on voyages, and fit and ready for labors and for any expeditions whatsoever. [36.12] In these he endured both frequent hunger and troubles of every kind through especially impassable wildnesses. [36.14] On very long voyages themselves and their return trips, whatever he observed with regard to the religious discipline of the inner human, he fulfilled exactly, all the while serving his comrades and carriers. [36.15] He recited the divine office most devoutly always at its proper times, in the morning before the sacrament, at some point during the sacrament, and then he spent one hour in celebrating the sacrament and in the giving of thanks. [36.20] When sometimes he saw that he could not find time at all for the sacraments, on that day he tried to compensate for the loss by repeating communion which they call Spiritual more often. [36.22] Moreover his style of speech was felicitous, short of any disturbances of interrupting reflections. [36.24] He also used to rely on none but supernatural (if it is lawful so to speak) principles and prophecies, with no concern for
human considerations. [36.26] His eloquence was vehemently fiery, and with few words he used to elicit tears from the eyes of those whom he either consoled or those whom he heard in confessions. Moreover, he was amazing in his continuous zeal for self-affliction and in his continuous fastings, and very content with the bare ground for a cot, he bore hunger, thirst, cold, heat, countless dangers, by his nature, virtue, and labor wholly absorbed in the salvation of souls and the propagation of the greater glory of God. [36.32] To speak of how many times he escaped death threatening him in various ways is a matter for a period of longer leisure. [36.34] As a matter of fact, as if in a constant attempt for martyrdom, he lived among hostile Indians in the forests, in the meadows, and on the rivers, through the mockery of waves and of shipwreck, moving quickly to death in order to honor those whom he might enrich by Christ. [36.37] It is nothing marvelous if God Almighty was willing to distinguish and to honor a man, so humble because of the complete denial of his senses and admired before others because of his very intimate union with the Creator, with the gift of examining the secrets of hearts and of foreseeing the future in such a way that at times he was taken by the barbarians for a man fallen from heaven, or for God himself, whom they would have even worshiped had he not hindered them by the very great effectiveness of his words. [37.1] In him there was great charm, skill, and longing to speak about God, Christ the Lord, and his Mother. [37.2] In a few words, besides his devotion to all the Saints and guardian angels, he was conspicuous in his exceptional piety towards Xavier, Apostle of the Indians, and he met an amazing death by the extraordinary support of Xavier, for he seems to have obtained that for which he was hoping, that he might die abandoned by all like the dying St. Xavier.
[37.9] The above mentioned Acts of the Church of Quebec concerning the
departure to the Illinois Indians mention Father Hilaire Buenin, S.J., who, in the year of
the Lord 1678, restored to its earlier prosperous status the mission of St. Louis among the
Illinois, which had fallen into decline being bereaved of a pastor. [37.13] Distinguished
and useful labors and more than one test in bearing adversities bravely have rendered him
renowned by more than ordinary virtue. [37.15] Other public documents, as well as the
Annals of the Society of those years, say that he was conspicuous in his teaching, in his
humility, in the magnitude of his zeal, and in the widely increasing fame of his chastity, and
that through his difficult travels, and the greatest care of the sick, both of body and of
mind, and by means of labors and ministries of every kind, he brought abundant services to
the Indians. [37.21] Finally, in the month of February in the year 1697, at St. Louis he
acquired the unfading crown of immortal life, as is our good hope, in a death met most
honorably.

[37.24] In the very same year as Father Buenin, the aforementioned document of
the Quebec Episcopate states that Father Jean Daloes, S.J., set out to the Illinois Indians.
[37.26] Indeed, the mission intended for Father Marquette was entrusted to this man by
the Moderators because he was more suitable for the duty, certainly difficult, in that he
had knowledge of the language of the Miami Indians which is as similar as possible to that
of the Illinois Indians. [37.29] Nevertheless, having arrived there, he stayed scarcely two
years. [37.31] Indeed, considering the barbarian and wild dispositions of the inhabitants,
projected no less in drunkenness and sexual indulgence, and no less the mobility of their
nature, which, since it would change residence rather frequently by reason of the hunt, was
no small impediment to stabilizing and propagating religion, for that reason, broken in
spirit and weakened, he asked for another mission of greater fruitfulness from the
Moderators, and in fact obtained it, and in that mission, after very many had been led to
faith in Christ, he happily met a death hastened by labors and journeys.

[37.40] And so the founding of this difficult Mission, situated six miles from the
confluence of the Missouri with the Mississippi, is due properly to Father Jacques Gravier,
S.J., to whom, even before all the rest, this whole Illinois Mission ought to give the
greatest thanks.

[38.2] Indeed, that Father of venerable remembrance not only overcame the
inconvenience of the language of the natives, which was completely different from all
European conversation, by means of study so energetic, that he was capable both of
hearing confessions and of holding meetings. [38.5] But in that very brief use of his time
he even made so much progress that after he had diligently investigated the individual
problems of that language, both he himself was especially refined in speaking and subtle in
every elegance and charm. and for a future aid of the missionaries. he left a grammar
reduced to fixed rules and a very extensive vocabulary, elegantly written out by his own
hand, and also for the same help after he was gone, he left chapters of the revealed
doctrine and fixed prayers translated into the language of the Illinois Indians. [38.13] But
we will say more about that Father, who deserves the greatest praise, in its proper place.

[38.14] For the memorable expedition of Father Claude Jean Allouez, S.J., to this Illinois
mission has now come to be explained. [38.16] A certain tribe of the Ottawa nation on
August 10, 1661, had seized and thereupon most shamefully dragged through the very

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long descent of their journey Fathers Garreau and Rene Mesnard, men of the Society of
Jesus who were very renowned because of their constant zeal for solid virtues and the
exceptional fruits of a life full of labors, and had even in the greatest cowardice left them
exposed on the road to the cruelest death. Coming again to Quebec to exchange their
shaggy hides for merchandise, they demanded another herald of the Gospel from the
Supreme Moderator of our mission, and not without shamelessness. [38.24] And although
he recognized especially the treacherous fickleness of that nation and its proclivity toward
every crime, and because he was gifted with a unique prudence, he was not at all eager for
a new evangelical expedition of this kind at the present time. Nevertheless, turned by the
earnest prayers of Father Claude, reluctantly he granted to this worthless nation an
outstanding and distinguished missionary prepared for all things. [38.29] But the result
afterwards proved that he had conjectured correctly the things which were going to
happen to the Father. For the barbarians during the whole time of the journey dragged
him around, not as a Servant of God, but as a slave; once thrown from the boat onto a
solitary shore, he himself saw the sudden vengeance of God, who was angry at his
perverse and treacherous companions, for they, after their boat overturned, immediately
sank beneath the waves of the water and perished. [38.35] But that noble man would have
taken all their hot pursuits and abuses for nothing, if in the end, by means of his charming
way of acting, he could have tamed the savageness of mind wild in wicked feasts and
accustomed to unspeakable superstitions, and could have educated them in the precepts of
the Gospel. [38.38] One day, after a large jar of natron dust brought from Quebec
suddenly exploded by chance, it naturally inflicted heavy wounds on very many. [38.40]
And so, after human aid had been used in vain for the healing every injury, the magicians, intending to seek help from the sun like mad men, devised horrendous propitiatory sacrifices. [39.1] But with all their enchantments they brought not the slightest alleviation for the wounds. The Father, lest he leave something unattempted with regard to the eternal salvation of the wretches, began with great ardor of spirit to expose the tricks and deceptions of the sorcerers, so that with their faith weakened he might more easily persuade his companions of the journey of the true divinity of God. [39.5] The sorcerer who was an elder of especially outstanding cunning and impiety, who compared with the rest had tried most deceptively to sell himself and had boasted that he could drive away all the sicknesses and all the wounds by means of his healing art, Father Claudius confuted with reasonings so firm, and attacked him with so much vehemence that he, not bearing the evangelical freedom and burning zeal of the man of God, and already hot with anger, seemed that he was going to sacrifice Father Claude to the sun. [39.12] Nevertheless, so much preparation of the frenzied man fell back only to the burning of the boat, in which the Father had been carried. [39.13] Meanwhile a certain wounded man was so very keenly moved by the Father’s speech that at last overcome and broken by the weight of the reasoning and by the effectiveness of grace, he openly called upon the God of the Christians on the spot, acknowledging Him as the only true God and Lord of life and death. [39.17] He alone at that same moment grew strong, and with a continuous and sharp demand afterwards submitted himself of his own accord to baptism and was admitted as a catechumen; concerning his perseverance and fervor, a few things will have to be said afterwards. [39.20] Finally having been driven to Lake Superior, Father Claude
went around its southern shores, and finding innumerable neophytes who had already been
baptized by Father Rene Mesnard, with the greatest joy for both wheresoever, he left them
even more confirmed by him in the faith they had accepted. [39.24] Before his departure
he also increased the number. He hastened to purify in the sacred font very many infants
before the age of accountability, and whatever adults he could who had received
instruction concerning Christ, and to receive them and enroll them in safety as quickly as
possible. [39.27] Having set out immediately afterwards to Chagwamigon, he came to a
very populous town of at least 800 warriors in which he was received with no less
evidence of kindness. [39.30] The Father, who was quite old at any rate, for whom a
matter of common and divine good was preferable to one of private and earthly good,
although he had been worn out by the very long excursion, nevertheless, without delay,
and with his own hands and labors, immediately began to build a chapel to which very
many came together, who, after the superstitions of the heathens had been rejected, gave
their name to Christ. [39.35] Among whom first purified by the sacred waters was that
wounded man, who on the journey yielding to the warnings and advice of the Father, had
rejected the remedies of the sorcerers by calling upon the true God, had escaped healthy
all of a sudden from his sickness, and then confessed that he was rightly a debtor for the
favor of his healing and life solely to the God of the Christians. [39.40] Meanwhile the
twelve nations came together there to hold their assemblies already announced before.
[39.41] That man (i.e., Father Claude) as an apostle most eagerly made use of that
opportunity of proclaiming the Gospel to them all. [40.1] But although they all understood
the Algonquin language, in which the Father suitably and consistently was speaking,
evertheless, he brought forth nothing except applause from his repeated efforts. [40.4]
Besides the barbarian and wild natures of the natives, which are prone to intemperance and wicked deeds of every kind of extravagance, the authority of the sorcerers, which was even greater among those wretches than among the Ottawa, hindered the effectiveness of the divine seed. The sorcerers, with their illusions, deceptions and foolish pretenses, sometimes disgustingly fixing their features, persuaded those reckless people that the Great Spirit was most friendly to them (i.e., the sorcerers), and that he made his presence known at their pleasure, and that he helped them in every treatment of illnesses by means of both their manner and effort. [40.11] There he also found many Huron Christians, whose faith seemed somewhat defiled because of a lack of instruction and of the sacraments. [40.13] Father Allouez taught them anew the principles of the Christian faith with total exertion, and with equal success renewed their former ardor. [40.16] Three hundred Pottowatomies also assembled there and supported the visiting missionary with a truly singular demonstration of respect. As a matter of fact, the leader of that troop himself wanted to put Father's shoes back on him, which had been pulled off, advising that among the Pottowatomies this is the greatest sign of honor. [40.20] Moreover they all had entreated the Father earnestly to stay to erect the standard of the cross for them and promulgate the Gospel to the whole nation, and because of the amazing charm of their manners, and the gentleness of their innate nature and very modest humanity, they won the mind of Father Claude above measure over to themselves. [40.24] Among them there was an old man almost a hundred years old, a man of the highest authority, who was said to pass twenty days continuously in fasting and to enjoy a repeated and familiar relationship with the Author of all things. [40.27] In that town of Chagwamigon he fell sick, and
shortly there was no hope of his recovering good health. [40.29] Two of his daughters, who of all had listened to the instructions of the man of God with quite great persistence and profit, finally faithfully had brought to their father the doctrines of the faith impressed upon their memory with the greatest attentiveness, and repeatedly begged their father to allow himself to be better instructed. [40.33] Father Allouez, advised by these two proselytes, visited the old man, and when the latter acknowledged all things in the greatest docility, nor did he seem likely to lengthen his life longer, after purification by the salutary waters he delivered him from the servitude of the devil and into the freedom of the sons of God. [40.36] Thereafter attentive solely to heavenly things, dying happy with the greatest emotion of the heart he offered these words: "O Lord, too late I began to love you."

[40.38] And at the same time there arrived there 112 Ottawas, 200 Saki, and 80 Illinois, and they were partners in abundant blessings, with which God Almighty was accustomed to sprinkle the labors of this apostolic man far and wide. [40.41] The Illinois Indians as a nation at that time were considered almost conquered and destroyed by the Iroquois.

[41.1] Nonetheless, a census of the whole nation included more than 40,000 souls. Father Claude Allouez proclaimed the Gospel first in that town also to very many of the Sioux nation, but with the help of a translator, just as he dealt with various other nations there, whose names no longer are found except in the notebooks of the very laudable Missionary. [41.6] Perhaps even today they are designated by another word of the idiom of the neighboring natives. But the Sioux told the Missionary that their territory extended to the outermost part of the world boundlessly towards the north, but that the nation of the Kareis lived towards the west, beyond whom the land was cut off by an immense span
of "stinking water," by which name they meant to indicate the Pacific Ocean. [41.11]
Father Jacques Marest, the Superior of the Illinois Mission, immediately afterwards in the
years 1687 and 1689 also making an incursion among the Sioux, praises that nation too
because of the gentleness of their dispositions and their circumspect method of living.
They refrained from slaughtering and tormenting their captives and retained a recognition
distinct enough of one Supreme Divinity, Creator and Lord of all things. [41.17] They
seem to possess the trait of pronouncing syllables with the accents of the Chinese, and to
be very similar to the Tartars in all the actions of their life.*

* [41.20] In the year of recovered salvation 458, therefore 1,033 years before the age of
Columbus, the Chinese had already landed on the western shores of North America
approximately 50 degrees from the Equator. [41.22] Liyen, the historiographer for the
Chinese, who recorded the narrative of this expedition in a public document, calls these
shores of the Pacific Ocean Fou-Sang. The sailors, says the author mentioned above,
boarded the ship and sailed from the Chinese port of Leas Tong, situated to the north of
the city of Peking, first to Japan and from there the Kamchatka Peninsula, which he calls
Tahan, and setting sail from there they came to the above mentioned shores of America
farthest to the west. [41.28] Modern geographers trace the landing of those sailors near
the port at which the Russians landed in the year 1741. [41.29] But now whether we
might be able to make an even more profound inference of some origin of Christianity
from the things which we have gathered from the Chaldean codices of the Malabar
Coast, we will leave to the Reader. In these codices, therefore, we read that the faith of Christ was brought among the Chinese by the Apostle Thomas and that many Churches were erected in that realm. And lest a matter so great seem to someone perhaps dubious, let me add the testimonies of their codices translated from Chaldean to Latin word for word here, which is in any case an extraordinary record of antiquity. Therefore this is how it is: In the Chaldean Breviary of the Church of Malabar of the Divine Thomas called Gaza, that is, the storehouse, in the office of the Divine Thomas the Apostle in the second nocturnal in one of the readings it is thus held word for word:

"Through the Divine Thomas the error of idolatry vanished from among the Indians. Through the Divine Thomas, the Chinese and Ethiopians were converted to the truth. Through the Divine Thomas they received the Sacrament of Baptism and the adoption of sons. Through the Divine Thomas they believed and confessed the Father, and Son, and Holy Spirit. Through the Divine Thomas they observed the accepted faith of the one God. Through the Divine Thomas the splendors of the life-giving doctrine arose for all India. Through the Divine Thomas the kingdom of the heavens has flown and has risen to the Chinese." Afterwards in a certain Antiphon it is held thus: "Indians, Chinese, Persians, and the rest of the islanders, and those who are in Syria, Armenia, Greece, and Romania, in remembrance of the Divine Thomas, offer adoration to your holy name." But in the last of the Synodical Canons, Second page, Sixth Sermon, Nineteenth Chapter of the canons established over the bishops and archbishops, and likewise in the Canon of the Patriarch Theodosius these words are contained: "These Six Sees are the heads of the Provinces and Metropolitan Sees: namely, Hila, Nzivin, Prath,
Assur, Bethgarmi, and Halah, who are considered worthy to preside at the ordination of a Patriarch, nor are they absent when the others come together with the Patriarch in the fourth year. [41.51] Thus Bishops of the great Province indisputably are the remaining Archbishops, China, India, Pasis, Mauzeorum, Xam, Raziqueorum, Heriona, and Smarcandia, who are the farthest away, nor do the very vast mountains and most turbulent seas allow them passage at will, so let them send a letter of their embarkation to the Patriarch once during the sixth year." [41.54] Whatever may be, the first Fathers of the Society of Jesus from the tradition of the nation and from records that have been found claim that Saint Thomas came to these regions.

[41.19] Meanwhile, when Father Allouez [42.1] realized that the nation had migrated from Lake Nipissing to the shores of Lake Alimipegon, situated towards the north of Lake Superior, he found the deserters, mostly Christians, in the very same condition as the Hurons, whom I mentioned above, and he called them back with equal success to their former fervor. Finally traveling back from there a journey of 1,500 miles, he returned to Chagouamigon, and desiring to build a firm Mission there, he joined himself as a companion for the journey with a band of Ottawas in Montreal, who were about to set out for the exchange of hides. [42.8] From there he came to Quebec, where resting at least two days from his very long journey, and after Father Louis Nicolas had been selected for the reinforcement of his very troubled mission, Father Allouez, again without provisions or any other things except the help of the foresight of God, and with the same barbarians, whose treachery he had already experienced twice, he retraced his steps to the
well loved Mission. [42.14] In a few words, on those various and very long journeys he both accomplished and suffered things worthy of a hero wholly absorbed in his work and in his combat, through the mocking of waves, through shipwrecks, through impassable wildnesses, hastening to death so that he might gain souls for Christ, but everywhere to labor without rest, to struggle, to exert himself, so that he might lead those already transferred to the side of the fate of Saints to a life worthy of acknowledgment, and so that he might protect himself against the sins and violence of the sorcerers, and so that he might advance to the things of virtue beyond and move closer to God. [42.23] Father Allouez immediately afterwards visited the neighboring nations of the Kickapoo and Mascoutins, who because of their proximity and common advantages for both nations, were joined together in an always very close association. [42.26] There too he found 3,000 Miamis asking for help against the Iroquois and Sioux. [42.27] Received by all those barbarians with clear demonstrations of friendship, he proclaimed Jesus Christ to them. [42.29] But the fruits of every proclamation resulted in a certain admiration whereby, supposing that he was God because of his unique eloquence, they demanded from him both a cure for sicknesses and victory against the hostile pursuits of their adversaries. [42.33] But Father answered that he was only a Minister and Servant of that Divinity from whose will alone victory depended; that he is the Creator of Heaven and earth, that he fills all things with his own essence, power and presence, that he has always existed, and will exist hereafter, and that his power has no limits and his goodness corresponds to this. [42.38] With these words he seemed to have aroused the good will of the barbarians towards him. [42.40] But by order of the Moderators he had to leave
them and hasten to the nation of the Watagami. [42.42] He could not expect a good reception by that nation, since some, who had been treated badly by the French, had promised that they would never leave vengeance unpunished. [42.44] Therefore they were also badly disposed to the "Speech" (as they call the Christian faith), and were inclined to all kinds of wickedness. [42.46] But although the Nations of the Miami and Mascoutins moved every stone in order at least to delay him from exposing himself to that fury of the nation, nevertheless he undertook the journey there, and God crowned the mighty and magnanimous zeal for obeying of the Apostolic Man with the greatest success. [42.50] Indeed by his own example of both generosity and patience he gradually directed the nation into the unread law of Christ and into humane conduct, and he even purified with the sacred waters very many who were dying, [43.1] especially infants; and upon his departure he was enthusiastically invited by the more distinguished of the nation to return as quickly as he possibly could, and they promised that for his return they would prepare both a building and chapel complete in every respect. [43.5] Meanwhile sent to the administration of the Mission of Saint Louis from the year 1687 to 1689, he went back and forth from that Illinois Mission full of troubled labor, went hungry, labored in cold and in heat, so that he might be useful to the puny flock of Jesus Christ. [43.8] And so, rendering exceptional assistance to the Gospel both in word and example there and in the adjacent places, he was recalled to Canada from his rather difficult province.

[43.11] In the same year on July 23, having set sail from the port of Rupella in France, Father Sebastian Rasles, a remarkable martyr of the Society of Jesus, after a voyage of three months landed in Quebec on October 13. [43.13] There, within a very
brief interval of time, he thoroughly learned the difficult languages of the Indians
and expertly described the institutions and documents of the Christian faith in their varied
tongues. [43.16] Then in the town of Nanransouak of the Abenaki nation beginning the
first campaign of his very troubled mission of 37 years with the greatest ardor of spirit, he
constructed three churches, by no means inelegant, and since he was distinguished in the
art of painting, for the gain of souls he devised a plan of placing images around on the
walls, by which sight those who visited the churches would perceive good seeds of
heavenly reflection. [43.22] He also spared no expense on the rest of the furnishings and
lamps of the sacred ministry so that in this way he might kindle the fervor of the Natives
more and more. [43.24] He used forty boys of the Indians as though they were priests,
dressed in a toga and an upper garment made of hides, both for the ministry of the Mass,
the benediction of the Saints and prayers, and for concert of music and song, with so much
arranging of order and piety that wherever the Indians came together to the divine office it
was not without the profit of souls. [43.29] Twice a day he used to call together all the
Neophytes there, early in the morning for hearing the sacred rite and just before the setting
of the sun for reciting evening prayers and not without some exhortation. [43.32] And
although he omitted nothing at all in the cultivation of those boys who were older, still he
gave strenuously all his diligence and vigilance to the cultivation of that age especially
tender, which is more easily turned towards Christ and favors more deeply the sowing
thrown at the right time. [43.36] Daily, therefore, after the sacrament was completed
along with giving of thanks, he explained to the young boys the elements of the faith and
the divine mysteries of the Religion, and since no small number of a more advanced age
would always be present at those catechisms, those too he brought up with prayers and promises to the point that, when their answers were made with the greatest docility, they would lead those younger by their example; and thus when in a short time they all were instructed in the necessary principles and doctrines with a view to eternal life, those selected by various flatteries forthwith and also at another time he instructed little by little in the pleasant law of God and in the precepts of the Church, so that like the boys he would have them at hand in every matter subsequently. Afterwards these too, partly from example, partly through leisure, generally were useful in the propagation of the Gospel with those principles which they had received from their Missionary for impressing the heathens, not without a special joy of those attending, before whose ears and eyes they did not hesitate to sing the pious songs of the catechism composed by lamplight by Father Sebastian and to sing the blessed words of Christ Jesus and Mary at home and abroad and on long excursions. The rest of the morning hours up to lunch Father Sebastian spent sometimes in listening to the anxieties, difficulties, and complaints of the Indians who came to him. sometimes in marriage counseling and approving and directing their plans. He instructed some, consoled others, settled the disputes of those separating, stilled consciences shaken by scruples, and scolded those who were in error charmingly, but also firmly, with paternal affection. In a few words, insofar as he was able, he sent them all away with good favor. After lunch he usually ran or flew around the towns and meadows, through the forests, in the huts of individuals, amid the squalor of the sick, whether pestilence were diminishing the nation, or if some other human calamity were attacking, and was at hand through rains or the heat of the sun, to
bring help to souls, if he were able, even to bodies, and to exert himself in order to change the losses of mortality into the gains of eternity. \[44.22\] Meanwhile when the opportunity was given he never let it pass for the sake of leisure to further educate in the principles of eternal salvation those who were in need of private instructions. \[44.24\] While they called the Council together concerning public matters, a thing which is a rather frequent custom among the Indians, they considered the Father as one of the principal spokespersons, and they most courteously would ask him not to scorn being present at the deliberations. \[44.28\] After the matter had been discussed and investigated promptly, it was deferred to the Father either for approval if just or for rejection if it should seem less advantageous to him after the motives had been given. In fact, they undertook nothing without consulting him, and they submitted to his decision in all things with a truly filial docility. \[44.32\] They were accustomed to invite the Father to their feasts too. His table companions individually brought with them a wooden dish or a pan constructed from bark, in which, after the Father's blessing, a little bit of meat was served to each one, and after thanks was given to God according to custom, they all went back home. for such is both the order and the practice of their feasts. \[44.36\] It might be unbelievable with what speed the days and the months and the years passed by in the midst of his successive tasks one after another. \[44.38\] There would scarcely be time left over for necessary rest and the spiritual exercises, had not the Father, realizing the lack of judgment of the Indians, decided that no exercise would ever interrupt him from evening prayers up to the time for giving thanks for the celebration of the Mass, and had he not prohibited those rude ones who interrupted
him in every meeting in his home, unless it was an extreme emergency, which could not in the least be put off.

[45.1] On the other hand, whenever the Indians would undertake the long excursions of the hunts, the missionary took care that the special equipment of the Holy Mystery be transported with him, and there, after a temporary chapel had been constructed, he used to celebrate the Divine Mysteries with the same propriety and with an abundance of people. [45.4] In short, he lived continuously with the people of the woodlands, whatever he would hear and speak was of the woodlands, and he used to dwell and feast as a barbarian to conform himself to all their customs and practices, having become all things for all people so that he might gain them all for Christ. [45.8] No doubt heroic courage was required — and more than ordinary patience — because of his contempt for the foods and his disgust for the filth of the nation with which the noble soldier of Christ refreshed himself from the same dish, so to speak, with the greatest reluctance of the stomach. [45.11] But since he was a man of great temperance in living and drink, when asked by the barbarians: "Why do you not eat?" he said that he had been accustomed from his young years to use bread with meats. [45.14] To these words they replied: "You yourself ought to govern yourself. Is this so difficult for a chief priest, who knows how to pray so perfectly? Indeed, we conquer and subdue our repugnance to doctrines of faith which cannot be seen by the senses, assenting of our own accord!"

[45.18] Father Sebastian already had for two years there collected a very great harvest of his Apostolic labors, when because of his humbling of himself in the magnitude of his zeal and with the fame of his sanctity spreading abroad far and wide he was
appointed by the Moderators to the Mission of the Illinois which was bereft of its pastor.

[45.22] The things are almost incredible which he did and suffered both in his arduous travels and during his fruitful sojourn of two years in this Mission for the promulgation of the kingdom of the Gospel. [45.25] Having endured great hunger, large inconveniences of journeys and frequent shipwrecks in the very stormy navigation of lakes and rivers, he sometimes scarcely escaped alive from a frozen stream. [45.27] Often his boat, made from the bark of trees, in which he used to ride through running, winding torrents, had to be carried on his shoulders. [45.29] Extreme hunger sometimes drove him to eat nuts and the barks of trees softened with muddy water. [45.31] But to tell how often he escaped death which threatened him in various ways is a matter for longer leisure. [45.32] Lying down under the open sky, he bore the cold of winter and the heat of the sun and dangers of every kind, completely intent on souls in his nature, virtue, and labor. [45.34] On long and repeated excursions, wherever they were undertaken, whatever looked to the daily order he had taken up from the beginning, whatever looked to religious discipline or to ministry towards those closest to him, fulfilling this duty accurately, he pacified innumerable bands of natives and subjugated them to Christ. [45.39] But lest I be a bore to the reader because of the same descriptions repeated continuously, hurrying to other things worthy of a hero, which he did and suffered in his very beloved Mission to the Abnaki up until the time of his death on behalf of his faith, I sensibly dissemble in reluctant silence. In fact, [46.1] he knew almost all the languages of the Natives of that Continent, and for their eternal salvation dashing out in all directions to almost all its nations, in the midst of continual dangers of life and death, with his business, to facilitate which he was sent as
Ambassador by the French Governor, completed favorably, and by means of his holy labor, at great cost through 37 years, he produced a great deal of profit for Christianity. [46.6] They maintain that he also knew his own death beforehand and that many sick were cured completely by him, some by holy oil, others by true baptism. [46.8] In a few words, having endured all extremes everywhere, he still experienced nothing more inhumane than the heretical English. [46.9] In fact the barbarian races, forgetful of their fierceness, were learning to revere the innocence of the very blameless Apostolic Man, when, behold, the enemy of your Sanctity, the Heresy which does not know God, broke into the mission with the English. [46.12] The huge prize for a very difficult expedition was to bring a very fierce death to one man, who during the whole time of his life had sought torturers through his most intense endeavors with a view to a life blessed in every part. [46.15] At Narantsouak, therefore, where he had once placed the first campaign of the mission, during the all-night vigil of the feast of Saint Bartholomew the Apostle, he was slaughtered at the hands of the heretical English with barbarian cruelty in the year 1724 before the healing Standard of the Cross, which he had erected, because he would not hesitate to lay down his life for the temporal and eternal salvation of his flock. [46.19] The body of the Man of God was found pierced with almost innumerable wounds, with his head smashed here and there by the blow of an ax, with his mouth and eyes filled with mud, with his legs secured, and with the rest of his limbs mutilated differently in countless ways. Then, with as much reverence as possible, and with pomp as a martyr of Christ, the body was buried by his Neophytes most religiously in that very arena of his combat.

[46.24] They say that his body, endowed with a certain wonderful fragrance as of a Saintly
Man and true Martyr of Christ, was also an object for veneration to the heathens themselves.

Meanwhile Father Louis Hyacinth Simon de la Place, S.J., had come to the Mission of St. Louis situated among the Illinois in the year 1692, and from there after a steady residence of two years, had roamed around the various shores of the Mississippi in spreading the Gospel, when in the year 1699 Acts of that Church explain in detail that he was recalled to Quebec by the Moderators. These Acts next describe the evangelical expedition to the Illinois of Father Julien Binetteau around the year 1696. This man, truly an Apostle, through the whole interval of that time watered the Mission of St. Louis and the surrounding places with his sweat — doubtlessly nourishing — while, on the other hand, he would gather the fruits of his most ardent zeal which were growing white on all sides, and worn out by starvation and by very long and very great hardship, he fulfilled the course of victory and Apostolic courage there in the year 1707. For he accompanied the Indians to their summer hunt to the very vast meadows, moving through very tall grasses, dripping with sweat by day, and by night under the open sky exposed to dew and lying on the ground, nor did he often find water to satisfy a very cruel thirst, from which detriments and others, which I omit because of an eagerness for brevity, he contracted a fever by which he was destroyed within a few days. The Archives of the Kaskaskian Mission also mention that herald of the distinguished Gospel, who had borne the care of this parish together with the Reverend Father Jacques Gravier, the Superior of the whole Illinois Mission, whose death now comes to be explained in detail.

The names of the Missionaries of the Society of Jesus, however, who already began
that first special residence of the Illinois Mission in the year 1683 among the Kaskaskians, who at that time numbered 2,000 warriors, and who together with certain French established the city by its name, have been lost because of the damage of time and the culpability of malicious men.

[47.12] In fact, the register of the Kaskaskian Church all the way up to this point in time was destroyed by a sacrilegious hand, and the Acts of the Quebec Episcopate show only the expeditions of our Fathers, who were sent here from New France, disregarding the rest from New Aurelia, where our Society always maintained twelve laborers, who were sent secretly here and there. [47.17] They also are silent about the names of the lay assistants in domestic affairs which, although unknown to us, are nevertheless preserved, written in the book of life to be revealed in eternity. [47.20] These obtained this mission full of hardships and dangers from the Moderators, sometimes with tears, and, as faithful and humble assistants everywhere, they helped the labors of their Fathers by means of their pious longings, persistent prayers, and amazing diligence. [47.24] Praying as they labored with their hands, they were individuals of piety and patience and were very remarkable in their example of solid virtues for those among whom they lived. [47.26] As cooks, bakers, gardeners, and domestics, they accomplished their official duties over any weariness of labors, over any loss of piety, they united their sweat with continuous prayer, and although priests themselves, with no one allowed as assistant in exercising even those humble duties, nevertheless, were content with themselves. [47.30] Whatever may be, it is certain that the number of our people who cultivated this vineyard flourishing in the most abundant fruits was more than the Acts of the
aforementioned Church maintain, since all the elders of this place, unanimous in voice, still today claim thus, that the Residence of the Society of Jesus was a small world (*un petit monde*).

[47.35] But Father Jacques Gravier, the Superior of the Society of Jesus throughout the Illinois Mission, was not accustomed to keep himself in one dwelling; in fact, there was not for anyone else in that place the kind of hardships or expeditions in which that venerable man was not first of all involved. Having arrived there, he found no one who was a Christian in the very many towns, and, truly, when he died, he himself with a very few comrades had made so much progress that he gained for Christ, as it were, all who were living almost like the church which we call primitive. [47.42] He had before all learned several languages particularly suitable for the salvation of the nations, and looking forward to the needs of his Mission for the future, he wrote both the rules of these languages and a very abundant lexicon, by which, in a rather short interval of time, his comrades would be able to speak well the language of that nation which they were to evangelize. [48.6] Although he was a man with a most ardent nature, nevertheless he so disciplined and tamed himself that he was like the mildest spirit of love and like a Father and Mother to all. [48.8] He has earned the memorial of imitation abroad because of his pious diligence for the promulgation of the Gospel, and among us because of the lesson of his example as one carefully attentive to observing each of the smallest details of religious discipline. [48.11] For a long time and often, he blazed with the desire to suffer martyrdom for Christ. [48.12] In the beginning of his mission he was in continuous danger of his life from the plots of magicians and sorcerers. [48.14] Sometimes he lived in floods,
and often, finally, in the shadow of death, which shipwreck, thirst, hunger, cold and heat of the unaccustomed, or magicians threatened menacingly. [48.17] And he used to say that the greatest reward for his dangers and labors was the fact that he purified in baptism a great number of infants, with their parents unaware, who then departed from a short life. [48.20] Enterprising in his nature, he endured each of the harsh circumstances for an extending of the Gospel and the salvation of humans; truly, with marvelous patience and unique gentleness, he conquered all obstacles. [48.23] For the epitaph of Apostolic men, he was so good a laborer for the vineyard of Christ the Lord and the most vigilant guard, that to do justice to this with words would hardly be possible, especially with the meagerness of small space and time allowed to me. [48.26] Among the Peorians he found an end of hardships in the wound which those barbarians, inflamed by hatred for the faith, inflicted. [48.28] He was a philosopher, theologian, of Missions both a Superior and a distinguished Apostle; he was outstanding in his talent for writing, in his vigor and authority of speaking, in his productiveness and innate ability to guide minds; on the other hand, he was clearly marvelous in his charity towards those downtrodden and sick and in his labors for souls.

[48.33] Father Gabriel Marest, his comrade both of great zeal and of the religious life, as well as of the innumerable dangers stirred up against him by magicians, succeeded him, who in the year 1699, having set out to the Illinois Indians, energetically performed an outstanding work for the Gospel in the town of Kaskaskia, and he elegantly and in a very detailed way wrote descriptions of this and the other missions, which he worked through not unfruitfully. [48.40] Often dashing out to three different villages and hamlets,
since he was not able to organize and instruct the inhabitants who were scattered about by day, for that reason he spent the night not rarely at the house of those who were free from the day's work. [48.43] It is incredible what troubles he suffered on those excursions so very full of troubles, [49.1] what vexations, derisions, and floggings he suffered from the hands of the magicians. [49.2] In fact, since he would disclose the tricks and deceptions of the sorcerers, whose power and no less their authority there among the Indians was so great, often sought by them with a view to murder, secretly removing himself from their hands and protected by Divine Providence, he was snatched away from the danger which threatened death. [49.7] But Father Gabriel, whenever he himself observed something with a view to all charity towards the sick and wounded, would fulfill this duty accurately, and also by feeding them himself, little by little he won for himself so much influence and the goodwill of the Indians that, after the sorcerers had been sent away, not without dishonor, far from the villages, the villagers ran back to him with every infirmity and adversity. [49.13] I will now submit to the reader the daily order which he observed scrupulously throughout approximately 27 years in his missions. [49.15] At the crack of dawn he used to assemble the catechumens in the church for prayers; after these had been recited with a loud voice he used to deliver instruction to the same catechumens, after which followed the singing of sacred songs. [49.18] After the catechumens went away, the Holy Mass was celebrated, at which all the Christians were present, the men separated from the women. [49.20] Then they recite the morning prayers among themselves, and after hearing instruction, they go home, each one to his own labors. [49.22] The missionaries immediately afterwards visit the sick to cure the infirmities both of their body and soul

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with remedies appropriate to each and console them and instruct their minds. [49.25]
After lunch they all come together at the Church, neophytes and catechumens, men and
boys, young and old, and without distinction of age and rank, and are instructed in the
elements of the Christian faith with questions and responses according to the manner of
the catechism. [49.29] Because these barbarians do not know how to read and are greatly
inclined toward laziness, in a short time they would forget the mysteries of the revealed
religion if they did not call their minds back to the memory of those mysteries by means of
daily instruction. [49.33] Through the rest of the day the Missionaries make their rounds
to the huts, and at evening they call them all together without distinction to the Church by
the sound of a bell for hearing instruction and reciting evening prayers, not without the
singing of songs. [49.37] Moreover, on festal days and Sundays a homily to all, after
evening prayers have been sung to the end, is added to these exercises. [49.39] It is not
possible to admire sufficiently the fervor of the Neophytes and their very careful diligence
in attending the individual exercises often. [49.41] At the first signal of the bell they break
off their labors, and if they are rather far from the village, they get themselves ready more
quickly so that they may be able to get to the Church promptly at the assigned point of
time.

[50.1] Moreover, they also usually close the day with private gatherings in the huts
where men and women, separately divided into two choirs, recite the crown of the Blessed
Virgin, and even when the night is far spent they repeat the concerts of songs with a
marvelous fervor, and they say them by turns. [50.5] Those songs truly are instructions
which they retain rather easily, because they are completely delighted by the modulation of
voices, which they usually impress upon their memory with no trouble. [50.8] The use of
the sacraments is frequent among those nations; at least every other week they approach
the holy confessional and the holy collection box with an amazing feeling of devotion and
sincerity, and they would run back more frequently still, if from the beginning the
Missionaries had not prevented it, since being intent on listening to their continuous
confessions, they would scarcely be able to give any time free for the rest of the Holy
Ministries and necessary occupations. [50.14] However, since the Indians mostly feed on
meats or fish, dried by smoke or the sun, from animals killed in hunting or fishing, they
often all leave the village for very long expeditions. [50.18] The Missionaries, attentive to
the Indians' welfare in their entire struggle, lest a loss be inflicted upon the puny flock of
Christ on those very dangerous journeys through forests, through meadows, and across
rivers and lakes, one ought\textsuperscript{17} to be, at that time, adapted to and unhampered for all the
dangers and inconveniences of the journey. [50.22] Father Gabriel Marest, since he was a
man with a very firm constitution of body, with his comrades left behind in the village,
always used to move about in the forests and in the meadows and as a noble Shepherd on
behalf of the flock, to whom he devoted his soul, suffering hunger and thirst, cold and
heat, he endured the very greatest labors and the longest journeys. [50.27] I am omitting
here all those things, which the annual letter printed at Lyons tells in great detail about
him, in which his expedition to the Peorians and Pottowatomes is also reviewed. [50.30] A
noble death seized him as he was doing these things — and more than these — nearly
worn out by hardships in the town of Kaskaskia on May 16, 1727. [50.32] It remains for
us to repeat with a quick moving pen the catalogue of our Fathers from the Archives of
the Church of Quebec and Kaskaskia, who with the same diligence and very heavy
hardships gathered a great harvest of souls from wherever. [50.36] Father Paul Du Rue,
S.J., first disseminated the Christian faith among the Bayagoulas, dwellers near the bank of
the Mississippi, around the year 1701, and there he directed a Church founded by himself
for a period of three years until, after very many had already been led to the faith of Christ,
already intending to fulfill the course of victory from this most laborious race of the
Apostolic life, he was recalled, a Laborer of great zeal, at any rate, and of so many palms
of victory, which he gathered first in the rugged and impassable forests of that nation.

[51.1] Father Louis Maria De Ville, S.J., sent from New France to the Illinois
Indians in the year 1707, in the town of Saint Louis by means of his considerable holy
labor to the year 1712 brought about very much advantage for Christianity there and in the
neighboring places. [51.5] Having set out from there to other posts, in which he endured
starvation and hardships of every kind, he converted those nations by means of fertile
sweat, and finally brought back to Saint Louis, there from the year 1721 to 1736 he
directed the faithful and laborious administration of that Mission, until death, hurried on by
the heaviest hardships, brought an end of life at the age of 66. [51.11] His comrade of that
Mission, Father Jacques Marmet, S.J., had already come from New France in the year
1708, and as a man of great zeal, so of a religious life, joined him as a companion of death
in the year 1736. [51.15] The aforementioned document of the Episcopate of Quebec
mentions that Father Jacques Francois de la Fiteau, S.J., having set out in the year 1713 to
the Illinois Mission, returned from there a little afterwards. It also states that in the same
year Father Alexis Dupare, S.J., arrived there from New France and was recalled from there in the year 1715.

About that time, the Illinois Mission consisted of six towns in each of which 50 or 80 families lived, with the black slaves or natives not counted. Those towns were the parish of the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception in Kaskaskia, the parish of Saint Joseph in the Rocky Meadow (Prairie du Rocher), and the parish of the Holy Family among the Cahokians and Tamaroas. In fact, the distance from that town to the first is computed at 75 miles. From the other bank of the Mississippi River can be seen the town of Saint Genevieve or of Saint Joachim, which includes with its post the salt pits and mines, and 90 miles farther up, the new village of St. Louis was situated, which was formed from the remains of the Fortresses of Saint Philip and Chartres. These two villages also flourish especially in inhabitants and black slaves and Indians. The sixth parish dedicated to Saint Cennea has been almost deserted.

About that time Father Francois Xavier de Charlevoix, S.J., also surveying this mission by a command of the same King of France, left a history complete in all the details. He was a man extraordinarily outstanding because of his zeal for propagating the Catholic faith and in his ample talent toward all of literature, in his fruitful pen, in the charm of his styles, and with all the best activities doing the worst things to his own body. Father de Charlevoix, although he was not born from a patrician family, nevertheless was from a quite respectable equestrian one, was serious, holy, innocent, remarkable especially in the art of writing, and he composed almost innumerable volumes.
by lamp light, which even today are still admired by all. [52.5] Father Francois Xavier returned from there to France towards the year 1721.

[52.7] Meanwhile Fathers Le Boulanger and de Kereben took care of the administration of the very flourishing mission situated on the shores of the Mississippi near Kaskaskia, which had been divided into these two parts in the previous year: the Citadel de Chartres was situated less than a half mile from the river; however, twelve miles from this citadel a large colony of French was directed in spiritual matters by Father Guymoneau, the Superior of the Mission and Vicar General of the bishop of Quebec, and not without profit. [52.14] Father Philippe Meurin, S.J., came to the Illinois mission in the year 1734. [52.15] He at first was distinguished for the unwearied work in the Mission of Saint Louis until the year 1748, when he set out to the Post at Vincennes.\footnote{38} [52.18] He came a second time to the Illinois mission in the year 1754, and as Vicar General of the bishop of Quebec and Superior of the Society of Jesus throughout the Illinois Mission he undertook the unremitting administration of all the posts. [52.22] He lived in the town of Kaskaskia in the town of Saint Genevieve, and from there he visited the rest of the posts. [52.24] He finally fell asleep in peace at the town of Lamar in the year 1776, worn out by the hardships and labors, but at the age of 75. A great deal of literature by that illustrious herald of the Gospel survives, printed at Lyons and Paris, which you may consult, if you like. [52.28] There are many intimate letters and of the greatest edification of Father Philippe Meurin to the bishop of Quebec.

[52.31] Father Jean Baptiste de Neuville, S.J., who was especially powerful in word and example, came to this mission in the year 1743 and from there returned in the
year 1754 after he had gathered a great harvest of souls there for eleven years. [52.35]

Father Pierre Luc Dujaunais, S.J., having set out from New France in the year 1748, landed at the Illinois mission, and having left there in the year 1754, he returned with Father J. B. de Neuville. [52.38] Father Jacques Virot, S.J., next was sent here from New France in the year 1757 and returned to France in the year 1764. [52.40] Father Truleau and Father Tartarin already from the year 1741, Father Beaudoin from the year 1730, and Father de Guyenne from the year 1742 were governing the Church of Kaskaskia as in the following years did Father Watrin, Superior of the whole mission, [53.1] who had a steady residence in this parish from the year 1746 to the year 1759. [53.3] Father Aubert also cultivated the vineyard of the Lord here strenuously and fruitfully from 1759 to 1764, and he had as Comrades Father Louis Vivier, Father Gagnon and Father M. J. Fourre around 1749. He had already endured the large inconveniences of journeys and frequent shipwrecks, which are described here and there in the annals of that time and which would be at any rate a matter for longer leisure to mention here. [53.9] There you will also find that Father Le Petit already had done things worthy of a hero among the Arkansas from the year 1728 and had suffered on behalf of Christ, for whom and to whom he devoted his soul, that he had subdued various peoples there by means of the yoke of the Gospel, and that Father Du Poisson was killed by the Natchez nation in their hatred for the faith. [53.14] Letters of those venerable men of the Society of Jesus are extant here and there, which, with respect of tireless contemplation we should properly examine thoroughly by day and by night. [53.17] In that place here and there we shall see how much advantage for Christianity those illustrious front-line soldiers of the cross of Christ gained. [53.19]
And clearly we shall see that they truly, with the abominable allurements of this accursed world left behind, so dedicated themselves to their Savior most worthy of love, that with treasures trampled under foot, which rust and moth consume, and with their loins girded with poverty and humility, not confined by the boundaries of lands, they penetrated all the way to the extreme regions of the West, and that love for the Lord so bound some of them that, even careless with their own blood, they submitted themselves to voluntary martyrdom, so that they might plant the Word of God more effectively there. [53.29] Doubtlessly they endured the very harsh sufferings all the way to the consummation of glory; nor indeed did they ever yield to these, but those very sufferings yielded to the bravest martyrs of Christ. [53.33] Unfading crowns at last brought an end to pains, which all the tortures were not able to give. [53.35] Ah, most beloved Brothers, let us not fall short of the towering plans of the sons of God!

[53.37] For the rest, it is clearly indisputable from the annual reports of the Society of Jesus, which we have of those fruitful times, just as also from the trustworthy tradition of those living nearby, that so much anointment has always clung to these missions, that all of our fathers seem to have preferred them to the very splendid and other very fruitful expeditions whatsoever. [53.42] This beyond doubt originated thereafter because nature, finding here nothing, either with a view to [54.1] the charms of a more suitable life, or with a view to incentives for vanity, a very ordinary broom twig for exceptional successes of the holy ministry, worked by the grace of a merciful God most abundantly without any obstacle. [54.4] Moreover, God Almighty, who never allows himself to be surpassed by the generosity of his servants, intimately communicated himself without any measure to

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those energetic laborers, who continuously offered sacrifice to him and to the world of the
dead by means of all dangers without limit and hardships, and in the midst of excursions
and difficulties of every kind taking possession of their soul, in inner peace submissive to
no change, they had established their very selves in that simplicity and spiritual infancy
most completely which our Savior had so pressed upon his disciples, as the peculiar nature
of his Followers and the special virtue of Apostolic life, saying: "Unless you become as
that little child, you will not enter into the kingdom of heaven." [54.16] And so those
natural sons of Loyola intimately persuaded to be in their vocation, to travel through
different places and to live their life in whatever region of the world where obedience to
God and help of souls is hoped for more, with tears obtained these missions from the
Moderators, and flew joyfully across seas and through inhospitable wildernesses to that
contest of glory scorning parents and friends, without travel allowance or any human help,
to be exhausted in short by starvation, intemperance of weather, and unusual heat of the
sun, or to be tortured by barbarians with a most harsh kind of death. [54.25] Considering
themselves as sojourners and strangers in this valley of tears, they did not admit
inclinations unless lofty, surely of procuring the salvation of souls which were to be
destroyed for eternity, and of extending more and more the glory of God with the
promulgation of the Gospel. [54.30] Under the armed hand of menacing barbarians they
hoped for death rather than feared it. [54.32] Even rejoicing they discerned the most fiery
pyres, which they prepared for consuming them. [54.33] And in fact, shining in their love
for Jesus they endured axes and collars weighed from their neck and set on fire in the most
courageous silence, or they spoke of heavenly things where they were able, and this too
while their outer skin was being pulled away from the top of their head, while their feet had been cut off, and the very flesh from their hips torn off all the way to their bones was being devoured by their torturers. [54.39] And so it is no wonder that missions of this kind have always been a seed bed of solid virtues for our fathers. [54.40] And they themselves were endowed with a very vivid faith, while they did nothing besides the propagation of the faith and most avidly pursued every opportunity for sealing that with blood. [54.43] Their hope and consolation and life were unique, although they considered no titles more just with a view to an eternal crown, for those who, with all things left behind for the sake of Christ, for whom and to whom they devoted their soul, fought righteously all the way to the end of their life. [55.4] Like servants they committed themselves to the special providence of God since they were firmly convinced that he, to whom with gracious purpose they had consecrated themselves in a living burnt offering, was going to provide for them deprived of all the necessities of life in a strange land. [55.9] Such men were even admitted by Christ to intimate association and friendship, which was won more and more and bound more tightly by the exercise of very many virtues, no doubt of bravery, temperance, mortification, and endurance.

[55.13] To all of whom God, so that he might reveal how much those expeditions were pleasing to him, seemed to have given beyond one percent of the profit to the Missions, one hundred arms for the harvest, when sometimes a pair of men performed those things, which unless we observed them with our eyes, by no means would we believe could have been accomplished even by very many.
But so that the catalogue of Missionaries who thus far have cultivated this
to the Lord may be more complete, those fathers must be added besides
concerning whom indeed the aforementioned documents of the Archive of Quebec and
Kaskaskia cite nothing, lest their names be lost. [55.23] Father Louel and Father
Doutrelent brought the Gospel into the lands inhabited by the Yaasous around 1725.
[55.25] Father Guignes among the Sioux and Mascoutins, and Father de Guyenne among
the Creeks cultivated a very scanty vineyard of Christ; and in the year 1736 Father Serrat,
hastening out into those very vast regions with Fathers Albanel, Morand, and Paul de Rue,
was the first to find the end of hardships in the middle of the course of his apostolic life in
a death which those Chicagoans, inflamed by hatred for the faith, caused.

[55.33] Meanwhile, since in the year 1764 the British got possession of this region
and were hostile to the True Religion and especially to the Society of Jesus, our Fathers to
a man all\(^9\) returned to France and leaving behind a most intense longing for themselves
both among the natives and among the population originating from the colonies just as
possessions truly not ordinary and already very flourishing because of their labor. [55.39]
But still, eager for the testimony of the best conscience, because they realized that the faith
was stabilized at the roots by them, intent on the sole will of God, they left the fulfillment
of the harvest most costly in sweat and irrigated with blood to other reapers.

[56.1] In the end, the matter itself tells that it is just that the whole Christian cause
might depend on this most western mission because of the example and fruit of virtues and
labors especially of these. [56.3] Certainly to the degree possible, sincere analysis should
be given of these workers of the Society of Jesus together with an accurate examination of
the place and natives first, even if it is less eloquent or splendid, before we pass on to the
modern exposition of this Mission. [56.7] We who now are following the footsteps of our
Elders will not be ashamed to present the reading of the infancy of our mission to the
reader. [56.9] For even if the most precious conversion of souls redeemed by divine blood
and by us ourselves is taken up for detailed explanation, nevertheless the things which
have been completed thus far, all the way to this point, in a matter most divine of all divine
matters, are so small (if they should be compared with those acts of our Elders, which they
accomplished so long ago by the favor of God Almighty in this western region) that
perhaps they cannot seem to someone worthy enough, to be thrust upon the whole
Society and even upon the eyes of the Christian world. [56.16] But indeed truly that
Roman greatness usually begins without notice from the breasts of a she-wolf, from
highway robberies of shepherds, and from town walls gone over with a leap. [56.19]
Wherefore neither are we ashamed to put forth the cradle, rattle, early childhood, and if
there is anything more infantile, of this very small mission of the Society wherever. [56.21]
For even these things are usually least displeasing in children, as the javelin once to the
equestrian Agesilaus. [56.23] In short, as we are confident from all the evidence of the
place and inhabitants, this dainty infant of the Society, the best Mother, increased
especially by heavenly favors, longed for so often by added assistance and help of
benefactors, will shake off its infantile swaddling clothes and aspire to a larger and
gigantic age. [56.27] Our future successors at any rate, with the Lord granting the
increase, will add the other ages to infancy, just as things have grown. [56.30] More, I
think that these are expected from those of us who are feeble heralds of the Gospel, not
how we speak, but what we do (for time would not be sufficiently favorable to both),
especially when bare truth, speaking about what has been done by us ourselves in order to
enlarge minds, unadorned seems rather embellished.

[56.35] And actually by us who are about to follow up the beginnings, progress
and growth of our Mission, things not amazing but true are expected, and not all are
things which have been done from virtue, but things which were able to survive through
the alterations and changes of times, and through the difficulties of places and the straits of
time and space. [56.40] If a few things should be said about many and less about hope,
dear Reader, one ought to consider them as of the just and good. [56.42] Indeed, just as it
would be pointless in the migration of a small colony to decide upon a region already very
populous and crowded with cities and towns, so in the founding and support of the
modern mission, it is impossible to compose an unimpaired sequence of things done by our
Fathers from its cradle. [56.47] And so these things which are especially powerful for an
example, and which do the most for the momentum of the cause, when I try to explain
them, I pray that God Almighty may graciously assist me in my attempt and show that the
labor taken up with the best goal, at least, because of the deserts and prayers of our fellow
brothers is useful to the reader, and is honorable for our Society and the whole Catholic
Church.
# Index of things worthy of mention which are contained in this Proemium and History of the young Illinois Mission of the Society of Jesus

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To the Greater Glory of God
Notes

1. Literally, “sacredness, sanctity.”

2. Marginal gloss: Distinction, usefulness and necessity of this particular History.

3. Marginal gloss: Cicero, De oratore II.ix.36.


5. Military metaphor: chosen Roman soldiers, who marched and fought before the standards.


7. See also the bibliography to the historical background for the Jesuits in New France.


10. The western part of Spain, including but not limited to modern Portugal.

11. The force of *militiam aliquam inter sese* seems to indicate a citizen army rather than a regular one.

12. Literally, “take away from.” and therefore the author has used the ablative case.

13. Marginal gloss: Father Marquette, S. J., explored the Mississippi river on 7 June 1673.

14. Marginal gloss: Father de Charlevoix, History of New France, 4:5; Charlevoix actually discusses Marquette’s expedition in Book X.


16. Marginal gloss: In the year 1837. This would indicate that the Ms. was written either in the late 1830's or early 1840's.

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19. Marginal gloss: Alexander VIII later condemned this.


22. Marginal gloss: Gen. 49.

23. Psalm 86:4 (NRSV): “Among those who know me I mention Rahab and Babylon; Philistia too, and Tyre, with Ethiopia — ‘This one was born there,’ they say.” Note that the Psalms are numbered differently in the Vulgate used by the author from the common numeration used by scholars today. In addition, the author is quoting from the Vulgate translation of the Septuagint rather than the later translation of St. Jerome from the Hebrew.


26. The marginal gloss may be referring to a History of Theology or perhaps Aquinas: *H. Th. q. g2.a.2*.


28. Literally, “do they diminish something from.”


30. That is, “fire water.”

31. Or perhaps “the endurance of soul.”

32. Or “wind.”

33. Or “judgments.”

34. Jules Mazarin, originally, Giulio Mazarini, 1602-1661, was an Italian-born French cardinal, tutor and first chief minister to Louis XIV.
35. A coastal region of India, extending some 450 miles along the Arabian Sea northwest from Cape Comorin.

36. A lake in southeastern Ontario east of Lake Huron.

37. Note transition here back to the particular (singular) from the general (plural).

38. This is probably a reference to the city in Indian, capital of the Indiana Territory, 1800-1813, located on the Wabash River in the southwestern part of the state.

39. Marginal gloss by a later hand: “With Father Philip Meurin excepted, who died in the town of Prairie du Rocher and was buried under a window next to the Altar to the side of the Gospel.”
Donnelly provides an extensive bibliography for French Jesuit missionary activity in North America in his *Errata and Addenda* to Thwaites' *Jesuit Relations*. These are in addition to the lengthy bibliography given by Thwaites himself for sources prior to 1906. Donnelly also provides sufficient bibliography for Father Marquette in his book on the life and ministry of the missionary. For further information on French Colonial Louisiana, the bibliography provided by O’Neill is quite sufficient. These sources are listed below along with selected sources used for this dissertation.


--------- *Two Navigations to Newe Fraunce*. London, 1580.


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