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## KATERI TEKAKWITHA'S TORTUOUS PATH TO SAINTHOOD

The Indian village at Kahnawake was perhaps the most successful of Christian "praying towns" in the New World. Founded in the late 1660s by a small group of Iroquois, Hurons, and Eries, the village was formally attached to the Jesuit Mission of St. Francis Xavier. For many Indians, especially the Iroquois, Kahnawake became a refuge from the rise in drinking, violence, and warfare that plagued many Indian villages in the northeast in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Shoemaker's essay focuses on the life of one Christian Indian woman, Kateri Tekakwitha, who lived at Kahnawake during the 1670s, when the Christian fervor within the village reached its peak. Today, the Catholic Church at Kahnawake Reserve in Canada houses Tekakwitha's relics and continues to attract pilgrims who come to pray at her shrine.

**K**ateri Tekakwitha died at Kahnawake in 1680 in the odor of sanctity (a sweet odor filled the room). Pilgrims from all over New France journeyed to her tomb to ask her to intercede with God on their behalf. In 1683, Tekakwitha's divine intervention saved several Jesuits from certain death when a windstorm caused the mission church at Kahnawake to collapse around them.<sup>1</sup> Ten years later, André Merlot's "inflammation of

the eyes" healed after he made a novena to Tekakwitha, rubbing his eyes with a solution of water, earth from Tekakwitha's grave, and ashes from her clothing.<sup>2</sup> Colombière, Canon of the Cathedral of Québec, testified in 1696 that his appeal to Tekakwitha relieved him of "a slow fever, against which all remedies had been tried in vain, and of a diarrhea, which even ipecacuana could not cure."<sup>3</sup> The Roman Catholic Church acknowledged Tekakwitha's holiness by declaring her venerable in 1943. In 1980, Tekakwitha was beatified. Perhaps soon, Tekakwitha will pass the next and final step of canonization and be recognized as a saint. She is the only Native American to rise so far in the saintly canon of the Catholic Church.<sup>4</sup>

Kateri Tekakwitha appears in most historical accounts of missionization in New France except, oddly enough, those that deal explicitly with women and missionization.<sup>5</sup> The now classic research of Eleanor Leacock and two recent books on women and missionization, one written by Karen Anderson and the other by Carol Devens, do not mention Tekakwitha.<sup>6</sup> More surprising is that the historical literature on native women and religion in New France ignores the Iroquois, even though there is a voluminous literature debating the power of Iroquois women before and after European contact.<sup>7</sup> Leacock and Devens confined their studies to the Montagnais (an Algonquian-speaking tribe), while Anderson's research focused on the Montagnais and Huron, who were culturally and linguistically related to the Iroquois but often at war with them.

Tekakwitha's experience does contradict the usual argument that missionaries forced native people to adopt patriarchy along with Christianity and that missionization helped to devalue women's role in native societies. The usual narrative of missionization's impact on native women in New France describes how epidemic disease and progressively deeper involvement in the fur trade created an economic imbalance and a crisis of faith within native communities; the Jesuits' persistent vilifying of native customs, especially marriage customs, eventually led missionized Indians to abandon the old ways and accept the basic tenets of Christianity and Western culture.

The choicest pieces of evidence used to support the argument that native people in New France ultimately conformed to missionary preachings and Western patriarchy come from a 1640 Jesuit account of the Montagnais mission at Sillery, which was recovering from a severe smallpox epidemic. One particular incident figures prominently in the arguments of Leacock, Anderson, and Devens. Several Montagnais women complained to the Jesuits that the men had brought them to a council to reprimand them:

"It is you women," they [the men] said to us [the women], "who are the cause of all our misfortunes,—it is you who keep the demons among us. You do not urge to be baptized; you must not be satisfied to ask this favor only once from the Fathers, you must importune them. You are lazy about going to prayers; when you pass before the cross, you never salute it; you wish to be independent. Now know that you will obey your husbands."<sup>8</sup>

Leacock and Anderson gave this as evidence of missionized Indian men dominating women. Devens used this example to show that native women resisted Christianity, partly because of its patriarchal implications. However, Devens' argument is weakened by her own discussion of how some native women eagerly embraced Christianity.

These arguments presume a linear, assimilationist model of change and seem to come from a Western narrative tradition that depicts people as one thing, and after a crisis of some sort, they become another thing. However, it seems more likely that historical change is constantly in motion, perhaps moving in many different directions at once. Crisis may not lead automatically to permanent change but instead may simply be the moment in time when competing interests clash in a visible and tangible way. Smallpox made 1640 an especially stressful year in this Montagnais village, and men and women may have become embattled as they sought to reassert some control over their lives. Montagnais men were probably not successfully dominating women, but they may have been trying to and may have tried using the symbols of Christianity to do so. Some women may have in similar moments called upon the symbols of Christianity to assert their own identity and authority within the native community.

This narrative of a decline into patriarchy appeals to those of us with historical hindsight; however, even though we may view Christianity as part of a patriarchal, Western tradition that assisted in the conquest of America, native people may have interpreted it differently. First, Roman Catholicism, especially in the way the Jesuit missionaries presented it, paralleled Iroquois religious beliefs, allowing certain aspects of Christianity to be easily incorporated. Second, Roman Catholicism, perhaps more than any other Christian religion, employs feminine imagery, such as the Virgin Mary and women saints, which could be coopted by women as symbols of power. And third, while scholars of missionization in New France have emphasized Jesuit efforts to enforce monogamous, life-long marriages on native converts as crucial to women's disempowerment, they have ignored the Jesuits' even more profound admiration of women who

refused to marry, a novel idea when introduced to the Iroquois and one that some women may have appreciated as an alternative to their prescribed role within Iroquois society. The Jesuits preached patriarchy, but also brought to the Iroquois a toolkit of symbols, stories, and rituals that portrayed women as powerful or that gave women access to power. Just as native people transformed Europeans' material toolkit of guns, blankets, and glass beads to suit their own needs, Iroquois women and men may have sometimes adopted, sometimes rejected, but continually worked to transform the spiritual and symbolic toolkit of Christianity to meet the needs of the moment.

The Jesuit compulsion to missionize in the Americas was partly the product of a religious revival that swept through elite circles in France in the early 1600s.<sup>9</sup> Jesuits first arrived at the French colonial settlement of Québec in 1625. After briefly losing the colony to an alliance of English colonists and the disaffected French Protestants known as Huguenots, France reestablished Québec in 1632, and within the year the Jesuits arrived again, this time to set up permanent missions. At first, the Jesuits concentrated their missions among the Hurons, Montagnais, and Algonquins. They made several attempts to missionize the Iroquois but did not survive long in any of the Iroquois villages. However, some Iroquois, many of them Huron or Algonquin war captives who had been adopted into Iroquois families, left their villages to form Christian communities. One of the largest and most successful of these "praying towns" was Kahnawake.

Kahnawake (or Caughnawaga) originated at La Prairie de la Madeleine near Montréal in the late 1660s. La Prairie consisted of three distinct, but interacting, communities: the Jesuit Mission of St. Francis Xavier, a village of French colonists, and a growing native village of Algonquins, Hurons, and Iroquois. The first native settlers at La Prairie were Catherine Gandeacteua, an Erie woman, and her Huron husband, Francois Xavier Tonsahoten. Both of them had previously learned about Christianity at Jesuit missions, but had then been taken captive and adopted into the Oneida tribe, one of the five Iroquois nations. By the early 1670s, Gandeacteua, Tonsahoten, and other members of their family had left their Oneida village and permanently settled near Montréal. For a variety of reasons, the native village and the mission moved a few miles up the St. Lawrence River to Sault St. Louis in 1677. Although the French usually called this Indian settlement "the Sault," the native inhabitants named their village Kahnawake, meaning "at the sault" or falls in Mohawk, a reflection of the growing number of Mohawks who had joined the community. As the easternmost of the Iroquois tribes, the Mohawks were the first to feel most intensely

the disruptive consequences of European contact, and many Mohawks came to see Kahnawake, with its strict prohibitions against alcohol, as a haven from the alcohol-induced violence plaguing Iroquois villages in the late 1600s.<sup>10</sup>

According to Tekakwitha's two hagiographers, the Jesuits Pierre Cholenec and Claude Chauchetière, Tekakwitha was one of the many Mohawks who sought refuge at Kahnawake.<sup>11</sup> She was born in 1656 at Gandaouague (now Auriesville, New York) near present-day Albany. Her mother was an Algonquin who had been missionized by the Jesuits at Trois Rivières, and her father was Mohawk and a "heathen." When Tekakwitha was about four years old, a smallpox epidemic killed her immediate family and left Tekakwitha disfigured and with weak eyes that could not bear bright light. She was raised by her aunts and by an uncle who was considered one of the most powerful men in the village as well as a vehement opponent of Christianity.

As a young girl, Tekakwitha did what all Iroquois girls did. (However, she was also "gentle, patient, chaste, innocent, and behaved like a well-bred French child.")<sup>12</sup> She helped gather firewood, worked in the cornfields, and became skilled at various decorative crafts. And although she later "looked back upon it as a great sin" requiring "a severe penance," she arrayed herself in typical Iroquois finery and engaged in other vanities.<sup>13</sup> When Tekakwitha reached marriageable age, her relatives began pressuring her to marry. At one point, they even arranged a marriage, but when the intended bridegroom came into the longhouse and seated himself next to Tekakwitha, by which custom the arranged marriage was revealed to her, she "left the lodge and hid in the fields."<sup>14</sup>

Tekakwitha first encountered the Jesuits as a young girl when Fathers Frémin, Bruyas, and Pierron stayed in her uncle's lodge while arranging to establish missions among the five Iroquois Nations. It was not until several years later, however, that Tekakwitha received her first instruction in Christianity. Jacques de Lamberville, then Jesuit missionary to the Mohawk, visited Tekakwitha's lodge and found her eager to hear more, or at least she was one of the few Iroquois he could get to listen. (Her eye problems and other ailments often kept her confined to the longhouse while other women went to work in the cornfields.) He baptized her in 1676 and gave her the Christian name of Catherine.<sup>15</sup> Harassed by the non-Christian majority, Tekakwitha fled to Kahnawake about a year and a half later, arriving shortly after the village had relocated from La Prairie to Sault St. Louis.

While at Kahnawake, Tekakwitha's enthusiasm for Christianity became more intense. She moved in with her adopted sister and faithfully learned

Christian prayers and the lives of the saints from Anastasia, "one of the most fervent Christians in the place" and the matrilineal head of the family in that longhouse.<sup>16</sup> Her first year there, she went on the winter hunt as was the custom for residents of Kahnawake, but could not bear being deprived of Mass, the Eucharist, and daily prayer. She built her own shrine, a cross, in the woods and prayed to it, but would have preferred to be back in the village. The next winter, she refused to go on the hunt, which meant that she also chose to go without meat for the entire winter.

Once again, Tekakwitha's relatives, including Anastasia, pressured her to marry. They even solicited Cholenec's assistance in convincing Tekakwitha of the importance of marriage. At first Cholenec took the side of the relatives, for he knew that in Iroquois society women were dependent on men for clothing (provided through the hunt and later through the fur trade), and that, without a husband to contribute meat and hides to the longhouse, Tekakwitha was not helping herself or her longhouse family. But Tekakwitha insisted that she could "have no other spouse but Jesus Christ." Finally persuaded that she was "inspired by the Holy Spirit," Cholenec changed sides in the family dispute and began to defend Tekakwitha's decision to remain unmarried.<sup>17</sup>

Meanwhile, Tekakwitha had formed a close friendship with another young woman, Marie Therese. They dedicated themselves to each other, to Christianity, and to leading lives modeled after that of the nuns in Québec and Montréal. Cholenec ascribed their knowledge of the nuns to Tekakwitha, and said that she had for herself seen how the hospital nuns in Montréal lived and had learned of their vows of chastity and penitential practices.<sup>18</sup> However, Chauchetière credited a third young woman, Marie Skarichions, with suggesting to Tekakwitha and Marie Therese that they model themselves after the nuns.<sup>19</sup> Skarichions was from Lorette, a community similar to Kahnawake but located near Québec, and she had once been cared for there by the Sisters de la Hospitalière.

These three women determined to form their own association, in which they dedicated themselves to virginity and helped each other in their self-mortifications. Tekakwitha's penances were many and varied. She walked barefoot in ice and snow, burned her feet "with a hot brand, very much in the same way that the Indians mark their slaves [war captives]," put coals and burning cinders between her toes, whipped her friends and was whipped by them in secret meetings in the woods, fasted, mixed ashes in her food, and slept for three nights on a bed of thorns after hearing the life story of Saint Louis de Gonzague.<sup>20</sup> Tekakwitha's self-mortifications eventually took their toll and she became ill, so ill that

Cholenec, making an exception for her, had to bring all his ritual equipment to her in her lodge to perform the last rites. She died at age 24 on April 17th, 1680.

This narrative of Tekakwitha's life needs to be interpreted from two different perspectives. First, there is the issue of Tekakwitha as a Jesuit construction. Why did they think she might be a saint? How did their own culture shape the narrative of Tekakwitha's life story? Second, what was she really doing? Was she forsaking traditional Iroquois beliefs to become Christian or did her actions make sense within an Iroquois cultural framework?

Undeniably, Tekakwitha was to some extent a Jesuit construction.<sup>21</sup> If you were to strip this narrative of its occasional Iroquois element—the longhouse, women in the cornfields, the winter hunt—it could have taken place in fourteenth-century bourgeois Siena. Her life story follows the hackneyed plot-line typical of women's hagiographies, especially that of Saint Catherine of Siena, except that Tekakwitha did not live long enough to become an advisor to popes and kings.<sup>22</sup> First, there are the unrelenting relatives who try to force Tekakwitha into marriage, purportedly for her own sake but primarily for the economic advantage of the family as a whole. Then, there is her complete devotion to Christian ritual: persistent prayers, a particular emotional intensity expressed for the Holy Eucharist, and her feelings of desperation and longing when deprived of the ritual experience. And finally, like other women who by the seventeenth century had been recognized as saints or likely saints, Tekakwitha's reputation for holiness was based entirely on her dedication to virginity and her proclivity for abusing her own body. Because Tekakwitha's life story follows an established hagiographical model, it could be that Cholenec and Chauchetière fictionalized their narratives to make her life fit the model. However, it is more likely that they thought she might be a saint because her life fit the model so well.

There were other potential saints among the Indians at Kahnawake. There was, for instance, Catherine Gandeacteu, the founder of the native village at La Prairie. The Jesuits praised her effusively, but according to the other model typical for women saints. Instead of being a self-mortifying virgin, Gandeacteu, "like Saint Anne," impoverished herself through her charity to others. She died before the village moved to the Sault, and so her body was buried at La Prairie. When the native village moved, the Indians and the French colonists at La Prairie vied for who should possess her corpse.<sup>23</sup> The Indians probably planned to rebury Gandeacteu's body near the new village. The French at La Prairie, however, must have

thought Gandeacteuwa had virtues worthy of a saint, for they wanted the body, "the relics," presumably so they could have access to her intercessory powers with God. It was the custom in Europe to pray for a saint's intercession at the tomb or to the more portable relics (the saint's bones, clothes, dirt from near the tomb, whatever had physically been the saint or been touched by the saint).<sup>24</sup> French colonists were probably suffering from saint-deprivation, for there were as yet no saints' tombs in New France and most of the more easily transported relics were still in Europe. In this unusual colonial struggle, the French won and Gandeacteuwa's body remained at La Prairie.

There were even more saintly possibilities among Tekakwitha's peers at Kahnawake. She was merely one of many to join in a penitential fervor that raged through the village in the late 1670s and early 1680s. According to Chauchetière,

The first who began made her first attempt about Christmas in The year 1676 [the year before Tekakwitha arrived at Kahnawake], when she divested herself of her clothing, and exposed herself to The air at the foot of a large Cross that stands beside our Cemetery. She did so at a time when the snow was falling, although she was pregnant; and the snow that fell upon her back caused her so much suffering that she nearly died from it—as well as her child, whom the cold chilled in its mother's womb. It was her own idea to do this—to do penance for her sins, she said.<sup>25</sup>

Chauchetière then described how four of her friends, all women, followed her example but invented other, more elaborate forms of penance. Tekakwitha learned about penance from other Indians at Kahnawake and did not initiate the practice.<sup>26</sup>

Moreover, penitential practices seem to have reached their peak after Tekakwitha's death. Chauchetière gave the clearest account of this development in his short history of the Mission at the Sault. After referring to how, in 1680, the "mission gave to paradise a treasure which had been sent to it two years before, to wit, the blessed soul of Catherine Tegakwita, who died on the 17th of april," Chauchetière recounted the events that transpired later that year:

The demon [the devil], who saw the glorious success of this mission, used another kind of battery. Transfiguring himself as an angel of light,

he urged on the devotion of some persons who wished to imitate Catherine, or to do severe penance for their sins. He drove them even into excess,—in order, no doubt, to render christianity hateful even at the start; or in order to impose upon the girls and women of this mission, whose discretion has never equaled that of catherine, whom they tried to imitate. There were Savage women who threw themselves under the ice, in the midst of winter. One had her daughter dipped into it, who was only six years old,—for the purpose, she said, of teaching her penance in good season. The mother stood there on account of her past sins; she kept her innocent daughter there on account of her sins to come, which this child would perhaps commit when grown up. Savages, both men and women, covered themselves with blood by disciplinary stripes with iron, with rods, with thorns, with nettles; they fasted rigorously, passing the entire day without eating,—and what the savages eat during half the year is not sufficient to keep a man alive. These fasting women toiled strenuously all day—in summer, working in the fields; in winter, cutting wood. These austerities were almost continual. They mingled ashes in their portion of Sagamité; they put glowing coals between their toes, where the fire burned a hole in the flesh; they went bare-legged to make a long procession in the snows; they all disfigured themselves by cutting off their hair, in order not to be sought in marriage. . . . But the Holy Ghost soon intervened in this matter, enlightening all these persons, and regulated their conduct without diminishing their fervor."<sup>27</sup>

For the Jesuits, who knew that one saint was rare and ten or twenty completely implausible, the only way to explain this was to distinguish Tekakwitha's self-mortifications as inspired by God and everyone else's as inspired by the devil.

Despite their attempts to isolate Tekakwitha as especially holy, the Jesuit accounts show that the entire village of Kahnawake, both men and women, but especially the women, were taking Christianity to an extreme. The Jesuits frequently mentioned having to intervene to "regulate" penitential practices, and as Chauchetière admitted, "The Savage women sometimes propound to us doubts in spiritual matters, as difficult as those that might be advanced by the most cultured persons in France."<sup>28</sup> The Christian Indians at Kahnawake were inventive and self-motivated, exhibiting an independence and intensity which frightened the Jesuits because they risked being unable to control it. But still, from the Jesuits' perspective, Tekakwitha and the other Indians at Kahnawake were behaving in ways that were comprehensible as Christian.

However, the historical literature on missionization in New France has shown how Christian Indians created a syncretic religion, a new religion that melded traditional native beliefs and Christian rituals.<sup>29</sup> The Jesuits assisted the syncretic process in their accommodationist approach to native cultures. Similarities between Christianity and Iroquois religious beliefs, which the Jesuits rarely admitted to, also made syncretism possible.

The Jesuits' previous missionizing experiences and their scholarly emphasis led them to develop a somewhat sly missionary philosophy. They learned the native language and worldview in order to package Christianity in a conceptual framework that was familiar to the people they were attempting to missionize. In China, the Jesuits had first tried to ease into Chinese society by looking and acting like Buddhist monks. They then switched to the more comfortable role of scholar, and began to dress and act like the Chinese literati.<sup>30</sup> In New France, the Jesuits retained their usual style of dress, which is why the Indians called them "Black Robes," but slid into the only social category that approximated what they were: shamans. And even though the Jesuits saw themselves as superior to the native "conjurers," they did act just like shamans. They performed wondrous miracles by foretelling eclipses.<sup>31</sup> They interpreted "visions," while railing against native shamans who interpreted "dreams."<sup>32</sup> To cure people, they had their own set of mysterious and powerful rituals, such as bleeding, songs and prayers, and strange ritual implements.<sup>33</sup> Since they feared backsliders and usually only baptized adults who were on the verge of death, they were often perceived as either incompetent shamans or shamans who used their powers for evil purposes.<sup>34</sup> But in any case, the Indians were able to view them as people who had access to special powers.

These special powers were most observable in the new rituals which the Jesuits introduced to the Indians. Tangible manifestations of Christianity proved to be more important than theology in assisting the missionizing effort. Visual images and stories about people, either Bible stories or saints' lives, were the most efficacious missionary tools. Chauchetière was especially proud of his collection of religious paintings and drawings, some of which he drew himself or copied from other works. His depiction of "the pains of hell" was "very effective among the savages." The mission church at Kahnawake also had on display "paintings of the four ends of man, along with the moral paintings of M. le Nobletz," and eventually, after Tekakwitha's death, a series of paintings by Chauchetière depicting events in her life.<sup>35</sup>

Although the Jesuits shied away from attempting to explain the abstract principles of Christianity, which could not easily be translated into native

languages anyhow, there were conceptual similarities between Iroquois religious beliefs and seventeenth-century Catholicism which also furthered missionization. Christian origin stories, from Adam and Eve to the birth of Jesus Christ, are similar to the Iroquois origin story, which even has an Immaculate Conception.<sup>36</sup> The Holy Family—the somewhat distant and unimportant Joseph, the powerful and virtuous Virgin Mary, her mother, St. Anne, and the son Jesus Christ—was structurally more like the matrilineal Iroquois family than the patriarchal nuclear family of western culture.<sup>37</sup> And the rosary, a string of beads with spiritual significance, resembled Iroquois wampum, belts and necklaces made of shell beads, which had spiritual and political meaning.<sup>38</sup> Indeed, many of the actions of Christianized Indians, which the Jesuits proudly recorded and took credit for, conformed to the cultural norms of traditional Iroquois society. Gandacteua's Christian virtues—her generosity, especially in giving food and clothing to the poor, and her complete disavowal of all her personal possessions when she heard, mistakenly, that her husband had died—were more than virtues among the Iroquois; they were established customs.<sup>39</sup>

In emphasizing the syncretism of Christianity at Kahnawake, however, I do not want to belittle the significance of becoming Christian as people at the time perceived it. Christian Indians did see themselves as different, and non-Christian Indians ascribed a distinct identity to Christian Indians, even if they lived within the same village and spoke the same language. Also, even though the Indians at Kahnawake maintained many of their traditional beliefs and customs, they agreed to conform to some Jesuit demands, such as their prohibition of divorce.<sup>40</sup> For an Iroquois in the seventeenth century, becoming Christian and choosing to live near the Jesuits would have been a difficult decision, for the Iroquois rightly associated Christian missions with the French, who were, except for brief interludes, their enemies. The tensions arising from such a decision reached their peak in the early 1680s, when the Iroquois at Kahnawake reluctantly joined the French in a war against the main body of Iroquois to their south.<sup>41</sup>

Also, despite the conceptual similarities between Iroquois beliefs and Christianity, those who converted to Christianity do seem to have been already marginal within their communities. As Daniel Richter has observed, many of the residents at Kahnawake were former war captives who had been adopted into Iroquois families.<sup>42</sup> This might also explain the prominence of women in the mission accounts of Kahnawake. Since female war captives were more likely than men to be adopted permanently into the tribe, many Iroquois women had a dual ethnic identity.



Tekakwitha's marginality came from two directions: her mother and her disfigurement from smallpox. The Mohawks in Tekakwitha's original village thought of her as an Algonquin, suggesting that her mother, although presumably formally adopted as Iroquois, still strongly identified as Algonquin or was strongly identified by others as Algonquin.<sup>43</sup> According to her hagiographers, Tekakwitha was also self-conscious about her weak eyes and her smallpox scars. Unlike other Iroquois women, she always tried to keep her face covered with her blanket. Supposedly, some of her fellow villagers ridiculed her and said, after she died, "that God had taken her because men did not want her."<sup>44</sup>

The marginality of Tekakwitha and adopted Iroquois women might explain why they, and not others, chose Christianity, but it does not explain what they saw in Christianity. In Tekakwitha's case, there seem to have been three conceptual similarities between Iroquois beliefs and seventeenth-century Catholicism which make her actions comprehensible from both the Iroquois and Jesuit cultural perspectives. First, the Iroquois Requickening ceremony and the Christian ceremony of baptism, though conducted through different kinds of rituals, achieved the same end of renewal through imitation. Second, the Iroquois and the Jesuits employed voluntary societies as an additional level of social organization beyond the family and the political council. Voluntary societies served as an avenue by which individual women and men could acquire prestige, authority, and kin-like bonds within the larger community. And third, Iroquois and Jesuit beliefs about the body, the soul, and power were similar enough to allow for a syncretic adoption of self-denial and self-mortification as spiritually and physically empowering acts.

Undeniably, the Jesuits favored men in their daily administration of the mission. If given the choice, the Jesuits would have preferred to have more male converts, especially men of influence, than female converts. The Jesuits also granted men more authority and prestige by giving them roles as assistants in church services and by making them "dogiques" (native catechists). However, women turned Christianity to their advantage and incorporated the ritual of baptism, Christian societies, virginity and penance as means to establishing a firmer place for themselves in a changing Iroquois society.

First, the Christian ritual of baptism resembled an Iroquois Requickening ceremony. In both ceremonies, someone assumed the name and the metaphorical identity of an important person who had died. In both ceremonies, water played a purifying role. The Jesuits sprinkled holy water to mark the baptismal moment, whereas the Iroquois drank "water-of-

pity" to signify the transition to a new identity. Among the Iroquois, names of important people were passed on within clans. Individuals from later generations assumed these names and were expected to live up to them by imitating the person who had died and by fulfilling the obligations that went along with the name. For instance, when the Jesuit Lafitau arrived as a missionary at Kahnawake in 1712, the Iroquois requickened him in the place of Father Bruyas.<sup>45</sup> Although men and women could be renamed and "requickened," the ceremony was also held as part of the Condolence ceremony, the raising up of a new chief, and therefore was in its most prestigious manifestation held as a ceremony for men.<sup>46</sup>

The Jesuits introduced the Iroquois to new images of women in their stories of the Virgin Mary and women saints, and then provided the ritual, baptism, which encouraged imitation of these seemingly powerful women. When Tekakwitha was baptized, "The spirit of Saint Katherine of Sienna and of other saints of this name, was revived in her."<sup>47</sup> She was at the same time requickened as Saint Catherine of Siena, a woman whom the Jesuits featured prominently in their stories and devotions. Tekakwitha probably was deliberately modeling herself after her namesake. She would have heard the story of Saint Catherine's life many times—the fasting and penitential practices, her refusal to marry and her marriage to Jesus Christ in a vision, and her later role as an adviser to male political leaders. Tekakwitha and the other women at Kahnawake may have sensed the underlying patriarchy of the Jesuit mission, but also heard the Jesuits talk of powerful women, like St. Catherine of Siena, and were urged to imitate them.

Second, the women at Kahnawake used the model of the Christian society to enhance their collective role as the women of the village. One such Christian association was the Confraternity of the Holy Family, an organization of men and women which the Jesuits established at Kahnawake to bind the most devoted Christians together.<sup>48</sup> Women appear to have been among the most active participants in this organization. Perhaps the Jesuits' use of the "holy family" as the model for this society's devotions inspired its members to assume a matrilineal organization for determining members' relationships, mutual obligations, and decision-making powers.

The Jesuits viewed the Confraternity of the Holy Family as a successful operation, but expressed some doubts about the indigenous Christian organizations sprouting at Kahnawake. For example, Tekakwitha and her two friends attempted to form a nunnery. They planned to leave the village and set up a separate community of Christian women on Heron

Island, until Father Frémin talked them out of it.<sup>49</sup> Chauchetière described another women's organization in connection with the penitential practices adopted at Kahnawake:

The use of these [instruments of penance] Daily becomes more general. And, as The men have found that the women use them, they will not Let themselves be outdone, and ask us to permit them to use these every Day; but we will not allow it. The women, to the number of 8 or 10, Began The practice; and The wife of the dogique—that is to say, of him who Leads the Singing and says The prayers—is among the number. She it is who, in her husband's absence, also causes The prayers to be said aloud, and Leads The Singing; and in this capacity she assembles the devout women of whom we have spoken, who call themselves sisters. They tell One another their faults, and deliberate together upon what must be done for The relief of the poor in the Village—whose number is so great that there are almost as many poor as there are Savages. The sort of monastery that they maintain here has its rules. They have promised God never to put on their gala-dress. . . . They assist One another in the fields; They meet together to incite one another to virtue; and one of them has been received as a nun in The hospital of monreal.<sup>50</sup>

Chauchetière's account suggests that women deliberately formed these societies as an alternative to the gender-mixed Confraternity of the Holy Family and that the men at Kahnawake viewed women's societies as a challenge to their own authority and status.

However, "confraternities" were fundamental, well-established components of Iroquois village life. Iroquois women used similar "confraternities" to organize their work and acknowledge women's achievements.<sup>51</sup> The Iroquois also had healing societies, like the False-Faces, which possessed a specialized knowledge and their own healing rituals.<sup>52</sup> The women at Kahnawake added to this familiar kind of social institution the newly-introduced, Christian example of the nunnery, of which several existed in New France. In Québec in 1639, the Ursulines arrived to start a mission school for Indian girls and the Sisters de la Hospitalière opened a hospital. Later, Montréal also had some hospital sisters.<sup>53</sup> Although the Catholic Church restricted the authority of women's religious orders by making them ultimately subject to a male director, the women at Kahnawake were more likely to be aware of how these women, because of their unusual lifestyle and their healing activities, appeared to be powerful and respected members of French colonial society. As their husbands became the Jesuits'

"dogiques," women may have refashioned their work-oriented organization after the Christian model to reassert a traditional balance of power, which the Jesuits were disrupting by appointing men to positions of power and high status. The women's dedication to penance, and the envy among the men which this inspired, further suggests that both men and women at Kahnawake came to view penance as an empowering ritual.

Iroquois and Jesuit philosophies about the relationship between the body, the soul, and power illuminate why Tekakwitha and the other residents of Kahnawake accepted the Christian ideals of virginity and penance. In Catholic and Iroquois religious traditions, there was an ambivalence about the connection between the body and the soul. Both belief systems characterized the soul as a separate entity from the body, but elaborate funerary rites and the homage paid to soulless corpses show that they were reluctant to disavow all connections between the soul and the body. In Catholic theology, the soul left the body upon death and, in the case of saints and other holy people, resided in heaven. The Iroquois believed the soul left the body at death and lived an afterlife that would be like life on earth, but better.<sup>54</sup> The Iroquois also believed that the soul left living bodies while they were asleep. Dreamers made trips to this other world and brought back important messages needing interpretation. Shamans' skills included diagnosing these dreams so that they could be acted upon for the good of the individual and the community.<sup>55</sup> Although Iroquois dream interpretation was from the Jesuit point of view one of the most despicable and pagan aspects of Iroquois culture, in the Catholic tradition, holy people also bridged these two worlds. In their lifetime, they might have visions which connected them to the Virgin Mary or Jesus Christ, and after their death, they became the intercessors for others.

Saints functioned like guardian spirits, which in Iroquois culture were not people who had died but instead were animals or some other being that was part of the natural world.<sup>56</sup> In Iroquois tradition, a token (which might be a feather, a pebble, or a piece of oddly-shaped wood) was the physical key to the spiritual world, just as Catholics prayed to the saint's physical remains, to a relic, or at the tomb to reach guardian angels and saints.<sup>57</sup> Since the Iroquois believed everything in nature had a soul, unlike Christians who believed only people did, their range of possible guardian spirits was broader. However, the idea of appealing to a guardian spirit for miraculous cures, success in hunting and warfare, for love and happiness, or for special powers was part of both religions. Among the Iroquois, everyone and everything had some power, or "orenda," but some had more than others.<sup>58</sup> This power could be called upon by appeals



to guardian spirits, and could be used for either good or bad. The Jesuits believed that only a few were graced with divine power. And even though they had earthly authority as administrators of Christianity, it was a rare Jesuit who was also graced with divine authority, as a martyr or as someone who exhibited such extreme devotion to Christian ideals that they had to be a saint.

Within the Christian tradition, it was difficult for women to acquire authority on earth, but mystical experiences and Christian virtue carried to extremes produced saints. Self-mortification, virginity, and especially fasting appear in most hagiographies but especially dominate in the stories of women saints' lives. Refuting other scholars' claims that bodily abuse was an expression of women's hatred of their bodies, Rudolph Bell in *Holy Anorexia* and Caroline Walker Bynum in *Holy Feast and Holy Famine* argued that women seeking a sense of identity and self-assertion tried to control their world through the only means available, by controlling their own bodies and by controlling the symbols of women's domestic authority, such as food distribution. By fasting, making a vow of chastity, and engaging in penitential self-abuse, Catherine of Siena and other women saints revealed that they were among the select few graced with divine authority. As in the case of Catherine of Siena, a woman saint's divine authority could bring her some earthly authority as well, authority over her own life as well as over the lives of others. Saint Catherine of Siena's marriage to Jesus Christ in a vision partly explained why she could not marry on earth and also gave her the authority to tell kings and popes what to do.

In Iroquois society, one could similarly acquire power by controlling one's own body through fasting and sexual abstinence. Although lifelong celibacy struck the Iroquois as odd, virginity and sexual abstinence were conceived of as sources of power.<sup>59</sup> Virgins had certain ceremonial roles, and Iroquois legends told of there having once been a society of virgins.<sup>60</sup> The Iroquois viewed sexual abstinence as an avenue to physical and spiritual strength and as essential to men's preparations for war and the hunt. Fasting and tests of physical endurance also could be used as a means to acquire power. The Iroquois coming-of-age ritual for young men and women was a vision quest.<sup>61</sup> They went into the woods by themselves, fasted, and hoped to receive a vision or token from a guardian spirit. Those with especially powerful visions might become shamans (professional healers and visionaries).<sup>62</sup> Since some Indian residents at Kahnawake accused Tekakwitha of being a "sorceress," apparently the same acts that inspired the Jesuits to think of her as holy also gave her access to "orenda."<sup>63</sup>

Bell and Bynum revealed how virginity and fasting had a special meaning for women saints in medieval Europe. In contrast, among the Iroquois, virginity and fasting seem to have been equally available to men and women as sources of individual empowerment. Still, Bell's and Bynum's analyses of the relationship between food and control can shed light on why the Iroquois had a more democratic understanding of who could acquire "orenda" and how. Although Iroquois women controlled the distribution of food, both men and women made important, complementary contributions to food production. Women grew corn, and men hunted meat. Moreover, both men and women equally shared in their fear of starvation during winter. Iroquois rituals—many of which involved fasting, feasting, or cannibalism—all show an obsession with food, which may have been a cultural expression of their daily anxieties about an uncertain supply of food in the future.

Virginity and fasting resonated with Iroquois traditions. Penance was an entirely new ritual, but one that paralleled Iroquois ritual torture of war captives. The Iroquois adopted all war captives into the place of deceased clan members, and clans then chose whether the adoptee would live or die in the spirit of their namesake. Those consigned to die in the place of a mourned relative were put through a lengthy and painful series of tortures, after which parts of their body might be eaten. If the captive had died an especially brave death, he (usually it was a he) was more likely to be eaten because his body parts were seen as possessing that strength and courage. Through ritual torture, war captives became the repositories for violent emotions; by directing anxiety, stress, and grief for dead relatives outward, the Iroquois kept peace among themselves.<sup>64</sup>

Although the Jesuits condemned Iroquois torture, they recognized awkward similarities between Iroquois cannibalism and the Eucharist. The Eucharist is a metaphoric ritual in which participants eat the body of Christ and drink his blood, a reference to the theological notion that Christ sacrificed himself so that others might live. Fearing that the Iroquois might think they condoned cannibalism, the Jesuits translated the Eucharist to mean a feast and did not tell the Iroquois about its sacrificial connotations.<sup>65</sup> If it had not been so uncomfortably reminiscent of Iroquois ritual cannibalism, the Eucharist might have been a useful missionizing tool, with which the Jesuits could have offered the Iroquois a ritual to replace the torture of war captives.

However, David Blanchard has argued that the Indians at Kahnawake replaced the ritual torture of war captives with ritual self-torture. They called their penitential practices "hotouongannandi," which Chauchetière

translated to mean "public penance."<sup>66</sup> According to Blanchard, a better translation of the term would be "They are making magic," suggesting that the Iroquois saw penitential practices as a ritual source of power. Blanchard emphasizes the importance of this ritual in helping the Iroquois, as in their dreams, to leave the world on earth and visit "the sky world."<sup>67</sup> It is also important to emphasize, however, that they used visits to "the sky world" to control and improve life on earth.

The Indians at Kahnawake probably saw penance as a powerful healing and prophylactic ritual. Since the penitential practices at Kahnawake began at about the same time as a 1678 smallpox epidemic, which ebbed quickly and caused little damage, penitents at Kahnawake may even have viewed penance as an especially effective ritual to counter new diseases like smallpox.<sup>68</sup> The rise of penitential practices in Europe, evident in such movements as the Flagellants, which emerged after the Bubonic Plague, suggests that Christians in fourteenth-century Europe also thought that self-induced abuse of the body was a means to control the uncontrollable.<sup>69</sup> Also, the Iroquois at Kahnawake may have viewed penance as a prophylactic ritual to prevent torture and death at the hands of one's enemies. The Jesuits deliberately drew analogies between Christian hell and the torture of war captives practiced by northeastern Indians, and promised that Christian devotion would save one from an eternity in hell.<sup>70</sup>

In conclusion, the Iroquois who adopted Christianity did so for reasons that made sense within an Iroquois cultural framework. Certain Christian rituals fit easily into traditional Iroquois beliefs, while the new ritual practices, like penance, offered a special power lacking in traditional Iroquois rituals. Whereas the Jesuits emphasized the importance of Christian ritual in determining one's place in the afterlife, Tekakwitha and other Christian Iroquois had new and pressing needs for empowering rituals to control the increasingly uncertain, earthly present. Smallpox, increased warfare, alcohol, and the economic and political assaults on traditional gender roles did create a growing sense of crisis in Iroquois communities. To deal with that crisis and control their changing world, many Iroquois women and men turned to Christianity. However, they did not become Christian in the way the Jesuits intended; instead, they transformed Christianity into an Iroquois religion.

During one particular moment of crisis, at Kahnawake in the 1670s and 1680s, Iroquois women and men struggled to reshape the Jesuits' preachings into something meaningful for them. Part of the struggle had to do with the patriarchal structure of Christianity. The Jesuits supported male authority in the village by promoting men as administrators of Chris-

tianity and church activities. Women responded by using Christian symbols to assert their authority and identity within the community. Through a syncretic transformation of the ritual of baptism, the Christian society, virginity, and self-mortification, Tekakwitha appeared holy and Christian to the Jesuits while pursuing status and a firmer sense of her own identity within Iroquois society. The Jesuits tried to implement patriarchy at their missions, but they also brought the symbols, imagery, and rituals women needed to subvert patriarchy.

## NOTES

The author thanks Deborah Sommer and Louis Dupont for their help with this article.

1. Claude Chauchetière, "Annual Narrative of the Mission of the Sault, From its Foundation Until the Year 1686," in *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791* (JR), ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites (NY: Pageant, 1959), 63: 229; Pierre Cholenec more elaborately tells how Tekakwitha appeared to Chauchetière in a vision and prophesied the destruction of the church in "The Life of Katharine Tegakouita, First Iroquois Virgin" (1696), Document X, in *The Positio of the Historical Section of the Sacred Congregation of Rites on the Introduction of the Cause for Beatification and Canonization and on the Virtues of the Servant of God Katharine Tekakwitha, the Lily of the Mohawks*, ed. Robert E. Holland (NY: Fordham University Press, 1940), 312.
2. Peter Rémy to Father Cholenec, 12 March 1696, Document IX, in *The Positio*, 227.
3. Colombière is quoted in "Letter from Father Cholenec, Missionary of the Society of Jesus, to Father Augustin Le Blanc of the Same Society, Procurator of Missions in Canada," in *The Early Jesuit Missions in North America: Compiled and Translated From the Letters of the French Jesuits, with Notes*, ed. William Ingraham Kip (Albany: Joel Munsell, 1873), 115.
4. "Lily of the Mohawks", *Newsweek* 12 (1 August 1938), 27-28; "The Long Road To Sainthood," *Time* 116 (7 July 1980), 42-43. At about the time of Tekakwitha's beatification, the Catholic Church undertook a major reform of the saint-making process and reduced the number of miracles required for beatification and canonization. Under the old rules, Tekakwitha needed two documented miracles to be beatified or declared "blessed." Under the new rules, she only needed one. However, even though Tekakwitha is credited with many miracles, not one was able to meet the documentation standards required by the Catholic Church. Pope John Paul II waived this requirement for her, perhaps to give American Indians a saint of their own. To be canonized, and thereby declared a "saint," she would need two miracles according to the new rules, but since the documentation standards have already been waived for her, it is not clear whether there are any remaining obstacles to her canonization. Kenneth L. Woodward, *Making Saints: How the Catholic Church Determines Who Becomes a Saint, Who Doesn't, and Why* (NY: Simon and Schuster, 1990), 99, 117-188, 208, 217.
5. James Axtell, *The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America* (NY: Oxford University Press, 1985), 23-127; Cornelius J. Jaenen, *Friend and*

- Foe: *Aspects of French-Amerindian Cultural Contact in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (NY: Columbia University Press, 1976); Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 105–132.
6. Eleanor Burke Leacock, "Montagnais Women and the Jesuit Program for Colonization," *Myths of Male Dominance: Collected Articles on Women Cross-Culturally* (NY: Monthly Review Press, 1981), 43–62; Karen Anderson, *Chain Her By One Foot: The Subjugation of Women in Seventeenth-Century New France* (NY: Routledge, 1991); Carol Devens, *Countering Colonization: Native American Women and Great Lakes Missions, 1630–1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 7–30. An exception is Natalie Zemon Davis' article "Iroquois Women, European Women," which argues that Christianity may have given Indian women in New France access to a public voice denied them in traditional Iroquois oratory. This article is in *Women, "Race," and Writing in the Early Modern Period*, eds. Margo Hendricks and Patricia Parker (NY: Routledge, 1994), 243–258, 350–361.
  7. W.G. Spittal, *Iroquois Women: An Anthology* (Ohsweken, Ontario: Irocrafts, 1990).
  8. JR 18 (1640), 105–107; Leacock, 52; Anderson, 219; Devens, 7.
  9. W.J. Eccles, *France in America* (NY: Harper and Row, 1972); Cornelius J. Jaenen, *The Role of the Church in New France* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1976); J. H. Kennedy, *Jesuit and Savage in New France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950).
  10. Chauchetière, JR 63 (1686), 141–245; JR 61 (1679), 239–241; Henri Béchar, *The Original Caughnawaga Indians* (Montréal: International Publishers, 1976); E.J. Devine, *Historic Caughnawaga* (Montréal: Messenger Press, 1922); Gretchen Lynn Green, "A New People in an Age of War: The Kahnawake Iroquois, 1667–1760" (Ph.D. diss., College of William and Mary, 1991).
  11. The historical documents on Tekakwitha are conveniently available in *The Positio*, the compendium of materials used by the Vatican to determine whether she was worthy of Veneration. Cholenec, who headed the mission at Caughnawaga during Tekakwitha's stay there, wrote at least four versions of her life, which are usually but not entirely consistent. The 1696 "Life" (Document X in *The Positio*) is the most elaborate in describing Tekakwitha's virtues, trials, and posthumous miracles. Document XII, which also appears in Kip, is Cholenec's 1715 letter to Augustin Le Blanc and is a more straightforward account. Chauchetière's "The Life of the Good Katharine Tegakouita, Now Known as the Holy Savage," probably first drafted in 1685 and revised or amended in 1695, is Document VIII in *The Positio*. Cholenec, Chauchetière, and Frémin (who apparently chose not to write a life of Tekakwitha) were the Jesuits stationed at Kahnawake during the time Tekakwitha lived there.
  12. Chauchetière, *The Positio*, 121.
  13. Cholenec, in Kip, 83.
  14. Chauchetière, *The Positio*, 125.
  15. Catharine, Katharine, Katherine, Catherine, Kateri ("gadeli" as it is pronounced among the Mohawks), Kateri all appear in the records; Kateri seems to be the more accepted, contemporary term.
  16. Cholenec, in Kip, 95.
  17. Cholenec, in Kip, 105.
  18. Cholenec, in Kip, 108.
  19. Chauchetière, *The Positio*, 175.
  20. Cholenec, in Kip, 111; Cholenec, *The Positio*, 295.
  21. K.I. Koppedraier, "The Making of the First Iroquois Virgin: Early Jesuit Biographies of the Blessed Kateri Tekakwitha," *Ethnohistory* 40 (1993): 277–306.
  22. Rudolph M. Bell, *Holy Anorexia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985); Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987); Donald Weinstein and Rudolph M. Bell, *Saints and Society: The Two Worlds of Western Christendom, 1000–1700* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982).
  23. Chauchetière, *The Positio*, 161, 165.
  24. Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981).
  25. Chauchetière, JR 62 (1682), 175.
  26. Cholenec, in Kip, 98–99.
  27. Chauchetière, JR 63 (1686), 215–219; also see Cholenec, in Kip, 106–108.
  28. Chauchetière, JR 62 (1682), 187.
  29. See Axtell; Jaenen, *Friend and Foe*; David Blanchard, ". . . To the Other Side of the Sky: Catholicism at Kahnawake, 1667–1700," *Anthropologica* XXIV (1982), 77–102. Also see Henry Warner Bowden's discussion of the Hurons and the Jesuits in *American Indians and Christian Missions: Studies in Cultural Conflict* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 59–95; James P. Ronda and James Axtell, *Indian Missions: A Critical Bibliography* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1978).
  30. Jacques Gernet, *China and the Christian Impact: A Conflict of Cultures* (NY: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Charles E. Ronan and Bonnie B.C. Oh, *East Meets West: The Jesuits in China, 1582–1773* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1988).
  31. JR 58 (1673–74), 181–183; JR 62 (1683), 199.
  32. JR 60 (1675), 61–63.
  33. Le Jeune's 1634 *Relation* of his mission among the Montagnais, in JR 7, shows in great detail how Jesuits deliberately competed with shamans to prove their superior access to supernatural authority.
  34. JR 6 (1634), 139; JR 58 (1673–74), 191, 219–221; JR 61 (1679), 229.
  35. Chauchetière, *The Positio*, 115–116, 146. See also JR 5 (1633), 257–259. François-Marc Gagnon, *La Conversion Par L'Image: Un Aspect de la Mission des Jésuites Auprès des Indiens du Canada au XVIIe Siècle* (Montréal: Les Éditions Bellarmin, 1975).
  36. Hazel W. Hertzberg, *The Great Tree and the Longhouse: The Culture of the Iroquois* (NY: Macmillan, 1966); J.N.B. Hewitt, "Iroquoian Cosmology," Part Two, *Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology*, 1925–1926 (Washington, D.C.: 1928), 465.
  37. For example, see Pamela Sheingorn, "The Holy Kinship: The Ascendancy of Matriliney in Sacred Genealogy of the Fifteenth Century," *Thought* 64 (1989), 268–86. Also, for a fascinating discussion of how the Jesuits responded to Iroquoian matrilineality and their own need for a patriarchal authority structure to justify their role as "fathers," see John Steckley, "The Warrior and the Lineage: Jesuit Use of Iroquoian Images to Communicate Christianity," *Ethnohistory* 39 (1992), 478–509.
  38. JR 58 (1673–74), 185–189; Blanchard's ". . . To the other side of the Sky" discusses the rosary-wampum syncretism at length.
  39. Chauchetière, *The Positio*, 162.

40. JR 58 (1672–73), 77.
41. Daniel K. Richter, "Iroquois versus Iroquois: Jesuit Missions and Christianity in Village Politics, 1642–1686," *Ethnohistory* 32 (1985), 1–16.
42. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse*, 124–128.
43. Cholenec, in Kip, 87.
44. Chauchetière, *The Positio*, 123.
45. Lafitau, Volume II, 240; Volume I, xxxi; J.N.B. Hewitt, "The Requickening Address of the Condolence Council," ed. William N. Fenton, *Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences* 34 (1944), 65–85.
46. Lafitau, Volume I, 71; JR 60 (1675), 37.
47. Chauchetière, *The Positio*, 169, 137.
48. JR 58 (1672–73), 77; Cholenec, JR 60 (1677), 281.
49. Chauchetière, *The Positio*, 176.
50. Chauchetière, JR 62 (1681–83), 179. See also Chauchetière, JR 63 (1686), 203–205.
51. Arthur C. Parker, "Secret Medicine Societies of the Seneca," *American Anthropologist*, n.s., vol. 11 (1909), 161–185; Lafitau, Volume II, 54–55.
52. William N. Fenton, *The False Faces of the Iroquois* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987).
53. Joyce Marshall, ed., *Word From New France: The Selected Letters of Marie De L'Incarnation* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1967).
54. Lafitau, Volume II, 230–231, 237–238; for a comparison of Huron (Iroquoian) and Christian conceptions of the soul, see JR 7 (1635), 293; JR 10 (1636), 287. Also see John Steckley's linguistic analysis of these concepts in Huron in "Brébeuf's Presentation of Catholicism in the Huron Language: A Descriptive Overview," *Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa/University of Ottawa Quarterly* 48 (1978), 93–115. Much of my perspective on Christian beliefs about the soul and body is based on Caroline Walker Bynum's work, especially the articles collected in *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (NY: Zone Books, 1991). Although her discussion refers to medieval Europe, she could just as easily have been describing the beliefs of seventeenth-century Jesuits, as revealed by their self-reflexive remarks on Iroquois differences in the *Jesuit Relations*.
55. Lafitau, Volume I, 231–234; JR 54 (1669–70), 65–73; Anthony F.C. Wallace, "Dreams and the Wishes of the Soul: A Type of Psychoanalytic Theory among the Seventeenth Century Iroquois," *American Anthropologist* 60 (1958), 234–248.
56. Lafitau, Volume I, 230.
57. Lafitau, Volume I, 236, 243; "Narrative of a Journey into the Mohawk and Oneida Country, 1634–1635," in *Narratives of New Netherland, 1609–1664*, ed. J. Franklin Jameson (NY: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909), 137–162.
58. J.N.B. Hewitt, "Orenda and a Definition of Religion," *American Anthropologist*, n.s., 4 (1902), 33–46; Hope L. Isaacs, "Orenda and the Concept of Power among the Tonawanda Senecas," in *The Anthropology of Power: Ethnographic Studies from Asia, Oceania, and the New World*, ed. Raymond D. Fogelson and Richard N. Adams, eds. (NY: Academic Press, 1977), 167–184.
59. Lafitau, Volume I, 218. Also see Marina Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976), 48–49, for a

discussion of how the Christian ideal of virginity has roots in classical beliefs about virginity as a magic source of power.

60. Lafitau, Volume I, 129–130.
61. Lafitau, Volume I, p. 217.
62. Lafitau, Volume I, 230–240.
63. Chauchetière, *The Positio*, 208.
64. Lafitau, Volume II, 148–172; JR 54 (1669–70), 25–35; Daniel K. Richter, "War and Culture: The Iroquois Experience," *William and Mary Quarterly* 40 (1983), 528–559; Thomas S. Abler and Michael H. Logan, "The Florescence and Demise of Iroquoian Cannibalism: Human Sacrifice and Malinowski's Hypothesis," *Man in the Northeast* 35 (1988), 1–26.
65. See Jaenen, *Friend and Foe*, 145; Steckley, "Brébeuf's Presentation of Catholicism in the Huron Language," 113.
66. Chauchetière, JR 64 (1695), 125.
67. Blanchard, 97.
68. Chauchetière, JR 63 (1686), 205.
69. Philip Ziegler, *The Black Death* (NY: John Day Company, 1969), 86–98; also see Andrew E. Barnes, "Religious Anxiety and Devotional Change in the Sixteenth Century French Penitential Confraternities," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 19 (1988), 389–406, which is about a resurgence of penance during the crisis of the Protestant Reformation and simultaneous with Catholic-Huguenot violence.
70. See Axtell's discussion of the Jesuits' conflating hell and torture as a way to attract converts in *The Invasion Within*, 114–115; Steckley, in "The Warrior and the Lineage," shows how the Jesuits described hell as worse than the ritual torture practiced by Northeastern tribes.