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## Towards A History of Intimate Encounters: Algonkian Folklore, Jesuit Missionaries, and Kiwakwe, The Cannibal Giant

KENNETH M. MORRISON

The historian's attempt to recognize and convey accurately the reality of American Indians' experience in northeastern North America has long foundered on the ethnocentric character of written documentary sources. Because these sources mainly reflect the attitudes of Euroamericans, the historian has had to contend with a seeming lack of authentic Indian sources.<sup>1</sup> Historians have emphasized that missionaries, in particular, notoriously biased their records with self-serving, and distorting, justifications. Although seventeenth century English missionaries have borne the brunt of this recent criticism, French Jesuits have also been closely scrutinized, if only because the priests' published *Relations* glowingly report their success among the Indian peoples of New France.

The interpretation of Jesuit interaction with the Algonkian peoples within the French colonial sphere has struggled not only with documentary bias—historical prejudice has also been a problem. In the nineteenth century, Francis Parkman defined what became the dominant view of French and Indian relations. For

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Parkman, the priests of the Society of Jesus perpetuated the backward, suspiciously religious mentality of all colonial Frenchmen. In effect, Parkman judged the French, and particularly the Jesuits, as unprogressive; therefore they were natural allies of the malleable Algonkians whom they manipulated for sordid economic, political and military purposes. Both French and Indians were, in Parkman's thinking, inevitably vanquished before the economic and political momentum of the Anglo-American democratic experience.<sup>2</sup>

Parkman's nationalistic bias has fallen into disrepute and recent histories have more critically assessed the Jesuit-Algonkian relationship. The Jesuits created a mission at Sillery to turn the Montagnais-Naskapi hunting and gathering bands into an agricultural and sedentary people. The newer studies indicate that this Montagnais mission proved disastrous because the Jesuits demanded that the Indians become culturally French. The Montagnais vehemently rejected such expectations and their ridicule of the Jesuits indicates that despite the priests good intentions, they ethnocentrically ignored the Montagnais' "inferior" cultural values. Read with a critical eye, the Jesuit Relations themselves reveal Indians who not only preferred their own way of life, but who also despised the Jesuits as the agents of insidious change. It appears that the Jesuits proved ultimately as destructive for the Montagnais-Naskapi as Puritan programs of directed culture change.<sup>3</sup>

This study assesses issues which defy these generalizations. Jesuit missions to other Algonkian peoples suggest that the Jesuit presentation of French culture and Catholicism was not uniform. As culture bearers, the priests reacted variously to particular Indian peoples at different times and places and, if their goal was to transform Native American cultures, circumstances frequently intervened against them. Another Algonkian mission began in the 1640's among the Abenaki peoples of present-day Maine. These tribes were already agriculturalists and their reaction to the Jesuits indicate different patterns of culture change. Like some Montagnais-Naskapi, the Abenaki as often admired the priests as scorned them. Their response to the Jesuits imply that the effects of positive dialogue must be assessed along with those which accompanied hostile polarization.<sup>4</sup> For both Jesuits and Algonkians, subtle interpersonal adaptations grappled with the processes of culture change.<sup>5</sup> Thus the history of culture change in New France must interpret the ethnocentric parameters which influenced both sides of the interaction. Cultural provincialism biased both the Algon-



kians and the Jesuits, but it also created a limited, interpersonal context for change. This essay plumbs Algonkian folklore for the Indian attitudes which regulated contact, estimates Jesuit recognition of those attitudes, and evaluates some methodological factors which effect the study of adaptation and change. It is very much a preliminary view.

Northeastern Algonkian oral traditions expose those communal values which influenced tribal behavior toward Europeans. In a way which is analogous to the role played by the educational institutions of western society—family, schools and church—these stories had an important value-formative role within individual Algonkian societies.<sup>6</sup> Less abstract than European pedagogy, the tales established the ethics which colored Algonkian culture by revealing values which emerged from the Algonkians' past experience. As such, the tales provide a kind of documentary access to Algonkian social history, as they experienced it. As vehicles of moral education and socialization, then, the stories constitute unique sources for discussing Algonkian reaction to Europeans and, just as importantly, for evaluating the effects of western ideas and institutions on core cultural principles.<sup>7</sup> The folk and mythic tales of the Algonkians are nothing if not supple: a seemingly "lost" dimension of colonial history emerges from the evolution of these stories as they gradually accommodated selective elements of Christian cosmology.

Problems of alienation and social conflict centrally concerned the northeastern Algonkians long before the onslaught of the Europeans brought about the more familiar psychological and social dilemmas Indians have faced since the sixteenth century. Recent anthropological and philosophical studies emphasize that the formation of social and religious structures are culturally unique responses to a universal experience of personal and social alienation.<sup>8</sup> Many cultures, European and Algonkian among them, postulate a primeval time free of social conflict and tension when man existed in unity with the world; in this "old time," as the Algonkians would put it, primeval man did not experience what western philosophers and psychologists refer to as a body/mind differentiation, and so no subjective/objective bifurcation divided his consciousness. Philosophical and religious speculation begins, then, with the introduction of evil into the world: suddenly, world and man were no longer one. When man perceived that beings

existed who were inimical to himself, tension replaced the unitary relation linking the human and non-human worlds. In this situation, with a "memory" of that "old time" world not quite lost, alienated man constructed social, religious and mythological structures to mediate the conflict between the worlds of body and spirit, good and evil. Complicated structures came to define not only the "like me" and the "unlike me" on the sociological level, but also provided avenues of communication bridging the psychological gap between a remembered "ideal" past and the "real" present.<sup>9</sup>

Algonkian folklore explores these abstractions because, for them, as for Europeans, alienation was an urgent problem. The particular tensions felt by the communal Algonkians differed from those experienced by the urbanized societies of the European colonies, yet Algonkian culture did recognize—and successfully balance—the dramatic tensions generated between individualistic impulse and the norm of community-oriented behavior. For the Algonkians, European contact intensified the ancient struggle against alienation and discord with the introduction of new and, at times, contradictory European social views. Nonetheless, there was much common ground between Algonkian and European concerns.

Though objective European conceptual patterns often mistook the more visionary aspects of Algonkian culture for the merely primitive and uncivilized, closer inspection reveals a carefully developed social and religious order of an animistic rather than monotheistic bent appropriate to life in the northeastern forests. It was in fact because of the extremely difficult physical realities of the Algonkian environment that their very survival came to depend on the proper ordering of human attitudes, and they responded to the negative forces of social individuation and personal alienation with the aid of beings who bridged the distances between the human and non-human worlds. Distinct nations of plant and animal beings comprised the natural world for the Algonkians and the profoundly social behavior of such beings included communication with man. These persons-of-the-other-than-human class, as the Algonkians conceived them, offered human beings models of social cooperation, symbolizing as they did the ethics of political behavior.<sup>10</sup> Thus shamanistic and ritualistic practices, as well as personal totemic bonds with the other-than-human beings, emphasized cooperation within the extended



kin group, as well as with other-than-human persons, because cooperation was the norm observed in an animistically-charged natural order.<sup>11</sup>

This natural order, as folk and mythic tales indicate, was dominated by cold and brutal winter. Figuring centrally in Algonkian consciousness, this season pervaded all of Algonkian culture, constituting the milieu which most evoked individual and social values while at the same time putting them to their most severe test. Thus mediation between worlds of body and spirit, or good and evil, fell to the Algonkian cultural heroes who opposed the dread forces of winter.<sup>12</sup> Gluskabe, the central figure of the Abenaki, Malecite and Micmac "old time," epitomizes such a hero. As the Abenaki recounted, Gluskabe returned one spring to his grandmother's home. She rejoiced to see him for she had been unhappy: "Grandson," she said, "this has been a very hard winter. A great many of our descendants have starved to death." Gluskabe shared her concern for their people and angrily demanded to know where Winter lived. Despite his grandmother's warnings, Gluskabe set out to accost him, and after a long march to the north found Winter as a man of ice, living in a house of ice. Winter mocked Gluskabe's power and mercilessly allowed him to freeze to death.<sup>13</sup> However, Gluskabe revived the following summer and set out to steal Summer from its present captors. He then returned north with his burden until he again reached Winter. This time Gluskabe mocked, and with the aid of Summer, finally overcame him.<sup>14</sup>

Another species of being symbolized the antithesis of Gluskabe's careful consideration for the welfare and prosperity of his people.<sup>15</sup> Of all the forces that threatened the delicately-tuned social order of Algonkian kin groups, none were more powerful, dangerous, or profoundly anti-social, than the beings variously named *Kiwakwe*, *Chenoo* or *Windigo*, the dreaded cannibal giants.<sup>16</sup> The cannibal giant was perhaps the central image of savagery and evil for the Algonkians, combining the most brutal possibilities inherent in man and in the natural order: deepest winter and cannibalism. These creatures revealed to the Algonkians what people were not, and must not be. The stories about cannibal giants, and to a lesser extent the documented case histories of an associated mental illness, windigo psychosis, are central to understanding Algonkian civilization. More than any other myth or tale, the case of the cannibal giant was the central object lesson demonstrating the urgency behind the core values which civilized Algonkian intercourse and

prevented the bands from disintegrating, under even the harshest pressures of the northeastern winter.<sup>17</sup>

The deep psychological significance of these tales for the Algonkian makes it worth the historian's while to trace the evolution of their modifications over the years following contact with French missions, for it is in the stories and myths surrounding the cannibal giant that metaphor most clearly accommodates history. Subtle nuances in folkloric detail can indicate tonal changes in social identity, including altered capacities for good or evil, shifting political and psychological confidence as a people, and the changing moral intervention of powers which provide guidance or deliverance. Algonkian classifications of windigoes reveal these social principles.

There were, first, beings whose natural state was windigo. Though they existed in both male and female forms, these other-than-human cannibal giants were incapable of the affectionate relations enjoyed by Algonkian men and women. Rather, these beings hated each other fiercely and their meetings produced violent confrontations from which only one cannibal survived. Invariably, the victor swallowed the ice heart of the vanquished, an act which rendered the survivor all the more powerful and fearsome.<sup>18</sup>

Perhaps more frightening to the community at large, however, was the specter of a human being's dissolution into the windigo, or cannibal state. There were several routes into the madness. An evil shaman, for instance, could transform a healthy individual into a vicious, people-hating *Kiwakwe* either by acting directly against the person or indirectly against the group, usually by depleting the game upon which the group depended, and, in effect, starving the victim into cannibalism. Individuals on vision quests were sometimes tempted by the protection and power a giant might offer; if these favors were accepted, the seeker became possessed. Others simply slid into a windigo state through spiritual dissipation. Such people gradually hardened their hearts toward their kin and degenerated into wild creatures more at home in the forest than in human company.<sup>19</sup> This latter desocialization process was further reinforced by the Algonkian tendency to ostracize deviant persons.<sup>20</sup> Windigoes lost their human status; as one Beaver Indian, who had become a cannibal during a period of famine, put it: "Although I still exist, I cannot any longer consider myself a human being."<sup>21</sup>

Both kinds of windigoes—human and natural—were solitary creatures of the northern forest and as such formed the major



exception to the cooperative behavioral norms the Algonkians advocated. The Penobscot word for the giant, *Kiwakwe*, or "going about in the woods," typified Algonkian response to the anti-social character of the being.<sup>22</sup> All cannibals hated warmth and so preferred the cold forests of the far north; in more southerly regions the cannibal giant's heart of ice prevented him from threatening communities during the summer months. One such giant declared to a lucky group of Malecite hunters that "this country is too warm for me; I am going to a colder one."<sup>23</sup> Another, a human in the process of becoming a windigo, experienced a "burning situation" which only snow could relieve.<sup>24</sup>

In his true state the giant was a form easily discerned as "something made of devil, man, and beast in their most dreadful forms." The creature had "wolfish eyes," his hunger for human flesh had so maddened him that he had gnawed away his own lips and shoulders.<sup>25</sup> To further compound his brutal visage, the giant frequently covered himself with balsam pitch and then rolled about in the forest's debris. His size and strength were in direct proportion to his negative spiritual power and were changeable with the fluctuations of his wrath, becoming larger "the angrier he grows."<sup>26</sup> But the most fearsome and threatening aspect of the windigoes was their treacherous ability to neutralize their true physical aspects, assuming at will the posture and physical being of a relative in order to favorably insinuate themselves into a family.<sup>27</sup>

If the Algonkians were perhaps limited to defensive measures against the natural giants, they nonetheless had a clear stake in the prevention of their own members' defection into windigo ranks. Fortunately the process of disintegration was gradual and recognizable and Algonkian culture developed methods to deliver the individual from so horrendous a fate.<sup>28</sup> A shaman could struggle with the windigo spirit and, if his power was great enough, destroy him.<sup>29</sup> Significantly, such effective shamanistic power was dependent upon the depth of the shaman's concern for the kin group. One typical shaman who successfully overcame a cannibal giant was tribally renowned for his goodness in dealings "with the Indians." The Ojibwa people reported that the shaman *Me Sah Ba* was "a great man for this world [who] . . . used [the people] good, all like his children anywhere he saw them, and the Indians like this man."<sup>30</sup> Such shamans threatened the windigoes with their social integrity; like such Algonkian cultural heroes as *Gluskabe*, the truly powerful shamans owed their stature to the unusually full



development of their interpersonal sensitivities.

Sometimes the task of exorcism was left to a close relative who possessed only ordinary powers. In such an instance, the strength of kin folk love and faith was put to the test—often, if the kin bonds were strong enough, successfully. "With non-shamans, assiduous nursing and loving care during the period of melancholia will persuade the sufferer to face life again," Ruth Landes observed of Ojibwa treatment of the affected person.<sup>31</sup> If, however, the kinfolk failed to re-integrate hopelessly deranged persons, the community itself no longer reacted to the victim within the bounds of traditional kin values. Frequently, a family member or friend was at this point faced with the thankless, if necessary, task of killing the patient. Fear of windigo cannibalism was so thoroughly ingrained within the Algonkian psyche, however, that it was not unusual for the afflicted individual to beg for his own destruction.<sup>32</sup>

The case histories of windigo cannibalism, as well as records of the methods for cure, indicate the social significance of this phenomenon for a tightly knit kinfolk society; the stories about the giants amplify the implications of these histories. Tales involving the windigo giant reveal that communal relations were based on the kinship hunting band for more than economic survival. These relations were in fact the most feasible psychological approach to the harsh environmental realities of the northeast as well. Algonkians found that face-to-face, intimate relations between relatives were the most effective, if not in fact the only method for bringing about psychological and social adjustments to group behavioral norms and thus insuring their survival. Algonkian society, miniaturized and physically mobile, scaled its definition of civilized behavior to the limits of the kinfolk relationship—a relationship at once more intimate and more flexible than the class relations of a more socially structured urban society. In the following tales the cannibal giant tested the on-going integrity of the delicate Algonkian kin relations and his presence warned succeeding generations of the serious consequences of familial indifference.

One story is of special significance for its richly developed detail and its wide distribution among the northeastern Algonkians. Morton I. Teicher collected variations from three different Ojibwa groups, and others have been recorded among the Abenaki, Malecite and Micmac far to the east. The Penobscot story that follows capsulized the essential elements of all these tales:

A man, his wife and little girl were living far from other people in the woods. They heard someone coming. Sud-

denly a noise was heard in the smoke hole of the wigwam and looking up they saw a Ki-wá-kwe peering down. The old woman of the wigwan said aloud, "Oh! Your grandfather has come," speaking to her husband. The monster was pleased at this and grew small. He came around and entered the camp. The woman tried to feed him but he would not eat in spite of her coaxing. He said, "I shall meet somebody here and we will fight." Then he sent them away across a lake and he fought with the other Ki-wá-kwe. He had told them to leave the place if he got killed by the other. But he won the fight and when it was over he ate with them, becoming again an ordinary man.<sup>33</sup>

Other versions of this tale possess similar features; all convey the same message. Because the woman did not show her fear of the cannibal giant, but instead greeted him as a long-lost father or grandfather, the startled and amazed giant was forced to consider the more humane possibilities heretofore unknown to him. Thus the subsequent peaceful relationship enjoyed between the giant and the Indian people depended first on the social integrity of the old woman.

She was a wise and good woman. She took him in, she said she was sorry to see him so woebegone; she pitied his sad state; she brought him a suit of her husband's clothes; she told him to dress himself and be cleaned. He did as she bade. He sat by the side of the wigwam, and looked surly and sad, but kept quiet. It was all a new thing to him.<sup>34</sup>

This socialization process had just begun. When the woman's husband, warned about the cannibal, returned warily to the camp, he too accepted the subdued creature as an honored member of the family.

He went in and spoke kindly. He said, "N'chilch, my father-in-law," and asked where he had been so long [the cannibal again] stared in amazement, but when he heard the son talk of all that had happened for years his face grew gentler.<sup>35</sup>

Reacting to the giant with consistent kindness, the Micmac couple thus encouraged the giant to change himself from within; their behavior provided him with a concrete model of socially considerate relations never before understood. As an act of exorcism,



the Micmac giant filled a large kettle with tallow given him by the woman, heated it until it was scalding hot and then drank it down all at once.

He became sick, he grew pale. He cast up all the horrors and abominations of the earth, things appalling in every sense. When all was over he seemed changed.

With the Micmac couple's aid, the cannibal giant had transformed himself; later he ate a great deal of their food, which had previously disgusted him. "From that time he was kind and good. They feared him no more."<sup>36</sup>

Though in the end the effect is the same, the Ojibwa version of this tale includes cautionary variations on the progress of the relationship between the Indian couple and the cannibal giant. In this instance, the giant initially resisted the woman's entreaties, refusing to be addressed as father. "You're not my daughter," he answered. But the Ojibwa woman insisted: "But when I dreamed about you a few nights ago you called me your daughter." This was apparently sufficient to change the giant's mind. He ran up from the river to kiss her and then he went into the house and kissed her children. "He really believes this was his daughter; and this is where the woman beats (bests) him."<sup>37</sup>

But, because the Ojibwa couple, unlike the Micmac, were not initially inclined to trust and embrace the cannibal giant, the latter's conversion was consequently delayed. When the giant sent the woman to head off her returning husband—"He may be afraid when he sees my tracks"—the uneasy woman decided to conspire with her husband to kill the unsuspecting giant.<sup>38</sup> They returned, however, to find the creature outside the wigwam with their children "sitting on his wrist and [he] was singing to them." The giant rose at once and kissed the abashed father, calling *him* son-in-law. But this assumption of familial position was only partial; presumably, because of the bad faith still in the air, the giant continued to some extent in his windigo ways, killing nearby Indians and refusing the more human foods offered him by the Ojibwa couple.

When breakfast was ready he says that he'll have his outside where he left his bundle. He always had his meals there till he ate all those Indians he killed.

In time, however, the attachment he developed with the Ojibwa couple civilized the cannibal giant: "He was very useful, and now he's a good man. He had been a very bad man at first."<sup>39</sup> It is



almost as if the Ojibwa had chosen to inject their own note on the importance of faith. The couple's waverings are implicated in the needless murders committed in the uncertain atmosphere following the initial contact.

The main message is clear. Once transformed, the giants were one and all highly solicitous of their new kin groups, retaining their prodigious powers but now using them solely for the good of the hunting bands. The stories are symbolically consistent on this point: starvation no longer threatened the group which embraced and cured the cannibal. And each cannibal in his turn proved his social fidelity to humanity by testing his new-found moral, as well as physical, strength against other giants. The Micmac version of this part of the fable is especially vivid:

One day the Chenoo told them that something terrible would soon come to pass. An enemy, a Chenoo, a woman, was coming like wind, yes—on the wind—from the north to kill him. There would be no escape from the battle. She would be far more furious, mad and cruel than any male, even one of his own cruel race, could be. He knew not how the battle would end; but the man and his wife must be put in a place of safety.<sup>40</sup>

The giant of the Ojibwa tale also attacked an adversary, but did not fail to draw an explicit moral from the battle before he went off:

You will see me running on water and the enemy, too, and if you hear me reach the other side, people shall never kill and eat each other any more.<sup>41</sup>

The Micmac story adds its own telling implication of the positive—and potentially negative—effects of human mediation on the cannibal spirit. In the initial battle the giant succeeded *only* with the aid of his new relative. "My son-in-law, come and help me," the giant cried; "You have no son-in-law to help you," the female Chenoo mocked.<sup>42</sup> Together, however, man and giant destroyed their common enemy, and in the spring the giant, "with softened soul," went with the couple down the rivers to the sea. Another giant discovered them on the way, however, and their cause was almost lost. The reformed giant had embraced his new-found humanity and no longer cared to fight at all. "I prefer peace," was his quiet response.<sup>43</sup> As the three continued south a final change was to affect the giant, for he "could not endure the soft airs of summer."

He grew weaker and weaker; when they reached their village he had to be carried like a little child. He had grown gentle. His fierce and formidable face was now like that of a man. His wounds had healed; his teeth no longer grinned wildly all the time. The people gathered round him in wonder.<sup>44</sup>

It is at this point in the Micmac tale that historical extrapolation may begin in earnest, for this story discusses the religious effect and social significance of the introduction of Jesuit missionaries among the northeastern Algonkian peoples. As the cannibal giant lay dying among the villagers, the Micmac couple sent for the French priest who lived among them. The giant and the priest were at first antagonistic; the Jesuit "found the Chenoo as ignorant of all religion as a wild beast," while the giant, equally intolerant, "would repel the father in anger." When, however, the giant and priest finally conversed, "the old heathen's heart changed; he was deeply moved." The giant asked to be baptised and died shortly thereafter, shedding at death the first tear of his life.<sup>45</sup>

The consistency of imagery that runs through the various versions of these tales indicates a universal agreement among the Algonkian peoples about the nature of the cannibal giant and of the threat he posed to society; in each version the Algonkians boldly declare the nature of social and spiritual degeneration. The Algonkians knew the civilized man by his concern for the welfare of the people; conversely, the savage was easily recognized by his self-concern and his utter contempt for humanity. The tales' statement about the prevention—or cure—of social deviancy unites these two axioms about human behavior: only a compassionate, trusting response can begin the process of resocialization. Much faith was required on the part of the healer because of the insidious double-bind entangling the incorrigibly individualistic or withdrawn person. Because of the obvious—and often dangerous—incompatibility of his behavior with the general community, the iconoclast faced inevitable social rejection, a problem compounded by the fact that his own nature prevented him from ever recognizing his illness.

These tales infer, then, that Algonkians were uneasy and reticent with outsiders.<sup>46</sup> The cannibal giant represented one extreme of this fear, the solitary man who is by nature mutinous, if not in fact plainly murderous. The inclusion of the Jesuit in the Micmac tale is most revealing in this light, for the priest represents the new



possibilities of morally transforming the incorrigibly individualistic Europeans. This breakdown in Algonkian reticence in accepting the priests, along with the obviously transcultural aspect of the priest's relationship with the cannibal giant, who was himself only newly integrated into Micmac culture, suggests powerful sympathetic impulses between the two peoples which may account for the unusual Jesuit success among the northeastern Algonkians. These impulses—the subtle gives and takes of a mutual spiritual acculturation between the deeply religious Algonkians and French Jesuits—have gone largely underexplored because of a long-standing historical devaluation of folkloric sources. Nonetheless, much of the history of the first years of contact is intimately involved with issues that are perhaps best defined by folklore and metaphor: a society's definition, for example, of what constitutes civilized or savage behavior, and how those definitions are subject to influences from outside cultures. This is obviously the case with Algonkian-French contact. Both cultures experienced a reorientation in values as inter-cultural contact deepened and the subtleties of these psycho/social exchanges became embedded in tradition.<sup>47</sup>

Before we can assess the effects of Jesuit-Algonkian contact implied in oral tradition, a range of cultural processes need to be acknowledged. The metaphorical juxtaposition of Jesuit and windigo occurred under extreme pressure as the Algonkians attempted to make sense of the post-contact world. While it is likely that the cannibal giant existed aboriginally, windigo psychosis may not have been a pre-contact mental disturbance. Devastating ecological crises may have greatly exaggerated the windigoes' social significance to the Algonkians. As famine became a historic social threat to their kin groups, higher incidence of its related cannibalism became synonymous with windigo traditions.<sup>48</sup> In the seventeenth century the beliefs surrounding the windigo complex affected how Algonkian peoples experienced internal social crisis and how they assessed and responded to the new world order the Jesuits offered.<sup>49</sup>

The conjunction of traditional and Catholic religious systems occurred because of the mutual adaptation of some Jesuits and Algonkians. From the first, the Jesuits observed cannibalistic incidents among the Algonkian people. The early *Jesuit Relations* refer frequently to what seemed to be the astounding acceptance of Christianity by a people who had practiced cannibalism.<sup>50</sup> Such references are never tied to actual reported cases of cannibalism and so are probably clichés the Jesuits used to contrast supposedly



decadent aboriginal values with more efficacious Christian grace.

In the seventeenth century, there were varied forms of cannibalism and, in time, the Jesuits overcame their initial repugnance and recognized not only the distinct types but also the Algonkian motivations involved. The priests were uniformly against the practice of ritual cannibalism, in which individuals ingested the heart of a distinguished and honored warrior of another tribal group. Such eating of a brave captive's heart "renders them courageous," Father Paul LeJeune observed in 1636.<sup>51</sup> The Jesuits remained firmly opposed to this practice and it gradually subsided among the christianized Algonkians.

The Jesuits did, however, distinguish between the ritualistic and famine contexts of cannibalism. When the most sensational outbreak of the century occurred among the Huron after the Five Nations devastated their society in 1649, the Jesuits deplored the incident but granted that it did occur in a time of extreme necessity. "It is true, this is unhuman," Fr. Ragueneau explained in 1650, but he added that it was

No less unusual among our savages than among the Europeans, who abhor eating flesh of their own kind. Doubtless the teeth of the starving man make no distinction in food, and do not recognize in the dead body him who a little before was called, until he died, father, son or brother.<sup>52</sup>

Almost as if in the fulfillment of prophecy, three years later the Jesuits recorded in their journal a similar outbreak of famine cannibalism among fugitive Frenchmen.<sup>53</sup> The Jesuits were coming to realize that such incidents were perhaps inevitable considering the extreme harshness of living conditions prevalent in the North America of that day.

The Jesuits noticed other cases which indicate that emotional disorientation, while not necessarily a precipitating factor in cannibalism, could characterize the response of those persons who committed the act; famine cannibalism could produce psychosis out of a profound sense of social guilt. LeJeune noted two examples of famine-induced cannibalism in 1635. The first involved a group of Montagnais-Naskapi at Tadoussac who had isolated themselves in the woods, for they "do not dare appear before the others because they had wickedly surprised, massacred, and eaten their companions."<sup>54</sup> The second case is even more suggestive, as it involves only the specter of windigo psychosis. An Indian told

LeJeune "that his wife and sister-in-law contemplated killing their own brother." This surprised LeJeune, and when he asked why they would consider such an act, the man replied: "We are afraid . . . that he will kill us during our sleep, to eat us." Since the French were sharing their food with the Indians, LeJeune observed that hunger could not be the cause of the man's obsession. "That is true," the Indian answered, "Thou givest us life; but this man is half mad, he does not eat, he has some evil design; we wish to prevent him, wilt thou be displeased at that?" LeJeune remained perplexed: "I could not consent to his death," he noted, "and yet I believe they had good cause for fear." The Jesuit never found a satisfactory response. Three days later the man tried to kill some Frenchmen, and the governor, "seeing he was mad, had him put in chains, to surrender him to the first Savages that might come along."<sup>55</sup> The man's ultimate fate went unrecorded.

A particularly instructive case of famine cannibalism occurred among the Micmac in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. While the incident is not tied to windigo giant symbolism, Father Chrestien Le Clercq presents its development in some detail and, as such, it says a great deal about the social tensions and deviance caused by famine among the Micmac. The winter of 1680 was particularly severe; by January both the Micmac and the French were starving, and forty or fifty Micmac had already died. One family group succumbed to cannibalism in order to survive. The man, "unable to endure the hunger which was devouring him alive," decided to kill and eat his wife. Recognizing his intentions, and in order to save her own life, she "put it into his mind" to eat their children instead. "Is it not better," she asked her husband, "that we put to death some of our children, and that we eat them together, in order that I may be able to rear and support the smaller ones who can no longer live if once they come to lose their mother." This was apparently a persuasive argument; a close relative joined husband and wife in the act, and the family survived the winter.<sup>56</sup>

The ensuing events illustrate the Micmac's ethical response to cannibalism, even in the supposedly "pragmatic" instances caused by the threat of famine. The couple bitterly reproached themselves for their weakness, internalizing the social ostracism inflicted upon them for their deed. "They could not find tears enough," said Le Clercq, "nor words enough to condemn and to express on their own behalf the enormity of their crime . . . They imagined that they saw as many executioners as they met Indians; and . . . they travel-



led the woods day and night without ceasing, seeking everywhere in vain for a rest which they could find no place."

Le Clercq himself reacted to the couple with some sympathy once he understood the depth of their penitence. Considering themselves unworthy to receive the instruction he offered their kinfolk, the family insisted that they could never learn "until this crime was entirely removed and pardoned by God" through the Bishop of Quebec. Le Clercq comforted them, explaining that "God has more goodness and compassion for them [than] they had of wickedness and cruelty." Convinced of the priest's power, the couple accepted his religious means to "appease the justice of God and to invite his mercy."<sup>57</sup>

The details of Le Clercq's story, like those reported by LeJeune, suggest an important feature of the seventeenth century French-Algonkian Indian relationship. The northeastern Algonkian experienced ecological change and social conflict as a direct result of the settlement of New France in 1608. Two factors operated jointly to threaten the Algonkian kin groups: the economic adjustments the fur trade demanded and the extensive toll taken by the spread of European disease. By the end of the sixteenth century the fur trade had encouraged the Montagnais-Naskapi in particular to overtrap the limited game resources north of the St. Lawrence River valley. This trade, in turn, exacerbated inter-tribal rivalries as each group vied vigorously for a monopolistic commercial relationship with the French. Epidemics of European disease then further devastated the Algonkian tribes.

Both trade and disease challenged the communal foundations of Montagnais—Naskapi society. It was not that trade simply made individualistic capitalists of communally-oriented hunters. Rather, when the Montagnais-Naskapi added trapping to their subsistence techniques, they de-emphasized large-scale multi-family activities, and the extended family became, even more than in the past, the core social group. Mohawk raids made large gatherings more dangerous and the Montagnais-Naskapi became guarded peoples. Both trade and the resulting inter-tribal competition produced a heavier exploitation of fur-bearing animals and recurrent famine may have been the result, although this problem has not yet been adequately studied. Trade and warfare certainly required defensive adjustments, but these transitional changes in social style were occurring just as new forms of epidemic diseases hit the Montagnais population. The widespread illnesses shook the Montagnais-Naskapi more powerfully, and further undermined social confidence



because traditional religious methods of dealing with sickness proved impotent. The shamans' abject failure called into question the very nature of tribal kinship with other-than-human persons, since it was clear that the shamans had no power over the beings who manifested themselves in these new diseases. In the wake of the epidemics, kin groups sometimes dispersed and individuals found sustenance in any manner they could.<sup>58</sup>

While these economic, military and social problems pushed the Montagnais-Naskapi into an alliance with the French, they can neither alone nor together account for the distinctive Algonkian reaction to the Jesuits. The priests observed the acute effects of post-contact winters on the northeastern Algonkians—and the Indians' remarkably persevering hospitality—and they began to comprehend slowly an aboriginal analogue to Christian grace and behavior in the kin-based sociality of the Montagnais-Naskapi. There were no deprived persons among any of the Algonkians so long as any food remained to be shared, and the implications of this example were not lost on the Jesuits. Clearly, a common ethical and spiritual ground existed to be exploited by Jesuit and Algonkian alike. Jesuits before 1650 may have wanted to culturally transform the Montagnais-Naskapi, if only to preserve them from starvation, but the Algonkians countered with their own, cautious ideas about change.

Because European presence thoroughly disrupted Montagnais-Naskapi social life, change did occur. Adaptive social forms emerged from the ethical struggle the Jesuits posed, but the process of change remained traditional. The priests interjected themselves into Algonkian societies, voiced ideas about the nature of the Indians' social crisis, and occasionally became trusted figures whose opinions were, at least, considered. But Jesuit intentions do not explain what actually happened. The Jesuits may have desired radical conversions but their success must be measured through the effective filters of Algonkian values.

Through a fortuitous conjunction of the expectations of Algonkian myth and the active demands of Christian charity, the priests found the means to confirm and strengthen the primacy of social values among the embattled northeastern Algonkians. The priests were able to make a persuasive case for the power of Christian doctrine because they tailored a special interpretation of God to the needs of Algonkian mythic structure. The Jesuits' "He who made all" may have hardly resembled either the Yahweh or the Christ of orthodox Christian tradition, but the new conception did

fit neatly into the Algonkian philosophy of pervasive and personalized power. The symbol does suggest the sensitivity of Jesuit theological expression, because the Algonkians recognized "He who made all" in the Jesuits' personalized presentation.<sup>59</sup>

The integrity of the priests' personal stances defused Algonkian suspicions to such an extent that even the most deeply-rooted values were affected, and a process of change began which was formed largely by the credence Algonkians gave to the dialogue. The inter-cultural struggle began in the 1630's when disease hit the Montagnais-Naskapi. Father Paul LeJeune "decided to care for the bodies to aid the souls."<sup>60</sup> In 1634 he wintered with the family group of an Indian who had earlier died in the priest's care.<sup>61</sup> Later that spring, LeJeune found the Montagnais sachem, Manitouchatche, or LaNasse, ill at the mission.<sup>62</sup> Since LaNasse was the first Montagnais to settle his kinfolk near the Jesuit compound, Father LeJeune embraced the sachem "like a brother." Everyone was startled, but LaNasse preferred the care of LeJeune and the Jesuits, resisting finally "his own wife, his children, his sons-in-law, his friends and fellow savages, his Manitousiouets, sorcerers, or jugglers, not once but many times, to throw himself into the arms of strangers . . . to die in their faith and in their house."<sup>63</sup> This conversion, a striking variation on the theme of windigo transformation or redemption, with the sachem accepting the ministrations of the moral agents of another culture, is a major key to understanding the accommodation between Jesuit and Algonkian.

This relationship did not, however, extend to the larger population of lay Frenchmen; if anything it revealed to the French priests failings among their own people. When the Montagnais-Naskapi first sought closer relations with the French in 1633, one group, anticipating an Iroquois raid, went so far as to seek asylum. "They wanted to unite, that they might be stronger, but they feared famine in abandoning the chase. They asked us therefore if we would supply them with food." Since the Algonkians were clearly facing economic and social difficulties on all fronts, LeJeune and the Jesuits proposed a relationship with them modelled on the Christian virtue of charity.<sup>64</sup> But they realized that the larger French society in Canada did not share such sentiments: "I must speak here of the charges which the savages made against the French," LeJeune wrote in 1633. The French "love what is theirs; when you refuse anything to Savage he immediately says *Khisakhitan*. 'Thou lovest that, *sakhita*, *sakhita*, Love it, love it,' as if they would say that we prefer it to their friendship."<sup>65</sup>



As time passed, LeJeune came to minimize the more pragmatic aspects of Montagnais social motivations and to admire the positive nature of Algonkian kinship bonds. When he proposed to help the Montagnais learn agriculture and Catholic religious practice, a shaman gave him pause. He called LeJeune a liar, "because," he said, "we never see in this world men so good as thou sayest, who would take the trouble to help us without hope of reward." "66 The wisdom of this was not lost on LeJeune, who was already embarrassed by the transgressions of his own fellow Christians. "When it is necessary to become a Savage with the Savages," he wrote as early as 1633, "one must take his own life and all that he had, and throw it away, so to speak, contenting himself with a very large and very heavy cross for all riches."67 The Jesuits achieved that detachment and successfully cultivated a Montagnais-Naskapi mission near Quebec. This mission, in turn, ultimately opened the whole of the Algonkian northeast to the Society of Jesus.

A similar pattern of Christian conversion occurred in the 1640's among the Abenaki farther to the south.68 Their primary political motivation resembled that of the Montagnais-Naskapi—they wished a strengthened alliance against the threatening Iroquois. But more importantly, the disastrous impact of European liquor and disease had led them to admire the thriving Montagnais-Naskapi community under Jesuit guidance. Abenaki who visited the Sillery mission returned repeatedly to their villages with word of the new order created between the Montagnais and the Jesuits. In 1646 the Canadian governor Montmagny approved Abenaki requests for a priest and sent Father Gabriel Druillettes to the Kennebec River in Maine.69

Druillettes arrived among this band at an auspicious moment. Another epidemic had killed many Abenaki the summer before and the shamans were powerless against it. The priest deeply touched the Abenaki, "winning their souls," the *Relation* declared, "through the care he gave their bodies." The fact that some Abenaki miraculously survived the illness rebounded to the priest's credit; the survivors' families "published everywhere that prayer was good, and that it cured their children."70 The Jesuit masterfully blended his personal concern for the Abenaki with the traditional shamanistic role, but the Abenaki noted a crucial difference. "This man is very different from our Jugglers," they observed, "the latter are always asking, and the former never asks for anything; the latter are almost entirely absent from our sick but the former

spends days and nights with them."<sup>70</sup> When Druillettes cured a stricken shaman by destroying his "drum and his charms," his influence was consolidated.<sup>72</sup> In 1651 the Abenaki acknowledged their debt to the priest and in a public ceremony declared him one of their own. Like the woman in the tales whose social and moral integrity brought the cannibal giant into the family band, Gabriel Druillettes' behavior assured the Abenaki that his religious powers were strong and worthy of their respect because they were grounded in his concern for the welfare of the community.

Gabriel Druillettes brought the Society of Jesus closer to the realities of the North American continent. Though North Americans lived on a smaller scale than the urbanized Europeans, Druillettes was able to perceive that native values, rooted in the everyday life of kin groups, compared favorably with the more abstract ideologies of European peoples.<sup>73</sup> Indeed, for both Druillettes and other Jesuits, the Algonkian pointed toward the pristine impulses of Christian ethics in the early centuries after Christ. This Algonkian world beckoned the Jesuits with an intensity that is highlighted by the gradual reappraisal of their own initial judgements of "savagery" levelled against the native peoples. The Society of Jesus, with typical European condescension, began work in Canada assuming their own cultural superiority. The priests' first efforts were bent toward the creation of red Frenchmen and, as educators in the finest schools of Europe, the Jesuits naturally saw formal education as a primary instrument of social change. Algonkians, just as naturally, rejected this seemingly unintegrated system of learning. The Jesuits had wit enough to assess this failure and in time they learned to modify many of the cultural expectations of French tradition. By the 1670's Jesuit appreciation of Indian values had made the priests advocates of Algonkian cultural resistance. The Jesuits clashed with French officials, and ultimately with the Crown itself, against demands for an intensified "frenchification" program.<sup>74</sup>

The Jesuits came to realize that the issue was not so much the problem of savagery as the ill-conceived notion of "frenchification." The priests stood in witness as the catastrophic, demographic, political and military legacies of European contact destroyed the Huron Confederacy in 1649. They watched as liquor, surreptitiously traded by Frenchmen, thoroughly disrupted the social and religious life of the Montagnais-Naskapi at the mission of Sillery in the 1670's. Despite the subversions of their countrymen—whether in the liquor traffic or in ethnocentric demands for frenchification



—the priests held their ground. The Jesuits were ready when large numbers of Abenaki began to flee to Canada in 1675 seeking refuge from the disastrous effects of King Philip's War.

The early experience of one of the most prominent Jesuit missionaries among these Abenaki, Sebastien Racle, illustrates in microcosm the acculturative process which occurred between the Society of Jesus and some Algonkians. Racle was thirty-eight years old when he arrived in New France in 1689, and his distinguished career as a professor of rhetoric had not particularly prepared him for the Indian realities of North America.<sup>75</sup> He found himself suddenly surrounded by a bewildering variety of Native American peoples, "which one may almost take," Racle immediately wrote his brother, "for animals as for men." The shock, though profound, was not unusual as an initial reaction to Indian peoples. What is more important is that Racle remained open to the new experience. "It is with these nonetheless, that I must pass the rest of my days," he continued, "It is these people that I must caress, cherish and who must become the object of my cares."<sup>76</sup> These sentiments transcend mere piety; they indicate that Racle confronted his own ethnocentric revulsion and, more importantly, emotionally oriented himself towards the Algonkians as people worthy of his regard.

Racle's transformation had its own painful struggle. An apprenticeship among the Abenaki at the St. Francis mission radically altered Racle's early impressions. He was surprised, for instance, that the Abenaki maintained their inward-looking, extended-family households at the mission. Racle began to learn their language under the bemused tutelage of one of these kin groups. The experience became a *rite de passage* as Abenaki manners stripped Racle of his cultural assumptions. "I went there," he wrote, "as a child goes to school." Comparing his situation to the relatively comfortable circumstances of a French school boy, Racle admitted that he was intellectually engaged. He learned more than he expected because the Abenaki language delighted him as much as the classical languages he had already mastered. It "surely has its perfections and is fine," Racle exclaimed of the Abenaki dialect, and "one is convinced when one considers its economy of expression." The Abenaki won Racle's affection through the teaching of their language and they, in turn, were impressed by his perseverance in learning it. Racle referred to that particular family as "those of my cabin" and he gave one of the children his own name at baptism. "I love them very much," he wrote his brother. When the time came for Racle to return to the Jesuit college at Quebec, the mother of

"little Sebastien," her other children in tow, followed after: "You love us, and you were of our cabin, and you were our father . . . Why then did you leave us?" "I swear to you," Racle told his brother, "that I could not respond to them except by my tears." Racle concluded: "the Abenaki with whom I lived . . . are the gentlemen of the savages."<sup>77</sup>

This sympathetic integration of Sebastien Racle into Abenaki social life indicates that there was more to the development of a mutual alliance between the Society of Jesus and the Algonkian peoples than standard historical evidence of either economic, social, or religious crises alone can explain. Only an analysis of the conjunction of Algonkian and French culture can suggest the positive context which encouraged both Indian and Jesuit. This meeting of attitudes involved the Jesuits' assumptions of shamanistic responsibility in order to serve the Algonkian people. When the Algonkians began to perceive the Jesuits as individuals with both high sympathetic regard for the community at large and as the "shamans" with the greatest apparent power in eradicating post-contact, anti-social evils, they naturally considered carefully the Jesuits' social diagnosis.<sup>78</sup> In doing so, the Algonkians, consciously or not, took their cues from the windigo stories and allied themselves with Jesuit expressions of social power.

The Jesuit priests, then, entered Algonkian traditions some time during the seventeenth century, performing roles comparable to the benevolent Gluskabe who had seen the tribe through bad years of previous centuries. There are additional cannibal giant stories which indicate the symbolic adjustments. One story states that the Micmac began to use crosses carved on trees surrounding their villages and band encampments as a means of warding off cannibal giants. The tale notes the strength of the new belief when it reveals that the older, more traditional tribesmen advised the use of the cross as a protective device.<sup>79</sup> Another story, from the Montagnais-Naskapi, suggests that Christian Indians had it in their power to resist even the most dangerous of cannibals—with the corresponding implication that perhaps the Montagnais-Naskapi themselves no longer possessed sufficient spiritual power to challenge the giant on their own.<sup>80</sup> Another Montagnais tale explicitly states the degeneration of Indians' spiritual power. When a hunting party failed to kill a giant, one of their members despaired that "we cannot do it [because] our magic power is too weak." With the aid of his guardian spirit, the shaman amongst them perceived both the



giant and a priest coming from the distance toward the camp. The shaman went at once to greet the priest. "We are all going to die here because the *witigo* has come among us and we cannot kill him," the shaman explained. "But the priest said, 'Oh, no my child, he is not dangerous. We will kill him.'" The priest walked out onto the frozen lake and met the cannibal as he arrived. "The priest raised his crucifix, whereupon the *witigo* fell dead on the ice."<sup>81</sup>

These stories suggest that once the Jesuits came to appreciate Algonkian communal values, they also came to behave in ways that the Algonkians could recognize within their own cultural terms. As has been noted earlier, only the good man, the individual who had successfully integrated his own personal needs with Algonkian kin-defined ethical norms, could victoriously confront the cannibal giant. Since both shamanistic and individual resistance to the cannibal giant emanated from a profound awareness that the windigo embodied the most terrible anti-social impulses, much was at stake when the Micmac and the Montagnais-Naskapi declared, through their stories, that the Jesuits finally were more powerful than many native shamans against the forces of the cannibal giant.

Another Micmac story indicates, however, that a syncretic process occurred; the Algonkian accepted the efficacy of Catholic ritual, but utilized it in a traditional context. In this tale, Gluskabe, the Algonkian cultural hero, is reinterpreted in a Christian context.<sup>82</sup> Traditional belief held that Gluskabe created the social and institutional framework ordering Micmac society, and that he defended this society from both internal and external threats. In the Jesuit-influenced cosmology, Gluskabe promulgated, as before, the rules governing Micmac social intercourse, but in this tale he does so as Christ's first created being. Another feature of the story, the identification of Adam, or second-man, as the father of both the European peoples and of evil forces in the world, suggests that while the northeastern Algonkians respected and identified with the Jesuits, they found that relationship on the whole atypical of their experience with Europeans. Other Europeans did not develop personal ties with the Algonkians as easily as the Jesuits and, in fact, most Europeans were either a direct or indirect threat to the survival of their communities.

Admittedly, these remarks generalize the Jesuits' impact among the Algonkians to highlight the interpersonal processes which were instrumental between the two peoples. A more detailed view is

obviously required to convey accurately the range of interpersonal stances and their effect on culture change. That larger study would assess the continuity of belief among the Algonkians, and it would evaluate the meeting of traditional and Catholic religious symbols. It would also recognize that some Jesuits were more inflexible than the individuals considered here. Nevertheless, a comparison of the "civilized-savage" value structure of the cannibal giant stories with the actual behavior of historic French and Algonkian peoples offers some clarifications for the study of Indian history. The argument that French economic dependence on the Algonkians encouraged good relations, and that, conversely, English and Indian relations faltered because the two peoples competed for the same land base, has dominated discussion of comparative French and English Indian relations. This argument is compelling on the surface, but it says little about the crucially important Indian perceptions of Europeans and, while it does point out the obvious difference between French and English responses, it cannot explain the psychological and spiritual subtleties that lay behind the positive relationships which existed between *some* Frenchmen and *some* Indians.

When the cannibal giant stories are admitted as evidence about Algonkian behavior and belief, a different emphasis emerges. The discussion then centers on what actually occurred between particular Europeans and Indians and the inquiry shifts to how western institutions and values strengthened and/or undermined Indian communities at any given moment in time. The historic relationship between the Algonkians and the Jesuits raises such methodological issues because, while both Indians and priests adapted willingly to one another, the larger French society, like the English colonies, posed insurmountable economic, political and military problems for the Algonkians. Mutual acculturation did occur but never smoothly. The structural impact of European institutions on Indian communities remains largely unexplored and the preceding analysis of the impact of one such institution, the Society of Jesus, only suggests the behavioral and ethical issues involved.

Critical readings of European documents with an eye for the ethical concerns of Native American oral traditions illuminates Indian views about culture change. If the Jesuit records indicate a great deal about Algonkian peoples' superficial reactions to Christianity, Algonkian folklore reveals the depth of that response. The Jesuit sources provide rich details about actual face-to-face relations; the folklore remembers the central dynamics of those meet-



ings. Taken separately, each source has its special bias. The Jesuits wished to reassure themselves, and the French public which supported their efforts, that their rocky dialogue with the Algonkians was progressive. The retelling of Algonkian experiences in the windigo tales in turn affirmed the Indians' mythic concerns for social solidarity and at the same time, applied their history to the embattled present. When oral tradition and written sources converge, Algonkian social processes emerge with the prominence they deserve.

## NOTES

1. For the discussion of Indians in colonial America, see William N. Fenton, Lyman H. Butterfield, and Wilcomb E. Washburn, *American Indian and White Relations to 1830: Needs and Opportunities for Study* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1957); Bernard W. Sheehan, "Indian-White Relations in Early America: A Review Essay," *William and Mary Quarterly* 26 (1969): 267ff; James Axtell, "Ethnohistory of Early America: A Review Essay," *William and Mary Quarterly* 35 (1978): 110-44; Wilcomb Washburn's comments on the moral perplexities are important—"Moral History of Indian-White Relations: Needs and Opportunities for Study," *Ethnohistory* 9 (1957): 55ff.

2. On Parkman, see Mason Wade, *Francis Parkman: Heroic Historian* (New York: Viking Press, 1942); and William J. Eccles, "The History of New France According to Francis Parkman," *William and Mary Quarterly* 18 (April 1961): 163-75. The controversy is intimately connected with L.H. Gipson's view of the authoritarian and non-progressive character of the government of New France. See *The British Empire Before the American Revolution*, 15 vols. (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1956), V: 340-41; Cameron Nish, *Les Bourgeois-gentilshommes de la Nouvelle-France, 1729-1748* (Quebec, 1960); and Yves Zoltvany, *The Government of New France: Royal, Clerical or Class Rule?* (Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice Hall of Canada, Ltd., 1971), pp. 46-47.

3. For these views see Alfred Goldsworthy Bailey, *The Conflict of European and Eastern Algonkian Cultures, 1504-1700*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969); Cornelius J. Jaenen, *Friend and Foe: Aspects of French-Amerindian Cultural Contact in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1979), and his "Amerindian Views of French Culture in the Seventeenth Century," *Canadian Historical Review* 55 (1974): 261-91; James P. Ronda, "The European Indian: Jesuit Civilization Planning in New France," *Church History* 41 (Sept. 1972): 385-95; James P. Ronda, "The Sillery Experiment: A Jesuit-Indian Village in New France, 1637-1663," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 3 (1), (1979): 1-18; James P. Ronda, "We Are Well As We Are: An Indian Critique of Seventeenth Century Christian Missions," *William and Mary Quarterly* 34 (January 1977): 66-82.

4. This study complements Robert Conkling, "Legitimacy and Conversion in Social Change: The Case of French Missionaries and the Northeastern

Algonkian," *Ethnohistory* 21 (Winter 1974): 1-24. And see Peter Duignan, "Early Jesuit Missionaries: A Suggestion for Further Study," *American Anthropologist* 60 (1958): 725-32. I have reviewed some of these problems in comparative history: Kenneth M. Morrison, "Native American History: The Issue of Values," *Journal of Ethnic Studies* 5 (Winter 1978): 80-89.

5. Processes of culture change in New France have attracted recent study. See Leo-Paul Desrosiers, *Iroquoisie* (Montreal: Institut d'Histoire de l'Amérique française, 1947); George R. Healy, "The French Jesuits and the Idea of the Noble Savage," *William and Mary Quarterly* 15 (April 1958): 143-67; Marcel Trudel, "La Rencontre des Cultures," *Revue d'Histoire de l'Amérique française* 18 (Mars 1965): 477-516; Bruce G. Trigger, "Champlain Judged by His Indian Policy: A Different View of Early Canadian History," *Anthropologica* 13 (1971): 85-114; and Bruce G. Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660*, 2 vols. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1976). For some of the theoretical approaches which can be applied to ethnohistorical problems of culture change, see H. Pertti and Gretel H. Peltó, "Intracultural Diversity: Some Theoretical Issues," *American Ethnologist* 2 (Feb. 1975): 1-18; Anthony F.C. Wallace, *Culture and Personality*, especially chapter IV, "The Psychology of Culture Change," (New York: Random House, 1961), pp. 120-63; Social Science Research Council, "Acculturation: An Exploratory Formulation," *American Anthropologist* 56 (December 1954): 973-1002; Florence R. Kluckhohn, "Dominant and Variant Value Orientations," in Clyde Kluckhohn and Henry S. Murray, eds., *Personality in Nature, Society and Culture*, 2nd ed., rev. (New York: A.A. Knopf, 1967); and in history, Robert Berkhofer, *A Behavioral Approach to Historical Analysis* (New York: The Free Press, 1969).

6. Paula Gunn Allen, "The Mythopoeic Vision in Native American Literature: The Problem of Myth," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 1 (1974): 14-16.

7. See A. Irving Hallowell, "Temporal Orientations in Western Civilization and in a Pre-literate Society," *American Anthropologist* n.s., 39 (Oct.-Dec., 1937): 647-70; and Gordon M. Day, "Oral Tradition as Complement," *Ethnohistory* 19 (Spring 1972): 99-108.

8. In philosophical anthropology, see the work of Martin Buber, *I and Thou* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958); and his development of the phenomenological concept of the "between" in his "Dialogue," in *Between Man and Man* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1965), pp. 1-39. Robert Redfield's "Civilization and the Moral Order," in his *The Primitive World and Its Transformations* (Ithaca, New York: Great Seal Books, 1957), pp. 54-83, is important. Bertell Ollman's *Alienation: Marx's Conception of Man in Capitalist Society* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1970), clarifies social relations in Marxian thought. And see W. Goldsmidt, "An Ethnography of Encounters: A Methodology for the Enquiry into the Relation Between the Individual and Society," *Current Anthropology* 13 (February 1972): 59-78.

9. Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Savage Mind* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966); Clifford Geertz, "Religion as a Cultural System," in Michael Banton, ed., *Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion* (London: Tavistock Publications, 1966), pp. 1-46. For literature discussing Native American world views, see Dennis Tedlock and Barbara Tedlock, eds., *Teachings From the American Earth; Indian Religion and Philosophy* (New York: Liveright, 1975); and Walter Holden Capps, *Seeing With a Native Eye* (New York: Harper and Row, 1976).



10. A. Irving Hallowell, "Ojibwa Ontology," in Sigmund Diamond, ed., *Culture in History: Essays in Honor of Paul Radin* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), p. 21.

11. A. Irving Hallowell, "Myth, Culture and Personality," *American Anthropologist* n.s., 49 (Oct.-Dec. 1947): 544-56.

12. See the Ojibwa stories "Nanabushu and Windigo," "Windigo and Misabe," the Cree tales "Wesakaychak and the Cannibal," and "The Culture Hero and the Cannibal," all in Morton I. Teicher, "Windigo Psychosis: A Study of a Relationship between Belief and Behavior Among the Indians of Northeastern Canada," *Proceedings of the 1960 Annual Spring Meeting of the American Ethnological Society*, ed. Verne F. Ray (Seattle, 1960), pp. 25-26, 33, 34, 35, respectively. On Gluskabe, see "Glouseclappe," in Claude Melancon, *Legendes Indiennes du Canada* (Montreal: Editions du jour, 1967), pp. 15-18.

13. "Gluskabe Overcome by Winter," in Frank G. Speck, "Penobscot Tales and Religious Beliefs," *Journal of American Folklore* (cited hereafter as *JAFL*) 48 (Jan.-Mar. 1935): 44.

14. "Gluskabe Steals Summer and Overcomes Winter," *JAFL* 48 (Jan.-Mar. 1935): 46-47; and see the Passamaquoddy story, "How the Master Found the Summer," in Charles G. Leland and John D. Prince, *Kuloskap, the Master* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1902), pp. 210-12.

15. The culture hero intervened against cannibals in other tales. See "Whiskey-Jack Man and Tseqa'bec Marry the Daughters of the Cannibal Woman," in F. G. Speck, "Montagnais and Naskapi Tales from the Labrador Peninsula," *JAFL* 38 (Jan.-Mar. 1925): 6; "Tseka'bec, the Swing, and Two Beautiful Cannibal Girls," *JAFL* 38 (Jan.-Mar. 1925): 15; "Tseka'bec Marries the Daughter of a Cannibal," *JAFL* 38 (Jan.-Mar. 1925): 26-27; and see footnote 12.

16. Kiwakwe (Abenaki), Chenoo (Micmac and Passamaquoddy), Gugus (Micmac), Windigo (Montagnais-Naskapi, Ojibwa, Cree), Atsen (Montagnais-Naskapi).

17. Harold Franklin McGee, Jr., "The Windigo Down-East, or the Taming of the Windigo," in *Proceedings of the Second Congress, Canadian Ethnological Society* (Ottawa: National Museum of Man, Mercury Series, 1975), I: 110-32.

18. See Speck's remarks in "Penobscot Tales," *JAFL* 48 (Jan.-Mar. 1935): 13; and "Kew'kwe, the Cannibal Giant," *JAFL* 48 (Jan.-Mar. 1935): 81-82; "The Story of the Great Chenoo, as Told by the Passamaquoddies," in Charles Leland, *The Algonquin Legends* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1884), pp. 246-47. Leland states that the "female Kewhqu' is more powerful than the male," Leland, *The Algonquin Legends*, p. 247. See "Atsen, the Cannibal Giant," in Speck, "Montagnais and Naskapi Tales," *JAFL* 38 (Jan.-Mar. 1925): 11; "Ketpusye' genau," in Elsie Clews Parsons, "Micmac Folklore," *JAFL* 38 (Jan. Mar. 1925): 56-59; "Gugus' Duel," *JAFL* 38 (Jan.-Mar. 1925): 59-60; "Kiwakw," in W. H. Mechling, *Malecite Tales*, Canada, Department of Mines, Memoir 49 (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1914), pp. 75-77.

19. Teicher, "Windigo Psychosis," pp. 5-6.

20. F.G. Speck, "Ethical Attitudes of the Labrador Indians," *American Anthropologist* 35 (Oct.-Dec. 1933): 565-66.

21. Quoted in Raymond D. Fogelson, "Psychological Theories of Windigo 'Psychosis' and a Preliminary Application of a Models Approach," in M.E. Spiro, ed., *Context and Meaning in Cultural Anthropology* (New York: The Free Press, 1965), p. 79.

22. Speck, "Penobscot Tales," p. 13.

23. Leland, *The Algonquin Legends*, p. 233.
24. Leland, *The Algonquin Legends*, p. 252.
25. Leland, *The Algonquin Legends*, p. 233.
26. Speck, "Penobscot Tales," p. 14.
27. Speck, "Penobscot Tales," p. 66; Speck, "Montagnais and Naskapi Tales," p. 11; Parsons, "Micmac Folklore," p. 59. In the nineteenth century case histories, windigo cannibalism was "usually directed against members of the individual's immediate family" (Teicher, "Windigo Psychosis," p. 5).
28. In "The Girl Chenoo," a young man became the instrument through which the girl was changed into a cannibal. When she refused his offer of marriage, "she roused all that was savage in him and he gave up his mind to revenge" (Leland, *The Algonquin Legends*, p. 251). And see Speck, "Montagnais and Naskapi Tales," p. 6; Horace P. Beck, "Algonquin Folklore from Maniwaki," *JAFL* 60 (July-Sept. 1947): 259-64; and "Taken-from-guts," F. G. Speck, "Some Micmac Tales from Capte Breton Island," *JAFL* 28 (Jan.-Mar. 1915): 61ff.
29. Teicher, "Windigo Psychosis," p. 32-33.
30. "Me Sah Ba and the Windigo," Teicher, "Windigo Psychosis," p. 19. Another story, "Windigo and the Indian," tells of a "kind-hearted man" who struggled and won against a windigo who was his own brother to save a stranger. Teicher, "Windigo Psychosis," p. 19. These two stories, and the others later quoted extensively, indicate the source of power of the individual who could overpower the cannibal giant. It does not indicate that this was the source of shamanistic power in general. See Ruth Landes' Chapter 4 of her *The Ojibwa Woman* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1971), pp. 178-226, for a discussion of shamanistic power. Speck observed that the "conjurer can become the arch-criminal or the benefactor in his social sphere, according to the motives that govern him" ("Ethical Attributes of the Labrador Indians," p. 560).
31. Quoted in Teicher, "Windigo Psychosis," p. 59.
32. Teicher, "Windigo Psychosis," p. 5.
33. Speck, "Penobscot Tales," p. 14.
34. "The Chenoo," Leland, *The Algonquin Legends*, p. 234.
35. Leland, *The Algonquin Legends*, p. 235.
36. Leland, *The Algonquin Legends*, p. 235-36.
37. "Giants: Why People Do Not Eat Each Other Nowadays," Teicher, "Windigo Psychosis," p. 22.
38. Teicher, "Windigo Psychosis," p. 22.
39. Teicher, "Windigo Psychosis," p. 22.
40. "The Chenoo," Leland, *The Algonquin Legends*, p. 238.
41. Teicher, "Windigo Psychosis," p. 23.
42. "The Chenoo," Leland, *The Algonquin Legends*, p. 240.
43. Leland, *The Algonquin Legends*, pp. 242-43.
44. Leland, *The Algonquin Legends*, p. 244.
45. Leland, *The Algonquin Legends*, p. 244.
46. The Jesuits report that the Algonkian held strangers in contempt. See, for example, Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations* (cited hereafter as *JR*), 73 vols. (New York: The Pageant Book Co., 1959), XVI: 201. They also state that the attitude changed in the Montagnais-Naskapi mission village at Sillery. *JR*, XX: 89.
47. Recently, the argument that windigo cannibalism has a nutritional base has attracted some attention. See Vivian J. Rohl, "A Nutritional Factor in Windigo



Psychosis," *American Anthropologist* 72 (1970): 97-101; and Jennifer Brown's response, "The Cure and the Feeding of Windigoes: A Critique," *American Anthropologist* 73 (1971): 20-22.

48. Charles A. Bishop, "Ojibwa Cannibalism," Paper presented at the IXth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, pp. 1-20.

49. Bishop, "Ojibwa Cannibalism," p. 14. And see Harold Hickerson, *The Chippewa and Their Neighbors: A Study in Ethnohistory* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1970), and his "Fur Trade Colonialism and the North American Indian," *Journal of Ethnic Studies* 1 (Summer 1973): 15-44, for a discussion of the social and cultural effects of rapid economic change.

50. JR, XIV: 147; XVIII: 111; XXI: 115; XXV: 161.

51. JR, X: 27. For Paul Le Jeune's life and an astute evaluation of the *Jesuit Relations* as a source, see Leon Pouliot, "Paul Le Jeune," in G.W. Brown, ed., *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (cited hereafter as *DCB*) (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966), I: 453-58.

52. JR, XXXV: 21.

53. JR, XXXVIII: 179-81.

54. JR, XXIII: 29.

55. JR, XXIII: 31-33.

56. Chrestien le Clercq, *New Relation of Gaspesia, with the Customs and Religion of the Gaspesian Indians*, William F. Ganong, ed., (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1910), p. 112.

57. Le Clercq, *New Relation of Gaspesia*, pp. 112-15.

58. Bishop, "Ojibwa Cannibalism," pp. 58-8; and see Eleanor Leacock, "The Montagnais 'Hunting Territory' and the Fur trade," *American Anthropological Association Memoir Number 78* (1954); Calvin Martin, "The European Impact on the Culture of a Northeastern Algonquian Tribe: An Ecological Interpretation," *William and Mary Quarterly* 31 (Jan. 1974): 3-26; and Fred Eggan, "Northern Woodland Ethnology," in Jacob W. Gruber, ed., *The Philadelphia Anthropological Society, Papers Presented on Its Golden Anniversary* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), pp. 107-124.

59. JR, XI: 123.

60. JR, VI: 11.

61. JR, VI: 115.

62. Thomas Grassman, "Joseph Manitougatche," *DCB*, I: 487-88.

63. JR, V: 93.

64. JR, VI: 143; and see especially Chapter V, "Of the Good Things which Are Found among the Savages." And also JR, XVI: 103; XXV: 111. On the role of the Hospital Nuns, see JR, XIX: 25; and Kenneth M. Morrison, "That 'Earthly Paradise'—The Experience of the Canadian Ursulines: A Review Essay of Dom G. Oury's *Marie de l'Incarnation*," *American Review of Canadian Studies* 4 (Autumn 1974): 76-77; Jaenen, "Amerindian Views of French Culture," p. 270.

65. JR, V: 105. LeJeune's reaction is more understandable from Frank G. Speck's statement: "Utilitarian, the Naskapi usages seem indeed to be; and, so far as I can judge, they arise from deliberately rationalized thought on the matter of social conduct" ("Ethical Attributes of the Labrador Indians," p. 562).

66. JR, IV: 147.

67. JR, V: 169.

68. G.F.G. Stanley, "The First Indian 'Reserves' in Canada," *Revue d'Histoire de l'Amerique francaise* 4 (Sept. 1950): 182.

69. On the impact of liquor, see Andre Vachon, "L'eau-de-vie dans la Societe Indienne," Canadian Historical Association, *Report* (1960), pp. 22-23. This paragraph, and the following, summarize Chapter IV: "The Rebirth of the Dream: The Creation of the French/Abenaki Alliance, 1630-1689," in my "The People of the Dawn: The Abenaki and Their Relations with New England and New France, 1602-1727," (Ph.D. diss., University of Maine—Orono, 1975), pp. 88-118.

70. *JR*, XXXI: 187, 199.

71. *JR*, XXXI: 203.

72. *JR*, XXXI: 197. See Lucien Campeau's remarks on Abenaki recognition of Druillettes' power. "Gabriel Druillettes," *DCB*, I: 281-82.

73. On the Jesuits' optimistic reaction to North America, see Healy, "The French Jesuits and the Idea of the Noble Savage," pp. 143-67.

74. Cornelius J. Jaenen deals at length with this conflict. See "The Relationship between Church and State in New France, 1647-1685," (Ph.D. diss., University of Ottawa, 1962).

75. For the extensive literature on Sebastien Racle, see my "Sebastien Racle versus New England: A Case Study of Frontier Conflict," (M.A. thesis, University of Maine—Orono, 1970), and Thomas Charland, "Sebastien Racle," *DCB*, II: 542-45.

76. Racle to his Brother, Oct. 30, 1689, letter #1, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

77. Racle to his Brother, Aug. 26, 1690, letter #2, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

78. Father Jacques Bigot, for example, asserted that he functioned in a shamanistic role among the Abenaki. *JR*, LXIII: 107. Bailey, *The Conflict of European and Eastern Algonkian Cultures*, emphasizes the destructive effect of the meeting. Andre Vachon, "L'eau-de-vie dans la Societe Indienne," pp. 22-32, and Calvin Martin, "European Impact on the Culture of a Northeastern Algonquian Tribe," p. 20, assert that the Jesuits' success depended on their undermining of traditional shamans. Martin goes further in asserting that the Micmac apostatized in accepting Christianity and European trade and that they repudiated traditional values and religious belief. See pp. 21ff. Martin amplifies this argument in his *Keepers of the Game: Indian-Animal Relationships and the Fur Trade* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978).

79. Leland, *The Algonquin Legends*, p. 249.

80. "The Cannibal Mamiltehe'o, 'He who has a hairy heart,'" in Speck, "Montagnais and Naskapi Tales," pp. 19-20.

81. "The Witigo or 'Cannibal,'" Speck, "Montagnais and Naskapi Tales," p. 21; also printed in Teicher, "Windigo Psychosis," pp. 38-39.

82. "Christ Creates: Gluskap Gives Rules," in Parsons, "Micmac Folklore," pp. 88-90. This should not suggest that there were not tensions between the Jesuits and the shaman. On this point, see "Colloquies between the First Priest and the Indians," Parsons, "Micmac Folklore," pp. 90-91, and the story of "The Wizard and the Christian Priest," in Leland and Prince, *Kuloskap, the Master*, pp. 242-43.