

Jesuits, Huguenots, and the Apocalypse: The Origins of America's First French Book

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IN MAY 1690 a Boston printer published the first French-language book in North America. The book, which appeared in spite of the fact that there were few French speakers on hand to read it, was published under the auspices of no less a personage than Cotton Mather (1663–1728). He wrote a preface endorsing the work written by the Huguenot minister Ezechiél Carré (c.1660–after 1697). The tract itself, *Echantillon de la Doctrine que les Jésuites enseignent aus Sauvages du Nouveau Monde* [‘A Sample of the Doctrine that the Jesuits teach to the Savages of the New World’], is something of an anomaly in colonial print history.¹ An exposé of the techniques used by Jesuits in New France to convert Native Americans to Christianity, it denounced what the author saw as underhanded methods of spreading a false religion. Scholars have long been aware of its existence, but they have given little notice to it or to other foreign language books

1. The tract was published by Samuel Green in Boston. The only surviving copy is at the American Antiquarian Society. The book was in the personal collection of the Society's founder, the nineteenth-century printer Isaiah Thomas.

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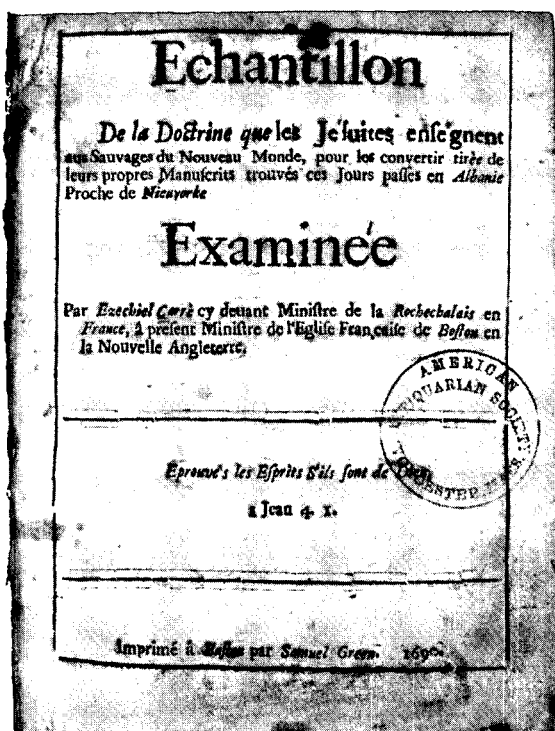
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subsequently printed in Boston industry around the turn of the eighteenth century.

Unlike other publications in which Cotton Mather had a hand, the dearth of information about this one raises many questions about the booklet's very existence. Mather usually provided extensive commentary about his publication endeavors in his diary, but his entries between 1687 and 1690 are no longer extant. Consequently, we have no clear idea as to why the piece was published, how many copies were printed, or where or how they were distributed. As far as we know, no one at the time commented on it, nor was it ever reprinted. Written by a nearly unknown author in a language that few colonists could read, *Echantillon* currently exists as a footnote in the history of Huguenots in North America, themselves a small minority usually noted only for the speed of their acculturation.² The only known surviving copy is in the American Antiquarian Society.

Despite its obscurity, Carré's pamphlet is worth a closer look. The publication of *Echantillon* grew out of three very particular contexts: the experience of New England's fledgling Huguenot community; Protestant apocalyptic thinking; and the tumultuous events of the Glorious Revolution in New York, which propelled the manuscripts to Boston. The pamphlet is a valuable source that touches simultaneously on all of these histories, as well as

2. The only specific analysis of the pamphlet is Worthington Ford, 'Ezekiel Carré and the French Church in Boston,' *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 52 (1919): 121-32. For other references, see Jon Butler, *The Huguenots in America: Refugee People in New World Society* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982), 75-76; Gilbert Chinard, *Les réfugiés huguenots en Amérique* (Paris: Société d'Édition 'Les Belles-Lettres', 1925), 116. The most thorough historian of the Huguenot migration, Charles W. Baird, *History of the Huguenot Emigration to America*, 2 vols. (New York: Dodd, Mead, & Company, 1885), failed to mention the publication. Only one of Cotton Mather's many biographers mentioned the tract: David Levin, *Cotton Mather: The Young Life of the Lord's Remembrancer, 1663-1703* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978), 181, but he misrepresented the publication's content, claiming that the tract revealed that the Jesuits taught the Iroquois that Jesus was a French man killed by the English. In fact, Mather took the latter observation not from Carré, but from an Indian captive in Boston in the 1690s [See Mather, *Decennium Luctuosum* (Boston, 1699), in Charles H. Lincoln, ed., *Narratives of the Indian Wars, 1675-1699* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913), 255-58].



The title page of the single, surviving copy of Ezechiel Carré, *Echantillon de la Doctrine que les Jésuites enseignent aux Sauvages du Nouveau Monde*, published in Boston by Samuel Green in 1690. Carré, a Huguenot, is described as formerly minister in La-Roche-Chalais and presently minister of the French church in Boston. Courtesy American Antiquarian Society.

those of Protestant and Catholic missions to Native Americans, international Protestantism, and the history of the book in colonial America.

Moreover, the remarkable preservation of the original manuscript from which *Echantillon* was drawn also provides a rare opportunity to unravel some aspects of the editorial process that transformed manuscripts into printed works. The larger manuscript is

entitled 'Inventaire de certains papiers trouvé dans une maison particulière vers Albanie depuis ces derniers troubles' ['Inventory of some papers found in a private house in Albany after the late troubles'].³ Carré prepared this inventory of Jesuit papers for Cotton Mather, who had acquired them 'by way of an unexpected encounter.'⁴ The collection was fairly extensive, containing over a dozen booklets and journals and a number of letters and other papers. In the manuscript, Carré first gave a brief description of each piece, with some commentary, then listed and remarked upon the various Jesuit priests who appeared in the documents, and finally excerpted at length the 'special doctrine that they teach to the Iroquois.' His stated aim was 'not to examine . . . the errors that they habitually teach to the Europeans, but only certain new doctrines unknown in all the Christian world.'⁵ This last portion was published as *Echantillon*.

The existence of *Echantillon* provides a useful reminder that Boston in the 1690s was more than just a provincial port, the capital of Massachusetts Bay colony, or an outpost of the English empire. It existed within a global network of Protestants who saw themselves as participants in a trans-national history of apocalyptic proportions.⁶ For European readers, *Echantillon* revealed two important points about New England. First, it demonstrated the fact that Boston provided sanctuary to Huguenot refugees, the most storied heroes in the Protestant Atlantic World. More urgently, it addressed the distinctive role New England Protestants played in the global Protestant cause: the

3. The manuscript is located in the Livingston Family Papers, miscellaneous manuscripts, New-York Historical Society.

4. *Echantillon*, Preface, [2].

5. 'Inventaire,' fol. 8.

6. While historians of New England since Perry Miller have stressed connections between English and American Protestants, only a few have noted the region's place in the wider Protestant world. See J. F. Bosher, 'Huguenot Merchants and the Protestant International in the Seventeenth Century,' *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser. 52 (1995): 77-102; Mark S. Peterson, 'The Selling of Joseph: Bostonians, Antislavery, and the Protestant International, 1689-1733,' *Massachusetts Historical Review* 4 (2002): 1-22; and Thomas S. Kidd, *The Protestant Interest: New England after Puritanism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).

conversion of the peoples of the New World to the true faith. In the spring of 1690, conversion had become an awkward issue. John Eliot, the 'apostle to the Indians,' was dead and most of his 'praying towns' had been dismantled. Meanwhile, Jesuit missions continued to expand across the continent, and many Native converts were waging war against colonial Protestants in alliance with French Catholics. In February, they sacked Schenectady, New York. They devastated Salmon Falls, New Hampshire, in March and at the end of May attacked Casco Bay—the present site of Portland, Maine—and captured nearby Fort Loyal. Only in southern New England, among the recently subjugated Wampanoags, was there any strong sign of Protestant progress. Cotton Mather realized that European Protestants were not impressed with these comparatively meager gains.⁷ *Echantillon* was a timely attempt to account for New Englanders' evident failure to spread Christianity on a scale comparable to French Catholic efforts.

Aside from its global connotations, the tract's complicated origins also reflected the divergent goals of its two authors, the French minister and his powerful New England patron. Though cosmopolitan in focus like Mather, Carré had more modest aims for the publication. Rather than praising New England to the greater Protestant world, he hoped to convince his neighbors in the region to be more charitable to their Huguenot neighbors, who, many English people feared, might be covert Catholic agents. The strong anti-Jesuit tone of Carré's commentary thus served two functions. First, it demonstrated that the French Protestants were loyal allies in the struggle against the Jesuits rather

7. Though it is optimistic about the eventual spread of Protestantism, there is a slightly defensive tone in Cotton Mather, *A Letter, about the present state of Christianity, among the Christianized Indians of New England. Written to the Honorable, Sir William Ashurst, governor of the Corporation, for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians, in New England, and parts Adjacent, in America* (Boston, 1705). As Mather noted, most of the gains were among people greatly weakened by losses to disease and defeat in King Phillip's War (1675-77). The still-autonomous Mohegans resisted evangelization. By the mid-eighteenth century, they and other southern New England Natives would embrace Protestantism, but in 1690 much of this still lay in the future, and the failure to displace Catholicism among the Abenakis of northern New England remained a sore spot.

than enemies who worked with them. Through bitter experience, Huguenots knew the ways of French Jesuits better than New Englanders, and Carré took this opportunity to show how that knowledge could help the English. Secondly, the pamphlet sought to rally the spirits of New England's Huguenots, who not only found themselves in exile, but also at war with their former countrymen. In publishing this new evidence of Jesuit perfidy and hypocrisy, Carré reminded the Huguenots who their enemies really were and affirmed their decision to flee to America. After all, they had come to New England to save their souls from exactly the sort of deceptive evangelism that Carré dissected in the Jesuit manuscripts.

NEW ENGLAND AND THE HUGUENOTS

The story of this book rightly begins in the 1680s, when Huguenot refugees began to arrive in New England. When the first French Reformed migrants landed in the colonies, they seemed to have made the right choice. Massachusetts Bay was one of the most reliably Protestant places in the world. Since its founding, the colony had always considered itself a bastion of Calvinist orthodoxy. The people of Boston had watched with great interest as the French king, Louis XIV, persecuted his country's Protestant minority, culminating in his decision to revoke the Edict of Nantes in 1685. The Edict had given certain rights and privileges to the Protestant population, but companies of royal dragoons now forced Protestants to convert to Catholicism. Of those who managed to escape by fleeing the country, most settled in the Low Countries, Germany, or England, but a few made the more arduous trek across the Atlantic to the English colonies.⁸

The Huguenots who went to Boston had reason to expect a warm welcome. In 1682 the town's leading minister, Increase Mather, had

8. The Huguenot Diaspora is examined in Bertrand Van Ruymbeke and Randy J. Sparks, eds., *Memory and Identity: The Huguenots in France and the Atlantic Diaspora* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2003).

already preached a sermon on the suffering of the Huguenots, urging his flock to remember 'the persecuted Condition of the *Protestants in France*.' His sermon emphasized that Huguenots were members of the same global communion as Boston's Protestants and that they fought the same popish enemy.⁹ In the years following Mather's exhortation, New Englanders had several opportunities to show charity toward these afflicted people. In 1682 'Severall French Protestants' arrived in Boston, and the colony's General Court decided that 'it may be for the credit of Religion' that they be offered refuge.¹⁰ Two years later a Huguenot in La Rochelle—probably the merchant Gabriel Bernon—wrote asking 'what advantages' French Protestants could find in the region if circumstances forced them to flee France. The correspondent claimed that all his people held New England in 'great esteem.'¹¹

Ezechiel Carré arrived with a number of Huguenot refugees in August of 1686. A native of the heavily Protestant Île de Ré, just off the Atlantic coast from La Rochelle, Carré had studied philosophy at the *Académie* of Geneva in the 1670s and served as minister at the town of La-Roche-Chalais in Dordogne. The details of his flight from France are unknown, but soon after his arrival he became part of a new colonial experiment. Carré agreed to become the minister for a new community of refugees in the Narragansett Country in Rhode Island. In that settlement, like others in North America, colonial landowners were able to combine charity with business. The Boston merchant Richard Wharton sought to settle the refugees on some of his landholdings. After they had declined to move to Casco Bay for fear of being too close to French Acadia, Wharton and his partners sold land to the

9. Increase Mather, *A Sermon Wherein is shewed that the Church of God is sometimes a Subject of Great Persecution; Preached on a Publick Fast At Boston in New-England: Occasioned by the Tidings of a great Persecution Raised against the Protestants in France* (Boston, 1682), 23.

10. Massachusetts Archives, 11: 22a.

11. 'An Abridgement of the Afflictions of the French Protestants, and also their Petition, extracted from a Letter written from Rochele the 1st of October 1684,' Thomas Prince Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society; Baird, *History of the Huguenot Emigration*, 1: 314-15.

French newcomers at Narragansett. In 1687 Carré began the new church's record book with a reflection on his peoples' plight. '[W]e have come here,' he wrote, 'to seek freedom for our Religion, that is the only reason that has brought us to this place, and the only condition under which we have accepted this new settlement.'¹²

The French settlers in New England soon became embroiled in disputes among themselves and with their English neighbors. Carré took on the difficult task of reconciliation. Some of the problems were theological. The first Huguenot minister in Boston, Laurent Van den Bosch, scandalized Puritan society when he conducted a marriage according to the Anglican rite. Like many Huguenots, Van den Bosch had received ordination from the Church of England before coming to America. Though a Protestant, to many New Englanders he seemed an agent of an oppressive church, whose elaborate ceremonies and dedication to an earthly hierarchy offended Calvinist consciences. When Pierre Daillé, the most celebrated Huguenot divine in the colonies, wrote to Increase Mather to try to smooth things over, he assured him that Van den Bosch did not speak for the rest of the refugees. He hoped that the minister's behavior 'may not be the occasion of your favoring less the French who are now in your city.' Daillé's letter indicates that two factions within the refugee movement had found homes in the colonies. Men such as Van den Bosch favored political accommodation and a moderate Calvinism. In Europe they were associated with the philosopher Pierre Bayle. Others, like Ezechiel Carré, viewed the struggle with the Sun King as an apocalyptic battle and insisted on strict Calvinist orthodoxy. Their theological spokesman in Europe was Pierre Jurieu. Carré sought to heal these divisions by organizing a 'conference or

12. On the arrivals in Boston, see 'Dudley Records,' *Proceedings of Massachusetts Historical Society*, 2d ser. 13 (1899-1900): 265. Baird, *History of the Huguenot Emigration*, 1: 304, 2: 295-97; Richard Wharton to William Blathwayt, October 14, 1686, Blathwayt Papers, vol. 6, folder 4, Colonial Williamsburg Research Library, Williamsburg, Va.; 'Dudley Records,' 272, 280; L. Effingham de Forest, ed., *Records of the French Church at Narragansett, 1686-1691* (New York: Huguenot Society of America, 1940), 2.

synod' of the Huguenot congregations in Narragansett, Boston, and Oxford, Massachusetts.¹³

The French refugees also faced abuse from their English neighbors. The problems were most acute in Carré's own community of Narragansett. Wharton had not told the French that the land they occupied was being contested between rival claimants in Massachusetts and Rhode Island. The Huguenots' neighbors trespassed and stole hay from their fields, claiming that the French had settled on land rightfully belonging to local English colonists. Carré traveled to Boston and appealed to the royal governor, Sir Edmund Andros, who ordered that the two parties divide the hay between them.¹⁴

Within a year, however, the governor was gone, imprisoned by the people of Boston in the spring of 1689 as part of the local manifestation of England's Glorious Revolution. New Englanders, who believed that Andros was a partner in a massive, popish conspiracy to use Native American armies to deliver the colonies to the king of France, soon began to point their fingers at French refugees as well. A wave of persecution culminated in 1691, when the General Court, declaring that some French spies had infiltrated the colony by masquerading as Protestants, ordered that 'none of the French Nation' could live in Massachusetts ports without leave of the governor and council, and none could practice trade without the approval of the local selectmen.¹⁵

13. *The Diary of Samuel Sewall, 1674-1729*, ed. M. Halsey Thomas, 2 vols. (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1973), 1: 78; Laurent van den Bosch to the Bishop of London, July 4, 1685, *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, America and West Indies, 1680-1685* (London, 1897), No. 267; Pierre Daillé to Increase Mather, May 2, 1686, in Baird, *History of the Huguenot Emigration*, 2: 399; Butler, *Huguenots in America*, 74-75. On the rivalry between Bayle and Jurieu, see William Frijhoff, 'Uncertain Brotherhood: The Huguenots in the Dutch Republic,' in Van Ruymbeke and Sparks, eds., *Memory and Identity*, 157-58.

14. John Russell Bartlett, ed., *Records of the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in New England* (Providence: Knowles, Anthony and Company, 1858), 3: 227-28; Massachusetts Archives, 11: 45; Elisha R. Potter, *Memoir Concerning the French Settlements in the Colony of Rhode Island* (Providence: Sidney S. Rider, 1879).

15. Robert Earle Moody and Richard Clive Simmons, eds., *The Glorious Revolution in Massachusetts: Selected Documents, 1689-1692* (Boston: Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1988), 343-44.

These years of war and suspicion destabilized New England's Huguenot communities. Most of the forty-five families at Narragansett left for Boston or New York, in spite of the Reverend Mr. Carré's pleas that they not abandon the settlement. Boston's French church lost its second minister in 1688, when Van den Bosch's successor, David Bonrepos, also left for New York. Carré began filling this vacant post, and soon he was spending more time in Boston and less in Narragansett. By 1689 he had become the leading spokesman for New England's Huguenots.¹⁶

In this uncertain climate Carré began a public relations campaign on behalf of his countrymen. He set out to demonstrate that Huguenots were loyal subjects, as zealous in their opposition to popery as any English Protestant. He found an ally in Cotton Mather, the son of Increase and a major player in Boston's Congregational establishment. While Cotton Mather lamented the Huguenots' occasional lapses, he agreed with his father that the refugees were Protestant heroes, who deserved to be embraced by New Englanders. Doing so, he believed, would help to establish the colony's zeal in the eyes of the outside world.

Cotton Mather and Carré soon collaborated on a publication designed to persuade New Englanders to show greater charity toward their French neighbors. The booklet was an English translation of a sermon Carré had delivered to the French church.¹⁷ The subject matter of the sermon, entitled *The Charitable Samaritan*, was straightforward. Carré lamented that his congregation neglected caring for the poor and used a biblical passage from Luke 10:30-37 to show that Christians needed to show charity to strangers.

While Carré's sermon had been directed to his French congregants, the published pamphlet had a different audience. An 'Advertisement' at the beginning of the publication claimed that

16. De Forest, ed., *Records of the French Church at Narragansett*, 6, 19; Edward Percival Merritt, 'The French Protestant Church in Boston,' *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts* 26 (1926): 329-30.

17. Carré, *The Charitable Samaritan* (Boston, 1689) was translated by Nehemiah Walter, the minister at Roxbury and a frequent guest preacher at the French church.

it appeared in English only because of the inability of Boston printers to produce a French tract. Carré added, though, that he hoped his sermon would 'manifest the uniformity of Doctrine of the Protestants from the most distant places in the World.' In his dedication, to a Huguenot merchant named John Pastre, who probably funded the publication, Carré directly answered common suspicions against his people. '[P]ersons may easily perceive,' he wrote, that those who espoused the doctrines exhibited in the sermon 'cannot reasonably pass for Papists. . . and it is uncharitable and uncompassionate to accuse them as such.' Thus, while Carré's sermon had urged his people to be charitable toward the poor, the printed version urged his English neighbors to be more charitable toward Huguenots.¹⁸

This message was reinforced in Cotton Mather's preface to the published sermon. Mather argued that the doctrine it contained proved Carré to be 'a *Christian* and a *Protestant*.' To bolster the Huguenots' religious legitimacy, Mather related the long history of their suffering at the hands of French Catholics. After describing the trials that brought the refugees to America, Mather expressed hope that 'the *English Churches* will not fail in any Respects to any that have endured hard Things for their Faithfulness to the Son of God.'¹⁹ With this publication, Mather acted as a Good Samaritan of sorts himself, lending his name to an effort to smooth over animosities between French and English Protestants.

The English minister must have been genuinely impressed with his French colleague, as Mather approached Carré a year later to collaborate on a new project. Sometime in the early months of 1690, Mather acquired a set of Jesuit papers relating to their mission among the Iroquois. The materials came from the house of Robert Livingston, a prominent merchant and magistrate in Albany, New York, but Mather probably acquired

18. Carré, *Charitable Samaritan*, Advertisement and Dedication.

19. Carré, *Charitable Samaritan*, 1, 4.

them from enemies of Livingston rather than Livingston himself. To understand why, we must turn to the turbulent politics of New York in 1689–1690.²⁰

LEISLER'S REBELLION AND BOSTON

While the Glorious Revolution caused political instability in New England, its effects in neighboring New York were much more severe. The revolution divided the colony's political elite into warring factions and nearly caused a civil war. The new lieutenant governor, a prominent merchant and militia captain from New York City named Jacob Leisler, began a campaign to root out popery and unite the colony in the service of the evangelical Protestant cause. For Leisler, popery soon came to be associated with anyone who challenged his authority, as well as with the machinations of French Catholics. Among those targeted by Leisler were prominent officials in Albany, including Robert Livingston, who had refused to acknowledge Leisler's authority, and governed themselves instead by an independent Convention. However, a devastating attack by French and Native Americans that virtually annihilated Schenectady in February 1690 made them realize they could no longer go it alone. On March 4 the Convention ordered Robert Livingston to go to Connecticut and Massachusetts to plead for help. Shortly thereafter it finally acknowledged Leisler's authority.²¹

20. Robert Livingston (1654–1728) was a Scottish merchant who spent time in the Netherlands before immigrating to Massachusetts in 1673 and then New York in 1675. There he soon established himself in Albany, where his fluency in Dutch and English made him a valuable go-between in the recently acquired English colony. He became an important figure in the fur trade, but more importantly in imperial politics as a negotiator and translator. He became a prominent landowner, as well. His wealth and connections to the Dutch and Iroquois made him an important political figure in Albany politics. See Lawrence H. Leder, *Robert Livingston, 1654–1728, and the Politics of Colonial New York* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1961).

21. The orders to Livingston are in 'Copy of records of Albany Convention from June 24, 1689 to March 4, 1690,' Misc. Mss. Livingston BV Miller Papers, 1: 66–68, Courtesy of the New-York Historical Society. On the divisions in New York, see John Murrin, 'English Rights as Ethnic Aggression: The English Conquest, the Charter of Liberties of 1683, and Leisler's Rebellion in New York,' in William Pencak and Conrad Edick Wright, eds., *Authority and Resistance in Early New York* (New York: New-York Historical Society, 1988), 56–94; Murrin, 'The Menacing Shadow of Louis XIV and the Rage of Jacob Leisler: The

Leisler feared that Livingston would undermine support for him in Boston, where Livingston arrived in the middle of March. Leisler's men took control of Albany and searched Livingston's house. In an old box they found some tantalizing items that revealed, in Leisler's eyes, dangerous popish leanings on Livingston's part. These included 'a packet of papers,' along with 'Some articles of value'—including a number of popish books and trading items—that had belonged to a Jesuit missionary to the Iroquois who had visited Albany as a French ambassador in 1688. In addition, Leisler reported, his men found 'some Indian Categismes, & the lesson to learne to make their God before they eit him.' According to Carré's careful inventory, the Jesuit materials that ended up in Mather's hands contained several catechisms as well as instructions for consecrating a host at communion—a practice that militant Protestants ridiculed as a form of cannibalism.²²

Leisler may have sent these items to authorities in Massachusetts, hoping to help convince New Englanders to arrest and extradite Livingston. After all, New Englanders had compiled similar evidence of pernicious contacts with Natives and Jesuits in their case against Andros. Or perhaps Livingston carried the papers to Boston himself and shared them with locals in an effort to illustrate how far the French had infiltrated Iroquois country. In any case, the papers ended up in the hands of Cotton Mather, who was sympathetic to both Leisler and Livingston. Treating

Constitutional Ordeal of Seventeenth Century New York,' in Stephen L. Schechter and Richard B. Bernstein, eds., *New York and the Union: Contributions to the American Constitutional Experience* (Albany: New York State Commission on the Bicentennial of the United States Constitution, 1990), 29–71; and David William Voorhees, 'In Behalf of the True Protestants Religion': The Glorious Revolution in New York' (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1988). John Murrin has also established connections between the revolution and the witchcraft outbreak at Salem; see 'Coming to Terms with the Salem Witch Trials,' *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 110 (2003): 309–47.

22. Commissaries at Albany to Leisler, April 2, 1690, in Edmund B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documentary History of the State of New York* (Albany, 1849–51), 2: 205 [hereafter cited as *DHNY*]. Leisler described the items in a letter to Massachusetts Governor Simon Bradstreet, though he did not explicitly say he was sending them along; Leisler to Bradstreet, April 7, 1690, *DHNY*, 2: 228; 'Inventaire,' fol. 1.

the issue as circumspectly as possible, Mather gave the papers to Carré, who gladly satisfied Mather's 'curiosity to know what was contained in them.' Once Mather realized they held material worth publishing in the cause of Protestant evangelism, he diminished the thorny issue of who had given him the papers, and why, with a vague acknowledgement that they had fallen into his hands a 'short while ago, by way of an unexpected encounter.' The title of Carré's manuscript, which indicates that the papers were 'found in a private house in Albany after the late troubles,' reinforces a sense that the papers' transit from Albany to Boston involved a degree of controversy that neither Mather nor Carré wished to exacerbate.²³

Exactly how the papers first came into Livingston's possession is unclear. As Albany's chief intermediary with the Iroquois, he had a professional interest in Jesuit writings on Iroquois language and customs. He also had dealt with a Jesuit ambassador, François Vaillant de Gueslis, only two years earlier, in February 1688. Several of the linguistic treatises in the papers were composed by the Jesuit Jacques Bruyas, who worked at the time in Kahnawake, a town of mostly Mohawk converts located near Montreal. Because many of the documents in Mather's collection were either written by Bruyas, or addressed to him, Carré assumed that they were his papers. But Bruyas had not been to Albany; Vaillant, who worked with Bruyas and his materials, had. Perhaps Vaillant, on his embassy, left the papers with Livingston, or Livingston's Iroquois contacts might have handed over papers that Bruyas had lost in Mohawk country before 1679. In any case, Livingston did have

23. Leisler to Bradstreet, April 7, 1690, *DHNY*, 2: 228; 'Inventaire,' fol. 1; *Echantillon*, Preface, [1]. This is the most plausible reconstruction of the papers' origin, but some doubts remain. Nowhere in the official correspondence between Massachusetts and New York did anyone acknowledge sending or receiving such items. The dating of Carré's inventory presents other problems. The date on the manuscript is unclear. It appears to be dated April 2, which would mean that he composed it before Leisler described their contents. In that case, he must have received the materials earlier, probably from Livingston himself. On the other hand, the date could also be anywhere from April 20 to April 29, in which case Leisler could have sent the items.

ties to French Catholics and had reasons to be interested in the papers. But these connections did not make him a friend of French Catholics. Indeed, he was a committed Protestant, whose family had had long associations with radical dissent in Scotland and the Netherlands.²⁴

In Boston, Livingston followed instructions to lobby the governor and council for military reinforcements. Livingston knew his audience and included anti-Catholic rhetoric in his appeal, noting that 'the french gaind much upon the Indians by Sendeing there Clergy amongst them, not so much to Convirt their Soules as there Bevir and other Trade to Canida.' He urged Massachusetts to send not only arms and soldiers, but also 'some of your younge divines' to serve as missionaries. Thus, even if Leisler had not sent the papers, Livingston could have brought them along to help make his case—and he almost certainly sought out Mather to try to win his support for Albany.²⁵

Livingston was assisted in his efforts by the presence of Godfrey Dellius, Albany's Dutch Reformed minister, who was also in Boston at the time, having likewise fallen afoul of Leisler. Shortly before fleeing Albany, Dellius had made several converts among the Mohawks. Livingston held him up as an example of Dutch Albany's commitment to the Protestant cause, and Dellius took his own case to the Mathers with some effect. In a letter to his overseers in Holland, Dellius wrote that he had received encouragement from 'the minister of Boston'—almost certainly Cotton Mather—to continue his missionary work. Several years later Dellius asked Increase Mather to send a copy of a '*Jesuit Catechism*, with the Cases of Conscience added thereto,' which belonged to

24. On François Vaillant de Gueslis and his mission, see *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959–), 2: 642–43 [hereafter cited as *DCB*], and Edmund B. O'Callaghan and Berthold Fernow, eds., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York* (Albany, 1853–87), 3: 510–12, 517–36. Carré attributes the papers to Bruyas in 'Inventaire,' fol. 1.

25. Memorial from Livingston to the Governor and Council of Massachusetts, March 20, 1690, Massachusetts Archives, 35: 333–35, 341; 'Journal of Dr. Benjamin Bullivant,' *Proceedings of Massachusetts Historical Society* 16 (1878): 105.

Cotton Mather and helped to illustrate the errors of popery to new proselytes. Later still, in 1707, Cotton Mather published a catechism in Iroquois, Latin, English, and Dutch, designed especially for use at Albany.²⁶

In the end, Livingston had more influence on the publication of *Echantillon* than Leisler. Between the composition of Carré's inventory in April and the pamphlet's publication several weeks later, several new sections were added. The longest addition came near the end of the tract. After what had been a short discussion of a 'case of conscience,' in which a Jesuit priest declared that Indians could steal from Dutch traders, almost two whole pages of interpretation now appeared, downplaying the religious aspects of the issue and highlighting the economic. Dismissing the idea that priests encouraged the Iroquois to steal from the Dutch because they hated 'heretics,' the new section claimed they did so because the Dutch were the chief commercial rivals of the French in the region. Jesuits frequented the region 'more for capturing the Pelts than for making conversions,' and the Dutch presented 'a stumbling block' that kept the French from making a profit. This explanation fit with a central trope of anti-Catholic literature: that papists, and especially Jesuits, used religion to mask their true intention of accumulating worldly riches.²⁷ It also echoed the protest that Livingston had made to the Massachusetts General Court in March 1690, when he claimed that the French used religion as a pretext to win trade.

26. Godfrey Dellius to the Classis of Amsterdam, February 17, 1691, Edward T. Corwin, ed., *Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York*, 7 vols. (Albany, 1901) 2: 1010; Dellius to Increase Mather, January 16, 1694, printed in Matthew Mayhew, *A Brief Narrative of The Success which the Gospel hath had, among the Indians, of Martha's-Vineyard (and the Places Adjacent) in New-England* (Boston, 1694), 54-55; Cotton Mather, *Another Tongue Brought In* (Boston, 1707).

27. *Echantillon*, 9-11. For an English tract that makes similar claims, see, for example, *A True and Perfect Narrative of the Inhumane Practices (occasioned by the Damnable Positions) of Jesuites and Papists, toward Protestants at Home and Abroad* (London, 1680). Livingston's involvement in the preparation of the book is also suggested by the fact that the 'Inventaire' ended up in a collection of Livingston's personal papers, rather than the Massachusetts Archives or Mather's papers.

HUGUENOTS AND JESUITS

By the time that Livingston's Jesuit materials appeared in manuscript and print, they had moved far away from their origins in New York's factious political climate. Both Cotton Mather and Ezechiél Carré intended to publish a tract that exposed and discredited Jesuit conversion efforts, rather than New York Protestants of one faction or another. In addition, each saw in *Echantillon* an opportunity to address other issues of pressing concern. For the French minister, the Jesuit writings presented a golden opportunity to continue his defense of the Huguenot community against its detractors. Through his caustic exposé of the popish correspondence and religious writings, Carré sought to show that the Huguenots, far from being Jesuit agents, were experts on Jesuit casuistry. This special knowledge made them valuable allies in combating popish designs in North America. Carré's fifteen-page manuscript inventory adhered to his central purpose: to demonstrate his own expertise and show the value of Huguenots during a time of imperial war.

After listing the manuscripts, Carré turned his attention to the letters, relating their contents and interpreting key passages to readers who might be unfamiliar with the tactics and predilections of the Jesuits. In one letter, for example, a Jesuit from Quebec told Bruyas of the deaths of two Iroquois girls who were living in the town. The unfortunate youths died of smallpox, one after receiving the sacraments, but the other without any such benefits, as she smelled so bad that no one dared enter her room. Nonetheless, the Jesuit instructed Bruyas to tell the girls' families that they died as Christians, in order to encourage their families to follow suit. In Carré's estimation, this appeal typified Jesuit tactics, as they often lied to proselytes in order to encourage conversions.²⁸ Another letter, from a '*bonne Religieuse*' of the Ursuline convent in Quebec, was more scandalous. The nun offered her services to Bruyas without 'any restriction,' promising to give

28. 'Inventaire,' fol. 3.

anything 'his Reverence judged them capable of providing him . . . with pleasure.' Using his vast knowledge of Jesuit deviance as a guide, Carré revealed that the Ursuline sisters were actually offering *sexual* services to the priests, showing the hollowness of their famous vow of celibacy.²⁹

The most important letter for Carré's purposes had nothing to do with North America. It detailed the murder of a Jesuit who had become a parish priest near Geneva. Carré noted that the Jesuits did not hesitate to accuse Huguenots, even though evidence pointed toward the priest's own parishioners as the culprits. Carré showed two things to American readers by highlighting this letter. First, he reminded readers of the Huguenots' suffering from popish persecution in France. But more importantly, he demonstrated that those who suspected the refugees of double dealing were acting like papists, who reflexively accused Huguenots of any crime that occurred. Thus, if they wanted to stop imitating Jesuits, New England Protestants should stop accusing their French neighbors of criminal conduct without sufficient evidence.³⁰

In the second section of the manuscript, Carré provided an annotated list of the Jesuits mentioned in the various letters. He seemed to be familiar with some of them, whom he may have learned about in France or since his arrival in America. For others he simply inferred their importance from the substance of the letters. His goal in either case was to point out the danger they posed to the Protestant cause and to discredit their characters when possible.

Carré then turned his attention to the Jesuit catechisms and cases of conscience. This is the section that later appeared as *Echantillon*. Unlike the letters, these items were written in Latin and Oneida, so that any decent classical scholar—of which New England possessed more than a few—could interpret them. The

29. 'Inventaire,' fol. 5.

30. 'Inventaire,' fol. 4.

French minister, however, hoped that his own expertise in popish persecution would allow him to interpret the texts in ways his English neighbors could not. After all, New England's Huguenots had faced the pressures to convert that were similar to those the Jesuits used with the Iroquois. In his introduction, Carré subtly demonstrated his knowledge and experience, claiming that the catechism contained 'several doctrines until now unknown in all the Christian world.'³¹

The catechism, in Carré's view, further demonstrated that Jesuit conversions were not genuine but based on lies and trickery. In one recorded exchange between a priest and an Oneida proselyte, for example, the Indian asked the Jesuit to describe heaven. The priest responded by describing a garden of earthly delights, in which all the trees bore fruit that would immediately replace itself after being picked; where everyone was beautiful; where there was no sickness or work. 'Could anyone give a more carnal idea of Heaven?' asked Carré. The Jesuits taught the Iroquois that 'there is *earth* in Heaven,' focusing on sensual rewards of salvation rather than on the sacrifices required to achieve it. Carré drew further conclusions from the priests' description of hell, a nasty burning place where the damned ate only hot coals and snakes and drank molten lead. Since these descriptions did not come from scripture, Carré insinuated that a dead Jesuit must have returned from hell in order to describe it, or 'that they have some secret commerce with *evil Spirits* that inform them of the particulars.'³²

Finally, Carré addressed a set of 'cases of conscience,' in which Jesuit Fathers answered such questions as whether it was morally necessary to pay a prostitute, or whether an Indian could steal an ax from a Dutch trader. On the last question, the Jesuit answered in the affirmative, since the value of the ax was negligible and the

31. 'Inventaire,' fol. 8; *Echantillon*, 1.

32. 'Inventaire,' fol. 9-12; *Echantillon*, 2-5. In fact, these images of both heaven and hell have roots in Iroquois culture.

Dutch trader would probably earn back its value in other dealings with the Natives. Carré drew a parallel between this case and an earlier incident in France—described in Blaise Pascal's *Lettres provinciales*, an anti-Jesuit publication issued in the 1650s—in which a servant of the Jesuit order in Paris had stolen a silver dish from his masters. When called before a tribunal and accused of theft, the servant quoted a doctrine the Jesuits had taught him—that a servant could steal from his master up to the value of the wages he owed him. Carré used this parallel to show that the Jesuits' teachings were so pernicious that no one, including the Jesuits, was safe from the disorders they encouraged.³³

Throughout the manuscript, Carré promoted himself as an expert who could serve his adopted community by interpreting these popish texts. Moreover, he hinted that his people could fill an important role in English colonial society: by using their past experience in fighting popery in France to help the colonies fight the French Jesuits who menaced the colonial borderlands. But Carré did not explicitly call for Huguenots to start missions among the Indians. That was a different struggle.

Some French Protestants did promote themselves as potential missionaries, suggesting that they could counteract the effects of the French Jesuits. The influential merchant Gabriel Bernon, the founder of the Huguenot community at Oxford, Massachusetts, and possibly a relative of Carré, had promoted his colonial project in England as a potential base for a mission to the Nipmucks. Oxford's minister, Daniel Bondet, did attempt to evangelize Indians after taking up residence in the town. The possibility of using Huguenots to rival Jesuit conversion efforts appealed to members of the board of the Company for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England, which added Bernon to its ranks in the early 1690s. Board president Robert Thompson felt that if French Protestants

33. 'Inventaire,' fol. 13-15; *Echantillon*, 10-11. Carré's reference was to Pascal's Sixth Letter, dated April 10, 1656; see *The Provincial Letters*, trans. A. J. Krailsheimer (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin, 1967), 98-100.

could 'instruct some ingenious converted Indians in the French tongue and principles of Religion,' they could 'be able to convince them of the deceits of the Popish . . . Religion' and 'further the worke among those Indians that converse with the French.'³⁴

Carré apparently hoped that his work would remove once and for all, any doubts New Englanders had about the Huguenots' loyalty. Reminding the elders of his Boston church that the locusts of the Apocalypse, whom he identified as the Jesuits, would be extirpated after 'five months,' Carré wrote, 'How happy we will be, my dear brothers, if God uses our means to help destroy these foul insects!'³⁵ Hostility to Catholicism and hope for the millennium provided a basis for unity among Protestants of all nationalities and persuasions that occasionally resulted in powerful alliances. As Protestants from Silesia to the Chesapeake had faced similar struggles for religious purity and liberty in the face of Roman Catholic oppression, why not make common cause?

COTTON MATHER AND THE APOCALYPSE

While Carré hoped his publication would revive the reputation of the Huguenots in New England, his patron and friend Cotton Mather had other priorities. While Mather shared his French colleague's desire that New Englanders accept French Protestants into their society, for him the real audience lay far beyond the bounds of the colonies. During the late 1600s, Mather faced a problem that he hoped these Jesuit manuscripts could help to solve. While he cared deeply about the Protestant world, that world seemed largely ignorant of New England. Indeed, the most influential seventeenth-century millennialist, the Cambridge scholar Joseph Mede, had forecast a grim fate for the Americas

34. Robert Thompson to Stoughton, November 2, 1692, Company for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England, Letter Book, 1688-1761, 2, Alderman Library, University of Virginia [microfilm, Massachusetts Historical Society], 12; Thompson to Phips and Stoughton, May 14, 1694, *ibid.*, 15. On the relationship between Carré and Bernon, see Potter, *Memoir Concerning the French Settlements in the Colony of Rhode Island*, 117.

35. *Echantillon*, Preface, [4].

after the rest of the world experienced the rapture of Christ's second coming. Mede thought that 'the Hemisphere opposite to us'—meaning America—would become the resting place of Gog and Magog, a diabolical army that would fight the godly, 'whom the Best and most Great God in his secret judgment, for the most part shall not cherish with the light of his Gospel.'³⁶

Mather admired Mede and accepted many of his speculations but could not agree that his American homeland was destined to become 'the seat of Hel.' As a result, the American divine spent much of his career trying to prove Mede wrong, and he used New England's record of piety as his chief ideological weapon. Despite being sinful humans, the people of New England had tried 'to anticipate the State of the *New-Jerusalem*, as far as the unavoidable *Vanity of Humane Affairs*, and *Influence of Satan* upon them would allow of it.' In particular, American Protestants worked to build a New Jerusalem through their missionary efforts among the Natives.³⁷

Mather created his own version of how America fit into the plans for Christ's second coming. He agreed with Mede that the continent had long been the realm of Satan, who had kept the Indians in ignorance even as he blessed Europe with the light of the gospel. The devil's plans had been foiled, however, when Protestants arrived in New England determined to bring the blessings of reformed Christianity to their new wilderness home. The settlement of New England had set the stage for a pre-apocalyptic struggle for the future of America, in which 'the divels'—now aided by their natural allies 'the papists'—tried to keep the continent in

36. Joseph Mede, *The Key to the Revelation, Searched and demonstrated out of the Naturall and Proper Characters of the Visions* (London, 1650), section entitled 'A Conjecture concerning Gog and Magog.' Before his death, Mede knew of the Puritan settlements in New England, and while he wished them the best, he was not optimistic about their prospects for success; see David S. Lovejoy, 'Satanizing the American Indian,' *New England Quarterly* 67 (1994): 607-9.

37. Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana*, Books I and II, ed. Kenneth B. Murdock with Elizabeth W. Miller (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1977), 123; John S. Erwin, *The Millennialism of Cotton Mather: An Historical and Theological Analysis* (Lewiston, N. Y.: Edwin Mellen Press, 1990), 201-2.

darkness. But just as Christ would emerge victorious over Satan in the final struggle, New England Protestants would win their war against the devil and papists. This apocalyptic context also helps to explain Mather's famous penchant for prodding his neighbors to uphold the high standards of their Puritan forbears. The stakes were very high for late-seventeenth-century New Englanders. If they did not remain true to their Lord, they could end up living alongside Gog and Magog in a true earthly hell.³⁸

One of the heroes of Mather's New Jerusalem was the late Roxbury minister and Indian missionary John Eliot. The founder of New England's 'praying towns' had become famous in Europe, and Mather used the missionary's memory to promote his own version of millennial history. Mather published a biography of Eliot after the latter's death in 1690, recounting how Eliot fiercely battled 'the old usurping *Land-Lord of America*' for Native souls, forcing the Natives to abandon the 'Diabolical Rites' they previously practiced and embrace Christ. And despite monumental challenges, Eliot had successfully converted a number of Natives to Puritan Christianity. Mather hoped the biography would contradict the belief—common even among many Protestants—that Catholic missionaries had greater success in converting Indians. As evidence Mather pointed to the same Jesuit manuscripts that Carré had examined, claiming that while Jesuits could claim to have converted more Natives to Catholicism, these conversions were not genuine because the proselytes had no actual knowledge of Christian doctrine. It was Protestants like Eliot who did the real work of God in North America, even if their exacting standards prevented them from converting large numbers.³⁹

38. Mather spelled out this vision in a number of publications; for a good example see *Souldiers Counsell'd and Comforted; A Discourse Delivered unto some part of the Forces Engaged in the Just War of New-England Against the Northern & Eastern Indians* (Boston, 1689), 36–37.

39. Cotton Mather, *The Triumphs of the Reformed Religion, in America. The Life of the Renowned John Eliot, A Person justly Famous in the Church of God. . .* (Boston, 1691), 75, 82, 125–28. Mather printed the tract in England as well, under the title *The Life and Death of the Renown'd Mr. John Eliot* (London, 1691). It was published in a second edition in 1694, suggesting that the book enjoyed a substantial readership.

While Mather's writings in Boston and London helped to carry his message to various English-speaking audiences, he needed to go farther if he wanted to advertise New England's virtues in the wider Protestant world. Many of the most committed millennial scholars in the 1690s were French and worked on the continent, especially in the Netherlands. These Protestant thinkers were even less likely than their English counterparts to pay much attention to New England, but with the arrival of the Huguenots Mather now had a way to reach them.

Mather's concern for the Huguenots thus was not primarily humanitarian. Like many reformed theologians, both he and his father, Increase, considered the upsurge of persecution against Protestants in the 1680s to be a possible sign of the coming apocalypse. As one of Increase Mather's correspondents wrote, 'that Earthquake, Revelation 11th, is not far off, when the 7000 names of men (who are indeed rather bruits than men) shall be slain, & the remnant (or rest of men) should have their eyes opened, be affrighted & give glory to God. And then woe be to Rome.'⁴⁰ Both Mather's read the work of Huguenot theologian Pierre Jurieu, who suggested in an influential treatise that the revocation of the Edict of Nantes and subsequent persecution of Huguenots represented the 'slaying of the witnesses' prophesied in Revelation 11 that presaged Christ's return to earth.⁴¹ This apocalyptic speculation gave Cotton Mather a compelling reason to treat Huguenot refugees with kindness and respect.

Apocalyptic concerns underlay Mather's collaboration with Carré, whose theology echoed that of Jurieu. Carré's analysis of the Jesuit materials could demonstrate to his Protestant countrymen

40. Richard Blinman to Increase Mather, May 20, 1678, *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 4th ser. 8 (1868): 334. On Mather's apocalypticism, see Reiner Smolinski, ed., *The Threefold Paradise of Cotton Mather: An Edition of 'Triparadisus'* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995), Introduction; Smolinski, 'Israel Redeivus: The Eschatological Limits of Puritan Typology in New England,' *New England Quarterly* 63 (1990): 357-95; Erwin, *The Millennialism of Cotton Mather*.

41. Pierre Jurieu, *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies, or the Approaching Deliverance of the Church* (London, 1687).

that New England was a key theater in the ongoing struggle between Christ and Antichrist, and not a refuge for the creatures of hell. But in order to fulfill this purpose, Mather needed to produce a tract very different from the one Carré envisioned. Unlike their previous collaboration, it needed to be published in French for the Huguenot millennialist thinkers who were Mather's main target, and it had to contain sufficient clues and supplementary material for them to draw the desired conclusions.

During its transition from a manuscript to a printed pamphlet, Carré's analysis of the Jesuit materials changed to accommodate Cotton Mather's goals. The pamphlet appeared in French despite the challenges it posed to the printer, Samuel Green, who apologized at the end of the book for any errors. The final version focused on the catechism and cases of conscience—thereby highlighting theological issues unavailable in Europe—and omitted Carré's lengthy analysis of the Jesuits and their correspondence. Small changes in the text confirmed that the final version was intended for an international rather than a local audience. For example, in several places the printer added phrases such as 'of these places' or 'here'—qualifying statements about local Indians or missionaries—while in another spot Carré added a reference to the expulsion of Jesuits from Venice, in order to demonstrate connections between European and American events.⁴²

Perhaps the most important addition was Cotton Mather's preface. In a brief address 'giving approbation' to the work, Mather laid out his theory of American history. He described how 'the Devils abused the first inhabitants of these awful deserts' before 'the brilliant trumpet of the Evangelist resounded in the Old World' and good Protestants like '*Levenerable Monsieur Jean Eliot*' brought Christianity to the Natives. Mather set up a contrast between Catholic and Protestant conversion methods. Carré's narrative would prove, Mather claimed, that the Jesuits' 'poisonous principles' had not really converted any Indians, while

42. *Echantillon*, 'Avèrtissement,' 6, 11.

Protestants like Eliot had made sure their converts were *real* Christians. In the final section of the preface, Mather betrayed his true purpose. 'I am an American,' he wrote, 'and rather interested in the Affairs of America.' By showing how New Englanders combated popery and carried true religion to the edges of the earth, the minister hoped to make Europeans as interested in American events as he was.⁴³

In Mather's eyes, the manuscripts' evidence of the Jesuits' insidious evangelical techniques actually offered some hope. After all, only Protestants *really* brought Christianity to the New World. Their conversions were fewer in number because, Mather pointed out, the 'conversion of one Indian among us is a greater production, than that of a thousand of those bragged of so much elsewhere; because our design is not to do the thing halfway but to bring the work to its perfection.' What the Jesuits taught was nothing more than a 'part of the Christian faith, disguised and corrupted by the abominations of popery, which is at bottom nothing but a true copy of Paganism.' Mather found consolation in the idea that 'these Papal missions have prepared the way for some Thing more sincere and salutary,' bringing the Natives 'to the door' from which they will be 'in more of a state to receive and embrace a greater Light when it will please God to send it to them.'⁴⁴ In doing so, he propagated an opinion about the comparative effectiveness of Catholic and Protestant missions that has shaped scholarship up through the twentieth century.⁴⁵

Mather undoubtedly realized that Carré's *Echantillon* provided a powerful Protestant rebuttal to Jesuit boasts about the success of their missions. Through their famous *Relations*, the priests had proven adept at advertising their efforts in Europe, to the point

43. *Echantillon*, Preface.

44. *Echantillon*, Preface, [3].

45. For a comprehensive account of evangelization in the colonies that focuses on the Protestant-Catholic competition for Native converts, see James Axtell, *The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985).

that many of their rivals despaired of winning as many souls. Now, finally, Protestants had the keys to the Jesuits' conversion techniques: the grammars, dictionaries, catechisms, and manuals that were the tools of their trade. The items included in the inventory were the sorts of materials that Jesuits in New France produced as they learned the language and customs of their proselytes.⁴⁶ The inventory also provided information as to how the missionaries sustained themselves out in the field. There were letters reporting extraordinary events, conversions, and news from Europe as well as Canada. Other letters offered advice, instruction, and comfort. Together these missives represented the connective tissue of the far-flung web of Jesuit missions. They reminded the missionaries that they were not isolated in the wilderness but part of a vibrant global movement. Letters from particularly respected religious figures in New France—nuns and priests—were preserved along with the more mundane linguistic works to sustain morale and the divine sense of mission.

Like modern scholars, Mather and his cohorts paid special attention to the items that revealed how the Jesuits won converts by fusing Christianity to Iroquois culture. For example, the inventory described culturally sensitive material, such as a 'guide for converting Indians,' as well as instructions on 'how to make an alliance with them and give them presents,' teaching Jesuits how to work within Iroquoian political systems. The economic issues discussed in the cases of conscience, in particular the fur trade with the Albany Dutch, reflected Iroquoian cultural and economic values. Likewise, the pictures of heaven and hell in the catechism had been fine tuned to the concerns of Iroquoian culture. By filling the heaven with Iroquoian foods such as corn, beans, and squash, the priests gave sacred Native food a place in Christianity. The attention to overeating responded to Native consumption habits, which were also rooted in traditional beliefs about where food originated and how to acquire it. The references to cannibalism,

46. 'Inventaire,' fol. 1-3.

fire, and snakes in Hell also drew on images common in Iroquoian culture. Finally, the Jesuits' evident encouragement of 'gaming, dancing, hunting, etc. on Sunday,' and their acceptance of Iroquois festivals, songs, dreams, divinations, marriages, and sacrifices, all showed their ability and willingness to take Native religious practices and turn them to the service of Christianity.⁴⁷

While modern observers tend to admire the Jesuits' adaptability, militant Protestants in 1690 saw nothing laudable in these practices. For Carré, the fact that the Jesuits created 'a convenient link between the worship of these Idolators and the Christian Religion' further proved that the priests were disreputably carnal, manipulative, deceptive, hungry for power, dishonest, and worse. 'This must make you believe that which we have preached to you several times,' he wrote to the elders of his Boston congregation, 'that the Jesuits are those Locusts of the 9th [chapter] of the Apocalypse.'⁴⁸

Echantillon's attention to Indian conversion and Jesuit trickery reflected key themes in European apocalyptic discourse. By emphasizing them, Mather used Carré to remind an international audience that New England was an important theater in the battle between good and evil that would soon culminate in the second coming of Jesus Christ. It also offered a comforting response to the comparative weakness of Protestant missionary efforts. The apparent failure was in reality a success. The Jesuit missions were merely laying the groundwork for future Protestant evangelism. The Protestants would of course succeed because unlike the Jesuits, who were motivated by worldly ambition and a desire for the 'riches of the Savages,' Protestants moved when and how the will of God commanded. The lack of missionary progress simply revealed the preference of the Almighty, who at the moment did not seem to desire the Natives' conversion.⁴⁹

47. 'Inventaire,' fol. 2; *Echantillon*, 2-8. For an analysis of similar materials, some of them perhaps copies of what wound up in Mather's hands, see John Steckley, 'The Warrior and the Lineage: Jesuit Use of Iroquoian Images to Communicate Christianity,' *Ethnohistory* 39 (1992): 478-509, esp. 481.

48. *Echantillon*, Preface, [4], 6.

49. *Echantillon*, Preface, [2-3].

Carré's published dedication to the members of Boston's French Church adhered to Mather's goals. At the end of his manuscript inventory Carré had made a brief apocalyptic reference, comparing the Jesuits to the 'locusts' described in Revelation 9: 3-11. Mather may have encouraged Carré to expand on that theme, as the dedication included a clearer exhortation on it. The dedication also whetted the appetite of European Jesuit-haters, commenting on their 'pernicious Doctrines and loose morals.' It cast the fate of Carré's parishioners on a heroic scale, encouraging them to give up their lives before they entered into communion with such an 'impure society.' Writing this passage must have excited Carré, as it allowed him to demonstrate his people's anti-Catholic credentials. However, in a French-language tract this passage did more to boost the reputation of New England than that of the Huguenots. French Protestant readers already knew the Huguenots were heroes. But by seeing that they had formed a church in Boston, they would see that their English brethren across the seas were doing their part to further the Protestant cause.⁵⁰

In addition to the preface and dedication, the published version of *Echantillon* also contained a few new sections of analysis above and beyond the probable input of Robert Livingston. While most changes were minor, their combined effect slanted the tract toward a European audience and focused on the contrast between Catholic and Protestant missions. Some of the additions included rhetoric common to anti-Jesuit literature in Europe, for instance claiming that 'under pretext of giving the *milk of intelligence*,' the priests made their proselytes 'swallow poison.'⁵¹ After quoting the Jesuit catechism at length, Carré added additional text that emphasized the contrast between the Jesuits' 'ordinary boasting in Europe' and the real circumstances of their missions.⁵² While Carré made no mention of Protestant missionary efforts, such additions reinforced

50. *Echantillon*, Dedication.

51. *Echantillon*, 5.

52. *Echantillon*, 3.

the message that Mather related in his preface: New England's efforts to convert Indians were more genuine, albeit less visible than those of the Jesuits.

FRENCH (AND SPANISH)
PUBLISHING IN PURITAN BOSTON

The unlikely story of *Echantillon's* publication can be further illuminated by placing it in context with other foreign-language works published in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Boston. In fact, while the town never became a haven for non-English speakers, Boston printers issued several tracts in French and even Spanish (during subsequent decades). These later works resembled *Echantillon* in two important ways: they had strong anti-Catholic themes; and they were due to the labors of Cotton Mather. Unlike the earlier work, however, Mather's later forays into foreign-language publishing aimed at Catholic audiences, with the expressed goal of attracting converts. Despite their different motives, these tracts confirm one of the most important lessons of *Echantillon*: that North America's most homogeneous colony was not an isolated, inward-looking place, but a cosmopolitan post engaged in the religious controversies that raged around it.

In some ways it is not surprising that Boston, rather than Quebec or New Orleans, became the birthplace of America's first French book. New Englanders established a printing press in 1639 to publish orthodox Puritan tracts that the literate populace demanded. The colonial French, however, showed little interest in a local printing industry; Quebec and New Orleans lacked presses of their own until 1764, when neither belonged to France any longer. Unlike the highly literate Puritans, whose reformed faith demanded close reading of the Bible and other devotional texts, the small population of French Canada had little need for printing. The few books explicitly designed for the local market, like the 1702 catechism by the Bishop Jean-Baptiste de la Croix, *Catéchisme du diocèse de Québec*, were printed in Paris to be sent

quickly and cheaply back to Canada. In this way, Canada resembled not only the other French colonies in the Americas, but also English ones outside of New England, none of which developed a significant local print culture before the eighteenth century.⁵³

New England's vibrant local press, meanwhile, developed in tandem with the international book trade. From the time that Puritans settled in the region, they considered themselves vanguards of the Protestant cause, and they saw great value in maintaining communication with the wider world. Increase and Cotton Mather epitomized this trend; while they nearly controlled the local press in the late 1600s, they also sent their more important works to London for publication there. Both men made connections with powerful allies, who could introduce their books to wider markets and secure financing for them. When these connections failed, and some manuscripts had 'long lain unpublished in *England*,' Cotton Mather turned to the power of prayer for a 'Blessing' on them. This tactic sometimes failed as well. The Boston market always proved more reliable for the Mathers, but their numerous forays into the London publishing trade attest to their global vision.⁵⁴

This same international orientation also inspired the publication of foreign-language books in Boston. The first imprints—

53. Jean-Baptiste de la Croix de Chevrères de Saint-Vallier soon followed his *Catéchisme du diocèse de Québec* (Paris, 1702) with a *Rituel du diocèse de Québec* (Paris, 1703). Publishing the texts in Paris provided both useful and affordable pastoral material for the church in New France and advertised the colony's devotion to Counter-Reformation Catholicism in the capital.

54. *Diary of Cotton Mather*, 2 vols. (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1957), 1: 530. Michael P. Winship, *Seers of God: Puritan Providentialism in the Restoration and Early Enlightenment* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996) sets Increase and Cotton Mather's publications in a trans-Atlantic Anglo-American context. For an excellent glimpse at the mix of English and colonial books available in Boston at roughly the time *Echantillon* was published, as well as the important role of local capital in financing the publication of those books that were printed in Boston, see Hugh Amory, 'Under the Exchange: The Unprofitable Business of Michael Perry, a Seventeenth-Century Boston Bookseller,' *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 103 (1993): 31–60. It should be noted that apart from some Latin and Greek classical and religious texts, all of the books in Perry's stock were in English. For a survey of the New England publishing trade at this time see Amory, 'Printing and Bookselling in New England, 1638–1713,' in Amory and David D. Hall, eds., *The Colonial Book in the Atlantic World*, vol. 1 of *A History of the Book in America* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 83–116.

unlike the much larger numbers of German, Dutch, and Welsh publications that came out of Philadelphia and New York during the eighteenth century—did not serve local, non-English populations.⁵⁵ Instead, they were intended for audiences outside of New England, for the purpose of spreading the local brand of Protestant Christianity throughout the world. Before 1725, five French-language books appeared in North America, and with one exception they continued the task that Mather and Carré began in *Echantillon*, contrasting Protestantism and Catholicism and furthering the evangelical cause.

The religious tenor of the French works published before 1725 reflects the overriding influence of Cotton Mather. Four of the five extant texts were published in Boston, and each had a clear link to him. The first was *Echantillon* itself, for which Mather provided a preface. He shepherded two other pamphlets that he wrote through the publication process. The final work, entitled *A, B, C des Chretiens*, was a catechism providing French-speaking parents with an array of prayers, poems, and religious dialogues for instructing their children in Protestantism. Though no author was listed, it may well have been Cotton Mather. He published an English variant, *The A, B, C of Religion*, two years later. More importantly, the book's concern with evangelization, with reducing Protestant faith to a clear and simple core that could then be transmitted to anyone anywhere, but particularly to those who spoke the language of the current French enemy, was very much on Mather's mind at the time. If he did not compose it, he undoubtedly stood behind the person who did.⁵⁶

The only one of these French texts that Cotton Mather did not have a hand in publishing provides a noteworthy contrast to those

55. For the very different circumstances of foreign-language publishing in the Middle Colonies, see especially A. Gregg Roeber, 'German and Dutch Books and Printing,' in Amory and Hall, eds., *Colonial Book in the Atlantic World*, 298–313.

56. *A, B, C des Chretiens* (Boston, 1711); Cotton Mather, *The ABC of Religion* (Boston, 1713), which he intended 'to disperse . . . in Schools and Families,' and use as 'an agreeable Present for me to make unto the Children in the several Families of my relatives'. *Diary of Cotton Mather*, 2: 216, 226.

he did. It was printed in New York and had roots in the local Huguenot community. *Le Tresor des consolations divines et humaines* ('The Treasure of Divine and Human Consolations'), was a reprint of a sixteenth-century French devotional text, published in New York in 1696 at the behest of a Huguenot who had vowed to see it in print if he recovered from an illness. It was published anonymously, and little else is known about it. Nonetheless, its subtitle, *A Treatise in which the Christian can learn how to defeat and overcome the afflictions and miseries of this life*, along with the circumstances of its publication, distinguish this work of personal piety from the public proselytizing of the Mather-influenced texts in Boston.⁵⁷

Why would Cotton Mather, a symbol of monolingual New England Puritanism to generations of scholars, want to write books in French? The answer lies, once again, in his apocalyptic beliefs. Living, as he believed, close to the end times, the minister saw a great need not only to spread the gospel as far as he could, but also to claim a central role for the Americas in the impending struggle. An interesting application of these beliefs appeared in 1696, when Mather suddenly began to feel 'a strong Inclination to learn the *Spanish* language.' The source of this inclination was probably a rumor, circulating through the port at this time, that Mexicans had risen up against their viceroy—leading to speculation by Mather's friend and fellow apocalypticist Samuel Sewall that Mexico could be the backdrop for the second coming.⁵⁸ In order to help the process along, Mather endeavored to 'transmit Catechisms, and Confessions, and other vehicles of the Protestant-Religion, into the *Spanish* Indies.' After all, he thought, 'Who can tell whether the *Time* for our Lord's taking Possession of those Countreys, even the *sett Time* for it, bee not *come*?' He

57. *Le Tresor des consolations divines et humaines, ou Traite dans le quel le chretien peut apprendre a vaincre et a surmonter les afflictions et les miseres de cette vie* (New York, 1696).

58. *Diary of Samuel Sewall*, 1: 397–98; Sewall to Edward Taylor, October 28, 1696, *Collections of Massachusetts Historical Society* 6th ser. 1 (1886): 173–78; Sewall, *Phaenomena quaedam Apocalyptica Ad Aspectum Novi Orbis Configurata* (Boston, 1697), esp. 2–6.

prayed over the matter until the winter of 1699, when he felt that 'the way for our Communication with the *Spanish Indies*, opens more and more.' Working in 'a few leisure Minutes in the Evening of every Day, in about a Fortnight, or three weeks Time, so accomplished mee, I could write very good Spanish.'

When and how Cotton Mather learned French is more difficult to answer, but his motives must have been similar. He may have acquired French through his collaboration with Carré, both on *The Charitable Samaritan* and *Echantillon*, but his language skills were not sufficient to act as translator of the first tract. This was done by the Roxbury minister Nehemiah Walter, who had acquired the language as a teenager in Acadia. By the early 1700s, however, Mather had begun publishing tracts in French on his own, suggesting that he may have mastered French about the same time he began studying Spanish.⁵⁹

Mather used his newfound skills in French and Spanish for identical purposes: to spread Protestant beliefs among those who suffered in popish darkness. The first thing he did with his Spanish was to compose 'a little Body of the *Protestant Religion*, in certain Articles, back'd with irresistible Sentences of Scripture.' He intended to send the resulting text, *La Religion Pura, En Doze palabras Fieles, dignas de ser recibidas de Todos* ('The Pure Religion, in Twelve Faithful Words, worthy of being received by All'), 'by all the ways that I can, into the several parts of the *Spanish America*; as not knowing, *how great a matter a little Fire may kindle*, or, whether the Time for our Lord Jesus Christ to have glorious Churches in *America*, bee not at hand.'⁶⁰

59. The pamphlet was a sermon by Carré, *The Charitable Samaritan* (Boston, 1689). For Nehemiah Walter, see John Langdon Sibley, *Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University* (Cambridge, Mass.: Charles William Sever, 1873), 3: 294-300; *Diary of Cotton Mather*, 1: 206, 284.

60. *Diary of Cotton Mather*, 1: 284-85. *La Religion Pura* was printed in Mather, *La fe del Christiano: en veynte y quatro articulos de la institucion de Christo. Embiada a Los Españoles, para que abran sus ojos, y para que se conviertan de las tinieblas a la luz, y de la potestad de Satanás a Dios: para que reciban por la fe que es en Jesu Christo, remission peccados, y suerte entre los sanctificados. Por C. Matbero, Siervo del señor Jesu Christo* (Boston, 1699) ['The Christian's Faith: The institutes of Christ in twenty-four articles. Sent to the Spanish so that they may open

But Cotton Mather did not stop with the seven-page *Religion Pura*. In March 1699 he again used his Spanish skills in the service of his faith for another seven pages of print. He began 'to draw up, a compleat System of the *Christian Religion*. I comprised it in twenty four Articles; a *sacred Number* of Articles.' As Mather explained, 'because much objection has been made against *Creeds* of an humane Composure, that this might be liable to no Objection, I contrived every one of the Articles to bee expressed in the express words of the *Sacred Scripture*. When this was done, I turn'd it into the *Spanish Tongue*, and printed it.' The result, *La fe del Christiano* ('The Christian's Faith'), within which *La Religion Pura* was published, informed the reader, among other things, that 'we have no more than one God, from which are all things'; that purgatory does not exist; that 'the adoration of the bread in the Eucharist is criminal idolatry'; and that one cannot invoke the saints or the angels in prayer, only God 'the all powerful and our Lord Jesus Christ.'⁶¹

Mather's diary shows how he considered his publishing endeavors to be part of a broader program to convert the world before Christ's return. A month after publishing *La Fe del Christiano* he noted that he 'went over the several Articles' raised by the pamphlet 'in my Meditations; and examined my want of Conformity to it, in Godliness both of Heart and Life; and judged myself before the Lord.' In May he 'had Advice from Heaven, that a glorious *Reformation* is near to the *English Nation*. And more than so; that the Light of the Gospel of my Lord Jesus Christ, shall bee carried into the Spanish Indies; and that *my* Composures, *my* Endeavores, will be used, in irradiating the Dark Recesses of *America*, with the Knowledge of the Glorious Lord.' He expected to 'shortly see some Harvest of my Prayers and Pains, for the *Jewish Nation* also.'⁶²

their eyes and convert from darkness to light and the power of Satan to God: for they will receive the faith that is in Jesus Christ, remission of sins, and a fate among the sanctified. By C. Mathero, servant of the Lord Jesus Christ'], 10-16.

61. *Diary of Cotton Mather*, 1: 295-296; Mather, *La fe del Christiano*, 3, 12, 14.

62. *Diary of Cotton Mather*, 1: 296, 299, 302; Mather published *The Faith of the Fathers* (Boston, 1699) in April hoping to persuade Jews that Reformed Protestantism was no more than 'the Faith of the Old Testament' and 'their own ancient and blessed Patriarchs,' and

The distribution center for Mather's Spanish tracts seems to have been London, and they did reach a few Spanish speakers, albeit in Europe rather than Latin America. In the fall of 1701 he received word from a London correspondent that 'Your *Spanish Faith*, is gone further, than it may be, you thought for.' An acquaintance of the correspondent was in touch with 'the French and Dutch ministers in *Holland*,' who passed on the word that they were in contact with 'a considerable *Spanish*, or *Portuguese* Proselyte, who desired such a thing as that was, and said he could make great use of it.' The man forwarded 'it to them, and received Abundance of Thanks.' The proselyte claimed 'that Portugal is very ripe for a Reformation, if it were well sett afoot there. I pray God, hasten it, in its Time!' concluded the London correspondent.⁶³

The uses to which Mather put his knowledge of French echo his use of Spanish. His two French-language works were aggressive, evangelizing texts designed to turn French Catholics into Protestants, whether in America or Europe. The first, *Le vrai patron des saines paroles* ('The True Patron of Wholesome Words'), appeared in 1704, during another war with the French. In its catechetical nature and emphasis on the Scriptural basis of Protestant truth and Catholic error, it echoed *La fe del Christiano*, but with greater urgency, telling its readers 'you must abandon the impieties and idolatries of the Church of Rome, if you want to obey the voice of God and escape his terrible anger.' The text was probably aimed at the one hundred French prisoners of war who had just been brought in from an expedition against Acadia. Not many of the prisoners seem to have taken to it, for in 1711 Mather still had 'a number' of the books to hand out to the students of the

that by converting to Christianity (and thereby ensuring the 'coming of the Messiah'), they would be doing no more than reverting to their true Jewish roots. He was still praying 'for the Conversion of the Jew' in 1713, *Diary of Cotton Mather*, 1: 298-299; 2: 233. The conversion of the Jews was widely believed to be a precondition of the Second Coming.

63. *Diary of Cotton Mather*, 1: 402.

local French school 'that they may at once learn the Language, and improve in Knowledge and Goodness.'⁶⁴

Mather wrote his other French pamphlet, *Une grande voix du ciel a la France* ('A Great Voice from Heaven to France'), after what turned out to be France's last outbreak of the plague in 1720. The booklet claimed that the plague was evidence of God's wrath against the French for their sinful, idolatrous ways. Mather expected that similar disasters would continue to strike France until it converted. He hoped to have the pamphlet published in Holland and from there distributed into France, but his Dutch contacts never published it. Perhaps they were reluctant to chastise the current regency government, which was actually treating the remaining Huguenots in France with more leniency than they had experienced in many years.⁶⁵

Though he had composed the manuscript for *Une grande voix* in the fall of 1721 in response to the plague, the underlying message of conversion and reformation was topical enough for Mather to keep it on hand for another suitable occasion. Three years later, when the young Louis XV began to assert himself and a new edict appeared that strictly reinforced the provisions of the 1685 Revocation, Mather believed that France was 'very near a mighty and wondrous Revolution.' He determined to do his part 'for the Kingdome of God' by showing 'the French Nation, the horrible Wickedness of that cruel and matchless Persecution, with which they have exposed themselves to the tremendous vengeance of GOD' and show 'them an incontestable System of *pure and undefiled Religion*, and a scriptural Fulmination upon the Corruptions of Religion with which the Man of Sin intoxicates them.' Mather dusted off his manuscript, paid for it to be printed locally, and began trying to have 'it convey'd into *France*.' It is unclear if the book ever made it out of Boston.⁶⁶

64. Cotton Mather, *Le vrai patron des saines paroles* (Boston, 1704), 9; *Diary of Cotton Mather*, 2: 94.

65. Cotton Mather, *Une grande voix du ciel a la France* (Boston, 1725).

66. *Diary of Cotton Mather*, 2: 646, 651, 653, 661, 665, 683, 768, 774, 776.

In short, while his books did not always reach their intended targets, Cotton Mather hoped to use them to convert the world to his faith and he was willing to use whatever foreign language or press necessary to do so. In 1711 he noted that by 'writing some agreeable Things to some considerable Men in *Holland*, particularly in the Universities there, and by sending some Treatise thither, many good Ends may be accomplished, and Services done for the Kingdome of God.' Four years later he published a bilingual work, in English and Latin, *The Stone Cut out of the Mountain. And the Kingdom of God, in those Maxims of it, that cannot be Shaken / Lapis e Monte Excisus*. He had high hopes for this piece and sent it, along with several others, to his German Pietist correspondent Anthony William Boehm. He made clear that he was not only willing but eager to have his work translated and distributed wherever it could serve the cause of conversion. 'Please,' he urged Boehm, 'disperse these little Engines of Piety, as fast and as far as you can; send of them, to our invaluable Friends at Halle; send of them, to the Malabarian missionaries; and if you can do it, send of them into France; yea, excuse me, if I say, procure them to be translated into as many Languages as you can.' After all, it was the 'everlasting Gospel, that must carry all before it.'⁶⁷ None of these foreign-language works was ever reprinted in America, and Cotton Mather's death in 1728 marked the end of a distinctive era of international aspirations for the Boston printing industry.⁶⁸

Throughout his publishing career, Cotton Mather demonstrated an eagerness to spread the Protestant faith to all and sundry, whether they spoke English or not, whether they lived in America or Asia or anywhere that Protestant missionaries could reach. *Echantillon* fits into this program, but in a slightly different way. As the first pamphlet published in French in Boston, it

67. *Diary of Cotton Mather*, 2: 73, 333, 413; *The Stone Cut out of the Mountain. And the Kingdom of God, in those Maxims of it, that cannot be Shaken/Lapis e Monte Excisus*. . . (Boston, 1715).

68. After Mather's death, no French publications appeared in the colonies until 1744, when they became more frequent. Lacking the proselytizing tone apparent in the works that Mather published, they served diplomatic rather than religious purposes.

marked an attempt by Mather to make the rest of the Protestant world aware of North Americans' role in the epic story of the global advance of Reformed Protestantism. Though we do not know how it was distributed, we can imagine the published copies, probably no more than a few score, traveling the same rather haphazard paths that Mather's other foreign-language texts followed. Evidently intended for a European audience, some may well have made it across the ocean or may have fallen into the hands of French enemies. At least one copy remained in America, perhaps in the hands of a local Huguenot, or a cosmopolitan cleric like Mather, ending up in the nineteenth-century printer Isaiah Thomas's library. Very much a product of a specific place and time, *Echantillon* did not accomplish any of its goals, but it reveals a great deal about how some New England Protestants saw themselves in the world; or perhaps more accurately, about how they wanted European Protestants to see them.

AFTERMATH

It is impossible to know if Carré's pamphlet ever reached its intended European audience. Only one copy appears to survive, and while some others may have circulated around the colonies or Europe, no correspondent or diarist is known to have mentioned the tract. What is clear, however, is that the tract had no apparent effect on the treatment of Huguenots in New England. The year after its publication, Carré imitated many of his countrymen and left Boston. He crossed the Atlantic again and settled in the Channel Islands, where he took up a position as minister. In 1697 he published a sermon on the subject of a shipwreck that had claimed some of his flock. This publication constitutes the last record of Carré, who left no known correspondence recording his own feelings about the tumultuous times through which he lived.⁶⁹

The Huguenot community in Boston soon fell on hard times. In 1700 the elders of the much-diminished French church petitioned

69. Butler, *Huguenots in America*, 76–77; Carré, *La morte des justes* (London, 1697).

the General Court for assistance. In an indication that they had taken their old pastor's advice a bit too seriously, the elders claimed that the burdens of poor relief—both for their own people and the English—had impoverished the congregation to the point that it could not even support a minister. The Huguenots reminded Massachusetts leaders that other Protestant states, such as the Duchy of Brandenburg and the Dutch Republic, 'have alwaies maintained a great multitude of French Protestants & their Ministers,' and 'hope that you will likewise shew ye same Spirit of holy charity.' The court did vote the church a small maintenance for its minister, but that act of charity probably reflected the priorities of the royal governor, Richard Coote, Lord Bellomont, more than the benevolence of New England's people. Indeed, Bellomont complained that the people of New England had done far too little to help the refugees in their midst.⁷⁰

Cotton Mather, meanwhile, continued to publish books and pamphlets that advertised New England to the outside world, strove to convert those who were not yet properly reformed, and showcased his apocalyptic beliefs. He also maintained a keen interest in the fate of French Protestants, both in New England and elsewhere. In 1697 he published a letter from a former Bostonian, Elias Neau, who had been a slave on one of Louis XIV's galleys. But even as he used that Huguenot's story to rally his Protestant troops, Mather added an address—in French—that urged Boston's Huguenots to become more pious, as they had recently shown little interest in keeping the Sabbath. In the end, even Neau disappointed Mather, returning to New York and becoming an ordained Anglican.⁷¹ Huguenots, like Indian converts, had difficulty conforming to Mather's expectations.

70. Petition of French Protestants for aid, June 21, 1700, Massachusetts Archives, 11:150.

71. 'The Apostasy of that famous French Confessor, Mr. Elias Neau at N. York, is to me one of the most grievous and shocking Things that I have mett withal. I desire to do something towards his Recovery, or at least, a Testimony proper for this Occasion,' *Diary of Cotton Mather*, 2: 89. Mather, *A Present from a farr Country* (Boston, 1697). On Neau see Butler, *Huguenots in America*, 161–66.

Meanwhile, the Jesuit missions continued to grow. Until well into the eighteenth century, French Catholic evangelists continued to pull more Native North Americans into Christianity than did English Protestants. Their efforts were finally cut short, however, but not by the Apocalypse. Instead it was the British conquest of New France in 1760 that provided conditions in which Protestant missionaries could come to dominate evangelical efforts in Native North America. *Echantillon* is a vivid reminder of what the Jesuits did that worked, and why New England's Protestants failed to compete. Apocalyptic priorities and a vigorous publishing record could not rival intensive field work and a certain amount of cultural adaptability.

Editorial procedures:

Both of the translations are our own. Because *Echantillon* is printed directly from the final pages of the manuscript inventory, we have not transcribed all of the inventory. Instead, we have transcribed the parts of the inventory excluded from *Echantillon*, then switched to *Echantillon* where it picks up the inventory's text. The few changes in text in the transition from the manuscript to the published version are indicated in footnotes. Both the page numbers for *Echantillon* and the folio numbers for the inventory have been included. For the preface and dedication, which are not paginated in the original, we have added page numbers. Some punctuation and grammar have been modernized. Underlining is as in the original.

APPENDIX I

[Folio 1]

'Inventaire de certains Papiers trouvés dans une maison particulière vers Albanie depuis ces derniers troubles'

As not everyone understands French, I am not upset that these papers were given to me to examine, since most of them are in this tongue. I hope that I will satisfy those who had the curiosity to know what was contained in them. They are the writings of a

Jesuit missionary for the conversion of the Iroquois. His name was Father Bruyas, as appears by the inscription on several letters addressed to him and which he used to seal his letters.⁷² In them he mentions various Fathers of that Society from which one can see that these Good Fathers are everywhere, and if they did not have a hand in what recently happened near Albany⁷³ at least one can say that they have been in that area for a long time. For what it is worth, I will let the reader think of it what he will and to make what observations he sees fit on the details I will offer, after which I ask the liberty to make my own.

After examining all of these papers I found the following pieces:

First there is the formulary for the consecration of the host with the institution and the sacramental words above which is a small crucifix. It is the only published thing found among these papers.

Then there is a personal journal marked with a tree.

[Folio 2]

It is a catechism in the Mahingan language⁷⁴ and Latin with Popish prayers like the Our Father (Pater Noster), Hail Mary (Ave Maria), the Nicene Creed (Credo) etc.

It was addressed to Father Bruyas in the Mohawk Country.⁷⁵

72. Jacques Bruyas (1635-1712) arrived in Canada in 1666 and was immediately assigned to the Iroquois missions. He served first with the Oneidas (1666-70), then the Mohawks (1670-79), then at the Sault-Saint Louis mission to the new Mohawk village of Kahnawake (1679-93, 1698-1712), with a brief stint as Superior of the Jesuits' Canadian mission (1693-98). Involved in the diplomatic negotiations leading up to the great peace of 1701, Bruyas is noted as the author of three works in Mohawk: a grammar, catechism, and prayer book; see *DCB*, 2: 106-8.

73. This is a reference to the deadly February 8, 1690, raid on Schenectady.

74. By Mahingan is meant Mahican, or a closely related Algonquian language, such as Algonkin, spoken by peoples in Canada who had been working with Jesuit missionaries for several decades at this point. Massachusetts and other New England Native languages belonged to the same Algonquian language family, which is very different family from the Iroquoian language family to which Mohawk and Oneida belong.

75. It is uncertain whether Bruyas, who was an Iroquois specialist, ever learned an Algonquian language. The catechism was probably sent to help him reach the growing number of Algonquian-speaking captives, many of them from what is now New England, who were brought into Mohawk country in the 1660s and 1670s. See Neal Salisbury, 'Toward the Covenant Chain: Iroquois and Southern New England Algonquians, 1637-1684,' in Daniel K. Richter and James H. Merrell, eds., *Beyond the Covenant Chain: The Iroquois and Their Neighbors in Indian North America* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1987), 61-73.

Next there are six notebooks that the author himself marked with figures that contain a small Iroquois dictionary in alphabetical order. They are covered with several letters written to the Reverend Father Bruyas.

Then there are seven other notebooks and several loose papers relating to the grammar for learning the Iroquois language, Huron, Oneida, etc. on which the author puts the necessary remarks for learning the tenses, the conjugations, the pronunciation, etc.

Then there is a grammar table hidden in piece of paper containing certain Huron verb paradigms.

Then there is a bill addressed to the Reverend Father Thierry Bechefer, a Jesuit at Quebec, where, all in the same request, are hosts of all sizes, small crucifixes of paper, raisins, prunes, some tobacco, and rosary beads, all of this is for trading with the Indians.⁷⁶

Then two journals of dialogue in Iroquois interlined with some Latin, which informed me that one is a guide for converting Indians and the other on how to make an alliance with them and give them presents.

Then a journal containing 100 cases of conscience all answered in Latin for the Iroquois missionaries and then shortened after being confirmed by the Jesuits in Quebec.

[Folio 3]

Finally there is a catechism made up of two notebooks written in the Oneida language and Latin, containing twenty-four chapters.

Such is the inventory of all the writings that were put into my hands, out of which I will examine 1. The Letters. 2. Who the Jesuit priests mentioned in these writings are. 3. The special doctrine that they teach to the Iroquois. Having examined these I will consider myself acquitted of that which was demanded of me.

76. Thierry Beschefer (1630-1711) arrived in Canada in 1666. After some work in the missions along the Saint Lawrence, he spent twenty years working at the Jesuit College in Quebec (1670-80, 1686-90) and as Superior of the Jesuit missions in Canada (1680-86) before returning to France in 1690; *DCB*, 2: 61-62.

I.

There are several letters that Father Bruyas used as covers for the manuscript notebooks of his Indian dictionary. I believe he used them to save paper and prevent them from getting lost. Also there was a great deal of damage. On the first notebook there is a note from Quebec by the Jesuit Hechon⁷⁷ who informs Father Bruyas about two Iroquois women who had been left as hostages in Quebec and who Father Bruyas had recommended to him. He said that they were both dead, the first after *having received all the sacraments*, but he makes a sketch of the death of the other, saying that she had *died of the smallpox that had so spoiled her body that nobody could stand to be in the room where she was because it stank so much*. After which he sends Father Bruyas a *beautiful belt of wampum, not for wiping away the tears of their relatives (as these pagans are accustomed to do) but to assure them that they died Christians and to exhort them to imitate them by embracing the faith so that they can see them in Heaven. He also wants Father Bruyas to talk of the two dead women to their relatives, inviting them to join in their good fortune, etc.*

[Folio 4]

In truth, is this not a wonderful example to imitate? And do you not believe that such persons are in Heaven? Look especially at the way the last one died. And still he wants him to make the relatives of these deceased believe that they exhorted them to embrace the faith. Who cannot see that one must not have even the least spark of piety nor even of Christianity to use such methods

77. Hechon (or Échon) was the Huron name for Pierre-Joseph-Marie Chaumonot (1611-93). Born in Burgundy, he wandered to Italy as a young man and joined the Jesuits in 1632. After working several years in Italy, he determined to join the Canadian mission and arrived in 1639. He worked in the Huron country until its devastation by the Iroquois in 1649, then fled with some of the refugees to Quebec, where he continued to look after them intermittently until he retired in 1692. He served on the Onondaga mission from 1655 to 1658 and thereafter served on several embassies to the Iroquois because of his remarkable fluency in Huron. In 1674 he established a new mission for the Hurons near Quebec. He named it Notre-Dame-de-Lorette, after the Italian town of Loreto, home of the house of the Virgin Mary, where he had spent several years, and remained there until his retirement; *DCB*, 1: 205-7.

for converting pagans? The rest of this letter deals with certain propositions made in other times to the French in Canada and are of no importance at present.

The second letter that I found on the second notebook is written from Lyon. It contains nothing but certain inappropriate compliments about a young Jesuit by the name of Cl[aude?]. Louis Mantilesi who tells of the murder near Geneva of a Jesuit who had been given the benefice of a parish priest. In their fashion they do not fail to blame the Huguenots but it seems quite clear that it was the popish parishioners who hated them so mortally and who wish by this to throw off the yoke of their tyranny.

The third letter is on the 4th notebook. It is written by Father Bruyas himself. It contains nothing but some private family matters about which we do not need to know anything here.

The fifth notebook is covered by a letter from Father Jean Etiennes Grolés, Jesuit, who invites him to come to France to recruit more Reverend Fathers for Canada. He gives him much praise and flattery.

On the sixth notebook there is the letter of a nun from Quebec from the convent of the Hospitalers who offers her services to the Reverend Father Bruyas, sending him an image of his patron *the great Saint Francois Xavier*. She tells him that she will also *send him lancets if he needs them*, etc. The good ladies are full of charity and correspond exactly to the title they bear. [Folio 5] The woman who wrote this one is called Catherine Marie de Saint Agn.⁷⁸

78. Marie-Catherine de Simon de Longpré dite de Saint Augustin (1632-68). Born in Normandy, she joined the Hospitaller nuns of Bayeaux when she was twelve. At age sixteen she went to New France to join the Hospitallers of Quebec, where she worked until her death. In Quebec she gained a reputation as a mystic visionary, which was only enhanced when the Jesuit Paul Ragueneau published *La vie de Mère Catherine de Saint-Augustin* in 1671. She had an affinity for Jesuits, claiming that Jesuit priest Jean de Brèbeuf (also of Bayeaux) served as her spiritual director, even though she had never met him before he was killed by the Iroquois in 1649. Jesuit missionaries such as François de Crespieul, who was given a relic of Catherine de Saint-Augustin in 1693, were particularly attached to her cult, which probably explains why they cherished the letter, which she must have written to Bruyas in 1667 or 1668, shortly before her death. *DCB*, 1: 563, 607-10; 2:161.

There is a letter to the same Father Bruyas covering the Oneida grammar from a nun of the Ursulines of Quebec. This letter is very obliging, for I noticed that when this good nun offered her services to Father Bruyas, she puts no restriction on them, for after having assured him that all their little community was at his service as well as herself, she adds that if his *Reverence judges them capable of rendering him some sort of service, whatever it might be, they are ready to do it with pleasure etc.* One would not know what to say about this sort of business if one did not know that the Ursulines of Canada are mostly penitent women who go play the nun in these convents after having enjoyed themselves well in the world.⁷⁹

I must not forget to mention here the Latin writing that covers the third notebook of the Indian dictionary. It is a declaration that Father Millet,⁸⁰ general of the Jesuits of New France, required of Father Bruyas to make him profess their Order. There are 5 articles. In the first he promises that he will never do anything that could alter however little the rules regarding the vow of poverty that they take, unless circumstances demand it be relaxed a little. In the second he protests that he would never have any direct or indirect claim to any bishopric or dignity outside of the Society. In the third he promises under pain of mortal sin that he will never consent to be elected to such a position unless constrained to do so by someone who can command him. In the fourth if he knows someone who has such pretension he will warn the Society. In [Folio 6] the last he promises that in case he happens to be promoted to some dignity or bishopric, he will always recognize the general of the Society as his Superior without ever refusing to listen to his

79. The nun in question is likely Marie Guyart, better known as Marie de L'Incarnation (1599-1672). The daughter of a baker in Tours, she married a silk worker named Claude Martin at the age of seventeen and bore a son before her husband died in 1619. As a widow, she lived with her sister, who was married to a merchant, for a decade until she joined the Ursuline order in 1633. In 1639 she went to New France, where she established the Ursuline order in Quebec and remained a leading religious figure until her death; *DCB*, 1: 351-58.

80. Pierre Millet (1635-1708) arrived in Quebec in 1668 and immediately went to the Iroquois country as a missionary. He served first with the Onondagas, but primarily with the Oneidas, where he spent most of his career (five years of it as a captive). Returning to New France in 1696, he served briefly at Lorette, then at Kahnawake before retiring to the college in Quebec in 1704; *DCB*, 2: 473-74.

advice or those of whomever he may send in his place, nor to even carry them out if he judges them better than those that he may have in his spirit. All of this according to the rules of the Society.

Does this not make you admire the Jesuit spirit? Look how they go bit by bit: first he does not want to violate the vow of poverty, that is to secularize himself; then he will not accept any appointments given to him unless he is ordered to it by his Provincial [Superior] or his confessor. Finally, if he does it he promises to always be ready to follow the advice of the General of the Society if it pleases him. See what tricks these people use! And there is not the least bit of sincerity in these proceedings. He promises and he doesn't promise. He claims he will never aspire to be a prelate and then he says that in case it should happen he would always recognize his Superior. It seems that this sort of declaration is made to inform people that they could be admitted to the prelate and other ecclesiastical dignities.

II.

Now is good to inform you of the names of the Jesuits who are mentioned in the writings.

Father Bruyas as you see is one of [Folio 7] the most important, a professed Father, the head of a mission, a great converter of Iroquois and Hurons and Oneidas, etc. so much so that another Jesuit in the letter in the fifth journal dares to call his efforts *apostolic works*. Judge by the stories of the 2 Iroquois held hostage whether or not he does honor to the Apostles of Jesus Christ.

The Reverend Father Fremin⁸¹ is a celebrated casuist with Father Pierron,⁸² Father Millet etc. who are the principle authors of

81. Jacques Frémin (1628-1691) came to Canada in 1655. He first served as a missionary to the Montagnais, then became Superior of the Iroquois mission in 1667, working with the Onondagas, Cayugas, and Mohawks until 1679, when, after two years in France, he retired to Quebec. *DCB*, 1: 315.

82. Jean Pierron (1631-1700) arrived in Canada in 1667 and immediately began to work in the Iroquois mission, where he stayed, predominantly with the Mohawks, from 1667-68, when he returned to France. In 1674 he traveled in disguise through New England, Maryland (where he met with English Jesuits), and Virginia. He discussed religion with ministers in Boston and was summoned before the Massachusetts General Court on suspicion of being a Jesuit, but was not restrained; *DCB*, 1: 547.

the responses made to the 100 Cases of Conscience which were discussed above and will be spoken of in what follows.

Father Carheil⁸³ having an illness that could not be cured in Canada (guess what it is) he had to go to France to get bandaged with his companion the Jesuit Beaulieu⁸⁴ who was struck with the same illness. He was as much a casuist as a man of quality.

The Reverend Father Jérôme L'Allemand who desired so much to see the house of the Jesuits at Quebec completed that he waited to die until it was done.⁸⁵

Father Lamberville a great casuist.⁸⁶

Father Vaillant.⁸⁷ These last two were missionaries to the Mohawks.

[Folio 8]

The incomparable Father Broisseaud performing the functions of a secular priest near Geneva.

~~Father Béehefer seems to me the most honest man.~~

83. Étienne de Carheil (1633-1726) arrived in Canada in 1666. He worked as a missionary among the Cayugas for fifteen years (1668-83), then as a missionary to the Hurons at Mackinac (1686-1702), before retiring to the French settlements. He was fluent in Iroquois and Huron and wrote a two-volume work on the Huron language; *DCB*, 2: 118-19.

84. A native of Bourges, Louis de Beaulieu (b. 1635) arrived in Canada in 1667 and became a missionary to the Montagnais Indians. Despite considerable talents as a linguist, illness forced Beaulieu to return to France in 1671; Rueben Gold Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, 73 vols. (Cleveland: Burrows Brothers, 1897-1901), 50: 326-27.

85. Jérôme Lalement (1593-1673) arrived in Canada in 1638 with years of teaching experience and was immediately made Superior of the Huron mission, where he served until 1645. He was Superior of the Jesuits in New France in two separate periods, 1645-50 and 1659-65. He died in Quebec; *DCB*, 1: 413-14.

86. Jacques de Lamberville (1641-1710) arrived in Canada in 1675 and was assigned immediately to the Iroquois mission. He worked there among the Mohawks and Onondagas with some brief interruptions until 1709, when he returned to Montreal. Renowned for his piety, his greatest claim to fame was the conversion of Catherine Tekakwitha, a young woman whose own piety made her a candidate for sainthood; *DCB*, 2: 340-42.

87. François Vaillant de Gueslis (1646-1718) arrived at Quebec in 1670, became a Jesuit priest in 1675 and worked at the Huron mission at Lorette until 1678, when he joined Jacques de Lamberville among the Mohawks. Returning to Quebec in 1685, he served in various capacities, including as a diplomat to New York, where in February 1688 he unsuccessfully tried to enlist Governor Thomas Dongan's help in negotiating a French-Iroquois peace. Thereafter he worked in Montreal, where he established a Jesuit residence before heading out to Detroit (1701-2) and then establishing a mission among the Senecas (1702-6). He returned to Montreal and stayed until 1717, when he departed for France. *DCB*, 2: 642-43.

Father Boniface gave his consent to the solutions of the 100 Cases of Conscience and declared that he agreed with the others even though he was absent when they were examined.⁸⁸

Father Béchefefer to whom the bill for the Mohawks was addressed seems to me the least dishonest of these men. He responded when asked his opinion about the proposed cases of conscience that he was not sufficiently informed about the superstitions of the Indians to be able to give his opinion.

III.

All that remains is to examine the doctrine that they teach the Ir-quois, Hurons and other Indian nations that they want to convert. I have found it in two places. First in a Catechism in the Oneida language in one column and in Latin in the other. There are in this writing several superstitions. But my aim is not to examine here the errors that they habitually teach to the Europeans but only certain new doctrines unknown in all the Christian world. [With the next line the 2nd paragraph of *Echantillon* after the Preface and Dedication begins, continuing the remaining pages of the manuscript, which ends at folio 15. *Eds.*]

At Boston the 2[?] April 1690

[Note in English on back of manuscript:] Inventory of severall pop[ish?] Papers found in Livingston's house at Albany. 1690

APPENDIX 2

Echantillon De la Doctrine que les Jésuites enseignent aus Sauvages du Nouveau Monde.

[Title Page]

A Sample of the Doctrine that the Jesuits teach to the Indians of the New World to convert them, drawn from their own Manuscripts found these last days in Albany near New York

88. François Boniface (1635-1674) was sent in 1670 by Béchefefer to help Pierron in the Mohawk mission; *DCB*, 2: 61.

Examined by Ezechial Carré previously Minister of La Rochechalais in France, presently Minister to the French Church in Boston in New England

Try the spirits whether they are of God.

1 John 4:1

Printed in Boston by Samuel Green, 1690.

[Preface 1]

Preface of the Doctor and Reverend Minister Mr. Cotton Mather showing his approval of the present writing.

It is much more comfortable to say for what end the Devils have abused the first inhabitants of these awful deserts of America, than to discover by which path they have come. When the brilliant trumpet of the Evangelist resounded in the Old World, The Devils Consoled themselves in the Satisfaction of having, in the New World, a prodigious multitude of people whom they expected to reign over for a long time quietly and without contradiction. But the recent arrival of Europeans in these places gave a terrible alarm to their old infernal hosts, and made them fear to lose their subjects, to whom they presented the lord Jesus Christ. The Christian Religion is now transplanted in America, where at other times only the infamous doctrine of Devils was practiced. But it is by different Designs, and consequently by different styles, that this Holy Religion is presently preached to the Savages of these unfortunate deserts. The Reformed Protestant Churches of New England, have made many expenditures, and have taken many pains, to convert the Indians to the faith, and although they have been more of a charge to us than a profit, we have not abandoned the task of establishing several well-ordered Churches among them, and to print the Bible, and many other good [Preface 2] books in their savage language; the venerable Mr. John Eliot is the one who has worked happily at this noble task; thus what we have done in this encounter has been purely for the Love of the lord Jesus, of his truth and of his ways; so much so that the conversion of one

Indian among us is a greater production, than that of a thousand of those bragged of so much elsewhere; because our design is not to do the thing halfway but to bring the work to its perfection. On the other hand, the Roman Church is not idle here in this enterprise, because where God has his Church the Devil also has his Chapel. The Missionaries of the Pope have not failed to transport themselves to these Places where the riches of the Savages have called them. They have brought to these poor wretches a part of the Christian faith, disguised and corrupted by the abominations of popery, which is at bottom nothing but a true copy of Paganism. A short while ago, by way of an unexpected encounter, the Original papers of a French Jesuit Emissary from Canada, to the neighboring Indians, fell into my hands. My Reverend Friend, Monsieur Carré has extracted this small Sample of poisonous principles, which these Papist converters teach to their proselytes, who continue no less to be Children of the Genies as beforehand; this Extract is made with much good faith and integrity; and I hope not only that it Inspires in all men a just Indignation to destroy Popery, but that it engages us also to work more strongly at the propagation of the faith. God does not like the Children of his Kingdom to be less diligent in what concerns the Children of this world than in what concerns them. Although I am American, and I am rather interested in the Affairs of America, I am happily unaware of many things regarding the destiny of these Indians, because God never speaks to us about it in [Preface 3] his word, and I would be mad to go and consult the Devil, as Father Cotton said on this subject. Nevertheless I have not lost hope that these Papal missions have prepared the way for some Thing more sincere and salutary; perhaps they have made some Thing that brings the Proselytes to the door, among these Barbarians who are at present in more of a state to receive and embrace a greater Light when it will please God to send it to them; for which may the father of Light act quickly! For that I strongly pray.

Cotton Mather

[Preface 4]

To The Gentlemen Elders of the French Church of Boston
Gentlemen & Brothers,

Although you have often spoken of the Doctrine and the morals of the Jesuits as pernicious things, I do not believe that you have ever seen anything of the sort that I will present to you today; you see here a few of the most odious words to which Hell has given birth to and I dare say that cruder vapors never issued from the Gulf than those that these Locusts have spread over this new world. This must make you believe that which we have preached to you several times that the Jesuits are those Locusts of the 9th [chapter] of the Apocalypse. Surely their five months are not far from expiration because it is not possible that God would suffer these abominations much longer.

How happy we will be, my dear brothers, if God uses our means to help destroy these foul insects! But it is still clear that this will serve with the many other writings made on the same subject to make known how much these men have a pernicious Doctrine and loose Morals.

I hope that this will confirm more and more in your hearts the [Preface 5] just feelings of aversion that you have had up to the present for this impure Society and that after having abandoned your goods, your relatives and your country, you will be ready to abandon your life rather than enter into the communion of which they are presently the most considerable part.

I am certain that it is in these generous sentiments that this brief text will find you, & in which I will always maintain for you, be it by my exhortations or my most ardent prayers for you, as I am.

Sirs my dear brothers.

Your very humble
and very Affectionate
Servant.

Carré Minister

At Boston, 12 May 1690.

[1]

Sample of the Doctrine that the Jesuits Teach to the Savages of the New World to Convert them.

Having examined the writings placed into my hands, I discovered that they belonged to a Jesuit *Missionary* among the Iroquois named *Father Jaques Bruyas*. Among these papers I found two that are very important for the surprising doctrine that they contain.

To speak of the first, it is a *Catechism* in the *Oneida* language, in one of the Columns, and in *Latin* in the other. You can imagine that there are in this work many Superstitions, since it contains *twenty-five Chapters* on many points of Religion; my design is not to examine all the errors that these Good Jesuit Fathers customarily teach to Europeans, but only Certain new doctrines that are unknown in all the Christian world.

The fourteenth and fifteenth Chapters of this *Catechism* are the places most full of these rare and curious ideas. It would be well to translate here the first word by word.

[2]

Chapter 14: On Paradise

The Indian Proselyte asks, *what is the land in Paradise like, is it beautiful?*

The Jesuit Father responds. *It is very beautiful, it lacks nothing that can be eaten nor anything necessary to clothe oneself, everyone there is happy with everything, so that if you say, I desire to wear such-and-such an outfit, immediately the outfit presents itself if one desires to eat something, Jesus Christ brings it immediately.* Q. *Does anyone work in heaven?* A. *No one does anything at all, no one sows anything there and no one is obliged to work the Fields because there is always Moorish wheat [ie maize] it has at all times pumpkins and Indian beans, &c.* Q. *Are the trees there made like the ones here?* A. *No, because the trees in paradise are extremely beautiful, they are always in bloom, their leaves are always green and never fall, the grass never dies.* Q. *Is there a sun like the one that shines here, does it rain there or get windy, does it thunder there?* A. *No, because it is always clear there,*

and never in heaven is it too hot. Q. Are there fruits in Heaven? A. It seems so.⁸⁹ Q. What are the fruits like? A. They are excellent fruits, each tree is full of them, you can pick them every day and never run out, because as soon as you eat one, another appears immediately in its place. Q. Is it cold in heaven? A. There is no winter there, but a continual summer. Q. Are there many people in Heaven? A. Very many. Q. Does everyone know each other? A. Everyone knows each other and if they are related, they greet each other and do not refuse each other anything. [3] Q. Are the people in Heaven beautiful? A. They are all very beautiful, because those who at their death were deformed are repaired, they are no longer blind, or deaf, or lame, because everyone is remade in Heaven. Q. So you can't get sick in Heaven? A. No, you will live there in great peace, there will never be disease, famine, or war and you will never die again. Q. Do you get bored in Heaven? A. No, because a hundred years are as if you have passed only one day. They take great pleasure in seeing each other.⁹⁰

Here is the doctrine that the *Jesuits* teach to the pagans that they want to convert, this is the source of their constant boasting in Europe, by which they claim to be superior not only to the *Protestants* but also to the other *Religious orders*, attributing to themselves the glory of being the only ones who have made converts in the most remote places. Nonetheless, let everyone judge! Is there a doctrine more opposed to true Christianity than this here? Could anyone give a more carnal idea of Heaven, and never had Mahomet spoken more crudely of the happiness that he promises to his sectaries in the century to come.

Firstly, see that they teach these poor Iroquois that there is *earth in Paradise* that is inhabited like this one: they promise them all that they seek for their happiness down here, no sickness, no *winter*, and nonetheless *beautiful outfits* (for ornamentation, apparently) *their repairs* will also give them something to *eat* and as they like *Pumpkins* and

89. The original manuscript reads, 'It is not inconceivable [Cela n'est pas incroyable],' fol. 10.

90. 'Non, car cent comme si vous n'avies passé qu'un jour ils prennent un grand plaisir à se regarder les uns les autres.'

beans, they make them believe that they will have them without having to sow, they will have as many kinds of fruit as they like and in quantity: but for fear that these Indians might worry about exhausting this abundance by [4] their greed they teach them that as soon as one fruit is eaten it will be replaced by another: following these ideas in the prayer that they teach *the Indians* before their meal, they tell them that in Heaven they *will have a continual feast and to cap off their happiness they will never be bored in paradise.*

Is this not a doctrine worthy of those who boast to have *the key of knowledge*, yet it is inserted in *a catechism*, i.e. the marrow and body of Religion, it is placed in the center of the most important points of Christianity among the mysteries *of the unity of God, of the nature of Angels, of the Incarnation of Jesus Christ, of his sufferings and of the Resurrection*; it makes a body with that which is most important in Divine worship, with *the explication of the moral law and the Administration of Sacraments, &c.* In truth would it not be better for the Indians to remain pagans than to become Christians of this sort? They pull them from one precipice to throw them into another. From *Paganism* they throw them into *Mohametism*. It is easy to make conquests at this price. One only has to consult the inclinations of the people, and preach to them a proportionate happiness and watch them join up. I leave it to these good Fathers who boast of being the Companions of Jesus Christ to consider if this was indeed the manner in which Jesus and his Apostles converted people.

They do not give a less pleasant idea of Hell in Chapter 15. They teach that it is a *nasty place situated in the middle of a gulf of fire and flames in the center of the earth, inhabited by demons and the damned whose bodies [5] cause a frightening stench.* They say further that there one is always *hungry and that one eats only hot coals and snakes, toads and that one has nothing to drink but molten lead:* and at the end of the chapter it says that the damned *never die*, because even though *they eat one another every day God brings them back immediately like a weed that one pulls up and then grows again several days later. This is why they say the damned are so sad because they are assured of never dying.*

Can you imagine anything more ridiculous than these ideas? Wouldn't you say on hearing them that one of the Fathers of the *Society* recently made a voyage down there to tell us what is going on there, and give us his new discoveries, or at least that they have some secret commerce with *evil Spirits* that inform them so well of the particulars of Hell that they can know about *the Conditions*, the dishes, the Drinks, &c?⁹¹

Perhaps these *Good Fathers* would say that it is to accommodate themselves to *the weakness of these Indians that they act in this manner, and that by the milk of this knowledge they draw them little by little to Christianity?* A. But do you not find that they have chosen a good path for this, is it their custom to instruct a man in the truth by giving him the principles of a lie? And for dressing someone in virtue, does one start by inspiring him to vice?

To convert these Indians to Christianity one gives them purely *Fabulous* ideas. It is as if I wanted to take a man to the east and turned his face to the west: under pretext of giving the *milk of intelligence* they make them swallow poison.

I pass quickly under silence the dirty and extravagant idea [6] that they give birth to in representing the damned as eating each other and then coming back to life; I also am setting aside⁹² a ridiculous explication of God's Commandments that is in this Catechism, such as saying that there is no sin in gaming, dancing, hunting, etc. on Sunday, nor do I want to speak of the many places where they make Jesus Christ say things that he never said.

It would be better for me to turn to the examination of *the cases of Conscience* that is the other place from which I pulled out the beautifully Orthodox sentiments that these *good Fathers* teach the Iroquois.

Need one say anything more than that these cases of Conscience are decided by several members of *the Society*? They are a handful of *Missionaries*, a body of the most considerable *Jesuits* in all America, they are *Theologians*, *Professed Fathers*, &c. They are

91. The book replaces the manuscript's 'viande' with 'mets.' The next two paragraphs and the first line of the third are not in the manuscript.

92. Here the text returns to the manuscript.

cases proposed *and resolved to serve* as a rule to the *Iroquois missionaries, and were confirmed by the Jesuit Fathers of Quebec, as their title indicates.*

I will not examine them all, there are a *hundred*, of which most cover the customs of the Pagans of these places, and tend to make a convenient link between the worship of these Idolaters and the Christian Religion. I thus leave aside those proposed on the *festivals of the Iroquois, their songs, on their dreams, and divinations, on their marriages, their Sacrifices to the sun, and even to the Devil; their vomitories, magical Characters, &c.*

Although there are many things to say on this, & that one can accuse these *Good Fathers* of too much indulgence for the Diabolical Practices in use among their Proselytes (which could appear suspect to many) I will nonetheless only attach myself to several of the most noticeable places where they most clearly reveal their thoughts. With this in mind I have selected [7] two very remarkable passages which they cannot accuse us of having invented.⁹³

The first is the 89th. It is asked *if a Christian is obliged to give the promised compensation to a whore?* The Reverend Fathers *Millet and Lamberville* say that one is obliged to do it *Ex Justicia*, i.e., *it is just to do it; but Father Fremin and Father Bruyas* say that even though one must do it *Ex Justicia*, nonetheless since he has no trust in the Barbarians (he speaks of Indians) *it does not seem that one should be obliged to keep his word to them in these sorts of things;* and Father Pierron says absolutely *that one is not required to keep it, nor to give compensation to a Magician for having made a Spell.* Is it not beautiful to see distinguished Religious men deciding with a grave air questions of this nature?⁹⁴ It does not displease these *Good Fathers* that these are wicked *cases of conscience;* they are strange instructions to give to new proselytes. These questions seem to me more proper to be examined in *houses of shame* than in the Christian Religion. I would not even have dared to speak of them here were it not to show to

93. This paragraph is not in the manuscript, which contains instead the line 'I only want to produce here two among the rest that are most remarkable,' fol. 12.

94. This line is not in the manuscript.

those who do not know them what sort of men these Jesuits are, for this indicates⁹⁵ that their austere vows of chastity in principle are relaxed in practice.

But as we lift our eyes from one monster another one presents itself immediately; it is in the following case, which is the ninetieth,⁹⁶ where one asks *if an Indian who stole from a Dutchman is held to restitution?* The Reverend Fathers Piërron, Bruyas, and Fremin respond that the Indian *is not obliged at all to make restitution if the Dutchman that he robbed is the one at whose home he puts his merchandize and if he has [8] some trade with him because he is mostly making up for the losses, they say.*⁹⁷ But Father Piërron goes even further, because he judges that even if the Indian thief *has not had any commerce with the Dutchman he is not obligated to give any restitution, if the Dutchman has traded with other Indians it is enough to be robbed with impunity.*

In truth⁹⁸ I would like to have been in Lacedaemonia where it *used to be*⁹⁹ permitted to steal as long as it was done skillfully, and then it was no longer a crime, this is nearly the same doctrine that these good Fathers Teach here to their new converts:¹⁰⁰ for it is clear that they authorize the theft for which they give restitution and that they put forward reasons for it. This is proof that they judge what is just and conforms to the laws of Christianity: it is all the same as if they told them, *robbing the Dutch is a good catch and you will not be at all obliged to provide restitution.*

But is it not merely an axe, you say, is it worth making such a noise about a thing of such little consequence? A. I do not know *if cowardice and avarice appear more in stealing large things than little ones, or if these sorts of actions do not show a more malicious and base inclination than when the sinner dazzled by the brilliance of the treasure succumbs to temptation.* It is a question that I leave to the

95. Manuscript includes 'and because I noted above.'

96. Manuscript merely reads 'In the following case.'

97. Instead of 'they say,' the manuscript reads 'as they themselves tell us.'

98. Not in manuscript.

99. Not in manuscript.

100. This sentence and the next three paragraphs are not in the manuscript.

Good Jesuit fathers to decide: and nonetheless I would like to be so bold as to suggest that the *liberty to steal little things is a path that opens up the way to big things and that those who steal a little eventually steal a lot.*

After all, what privilege will money, furniture, clothes, &c have over *axes*? Is there not in divine and human law [9] some restriction on this tool? Did the law of God by saying *thou shalt not steal*, make an exception for *Dutch axes*? In good truth the Jesuits of Quebec believe these Indians to be so simple as to not reason in this way with their corrupted inclinations, *if he permits himself to steal an axe why not money, blankets, arms, and other necessary merchandise*? This is a conclusion so natural that they could not be prevented from drawing it having as much *penchant for stealing* as they have: this is what the reasons that the Jesuits advance allowing them to steal without making restitution will lead to, *because they say that the Dutch recoup this loss from the merchandise that the Indians put in their houses.* It is easy to see how an Indian could carry this profit that the *Dutch* make from them very far, and make it the equivalent not only of *axes* but of other merchandise that they need. It is in this way that these new *Casuists* in their decisions dispense haughtily with the observation of the law of God, and make it *become easier*, that is to say less holy than that of men, because there are people among whom theft is punished so severely by the law, that deeds of less consequence than those the Jesuits clear for the Iroquois can cost a life.

But why steal from the Dutch rather than from others, you say?
A. One could think that it is because they consider them Heretics and that in this circumstance it would be permitted to pillage them; but this is not quite it. You know that the Dutch are the nation that do the most damage to their trade in those quarters, which they inhabit for the most part, because it is well known that the Jesuits go from *Canada* to the *Oneidas* on their way to the *Mohawks* and other places near *Albany* more to capture Pelts than to make conversions, so much so that the Dutch of that Country are [10] a stumbling block: what to do to stop this commerce then?

They give liberty to their *new converts* to rob the Dutch, so that these People who hold good faith in high regard, will be discouraged in this area and not traffic more with people so perfidious, & who come to their homes only to rob them. This is what gave rise to *this case of conscience*.

I¹⁰¹ do not know yet how they still dare to decide such questions, after what their servant Jean D'Alba did to them in Paris on this matter. Monsieur Pascal, (a man equally admired by Papists and Protestants in France) made it the story of his *Provincial letters under the name of Louis de Montalte*: here is everything I can recall about it from my memory.

This Jean D'Alba, a servant of little loyalty, took it into his head one day to steal his masters' silver dishware, maybe thinking that it was not a fitting item for people who had taken a *vow of Poverty*; but be that as it may, he was seized, convicted, and placed in the hands of Justice; here the poor wretch¹⁰² was in great trouble, but happily for him he found a wonderful ploy; for in the examination made to investigate the matter, he said that it was true that he had stolen from *the Reverend Jesuit Fathers*; but that he had not sinned by it, that he knew well that if a *servant had made a deal with his master for a certain sum as his wage, if he found himself doing work above and beyond the price agreed upon he could steal up to the sum of what he should earn*, so that in this way seeing that he earned far more than they gave him, he had wanted to pay himself with his own hands.

He said that he had learned this doctrine in their books and cited a passage from one of their Grave doctors, who was brought before Parlement, and condemned to be whipped and burned on the hand by the executioner, with the [11] Jesuits being prohibited from ever teaching any such doctrine again. As for Jean D'Alba, he was released and told not to steal any more. The Jesuits of Canada and near Albany should fear the same as the Indians apply the maxims they established against the Dutch, because as all the earth knows

101. Here the text returns to the manuscript.

102. The manuscript reads 'poor devil.'

they do more trade in one year with the Indians of that country, than all the Dutch of *New-York, Albany, and Pennsylvania* in ten:¹⁰³ so if the Iroquois are not required to restore what they steal from the Dutch, because they traffic with them, I maintain that, following the same principles, *they* will be much less obliged to compensate the *Jesuits* since they have much more trade with them.

One can conclude from all that is contained in here that there is nothing more nasty in Popery than the *Jesuits*, that the Senate of the Republic of Venice did well to prevent them from establishing themselves in their States, seeing as that they are Equally dangerous to Religion and trade, that they are *Enemies of Jesus Christ* rather than *his companions*; and to finish with the Doctors of the Sorbonne who saw this new Religious order appear *this society seems to be more proper for the destruction of the Church than for its edification*. May God soon deliver Christianity from these locusts, and swiftly raise a wind from the East to make them disappear.¹⁰⁴ Amen.

FIN

103. From this point to the concluding sentence is not in the manuscript.

104. This final prayer is in the manuscript.

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