Children and Childhood in Wendat Society, 1600-1700

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Abstract

This dissertation examines Wendat childhood in the 17th century. Contrary to European expectations, Wendat child-rearing practices emphasized independence, empowerment, and respect for all individuals, encouraging children to pay attention to and contribute to the safety, health, and well-being of their families and community. As a result, I argue that children and youths took on essential and important roles in Wendat society, including teaching, diplomacy, and spiritual leadership, often in ways that were distinct from that of adults. Youths were often at the heart of Wendat-settler relations in those roles, and helped greet, teach, and support European newcomers. Children and youths helped teach newcomers to speak and act like a Wendat, served as intermediaries and translators between Wendat and non-Wendat leadership, and took on important political and spiritual roles to foster long-term friendships with French visitors.

Wendat children and youths were loved, respected, and treated as uniquely important contributors to Wendat society. Children were raised by the entire community, not just the biological parents, and everyone had a role in caring for the youth and preparing them for their life-long responsibilities to family and community. The care for children also extended to Wendat mortuary customs, as children—especially infants—sometimes had unusual, age-determined burials.

This dissertation emphasizes a biographical case study approach, focusing on what the stories of individuals can tell us about the society as a whole. In looking for the stories of individuals, it is apparent that personhood and personal agency were important factors in how different individuals responded to the widespread changes in Wendat society in the wake of French arrival to the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence regions. This dissertation also takes an interdisciplinary and ethnohistorical approach, using archaeological, linguistic, and anthropological sources to complement the analysis of historical documents.

Children often fulfilled roles that were different from, and inappropriate for, adults, and their roles were often complimentary to those of child-bearing adults and Elders. For a more complete understanding of 17th century Wendat society, this dissertation argues age must be considered as an important category of analysis.

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Chapter One: Introduction

"Thou hast no sense. You French people love only your own children; but we all love all the children of our tribe."[1]

In 1623, when Recollet missionary Gabriel Sagard arrived in the Attignawantan Wendat village of Quieunonascaran, he was flummoxed by the cultural differences between Wendat and French lifestyles. He was especially surprised by the distinctive relationship between Wendat adults and children, and it shocked him enough that he wrote about it at length. In one telling passage, he remarked:

> They love their children dearly, in spite of the doubt that they are really their own, and of the fact that they are for the most part very naughty children, paying them little respect, and hardly more obedience; for unhappily in these lands the young have no respect for the old, nor are children obedient to their parents, and moreover there is no punishment for any fault. For this reason everybody lives in complete freedom and does what he thinks fit; and parents, for failure to punish their children, are often compelled to suffer wrong-doing at their hands, sometimes being beaten and flouted to their face.[2]

For Sagard, the problems were three-fold: 1) the illegitimacy of Wendat children, or that children were born outside of the construct of a Christian marriage; 2) children's lack of respect and obedience to their parents; and 3) the parents' failure to punish their children for such disobedience and disrespect. Despite these three "problems," any one of which offended French sensibilities, children were much beloved by Wendat adults.

Sagard was not the only European to make disparaging observations about Wendat children, child-rearing, and family, or to share his bafflement about Wendat love for their apparently ill-behaved children. Indeed, this was a common trope. Explorer and founder of New France Samuel de Champlain complained:

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[1] JR 6: 255.
[2] Gabriel Sagard, *The Long Journey to the Country of the Hurons*, ed. George M. Wrong, trans. H. H. Langton (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1939), 130-131.

> The children have great freedom among these tribes. The parents humour them too much and do not punish them at all; accordingly they are so bad and so perverse in disposition that they very often strike their mothers, and some of the more ill-tempered strike their fathers when they have gained strength and power, that is, if father or mother do something they dislike; which is a kind of curse God sends them.[3]

To explain this offensive behaviour, Champlain described what he considered the deplorable and sinful state of Wendat family life. He implied that children's disobedience and disrespect was part of a larger pattern of shameful family behaviour, in which women were sexually promiscuous, men had little control over their family affairs, and the institution of marriage was irrelevant to inheritance: all gross violations of French family expectations and family honour. He wrote:

> The woman remains with him [her chosen spouse] without leaving him again, or if she leaves him it must be for some very good reason, other than impotence, for he is proof against this. Nevertheless while with this husband she does not cease to give herself free rein, but she remains and dwells always in his household, keeping up a good appearance; so that the children they have together, being born of such a woman, cannot be sure of being lawful. Therefore, in view of this danger, they have a custom which is this, namely that the children never succeed to the property and honours of their fathers, being in doubt, as I said, of their begetter, but indeed they make their successors and heirs the children of their sisters, from whom these are certain to be sprung and issued.[4]

Later visitors to the so-called New World continued to be offended by Wendat family-making and child-rearing customs. For the Jesuits, Wendat child-rearing practices had direct implications for evangelization and education goals, as Jesuit priest Paul le Jeune pointed out:

> As to the children…the [adults] prevent their instruction; they will not tolerate the chastisement of their children, whatever they may do; they permit only a simple reprimand. Moreover, they think they are doing you some great favor in giving you their children to instruct, to feed, and to dress, and will be very importunate in threatening to withdraw their children, if you do not accede to their demands.[5]

What concerned all of these French writers was what they saw as a breakdown in family order; particularly, Wendat families ignored all of the conventions of a patriarchal and hierarchical

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[3] Samuel de Champlain, *The Works of Samuel de Champlain*, ed. H. P. Biggar (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1929), 3: 142.
[4] Champlain, *The Works of Samuel de Champlain*, 3: 140.
[5] JR 5:197.

society. Seventeenth-century French colonists considered men to be the heads of household and 'masters' of all those who lived there;[6] as such, women and children were expected to be obedient to the patriarch's wishes. Should a woman or child show disrespect to the male head of household, he was within his rights—and even expected—to punish such a transgression, physically or otherwise. Moreover, because French inheritance was traced through the male lineage, women's sexuality had to be carefully controlled to ensure that a man's heir was his own child; children born outside of marriage or of questionable (male) parentage were perceived as a threat to male honour and power within his family. Wendat customs regarding childrearing, discipline, and inheritance violated all of the expectations of French patriarchy.[7]

Sagard, Champlain, and Le Jeune quickly learned—much to their disapproval—that Wendat society was organized on completely different principles: unlike French patriarchy and hierarchy, Wendat society was matrilineal and matrilocal, and while individuals had differences in status, that status was not contingent upon one's father. Leadership was not strictly inherited, but rather those from important families had to earn their positions, and Wendat leaders were expected to convince people to follow their example rather than demand it, suggesting a more lateral command model than a hierarchical one. Debate and oratory skills were hallmarks of Wendat leadership, not totalitarian control. Further, the Wendat expected every member of their society to contribute to the good of the community, and while labour was defined by gender, the Wendat respected men and women equally for their distinct contributions.[8] The Wendat also

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[6] Peter Moogk, *La Nouvelle France: The Making of French Canada--a Cultural History* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2000), 39.

[7] For more on Indigenous woman and the early experiences with French patriarchy, see: Carol Devens, "Separate Confrontations: Gender as a Factor in Indian Adaptation to European Colonization in New France," *American Quarterly* 38, 3 (1986): 461-80.

[8] Gendered labour divisions were not completely binary – men occasionally did what would otherwise be considered the tasks of women, and vice versa. For a useful, cautionary study of Iroquoian and Algonquin women occupying what have been traditionally understood as male roles, see: Kees-Jan Waterman and

valued the different skills, attributes, and knowledges that came with age; the Wendat not only valued the wisdom of their Elders but also, unlike the French, valued the inexperience of the very young.

This dissertation examines Wendat childhood in the 17th century. First, I argue that the tropes of Indigenous childhood need revision and correction. Wendat children and youths should not be considered to have been unsupervised, undisciplined, wild, or otherwise aimless. Children were given a lot of attention, but were raised differently from Europeans. The Wendat had different expectations of children's proper behaviour, and raised their children to be empowered, to be independent thinkers, and to be respectful, courageous contributors to the greater community.

Second, I argue that Wendat children and youth were very socially-conscious; they paid attention to the needs and expectations of their family and of their community, and did what they could to contribute to the safety, health, and well-being of that family and community. Children and youths took on important social roles such as teaching, diplomacy, and spiritual leadership, often filling roles for which adults were unsuited. This is most clear when we look at individual children and youths. While fewer children and youths were identified by name in the 17th-century source material than adults, of those few, many were described because of their incredible ingenuity, bravery, and dedication. In looking for the stories of individuals, it is apparent that personhood and agency were important factors in how different individuals responded to the widespread changes in Wendat society in the wake of French arrival to the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence regions.

Third, I argue that age should be used as a category of analysis in Indigenous studies. As this dissertation shows, children and youths fulfilled important roles that were often different from

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Jan Noel, "Not Confined to the Village Clearings: Indian Women in the Fur Trade in Colonial New York, 1695-1732," *New York History* 94, 1-2 (2013): 40-58).

those of adults. Children and youths responded to colonists in distinct ways; they interacted with missionaries and settlers in contexts that differed from adults and had to negotiate the power imbalances in different ways. Moreover, children's social roles in Wendat society were often complimentary to those roles of child-bearing adults and Elders, in much the same way that gender roles were complimentary between men and women. To forget or leave children out of the discussion of Wendat social life is to leave a significant and important group out of the analysis.

Historical Context: Life in the 17th Century

The 17th century was a time of change and upheaval for the Wendat. In the first half of the century, the Wendat nations of Attignawantan (Bear) and Attigneenongnahac (Cord) were joined by two more distinct nations to become a Confederacy of four: Arendarhonon (Rock), and Tahontaenrat (Deer) both joined by 1615.[9] The Wendat moved northward from their previous home in the Toronto area and re-established themselves in what became known as Huronia (Wendake) in the area of modern-day Simcoe and Gray Counties just south and west of the Georgian Bay.[10] As agriculturalists, the Wendat planted vast fields dominated by corn, beans, and squash, with other cultigens such as sunflower as additions. In addition to crops, the Wendat rounded out their diet by hunting game, fishing the lakes and rivers, and collecting wild berries,

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[9] Scholars debate whether a fifth group of Wendat, called the Ataronchronnon (People of the Marsh) could be considered a fifth nation in the Confederacy. The group would have formed around 1640 as a splinter group of Attignawantan Nation, but likely never gained official nation status. For more on this discussion, see Bruce G. Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660* (Montréal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987): 30, 58; John Steckley, *Words of the Huron* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2007): 45; Elisabeth Tooker, *An Ethnography of the Huron Indians, 1615-1649* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1991): 10; Wyandotte Nation of Oklahoma, "The Native Peoples." *Wyandotte Nation: Preserving the Future of Our Past!*, https://www.wyandotte-nation.org/culture/history/published/native-peoples/. (Accessed 21 December 2019).

[10] Victoria Freeman, ""Toronto Has No History!" Indigeneity, Settler Colonialism, and Historical Memory in Canada's Largest City," *Urban History Review* 38, no. 2 (2010): 33, f. 66; Ronald F. Williamson, "The Archaeological History of the Wendat to A.D. 1651: An Overview," *Ontario Archaeology* 94 (2014): 25. See also Gary Warrick, "The Precontact Iroquoian Occupation of Southern Ontario," *Journal of World Prehistory* 14, no. 4 (2000): 415-66.

herbs, roots, and flowers for food and medicine.[11] Wendat villages were often protected by a wooden palisade, sheltering the longhouses where extended families—clan relatives—lived together under the direction of a clan mother.[12] Wendat clans spanned the Confederacy and constituted the foundation of Wendat family—travellers might arrive at a village he or she had never visited before, only to find his or her clan longhouse and extended relatives ready to offer home and hospitality for as long as the visitor would stay.[13]

As French travellers began arriving and settling along the St. Lawrence River, the Wendat engaged in an off-and-on war with the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, which would continue for the better part of 100 years. These battles intensified after the 1630s as both the Wendat and Haudenosaunee confederacies became locked into a system of mourning wars.

Mourning wars became especially common between the 1640s and 1670s. Raids were conducted to capture victims for a complex ritual system of expressing and dealing with grief for lost relatives.[14] These captives would be tortured and killed by the whole community, or they would be adopted into a single family to replace one of its deceased members. Such tortures were

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[11] Susan Pfeiffer, Judith C. Sealy, Ronald F. Williamson, Suzanne Needs-Howarth, and Louis Lesage, "Maize, Fish, and Deer: Investigating Dietary Staples among Ancestral Huron-Wendat Villages, as Documented from Tooth Samples," *American Antiquity* 81, no. 3 (2016): 516-7; Michael Recht, "The Role of Fishing in the Iroquois Economy, 1600-1792," *New York History* 76, no. 1 (1995): 8; Trigger, *Children of Aataentsic*, 34-36; Trigger, *The Huron: Farmers of the North* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969), 26-29; Conrad Heidenreich, *Huronia: A History and Geography of the Huron Indians, 1600-1650* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1971), 168-200. See also Jane Mt. Pleasant, "The Paradox of Plows and Productivity: An Agronomic Comparison of Cereal Grain Production under Iroquois Hoe Culture and European Plow Culture in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," *Agricultural History* 85, no. 4 (2011): 462.

[12] Richard B. Johnston, and L. J. Jackson, "Settlement Pattern at the Le Caron Site, a 17th Century Huron Village," *Journal of Field Archaeology* 7, no. 2 (1980): 176; Gregory Vincent Braun, "Ritual, Materiality, and Memory in an Iroquoian Village" (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2015), 19.

[13] Marius Barbeau, "Iroquoian Clans and Phratries," *American Anthropologist* 19, 3 (1917): especially 401. See also Renée Jacobs, "Iroquois Great Law of Peace and the United States Constitution: How the Founding Fathers Ignored the Clan Mothers," *American Indian Law Review* 16, no. 2 (1991): 500.

[14] José António Brandão, *"Your Fyre Shall Burn No More": Iroquois Policy Toward New France and Its Native Allies to 1701* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 42-3, 44.

amply described in the *Jesuit Relations*, and most often included burning, violent removal of limbs, stabbing, and piercing with sharp implements.[15] This ritualized, prolonged execution meant that not only could the torturers express their rage and grief, but from a religious perspective, they could also reduce the spiritual strength of their enemies and transfer it to themselves.[16] As John Robb describes:

> Prisoner torture was part of a broad modality of efficious body practices including giving food, eating and fasting, dancing, sweating and healing, dreaming, burying the dead, inflicting pain, and circulating bodily substances such as blood and flesh. Through such actions moral values were created and a spiritual economy based not on regulation but upon reciprocity within an animistic world was created.[17]

The whole construction of mourning wars, particularly prisoner adoption and execution, was tied to spiritual needs as well as practical ones, in which energy was exchanged and replaced through warfare and violence. While some prisoners would be executed, the rest would be adopted into the host nation to take the place of dead relatives in a process known in the historiography as "requickening."[18] This captive adoption had practical as well as religious benefits, providing physical replacements for dead relatives and filling the spiritual hole left by the deceased. Although adoption was not exclusively a matter of warfare, and individuals could be adopted in peacetime—and even across clans, for example with a Wendat adopting another Wendat into her clan—for some nations, captive adoption became essential to continued survival.[19] By the 1660s, the

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[15] Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic*, 73-74.
[16] Jennifer Birch, "Coalescence and Conflict in Iroquoian Ontario," *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 25, no. 1 (2010): 34.
[17] John Robb, "Meaningless Violence and the Lived Body: The Huron-Jesuit Collision of World Orders," in *Past Bodies: Body-Centred Research in Archaeology*, ed. Duson Boric and John Robb (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2008), 98.
[18] William Engelbrecht, *Iroquoia: The Development of a Native World* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2003), 36.
[19] Entire nations and clans could be adopted as well. In 1638/1639, for example, the entire Wenro nation travelled to Wendake and were adopted into Wendat clans. Birch, "Current Research on the Historical Development of Northern Iroquoian Societies," *Journal of Archaeological Research* 23, 3 (2015): 300; Marian E. White, "Ethnic Identification and Iroquois Groups in Western New York and Ontario," *Ethnohistory* 18, 1 (1971): 27.

Haudenosaunee Confederacy had more adoptees than persons born into their clans, a result of near-constant warfare in the previous decades.[20]

Even as the Indigenous socio-political landscape was changing, the arrival of Europeans brought new problems and opportunities. The first group of Frenchmen to come through Wendake included traders and explorers, bringing new technologies that often had little practical use in the Wendat world, but might have considerable spiritual value. Copper kettles and pots, for example, tended to burn food and give a metallic taste when used for cooking, but when cut up into fragments the copper could be fixed to cloth and other items for personal decoration or as shiny gifts intended for the spirit world.[21] European cloth had more use, as cotton clothing breathed better, could be more easily sewn, and dried more quickly than animal hides, and their range of colours were much desired for use in both ceremonial regalia and everyday garments.[22]

French travellers also brought devastating epidemic diseases. A series of epidemics in the 1630s killed approximately 60% of the Wendat population in only six years.[23] Diseases like smallpox often killed the young and otherwise healthy members of society, particularly those of child-bearing years and into middle age. Without these strong and healthy individuals, the very young and the elderly often died of secondary illnesses, hunger, or other ramifications of a reliance

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[20] Gilles Havard, *The Great Peace of Montreal of 1701: French-Native Diplomacy in the Seventeenth Century*, trans. Phyllis Aronoff and Howard Scott (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001): 49.
[21] Holly Martelle, "Some Thoughts on the Impact of Epidemic Disease and European Contact on Ceramic Production in Seventeenth Century Huronia," *Ontario Archaeology* 77/78 (2004): 36-7; Laurier Turgeon, "The Tale of the Kettle: Odyssey of an Intercultural Object," *Ethnohistory* 44, no. 1 (1997): 9-10.
[22] Mairi Cowan, "Education, Francisation, and Shifting Colonial Priorities at the Ursuline Convent in Seventeenth-Century Québec," *Canadian Historical Review* 99, no. 1 (2018): 15; Marshall Joseph Becker, "Match-Coats and the Military: Mass-Produced Clothing for Native Americans as Parallel Markets in the Seventeenth Century," *Textile History and the Military* 41, no. 1 (2010): 153-4.
[23] Gary Warrick, "European Infectious Disease and Depopulation of the Wendat-Tionontate (Huron-Petun)," *World Archaeology* 35, no. 2 (2003): 262-3.

on adults to provide for them.[24] During the worst of the epidemics, longhouses might stand empty and abandoned as the few survivors banded together to pool their strength and skill; entire villages could be devastated in a single season as a result of particularly aggressive epidemics.[25]

Europeans also brought changes in lifestyle. First Recollet, then Jesuit missionaries came to Wendake, evangelizing in earnest after 1632. While conversion efforts were of mixed success, a small but influential group of Wendat did become nominal Christians by the 1640s, most likely to secure diplomatic ties with the French, as well as an effort to secure safety from European diseases.[26] When the wars with the Haudenosaunee forced the Wendat Confederacy to disperse in 1649, a number of Wendat went with the Jesuits back to Québec, aligning themselves closely with the French people and their Christianity.

Historiography

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[24] Warrick, "European Infectious Disease and Depopulation of the Wendat-Tionontate," 271; James C. Riley, "Smallpox and American Indians Revisited," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 65, 4 (2010): 476-7.

[25] Karl H. Schlesier, "Epidemics and Indian Middlemen: Rethinking the Wars of the Iroquois, 1609-1653," *Ethnohistory* 23, no. 2 (1976): 138; Warrick, "European Infectious Disease and Depopulation of the Wendat-Tonontate (Huron-Petun)," 267.

[26] There is a vast historiography on Wendat conversion and the reasons for it. Most scholars now agree that most conversions were not about genuine religious fervour, and indeed that most conversions were not as lasting or as devoted as the Jesuits thought or wanted. For some general discussion on Indigenous conversion in this period, and its efficacy, see: Cornelius J. Jaenen, "Amerindian Responses to French Missionary Intrusion, 1611-1760: A Categorization," in *Religion/Culture: Comparative Canadian Studies*, ed. William Westfall, Louis Rousseau, Fernand Harvey and John Simpson, pp. 182-97 (Ottawa: Association for Canadian Studies, 1985); Carole Blackburn, *Harvest of Souls: The Jesuit Missions and Colonialism in North America, 1632-1650* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000): 105-39. For discussion of Wendat conversion in context of diplomacy and trade benefits, see: Takao Abé, *The Jesuit Mission to New France: A New Interpretation in the Light of the Earlier Jesuit Experience in Japan* (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2011): 184. For Wendat conversion and healing, see Kenneth M. Morrison, "Baptism and Alliance: The Symbolic Mediations of Religious Syncretism," *Ethnohistory* 37, no. 4 (1990): 422. For religious syncretism among the Haudenosaunee of Kahnawake in the latter half of the 17th century, a community that had adopted huge numbers of Wendat both before and after their dispersal in 1650, see: David Blanchard, "... To the Other Side of the Sky: Catholicism at Kahnawake, 1667-1700," *Anthropologica* 24, no. 1 (1982): 85-6, 89, 97, 99.

This dissertation draws upon a wide range of secondary sources. Iroquoian history is a large field in Indigenous studies, and while *Wendat* research is less developed than that of the culturally-similar Haudenosaunee, a number of vital texts were produced in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s. The works of Bruce G. Trigger are seminal and his *The Children of Aataentsic* (published as two volumes in 1976; reprinted 1987 in one volume, and the version I cite here) remains one of the most important texts in Wendat studies. Trigger introduced the method of ethnohistory to Wendat studies, which revolutionized the kinds of questions asked and sources used in the study of Wendat history. Trigger took a predominantly materialist focus, a consequence of his incorporation of archaeology into his research. He focused on population and the impact of epidemic disease; pre-contact Wendat culture (particularly trade, subsistence and living conditions, burial practices, and material culture); the relationship between French and Wendat (particularly French influence on Wendat culture); and the dissolution of the Wendat Confederacy in 1649 in the context of the ongoing war with the Haudenosaunee, which he suggests was an indirect result of European influence on Wendat culture and society.[27] Around the same time, Conrad Heidenreich's research of the Wendat resulted in a comprehensive geographic study of Wendake (*Huronia*, published 1971),[28] adding his own population statistics, interpretations of subsistence, housing, trade, and the physical geography of Wendake, including the layout of archaeological sites. Heidenreich's *Huronia* and Trigger's *Children of Aataentsic* were highly complementary and both built on the earlier writings of Elisabeth Tooker (*An Ethnography of the*

[27] For key texts, see Bruce G. Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic* and *Natives and Newcomers: Canada's "Heroic Age" Reconsidered* (Montréal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1985). Other useful texts by Trigger include *The Impact of Europeans on Huronia: Problems in Canadian History* (Toronto: Copp Clark Publishing Co., 1969); and *The Huron*. Trigger is also the author of a number of useful articles.

[28] Heidenreich, *Huronia: A History and Geography of the Huron Indians, 1600-1650* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1971).

Huron Indians, published 1964, reprinted 1991),[29] a cultural summary of the Wendat people based on 17th-century missionary and travellers' writings. These, along with the cultural study of French-Indigenous contact in Cornelius J. Jaenen's *Friend and Foe* (1976),[30] provided much of the groundwork for later Wendat research.

These pioneering studies opened the doors for discussion of the ways in which European arrival affected Iroquoian (particularly Wendat and Haudenosaunee) societies, usually to their detriment. For example, Denys Delâge's *Le Pays renversé* (1991; translated and republished as *Bitter Feast* in 1993)[31] argued that Europeans brought a world-system economy to northeastern North America, and he focuses on the impact of trade (particularly the fur trade) in subjugating Indigenous peoples in a colonial framework. John Webster Grant (*Moon of Wintertime,* 1984)[32] likewise highlights change, and argues that Indigenous peoples turned to Christianity because their own traditions no longer seemed effective in their transforming social environment. In 1991, Karen Anderson published her hugely influential *Chain Her By One Foot*,[33] in which she argued the missionaries' efforts to convert and Frenchify Indigenous peoples went hand-in-hand with removing women from their customary positions of power and divorcing them from their previously-held social status. Anderson points to the imposition of French-Catholic systems of hierarchy as one of the main culprits; as Indigenous peoples converted to Christianity, they were

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[29] Elisabeth Tooker, *An Ethnography of the Huron Indians, 1615-1649* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1991).
[30] Cornelius J. Jaenen, *Friend and Foe: Aspects of French-Amerindian Cultural Contact in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1976).
[31] Denys Delâge, *Le Pays reversé: Amérindiens et Européans en Amérique du Nord-Est, 1600-1664* (Montréal: Les Éditions du Boréal, 1991); Denys Delâge, *Bitter Feast: Amerindians and Europeans in Northeastern North America, 1600-1664*, translated by Jane Brierley (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1993).
[32] John Webster Grant, *Moon of Wintertime: Missionaries and the Indians of Canada in Encounter since 1534* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984).
[33] Karen Anderson, *Chain Her By One Foot: the Subjugation of Native Women in Seventeenth-Century New France* (New York: Routledge Inc., 1991).

also expected to take up some of the rituals and practices associated with the religion, including those that elevated men over women. While Anderson broadly analyzes "native" women, her examples are of Innu or Wendat women and society up to approximately 1650, providing helpful analysis of the ways women and families were responding to Catholic teachings and to the evangelical and assimilative pressures from French missionaries. Anderson's work also provided a useful starting point to examine how social power shifted in New France and in Wendake, particularly among social groups that are often overlooked by earlier historians. While I disagree that Wendat women lost all of their social power by 1650,[34] Anderson's analysis of the pressures against women is helpful in highlighting the differences in Wendat and Innu social expectations in comparison to that of the French, as well as in demonstrating the ways in which French missionaries tried to impose their own cultural mores on their Indigenous converts.

Wendat-French relationships were not all about subjugation, however. Richard White's much-cited *The Middle Ground* (1991)[35] was especially useful in observing that Indigenous-European contact created new systems of understanding, in which (at first) neither Indigenous nor European peoples had the upper hand, misunderstandings were common, and accommodation and cooperation were necessary; it was only later, in the 18th and 19th centuries, that the "middle ground" began to break down. The Wendat were not the focus of White's study—indeed, most of White's attention was on the fur trade in the western Great Lakes—but misunderstanding and accommodation were also at the heart of the Wendat-French relationship.[36] Later studies like

[34] I agree with Kathryn Magee Labelle's analysis that Wendat women actually retained a great deal of social power, even after the dispersal. She makes this case in the award-winning *Dispersed but not Destroyed: a History of the Seventeenth-Century Wendat People* (2013).
[35] Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (Cambridge MA, Cambridge University Press, 1991).
[36] White's monograph is problematic for a number of reasons, including his under-emphasis of the violence in the *pays d'en haut*, and his focus on politics without considering the importance of kinship or ethnicity, among other issues, inspiring a critical special forum of articles in the winter 2006 edition of

Micah True's *Masters and Students* (2015), Erik R. Seeman's *The Huron-Wendat Feast of the Dead* (2011), Georges Sioui's *Huron-Wendat: the Heritage of the Circle* (1999), Thomas Peace's and Kathryn Magee Labelle's edited collection *From Huronia to Wendake* (2016), and more broadly Michael Witgen's *An Infinity of Nations* (2012) and Daniel K. Richter's *Facing East from Indian Country* (2001) highlight that Indigenous peoples had significant power in their relationships with Europeans, and Europeans often had to bend to Indigenous practices and expectations.[37] For this dissertation, White's monograph and the historiography of accommodation/misunderstanding is useful in framing Indigenous peoples and nations as dynamic, non-static, and collaborative; Indigenous nations like the Wendat tried to accommodate European newcomers whenever possible, bringing Europeans into existing political, kinship, trade, and religious networks, and adapting European practices to their own needs. Wendat adaptation of foreign practices and retention of power in the Wendat-French relationship is one of the foundational aspects of this dissertation.

Indigenous histories also became more focused around Indigenous theoretical frameworks and Indigenous communities. For Wendat studies, more and more projects are being completed with community guidance, whether by community members themselves or in collaborations

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The William and Mary Quarterly, as well as a few monographs using "the middle ground" as a theoretical point of departure, such as Kathleen DuVal's *The Native Ground: Indians and Colonists in the Heart of the Continent* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), and Alan Taylor's *The Divided Ground: Indians, Settlers, and the Northern Borderland of the American Revolution* (New York: Random House, 2007).

[37] Micah True, *Masters and Students: Jesuit Mission Ethnography in Seventeenth-Century New France* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015); Erik R. Seeman, *The Huron-Wendat Feast of the Dead: Indian-European Encounters in Early North America* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011); Georges E. Sioui, *Huron-Wendat: The Heritage of the Circle* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1999); Thomas Peace and Kathryn Magee Labelle, eds, *From Huronia to Wendakes: Adversity, Migrations, and Resilience, 1650-1900* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2016); Michael Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations: How the Native World Shaped Early North America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012); Daniel K. Richter, *Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001).

between community members and scholars. *Huron-Wendat: Heritage of the Circle* and *For an Amerindian Autohistory*, from Huron-Wendat scholar Georges Sioui, were among the first studies to look at Wendat history from a Wendat perspective. Sioui uses a combination of oral and historical sources to tell the history of his people, describing everything from migration theories to Wendat theoretical frameworks and ways of knowing. His most recent monograph, *Eatenonha: Native Roots of Modern Democracy* (2019) continues this discussion of Wendat worldview through the lens of political networks and family- and community-based living. His works were especially useful to this dissertation in providing a more Indigenous-centred form of ethnohistory. Other works continued this trend. Historian Kathryn Magee Labelle's *Dispersed but not Destroyed* (2012), and her current project *Daughters of Aataentsic*, are guided by Wendat and Wyandot community advisors, and trace the histories of dispersal, women's social power, and kinship, arguing for the longevity of women's political power. And, most recently, historian Mckelvey Kelly's thesis "Seven Generations: Emotion Work, Women, and the Anderdon Wyandot Cemetery, 1790-1914" (2019) on women's emotion work and burials continues the trend of community-based research, and provides a valuable contribution to the historian's understanding of mortuary customs and the emotional connection the living feel to their ancestors.[38]

With very few exceptions, however, there is almost no scholarly examination of Wendat childhood in the 17th century. Bruce Trigger's primary interest was in the relationship between French and Wendat, mostly by looking at key men, with little attention to women or children; when he does address children, he usually takes the missionary documents at face-value with little

[38] Sioui, *Huron-Wendat: The Heritage of the Circle*; *For an Amerindian Autohistory: An Essay on the Foundations of a Social Ethic*, trans. Sheila Fischman (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992); *Eatenonha: Native Roots of Modern Democracy* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2019); Labelle, *Dispersed but not Destroyed*; Mckelvey Kelly, "Seven Generations: Emotion Work, Women, and the Anderdon Wyandot Cemetery, 1790-1914" (MA thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 2019).

analysis.[39] Heidenreich likewise was more concerned with population data and demography, not specific groups, and indeed he gave very little data at all on different age categories. Gary Warrick, who later elaborated on Heidenreich's work with *A Population History of the Huron-Petun* (2008),[40] likewise focuses on large populations rather than specific groups within communities, and similarly pays little attention to children or youth. Cornelius Jaenen's *Friend and Foe* had some discussion of children, emphasizing the permissiveness of Wendat childrearing, but he does not try to uncover how the Wendat perceived their children, their childrearing philosophies, or the roles children played in Wendat society.[41] Even Georges Sioui (*Heritage of the Circle*, 1999), who briefly discusses Wendat respect for children as thinking individuals, does not address the central expectations or tropes of Wendat childhood. Indeed, most of the scholars who do discuss Wendat childhood address Wendat permissiveness in their childrearing practices, and the Wendat love for children; Trigger, Jaenen, and Sioui all emphasize this trope, with varying degrees of analysis.

Kathryn Magee Labelle was perhaps the first to critically analyze the source material to interpret Wendat childhood. Labelle's 2008 article (published under the name Kathryn Magee) challenged the stereotype of the 'wild' and 'undisciplined' Wendat child, arguing that the stereotype originated because Wendat childrearing values were distinct from those of the European missionaries who observed them. Her article was preliminary, focusing mostly on the historiography of childrearing and the primary source material from the *Jesuit Relations* and the writings of Gabriel Sagard, but she lay the groundwork to address the need to critically analyse the sources in an Indigenous framework and avoid taking the 17th-century missionaries at their

[39] See, for example, Trigger, *Children of Aataentsic*, 46-8, in which his description of Wendat childhood follows almost exactly from the source material without additional analysis.
[40] Gary Warrick, *A Population History of the Huron-Petun, A.D. 500-1650* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008).
[41] See Jaenen, *Friend and Foe*, especially 163-176.

word. Labelle utilizes Georges Sioui's theoretical framework of a circle-society, which sees all Wendat as having an essential role in life, regardless of age or gender, and therefore deserving of respect. Labelle points to the Wendat's complex systems of morality and social etiquette, in which respect for the individual is to be preserved and all individuals given the chance to make mistakes—and learn from them—so that they will be intelligent and capable contributors to the community's wellbeing. Children, Labelle argues, were taught with this frame of reference, and the lack of physical discipline that so offended the Europeans did not result in 'wild and undisciplined' children, but rather is indicative that the Wendat had alternative means of teaching children and correcting inappropriate behaviour.[42]

A few other scholars have addressed *Indigenous* child-rearing concepts in the Great Lakes region, though most have explored Anishinaabek contexts. Kim Anderson has discussed Anishinaabek childhood in context of motherhood in her 2000 monograph *A Recognition of Being*, and again in 2006 with the essay "New Life Stirring" in Lovell-Harvard and Lavell's *"Until Our Hearts Are on the Ground."* Later, in *Life Stages and Native Women* (2011), Anderson compared Anishinaabek childhood to other age groups, one of the few scholars to utilize age as a category of analysis. These works have been particularly useful in addressing some of the common tropes of Indigenous childhood, childrearing, and childbirth, including the stereotypes of Indigenous women's painless childbirths and the wild, uneducated, and undisciplined child.[43] Some of these

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[42] Kathryn Magee, "History Repeats Itself: Huron Childrearing Attitudes, Eurocentricity, and the Importance of Indigenous World View," *Canadian Journal of Native Education* 31, no. 2 (2008): 4-14.
[43] Kim Anderson, *A Recognition of Being: Reconstructing Native Womanhood* (Toronto: Sumach Press, 2000); Kim Anderson, "New Life Stirring: Mothering, Transformation, and Aboriginal Womanhood," in *"Until Our Hearts Are on the Ground": Aboriginal Mothering, Oppression, Resistance, and Rebirth*, edited by D. Memee Lovell-Harvard and Jeannette Cornier Lavell (Toronto: Demeter Press, 2006); Kim Anderson, *Life Stages and Native Women: Memory, Teachings, and Story Medicine* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2011). For some of very few studies to examine Indigenous (in this case Anishinaabek) childhood as its own category, see: Carol Green Devens, "Anishnabek Childhood: Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," *Michigan Historical Review* 20, 2 (1994): 184-197; M. Inez

tropes have had a deep and terrible impact on Indigenous women; Ann Marie Plane and Patricia Jasen explain that the stereotype of painless births casts Indigenous women as animal-like and, paradoxically, in desperate need of 'civilized' medical care.[44]

Of the few studies of Indigenous childhood, even fewer focus on individual children. One such study was especially helpful for this dissertation: Emma Anderson's *Betrayal of Faith* (2007) offered a well-researched and useful study of Pierre Pastedechouan, an Innu youth who was sent to France for education among the Recollet as a boy. When he returned to New France several years later, he discovered he was unable to speak his own language, and unable to relate to his own people. Having left home as a youth, he was in France during the critical adolescent years when he would have learned how to hunt and how to connect with the spirits, and during the period when he would have begun establishing political and trade ties with others, perhaps through marriage connections. Instead, Pastedechouan floundered, unable to fit in with his own people, but also not truly part of the French world. Pastedechouan's story ended with the young man starving to death in 1636, unable to provide for himself in the woods of his homeland. Anderson presents Pastedechouan's story as a biographical microhistory, with the first chapter dedicated to discussion of Innu lifeways, including the traditional education of children. Anderson's work was especially useful not only for methodological purposes—as the biographical microhistory approach is utilized in this dissertation—but also for her careful analysis of the ways religious, cultural, and social

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Hilger, *Chippewa Child Life and Its Cultural Background* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Perss, 1992).

[44] Ann Marie Plane, "Childbirth Practices among Native American Women of New England and Canada, 1600-1800," in *Women and Health in America: Historical Readings*, edited by Judith Walzer Leavitt (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1999); Patricia Jasen, "Race, Culture, and the Colonization of Childbirth in Northern Canada," *Social History of Medicine* 10, 3 (1997): 383-400. See also Ann Marie Plane, *Colonial Intimacies: Indian Marriage in Early New England* (Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 2000) for further discussion of family structures and the ways these changed with European presence.

factors intersected in one youth's life, creating a nuanced discussion of the conflict ensuing from the French's assimilative policies.[45]

The lack of scholarly attention to *Wendat* childhood required alternative means of addressing the subject, such as through the lens of education. However, most of the scholarly analysis of Indigenous education has been conducted in context of residential schooling in the 19th and 20th centuries. The works of J.R. Miller (*Shingwauk's Vision*, 1996; *Residential Schools and Reconciliation*, 2017), John Milloy (*A National Crime*, 1999), Brenda Child (*Boarding School Seasons*, 1998), K. Tsianina Lomawaima (*They Called It Prairie Light*, 1994), Celia Haig-Brown (*Resistance and Renewal*, 1988), Dev Sellars (*They Called Me Number One*, 2013), Elizabeth Furniss (*Victims of Benevolence*, 1995), Isabelle Knockwood (*Out of the Depths*, 2015), Basil Johnson (*Indian School Days*, 1988), and Paulette Regan (*Unsettling the Settler Within*, 2010) are just a few works in a much-studied field, all arguing that students at residential schools lived in horrific conditions, with the complicity of government, church, and other Western authorities. The compilation of research for (and publication of) the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada[46] prompted even more attention on this subject as the public became more aware of the atrocities conducted in the name of educating Indigenous youth.[47] Besides being beyond the

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[45] Emma Anderson, *The Betrayal of Faith: The Tragic Journey of a Colonial Native Convert* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2007). See also Emma Anderson, "Between Conversion and Apostasy: The Religious Journey of Pierre-Anthoine Pastedechouan," *Anthropologica* 49, 1 (2007): 17-34.

[46] Published in 6 volumes from the McGill-Queen's Press, and freely available online as downloadable PDFs. The one most relevant to my research is Volume 1, published in print as *Canada's Residential Schools: The History, Part 1 - Origins to 1939*, The Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. Vol. 1 of 6, Montréal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015. Available online at http://nctr.ca/assets/reports/Final%20Reports/Volume_1_History_Part_1_English_Web.pdf

[47] There is also an extensive and growing historiography of other atrocities committed against Indigenous children in the 20th and 21st centuries. For just a few examples, see: Ian Mosby, "Administering Colonial Science: Nutrition Research and Human Biomedical Experimentation in Aboriginal Communities and Residential Schools, 1942-1952," *Histoire Sociale / Social History* 46, 91 (2013). See also: Cindy Blackstock, "Residential Schools: Did They Really Close or Just Morph into Child Welfare?" *Indigenous*

temporal scope of this dissertation, much of the residential school research explores the atrocities committed against Indigenous children in these schools, including government and church collusion in concealing these crimes, and therefore focuses more on the activities of the administrators and the curriculum at the schools rather than focusing on the children themselves. Milloy's *A National Crime* for instance focuses on the collaboration between the Canadian government and the church to conceal the violence and ongoing degradation inside the school system; Miller (*Shingwauk's Vision*) makes similar arguments, and explains that Indigenous peoples participated in the school system in hopes that it would provide a better future for their children, but that parents were often kept in the dark about the school's day-to-day horrors, and tried to resist assimilation. Some works (for example, Basil Johnston's *Indian School Days* and Theodore Fontaine's *Broken Circle*) are the memoirs of individual students, but these too focus on the atrocities of residential schooling rather than children's place in Indigenous societies. In this vast field of research on residential schooling, the few works that discussed Indigenous children in the colonial or 'contact' period only gave passing attention to Indigenous education strategies and the lack of formal, European-style education programmes; almost none discuss what childhood actually meant to Indigenous peoples, and outside of discussion of education, none discuss children's traditional social roles. Indeed, in the published editions of the Truth and Reconciliation Report, Volume 1 devotes a single chapter (Chapter 3) to "Residential Schooling in French Canada: 1608-1763." While these early missionary schools were very different from the residential school system in the 19th and 20th centuries, this chapter does give a brief outline of the expectations of Indigenous schooling, with a focus on missionary activity rather than Indigenous participation. Readers do not get much sense of what Indigenous children did when they were not

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Law Journal 6, no. 1 (2007); Pamela D. Palmater, "Stretched Beyond Human Limits: Death by Poverty in First Nations," *Canadian Review of Social Policy* 65 (2011).

being colonized by missionaries, and there is little systematic analysis of how Indigenous childhood differed from that of the European settlers. However, residential school studies were useful in pointing to a few of the continuities in Indigenous peoples' perceptions of children and childhood, namely the abhorrence of physical discipline (which is described in the primary source material from the 17th century), and the informal structures of Indigenous education as compared to the Western system. These continuities inspired me to make some cautious use of upstreaming in this dissertation, which shall be discussed further in the next section.

Compared to residential school studies, there are far fewer studies of Indigenous schooling in the 17th century. Roger Magnuson's 1991 *Education in New France* provided a useful starting point; the first half of the book shows that education was first directed toward Indigenous peoples as an instrument of assimilation and evangelization, and he uses education to argue that efforts to impose French culture and religion on Indigenous peoples failed.[48] Indeed, 'failure' is the main theme in the study of Indigenous education in the colonial period. Almost all studies of the Jesuit seminary school at Notre-Dame-des-Anges highlight the Jesuits' failure to convince Wendat youths to convert permanently to Christianity.[49] Likewise, much of the research on the Ursulines' school for Indigenous girls also emphasizes education as a tool of assimilation, and its failure to

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[48] Roger Magnuson, *Education in New France* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992).

[49] See for example N.E. Dionne, *Le Séminaire de Notre-Dame-Des-Anges* (Montréal: [s.n.], 1890); Carole Blackburn, *Harvest of Souls: the Jesuit Missions and Colonialism in North America, 1632-1650* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000), 12; Jacques Monet, "The Jesuits in New France," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Jesuits*, edited by Thomas Worcester (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 192; Magnuson, *Education in New France*, 50. For 'failure' to educate Wendat children sent to France, see also Olive Patricia Dickason, *The Myth of the Savage and the Beginnings of French Colonialism in the Americas* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1984), 217-9; Olive Patricia Dickason, "The Traffic Was Two-Way: Amerindians in Europe," in *Ancient Travellers: Proceedings of the Twenty-Seventh Annual Conference of the Archaeological Association of the University of Calgary*, edited by Claire Alume, Jennifer Kahn, Christine Cluney and Meaghan Peuramaki-Brown (Calgary: Archaeological Association of the University of Calgary, 2002), 74.

leave a permanent mark on students.[50] Mairi Cowan's 2018 intervention in this discussion shifted the focus slightly to discuss the Ursuline educators' efforts to accommodate a changing French policy on assimilation, arguing that education prior to the 1660s was more about adding French practices to Indigenous ones than it was about complete replacement; thus, the Ursulines' efforts were only 'failures' in accordance with new policies that expected total assimilation.[51] Again, there is very little on individual student responses to these educational systems, or the responses of specific Indigenous nations to missionary efforts to convert their children through education. However, studies of missionary schools did provide analysis on the things that surprised missionaries, including Indigenous parents' abhorrence for physical discipline, as mentioned above, but also children and youth social roles and gendered expectations, and how these expectations and roles differed from that of their settler counterparts. The historiography of Indigenous education in the 17th century formed the basis of two chapters of this dissertation in my own discussion of Wendat youths in missionary schools.

The historiography of colonial and early modern European (especially French) childhood was also helpful in this dissertation, particularly in illustrating the differences between actual Wendat practices and the ways French observers represented those practices. This area of study also has the advantage of being a much more well-developed historical field. Philippe Ariès's pioneering *Centuries of Childhood* (1962) was the first significant foray into childhood studies, and argued scholars should consider childhood a distinct age group, one that is socially

[50] See for example Dominique Deslandres, "L'éducation Des Amérindiennes D'après La Correspondance De Marie Guyart De L'incarnation," *Studies in Religion* 16, no. 1 (1987): 91-110; Vincent Grégoire, "Malentendus Culturels Rencontrés Par Les Missionnaires Ursulines En Nouvelle-France Au Xviième Siècle," *Seventeenth-Century French Studies* 36, no. 2 (2014): 109-24.
[51] Mairi Cowan, "Education, Francisation, and Shifting Colonial Priorities at the Ursuline Convent in Seventeenth-Century Québec," *Canadian Historical Review* 99, no. 1 (2018): 1-29.

constructed, changeable, and different from adulthood.[52] *Centuries of Childhood* inspired an entirely new historiography, generally categorized in two areas, sometimes overlapping: those who argued that childhood as a distinct social category was not a modern development, and those who argued that modern childhood was a time of innocence, with children beloved by their parents and needing and deserving of protection from the world.[53] These works tended to highlight a few other, interconnected themes: 1) children's rights and the modern protectiveness of children in Western societies is a relatively recent development, happening gradually over the course of the last two centuries; 2) children are "economically useless and emotionally priceless"[54]; and 3) children, because of their age and lack of ability to make important decisions for themselves, need adults to make such decisions on their behalf.[55] These tropes of childhood innocence, weakness, illogic,

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[52] Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life* (New York: Vintage Books, 1962). Originally published as *L'enfant Et La Vie Familiale Sous L'ancien Régime* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1960).

[53] According to Hugh Cunningham, those arguing that childhood was not a modern development tended to misconstrue Ariès's original point, and this spawned the historiography. For a key example of this view, see: Shulamith Shahar, *Childhood in the Middle Ages* (New York: Routledge, 1990. For a few analyzing childhood as a time of innocence and/or analyzing the emotional child-parent bond, see: Albrecht Classen, ed. *Childhood in the Middle Ages: The Results of a Paradigm Shift in the History of Mentality* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2005); Roger Cox, *Shaping Childhood: Themes of Uncertainty in the History of Adult-Child Relationships* (New York: Routledge, 1996); Joanne M. Ferraro, "Childhood in Medieval and Early Modern Times," in *The Routledge History of Childhood in the Western World*, ed. Paula S. Fass (New York: Routledge, 2013). See also Hugh Cunningham, "Histories of Childhood," *The American Historical Review* 103, no. 4 (1998): 1197; Hugh Cunningham, *Children and Childhood in Western Society since 1500*, 2nd ed. (Harlow UK: Pearson Education Limited, 2005); Margaret L. King, "Concepts of Childhood: What We Know and Where We Might Go," *Renaissance Quarterly* 60, no. 2 (2007); Jo Sofaer Derevenski, "Where Are the Children? Assessing Children in the Past," *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 13, 2 (1994); Colin Heywood, *A History of Childhood: Children and Childhood in the West from Medieval to Modern Times*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge UK: Polity Press, 2018); Colin Heywood, *Growing Up In France: From Ancien Régime to the Third Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Allison James, and Adrian James, *Key Concepts in Childhood Studies* (Los Angeles: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2008).

[54] This landmark argument was first issued by Viviana A. Zelizer, regarding childhood in the 20th century, but has since been taken up by others, with ever-changing chronological context. Viviana A. Zelizer, *Pricing the Priceless Child: The Changing Social Value of Children* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), 57. For a counter, see Virginia Morrow, "Rethinking Childhood Dependency: Children's Contributions to the Domestic Economy," *The Sociological Review* 44, 1 (1996).

[55] In the modern historiography, this is linked to the idea of competence. In early modern Europe, the need for adults to make decisions for children had more to do with the system of patriarchy (in which the

irresponsibility, and separation from adults are *not* universal ideas, and not all were shared by the Wendat of the 17th century (or even by the French and French colonists of the 17th century). To get a better sense of these differences, and in conjunction with the little available on Indigenous childhood, I also utilized the historiography of colonial childhood. James Marten's edited collection *Children in Colonial America* (2007) provided a useful starting point, as well as Joseph E. Illick's "Childhood in Three Cultures in Early America" (1997) and *American Childhoods* (2002), and Denise Lemieux's *Les Petits Innocents* (1985). The latter focuses on childhood in New France, and taken together, these works reveal some of the main concerns of the field, the tropes of childhood, and also the role children played in colonial and European societies.[56] Jennifer Beste's 2009 article "The Status of Children within the Roman Catholic Church" contextualizes Jesuit and Recollet missionary perceptions of Wendat children, and Signe Howell's study of Chewong children and conceptions of humanity and 'self' offers an enlightening model of how age is a crucial category of analysis, a category that is sometimes used to assess societal belonging.[57]

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father 'ruled' the household and children owed him their obedience) than any consideration of ability to make decisions. David Archard, *Children: Rights and Childhood* (New York: Routledge, 1998), especially chapter 5.

[56] James Marten, ed., *Children in Colonial America* (New York: New York University Press, 2007); Joseph E. Illick, "Childhood in Three Cultures in Early America." *Pennsylvania History* 64 (1997); *American Childhoods*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002; Denise Lemieux, *Les Petits Innocents: L'enfance en Nouvelle-France* (Québec: Institut Québécois de Recherche sur la Culture, 1985).

[57] Jennifer Beste, "The Status of Children Within the Roman Catholic Church," in *Children and Childhood in American Religions*, edited by Don S. Browning and Bonnie J. Miller-McLemore (New Brunswick NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2009); Signe Howell, "From Child to Human: Chewong Concepts of Self," in *Acquiring Culture: Cross Cultural Studies in Child Development*, edited by Gustav Jahoda and I. M. Lewis (London: Croom Helm, 1988). Note that the Chewong are a people in the Malay Peninsula of Southeast Asia. I used this study as a model of how one can study childhood and age as categories of analysis, *not* as a comparative study of cultural features, as the Chewong are both very different from the Wendat, and in a very different geographic and temporal context.

Family provides a useful frame for studying children's roles. Scholarship on Indigenous families focuses on a few key themes: 1) matrilocal and matrilineal living (specifically for Iroquoians), 2) the importance of kinship, and 3) the importance of women. Here, too, were disparities in the historiography. Matrilocal and matrilineal living received a lot of attention from early Iroquoianist scholars and launched debate about how effectively 17th-century writers described a society with an ancient history of powerful and important women. While most scholars accept that the Haudenosaunee and Wendat were matrilineal, based on the clear and abundant evidence from the *Jesuit Relations* and similar sources, they debate matrilocality, particularly its origins. Trigger argues that matrilocality developed slowly over time, as Iroquoians became more dependent on maize agriculture,[58] a theory supported by scholars like John P. Hart, Gary Crawford, and David G. Smith.[59] Dean Snow offers a rebuttal, arguing instead that matrilocality is neither dependent upon agricultural living, nor a necessarily gradual development in situ.[60] Other scholars question whether the Wendat truly lived matrilocally in the 17th century. Cara Richards argues that matrilocal living was not the main residence pattern among the Wendat, but she also misinterprets much of the key primary sources she uses as evidence, and she does not account for the Wendat's

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[58] Bruce G. Trigger, "Iroquoian Matriliny," *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 48, 1-2 (1978): 60-1, 63. See also Trigger, *Children of Aataentsic*, 135.

[59] Hart, for example, takes for granted that matrilocality and maize agriculture must be intertwined. Crawford and Smith take a more cautious approach, describing the "*association* between social organization and subsistence pattern," rather than stipulating bluntly that matrilocality and maize agriculture are bound together; they, however, are providing an argument that the site of Princess Point does not apply to Dean Snow's argument of migration. See John P. Hart, "Maize, Matrilocality, Migration, and Northern Iroquoian Evolution," *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 8, 2 (2001): 151, 153, 164, 77-8; Gary W. Crawford and David G. Smith, "Migration in Prehistory: Princess Point and the Northern Iroquoian Case," *American Antiquity* 61, 4 (1996): 786-7.

[60] For two key articles on Snow's migration theory and the (unnecessary) interconnection between agriculture and matrilocality, see Dean R. Snow, "Migration in Prehistory: The Northern Iroquoian Case." *American Antiquity* 60 (1995): 59-79; "More on Migrations in Prehistory: Accommodating New Evidence in the Northern Iroquoian Case." *American Antiquity* 61 (1996): 791-96. For more on these arguments, see Warrick, "The Precontact Iroquoian Occupation of Southern Ontario;" Williamson, "The Archaeological History of the Wendat to A.D. 1651," 3.

flexible conceptions of what the Jesuits' dubbed "marriage."[61] Her article led to further debate. Brian Hayden, trying to reconcile Richards's evidence, suggests corporate or economic reasons for residential patterns, instead of matrilocality.[62] Trigger, on the other hand, offers an early counter-argument to Richards, pointing out the problems in her source base and interpretations. The issue of matrilocality was still undergoing analysis in Jennifer Birch's 2008 article, in which she concludes that archaeology is not the best discipline to answer these questions.[63] Matrilocality remains a concern for those studying family; if we understood how people lived, we might gain more insight of, for example, how families raised their children, how interpersonal relationships worked in the longhouse, and even, potentially, why certain community members responded differently to Jesuit and other outsiders than others in the village.

Family-related debates in Iroquoian/Wendat history have mostly centred around kinship. Kinship is widely accepted by the scholarly community as a crucial organizing characteristic in Wendat society, but how kinship applied to social situations is mostly studied in context of external forces, for example, how kinship affected trade or warfare. In the case of war, scholars such as José António Brandão, James Lynch, and Matthew Kruer assert that war was often conducted with the purpose of gaining captives for adoption, and to replace deceased family members: in other words, they were 'mourning wars.'[64] Scholarly analysis of the day-to-day effect of this kind of adoption on social encounters is still an underdeveloped area, however.

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[61] Cara Richards, "Huron and Iroquois Residence Patterns, 1600-1650," in *Iroquois Culture, History, and Prehistory: Proceedings of the 1965 Conference on Iroquois Research,* edited by Elizabeth Tooker (Albany, NY: New York State Museum and Science Service, 1967).
[62] Brian Hayden, "Corporate Groups and the Late Ontario Iroquoian Longhouse," *Ontario Archaeology* 28 (1976): 3, 9.
[63] Trigger, "Iroquoian Matriliny," 55-65; Jennifer Birch, "Rethinking the Archaeological Application of Iroquoian Kinship." *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 32, no. 2 (2008): 198-202.
[64] Brandão, *"Your Fyre Shall Burn No More"*; James Lynch, "The Iroquois Confederacy, and the Adoption and Administration of Non-Iroquois Individuals and Groups Prior to 1756," *Man in the Northeast* 30 (1985); Matthew Kruer, "Bloody Minds and Peoples Undone: Emotion, Family, and

Indeed, rare are the studies that focus on how kinship affected Wendat interpersonal relationships. Of the few, most are confined to anthropological population and demographic studies. A number of scholars have investigated migration trends,[65] the impact of epidemic disease,[66] and population growth,[67] but rarely in context of how these affected or were affected by kinship. Similarly, very little scholarly discussion has engaged questions of how adoption works within communities, how inter-family alliances worked, or even how families understood personal space within shared longhouses.[68] For example, scholars have long pointed out that men would, in accordance with matrilocal living conventions, move into their "spouse's" household; however, they also stipulate that men remained closely tied to, and continued to feed and support, their own clan home by bringing food and supplies, and helping to raise their sisters' children. Since men were away from the village for most of the year and spent perhaps two or three months there, where exactly did these 'married' men live? Did they sleep in the longhouse of their spouses? Or

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Political Order in the Susquehannock-Virginia War," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 74, 3 (2017). For other discussions of Indigenous adoption and Europeans, see Rachel Bryant, "Kinshipwrecking: John Smith's Adoption and the Pocahontas Myth in Settler Ontologies," *AlterNative* 14, 4 (2018); Rony Blum, *Ghost Brothers: Adoption of a French Tribe by Bereaved Native America* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005); Ann M. Little, "'Keep Me With You, So That I Might Not Be Damned': Age and Captivity in Colonial Borderlands Warfare," in *Age in Americas: the Colonial Era to the Present*, edited by Corinne T. Field and Nicholas L. Syrett (New York: New York University Press, 2015).

[65] J. Norman Emerson, "Problems of Huron Origins," *Anthropologica* 3, no. 2 (1961): 181-201; Martha A. Latta, "Controlling the Heights: The Iroquoian Occupations of the Albion Pass Region," *Archaeology of Eastern North America* 8 (1980): 71-77.

[66] Martelle, "Some Thoughts on the Impact of Epidemic Disease and European Contact on Ceramic Production in Seventeenth Century Huronia"; Kathryn Magee Labelle, ""They Only Spoke in Sighs": The Loss of Leaders and Life in Wendake, 1633-1639," *Journal of Historical Biography* 6 (2009): 1-33.

[67] Warrick, "The Precontact Iroquoian Occupation of Southern Ontario,"; Eric E. Jones, "Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) Population Trends in Northeastern North America," *Journal of Field Archaeology* 35, no. 1 (2010): 5-18.

[68] A few archaeologists have tried to use archaeology to determine kinship, with generally lacklustre results, and fewer still have tried to interpret what these kinship relationships might mean in practice. For an example of the former: William L. Allen, and James B. Richrdson. "The Reconstruction of Kinship from Archaeological Data: The Concepts, the Methods, and the Feasibility," *American Antiquity* 36, no. 1 (1971): 41-53. For an example of the latter: John L. Creese, "Emotion Work and the Archaeology of Consensus: The Northern Iroquoian Case," *World Archaeology* 48, no. 1 (2016): 14-34.

did they only visit, and spend most of their time in their mothers' and sisters' longhouse, helping to raise and support the families there? Questions like these have not been addressed in the scholarly discussions of kinship.

The historiography of Indigenous women, however, is a well-developed field and has received regular scholarly attention since the 1980s and 1990s. Judith K. Brown's seminal *Ethnohistory* article "Economic Organization and the Position of Women Among the Iroquois" (1970) was one of the first influential studies of Indigenous women's roles, and started a trend in analysis of the gendered dualism in Iroquoian societies.[69] Key works by Sylvia Van Kirk (*"Many Tender Ties,"* 1980) and Jennifer S.H. Brown (*Strangers in Blood*, 1980) did not focus on Iroquoians, but provided the groundwork for comprehensive studies of Indigenous women in the early colonial and contact periods, and demonstrated that women had profound influence in Indigenous societies and in Indigenous relationships with European newcomers. Later studies by Karen Anderson (*Chain Her By One Foot*, 1991) and Carol Devens (*Countering Colonization*, 1992) examined the effect of colonialism on women's roles, viewing European involvement in Indigenous lives as detrimental to women's status. Counterarguments focusing on women's empowerment, from scholars like Kim Anderson (*A Recognition of Being* published in 2000, and *Life Stages and Native Women*, published in 2011) and Paula Gunn Allen (*The Sacred Hoop*, 1986), highlighted women's special position in Indigenous societies and recalled women's empowerment. These were followed by scholars like Barbara Alice Mann (*Iroquoian Women*, 2000), Kathryn Magee Labelle ("They Are the Life of the Nation," 2008, and *Dispersed but Not*

[69] Brown was not the first to discuss Iroquoian women, however. Lucien Carr wrote an early piece on social and political roles of women in Haudenosaunee and Wendat communities as early as 1884; William M. Beauchamp (1900), Alexander A. Goldenweiser (1914), J.N.B. Hewitt (1933), Ann Eastlack Shafer (1941), Martha Champion Randle (1951), and Cara E. Richards (1957) all wrote on this subject as well. Brown's article however is commonly cited as the foundation of the feminist Indigenous studies that came out in the late 1970s and throughout the 1980s.

Destroyed, 2012), and Roland Viau (*Femmes de personne*, 2000), who looked specifically at Wendat and Haudenosaunee women as powerful social actors. Key to each of these studies is the assertion that women had very specific social roles in Indigenous societies. For the Wendat and Haudenosaunee, women took care of village life: they tended to children, raised crops, distributed food, and had the final decision-making power over the everyday affairs of the longhouse, clan, and village. Wendat and Haudenosaunee women's spiritual and religious roles have also received scholarly attention, including from scholars like Allan Greer and William B. Hart.[70] Iroquoian life was highly gendered, and while women and men had different roles to fulfill, these tasks were not interpreted as part of a hierarchy; rather, men and women had complimentary roles, each fulfilling necessary and highly-respected niches.

One of those highly-respected female niches was motherwork. Barbara Alice Mann and Jan Noel both emphasize the ways in which Indigenous motherwork was empowering, and, focusing on Iroquoian women, both scholars see motherhood as focal points of women's social status and power.[71] Motherwork for Iroquoians was not confined to the biological mother of a child, however; instead, women took on the role of 'mother' for their sister's children as well. Indeed, all the women in the village looked after all of the children; as children played in the fields, ate meals in the clan's longhouse, fished in the streams, and gathered in the woods, nearby women kept an eye on them. This decentralized parenting was a source of much consternation to European

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[70] Allan Greer, *Mohawk Saint: Catherine Tekakwitha and the Jesuits*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005); William B. Hart, "'The Kindness of the blessed Virgin': Faith, Succour, and the Cult of Mary among Christian Hurons and Iroquois in Seventeenth-Century New France," in *Spiritual Encounters: Interaction Between Christianity and Native Religions in Colonial America*, ed. Nicholas Griffiths and Fernandes Cervantes, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999).

[71] Barbara Alice Mann, *Iroquoian Women: The Gantowisas* (New York: Peter Lang, 2000); Jan Noel, "Power Mothering: the Haudenosaunee Model," in *"Until Our Hearts Are on the Ground": Aboriginal Mothering, Oppression, Resistance, and Rebirth*, edited by D. Memee Lovell-Harvard and Jeannette Cornier Lavell (Toronto: Demeter Press, 2006).

visitors, who saw this as a lack of any kind of parenting at all; this trope of 'bad parenting' still affects Indigenous women (and children) today.[72] For this dissertation, the scholarship of women and motherwork was especially helpful in highlighting the centrality of family to Indigenous peoples in the Great Lakes region; in the case of Iroquoians, mothers were particularly revered for their childbearing and childrearing roles.

Finally, as the 17th-century primary sources were written by Europeans (mostly French men), I also explored the historiography of early modern French and European culture and society, as well as French colonial society in New France. Scholars such as Pierre Goubert, William Beik, James Collins, and Geoffrey Parker provide a general outline of early modern French society, including the development of the state, social divisions and classes, and differences in urban and rural life.[73] Scholars such as Natalie Zemon Davis, Robert Darnton, Edward Muir, Faith E. Beasley, and R.A. Houston provide insight into early modern French culture, including popular cultural practices such as charivari, humour, honour culture, social engagement in places like salons, and literacy, respectively.[74] Davis's discussions of charivari highlight the sociopolitical

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[72] Lisa J. Udel, "Revision and Resistance: The Politics of Native Women's Motherwork," *Frontiers: a Journal of Women Studies* 22, no. 2 (2001): 43-62; Leanne Simpson, "Birthing an Indigenous Resurgence: Decolonizing our Pregnancy and Birthing Ceremonies," in *"Until Our Hearts Are on the Ground": Aboriginal Mothering, Oppression, Resistance, and Rebirth*, edited by D. Memee Lovell-Harvard and Jeannette Cornier Lavell (Toronto: Demeter Press, 2006). See also Nico Trocmé, Della Knoke, and Cindy Blackstock, "Pathways to Overrepresentation of Aboriginal Children in Canada's Child Welfare System," *Social Service Review* 78, no. 4 (2004): 578, 585, 587.

[73] Pierre Goubert, *The French Peasantry in the Seventeenth Century*, trans. Ian Patterson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); William Beik, *A Social and Cultural History of Early Modern France* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univeristy Press, 2009); James B. Collins, *The State in Early Modern France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Geoffrey Parker, *Europe in Crisis: 1598-1648* (Sussex: Harvester Press Limited, 1980).

[74] Natalie Zemon Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1975); Robert Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (New York: Basic Books, 1984); Edward Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Faith E. Beasley, *Salons, History, and the Creation of Seventeenth-Century France: Mastering Memory* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2006); R. A. Houston, *Literacy in Early Modern Europe: Culture and Education 1500-1800,* 2nd ed. (London: Pearson Education Ltd, 2002).

competence of early modern French youth, and provide an example of ways in which youth participated in social protests—similarly to how youth could protest among the Wendat, as I discuss in detail in Chapter Four of this dissertation.[75] For New France, the works of Brian Brazeau, Allan Greer, Louise Dechêne, and Leslie Choquette, among others, highlight some of the intellectual, cultural, and geographical histories of French colonists and newcomers in the land that would eventually become Canada.[76] The historiography of New France has largely indicated a pan-French population, suggesting that all French migrants—with a few exceptions, such as the missionaries, and perhaps leaders and governors like Samuel de Champlain—could be understood as a homogenous group unified by similar viewpoints. Indeed, Brazeau argues that New France was as much an intellectual construct as it was a region; writers describing New France—including Champlain and Sagard, who also dealt with the Wendat—took pains to cast their surroundings as a reflection of 'old' France, highlighting the familiar and similar whenever possible. As a result, they hoped to recreate their homeland in the New World, suggesting that this effort to formulate a French identity affected the way the French migrants interacted with the Indigenous locals.[77] However, some population and migration studies suggest this may be an overly simplified view. Louise Dechêne was one of the first to conduct a systematic study of the settlers themselves; she indicates that the predominantly young population of French migrants to the Montréal area consisted largely of fur traders and agriculturalists who had little to do with one another, and

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[75] For Davis's discussion of charivari, see Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France*, and for further discussion of early modern French family, see Natalie Zemon Davis, "Ghosts, Kin, and Progeny: Some Features of Family Life in Early Modern France," *Daedalus* 106, no. 2 (1977): 87-144.

[76] See also Anthony Pagden, *European Encounters with the New World: From Renaissance to Romanticism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993); Saliha Belmessous, "Assimilation and Racialism in Seventeenth-Century and Eighteenth-Century French Colonial Policy," *American Historical Review,* 110, 2 (2005).

[77] Brian Brazeau, *Writing a New France, 1604-1632: Empire and Early Modern French Identity* (Surrey, England: Ashgate, 2009).

therefore had different ideas of what New France should look like—and they were different still from the missionaries who lived and worked with the Wendat.[78] In a more recent study, Choquette complicates this image further with her argument that many of the French migrants to New France were not peasants at all, in contrast to Dechêne's underlying assumption, but instead came from a variety of backgrounds, including labourer, soldier, sailor, artisan, and nobility.[79] However, some overall patterns did become clear. Patriarchy and gender-specific social roles came with the migrants to their new communities. Key works from Julie Hardwick, Leslie Tuttle and Charmarie Blaisdell provide useful context about early modern French women, families, and the politics of reproduction, while Charmarie Blaisdell's work on nuns in early modern France illustrates that although the French had strict gender expectations, women were not powerless.[80] Jan Noel's work on women in New France illustrates that patriarchy was not an insurmountable barrier, and many women took on important roles in the colony's social, economic, and spiritual life, with and without the aid of male family members.[81] Women's religious empowerment was especially the subject of Emily Clark's and Dominique Deslandres's studies, highlighting the roles of women as missionaries, educators, and businesswomen in New France, even when living behind the walls of a convent.[82]

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[78] Louise Dechêne, *Habitants and Merchants in Seventeenth Century Montreal*, trans. Liana Vardi (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992).
[79] Leslie Choquette, *Frenchmen into Peasants: Modernity and Tradition in the Peopling of French Canada* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997).
[80] Julie Hardwick, "Widowhood and Patriarchy in Seventeenth Century France," *Journal of Social History* 26, 1 (1992); *The Practice of Patriarchy: Gender and the Politics of Household Authority in Early Modern France* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998); Leslie Tuttle, *Conceiving the Old Regime: Pronatalism and the Politics of Reproduction in Early Modern France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); Charmarie Blaisdell, "Religion, Gender, and Class: Nuns and Authority in Early Modern France," in *Changing Identities in Early Modern France*, ed. Michael Wolfe (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 1997).
[81] Jan Noel, *Along a River: the First French-Canadian Women* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 2013); Noel, *Women in New France,* Historical Booklet no. 58 (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1998).
[82] Emily Clark, *Masterless Mistresses: the New Orleans Ursulines and the Development of a New World Society, 1727-1834* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007); Dominique Deslandres,

Religion in early modern France and New France was dominated by the Roman Catholic Church, missionaries (especially Jesuits), and nuns (especially Ursuline). Scholars such as Brad S. Gregory, Barbara B. Diefendorf, James D. Tracy, and R. Po-Chia Hsia provide a useful overview of the state of religion in early modern Europe. Europe had undergone a major religious upheaval with the birth of Protestantism, and then another upheaval with the ensuing Catholic Reformation.[83] For Catholics, martyrdom took on new importance after the schism, and new religious orders—such as the Jesuits in the 16th century—were created to convert the unbelievers, even if such missionizing works were dangerous, or even fatal, to the missionaries themselves.[84] A number of different religious orders were represented in New France in the 17th century—including Jesuits, Recollets, and Ursulines, who all worked with the Wendat—and all sought to convert Indigenous peoples to their particular kind of Catholic. Much of the historiography of these missionary efforts emphasize failure to convince large numbers of Indigenous peoples to convert, or on the mutual misunderstandings and misinterpretations of spiritual matters.[85]

Croire et Faire Croire: Les Missions Françoises au XVIIe Siècle (1600-1659) (Paris: Librairie Arthème Fayard, 2003); Deslandres, "Femmes missionnaires en Nouvelle-France: les débuts des Ursulines et Hospitalières à Québec," in *La Religion de ma Mère: les Femmes et la Transmission de la Foi*, edited by Jean Delumeau, 209-224 (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1992).

[83] Barbara B. Diefendorf, *From Penitence to Charity: Pious Women and the Catholic Reformation in Paris* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); James D. Tracy, *Europe's Reformations, 1450-1650: Doctrine, Politics, and Community* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc, 2006); R. Po-Chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal, 1540-1770* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

[84] Brad S. Gregory, *Salvation at Stake: Christian Martyrdom in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999); John W. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993).

[85] Deslandres, *Croire et Faire Croire*; Deslandres, "Femmes missionnaires en Nouvelle-France: les débuts des Ursulines et Hospitalières à Québec"; Mairi Cowan, "Education, Francisation, and Shifting Colonial Priorities at the Ursuline Convent in Seventeenth-Century Québec," *Canadian Historical Review* 99, no. 1 (2018); editors Allan Greer and Jodi Bilinkoff, *Colonial Saints: Discovering the Holy in the Americas* (New York: Routledge, 2003); Cornelius J. Jaenen, "Gabriel Sagard: A Franciscan among the Huron," in *The Human Tradition in Colonial America: The Human Tradition in American History*, ed. Ian Kenneth Steele and Nancy L. Rhoden (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1999), 37-48. For the piety of laypersons in France, see also Elizabeth Rapley, *The Dévotes: Women and Church in Seventeenth-Century France* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990).

This historiography of European religions is especially useful when interpreting *Wendat* traditional narratives and spiritual worldview, as Wendat narratives were recorded by missionaries who saw alternative spiritual understandings as something to overcome and combat. Jesuit, Recollet, and Ursuline preachers tended to describe Wendat spiritual figures as demons or as Christ-figures and angels, depending on these entities' roles in Wendat stories.[86] Wendat traditions and spiritual worldview is made much clearer through use of circle frameworks as a lens, introduced by Huron-Wendat scholar Georges Sioui as a Wendat conceptual framework. Sioui's work demonstrates that Wendat stories were cyclical and used as teaching tools.[87] Circle frameworks were also intrinsic to understanding the social roles children occupied, as well as the way gender and age worked together. In this case, adult Wendat fulfilled different roles than children, often predefined by gender. Rules and norms that dictated adult behaviour held less weight with children, who were expected to learn by experimentation and by observation. As such, children were often able to fulfil roles and perform tasks that would be socially unacceptable for adults. In so doing, children and adults fulfilled reciprocal roles, both valued for the unique contributions they made to their communities.

Sources, Methods, and Theoretical Frameworks

Wendat children are almost never discussed in academic research, partly because children are rarely mentioned in the historical source material. Hence, this dissertation utilizes an ethnohistorical approach, drawing on five different source bases: historical documents, linguistic materials from dictionaries, Iroquoian stories and traditional narratives, archaeological site reports

[86] For an example of the Wendat creation story and Brébeuf's Catholic interpretation, including his assumption that the Wendat must have known parts of Catholic doctrine in their distant past, and somehow misremembered it over the centuries, see: *JR* 10: 127-139. For later, Wyandot versions of these stories, see Barbeau, *Huron and Wyandot Mythology*, 37-47, 47-49, 50-51.
[87] For more on circle frameworks, see Sioui, *Huron-Wendat: The Heritage of the Circle*.

and published studies, and anthropologists' fieldnotes from early 20th-century research projects conducted among Wendat, Wyandot, and Haudenosaunee communities.

Documentary evidence:

Missionary records make up the bulk of the documentary evidence from the 17th century. The Jesuits were the most prolific writers: the *Jesuit Relations* alone, a series of propagandistic reports sent to Europe with annual news on the missionaries' progress, were published at the turn of the 20th century as a 73-volume collection covering over 100 years of interactions with Indigenous peoples. This collection, edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites and his team, and published over the course of seven years as *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* (cited here as *JR*), also included a number of letters and journals originally written for private use. While these texts have been criticized for their problematic translations and racialized terminology, as well as the problematic process by which sources were selected for inclusion, they are also the most complete and accessible form of the *Relations*.[88] The most widely-cited alternative to Thwaites' *JR* are Lucien Campeau's 9-volumed *Monumenta Novae Franciae* or *MNF* (1967-2003), which were published in the original languages, and include hundreds of verified documents that Thwaites and his team did not publish.[89] Campeau, a Jesuit himself, was not free of bias: he included criticism of other scholars in his work, and betrayed his own opinions about conversion in a number of areas. However, the extensiveness of the *MNF*, as well as the lack of translation problems makes this a more trustworthy source.[90] Unfortunately, the *MNF* is more difficult to access, and so I

[88] Ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites, *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, 73 vols (Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers Company, 1896-1901). For critique of Thwaites' editions of the *Jesuit Relations*, see Maureen Korp, "Problems of Prejudice in the Thwaites' Edition of the *Jesuit Relations*," *Historical Reflections* 21, 2 (1995); Luca Codignola, "The Battle is Over: Campeau's *Monumenta* Vs. Thwaites' *Jesuit Relations*, 1602-1650," *European Review of Native American Studies* 10, 2 (1996).
[89] Ed. Lucien Campeau, *Monumenta Novae Franciae*, 9 vols, (Montréal: Les Éditions Bellarin, 1967-2003) [Hereafter, *MNF*].
[90] For an evaluation of the *MNF*, see Codignola, "The Battle is Over," especially p. 3-4, 7-8.

cautiously used the Thwaites *JR* as my main source, while using the *MNF* to fill in gaps and provide additional source material.

The *Jesuit Relations* were annual reports written by many different authors, with some authors providing more detailed information than others. Some of the most detailed observations on Wendat culture come from the earlier *Jesuit Relations*, predominantly those written in the 1630s, when the Jesuits were still very new to the area and dutifully recorded their observations even when they found those observations uncomfortable. However, as with other documents of the time, the missionaries (and therefore their writings) were Eurocentric and, specifically in the case of the Jesuits, militantly Catholic, which shaped their observations.

The second main missionary source used in this dissertation comes from Recollet layman Gabriel Sagard. In 1632, he published observations from his one-year stay in Wendake as *Le Grand Voyage du Pays des Hurons*, or *The Long Journey to the Country of the Hurons*. This text was later expanded into *Histoire du Canada* (1636). Sagard provides some of the best examples of early ethnographic writing about the Wendat, and his role as a lay assistant to missionaries makes his work a unique source of information.[91] However, his writings are not always reliable. Sagard published *Le Grand Voyage* ten years after his visit to Wendake, and he had long-since lost his original notes from the journey, raising the potential of mis-remembering. Moreover, the editor who worked on the expanded *Histoire du Canada* included additions from the writings of Samuel de Champlain, Marc Lescarbot, and the many-authored *Jesuit Relations*, making it difficult to find

[91] Sagard is often assumed to have been a missionary, but although his religious fervour was sincere, he was a lay brother and without the responsibilities of a priest. Little has been written about Sagard's role in New France, but it was likely comparable to that of a donné among the Jesuits (a lay assistant). Gabriel Sagard, *The Long Journey to the Country of the Hurons*, ed. George M. Wrong, trans. H. H. Langton (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1939), xiv-xv; Jean Côté, *The Donnés in Huronia*, ed. William Lonc, trans. S.J. William Lonc and S.J. George Topp, vol. 5, Early Jesuit Missions in Canada (Midland, ON: Steve Catlin, 2001), especially 12, 13.

Sagard's own voice.[92] Despite these concerns, some of Sagard's ethnographic observations are unique, especially as concerns children, and he noticed some particular nuances that went unobserved by any other European visitor. Sagard's writings are a valuable resource and form the basis of Chapter Four in this dissertation.

The third main missionary source utilized in this dissertation comes from the writings of Marie Guyart, or Marie de l'Incarnation. An Ursuline nun, Guyart was a prolific letter-writer; hundreds of these letters are still extant today, and many were collected and published in 1971 as *Marie de l'Incarnation, Ursuline (1599-1672): Correspondance*, edited by Dom Guy Oury. Like the other documentary sources of the time, Marie de l'Incarnation's writings have their problems: Guyart was well-aware that her letters might be widely read, and indeed a selection was published while she was still alive. After her death, her son Claude edited and published a substantial collection of her letters, as well as her autobiography. In a number of areas, he edited her works to ensure they were more palatable to the political environment of the day, making it more difficult to ascertain which were Guyart's original perspectives, and which were her sons' edits.[93] However, her letters are one of the few sources from the 17th century that discusses Wendat women and girls in any detail; these letters became the focal point of the fifth chapter in this dissertation.

A number of other 17th-century sources filled in gaps. The writings of Samuel de Champlain, Marc Lescarbot, and the *Annales* of the Hospitalière nuns were important supplementary sources, adding additional detail. The 16th-century observations of Jacques Cartier

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[92] Cornelius J. Jaenen, "Gabriel Sagard: a Franciscan among the Huron," in *The Human Tradition in Colonial America: the Human Tradition in American History,* edited by Kenneth Steele and Nancy L. Rhoden (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1999), 43.

[93] Mary Dunn, "Mysticism, Motherhood, and Pathological Narcissism? A Kohutian Analysis of Marie De L'incarnation," *Journal of Religion and Health* 52, no. 2 (2013): 642-3; Robert Hilliker, "Engendering Identity: The Discourse of Familial Education in Anne Bradstreet and Marie De L'incarnation," *Early American Literature* 42, no. 3 (2007): especially 454-5.

(published in English translation in 1993 as *The Voyages of Jacques Cartier*, edited by Ramsay Cook) were also very useful.[94]

Linguistic sources:

Missionaries came to the New World with the express purpose of converting Indigenous peoples. Effective communication was critical. Over the decades, missionaries compiled dictionaries and grammars for Indigenous languages, including several for the Wendat language. The first was published by the Recollet Sagard in 1632, but the Jesuit missionaries continued this work over the course of several decades. Jean de Brébeuf famously became fluent in the Wendat language; later, his Wendat name "Echon" was sometimes given to non-Wendat individuals who had particular skill in the language.[95]

Many of these grammars and dictionaries are still extant. John L. Steckley has edited and published a few such documents. For example, Steckley's *A Huron-English/English-Huron Dictionary*, published in 2007, compiles words and word-roots from several 17th- and 18th- century dictionaries with the goal of providing a baseline for non-linguistic specialists; I consulted this dictionary to get a sense of the ways Wendat conception of childhood was represented linguistically, and used this as a starting point for my chapter on the stages of childhood. Other linguistic notes from the Marius Barbeau collection at the Canadian Museum of History and the published works by scholars such as Michael Pomedli also proved useful.

Stories and Traditional Narratives:

The third main source base for this dissertation is Wendat, Wyandot, and Haudenosaunee stories and narratives. Traditional stories and narratives provide insight into Iroquoian worldviews,

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[94] Ramsay Cook, *The Voyages of Jacques Cartier* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993).
[95] James Taylor Carson, "Brébeuf Was Never Martyred: Reimagining the Life and Death of Canada's First Saint," *The Canadian Historical Review* 97, no. 2 (2016): 230.

as well as stretch the known historiography back into time immemorial. Most of these stories were available from the work of anthropologists like Marius Barbeau and William Fenton, who collected the stories early in the 20th century.[96] Barbeau's work is especially useful to this dissertation; he gathered stories from a few Wyandotte (Oklahoma) and Huron-Wendat (Québec) contacts in 1911 and 1912 and published this material in 1915 as *Huron and Wyandot Mythology*. This, and his later book *Huron-Wyandot Traditional Narratives* (1960) included material from approximately six months of concentrated linguistic research.[97] His field notes, correspondence, and unfinished manuscripts are held at the Canadian Museum of History in Gatineau Québec, and combined with his published books and articles, provide the grounding for Chapter Two.

Haudenosaunee stories and narratives were also very useful. Throughout much of the 17th century the Wendat and the Haudenosaunee nations were at war with one another, and they did constitute distinct groups; Haudenosaunee history and culture are more widely known today, and the historiography about the Haudenosaunee is much more extensive than for the Wendat and Wyandot(te). The Haudenosaunee nations are culturally and linguistically similar to the Wendat, and they even share many of the same stories (the Creation narrative, for example, is quite similar across both Confederacies) and archetypical figures (such as Sky Woman and the Peacemaker). In this dissertation, I used Frederick Gleach's method of controlled speculation to draw information from Wendat narrative histories. Gleach describes controlled speculation as a method of research analysis to be cautiously used when studying a group for which there is little source material. He suggests that a little-known group can be compared to one that is known to be culturally similar,

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[96] For a non-anthropologist collection of Wyandot stories, see William Elsey Connelley, *Wyandot Folk-Lore* (Topeka, KS: Crane & Company Publishers, 1899).
[97] Craig Alexander Kopris, "A Grammar and Dictionary of Wyandot," (PhD diss., State University of New York, 2001), 16. See also J.M.S. Careless, "C. Marius Barbeau, 1883-1969," Wyandotte Nation, https://www.wyandotte-nation.org/culture/history/biographies/charles-marius-barbeau/. (Last accessed 17 November 2019).

but for which there is more data.[98] In this case, few sources and analyses exist of Wendat traditional stories and narratives; however, Haudenosaunee stories and narratives are much more well-known, more widely available (including sometimes numerous variations on the same story, as in the case of the Creation story or the story of the Peacemaker), and more widely analysed in scholarly discussion.[99] By reading Haudenosaunee stories as well as Wendat stories, it is possible to draw some comparisons and find some common elements across both narrative systems. However, because the Haudenosaunee and Wendat were similar but *distinct* Confederacies, each with their own historical, political, and sociocultural milieus, this kind of comparison can only be made cautiously. Throughout this dissertation, any examples derived from Haudenosaunee narratives or anthropological fieldwork are clearly noted, and used specifically to posit clarification or additional detail to material about the Wendat.

In the third chapter of this dissertation, Anishinaabek stories and analyses of them are used to clarify my discussion of Tricksters. Both Haudenosaunee and Wendat/Wyandot(te) had Trickster stories, but almost no scholarly analysis exists in this particular subfield of Iroquoian stories.[100] However, Anishinaabek, Mushkego (Swampy Cree), and Nehiyaw (Cree) Trickster

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[98] Frederic W. Gleach, "Controlled Speculation and Constructed Myths: The Saga of Pocahontas and Captain John Smith," in *Reading Beyond Words: Contexts for Native History*, ed. Jennifer S.H. Brown and Elizabeth Vibert (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009); *Powhatan's World and Colonial Virginia: A Conflict of Cultures* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), especially 12-13.

[99] For a few examples, see Harriett Maxwell Converse, *Myths and Legends of the New York State Iroquois,* New York State Museum Bulletin 125 (Albany, NY: University of the State of New York, 1908); Jesse J. Cornplanter, *Legends of the Longhouse* (Ohsweken, ON: Iroqrafts Iroquois Reprints, 2007); J.N.B. Hewitt, *Iroquoian Cosmology, First Part*, Twenty-First Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1899-1900, (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1903); *Iroquoian Cosmology, Second Part*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Vol. 43 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1928); Tehanetorens, *Tales of the Iroquois* (Rooseveltown, NY: Akwesasne Notes, 1976). See also Lewis Henry Morgan, *League of the Ho-De'-No-Sau-Nee, Iroquois* (Rochester, NY: Sage and Brother Publishers, 1851).

[100] For a few Wendat and Haudenosaunee stories featuring Trickster-characters, see Marius Barbeau, *Huron and Wyandot Mythology* (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1915), 166-169, 170-174; CMH, Frederick W. Waugh Fonds, Iroquois field notes: stories, customs and beliefs (1918), Box 202, f.23, "Adventures of Sodie'sgo, Informant David Jack (On.) July 1918"; APS, Collection of Iroquois Folklore,

narratives have been the source of much scholarly debate since at least the 1950s.[101] My use of the historiography of Trickster narratives was largely restricted to the purpose Trickster stories serve in their respective communities, rather than comparing the Tricksters themselves.

Archaeology:

Archaeological research forms the core source base for my sixth chapter regarding children's burials, although select archaeological research is incorporated throughout this dissertation. I conducted no archaeological digs for this dissertation; instead, I use published articles, published and unpublished site reports, and unpublished archaeological field notes from dig sites.

Chapter Seven covers Wendat burials. Ossuaries have been excavated by curious archaeologists for the better part of 100 years, and, unfortunately, also have a long history of being looted for curiosities. A wealth of information exists on these kinds of burials, although it is often incomplete. Other kinds of burials are less known to historians; since the 1970s, archaeologists have written about primary cemetery burials, infant in-house burials, and midden disposal of enemy remains, but these discussions have only recently begun filtering into analysis outside the discipline. To supplement the published resources on Wendat burials, I consulted site reports (complete site reports for a number of more recent sites are available online at

1912-1918, collected by Frederick W. Waugh, "Tricks of Sodie'sgo, Informant John Jamieson (On.), August 1915."

[101] One of the first to systematically analyse Trickster stories as a genre was Paul Radin in his 1956 monograph on Winnebago stories, *The Trickster: a Study in American Indian Mythology* (New York: Schocken Books). Many others have since followed, covering a range of different kinds of Trickster characters. For just a few, see: Mac Linscott Ricketts, "The North American Indian Trickster," *History of Religions* 5, no. 2 (1966); Allan J. Ryan, *The Trickster Shift: Humour and Irony in Contemporary Native Art* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1999); Carolyn Podruchny, "Trickster Lessons in Early Canadian Indigenous Communities," *Siberica* 15, no. 1 (2016); Anne Doueihi, "Trickster: On Inhabiting the Space between Discourse and Story," *Soundings: an Interdisciplinary Journal* 67, no. 3 (1984).

www.asiheritage.ca), as well as archival resources at the Huronia Museum in Midland, ON, the Ontario Archives in Toronto, ON, the Museum of Ontario Archaeology (MOA) in London, ON, and the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM) in Toronto, ON.[102]

Most of the archaeological digs at Wendat burial sites were conducted in the 1970s and 1980s. Many of those working in this field were influenced by the processual turn in archaeology, which emphasized scientific rigour, focus on cultural processes, and the assumption that all aspects of culture could be understood through examination of the material record.[103] Unfortunately, processual archaeology de-emphasized human agency, and tended to view cultures as homeostatic, with cultural change only occurring from outside influences; it also did not account for gender, ethnicity, social relationships, or other social factors.[104] These issues affect the source material, and make it difficult to translate the archaeological analysis of infant and juvenile burials into material relevant for a study on Wendat childhood. For this chapter in particular, I take a long chronology approach to the material, highlighting specific sites to demonstrate the extreme variability among sites. This approach helps demonstrate the effect of human agency, as well as the importance of change (and continuity) over time.

Archaeological material is incorporated as supplementary evidence in other areas of the dissertation as well. As part of my ethnohistorical approach, I utilize archaeology alongside documentary and other kinds of sources. The archaeological methods of demographic analysis, for

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[102] Some additional sources were consulted at the City of Toronto Archives in Toronto, the Library and Archives Canada (LAC) in Ottawa, and the Canadian Museum of History.

[103] Lewis R. Binford, "Some Comments on Historical Versus Processual Archaeology," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 24, no. 3 (1968): 269-70; Stephen L. Dyson, "From New to New Age Archaeology: Archaeological Theory and Classical Archaeology--a 1990s Perspective," *American Journal of Archaeology* 97, no. 2 (1993): 196.

[104] For these and more issues with processualism, see: G. A. Clark, "Paradigms in Science and Archaeology," *Journal of Archaeological Research* 1, no. 3 (1993): 223-4.

example, were particularly useful to understand family construction, particularly when added to cultural and linguistic material.

Anthropological Field Notes:

In the early 1900s, a number of anthropologists engaged in field work with Indigenous communities, as part of the trend in salvage anthropology. Academics at the time believed that Indigenous peoples and their ways of life were doomed to disappear and so they wanted to collect as much material as they could before the expected disappearance.[105]

Although Indigenous peoples did *not* disappear, these field notes are a useful source of information about Indigenous ways of life, cultural and spiritual practices, stories and songs, and traditional histories. Many of the practices and concepts described in the 1900s were quite similar to those from centuries earlier. Using the ethnohistorical method of upstreaming (contemporary examples providing clues to the past), it is possible to clarify what we know of the 17th century with more modern sources. This method of analysis is used cautiously; upstreaming is only relevant if one assumes the culture group has not changed much over the centuries, and so tends to assume people are static. The Wendat definitely changed over time. However, many of the reasons for specific ceremonies or practices have remained constant over time; for example, the Creation Story has changed somewhat over the centuries and with contact with other groups, but the essential themes and characters have remained the same.

For this dissertation, particularly Chapters Two and Three, I use anthropological field notes from the research of Marius Barbeau, F. W. Waugh, and William N. Fenton to cautiously upstream and help understand some of the practices and beliefs of the 17th century. Barbeau conducted his

[105] For an uncomfortable example of this kind of thinking, see Jacob W. Gruber, "Ethnographic Salvage and the Shaping of Anthropology," *American Anthropologist* 72, no. 6 (1970): 1289-99.

field work in the 1910s, and provided linguistic sources as well as information on Ceremony, songs, clan and family lineages, and cultural practices from tattooing to naming customs. Both Waugh and Fenton conducted research in Haudenosaunee communities, Waugh in the 1910s, Fenton in the 1930s. Both Waugh's and Fenton's research is useful as a basis for cross-cultural comparison, and is only used as the basis of controlled speculation.

Additional Methods and Theoretical Frameworks:

This dissertation benefits from multiple angles of inquiry. Generally, this dissertation is a sociocultural history, making use of the methods of ethnohistory and a sociocultural approach, using controlled speculation and upstreaming where useful.

While each chapter focuses on a specific time period and a specific theme, each chapter also highlights a number of individual children or youths. This semi-biographical approach highlights individual agency even while addressing cultural and social patterns. Examining individuals is especially useful in the fourth and fifth chapters, to showcase how individuals adapted to the changes brought by Europeans while also maintaining traditional contacts.[106] A microhistorical approach is also useful, especially from the third to fifth chapters, where the source materials (Sagard's *Long Journey,* the *Jesuit Relations*, and Marie de l'Incarnation's *Correspondance*, respectively) provide limited cultural interpretation and require a multi-layered analysis of cultural and social practices to interpret how these particular youths were responding to their changing sociocultural environment. Finally, the biographical microstudy or microhistory approach is also beneficial because it helps to enliven individuals. Each person had his or her own motives, fears, ambitions, and opinions, and this individualized nuance often gets lost in the

[106] Monographs such as Joel F. Harrington's *The Unwanted Child* (2009) and Natalie Zemon Davis's *Women on the Margins* (1995), with each chapter focused on an individual, as well as Linda Colley's biographical microstudy *The Ordeal of Elizabeth Marsh* (2007) were especially inspirational for this approach.

histories of events and social disruptions that characterizes much of the historiography of the "contact"-era Great Lakes region. This dissertation is further inspired by microhistories like Carlo Ginzburg's *The Cheese and the Worms* (1980), Thomas Robisheaux's *The Last Witch of Langenburg* (2009), Larry Wolff's *Paolina's Innocence* (2012), and Joel F. Harrington's *The Faithful Executioner* (2013), to name a few.[107]

This dissertation research was carried out with guidance and input from community stakeholders. I did not conduct any interviews; however, I did meet with several members of current Wendat and Wyandot communities and shared my research with them. Sometimes, they offered feedback, which I then incorporated into my editing process. I relied heavily on the feedback of Faithkeepers Sallie Cotter Andrews (Wyandotte Nation of Oklahoma) and Catherine Tammaro (Wyandot of Anderdon Nation) to ensure the material I wrote about was appropriate for dissemination, and I consulted with them extensively on terminology, language, ethics and etiquette, and appropriate scholar-community member obligations.

Terminology and Language

Throughout this dissertation, I privilege Indigenous names over European ones. The terms Wendat, Haudenosaunee, and Anishinaabek are thus used in place of Huron, Iroquois, and Algonquin/Ojibway unless these terms appear in direct quotes. 'Wendat' is used to refer to the 17th-century people and their immediate ancestors; 'Huron-Wendat' is used specifically to refer to the contemporary Nation Huronne-Wendat of Wendake Québec; 'Wyandot' refers to their descendants who eventually came to live in the United States as the Wyandot of Anderdon Nation,

[107] Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1980); Thomas Robisheaux, *The Last Witch of Langenburg: Murder in a German Village* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2009); Larry Wolff, *Paolina's Innocence: Child Abuse in Casanova's Venice* (Stanford, California: Standford University Press, 2012); Joel F. Harrington, *The Faithful Executioner: Life and Death, Honor and Shame in the Turbulent Sixteenth Century* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2013).

the Wyandotte of Oklahoma Nation, and the Wyandot of Kansas Nation. I use the term 'Iroquoian' when the exact ethnicity is unknown or in cases when I am referring broadly to peoples of the shared Iroquoian language and culture group, such as Wendat, Haudenosaunee, Tionontati/Tionontate, and Attawandaron, to name a few.[108] I also use Wendat nation names instead of their English or French equivalents: Attignawantan (Bear Nation), Attigneenongnahac (Cord Nation), Tahontaenrat (Deer Nation), and Arendarhonon (Rock Nation). Unfortunately, the 17th-century sources do not document the clan names in the Wendat language, so I use the English for these where applicable.

Other terms are used very specifically in this dissertation. Following Roger Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, I use the term 'identity' to refer to the sense of belonging to a group, or the sense of collective sameness of members in a group; I use the term 'personhood' more specifically when I wish to refer to the sense of self, as an individual.[109] Identity and personhood are not mutually exclusive terms—one's personhood was intrinsically tied to one's sense of communal identity. However, because individuals often acted out of a sense of personal need or desire, I distinguish between the terms where it is relevant.

The distinctions between identity (collective) and personhood (self) are especially important in the context of Wendat adoption culture and rebirth. I use 'adoption' in cases where fictive kinship principles are applied. While James Lynch distinguishes between assimilative and associative adoption, the former being a total and permanent immersion into the culture, while the

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[108] Note that some archaeologists use the term northern Iroquois or northern Iroquoian to refer to those Iroquoians who lived in the Georgian Bay area (Wendat). It is also not uncommon in the earlier historiography for scholars to use the term "Iroquois" as a pan-Iroquoian term, referring to Wendat as well as Haudenosaunee. To avoid confusion, I have simplified my nomenclature to Wendat and Haudenosaunee for the individual confederacies and their peoples, and Iroquoian as a broader term encompassing both.

[109] Roger Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, "Beyond 'Identity'," *Theory and Society* 29, no. 1 (2000): 7.

latter is expected to be temporary, as a gesture of diplomacy or friendship, these distinctions were not strict in Wendat culture, and characteristics often overlap.[110] For this reason, I usually use the broad term 'adoption.'

"Requickening" is a term commonly used in the historiography to refer to the process of re-making one's personhood into that of a deceased family member. This process involves the giving of the name, duties, obligations, and familial connections of a deceased individual to a living one. The purpose is to replace the deceased family member with someone who could provide in his or her place; it is also a means of assuaging grief, rebuilding one's family after a loss, and ensuring that important political, social, or spiritual/ceremonial roles will continue to be fulfilled. Adoption has a performative quality to it. No one expected an adoptee to forget their past life. They were, however, expected to fulfill the duties of their current one.

The term "requickening" is not a perfect fit. In this dissertation, alternative terms are occasionally used to refer to this process, including rebirth and remaking. Unfortunately, the Wendat/Wyandot words for this were not recorded in the 17th-century dictionaries available today.

Perhaps not unexpectedly, a number of family-oriented terms are used in specific contexts in this dissertation. In contrast to the Western historiography on this subject, I use the term 'child-rearing' instead of 'parenting,' because Wendat family-making was a matter for the *entire* family, and indeed a matter for everyone sharing the clan house. Wendat children were not raised by couples as in the classic understanding of a nuclear family, because Wendat children did not live in nuclear families. Children were raised primarily by their mothers and maternal aunts, and by their maternal grandparents, and secondarily by the other men and women—and even by the older children—of their shared longhouse. The child's father had responsibilities to his own clan

[110] James Lynch, "The Iroquois Confederacy, and the Adoption and Administration of Non-Iroquois Individuals and Groups Prior to 1756," *Man in the Northeast* 30 (1985): 84-5, 86, 87-8.

longhouse and was more likely to be involved in the raising of his sister's children than that of his own; as a result, a woman's brothers were more important to the raising of her child than her apparent spouse. Moreover, children often spent long periods of time with their peer groups, playing in the village and the fields, under the watchful eye of a number of other adults from other longhouses. For these reasons, the term 'parenting' is inaccurate, and child-rearing is preferred in the Wendat context.

Terms like infant, child, adolescent, and youth are frequently mentioned in this dissertation. With some exceptions (noted in the text), I define these terms in the following way: infant refers to a child 0-1 year in age; child refers to someone 2-12 years of age; adolescent means someone 13-18 years of age. 'Youth' is used as a general term to mean someone roughly between ages 10 and 25 and without children of his or her own, and I use this term mostly when a more precise age is not known. I also use the terms child-bearing adult to refer to persons approximately 18-40 years of age—the parental generation—to distinguish from Elders and the grandparent generation of persons who cannot or are not having any more children of their own, but are in a position to take on grandparenting duties.

These age categories are *not* definitive. Ages are very difficult to assess across almost 400 years of separation from the individuals discussed in this dissertation. The Jesuits and other missionaries occasionally recorded approximate ages of the children they met, but they were estimates and the Jesuits had their own criteria to assess age, which may not have been shared by the Wendat. As such, the age categories are assumed to be estimates and best guesses. Similarly, age was rarely recorded for adults, and so the age categories for adults in this dissertation are also imperfect. Finally, there are always outliers—there will of course be some individuals with children under age 18 or over age 40, and some will never have children. I am using terms like

‘youth’ and ‘Elder’ as broad categories in association with specific expectations and roles, based on the few age estimates that are available.[111]

In Western historiography, the names of individuals are customarily given first as full names (first and last), and then subsequently only surname. I follow this practice for the Europeans of this study, but Wendat naming conventions are different. Generally, once Wendat individuals were baptized, their Indigenous given names were instead recorded as a surname. As such, in the name Thérèse Oionhaton, Thérèse was her baptismal name, and Oionhaton was her Wendat name, now converted to a surname. In contrast to scholarly naming conventions, where I refer to children, I generally refer to individuals by their given name to highlight their individuality, which is so frequently lost in studies of children and childhood. Likewise, in most instances, I privilege the use of the Wendat name over the baptismal name. However, in Chapter Six, I mostly refer to the three main girls by their baptismal name or by their full name. I do this because I argue these girls had begun to view themselves as Christians, and by Wendat tradition they may very well have left their older name behind to reflect their chosen change in personhood, or only used their Wendat names in specific circumstances. Referring to these girls only by their surnames—their Indigenous given names—seemed disrespectful of their personal decisions and commitments.

Chapter Outline

Because Wendat children have not been extensively analysed in academia, I took a largely thematic approach to the dissertation, and focused each chapter around a particular body of sources rather than on a strict chronology.

[111] Archaeological age estimates based on skeletal remains are also very different from archaeologist to archaeologist and pose their own difficulties. See my chapter on burials for more on this issue and how I address it.

Chapters Two and Three of this dissertation are an examination of the Wendat construction of childhood. The Wendat considered children to be special and saw childhood as a distinct period of life. Children were learning how to live as a Wendat, and because they came from the spirit world, children—especially the very young and those at the cusp of puberty—had a special connection to the spirits and spiritual power. Chapter Two examines the nature of Wendat childhood—the characteristics children were expected to show and the ways in which children were distinct from adults. Chapter Three discusses the stages of childhood, from birth and infancy to adolescence and the cusp of adulthood. The *Jesuit Relations* formed the base of these chapters; I then built on the evidence from the *Jesuit Relations* with corroborating evidence from anthropological field notes and cultural materials from the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries to theorize explanations for the evidence noted in the 17th-century sources. These chapters also make use of Wendat and Wyandot (and Haudenosaunee) stories, with the addition of linguistics, specifically with the use of language to denote separate age categories.

The next three chapters of this dissertation are more grounded in time, and examine specific events, exchanges, and issues to illustrate children's roles in Wendat society, and how those roles were applied in the changing context after French arrival to Wendake and the Great Lakes region. Chapter Four highlights children's exchanges with the Recollet missionary Gabriel Sagard during his 1623-4 visit to Wendake. Sagard did not write much about Wendat children, but when he did, he emphasized their wild and undisciplined ways, and the pranks they routinely played on him and his Recollet partners. However, each of the pranks the children play on Sagard also directly targeted Sagard's own inappropriate behaviours. As such, children used pranks as a means of correction; they were trying to teach Sagard how to behave as a Wendat. Sagard's inability or refusal to learn made him the focus of more pranks. Despite the expectations of courtesy and

hospitality which governed the adults, children and youth could use mischief to teach misbehaving guests about proper etiquette and procedures.

Chapters Five and Six examine the Wendat children and youths at seminary schools. In Chapter Five, I explore the Jesuits' short-lived seminary school for boys at Notre-Dame-des-Anges. The school only existed for six years, but was already floundering by 1639, only three years after its establishment. The Jesuits solicited students from the families of important leaders, hoping that they could convert the next generation of Wendat leadership to Catholicism, and thus encourage others to follow suit. The school did not produce many lasting converts; out of approximately a dozen to two dozen students over its six-year existence, only one seminarian continued to act as a practicing Catholic after he left the school. However, closer examination of Wendat council speeches and the boys' own behaviour indicates the Wendat did not consider the school's primary purpose to be conversion. Instead, Wendat youth went to the school as a gesture of diplomacy. I highlight the experiences of three students to illustrate the individual motivations for participating at the school, their reservations about the French-Jesuit lifestyle, and the ways some of the boys utilized their new, Catholic education to facilitate a lasting friendship with the Jesuits, and with the French settlers.

Chapter Six moves into the 1640s to the 1660s. Here, I examine the lives of Wendat girls in French-colonial convent schools, especially at the Ursuline school founded by Marie de l'Incarnation, as well as the life of one girl who lived with the Hospitalières at the Hôtel-Dieu. Girls' schools were much longer-lasting than the Notre-Dame-des-Anges seminary: they were built inside French communities rather than apart from them, and had a great population flux, with students routinely coming and going with the seasons. They were also highly multicultural from the beginning, with Wendat students learning alongside Anishinaabek, Innus, Haudenosaunee, and

French-colonist girls. Moreover, Wendat participation at the school only occurred in significant numbers after the Wendat dispersal of 1650 and consisted largely of girls who were already from converted families. Participation at the school became a way of fostering closer bonds between the French for the Wendat who chose to move closer to Québec following the dispersal. The girls who went to the school after 1650 had grown up with Christians in their villages, and were at least nominally Christian themselves; their education was thus not about conversion, but reinforcing a French Christian way of life. Some of the girls embraced this religious education; others were clearly at the school out of familial obligation or necessity rather than a love for Christian lifestyles. As with the previous chapter, I examine the experiences of three individuals to illustrate the different ways these girls engaged with their education, and the ways they used it to serve personal and family needs. At its heart, Wendat participation at these schools seems to have been a family decision, or at least heavily influenced by the needs of kinship obligations; each of the girls at the school had strong family connections to the missionaries and participation in their Christian education helped bind Wendat families and French newcomers closer together in a mutually beneficial alliance.

The final chapter is an archaeological examination of burials, particularly infant burials. The Wendat burial practice in the 17th century is widely accepted to be a two-part affair. First was an initial (primary) burial of the individual in a designated cemetery, upon a scaffold where the remains would be left to decompose away from animals. The primary burial was followed by a secondary burial, sometimes years later, in which the bones or remains would be disinterred, cleaned, bundled, and reburied permanently in a massive ossuary alongside the other dead of that decade from all the nearby and allied villages. According to the *Jesuit Relations*, some people were not to be included in this ossuary cemetery—known as *Yandatsa* (the Kettle), or the Feast of the

Dead in the historiography—including *arendiowane*[112] or 'sorcerers', those who died by violence…and infants. This chapter explores the archaeological evidence for Wendat infant burial, including the many cases that contradicted the Jesuits' assertions for infant exclusion from ossuary burial. This chapter also highlights the history of archaeological study of Wendat burials, including the ethics of conducting such research. I close with this chapter as a long chronological study to show the continuity—and the changes—in Wendat mortuary custom. I also wanted to end with another examination of methodology and ethics, because for scholars of Indigenous history, these should be constantly recurring topics.

Children and youth played important but understated roles in Wendat-French exchanges. Children helped establish rules of conduct, and because of their youth and implied lack of threat, they could take part in important diplomatic ventures without appearing to do so. Wendat children were not wild, undisciplined, or without a sense of personal agency—childhood was a time of spiritual power and social fluidity. Children could serve the needs of their families in ways that adults could not.

[112] *Arendiowane* is the Wendat term for a shaman or "sorcerer." *Arendiowane* had specific powers, most commonly healing, but also powers of weather control and dream interpretation, and sometimes prophecy. *Arendiowane* were distinct from what the historiography refers to as "witches," also called *oki ontatechiata* in the *Jesuit Relations*, or "those who kill by spells." *Arendiowane* were welcomed and had a distinct and privileged place among the Wendat; *oki ontatechiata* were not welcome at all and could be killed without consequence. Dolores Ann Orich, "Cultural Change and Resistance: Huron/Jesuit Relations in the Early-Mid Seventeenth Century," (Honors thesis, Ball State University, 1998), 7-9.

Chapter Two: "He has no mind": Understanding Wendat Childhood

In the 1632 edition of the *Jesuit Relations*, priest Paul Le Jeune tells a fascinating story about a confrontation he witnessed between a group of French men in Quebec and a visiting delegation of Nipissings. It is worth quoting in detail:

> One of them was looking very attentively at a little French boy who was beating a drum; and, going near to him so as to see him better, the little boy struck him a blow with one of his drumsticks, and made his head bleed badly. Immediately all the people of his tribe who were looking at the drummer, seeing this blow given, took offense at it. They went and found the French interpreter, and said to him: "Behold, one of thy people has wounded one of ours; thou knowest our custom well; give us presents for this wound." … Our interpreter said: "Thou knowest our custom; when any of our number does wrong we punish him. This child has wounded one of your people; he shall be whipped at once in thy presence." The little boy was brought in; and when they saw that we were really in earnest, that we were stripping this little pounder of Savages and drums, and that the switches were all ready, they immediately began to pray for his pardon, alleging that it was only a child, *that he had no mind*, that he did not know what he was doing; but, as our people were nevertheless going to punish him, one of the Savages stripped himself entirely, threw his blanket over the child, and cried out to him who was going to do the whipping: 'Strike me, if thou wilt, but thou shalt not strike him'; and thus the little one escaped. … How much trouble this will give us in carrying out our plans of teaching the young![113]

This story is often repeated in the historiography, usually as a reference to Indigenous parents' abhorrence of any kind of physical discipline to moderate children's behaviours.[114] However, it is also interesting as it gives a clear indication of how Indigenous persons in the Great Lakes area conceptualized children as "mind-less" or without a fully-formed mind. In this particular example, the Nipissings protest that the child should not be punished because he "was only a child…had no mind…[and] did not know what he was doing,"[115] indicating a sense that children were not (yet) fully-formed individuals, capable of rational, well-conceived thought.

This chapter explores the pre- and early-Contact period Wendat concept of childhood, focusing on how the Wendat defined "child," and analyzing the ways in which children were

[113] JR 5: 219-221, emphasis mine.
[114] For example, Mann, *Iroquoian Women,* 273-4.
[115] JR 5: 221.

conceptualized as different from adults. I highlight four central themes in this discussion. First, while the Wendat understood children as insightful and intelligent, they did not expect children to be capable of fully-developed, rational thought at all times. This is what is meant by having "no mind." While it was not a characteristic limited to children—adults could also be described as having "no mind" in certain circumstances, especially in political discourse—children were associated with spontaneity, impulsivity, and emotional reactiveness, which were not characteristics associated with a measured mind. While adults were expected to be skilled orators and capable of surviving in any situation, accepted thinking suggested children would act impulsively rather than speak thoughtfully, and needed to be taught through activity, through doing, rather than through words. Second, children were close to the spirit world and were therefore spiritually powerful. They could negotiate with non-human and other-than-human spirits in a way that adults could not, but they were also at risk from spiritual threats, especially when very young. This spiritual connection could be beneficial to the Wendat, or potentially harmful, and Iroquoian stories abound both with examples of older children using their power to help the community in times of crisis and with that power being misused and creating problems. Rituals were used to help direct children's spiritual power and help foster a sense of belonging and communal responsibility, with increasing incorporation into the broader kinship network as the child grew older and more mature. Third, children were not raised by just one or even two individuals. Instead, the entire clan was responsible for each child born to their longhouse(s), and the community as a whole had an obligation to children's wellbeing and upbringing. Finally, childhood was a liminal stage and while it was generally age-specific, the stages of childhood were not clearly defined, and were not fixed. As I shall discuss in more detail in the next chapter, the Wendat had separate terms for babies and infants, pre-pubescent children, pubescent children or

youths, and even a distinct term for older individuals of marriageable ages—these were not characterized by specific numerical ages as in today's Western society, but rather by skills, knowledge, and marriageability. Relatedly, the Wendat understood personal identity, or personhood, as a negotiable, fluctuating concept. A person could be biologically a child, still prior to puberty, but be given the roles and kin names of an Elder. Therefore "childhood" was both a category based on associated and interconnected characteristics and skills, while also a biological age category conceptualized in non-numerical terms.

As discussed in the previous chapter, the historiography of Wendat childhood is very sparse. Very few scholars discuss Wendat childhood in any detail, and most emphasize the permissiveness of Wendat upbringing, the love the Wendat had for their children, or the animal-like "wildness" of Wendat children (or all three). Cornelius Jaenen (*Friend and Foe,* 1976) and Bruce Trigger (*Children of Aataentsic,* 1987, originally 1976), both of whom have sections on Wendat children in their respective books, are good examples of this, and neither scholar questions what the European source material says about Wendat children's behaviours and upbringing. One of the few scholars to question the permissive childrearing trope is Kathryn Magee Labelle (published as Kathryn Magee), who argues that Wendat childrearing was intended to encourage respect and self-sufficiency, rather than obedience to adults.[116] I followed Labelle's lead in my analysis of the sources and, like her, found Wendat childhood was based in very different principles from that of their contemporaries in patriarchal, hierarchical France. The Wendat understood their children as intelligent, socially- and economically-useful, and deserving of respect. Simultaneously, the Wendat also acknowledged that children were not born knowing all they would need to know as adults. They expected children to make mistakes, and valued their

[116] Magee, "History Repeats Itself."

contributions to society despite the learning curve. This chapter explores the Wendat understanding of 'child.'

"He has no mind"

The phrase "no mind" ([on n'a/n'avait] point d'esprit) was a common metaphor throughout the Great Lakes region and was used several times in the *Jesuit Relations*. Anishinaabek, Wendat, Haudenosaunee, and Innu made use of this phrase in a variety of different contexts, implying a shared, pan-cultural meaning throughout the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence regions.[117] Other references to the mind in political discourse and in discussions with the Jesuits also imply a cross-cultural metaphor, because only a shared metaphor would be used by distinct people in political situations, where both parties would need to be able to trust that their opposites understood them, and were in turn understood.[118]

The "mind" had diverse uses as a metaphor: "was thy mind not crooked yesterday?" was a reference to confusion, implying that something was mentally misaligned; "his mind is ever inflamed" referred to bloodlust in war, suggesting a sickness or fever of the mind; people referred to "restor[ing] completely the mind of the offended person" with gifts, indicating an upset person might be broken in some way and in need of repair; and a person might describe another as having a "well formed" mind when making a good or sensible decision, indicating health and completeness as a precursor to good sense.[119] In such metaphorical terms, the "mind" could refer to one's sense of logic or reason, or even memory, as well as one's sense of emotion

[117] I have found over two dozen references to the mind being unsettled, crooked, twisted, coarse, or absent altogether. For the seven references I found that directly relate to "no mind," or being without a mind, see JR 5:221, 139; 16:163; 19:157; 21:133; 22:53; and 43:213.
[118] For more on the use and meaning-making of figurative language: Jeffrey P. Lambe, "As We Come into Being: Indigenous Knowledge, Figurative Language, and Dynamics of Relationships," *Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 31, no. 2 (2011).
[119] JR 60:37; 42:53; 10:219-21; 57:153.

and emotional wellbeing. This use of the mind in political and social discourse *between* nations as well as *within* a nation indicates the metaphor's widespread acceptance. As such, the Nipissing man using this shared metaphor in referring to a French child is also a statement about the shared Great Lakes Indigenous understanding of what children *are*. If having no mind meant having no logic or reason in political discussions, it also had the same meaning in this social example; as such, this man is making a statement about children being illogical, emotionally reactive, and without common sense.

This descriptive use of the mind is used in a number of speeches and complaints. One man, protesting his "brother's" bad judgement and lies, exclaims:

> My brother, *I know not where thou hast placed thy mind; it seems that thou hast lost it completely*. I come to see thee with presents in my hand, and thou always visitest me in anger, and with a face full of fury. Quite recently, thou has killed the Huron at Quebec, and thou hast just broken with gunshots the head of my brother, the Black Gown. Thou didst promise that thou wouldst come for me, and thou hast not kept thy word. Thou shamest me everywhere, and I am reproached that I love a man who causes our death. Of what thinkest thou? *Here is something to recall thy mind which has wandered away*…[120]

In this speech, one man's irrational, antisocial, and unpredictable behaviour is blamed on a lost or wandering mind and his frustrated brother offers both a rebuke and gifts in an effort to cajole and entice the mind to return. In another example, a condolence speech refers to a gift being offered "to serve as an ear-pick, in order that the harangues upon so pleasant a theme might *enter his mind* more distinctly,"[121] and another man refers to a gift allowing thoughts of murder to "*go out of my mind.*"[122] In each speech, the mind is described as something permeable, with ideas going in or out as needed, and the mind could likewise be wandering or absent, as in the example of a man acting out of character. Minds might also be closed and only unfold with maturity,[123]

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[120] JR 43: 213, emphasis mine.
[121] JR 40:185, emphasis mine.
[122] JR 14:269, emphasis mine.
[123] JR 19:157.

calmed with gifts,[124] or twisted out of shape and of need of straightening.[125] The mind could even be bribed with gifts. The mind, then, was conceptualized metaphorically as well as a literal thing, readily manipulated by desires or hurts, and requiring regular care.

The mind also had important religious and philosophical connotations, which further help us to unpack the statement of a child with no mind. In Iroquoian tradition, a crooked or otherwise misshapen mind is often associated with madness. In the Peacemaker epic, in which a Wendat visionary unites the Five Haudenosaunee Nations of Mohawk, Seneca, Oneida, Onondaga, and Cayuga into a single Confederacy,[126] one of the obstacles the Peacemaker must overcome in his mission to unite the Nations is the cannibal Atotarho, an Onondaga who was said to have a crooked or wrinkled mind, symbolized by hair made of snakes.[127] To smooth out his mind, the Peacemaker (or his Mohawk ally Hiawatha in some versions) brushed Atotarho's hair and removed the snakes. In doing so, the Peacemaker cured Atotarho's insanity and afterwards the former cannibal became one of the Peacemaker's allies.[128] In the story, the crooked or wrinkled mind had to be tended to by a community member. Madness—which in Iroquoian terms was

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[124] JR 33:243.
[125] JR 40:187.
[126] The Peacemaker story is also indicative of the shared "mind" metaphors, and the story makes specific references to the nations being of "one mind," and of the Peacemaker converting to a "new mind" or a new way of living. Granville Ganter, ""Make Your Minds Perfectly Easy": Sagoyewatha and the Great Law of the Handenosaunee," *Early American Literature* 44, no. 1 (2009): 126; Barbara Alice Mann, "The Lynx in Time: Haudenosaunee Women's Traditions and History," *American Indian Quarterly* 21, no. 3 (1997): 432; Brian Rice, *The Rotinonshonni: A Traditional Iroquoian History through the Eyes of Teharonhia:Wako and Sawiskera* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2013), 198.
[127] Not incidentally, the Wendat also have certain rules of etiquette about touching another person's hair, likely because the mind was seated in the head (brain) and might need to be (physically) calmed. For example, the Wendat customarily oiled a person's scalp with sunflower oil in greeting or in respect. See JR 41:101 for the mind residing in the head; see David Bedford and Thom Workman, "The Great Law of Peace: Alternative Inter-Nation(Al) Practices and the Iroquoian Confederacy," *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political* 22, no. 1 (1997): 101 for Atotarho's hair full of snakes, and John Steckley, *Instructions to a Dying Infidel: Translating Jesuit Missionary Attempts to Convert Huron-Wendat in New France* (Toronto: Humber Press, 2015), 22 for face/head related etiquette.
[128] Rice, *The Rotinonshonni*, 217.

most often caused by grief, unchanneled rage, or by the breaking of taboos, like cannibalism—could not be overcome by the individual on his or her own, but could only be cured by a communal effort on the afflicted person's behalf, often through large-scale feasts, curing ceremonies, gift-giving, and the ritual use of medicine.[129] There was no moral judgement associated with the insane—only a sense of pity and a shared duty to take care of the afflicted individual.[130] Acceptance of communal responsibility for the state of mind (so to speak) of its individuals was a cornerstone of Wendat worldview, and more broadly, that of the other Indigenous nations who shared the mind metaphor. In the case of a child, having "no mind" meant the adults had to take responsibility for the child's care and well-being until such a time as s/he gained (or regained) her/his sense.

The mind as a soul

The mind, in its shared metaphoric/literal context, may also refer to what the Jesuits thought of as a soul. The association between mind and soul is emphasized in the original French of the *Jesuit Relations*, in which the phrase "he had no mind" was rendered from "il n'avoit point d'esprit," with "esprit" meaning "mind" as well as "spirit."[131] These two ideas, mind and spirit, were closely related to the Wendat.

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[129] JR 10:177-179, 219; George S. Snyderman, "The Functions of Wampum," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 98, no. 6 (1954): 475; Martha Robinson, "New Worlds, New Medicines: Indian Remedies and English Medicine in Early America," *Early American Studies* 3, no. 1 (2005): 102-03, 05; Tehanetorens, *Wampum Belts* (Ohsweken ON: Iroqrafts Ltd, 1983), 34-35; John L. Creese, "Emotion Work and the Archaeology of Consensus: The Northern Iroquoian Case," *World Archaeology* 48, no. 1 (2016): 22; Matthew Kruer, "Bloody Minds and Peoples Undone: Emotion, Family, and Political Order in the Susquehannock-Virginia War," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 74, no. 3 (2017): 407.

[130] Mann, "The Lynx in Time," 428.

[131] JR 5:220 and JR 5:221, for example: "it was only a child, that he had no mind…" as compared to the French "alleguans que c'estoit un enfant, qu'il n'avoit point d'esprit…"

Every Wendat individual had more than one soul, each one independent of the others and each with their own roles and characteristics. Usually, the number is given as two souls, but sometimes five or more are described.[132] Jesuit Jean de Brébeuf describes Wendat soul theory in these terms:

> They give it different names according to its different conditions or different operations. In so far as it merely animates the body and gives it life, they call it *khiondhecwi*; in so far as it is possessed of reason, *oki andaérandi*, "like a demon, counterfeiting a demon;" in so far as it thinks and deliberates on anything, they call it *endionrra*; and *gonennoncwal*, in so far as it bears affection to any object; whence it happens that they often say *ondayee ihaton onennoncwat*, "That is what my heart says to me, that is what my appetite desires." Then if it is separated from the body they call it *esken*, and even the bones of the dead, *atisken*,—in my opinion, on the false persuasion entertained by them that the soul remains in some way attached to them for some time after death, at least that it is not far removed from them; they think of the soul as divisible… They give to it even a head, arms, legs,—in short, a body; and to put them in great perplexity it is only necessary to ask them by what exit the soul departs at death, if it be really corporeal, and has a body as large as that which it animates; for to that they have no reply.[133]

In his analysis, ethnohistorian John Steckley categorizes the living Wendat souls as: *,aata* (body-soul), *onnhek8i* (life-soul), *eiachi-* (emotive soul), *-ndi,onr-* (intellect soul), and *oki* (free souls), making distinctions similar to Brébeuf's list.[134] In Wendat spirituality, even when a person was still alive his or her souls could be lost or gained, or could simply go wandering and return at will.[135] In one Jesuit's discussion of souls, he discerned that the "reasoning" (perhaps, to use

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[132] Alexander von Gernet elaborates on the two-soul idea as two souls specifically associated with death, and associated with the verb root *–sken-*; von Gernet describes the two souls as body-*sken* and free-*sken*, with the former staying with the corpse and the latter eventually moving on to the Village of the Dead in the west. Alexander von Gernet, "Saving the Souls: Reincarnation Beliefs of the Seventeenth-Century Huron," in *Amerindian Rebirth: Reincarnation Belief among Northern American Indians and Inuit*, ed. Antonia Mills and Richard Slobodin (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 43.

[133] JR 10: 141-43.

[134] John Steckley, "The Soul Concepts of the Huron" (MA thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1977), 35, 58-9, 86, 108, 110.

[135] The Wendat believed that dreams were memories of individual souls that had gone wandering during the night, and that dreams revealed a person's secret desires. Ignoring such a dream or refusing to grant the dreamer's desire could have dangerous consequences. JR 33: 189-191; Mary A. Druke, "The Concept of Personhood in Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Iroquois Ethnopersonality," in *Studies on Iroquoian Culture*, ed. Nancy Bonvillain (Rindge NH: Franklin Pierce College, 1980), 62.

Steckley's distinctions, -*ndi,onr*-) soul was "not dependent upon the body in its workings," unlike the "sensitive" (perhaps *eiachi*-) soul, indicating clear distinctions for which souls might travel away from the body during life.[136]

After death, the soul terminology changed; the root verb –*sken*- was associated with the souls of the dead, of which there were two kinds. Body-*sken* stayed with the corpse after death, while the free-*sken* eventually moved on to the afterlife.[137] In Wendat stories there was an entity that lived along the path to the Village of the Dead, called Oscotarach or Pierce-Head, who caught travelling souls and removed their brains, thereby erasing their memories and "any longing for the life now finished."[138] And, from a condolence speech recorded in the *Jesuit Relations*, we know that the Wendat mind resides in his or her head:

> The first present was intended to hush the cries heard everywhere by the Father, and to wipe away the tears that he saw coursing down their cheeks. But, since it did not suffice to wipe them away, and as he could not dry up this stream while the source was still running, he offered a second present *to calm their minds*, *the seat of all these griefs*; and, as *the seat of the mind is in the head*, he made them a crown of the proffered collar, which he put on the head of each one successively….[139]

Since the mind resided inside an individual's head, Oscotarach was likely taking the -ndi,onr-, or the intellect soul, from each of the dead persons who passed his dwelling on their journey to the afterlife.[140]

From these stories and anecdotes, it is clear that the mind could thus be stolen (meaning a loss of memory), bent out of its proper shape (meaning madness or antisocial behaviour), could

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[136] JR 33: 191.
[137] von Gernet, "Saving the Souls," 43.
[138] Petun Research Institute, Charles Garrad, "Ekarenniondi and Oscotarach," Research Bulletin 20, July 1998, p. 2 (unpublished manuscript). See also JR 10:147; Michael M. Pomedli, *Ethnophilosophical and Ethnolinguistic Perspectives on the Huron Indian Soul* (Lewiston NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1991), 154; Charles Garrad, "Ekarenniondi: Beacon for the Dead and Roost for the Thunderbird?," *Arch Notes* 84, no. 5 (1984): 15.
[139] JR 42: 101, emphasis mine.
[140] Steckley, "The Soul Concepts of the Huron," 107.

go wandering (as in dreams or idle thoughts), or be misplaced (as when a person has forgotten something important, like a promise). Changes in behaviour were also described in association with the mind metaphor, so that a person acting unusually irrationally, or continually changing his or her mind, was said to have a twisted, or even absent, mind.

Children with no mind

While the example of the French drummer boy and the Nipissing man is the only direct reference to a child with "no mind" in the *Jesuit Relations*, using what is known about how the metaphor is used can help contextualize the peculiar unpredictability of childish behaviour. The metaphor of "s/he has no mind" was used to justify children's inability to always moderate their behaviour, emotions, and words—in other words, to justify why children did not behave like normative adults. The *Jesuit Relations* abound with anecdotes and references to examples of children's erratic or "bad" behaviour, whereby children acted out in ways that defied cultural norms. Samuel de Champlain was astonished to witness "the more ill-tempered" children striking their parents in a fit of pique, and even more horrified when the parents did nothing to punish the offending children.[141] Champlain's disdain for the situation stemmed from his Eurocentric belief that children were meant to be obedient to their parents, but physically assaulting a fellow person was also inappropriate in Wendat culture. Wendat adults refused to retaliate and strike their children, in part because they believed disputes were to be resolved with words, and in a state of calm rather than frenzy or anger. Moreover, the Wendat considered physical discipline against a child to be abhorrent, and as exemplified in this chapter's opening example, it was inconceivable for any adult to simply stand by and allow a child to be harmed by another adult. Physical fighting was considered the behaviour of children, and by not striking

[141] Samuel de Champlain, *The Works of Samuel de Champlain*, ed. H. P. Biggar (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1929), 3: 142.

back, parents modelled proper adult conduct of self-restraint and emotional control.[142] For children to lash out in such a way was tolerated because they did not know how to behave, but as they got older, such behaviour was increasingly viewed as deviant.

Similarly, fulfilling promises and telling the truth were expected in all social situations, and lying or failing to fulfill a promise was met with disdain.[143] Lying was also, however, considered a behaviour for children, not adults. In a telling exchange in the *Jesuit Relations,* one disbelieving person exclaimed to the Jesuit Paul le Jeune: "Ho, Ho, what good things thou tellest us, if thou art not lying; but why shouldst thou lie, being no longer a child?"[144] And, earlier in this discussion with le Jeune, the Innu Negabamat said: "Father le Jeune, thou art already old, and therefore it is no longer permitted to thee to lie. Come now, take courage, and boldly speak the truth."[145] Honesty and truthfulness were therefore associated with the normative behaviour of responsible adults, whilst falsehood was associated with children who did not yet know better. Other childish behaviours and characteristics (which might be briefly tolerated for children but would be teased or otherwise penalized in adults) included rudeness, being loud when quiet might be more appropriate, and actions that ran counter to good sense or without consideration of consequences.[146] This is almost certainly what Jesuit Pierre de Charlevoix meant when he said "whilst they are little, they say they have no reason."[147]

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[142] Barbara Alice Mann, *Iroquoian Women: The Gantowisas* (New York: Peter Lang, 2000), 272.
[143] JR 43: 213.
[144] JR 14: 211.
[145] JR 14: 207. While this conversation was between an Innu and Le Jeune, I consider it likely that the metaphorical and philosophical ideas around lying in this discussion are comparable with the Wendat, for the same reasons that political metaphors and the metaphor of the mind are indicative of similar uses in diplomatic discourse across the Great Lakes.
[146] JR 13:117; 15:157; Marius Barbeau, *Huron and Wyandot Mythology* (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1915), 256 f. 1; Joyce Marshall, ed. *Word from New France: The Selected Letters of Marie De L'incarnation* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1967), 126.
[147] Pierre de Charlevoix, *Journal of a Voyage to North-America*, 2 vols. (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms Inc, 1966), 2:30.

Being without a mind does of course raise certain problems, however, as a proper 17th-century Wendat was meant to be somber, thoughtful, patient, in control of his or her emotions, and a clear and truthful orator, none of which is possible without the emotional control and good sense of someone with a smooth mind. If taking care of the mind of individuals is a communal duty, then children (who metaphorically at least might have "no mind") needed to be taught how to live so they could become full members of society.

Personhood

In his study of Wendat soul theory, Alexander Von Gernet suggests that very young children were perhaps "not regarded as entire individuals having the full complement of body and free-souls"[148] and that small children may not be considered persons. It is important to note, however, that being without a mind was *not* synonymous with being inhuman or a nonperson, although the two were not mutually exclusive either. In the Wendat worldview, individuals became persons as soon as they received a name. Names automatically brought the individual into the extended kinship network of clans and families, and by extension, as archaeologist John Creese indicates for Iroquoians more broadly, the household affiliation created a sense of personhood.[149]

Wendat infants were not given a name at birth and might have to wait months before a name was given in Ceremony.[150] To clarify Von Gernet's suggestion, Wendat infants may not

[148] von Gernet, "Saving the Souls," 46.
[149] James Lynch, "The Iroquois Confederacy, and the Adoption and Administration of Non-Iroquois Individuals and Groups Prior to 1756," *Man in the Northeast* 30 (1985): 85; John L. Creese, "The Domestication of Personhood: A View from the Northern Iroquoian Longhouse," *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 22, no. 3 (2012): 370-71.
[150] One 20th-century Wyandot source claimed "they always named the children at the Green Corn Feast. They never name them on other occasions." CMH, Marius Barbeau Fonds, Huron-Wyandot Files, Box 64, B-G-183.7, Naming and Adoption rituals (H-W), "Green Corn Feast, naming. Informant: Marthal Littlechief Punch."

have been considered persons *until they received a name*. Further complicating matters was the time delay between a child's birth and the time when they might receive a spirit or soul. In his discussion of matrilineality and Wendat clans, the French soldier and travel writer Louis Armand, Baron de Lahontan (1666-1716) explained that Wendat philosophy considered the human body to come from the mother, and the spirit(s) from the fathers, but gave no indication of how long it took for a spirit to join the body.[151] By implication, a person could live for some time without a spirit. From other sources, it appeared to take up to six months for a spirit to come to the child,[152] although it is also unclear as to what 'spirit' meant in these instances: was it the mind or one of the other souls in Wendat cosmology? Regardless, there is no indication that the absence of a mind denied an individual personhood.

The distinction between mind and personhood is perhaps best illustrated with a non-human example: dogs. The Wendat kept domesticated dogs for a variety of reasons: rarely kept as pets, dogs were primarily working animals, used for hunting and as beasts of burden. Dogs were also kept for consumption, and specific rituals utilized dogs and dog meat.[153] Dogs' place in Wendat society was not just one of practical use, however, as canines also had significance in Wendat cosmological stories, including in some versions of the creation story in which Aataentsic fell from the Sky World along with a dog and a bear.[154]

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[151] Mann, *Iroquoian Women: The Gantowisas*, 328; Baron de Lahontan, *New Voyages to North America*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites (New York: Lenox Hill Publishing, 1905), II: 461-62.
[152] Steve Wall, *Wisdom's Daughters: Conversations with Women Elders of Native America* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1993), 168.
[153] JR:13:31; 17:19. See also APS, Tuscarora Indian materials, 1883-1890, J.N.B. Hewitt—Myths, legends M.s., "Superstitions about Dogs"; Marshall Joseph Becker and Jonathan C. Lainey, *The White Dog Sacrifice: A Post-1800 Rite with an Ornamental Use for Wampum* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2018), especially 103-05; Harold Blau, "The Iroquois White Dog Sacrifice: Its Evolution and Symbolism," *Ethnohistory* 11, no. 2 (1964); William M. Beauchamp, "Onondaga White-Dog Feast," *Science* 12, no. 285 (1888).
[154] JR10:127. The Wendats' neighbours, the Anishinaabek, also had stories of dogs, including some where dogs married and had children with humans. APS, C. F. Voegelin Papers, Subcollection 2, Series

The Wendat spoke about dogs in sometimes contradictory ways. While "dogs, deer, fish, and other animals have…immortal and reasonable souls,"[155] at least some individuals also believed the animals had no mind. In one case in the *Jesuit Relations*, two children were learning their prayers before taking their meal, and jokingly one offered to pray on behalf of a dog. His companion responded that "the dogs have no mind, they do not say their *Benedicite*, it is only for men to say that."[156] Here, the reference seems to indicate "mind" means "capability" or "knowledge," which again fits the way the metaphor is used with people. Yet, despite having no mind, some people loved their dogs, as in the example of one man who grieved the loss of his dog Ouatit to the bear they hunted.[157] Wendat cosmology assigned dogs to an important spiritual role as messengers for the dead, giving human and dog a distinct relationship characterised largely by respect—even, and perhaps especially, when dogs were utilized for food or sacrifice.[158]

Ouatit was one of the few examples in the *Jesuit Relations* of a dog receiving a name. Most of the time, dogs are mentioned in the *Jesuit Relations* as nameless sacrifices, food during a feast, or beasts of burden; occasionally, there were also descriptions of dogs being abused by their human owners.[159] In the broader Wendat context of names signifying personhood, nameless dogs could not count as persons, and since a Wendat could abuse a nameless being without

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2, Subseries 3. Bloomfield—Ojibwe texts 8-20 from Angeline Williams 1941. "The Dog's Children," "The Daughter of a Dog," and "The Son of a Dog."

[155] JR 8:121.

[156] JR 5:139. The French for "the dogs have no mind" was rendered "les chiens n'ont point d'esprit," using the same term for 'mind' as when referring to humans. JR 5: 138.

[157] JR 14:33-35.

[158] Joyce M. Wright, "Ouatit's People: The Cosmological Significance of Dogs in Wendat Society," in *A Passion for the Past: Papers in Honour of James F. Pendergast*, ed. James V. Wright and Jean-Luc Pilon (Gatineau QC: Canadian Museum of History, 2004).

[159] Brett Rushforth, *Bonds of Alliance: Indigenous and Atlantic Slaveries in New France* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 52, 54.

social reprisal, this accounts for the occasional references to dogs being hurt by their human owners.

Unlike dogs, however, children were almost always fiercely protected, even by individuals outside of their clan. This is clearly illustrated in the case of the Nipissing man throwing himself between the drummer boy who wronged him and the man who would whip the child in punishment. But there are a few isolated incidents in which children were harmed or allowed to come to harm. In nearly all cases, the child in question was an infant. For example, when on a war raid, it was not unheard of for small children and pregnant women to be killed on the trail home rather than risk slowing down so they could keep up with their captors. There were also stories of Haudenosaunee warriors killing, roasting, and consuming infants in front of their horrified Wendat mothers.[160] Although these stories were likely exaggerated in the *Jesuit Relations* for shock value, it is also possible that this kind of practice was conducted under extreme circumstances and acceptable despite the taboo against cannibalism *specifically* because the infants were too young to have received a name. Without a name, the infants were considered to be without a formal place in the world, and not only could they be easily sent back to the spirit world, but there were no social prescriptions against doing so.

Children and orenda

Along with the inappropriate behaviour of a person without a complete and smooth mind, another central theme in Wendat conceptions of childhood was the assumption that children had an extraordinary and natural connection to the spirit world. Children were assumed to have an abundance of *orenda*, defined by J.N.B. Hewitt, is "a hypothetic potence [*sic*] or potentiality to

[160] JR 19: 71; 22: 255-257.

do or effect results mystically."[161] More simply, orenda is one's spiritual power. While every living thing had orenda, some individuals had more than others. Sky People, for example, were said to have unparalleled orenda.[162] Children, particularly infants and those at the cusp of adulthood, were also said to have strong spiritual power.

After birth and until they received a name, children were very close to the spirit world. Indeed, oral tradition metaphorically referred to as-yet unborn children as "those faces [that] approach from beneath the ground," or those "whose faces are turned this way from beneath the ground," indicating children's spirits were close to the boundary between the spirit and material worlds, and kept close watch, waiting for a chance to be born.[163] Even after birth, children's distance from the spirit world was described as only "the thinness of a maple leaf."[164] While the *Jesuit Relations* and other 17th-century sources are silent on this matter, some 20th-century Indigenous Knowledge-Keepers and scholars have linked this closeness to the spirits as a source of special danger for children, suggesting that spirits would want to come to see the children and take them away, or that children might be tempted to return "home" to the spirit world.[165]

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[161] J. N. B. Hewitt, "Orenda and a Definition of Religion," *American Anthropologist* 4, no. 1 (1902): 38.
[162] Mann, "The Lynx in Time: Haudenosaunee Women's Traditions and History," 431.
[163] APS, William Fenton Papers, Series IIb, John A. Gibson, "The Law of the Woman Chief"; William N. Fenton, *The Great Law and the Longhouse: A Political History of the Iroquois Confederacy* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), 29.
[164] William Fenton, "This Island, the World on the Turtle's Back," *Journal of American Folklore* 75, no. 298 (1962): 298. In his research notes, held at the APS in Philadelphia, Fenton notes a slightly different reference: "A maple leaf is the thickness of the partition between us and the dead." APS, William Fenton Papers, Series VIII-A, 1933: Beliefs, omens, death; dreams, signs governing activities – 1933, "[untitled]. Informants Jess Cornplanter and John Jacobs, 9/3/33."
[165] APS, William Fenton Papers, Series VIII-B, Iroquois Social Structure: Children, puberty, etiquette – 1933-1935, "Protection of Babies against the spirits. Informants Jess Cornplanter, Elon Webster, and Barber Black, 2/18/35"; Erminnie A. Smith, *Myths of the Iroquois* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1883), 25; Chief Jacob Thomas and Terry Boyle, *Teachings from the Longhouse* (Toronto: Stoddard Publishing Co, 1994), 47; Kim Anderson, "New Life Stirring: Mothering, Transformation and Aboriginal Womanhood," in *"Until Our Hearts Are on the Ground": Aboriginal Mothering, Oppression, Resistance, and Rebirth*, ed. D. Memee Lovell-Harvard and Jeannette Cornier Lavell (Toronto: Demeter Press, 2006), 21.

Archaeological and historical data offers tangible support for this concern, indicating a high infant mortality rate in the 17th century. The Jesuits went so far as to claim that "scarcely one infant in thirty survives until youth," but this is almost certainly an exaggerated figure.[166] Historian Erik R. Seeman suggests that between 120 and 180 out of every 1000 Wendat children died within their first year, meaning a 12-18% mortality rate.[167] From archaeological research, it would seem Iroquoian infants tended to die from respiratory infections and malnutrition, with such chronic stresses contributing to the deaths of older children as well.[168] To the Wendat, who viewed inexplicable sickness as the result of spiritual or magical intervention, very young children died because the spirits were calling the infants back to the spirit realm from which they had so recently come. In an effort to protect their children, parents did what they could to make their babies appear unattractive to the spirits. Twentieth-century Haudenosaunee Elders spoke of their ancestors tying buckskin strings around the baby's right wrist, smudging the baby's face with soot if taking the child out at night, cutting a hole in the bottom of the baby's moccasins, and sleeping with the baby between the parents, all to prevent the spirits from wanting, or being able, to touch the child.[169] It is likely the Wendat took similar precautions to protect their equally-endangered children.

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[166] JR 1: 259.

[167] Erik R. Seeman, *The Huron-Wendat Feast of the Dead: Indian-European Encounters in Early North America* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011), 14. Joseph E. Illick gives an extremely high 50% mortality rate for children, but does not indicate how he came to this figure. Joseph E. Illick, "Childhood in Three Cultures in Early America," *Pennsylvania History* 64 (1997): 309.

[168] S. Pfeiffer, K. Stewart, and C. Alex, "Growth Arrest Lines among Uxbridge Ossuary Juveniles," *Ontario Archaeology* 46 (1986): 30. While there is no indication that cradles were a problem for the Wendat, some research for the American southwest indicates lengthy periods in the cradleboard may have also resulted in some specific ailments and diseases, caused largely by the friction of movement against the board. See Diane Young Holliday, "Occipital Lesions: A Possible Cost of Cradleboards," *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 90 (1993).

[169] Pfeiffer, Stewart, and Alex, "Growth Arrest Lines among Uxbridge Ossuary Juveniles," 30; Kim Anderson, *Life Stages and Native Women: Memory, Teachings, and Story Medicine* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2011), 56-8. See also: APS, William Fenton Papers, Series V-B, Husk Dolls 1938, n.d., "CRE Alleg 7/7/38. Children (Travel) carrying boards"; Series VIII-B, Iroquois Social

Children's spiritual power was different from that of adults. While children's orenda seemed to be derived from their relative closeness to the spirit world, adult Wendat often gained spiritual power from social connections. In an intriguing 2012 article, archaeologist John L. Creese describes Iroquoian personhood and spiritual power as deriving from collectivity, particularly through the household. As Creese describes it, "Power was understood as a spiritual force (orenda) that issued from the many reciprocal bonds that joined together two or more entities into social wholes… Because the unequal accumulation of power by individuals in an egalitarian context was associated with antisocial witchcraft, legitimate social power seems to have been channelled into larger wholes through social alliance-building."[170] The implications for such distribution of spiritual power are intriguing. Most Wendat conducted communal ceremonies to gain assistance or guidance from the spirit world, including giving offerings of tobacco or material goods, and gathered with others to share knowledge and give or receive medicine. Indeed, group or multi-person ceremonies were intrinsic to Wendat life.[171] Dream interpretations helped guide individuals in everything from when to host or request a community feast to how to decide on matters of political policy between nations. There were even specialists whose task it was to interpret others' dreams.[172] Similarly, the Wendat observed certain rituals prior to group hunting expeditions, or prior to launching a raid on another community. Fasting, sweats, and thanksgiving offerings to spirits were all essential elements of ceremonialism. Isolationism on the other hand was associated with more dangerous forms of spiritual

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Structure: Children, puberty, etiquette – 1933-1935, "Protection of Babies against the spirits. Informants Jess Cornplanter, Elon Webster, and Barber Black, 2/18/35."

[170] Creese, "The Domestication of Personhood," 372.

[171] Timothy Pearson, "Reading Rituals: Performance and Religious Encounter in Early Colonial Northeastern North America," in *Mixed Blesings: Indigenous Encounters with Christianity in Canada*, ed. Tolly Bradford and Chelsea Horton (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2016).

[172] JR 33:191-93. See also: José António Brandão, ed. *Nation Iroquoise: A Seventeenth-Century Ethnography of the Iroquois* (Lincoln & London: University of Nebraska Press, 2003), 95, 97.

connection.[173] Sorcerers and medicine-people—whose power was amoral and could be used for positive or for negative purposes—often separated themselves from the larger community by building their homes outside the main village.

Children, particularly small children, rarely participated in ceremonies, distinguishing them from this broader spiritual context. Children almost never had their dreams interpreted, and when they did it seems to have usually been part of puberty rites, when they were being reconceptualised as adults.[174] Even when a child was sick, it was the task of the mother or father to dream and seek medicine on their behalf.[175] Sweats and dances excluded young children as well, and children were never brought to cemeteries or anywhere else that might have a preponderance of local spirits. Thus, there was a clear division between (especially young) children's interactions with the spirit world and that of adults. While children were naturally close to the spirit world and their orenda was naturally powerful, they were not fully incorporated into the community's ceremonial lives and therefore liminal to the rest of society in a similar fashion to *arendiowane*.

As children got older, they were increasingly incorporated into the broader kinship network of living and spiritual family, and were increasingly included in ceremonial practices. Some of these ceremonies were focused around young children, without those children having to be active participants. As early as 1636, Jesuit observers described a Ceremony with two prepubescent girls: "Every year they marry their nets to two little girls, who must be only from six to seven years of age, for fear that they may have lost their virginity… The ceremony of these

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[173] For isolationism and its association with witchcraft, see: Raymond D. Fogelson, "Native American Religion," in *The Cambridge History of Religions in America Volume 1: Pre-Columbian Times to 1790*, ed. Stephen J. Stein (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 16-17.
[174] APS, George S. Snyderman Papers, Series IV, "Fenton, William Nelson—Miscellaneous—Notes;" Rice, *The Rotinonshonni*, 176.
[175] JR 10:173.

espousals takes place at a fine feast, where the Seine [net] is placed between the two virgins; this is to render them fortunate in catching fish."[176] Assisting in the community's fishing was not an insignificant contribution; fish and the fisheries provided a reliable, almost year-round food source that would not be affected by exhausted agricultural soils or overhunted woodlands.[177] In exchange for this valuable contribution, the girls' families were always given a portion of the fish as they were caught throughout the year, but the girls themselves were not required to do anything other than be present. Since spiritual power was considered to reside in the body, not the consciousness, the simple presence of the children was enough for the community to create their contract with the fishing nets.[178] The next year, two new girls were selected, ensuring regular and bountiful fishing, and freeing up the previous years' girls to go about their lives. This example seems to have been a rarity, however, as most times prepubescent children's orenda found other, non-ceremonial outlets.

Children's orenda was considered to be naturally powerful, even if it was not usually channelled through communal bonding like with Wendat adults, but some children were also thought to have more spiritual power than others. Many Indigenous nations in the Great Lakes region, including Haudenosaunee and Anishinaabek, believed that children born with a caul (the amniotic membrane enclosing a fetus) were more likely to become medicine-workers, and required special care during childhood.[179] Twins, like the two grandsons of Aataentsic, were

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[176] JR 10:167. Apparently, this Ceremony was initially an Anishinaabe practice, but the Wendat learned of it and instituted it as well. JR 17:199-201.
[177] Michael Recht, "The Role of Fishing in the Iroquois Economy, 1600-1792," *New York History* 76, no. 1 (1995): 8.
[178] David Blanchard, "Who or What's a Witch? Iroquois Persons of Power," *American Indian Quarterly* 6, no. 3/4 (1982): 223.
[179] APS, William Fenton Papers, Series IV, John G. Schwede, "Obstetrical Practices of the Iroquois from the Fields Notes of F.W. Waugh and W.N. Fenton, m.s. 1976," 3.

considered especially powerful among Iroquoians, and are associated with creativity and luck.[180] Likewise, orphaned or abandoned children were more likely to be befriended by spirits or by animal persons and therefore would have special gifts and abilities.[181] Oral histories abound with examples of lost or abandoned children who had such powers. One common story was that of a young boy alone in the woods (in some versions he was abandoned, in others he was merely lost) who was adopted by a mother Bear and her cubs. The child was raised alongside the cubs, and learned a great many things from the Bears; when he finally rejoined his people, he used the teachings and the gifts from the Bear Mother to quickly develop a reputation as a great hunter.[182]

The oral history record is also full of child characters and child-like entities who go on adventures, winning against witches and monsters through a mix of magical powers and pluck. Haudenosaunee stories, which were recorded in greater numbers than Wendat or Wyandot stories, offer a number of examples, including one in which a boy kills a giant, rescues an old man's sons, and manages to escape a "Flying Head" monster.[183] There is even a trickster character in Haudenosaunee stories called Ukse'dali', who is often described as a boy, and who went on many adventures.[184] While girls feature less often as traditional heroes and rarely did

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[180] APS, William Fenton Papers, Series V-B, Richard Van Der Beets ed., "The Indian Captivity Narrative"; Christopher Vecsey, "The Story and Structure of the Iroquois Confederacy," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 54, no. 1 (1986): 92.
[181] Druke, "The Concept of Personhood," 65.
[182] Marius Barbeau's published volumes contain four versions of this story. See: Barbeau, *Huron and Wyandot Mythology*, 116-25, 26-27, 27-28, 28-31; Barbeau, *Huron-Wyandot Traditional Narratives* (Ottawa: National Museum of Canada, 1960), 20, 20-22. The Haudenosaunee also have versions of this story: APS, Collection of Iroquois Folklore, 1912-1918, collected by Frederick W. Waugh, "Orphan Befriended by Animals. Informant Elias Cook (Cayuga), Grand River Reserve, 1918;" William M. Beauchamp, *Iroquois Folk Lore* (Port Washington, NY: Ira J. Friedman Inc, 1965), 51-55; Smith, *Myths of the Iroquois,* 83-84, 85.
[183] APS, Collection of Iroquois Folklore, "Boy Hero's Adventures. Informant Thomas Smoke (Onondaga, speaking Cayuga), Grand River Reserve, 1915."
[184] APS, Collection of Iroquois Folklore, "Ukse'dali' Goes Hunting. Informant Thomas Smoke, (Onondaga), Grand River Reserve, 1915," and "Ukse'dali' as a Trickster. Informant Jacob Hess (Cayuga), Grand River Reserve, 1915."

any fighting in these stories, there are some examples of girls who saved others. In one story, two girls contributed to the destruction of a malevolent Bear spirit who had taken the form of their grandmother to eat human children.[185]

Children had powerful spiritual connections, but their power remained liminal, outside of the wider communal network. Children's use of orenda was often passive; children's presence allowed for its use in ceremonies, but it was usually adults who directed how those energies would be used. Only as a child grew older, and his or her power was tempered by knowledge (as in the example of the Bear stories), did individuals start taking an active role in their spiritual journey. As such, it was the community's shared task to guide children and lead them into the ceremonial world, much as it was the responsibility of the community's adults and Elders to educate the young and help them develop a 'mind'.

Growing up Wendat: community and reciprocal respect

If children were spiritually powerful but also lacked the skill and sense to negotiate with the spirit and living worlds, it fell to children's families, and the community at large, to guide them. It was the shared task of all the people in the village to nurture and raise children.[186] Wendat child-rearing methods were, however, largely indirect. Children spent a lot of time with other children and without any obvious adult supervision, leading a number of European visitors to complain that the Wendat did not truly parent their children. European misconceptions of Wendat child-rearing stem from different expectations of that which children were capable of,

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[185] APS, Tuscarora Indian materials, Hewitt – Myths and Legends M.s., "The Uyá-kwa-´her'. Informant Joseph Henry, 1888."

[186] Jan Noel, "Power Mothering: The Haudenosaunee Model," in *"Until Our Hearts Are on the Ground": Aboriginal Mothering, Oppression, Resistance and Rebirth*, ed. D. Memee Lavell-Harvard and Jeannette Corbiere Lavell (Toronto: Demeter Press, 2006), 88; Alexandra Kahsenni, "From Great-Grandmothers to Great-Granddaughters: "Moving Life" in Baby Carriers and Birchbark Baskets," *RACAR: revue d'art canadienne / Canadian Art Review* 42, no. 2 (2017): 101.

and of how children should relate to adults. While European visitors complained endlessly about what they considered to be wild and undisciplined children, the Wendat were patient and were disinclined to intervene in their children's behaviours because Wendat child-rearing methods were rooted in a unanimous respect for individual choices.[187] Children were taught custom, law, and responsibility by letting them make their own decisions and learn by experience. Mistakes were expected and accepted with patience. Adults never told a child what to do or what not to do; instead, they taught by example, and through moral messages in stories.

This respect for children's self-sufficiency and independence also translated into respect for their choices and a refusal to coerce their behaviours. Wendat parents appealed to their child's sense of pride when they wanted a certain task done. John Heckewelder, writing of early 19th-century Pennsylvanian Indigenous peoples, provides a telling example of how this might be done:

> A father need only say in the presence of his children: 'I want such a thing done; I want one of my children to go upon such an errand; let me see who is the *good* child that will do it!' This word *good* operates, as it were, by magic, and the children immediately vie with each other to comply with the wishes of their parent.[188]

Heckewelder points out that Indigenous education was designed to build up a child's confidence and sense of achievement, and therefore encourage confident and fearless adults. This was such an important task it required the assistance of the entire village:

> If a child is sent from his father's dwelling to carry a dish of victuals to an aged person, all in the house will join in calling him a *good* child. They will ask whose child he is, and on being told, will exclaim: what! Has the Tortoise of the little Bear (as the father's name may be) got such a *good* child? If a child is seen passing through the streets leading an old decrepid [*sic*] person, the villagers will in his hearing, and to encourage all the other

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[187] Denys Delâge, *Bitter Feast: Amerindians and Europeans in Northeastern North America, 1600-64*, trans. Jane Brierley (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1993), 59; Kathryn Magee, "History Repeats Itself: Huron Childrearing Attitudes, Eurocentricity, and the Importance of Indigenous World View," *Canadian Journal of Native Education* 31, no. 2 (2008): 13.

[188] John Heckewelder, *History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations Who Once Inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighbouring States* (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1876), 115.

> children who may be present to take example from him, call on one another to look on and see what a *good* child that must be.[189]

While Heckewelder was not writing about the Wendat or their descendants, other early writers indicate a similar pattern was apparent in Wendake and in other, later, Wendat and Wyandot communities. The 18th-century writer known only as J.C.B. indicates that kindness, not threats, was used to educate the Indigenous children in New France, and a parent's sorrowful remark of "you are dishonouring me" was enough to correct bad behaviour for some of the area's Indigenous peoples.[190] And seemingly all of the core European writers who met with the Wendat—and many who did not actually meet them in person!—insisted that Wendat parents unanimously refused to physically discipline their children.[191] As mentioned above, physical discipline was universally abhorred, and any kind of fight or altercation between persons was considered to be childish behaviour, but the Wendat had other reasons to disregard physical correction as a means of behavioural training. The refusal to strike their children was rooted in a general respect for others, but also in a fear that any harsh treatment would cause irreparable harm. Indeed, according to Jesuit observers, Wendat parents worried that any kind of physical punishment would result in their children being so unhappy that they would be in danger of committing suicide. In the spring of 1638, Le Jeune described the death of one such youth who reportedly poisoned himself at

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[189] Heckewelder, *History, Manners, and Customs,* 116.

[190] J.C.B., *Travels in New France*, ed. Sylvester K. Stevens, Donald H. Kent, and Emma Edith Woods (Harrisburg, PA: The Pennsylvania Historical Commission, 1941), 145. See also: Charlevoix, *Journal of a Voyage to North-America,* 2:115.

[191] JR 6: 153, 14: 37; Champlain, *The Works of Samuel de Champlain*, 3: 142; Charlevoix, *Journal of a Voyage to North-America,* 2: 30; Joseph François Lafitau, *Customs of the American Indians Compared with the Customs of Primitive Times* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1977), 1: 361; Gabriel Sagard, *The Long Journey to the Country of the Hurons*, ed. George M. Wrong, trans. H. H. Langton (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1939), 131; Marshall, *Word from New France,* 106 ff 3. For other references to Indigenous children escaping physical punishment, see also: Heckewelder, *History, Manners, and Customs,* 115; J.C.B. *Travels in New France*, 145; Edmund de Schweinitz, *The Life and Times of David Zeisberger* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott and Co., 1871), 86.

Ossossané because he could not bear being "treated with some severity" by his parents.[192] To avoid such tragedies, the worst forms of discipline for childish wrongdoing was likely "ducking" in which the child was splashed with water.[193] There are also early 20th-century references to Wendat/Wyandot and Haudenosaunee strategies of preventing bad behaviour by telling stories of boogeyman-like figures—and given their aversion to physical discipline, it is quite possible 17th-century Wendat people had similar strategies. For example, from the research of William Fenton on Haudenosaunee stories, we know of Hagónde´s (Longnose) and Thinnose, two figures that frightened children playing outside at night, and some Wyandots told stories of naughty children being taken away by owls, or even by the witch-cannibal Stomatsé´a.[194]

Besides ensuring children knew how to behave among other Wendat, families were also responsible for making sure children knew the practical skills necessary for survival. Mothers were careful to attend to infants' needs immediately so that their cries would not be heard—a pragmatic consideration among people who might need to run and hide from attackers in times of war.[195]

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[192] JR 14: 37; William N. Fenton, *Iroquois Suicide: A Case Study in the Stability of a Culture Pattern*, Smithsonian Institution Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 128, American Anthropological Papers No. 14 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1941), 110.

[193] Doug George-Kanentiio, *Iroquois Culture and Commentary* (Santa Fe: Clear Light Publishers, 2000), 58; John Bradford, *Scoouwa: James Smith's Indian Captivity Narrative* (Columbus: Ohio Historical Society, 1992), 102-03; Thelma R. Marsh, *Daughter of Grey Eyes: The Story of Mother Solomon* (Upper Sandusky, Ohio: Thelma R. Marsh, 1984), 8-9; APS, William Fenton Papers, Series VIII-C, Allegany: New Year's Dance, Green Corn, Otter Society, other info, "CHILDREN, education of. Informant Emma Turkey with Clara Red Eye, Allegany reservation 7/13/38."

[194] Hagónde´s was a mimic and would copy children playing hide-and-seek, following them inside and not leaving them alone until daybreak. Thinnose apparently caused nosebleeds in children out of doors at night. Stomatsé´a was a Wyandot entity; Barbeau includes stories of her in his published collection. See: APS, William Fenton Papers, Series V-B, Husk Dolls 1938, n.d., "Mythical Figures. Informant Clara Red Eye, Allegany Reservation, 7/6/38"; CMH Marius Barbeau Fonds, Huron-Wyandot Files, Box 50, B-G-8.13, Hierarchy and Government, "Personal history, 'bugaboo' and toad, linguistics. Informants Rebecca Brown and Eldredge H. Brown, n.d."; CMH, Marius Barbeau Fonds, Huron-Wyandot Files, Box B62, B-G-143.6, Epics. Legends & Anecdotes (English), "Name of a monster woman. Informant I. Walker, n.d."; Barbeau, *Huron and Wyandot Mythology*, especially 172-74.

[195] APS, William Fenton Papers, Series VIII-A Chronological Files, 1938 – Alice White to Anne Schaefer, her life and activities, "Training of Babies. Informant Alice White (Wolf Clan), Cold Spring, 7/26/38."

Later, suppression of outward displays of emotion helped keep the peace amongst other villagers, as prevention of conflict was of utmost importance in ensuring group solidarity.[196] Adults also took care to include even very young children in daily chores, thereby teaching them skills as well as responsibility.[197] At the same time boys were learning how to use the bow and arrow, women gave their girls sticks to teach them how to pound corn into meal.[198] Later, girls would observe and assist their mothers and other female kin as they prepared food, mended nets, made pottery, and stitched and decorated clothing and moccasins.[199] Even before puberty, it was assumed that a child would be able to take care of him or herself in any environment and could live self-sufficiently in times of crisis.[200]

To facilitate learning survival and interpersonal skills, children were mostly left to their own devices. They were free to move in and out of the longhouse and could play in the village or in the fields, the latter which had the added benefit of chasing away pests and animals that would

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[196] Delâge, *Bitter Feast,* 60, 193; Peter Moogk, *La Nouvelle France: The Making of French Canada--a Cultural History* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2000), 26.
[197] APS, William Fenton Papers, Series VIII-A Chronological Files, 1938 – Alice White to Anne Schaefer, her life and activities, "Training of Children. Informant Alice White (Wolf Clan), Cold Spring, 7/21/38"; Tooker, *An Ethnography of the Huron Indians,* 124.
[198] Sagard, *Long Journey*, 133.
[199] For more on the making of clothing and moccasins, including the specialized skill involved in beadwork, see: Anne de Stecher, "The Art of the Community," *RACAR: revue d'art canadienne / Canadian Art Review* 42, no. 2 (2017); Catherine Cangany, "Fashioning Moccasins: Detroit, the Manufacturing Frontier, and the Empire of Consumption, 1701–1835," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 69, no. 2 (2012): especially 268-69; F. G. Speck, "Huron Moose Hair Embroidery," *American Anthropologist* 13, no. 1 (1911). For more on women and pottery, see: Holly Anne Martelle, "Huron Potters and Archaeological Constructs: Researching Ceramic Micro-Stylistics" (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2002); Martha A. Latta, "The Captive Bride Syndrome: Iroquoian Behaviour or Archaeological Myth?," in *The Archaeology of Gender: Proceedings of the Twenty-Second Annual Conference of the Archaeological Association of the University of Calgary*, ed. Dale Walde and Noreen D. Willows (Calgary: University of Calgary, 1991); Kostalena Michelaki, "More Than Meets the Eye: Reconsidering Variability in Iroquoian Ceramics," *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 31, no. 2 (2007). For children as innovators in pottery, see Patricia E. Smith, "Children and Ceramic Innovation: a Study in the Archaeology of Children," *Archaeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association* 15, 1 (2005): 65-76.
[200] George-Kanentiio, *Iroquois Culture and Commentary,* 54.

eat the crops. Children also had early exposure to the woods, as indicated by references to children collecting wild-growing medicines and foodstuffs, so it is likely children made playgrounds outside the village and fields as well.[201] Out of respect for children's independence, and because children were expected to learn from experience, Wendat adults rarely interfered with them except in cases of imminent danger. This seems to have been a common practice amongst Indigenous peoples in the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence area and has continued in some communities to today. As Roger Spielmann writes about Anishinaabe child-rearing:

> When we first moved to Pikogan, we observed that the kids on the reserve seemed to run around with no supervision. The parents seemed to take a hands-off approach to child-rearing, at the very least. After a while, though, we realized that the children were being looked after very carefully. All of the adults in the community shared a sense of guardianship for them. In time, we too began to feel more at ease letting our own children run free in the community. We knew that they were being watched by others on the reserve and we began to take on that responsibility, too, when there were youngsters playing in our 'space'. From a cultural outsider's perspective, it appeared that the children were running around wild…[202]

Spielmann's description of Anishinaabe child-rearing is very similar to 17th-century Wendat customs, and received very similar criticism from Europeans (or in Spielmann's case, from Euro-Canadians living in what is today the province of Quebec). While Indigenous children were never really left alone, they were accorded far more independence than Western/European families were comfortable with.

The hands-off parenting style fostered self-reliance in the child, but also facilitated strong peer bonds. Children competed with one another and strived for honour and peer esteem gained through feats of strength and stamina. Some of these efforts may have been a little extreme, as in one example the Jesuit Pierre de Charlevoix relates about little children pairing up to "tie

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[201] For example, Sagard writes about children collecting *ooxrat*, and in the *Jesuit Relations* a young girl collects *Ondachienroa* for her father's use. Sagard, *Long Journey*, 195; JR 13: 27-29.
[202] Roger Spielmann, *"You're So Fat!" Exploring Ojibwe Discourse* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 38.

themselves together and to put between a red coal to see who should shrink first."[203] Likewise, Wendat children were known to play outside in all weather, and more than one European observer made note of children playing in the snow whilst completely naked.[204] The games children played with one another helped foster friendly competition as well as cooperation, and included games like hide-and-seek and snow-snake.[205] Playmates were found throughout the village, regardless of clan affiliation, which helped form connections that would serve everyone well into adulthood.[206]

Many essential skills were taught by peers instead of adults. Boys were encouraged to learn to use the bow and arrow as soon as they could walk, but this was a skill they taught themselves in peer groups; fishing and using the harpoon were likely also peer-taught skills.[207] Peers also supported one another in times of distress and helped one another to mediate conflict. Lahontan recorded one example of a group of children intervening with two quarrelling friends. The group listened attentively to both sides of the argument in an effort to resolve the issue and then carried home the two disagreeing boys when they came to blows.[208] Relationships with peer groups were among the most important interpersonal relationships a Wendat child would have with other human beings.

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[203] Charlevoix, *Journal of a Voyage to North-America*, 2:85.
[204] Charlevoix, *Journal of a Voyage to North-America*, 2:113; Sagard, *Long Journey*, 130.
[205] JR 7: 95-7.
[206] While clan rivalries may have existed for adults, if the pattern holds with 20th century persons they most likely tried to keep these rivalries from affecting the children. In a world that required everyone's cooperation and contribution for survival, the Wendat did their best to avoid conflict between one another. For conflict avoidance, see: Bruce G. Trigger, *The Huron: Farmers of the North* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969), 62. For discussion of children and playmates from other clans, see: APS, William Fenton Papers, Series VIII-A, 1938-Alice White to Anne Schaefer, her life and activities, "Children at Play. Informant Alice White (Wolf Clan), Cold Spring, 7/26/38"; APS, William Fenton Papers, Series VIII-A, 1938-Clara Redeye-miscellaneous: Ann Shaefer *[sic]*: Women's affairs. Emma Turkey: biography, "Miscellaneous Material. Informants Emma Turkey (Hawk Clan), and Clara Redeye (Hawk Clan), Quaker Bridge, 7/6/38."
[207] Sagard, *Long Journey*, 109, 132-3; Alain Beaulieu, Stéphanie Béreau, and Jean Tanguay, *Les Wendats Du Québec: Territoire, Économie Et Identité, 1650-1930* (Québec: Les Éditions Gid, 2013), 48.
[208] Lahontan, *New Voyages to North America*, 427.

While peer relationships were integral to a child's education and development, the broader kin network, with its host of adults, was also vitally important. Kinship, unsurprisingly, was one of the first things adults taught children—what clan they belonged to, and who their relatives were.[209] Wendat inheritance was traced matrilineally and married couples likely lived matrilocally most of the time, so that a man saw his wife in *her* longhouse, and the children would usually stay with her in the event of a parental separation.[210] A woman's clan was likewise primarily responsible for the child, and maternal relatives had more of a role in child-rearing than paternal kin.

Perhaps the most startling difference between Wendat and French European families and the distinct ways they raised their children was in the way the basic family unit was constructed. French families were based on principles of hierarchy and authority, deeply rooted in ideas of patriarchy. Like the Wendats, French men and women's lives were highly gendered, with gendered roles and behavioural expectations. Men were expected to be the heads of households as husbands and fathers. The patriarchal system in France dictated that a man had absolute authority over his wife and children, in theory much like a king had over his subjects.[211] This authority meant men were ideally in control of the household finances, the family's distribution of labour, decisions

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[209] APS, William Fenton Papers, Series VIII-A, 1938 – Clara Redeye: miscellaneous – Ann Shaefer *[sic]*: Women's affairs – Emma Turkey: biography, "Miscellaneous Material. Informants Emma Turkey (Hawk Clan), and Clara Redeye (Hawk Clan), Quaker Bridge, 7/6/38."

[210] Lafitau, *Customs of the American Indians,* 2:99; Mann, *Iroquoian Women: The Gantowisas*, 284.

[211] Natalie Zemon Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1975), 91, 128; William Beik, *A Social and Cultural History of Early Modern France* (Cambridge, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 61, 228; Leslie Tuttle, *Conceiving the Old Regime: Pronatalism and the Politics of Reproduction in Early Modern France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 68; Peter Moogk, *La Nouvelle France: The Making of French Canada--a Cultural History* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2000), 58; Julie Hardwick, *The Practice of Patriarchy: Gender and the Politics of Household Authority in Early Modern France* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), x-xi; Peter Cook, "Kings, Captains, and Kin: French Views of Native American Political Cultures in the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries," in *The Atlantic World and Virginia, 1550-1624*, ed. Peter C. Mancall (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 313-14.

over the children's educational and economic futures (or lack thereof), and in the children's future marriage alliances. The male head of household also had authority in matters of discipline and control. If he so chose, he could beat his wife or children without censure; indeed, physical discipline was considered a reasonable means of ensuring obedience to the man's will, in much the same way that French criminal law focused on the punishment, not rehabilitation, of criminals.[212] Under this system, women were not accorded the legal rights to manage property, make contracts alone, arrange marriages for their children, or otherwise take a leading role in their household's legal and economic affairs. The only legal exception to this gendered arrangement of authority was for widows, who had more legal rights, including the right to own and control property; however, even they faced considerable pressure from male kinsmen to remarry and place that household authority back in the hands of a man.[213] While there were exceptions to this rule, and in practice women had creative means of gaining social and legal power and authority, the accepted norm of the time was male-centric authority. The French family was therefore conceptualized through the lens of patriarchy, automatically assigning authority and power in the public sphere to male persons, and limiting women to subservience under their husbands and fathers.

Besides the patriarchal structure, French and Wendat families also differed in the ways they were organized. The ideal French family was based around the man, his wife, and his children, in a roughly nuclear family pattern, although children from previous marriages were not uncommon due to high death rates and swift remarriages.[214] Occasionally, grandparents and others

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[212] Beik, 228. But see also a more recent study that suggests restitution was even more important than punishment in early modern French criminal law, at least in local courts: Michael P. Breen, "Law, Society, and the State in Early Modern France," *The Journal of Modern History* 83, no. 2 (2011): 378.
[213] Julie Hardwick, "Widowhood and Patriarchy in Seventeenth Century France," *Journal of Social History* 26, no. 1 (1992): 134-35.
[214] Beik, *A Social and Cultural History of Early Modern France*, 58-9, 61.

of an older generation might live with their adult children, but the married couple was the core of the household—indeed, the married couple was so important that the arrangement of a good marriage match between aristocrats took on qualities of high diplomacy.[215]

The Wendat, on the other hand, did not have nuclear families, and instead lived together in a longhouse filled with members of the extended family unit. Aunts and uncles routinely took on the roles Westerners associate with mothers and fathers, meaning one's biological mother and father were only two of *many* "parents" in the Wendat family structure. In the Wendat language for example, the verb root for "mother," *–nd8en-* or *–nnen-*, was also applied to maternal aunts or mother's sisters, indicating their prominence in Wendat child-rearing.[216] Unlike in European cultures, which considered the man and his spouse as the central point of all families, with children coming naturally from this union, Iroquoians privileged the mother-child relationship over the spousal relationship.[217] With the relationship between Aataentsic and her daughter as the foundation of all human life on earth, and the extended family that came from the twins Iouskeha and Tawiscaron and *their* mother (without the twins' father present for much of the children's lives), the mother-child relationship was the essential heart of Wendat family construction, with the extended family in support of that primary bond.[218] This principle is borne out in 17th-century

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[215] Beik, *A Social and Cultural History of Early Modern France*, 225.
[216] John Steckley, *Words of the Huron* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2007), 71-72; John Steckley, *A Huron-English/English-Huron Dictionary (Listing Both Words and Noun and Verb Roots)* (Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2007), 356.
[217] Paula Gunn Allen, *The Sacred Hoop: Recovering the Feminine in American Indian Traditions* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1986), 33; Lina Sunseri, "Sky Woman Lives On: Contemporary Examples of Mothering the Nation," in *First Voices: An Aboriginal Women's Reader*, ed. Patricia A. Monture and Patricia D. McGuire (Toronto: Inanna Publications and Education Inc, 2009), 57-58; Kahente Horn-Miller, "Otiyaner: The "Women's Path" through Colonialism," *Atlantis* 29, no. 2 (2005): 58; Susan D. Amussen and David E. Underdown, *Gender, Culture and Politics in England, 1560-1640: Turning the World Upside Down* (London & New York: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2017), 52; Tuttle, *Conceiving the Old Regime*, 19, 20, 65, 68.
[218] For a few versions of the story of Aataentsic and the Twins, see JR 10: 127-9; Barbeau, *Huron and Wyandot Mythology*, 37-47, 47-9, 50-1; Horatio Hale, "Huron Folk-Lore I. Cosgmogonic Myths: The Good and Evil Minds," *Journal of American Folklore* 1, no. 3 (1888): 177-83.

Wendat residence patterns, focusing around the maternal family. Given the open-concept longhouse in Wendake, lacking physical rooms or barriers in between family units, children were free to run to and from one hearth to another, allowing for the easy cultivation of close and affectionate relationships with maternal family members.

Likewise, the men in the clan were also very involved with their sisters' children. While the term *¸isten-* or *–istan-* referred to one's father and father's brothers, Wendat language also had a distinct verb root to refer to the mother's brother, *–atennon'ron-*, hinting again at the importance of the woman's clan and family. Maternal uncles were expected to help guide and teach their sister's children, particularly her male children. Generally, maternal uncles were important in teaching boys how to behave as men, and were often a boy's primary educator after the grandfather. As such, the maternal uncle routinely took on roles Western cultures today usually associate with the biological father. With the emphasis on the female line, it is in fact quite likely that although the entire clan had a part in raising children, the maternal uncles had more *direct* involvement in Wendat child-rearing than did the biological father.

While the mother and her siblings were the primary parental figures in bringing up the child, the father and his kin did still have some involvement. Children almost certainly spent time with their father's kin because there are specific kin terms that delineate paternal aunts (father's sisters), uncles, and grandparents, as well as in-laws.[219] Given the Wendat acknowledged the biological father's role in providing 'spirit' for their children, it is likely that children were raised to respect their fathers as providers and life-givers. Indeed, the Iroquoian sense of masculinity and manhood was directly linked to children and family, and being recognized as the father to a child

[219] John Steckley, "Huron Kinship Terminology," *Ontario Archaeology* 55 (1993): 40-41, 44-45, 47-49, 50-51, 54-55.

was a high honour.[220] Male honour and status were tied to the ability to care for and protect family and kindred; the emphasis on men's hunting abilities and skills in warfare were directly tied to the idea of providing for women, children, and the community as a whole. Men similarly went to great lengths to ensure women's safety and the safety of their children—especially, but *not only*, when the children and wives were their own. Historian Barbara Alice Mann describes one telling example of a Lenâpé (then part of the Haudenosaunee League) war chief during the Revolutionary War, who took a pregnant settler woman prisoner. When she went into labour, he stopped his war party, built her a birthing hut, prepared traditional medicines for her, and helped deliver her child. With the help of his men, he also provided her with food and supplies, and stayed to protect her from a settler Loyalist who supposedly tried to murder both mother and child. This was not the war chief's child, but the need to protect the little family far outweighed the needs of warfare.[221]

Of course, individual children's relationships with adults varied, particularly by age and kin relation. For the first several years, a child spent most of his or her time with the mother, regardless of the child's gender. As the child got older, however, he or she spent more time with maternal relatives of the same sex, meaning that a boy was taught by his mother's brothers while girls learned from the mother and the mother's sisters. Older boys and youths could expect to travel with their maternal uncles on trade expeditions, while younger children of both genders helped their mothers in the fields and ran errands for their family.[222] Age, then, was almost as important as gender in determining a child's relationships with adults.

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[220] Mann, *Iroquoian Women: The Gantowisas*, 267-68.
[221] Mann, *Iroquoian Women,* 86-87. Note that the Delaware-Lenâpé are culturally distinct from Haudenosaunee and Wendat peoples, and speak different languages. Lenâpé do practice matrilineal descent however, were agriculturalists like Iroquoians, and many were adopted into the Haudenosaunee League in the eighteenth century. For an excellent study of Delaware (Lenâpé) women and their social construction of gender, see: Gunlög Fur, *A Nation of Women: Gender and Colonial Encounters among the Delaware Indians* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 2009), especially Chapter One.
[222] JR 9:289-91; 13:105; Steckley, *Words of the Huron*, 63.

Children had very strong connections to Elders, and even though the Wendat prized the mother-child relationship, in practice the child-grandparent relationship may have been the most important relationship children had with adult kin. The life experience of Elders and the elderly made them ideal guides and teachers, and the grandparents of the same sex as the child often became central figures in his or her upbringing.[223] Elders and the elderly were known especially as keepers of oral traditions, which they shared with the clan's children, telling and retelling the ancient histories of their clan and in so doing conveying important skills and social values.[224] As Gregory Cajete explains in his discussion of Indigenous peoples throughout North America:

> In Indigenous communities the elders, the grandmothers and grandfathers, hold the stories of their families and their people. It is they who give the stories, the words of good thought and action to the children. They tell the children how the world and their people came to be. They tell the children of their experiences, their life. They tell them what it means to be one of the People. They tell them about their relationship to each other and to all things that are part of their world. They tell them about respect—just as their grandparents told them when they were children. So it goes, giving and receiving, giving and receiving stories—helping children remember to remember that the story of their community is really the story of themselves! [225]

Elders were children's primary educators and likely spent more time around children than even parents did. Unlike a child's parents and those of the parental generation, the very old tended to stay in or near the village once travel became too difficult; as such, Elders were simply around more often and in greater numbers than the parental generation. Likewise, gendered roles were relaxed for Elders, as was reflected in Iroquoian cosmological stories—one of which (the

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[223] Shirley O'Connor-Anderson, Patricia A. Monture, and Nervosa O'Connor, "Grandmothers, Mothers and Daughters," in *First Voices: An Aboriginal Women's Reader*, ed. Patricia A. Monture and Patricia D. McGuire (Toronto: Inanna Publications and Education Inc., 2009), 111.
[224] Carolyn Niethammer, *Daughters of the Earth: The Lives and Legends of American Indian Women* (New York: Collier Books / Macmillan Publishing Company, 1977), 31; Renée E. Mzinegiizhigo-Kwe Bédard, "Role Models: An Anishinaabe-Kwe Perspective," in *First Voices: An Aboriginal Women's Reader*, ed. Patricia A. Monture and Patricia D. McGuire (Toronto: Inanna Publications, 2009), 50.
[225] Gregory Cajete, *Look to the Mountain: An Ecology of Indigenous Education* (Skyland, NC: Kivaki Press, 1994), 170.

Onondaga story "O-kwen-cha, or Red Paint") even features a grandmother who does the hunting in support of her little grandson, until he can grow up to be a hero.[226] However, while their stories told extreme variants of gendered role-reversals, in 17th-century Wendake Elders more commonly took on tasks less labour intensive and easier for ailing bodies to handle. Blindness and chronic respiratory illness was common among the elderly, especially women, because of the constant exposure to smoke inside the longhouse; arthritis and other bone diseases were also common and as a result the elderly turned to tasks that did not require clear vision or dextrous hands.[227] Many of those tasks were chores that might also be shared with children, such as scaring pests away from the cornfields—time that was likely also spent with storytelling and knowledge-sharing.[228] In ritual matters, children went to their grandparents or other Elders, as when they needed a dream interpreted, and there is evidence from twentieth-century Iroquoians of longstanding traditions in which Elders provide names for children during the Green Corn Ceremony (at the start of the corn harvest).[229] Perhaps most importantly, Elders helped keep adolescents and youth in check; in the words of historian Barbara Alice Mann, "half-grown [Iroquoian] men were subject to their grandparents, male and female elders who had the wisdom and experience to lift their eyes beyond self-aggrandizement to the welfare of the whole community."[230] Children spent a great deal of

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[226] Beauchamp, *Iroquois Folk Lore*, 19-30.
[227] Epsy Colling, "From Tepee to Tower: Hôtel Dieu De Québec, 1639-1939," *The American Journal of Nursing* 39, no. 8 (1939): 843; Ronald F. Williamson, "Preliminary Report on Human Interment Patterns of the Draper Site," *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 2 (1978): 119. See also Susan Pfeiffer's remarks in the comments in A. K. Wilbur et al., "Diet, Tuberculosis, and the Paleopathological Record," *Current Anthropology* 49, no. 6 (2008): 981.
[228] This seems to have occurred in more than one Indigenous agricultural society, and likely reflects the reciprocity principle as realized through age and gender. Fur, *A Nation of Women*, 16, 19.
[229] APS, William Fenton Papers, Series VIII-D, Notes on dreams – 8/18/1933, "[untitled]. Informant Clara Red Eye, 8/18/33"; APS, William Fenton Papers, Series VIII-C, William C. Sturtevant Notes on Ritual Siblinghood in the Seneca Nation – 1957. M.s."; APS, George S. Snyderman Papers, Series IV (A-W), Fenton, William Nelson – Miscellaneous – Notes, "Fenton [notes]. Informant John Jimerson [sic], 8/22/33"; CMH, Marius Barbeau Fonds, Huron-Wyandot Files, Box 58, B-G-98.8, Feast of giving names: Green Corn, "Green Corn Feast and Naming Procedures. Informant E. H. Brown, n.d."
[230] Mann, *Iroquoian Women: The Gantowisas*, 231.

time with their grandparents, especially in the time between being weaned and becoming adolescents, meaning that the persons who most contributed to the social education of the clan's children were indeed the elderly. Thus, while the parent-child relationship was characterized primarily by respect, the child-grandparental relationship was very close.[231] Children could even adopt a grandparent if they felt they needed one.[232]

The relationship between Elders and children was reciprocal and mutually-supportive. Children went to Elders for guidance and knowledge, and children helped support their Elders by doing chores like collecting water or firewood. In Recollet missionary Gabriel Sagard's *Long Journey to the Country of the Hurons* is a famous assertion that parents want children only for the support the young will give the old:

> They all are very fond of their children… Now what makes them love their children, however vicious and wanting in respect, more than is the case here is that they are the support of their parents in old age, either helping them to a living or else defending them from their enemies, and Nature preserves unimpaired [*sic*] its authority over them in this respect. Wherefore what they most desire is to have many children, to be so much the stronger and assured of support in the time of their old age.[233]

While on the surface this statement appears wholly negative and would seem to dismiss the very real emotional connection the Wendat had with their children, I argue it instead points to the responsibility children and adults had to one another. The Wendat—and many other Indigenous peoples nearby—planned their lives and made important decisions with the future generations in mind. Some contemporary Haudenosaunee Elders and scholars speak of the seventh-generation mandate, in which leadership is expected to make decisions and laws to "protect the rights of

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[231] Raymond J. DeMallie, "Kinship: The Foundation for Native American Society," in *Studying Native America: Problems and Prospects*, ed. Russell Thornton (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1998), 329; Michael D. McNally, *Honoring Elders: Aging, Authority, and Ojibwe Religion* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 54.
[232] Steckley, *Words of the Huron*, 89.
[233] Sagard, *Long Journey*, 127.

[their] children two hundred years into the future."[234] Careful consideration of how policies would affect future generations can also be seen in Wendat and Haudenosaunee speeches to colonial officials, and in condolence speeches. Children were clearly being supported by the adults in their lives, but they likewise had a responsibility to help their Elders when help was needed. Indeed, the seventh-generation mandate was meant to go back in time as well, and the youth were expected to remember past wisdom and their ancestors.[235] As children got older, their responsibilities shifted from passive protection of the community, as in chasing pests away from their food source for example, to duties that would support the entire village more directly, through food procurement, community defense, and ritual support. Someday, when they were too old and incapable of doing such, they would in turn support the young by passing on their knowledge, keeping a watchful eye for danger, and reminding their people of the cyclical nature of life.[236]

Conclusion: philosophies of childhood, in perspective

The 17th-century Wendat had a paradoxical construction of childhood, much like any other society. While children were considered to be persons, and due respect and honour as members of the community, children were not assumed to be in full possession of their faculties. Philosophically having "no mind," children needed time to grow, learn, and become thoughtful, sensible members of the community, often learning social expectations by careful observation of family and peers. And although children were expected to learn from experience and from peers,

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[234] George-Kanentiio, *Iroquois Culture and Commentary,* 57. See also Wall, *Wisdom's Daughters,* 145; Taiaiake Alfred, *Peace, Power, Righteousness: An Indigenous Manifesto*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 20, 33-34.

[235] Doug George-Kanentiio, *Iroquois on Fire: A Voice from the Mohawk Nation* (London: Praeger, 2006), 11.

[236] The cyclical nature of a Wendat's life is explained in more detail (and in wider context, beyond family relationships) in Georges E. Sioui, *Huron-Wendat: The Heritage of the Circle* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1999). See also Georges E. Sioui, *For an Amerindian Autohistory: an Essay on the Foundations of a Social Ethic*, trans. Sheila Fischman (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992).

the entire community contributed to ensuring children's welfare, education, and survival. Likewise, children were spiritually powerful, but also in danger from the spirit world, especially when very young. Children's orenda could create or destroy, as demonstrated by the creation story, and it was important that this spiritual power be directed into directions that would be of use to the community. Childhood was a time of risk, joy, learning, and love.

Wendat childhood, as an age category, must also be put into perspective of other ages. Elders relied heavily on children's assistance with everyday chores and tasks, and in turn Elders supported children's emotional and educational needs. Much like gender, age categories were balanced, with reciprocal relationships across generations. Young children, coming from the spirit world, carried with them an intense spiritual power that slowly settled as the child aged. Their spiritual connection and their lack of worldly experience had to be channelled into useful and productive outlets. In some ways, however, children were like tricksters, bringing change and transformation to the world and only learning how to be part of the world by experience over time. Without a smooth and whole mind, children were not expected to know how to conduct themselves. Adults, with their knowledge of this world, were responsible for teaching children how to behave.

Chapter Three: Ages of Childhood

In 1640, Jesuit Pierre Pijart visited the new Ursuline seminary and the Indigenous girls beginning their schooling there. He was immediately struck by the thorough instruction and the girls' willingness to engage with Christianity, and he attributes the girls' "attentiveness" to a wisdom beyond their years:

> "It seems that they have a conception of this lovable truth beyond their years, for they are no more than twelve years old. …When Father Pijart was instructing these three seminarists, one of the smallest children, about six years old, presented herself and asked for the holy communion with the others. The Father told her that she was too young. 'Ah, my Father,' said she, 'do not refuse me because I am little; I shall become large, as well as my companions.' She was allowed to listen, and remembered so well all that was explained of this adorable mystery, and afterward gave so good an account of it, that she delighted those who questioned her."[237]

Pijart's concern for the girls' ability to absorb and retain Christian doctrine was based on her age, as he perceived "about six years" to be too young. The unnamed girl responded by sensibly pointing out that she would get older, "become large," and because she would not always be so small she argued she was deserving of the same treatment as her fellow seminarian. The girl did not conceive of the refusal as because of a numerical age, but rather because of her smaller size, indicating an important element of childhood: for the Wendat, "childhood" was not based on an endpoint on a numerical timeline, but based instead on visible, physical characteristics, and a demonstration of ability.

Both the Wendat and Europeans categorized childhood in stages, but how they conceived of those stages was different. It is unlikely the Wendat kept track of time in the same way as Europeans, and so the Wendat likely did not categorize individuals according to how many

[237] JR 19:43-45.

seasons or years they had lived.[238] The Jesuits, who preferred numerical age designations, often imposed these categories on Wendat children, recording in the *Jesuit Relations* their own estimates for how old they thought Wendat individuals were. As such, we know that Thérèse Oionhaton, a Christian Wendat, was "only about thirteen or fourteen" when she left the Ursulines' school in Québec in 1642, and that there was "a woman named Genevieve [… who] had a sick son about eight or nine years of age," but these were clearly approximations.[239] When the Jesuits did offer a firm numerical age, it was usually a round number that also hints at estimation, as exemplified by fifty-year-old Pierre Ateiachias, a seminarist at the Jesuits' short-lived school in the 1630s, who was described as a fifty-year-old in one instance, and as "more than 40 years old" in another.[240]

The difficulty in accurately "aging" a person complicates the study of Wendat childhood, not the least because the Jesuits themselves had flexible age definitions. Depending on the situation, a Jesuit might alternatively count an individual as a child or an adult. For example, *donnés* (laymen who swore to serve in the Jesuit missions in perpetuity) might be called 'boy' or 'man' based on circumstance or apparent skill and status.[241] While these issues of 'aging' individuals are not unusual for sources in this period—even the average European commoner (largely illiterate) probably had only a rough estimate of their own ages, let alone the ages of other persons—it does raise issues when studying Wendat childhood. When the Jesuits mention a

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[238] Indigenous peoples in North America primarily thought of time in terms of cycles, with days, seasons, and years repeating themselves in predictable patterns. Linear chronology was not important, or much of a factor in the ways Indigenous peoples conceptualized time. Jerry H. Gill, *Native American Worldviews: An Introduction* (Amherst NY: Humanity Books, 2002), 20-21.
[239] JR 40: 225, 235.
[240] JR 16: 177. For "more than 40 years old," see JR 14: 255.
[241] Jean Côté, *The Donnés in Huronia*, ed. William Lonc, trans. S.J. William Lonc and S.J. George Topp, vol. 5, Early Jesuit Missions in Canada (Midland, ON: Steve Catlin, 2001), 68, 75; Dominique Deslandres, *Croire Et Faire Croire: Les Missions Françaises Au Xviie Siècle (1600-1650)* (Paris: Librairie Arthème Fayard, 2003), 395.

boy in a travelling party, it means something different if the boy in question was an adolescent, or if he was someone younger. Did infants travel far from home with their families, or small children, or is this something only adolescents did as they neared adulthood? Likewise, if an adolescent took something that did not belong to them, were they treated differently in such a situation than someone who was still losing primary (baby) teeth? When Jesuits referred to 'girls' seeking out sexual partners, could these girls have been young teenagers, or were they older youth? Without clear categories of childhood, it is difficult to understand the actions and reactions of adults to their children's behaviours.

While today we categorize children according to numerical age, Wendat ideas of childhood and its stages are best interpreted through categories of skill and ability. Although the Wendat had separate terms to designate an infant, a child, and an adolescent, ethnohistorical and oral evidence suggests there were no consistent cut-off points to mark the shift from one stage to the next. Material culture associated with certain age groups, such as cradleboards, had no definitive point at which they could no longer be used. Certain cultural practices, such as nursing, also exemplified that categories blurred into one another. A young Wendat girl might be old enough to help pound corn, begin to prepare meals, and conduct other useful household chores, and so be classified as a 'child,' but also continue to return to her mother periodically to breastfeed—a practice early modern French people, who generally favoured wetnursing for infants, would have found disagreeable.[242] Instead of trying to force numerical figures onto Wendat cultural ages, I focus instead on explaining what rituals, character traits, and cultural expectations were associated with children as they grew older. As such, while I occasionally

[242] Barbara Alice Mann, *Iroquoian Women: the Gantowisas* (New York: Peter Lang, 2000): 271; Leslie Tuttle, *Conceiving the Old Regime: Pronatalism and the Politics of Reproduction in Early Modern France* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2010): 44; Mary Dunn, *The Cruelest of All Mothers: Marie de l'Incarnation, Motherhood, and Christian Tradition* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2016): 3.

mention an age estimate from the *Jesuit Relations* or other sources, I do not define childhood by numerical age, and instead utilize categories of skill and ability that are more in keeping with Wendat ideas.

Wendat language differentiates between children and youths based on perceptible, physical characteristics. While there is a general root verb for child (-*en*-, meaning "to have as child"), there are also specific terms for infant (-*chiaah*-), pubescent girl (*,a8itsinnonha*), and pubescent boy (*on,8entsentia*).[243] The language contains specific terms for men and women of a marriageable age/adults (*,a8innon* for women and *on,8enienti* for men), as well as for Elders (*hati,8annens* for Elder men, and possibly *ati,8annens* for Elder women).[244] These terms showcase how the Wendat categorized children and the kinds of associations made with each age group. Examples from the *Jesuit Relations* and other sources highlight how these ideas and conceptions of childhood might have looked in practice and so each section is focused around one or more children who lived in 17th-century Wendat society, combined with oral histories of children at similar ages to provide additional context.

Wendat concepts of childhood and adulthood were further complicated by Wendat ideas of rebirth. Although childhood was a distinct age category (distinct from adult), Wendat conceptions of rebirth and renewal meant that no one was truly a new person. A child might be very small and young, but their soul was conceptualized as old—as someone who had lived before, perhaps many times before, there was always an expectation of respect, and no child *or*

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[243] John Steckley, *The Eighteenth-Century Wyandot: A Clan-Based Study* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier Press, 2014), 137, 179; *A Huron-English/English-Huron Dictionary (Listing Both Words and Noun and Verb Roots)* (Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2007), 74, 82, 325, 349.

[244] Steckley, *The Eighteenth-Century Wyandot*, 137, 159, 179. Steckley specifies that the old French-Wendat and French-Wyandot dictionaries do not indicate a female form for 'Elder', but he suggests a feminine prefix was likely attached to the verb root -*,8annen*-, which was used for Elders and meant roughly "to be great, augmented, developed." Steckley, *The Eighteenth-Century Wyandot*, 159.

adult was ever truly considered to be ignorant or without sense. Childhood was a period of learning, but it was also a time of re-learning knowledge that every individual would have had in his or her previous life.

Previous scholarship has mostly focused on rebirth in context of war (particularly mourning war), in which war captives were adopted as members of the clan and given the name and personhood of a clan member who had recently died. War adoption was a practice used across Haudenosaunee and Wendat societies in the 17th century and became more common after the conflict between Wendat and Haudenosaunee intensified in the 1640s. The process was the same for both Confederacies. Captives were taken back to the host community, where they were ritually tortured. While some were killed, most were pulled out of the circle of torturers and taken back to a longhouse, where the captive was allowed to eat and rest, and his or her wounds were tended to. The captive was addressed with kin terms and was expected to respond in kind; the captive was also given a new name and was expected to help with the regular work and tasks of everyday life in the village. The captive was no longer a captive, but an adoptee, and had taken the place of a deceased loved one from that longhouse. The deceased clan member's roles and responsibilities fell to the adoptee—he or she was essentially expected to fill that person's shoes, including raising their namesake's children if there were any, helping with food procurement, and, potentially, fighting in the clan's battles. While a few scholars have argued war adoptions should be considered a form of slavery instead of adoption, much of the scholarship tends to acknowledge that despite the violent integration, many captives came to align themselves with their captors. While there is no consensus, it seems that some adoptees adjusted to their new lives better than others did.[245] However, adoption and renaming was not

[245] Brett Rushforth, *Bonds of Alliance: Indigenous and Atlantic Slaveries in New France* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012); William A. Starna and Ralph Watkins, "Northern Iroquoian

exclusively for captives. Both the Wendat and Haudenosaunee also adopted outsiders as diplomatic gestures and as a means to fill important positions from within their own ranks, as described in the work of James Lynch.[246] However, because most of the scholarship on adoption has focused on captive adoption—and, almost always, on the adoptees' efforts to retain or regain their original sense of personal identity or personhood—most scholars have not considered how adoption affected kinship relationships or how those fictive kinship connections affected everyday life for persons who were born into the host/adopted society. John Steckley is one of the few to address how rebirth worked in Wendat-to-Wendat name changes and James Taylor Carson one of the few to discuss how Wendat and Haudenosaunee people may have internalized these adoptions and used them to determine their responses in peace and war.[247]

Pregnancy and Birth: Tonneraouanont's story

In many Western societies, birth is often viewed as the beginning of life; a child is not thought to be particularly cognizant whilst in the womb, nor capable of any kind of decision-making until many years after birth. This was not the case for the Wendat. Aataentsic's twin grandsons talked with one another while they were in their mother's womb and discussed how they would each like to be born, indicating a precedent for considering the pre-born to be conscious and aware. The assumption that the preborn already knew their roles in life and were preparing to act can be clearly seen in the story of Tonneraouanont and demonstrates the importance of examining birth and pre-birth as a stage of childhood.

Slavery," *Ethnohistory* 38, 1 (1991); Bruce G. Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987); Daniel K. Richter, "War and Culture: The Iroquois Experience," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 40, no. 4 (1983).

[246] James Lynch, "The Iroquois Confederacy, and the Adoption and Administration of Non-Iroquois Individuals and Groups Prior to 1756," *Man in the Northeast* 30 (1985).

[247] John Steckley, *The Eighteenth-Century Wyandot: A Clan-Based Study* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier Press, 2014), 137-9; James Taylor Carson, "Brébeuf Was Never Martyred: Reimagining the Life and Death of Canada's First Saint," *The Canadian Historical Review* 97, 2 (2016).

In the 1637 edition of the *Jesuit Relations*, Jesuit priest François-Joseph Le Mercier recorded the story of the Wendat *arendiowane*/"sorcerer" Tonneraouanont. Le Mercier had had repeated run-ins with Tonneraouanont, who not only refused to convert—or even entertain the idea of converting—to Christianity, but his influence discouraged the other Wendat from converting as well. Said to be a physically deformed hunchback, perhaps with dwarfism, Tonneraouanont was nonetheless a famous healer from the Attignawantan village of Onnentisati.[248] When Le Mercier fell ill in the midst of an epidemic, the *arendiowane* came to offer his help despite personal dislike for the Jesuit priest. During his visit, Tonneraouanont told the Jesuit his origin story. It is worth quoting in detail:

> I am a Demon; I formerly lived under the ground in the house of the Demons, when the fancy seized me to become a man… Having heard one day, from this subterranean abode, the voices and cries of some children who were guarding the crops, and chasing the animals and birds away, I resolved to go out. I was no sooner upon the earth than I encountered a woman; I craftily entered her womb, and there assumed a little body. I had with me a she-devil, who did the same thing. As soon as we were about the size of an ear of corn, this woman wished to be delivered of her fruit, knowing that she had not conceived by human means, and fearing that this ocki might bring her some misfortune. So she found means of hastening her time. Now it seems to me that in the meantime, being ashamed to see myself followed by a girl, and fearing that she might afterward be taken for my wife, I beat her so hard that I left her for dead; in fact, she came dead into the world. This woman, being delivered, took us both, wrapped us in beaver skin, carried us into the woods, and placed us in the hollow of a tree, and abandoned us. We remained there until, a Savage passing by, I began to weep and cry out, that he might hear me. He did, indeed, perceive me; he carried the news to the village; my mother came, she took me again, bore me to her cabin, and brought me up such as thou seest me.[249]

Le Mercier goes on to say that Tonneraouanont claimed "that when he was young, as he was very ill-shapen, the children made war upon him and ridiculed him, and that he had caused several of

[248] Elisabeth Tooker, *An Ethnography of the Huron Indians, 1615-1649* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1991), 149; Bruce G. Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987), 529.
[249] JR 13: 105-07.

them to die; that, nevertheless, he had finally decided to endure it henceforth, lest he might ruin the country if he should kill all."[250]

It is worth unpacking this story in detail, as it says a lot about Wendat understandings of children, birth, and the source of spiritual power. Tonneraouanont was not a usual case by any means, but his story does highlight how the Wendat understood life and death as a continuum, with life becoming death and death becoming life through rebirth; it also shows how the Wendat saw the spirits as having a role in everyday life, and it tells us about the nature of kinship.

Tonneraouanont described himself as an *oki* or spirit, rendered by the Jesuits as 'demon'.[251] He explained that he had cognizance as a spirit, and lived under the ground in a house until he decided to continue his life as a human being. This reference hints at the birth of the Twins Iouskeha and Tawiscaron, who were said to be born of Sky Woman's daughter (a sky entity) and Turtle (an earthly being). In Haudenosaunee versions of this story it was the earthly contribution that worried Aataentsic, who feared what having children of both worlds would do to their mother.[252] In the creation story, the birth of these children killed their mother but the children then go on to create the world. Their incredible spiritual power was destructive, but was also highly *constructive* and in the end the result was beneficial for humanity. Interestingly, Tonneraouanont

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[250] JR 13: 107.

[251] This is characteristic of the Jesuits' general discomfort with any spiritual entity not in their Catholic canon, which they often interpreted as 'demonic'. However, as historian Peter A. Goddard argues, Jesuits did not always interpret Indigenous spiritual ties as truly demonic but rather used the term in a discursive sense. Thus, although they used the word 'demon,' the Jesuits generally tried to downplay the association to something 'ridiculous' and 'superstitious'. See also Mairi Cowan's recent discussion of Jesuit missionaries and their understanding of demons, including their expectation of finding demons in New France. Peter A. Goddard, "The Devil in New France: Jesuit Demonology, 1611-50," *The Canadian Historical Review* 78, no. 1 (1997): 42-43, 52; Mairi Cowan, "Jesuit Missionaries and the Accommodationist Demons of New France," in *Knowing Demons, Knowing Spirits in the Early Modern Period*, ed. Michelle D. Brock, Richard Raiswell, and David R. Winter (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).

[252] Barbara Alice Mann, "The Lynx in Time: Haudenosaunee Women's Traditions and History," *American Indian Quarterly* 21, no. 3 (1997): 431.

(also a twin!) supposedly killed his sister and several children after his birth, but went on to become a powerful healer, renowned throughout Wendake for his skills. Both stories show the anxiety parents must have had concerning their children. Childbirth was always a dangerous time and could easily kill the mother as well as the child, but even after birth children had the potential to do great and terrible things. This concern was woven into both the creation story and in Tonneraouanont's origin story, and both subtly show that no person was wholly good or evil. Tonneraouanont said he killed his sister in the womb, and went on to hurt his youthful peers, but he eventually grew up to devote his life to the community as an *arendiowane*—even going so far as to offer his healing power to an unwanted Jesuit guest.

Tonneraouanont's story also clearly highlights another strong spiritual connection, that of his conception. He describes himself as a spirit seeking out a woman in the fields and intentionally impregnating her. This scene parallels Wendat ideas of rebirth, and indeed, Jean de Brébeuf had described the Wendat custom of burying their dead infants (less than two months old) along roads so that these souls could "secretly enter [a woman's] womb" and be born again.[253] It is important to note that this rebirth was instigated by the child him/herself—the *child* chose the mother and "secretly" entered her womb. Tonneraouanont's story follows this logic exactly. The description of the soul as coming from the earth also matches with Iroquoian Elders describing the unborn as "those faces [that] approach from beneath the ground"[254] discussed in the previous chapter, indicating a common understanding that children were reincarnated individuals. This part of the story suggests that life and death were thought of as being in a continuum, one flowing into the next in a cycle. Wendat and Wyandot peoples still held this belief in the 20th century and found

[253] JR 10: 273.
[254] APS, William Fenton Papers, Series IIb, John A. Gibson, "The Law of the Woman Chief."

evidence of reincarnation in children who knew things they should not have known, like the location of a useful tool they would have used in a past life, or in quickly learning to talk.[255]

Tonneraouanont's story also mentions a sister, a twin spirit that he apparently killed whilst in the womb. He says he did it to avoid concerns of incest, that she would be mistaken for his wife, which presents some interesting questions. Twins around the world were often believed to be special, having magic powers or being closer to the spirit world than single-birth children.[256] For Iroquoians, twins were generally considered lucky, and twentieth-century Haudenosaunee Elders described old ideas of one twin passing on abilities to the other if one died early; likewise, it was known that twins were likely to have unusual powers, including precognition.[257] However, twins also brought the possibility of conflict. Aataentsic's grandchildren, the twins Iouskeha and Tawiscaron, competed with one another until Iouskeha eventually killed his brother, after which point Iouskeha became an especially powerful and revered spirit associated with all positive things in Wendat life.[258] One twin rose to ascendance, but only after the other was dead.

The twinship conflict highlighted in the creation story mirrors concerns of kinship in the Wendat world. In his study of African societies and ritual, theorist Victor Turner describes twins as creating kinship paradoxes. Both twins could not be the elder (the more respected position) and were conceptualized almost as one person; this paradox was thought to create conflict, and some

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[255] APS, William Fenton Papers, Series IV, John G. Schwede, "Obstetrical Practices of the Iroquois from the Fields Notes of F.W. Waugh and W.N. Fenton, m.s. 1976," 20; CMH Marius Barbeau Fonds, Box B62, B-G-147.1.i, Burials, Death, "Soul: reincarnation. Informant David Williams, 1912."
[256] Heather Montgomery, *An Introduction to Childhood: Anthropological Perspectives on Children's Lives* (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 163.
[257] APS, William Fenton Papers, Series IV, John G. Schwede, "Obstetrical Practices of the Iroquois from the Fields Notes of F.W. Waugh and W.N. Fenton, m.s. 1976," 20; CMH, Frederick W. Waugh Fonds, Iroquois Field Notes:-Stories and Beliefs (1915), Box B201, f.26, "Dreadnaught Rescues Friends. Informant John Echo (Onondaga), August 1915;" Christopher Vecsey, "The Story and Structure of the Iroquois Confederacy," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 54, no. 1 (1986): 92.
[258] JR 10: 135-39; Marius Barbeau, *Huron and Wyandot Mythology* (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1915), 46.

African societies such as the San *may* have gone so far as to kill or send away one of the twins to prevent future conflicts.[259] While there is no evidence to indicate the Wendat ever singled out twins for death, stories about inter-twin conflict does indicate some kind of tension. That twins were thought to be special is clear both from the anthropological research and from Wendat and Haudenosaunee stories, but like all spiritually powerful entities, this power was ambivalent, and could be a positive or negative force. In Tonneraouanont's story, the problem was described in terms of kinship, but in his case the issue of a male-female pair raised concerns about intimacy and incest.[260] To avoid this problem, Tonneraouanont says he killed his twin before she was born.

Tonneraouanont's mother's reaction to the birth also illustrates the tension caused by a strange birth. Contrary to general consensus about the Wendat's love for their children, this mother (who is unnamed in the *Jesuit Relations*) seems to have been afraid of her child. Perhaps because of his hunchback, or perhaps the stillbirth of the female baby, Tonnereaouanont's mother tried to abandon him.[261] Again, Tonneraouanont's life parallels the creation story, and Aataentsic's

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[259] Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 1995), 46. For more on twin infanticide, see: Helen L. Ball and Catherine M. Hill, "Reevaluating "Twin Infanticide"," *Current Anthropology* 37, no. 5 (1996).

[260] There is some scholarly discussion of ways Iroquoians avoided violating incest taboos. Kinship was traced through the female line, meaning incestuous relationships were categorized by female kinship; this conception continued after the Wendat dispersal. John Steckley's discussion of infant burials argues that children were considered part of the father's clan until they were named, and so infants would likely be buried near the mother's clan house or fields so that they would not be reborn in the body of a woman of their father's clan and avoid breaking incest taboos. Incest taboos were maintained by a variety of other strategies, mainly by marriage customs, but even close friends were expected to avoid marriage because of extended kinship ideas. John Steckley, "Whose Child Is This? Speculation Concerning Huron Infant Burial," *Arch Notes* 86, no. 5 (1986): 7; *Words of the Huron* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2007), 62-63. For more on Iroquoian incest avoidance and associated marriage requirements, see: Mathilde Ninon Bernard, "Les Hurons Et Les Autres: L'intégration De L'étranger À Travers Les Pratiques De Reproduction Familiale Au Village De La Jeune-Lorette (1761-1801)" (PhD Diss., Université du Québec à Montréal, 2014), 84; Thomas H. Charlton, "On Iroquois Incest," *Anthropologica* 10, no. 1 (1968); Robert Dannin, "Forms of Huron Kinship and Marriage," *Ethnology* 21, no. 2 (1982); APS, William Fenton Papers, Series VIII-C, William C. Sturtevant "Notes on Ritual Siblinghood in the Seneca Nation – 1957 m.s."

[261] Child abandonment and infanticide is poorly documented for the Wendat and does not seem to have occurred often; however, if a prospective mother did not want a child, abortion or contraceptives were not

attempt to abandon the children after the death of her daughter. And, like with Aataentsic and the Twins, Tonneraouanont manages to find his way back to his mother, who acquiesces and raises her child. Like Iouskeha and Tawiscaron, Tonneraouanont's power did not go away; when he was teased by other children for his physical appearance, he says he somehow caused them to die. Eventually—he did not say when—Tonneraouanont chose to endure the teasing instead of lashing out, because he was certain that if he continued, he would "ruin the country" by killing all the children.[262]

Tonneraouanont's story reads much like the stories of ancient spirits that he would have grown up hearing, and it is clear that he—or perhaps his people—were trying to make sense of his power as one of the *arendiowane.* The fantastic elements closely parallel the creation story, as well as showcasing how the spiritual connection Tonneraouanont had as an adult was directly related to the choices his spirit made in its quest to live as a human being. According to Le Mercier, Tonneraouanont was widely respected as a healer and had avoided death by foreign disease three times already when he came to heal the sickly Jesuit.[263] Certainly he would not have been an average child, especially not with his physical appearance. "Sorcerers" were said to be unusual in some way, sometimes having been sick as children and developing their power as a result of a near-death experience; others had some physical distinction or disability; and, some evidence

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taboo in the seventeenth century, and there were a number of ways to prevent pregnancy. In rare and extreme cases, an infant might be killed as an act of war or out of mercy when a more painful death was expected (as a result of war). JR 35:253; Carol Devens, *Countering Colonization: Native American Women and Great Lakes Missions, 1630-1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 12; Barbara Alice Mann, *Iroquoian Women: The Gantowisas* (New York: Peter Lang, 2000), 265-66; Joseph E. Illick, *American Childhoods* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 5.

[262] JR 13: 107.

[263] JR 13: 101.

indicates isolation and abandonment could cause a child to become a sorcerer or witch as an adult.[264] Tonneraouanont himself matched the latter two criteria.

Tonneraouanont's childhood was atypical, and his story stands as unique in the Wendat historical record. However, his characterizations and the tropes he drew on help illuminate Wendat expectations of children and childhood. Children came straight from the spirit world under the ground, likely reborn from ancestral Wendat, and they at least sometimes made an effort to choose specific women to be their mothers. Twins were powerful but possibly dangerous, and the Wendat may have been wary of them even as they celebrated the new life. There are also hints that infanticide via abandonment may have been a consideration whenever a strange birth occurred, as with physical deformity or the stillbirth of one twin, but it also seems very unlikely that this was common or had much social support since Tonneraouanont was rescued by passersby.[265] Despite Tonneraouanont's mother's reaction, the Wendat considered children to be precious, even when those children were different or frightening. To reject a child was abhorrent, as was shown when the reluctant mother took back her child when Tonneraouanont was found in the woods. Finally, because children 'lived' in the spirit world before being born on earth, they were understood as

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[264] Twentieth-century Elders also indicated that birth with a caul was "a sign of a future fortune-teller," and some believed that such children were born of the Sky World. While Tonneraouanont does not mention a caul, it is clear that physical oddities were linked to spiritual power. APS, William Fenton Papers, Series IV, John G. Schwede, "Obstetrical Practices of the Iroquois from the Fields Notes of F.W. Waugh and W.N. Fenton, m.s. 1976," 20; Brian Rice, *The Rotinonshonni: A Traditional Iroquoian History through the Eyes of Teharonhia:Wako and Sawiskera* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2013), 23; David Blanchard, "Who or What's a Witch? Iroquois Persons of Power," *American Indian Quarterly* 6, no. 3/4 (1982): 223; Raymond D. Fogelson, "Native American Religion," in *The Cambridge History of Religions in America Volume 1: Pre-Columbian Times to 1790*, ed. Stephen J. Stein (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 16.

[265] The few recorded instances of infanticide in the *Jesuit Relations* were each many years apart and all during times in which the mother had died and the community was in a state of crisis (JR 30:247; 44:39; 57:101). In 20th century ethnographic records, Haudenosaunee mothers who tried to abandon their infants were considered insane and in need of help themselves, indicating abandonment and infanticide were not common or appropriate behaviours. APS, William Fenton Papers, Series V, Subseries V-B, Medicinal Notes from Journal 1933-1934, "Insanity. Informant Jess J. Cornplanter, 9/3/33."

having motivations, desires, worries, and agendas, even in the womb. Children were recognized as the future of the people, and while they were expected to learn through life experience and curb some of their desires, they were respected as unique individuals from their first moments of life.

While Tonneraouanont's story of abandonment and danger offers some insights into Wendat constructions of abnormal birth and infancy, the usual Wendat practice was somewhat different. Pregnancy was celebrated and the ability to give birth highly valued: according to Jesuit Paul Ragueneau, the death of a Wendat woman was more grievous than that of a man, and in the case of a murder, required more presents as a condolence gift.[266] Likewise, it was said that the birth of a girl was more celebrated than that of a boy.[267] The reason given for both was the same: because they had children, women held the future of their people. As such, while Tonneraouanont's mother must have given birth in secret, most women would not have done so.

Moreover, the Wendat believed that pregnancy gave the expectant mother unusually dangerous spiritual power, and pregnant women were expected to observe a number of taboos for the protection of the baby as well as the protection of those around her. For example, men and women avoided sex during pregnancy, which was a combined effort to avoid hurting the unborn child and the man, as the spiritual power could cause the father to become ill, and the father's own orenda could in turn affect the baby.[268] It was also well known that a pregnant woman could not enter a sick person's home because they might make the sickness worse, and people who ate with

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[266] JR 33: 243; Denys Delâge, *Bitter Feast: Amerindians and Europeans in Northeastern North America, 1600-64*, trans. Jane Brierley (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1993), 59.
[267] JR 15: 181-183.
[268] APS, William Fenton Papers, Series VIII-B, Iroquois Social Structure: Children, puberty, etiquette – 1933-1935, "Pregnancy tabus, hunting. Informant John Jimmerson, 8/22/33"; Baron de Lahontan, *New Voyages to North America*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites (New York: Lenox Hill Publishing, 1905), 2: 458-9; Pierre de Charlevoix, *Journal of a Voyage to North-America*, 2 vols. (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms Inc, 1966), 55.

the pregnant woman or from the same dish as her would fall sick.[269] Pregnant women could cause their spouses to fail in the hunt, so it was important that pregnant women not be allowed to see the creature her spouse hunted.[270] However, a pregnant woman could, by her proximity, permit the easy removal of arrows from wounds, indicating that her power was not always harmful.[271] Indeed, it would seem that pregnancy taboos tended to act in ways that would reverse normal gender associations, indicating that pregnant women occupied a new, liminal position. For example, women were not usually warriors, but a pregnant woman could help heal an arrow wound; likewise, women were normally responsible for feeding the household, but while pregnant this could make people sick.

Many of these taboos extended into the 19th and 20th centuries among Haudenosaunee and Wyandots. It was believed that menstruating women could by proximity cause a miscarriage in a pregnant woman, as could the smell of mink, and pregnant women were not to hold other women's babies lest she cause them harm.[272] Likewise, 19th- and 20th-century Haudenosaunee and Wyandots recommended that pregnant woman avoid certain sitting positions (sitting on one's foot was said to cause clubfoot in the child, and sitting with a bent leg could cripple the child for life), and avoid sitting or turning back in a doorway, which could delay birth.[273] One source also indicated that geophagy was practiced among expectant Haudenosaunee mothers, though the reason was not given in the 20th-century records.[274] In Tonneraouanont's story, the

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[269] APS, George S. Snyderman Papers, Series IV, Fenton, William Nelson – Miscellaneous Notes, "Menstruation. Informant Ella T. Jimmerson, 8/8/34."; JR 15: 181; James Axtell, ed. *The Indian Peoples of Eastern America: A Documentary History of the Sexes* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), 8.
[270] JR 15: 181.
[271] JR 15: 181.
[272] APS, William Fenton Papers, Series IV, Schwede, "Obstetrical Practices of the Iroquois," 3.
[273] APS, William Fenton Papers, Series IV, Schwede, "Obstetrical Practices of the Iroquois," 3.
[274] APS, William Fenton Papers, Series IV, Schwede, "Obstetrical Practices of the Iroquois," 3. Speculatively, it could be a religious matter; clay and clan are intrinsically linked in Iroquoian tradition, so perhaps this was to encourage a healthy family. It could also be a matter of diet, and a necessity for salt

baby's frightened mother would have been expected to observe pregnancy taboos for the safety of everyone around her, but since she also tried to abandon the child, it is possible that she also tried to keep her pregnancy hidden until she was able to "hasten her time," which meant she probably gave birth on her own.

French explorers regularly remarked that Indigenous women "delivered easily and often without assistance," but because most of the early European travellers were men it is unlikely they would have been present for anything but an unusual birth.[275] Although a woman caught away from the village during labour might stay where she was and deliver her child alone, women often had special birthing shelters, and almost certainly gave birth in the presence of other women who could assist her if necessary.[276] Birth was a serious business—besides the risk to the mother and child, the mother's actions during and shortly after birth would shape her child's future. Stories of Indigenous women's painless births were almost certainly the result of misinterpretation of women's attempts to bear their labour stoically, so that child would in turn be strong.[277]

Birth and Infancy (-*chiaah*-)

The first several months of a child's life was a time of danger. While the 17th-century documents rarely describe very young children, when they do show up in the historical record it

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or some other mineral in the earth. Without more information, we cannot be sure of motivation, or how prevalent this practice was. Susan M. Hill, *The Clay We Are Made Of: Haudenosaunee Land Tenure on the Grand River* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2017), 5.

[275] Patricia Jasen, "Race, Culture, and the Colonization of Childbirth in Northern Canada," *Social History of Medicine* 10, no. 3 (1997): 385.

[276] Ann Marie Plane, "Childbirth Practices among Native American Women of New England and Canada, 1600-1800," in *Women and Health in America: Historical Readings*, ed. Judith Walzer Leavitt (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1999), 39; Gabriel Sagard, *The Long Journey to the Country of the Hurons*, ed. George M. Wrong, trans. H. H. Langton (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1939), 130; Joseph François Lafitau, *Customs of the American Indians Compared with the Customs of Primitive Times* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1977), 1: 355; Mann, *Iroquoian Women: The Gantowisas*, 269.

[277] Jasen, "Race, Culture, and the Colonization of Childbirth in Northern Canada," 388.

is usually because they were sick, dying, and, according to the Jesuits, in need of baptism. Such meetings are told in formulaic fashion. Take this example from 1636:

> A[n Indigenous] woman brought her little son to the Fort, asking for him some raisins or prunes. Seeing this little child very sick, I asked if she would not like to have him baptized. She willingly agreed to it, and he was immediately carried to the Chapel. Monsieur the General was there, and consented to act as Godfather, giving him the name Theodore. He was solemnly baptized, in the presence of most of our French people.[278]

For the French, baptism was necessary for inclusion into the Catholic world, and an important step for every newly born child. Baptism gave a child godparents, who would support the child in times of spiritual (and sometimes material) need, and washed away the stain of original sin, ensuring the child could begin life in a safe, godly way.[279] It provided both a personal avenue for access to the spiritual, and a public display of the new child's inclusion into the broader Catholic family.

While the Wendat did not share the French concerns for sin, they did take care to observe certain rituals and customs to give their children the best lives possible. Recollect Gabriel Sagard describes a ritual in which Wendat mothers gave the newborn some grease or oil to swallow and pierced the child's ears with an awl or a fish-bone. The piercing was then fitted with a feather or something similar to keep the hole open, so that later the child could wear wampum beads suspended from his or her ears as earrings.[280] Other examples in the *Jesuit Relations* indicate pierced ears were associated with open-mindedness and intelligence, as well as the ability to discern truth from falsehood, suggesting this practice was not only a matter of aesthetics.[281]

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[278] JR 9:67.
[279] Colin Heywood, *Growing up in France: From the Ancien Régime to the Third Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 78.
[280] Sagard, *Long Journey*, 127-8.
[281] JR 28:293; 29:97; 32:219. Barbeau also published stories in which spirits pierced the ears of young men to give them supernatural abilities, as in "The Old Bear and His Nephew." Marius Barbeau, *Huron-Wyandot Traditional Narratives* (Ottawa: National Museum of Canada, 1960), 32-35.

Twentieth-century Elders also indicated that children born with marked ears were believed to have lived a past life, giving further indication of the rebirth of certain souls and the need for respect for all individuals, regardless of apparent age.[282] While the significance of swallowing grease/oil is ambiguous, especially since we do not know what kind of grease/oil was given to children, it is possible this was a kind of medicine. Twentieth-century Iroquoians made use of several natural plants and herbs for birth and early growth. One researcher found that Haudenosaunee children were historically washed with medicines, specifically catnip, "and as she [the midwife or mother] squeezed out the plant the water turned green. She had some medicine simmering on the stove, and she got that and put her little finger in it, and let it drop into the baby's mouth three times, as it swallowed."[283] Several other medicines were associated with childbirth, including red trillium and slippery or red elm, with the use of hazelnut for teething children.[284] It is likely that 17th-century Wendat used similar medicines for these purposes.

Likewise, customary ways of disposing of the umbilical cord and placenta were considered such an integral part of the child's birth (and life) that careless disposal might create lasting harm. In 1639, Jesuits reported that women hung about their child's neck "a small piece of the naval that is attached to them when they are born; if they were to lose it, their children would all be dolts and lacking in sense."[285] Twentieth-century Haudenosaunee Elders also remembered stories of the umbilical cord being carefully buried wherever the mother wanted the child to feel a connection; inside the house would mean the child would not like to travel and

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[282] CMH Marius Barbeau Fonds, Box B62, B-G-147.1.i, Burials, Death, "Soul: reincarnation. Informant David Williams, 1912."
[283] APS, William Fenton Papers, Series IV, Schwede, "Obstetrical Practices of the Iroquois," 15.
[284] APS, William Fenton Papers, Series V-B, Medical Plants, Arranged Systematically According to Botanical Name, "List of Medicinal Plants."
[285] JR 16:197.

would be a homebody, while in the fields would mean the child would enjoy working with the crops. Similarly, throwing away the umbilicus or throwing it in the river would result in a wanderer who never felt at home anywhere, or in a child constantly drawn to the river where he or she might drown.[286] Even the placenta needed to be carefully buried in a safe place.[287] As such, while the process of giving birth was something that could be done alone if necessary, it was a dangerous and risky matter to conduct entirely in secrecy, and most women would have had the assistance and support of their mothers, grandmothers, aunts, sisters, and cousins.

Once a child was born, he or she spent much of the first year, and sometimes longer, in a cradleboard. Cradleboards provided a tangible defense against curious spirits and against material dangers, as well as offered an easy means of moving the infant outside so the mothers (biological mother and her sisters) could watch the child while working. As such, cradleboards meant the mother could return to work in the fields quickly, while still having the child nearby for nursing and general care.[288] The use of cradleboards would also mean that the child was included in regular community tasks right from birth, and would grow and thrive while surrounded by extended kin, working in tandem in the fields.

The *Jesuit Relations* and other documentary sources from the 17th century do not detail what these cradleboards looked like, but the drawings of Louis Nicolas in the *Codex Canadensis* provide details of their use. Unfortunately, the notations in the *Codex* do not indicate which Indigenous nation produced the cradleboard pictured, but it is clear that they were carefully

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[286] APS, William Fenton Papers, Series IV, Schwede, "Obstetrical Practices of the Iroquois," 14.
[287] Kahente Horn-Miller, "Distortion and Healing: Finding Balance and a 'Good Mind' through the Rearticulation of Sky Woman's Journey," in *Living on the Land: Indigenous Women's Understanding of Place*, ed. Nathalie Kermoal and Isabel Altamirano-Jiménez (Edmonton AB: Athabasca University Press, 2016), 38.
[288] Susan Pfeiffer et al., "Patterns of Weaning among Ancestral Huron-Wendat Communities, Determined from Nitrogen Isotopes," *American Antiquity* 82, no. 2 (2017): 245.

made, designed to be hung from trees without breaking, with a woven handle and detailed designs drawn or carved into the board itself.[289] This design corresponds with the written description in the mid-1700s from the Jesuit Joseph François Lafitau:

> one or two very thin planks of light wood, two and a half feed long, trimmed at the edges, narrowed at the bottom and rounded at the foot, to make rocking easy. The infant, wrapped in good furs, is pressed, as it were, on these planks which are joined together. He is placed in a standing position so that he leans on a little wooden projection on which is feet rest, tips turned in for fear they may be injured, and so that they will assume the proper curve to wear snowshoes well. The swaddling clothes or furs are fastened in front by large bands of a painted skin which gives very little. These are passed and repassed into thongs of strong leather on both sides of the cradle where they are strongly fastened. These swaddling clothes project considerably above the cradle and are thrown back when the mother wishes to give the child air or lapped back on a half hoop, attached at each end to the boards corresponding to the child's head, which go around in front of it, so that he can breathe more freely without being exposed to the cold in winter or to bites of mosquitoes and gnats in summer and so that he will not be hurt in case the cradle should happen to fall. On this half loop are put little bracelets of wampum and other little trinkets which the Latins used to call *crepundia* which serve as ornaments and playthings to divert the child. Two great straps of strong leather which come out of the top of the cradle make it possible for the mothers to carry it everywhere with them, to load it atop their other burdens when they go to the fields or return or hang it on some branch of a tree where the child is, as it were, cradle and put to sleep by the wind when they are working.[290]

It is also possible that children might be switched to different cradleboards as they grew. In 20th-century Seneca communities, the cradleboard came in three sizes, based on age: from birth to about 6 months, from about 6 months to one year, and from 1-2 years.[291] Historical sources for the Wendat do not mention multiple cradles for a child, but do indicate that children "began to roll rather than walk" once they were freed from the cradleboard, indicating they were probably less than a year old.[292] The wampum beads and "little trinkets" fastened to the cradle's handle

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[289] François-Marc Gagnon, Nancy Senior, and Réal Ouellet, *The Codex Canadensis and the Writings of Louis Nicolas: The Natural History of the New World* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011), 138-39.
[290] Lafitau, *Customs of the American Indians,* 1: 356-7.
[291] APS, William Fenton Papers, Series V-B, Cradleboard 1912-1933, n.d. "Cradle-board. [Goldenweiser notes]."
[292] Lafitau, *Customs of the American Indians,* 1: 358.

were likely protective charms, which were used by a number of Indigenous peoples in North America, as well as items for the child to play with.[293] The footrests were carefully painted with designs to celebrate the child's new life, and the cradles were lined with soft skins and furs to protect the infant from harm.[294] Because cradleboards had a wooden frame (pine, maple, or birch, usually),[295] they were almost certainly created by the father or one of the men in the longhouse, because the woods and the areas beyond the village and fields were considered men's domain, and items made from woodland materials tended to be made by men.[296] Furs and skins were treated by women though, and so the lining was most likely crafted by women in the family; the cradleboard's construction was the product of both parents and their respective families and therefore reaped the benefit of two clans' worth of protection.

The period of infancy shifted when a child received his or her name. Names were not given at birth, but in a special Ceremony held once or twice a year. While we do not know the details of the 17th-century Ceremony for naming, two rituals in the 20th century serve a similar purpose and give us an idea of what these Ceremonies might have entailed. The most well-known naming Ceremony was called Green Corn and it was held in the late summer when the

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[293] Cath Oberholtzer, "Net Baby Charms: Metaphors of Protection and Provision," in *Papers of the Twenty-Fourth Algonquian Conference*, ed. William Cowan (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1993), 320; Alexandra Kahsenni, "From Great-Grandmothers to Great-Granddaughters: "Moving Life" in Baby Carriers and Birchbark Baskets," *RACAR: revue d'art canadienne / Canadian Art Review* 42, no. 2 (2017): 102; Laurier G. Turgeon, "Material Culture and Cross-Cultural Consumption: French Beads in North America, 1500-1700," *Studies in the Decorative Arts* 9, no. 1 (2001): 98-99.
[294] Kahsenni, "From Great-Grandmothers to Great-Granddaughters," 101; Axtell, *The Indian Peoples of Eastern America*, 6.
[295] APS, William Fenton Papers, Series V-B, Cradleboard 1912-1933, n.d. "Cradle-board. [Goldenweiser notes]." See also APS William Fenton Papers, Series VIII-A, 1938: Clara Redeye – miscellaneous. Ann Schafer: women's affairs. Emma Turkey: biography, "Miscellaneous Information: Cradle Boards or Tieing [*sic*] Boards. Informants Clara Red Eye (Hawk Clan) and Alice Jones (Hawk Clan), 7/27/38."
[296] If it was not the father who specifically made the cradle, it was almost certainly the father's family. Anonymous, "Indian Cradle Boards: Safe, Healthy and Economical," *Tawow: Canadian Indian Cultural Magazine* 7, no. 1 (1980): 8.

corn was nearly ready for harvest.[297] The first day was specifically designated for the naming of children born that year.[298] The other Ceremony of naming, the Midwinter Festival, seems to have fallen out of practice, but was conducted at least twice on Haudenosaunee reserves in the 20th century, in 1939 and 1958.[299] Midwinter was a time to name those who had been born since Green Corn, and ensured that children were no more than 6 months old when they were given a name. If this same pattern was followed in the 17th century, it would mean that very young children of a few months old were not considered to be full persons, and would explain why such children were considered so close to the spirit world that there was a good chance they would die and return there. When an individual received a name, that individual became a person, linked to the broader kinship network of clan and community. That shared kinship meant the child's spiritual connection shifted from the spirit world to the shared, communal *orenda* of his or her clan. The child not only became safer from spiritual threats, but the child's family also became safer because his or her spiritual energies were no longer the unrestrained *orenda* of a newly born spirit. The child was now a true member of the community.

The final obvious indicator of infancy, nursing, was a nebulous period that blurred into young childhood. A mark of the child's dependence on the mother, nursing also visually demonstrated the powerful mother-child bond. The Wendat considered the mother-child relationship to be at the core of family, rather than the spousal bond so important in Western

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[297] Green Corn is still celebrated today by Wendat, Wyandots, and Haudenosaunee peoples. Wyandot of Anderdon Nation, "Green Corn Feast—Michigan," http://www.wyandotofanderdon.com/wp/?page_id=121. Accessed 27 September 2018.
[298] APS, William Fenton Papers, Series VIII-B, Iroquois Social Structure: Clan names – 1933-1935. "Clan names (personal), Informant Chief Edward Black (Hawk), Tonawand [sic] Reservation, 1935."
[299] APS, William Fenton Papers, Series VIII-D, Midwinter Festival: analysis of participation: Coldspring – 1939, "Mid-Winter Festival…1st day. Informant Mrs. Clarence Snow, Cold Spring, 1/25/39."

society.[300] Except under very rare circumstances, Wendat women nursed their own children. Sagard reported that fathers might feed infants mouth-to-mouth in the event of the mother's death, using specially prepared water (using the water in which maize had already been boiled), suggesting that feeding an un-weaned infant was perhaps specifically the task of the child's parents.[301] Lafitau also remarked that other women in the family might nurse the child if the mother died in childbirth or shortly thereafter, but such "wetnursing" was highly unusual. Women "would think that they were cheating themselves out of the affection due a mother" to willingly hand over their child to be nursed by another, and they were nonplussed by the widespread French practice of using wetnurses.[302]

Perhaps because so many French children were nursed by women not their mothers—up to 25% of children had wetnurses, by one estimate[303]—the French were astonished by the widespread Wendat practice of mothers nursing their own children. The French also commented on the length of time Wendat mothers nursed their children—up to three or four years, in some cases[304]—thus blurring the lines between infancy and childhood. But while infants might be nursed for a lengthy period of time, they also introduced other foods into the diet and began weaning in stages, so that weaning might begin "sometime between 7.5 and 18 months," and continue until the child was roughly 3.5 years of age.[305]

A recent archaeological study, analyzing Wendat teeth from five ossuaries dating between the 14th and 17th centuries, suggests the possibility of active gendering as part of the

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[300] Paula Gunn Allen, *The Sacred Hoop: Recovering the Feminine in American Indian Traditions* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1986), 33; Mann, *Iroquoian Women: The Gantowisas*, 98.
[301] Sagard, *Long Journey,* 128.
[302] Lafitau, *Customs of the American Indians,* 1: 356.
[303] Mary Dunn, *The Cruelest of All Mothers: Marie De L'incarnation, Motherhood, and Christian Tradition* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2016), 3.
[304] Lafitau, *Customs of the American Indians,* 356.
[305] Pfeiffer et al., "Patterns of weaning among ancestral Huron-Wendat communities", 257.

weaning process, through sex-based differences in diet. This study of teeth indicates boys were more likely to have a higher proportion of low trophic level protein, likely deer, than girls. Girls in turn had greater access to higher trophic level proteins, as in many kinds of fish.[306] Deer likely avoided maize fields and the people who harvested them, so men would have to travel some distance to hunt deer, and such meat would not be readily available year-round without careful planning.[307] Fish, likewise, was unlikely to be readily available year-round due to spawning and migration patterns.[308] When it was available though, it was eaten regularly. As nursing toddlers were unlikely to be taken on hunts with men, this suggests a deliberate choice to feed children certain foods. And, because deer were hunted from afar, and fish might be found closer to the village, this might also mark the kinds of gender-based food choices adults would make, with women eating more fish and near-the-village foods, and men more deer, part of the expected male domain of the woods and distant regions. It appears to have been a deliberate choice in feeding children a sex-based diet, indicating that children's gendered identity was already being formed at this young age. Thus, if the child's name marked their inclusion into the social, communal world of the village and clan, dietary choices helped mark a child's place among others of their gender.

Child (-*en*-): Arahkié's story

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[306] Pfeiffer et al., "Patterns of weaning among ancestral Huron-Wendat communities", 257.
[307] Today, deer are considered a major pest in corn fields, but given that the Wendat hunted deer and would have needed a lot of deer to support their communities, it is possible that these animals were either overhunted and so were not found near villages, or learned to stay away. See R. L. Nielson, "Decapitation of Corn Plants by Deer," Corny News Network, Perdue University, http://www.kingcorn.org/news/timeless/DeerDamage.html (accessed 18 January 2020).
José António Brandão, ed. *Nation Iroquoise: A Seventeenth-Century Ethnography of the Iroquois* (Lincoln & London: University of Nebraska Press, 2003), 71.
[308] Susan Pfeiffer et al., "Maize, Fish, and Deer: Investigating Dietary Staples among Ancestral Huron-Wendat Villages, as Documented from Tooth Samples," *American Antiquity* 81, no. 3 (2016): 517.

While infancy had clear dividing markers—leaving the cradleboard and the cessation of breastfeeding—the stage between infancy and puberty had fewer categorical distinctions. It was a time of learning and preparation, but also play, mischief, and exploration. As children got closer to puberty, the Jesuits and other visitors wrote more about them. This is how we know about Arahkié.

According to the Paul Le Jeune, Arahkié was 11 or 12 years old the day he died, on 2 October 1636.[309] This would put his approximate birth date around 1624 or 1625, meaning he would have been born into and been raised in a world that knew about European visitors. Arahkié was from Ossossané, the largest of the Attignawantan (Bear Nation) towns. Most of his youth would have been spent hearing stories of the Jesuits without meeting any until the last years of his life.[310] At the time of his death he was a favourite of Jesuit Le Jeune, who very much grieved the boy's loss.[311] He was also well-respected by his family and fellow villagers. Le Jeune describes him as a tall and healthy child, wise beyond his years. Arahkié "was sedate, grave, obliging, and of agreeable conversation…polite, and took pride in appearing serious in the midst of the insolence of his companions…wonderfully docile, and [with] a very happy memory, he learned easily all that was taught him…"[312] Arahkié took interest in Christianity, and had been a beloved student of

[309] JR 13:117.
[310] The mission in Ossossane, led by Pierre Pijart, was not started until the spring/summer of 1637, although Brébeuf was in Ossossane in 1636 for the Feast of the Dead and there were likely visitors coming periodically from the then-mission hub Ihonaritia, which was only a few kilometres from Ossossane. Both Champlain in 1615 and the Recollects (1623) visited Ossossane, but this was before Arahkié was born. Between the loss of Ihonatiria to disease in 1638 and until the Sainte-Marie mission was built in 1639, Ossossane was the focal point of Jesuit missionary activity in Wendake. JR 5:292-3 f.60.
[311] Kathryn Magee Labelle, *Dispersed but Not Destroyed: A History of the Seventeenth-Century Wendat People* (Toronto: University of British Columbia Press, 2013), 15.
[312] JR 13: 117.

Jesuit Fathers Antoine Daniel and Pierre Pijart.[313] The missionaries had high hopes for him as a convert, and sought him out as a seminarist for their new school only to be rebuffed by his parents who wanted to keep their beloved child close by.[314] Still, the Jesuits loved how Arahkié came to their cabin for hours each day to learn more about the Christian faith, and they took pride in the boy's willingness to teach and help his peers with Christian prayers and tenets.[315] And while he requested baptism, the priests hesitated because of pushback from the boy's parents. When Arahkié fell sick, his parents refused outright to allow his baptism, citing that one of the boy's relatives, Akhioca, had died without baptism a few weeks prior and so they had no intention of allowing Arahkié to do otherwise.[316] Arahkié's mother went so far as to chase Pijart out of the longhouse, threatening him with a burning branch![317]

Despite Arahkié's close relationship with a number of Jesuit priests, he would have been raised with traditional Wendat values and by traditional means. His height and physical health would have been associated with the use of his cradleboard as an infant, with his regular play outdoors, and his steady diet based in the Three Sisters and whatever hunted meat could be provided. He had good peer relationships, as evidenced by his companionable friendship with his younger cousin, whom he helped with his French prayers. Arahkié's serious and sombre attitude were in line with expectations of Wendat men as careful and considerate listeners. And as was

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[313] Antoine Daniel left Wendake in 1636 to begin and teach at the Jesuit's Indigenous seminary school just outside of Québec, in the small community of Notre-Dame-Des-Anges. Both he and Pijart had only high praise for Arahkié. JR 13: 119.

[314] JR 13: 119. This was not an unusual reaction; the Jesuits had a lot of difficulty convincing Wendat parents to send their children to their seminary. JR 12: 41.

[315] JR 13: 119.

[316] Presumably, Arahkié's family wanted to avoid having the boy go to heaven out of fear that he would be alone there and without family to look after him. This was one of the many reasons some Wendat refused baptism, especially in these early years. The same logic also worked, however, to convert large groups of people, because families did not want to be separated from one another in the afterlife. Erik R. Seeman, *The Huron-Wendat Feast of the Dead: Indian-European Encounters in Early North America* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011), 56.

[317] JR 13: 125.

expected of Wendat boys, he sought out Elders and Knowledge-Keepers to teach him—in this case, he found the Jesuits—and like any good Wendat child he strived to listen carefully to their teachings, quickly committing them to memory and putting them into practice. The relationships he started to cultivate with these older men in the village were in anticipation of his own growth into adulthood.

Arahkié died as one of many, which only made his death more tragic. European-originated epidemics cut through Wendake more than once in the 1630s, but this was the worst epidemic they had yet seen. The exact nature of the disease is unknown today—it may have been influenza,[318] or it may have been some variant of strep and/or pneumonia[319]—but estimates suggest that it killed 20% of Ossossané's population in the autumn of 1636, and approximately 500 Wendat throughout Wendake.[320] Arahkié's death was especially difficult to accept in part because of his youth, but also because of the widespread respect he had earned from his fellow Wendat and from the Jesuit missionaries. Arahkié's brilliance, excellent memory and oratory skills, and friendly if serious personality meant that he had the potential to become a talented leader. His people then were not only mourning the loss of a child, but also the loss of a future headman.[321]

Like Tonneraouanont, we can get a lot of insight from Arahkié's story. Arahkié was of an age still too young to undergo puberty rituals, and he was still actively learning what it meant to be Wendat. While very young children spent most of their time with their mothers, Arahkié would have been spending more and more of his time with same-sex adults, particularly his uncles. From oral histories, we know that the nephew-uncle relationship was sometimes fraught, but always vital

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[318] Trigger, *Children of Aataentsic*, 526.
[319] Gary Warrick, *A Population History of the Huron-Petun, A.D. 500-1650* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 223-24.
[320] Labelle, *Dispersed but not Destroyed*, 15.
[321] Labelle, *Dispersed but not Destroyed*, 16.

to a boy's upbringing. Some stories reflect this with nephew-uncle adventures. In "Tawidi'a and His Uncle," for example, the main character Tawidi'a continually misinterpreted his uncle's words as the older man taught Tawidi'a how to hunt bear, how to conduct and host a feast, and how to court a woman.[322] Arahkié's own uncles would have provided guidance on the same range of subjects.

Arahkié's other family relationships are also telling. One of his relatives—the exact nature of this relationship is unclear, but he was almost certainly a member of Arahkié's maternal clan, and probably a maternal cousin—was said to be Satouta, the first of less than a dozen Wendat youths to make the journey to Notre-Dame-des-Anges, the Jesuits' Indigenous seminary school.[323] Satouta, "almost a man" when he made the journey to the seminary, would have been in Arahkié's peer group, albeit at the older end. The two almost certainly would have spent time together, learning to fish, shoot a bow, practice oratory skills, and, clearly, investigate the newcomer Jesuits and their foreign religion. Arahkié was even invited to study at the seminary, which would have kept him in contact with his relative if he had been able to go. The two Wendat clearly shared an interest in the Jesuits and Catholicism, and their peer and family bonds with one another would have only strengthened that connection.

When Arahkié was denied baptism, his relatives cited another relative, Akhioca, as the reason. Akhioca had died in Ossossané without baptism, and since he was probably one of Arahkié's uncles, his mother's flat refusal to allow her son's baptism was likely borne of a desire

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[322] Barbeau, *Huron and Wyandot Mythology*, 224-33. The same story was published again in 1960, in the Wyandot language as well as with translation. In this version, the terms for "uncle" and "nephew" are referring to "sister's brother" and "sister's son". See: Barbeau, *Huron-Wyandot Traditional Narratives*, 235-36.
[323] JR 13: 121.

to prevent her son and his uncle from being separated in the afterlife.[324] If they were nephew and uncle, their relationship would have been quite close and Arahkié would have to rely on Akhioca's knowledge in the spirit world, making this desire to keep them from being separated all the more important. It is also possible that Arahkié's family had heard of Satouta's sickness at the seminary and were concerned about the possibility of Jesuit witchcraft. While it would seem they no longer had this concern by the time Satouta died at Notre-Dame-des-Anges and were willing to maintain their friendship with the Jesuits, the missionaries' determination to get close enough to Arahkié to baptise him was likely met with suspicion. Regardless, Arahkié's sudden and tragic death left a gaping hole in his family's longhouse.

From oral histories, we know that children of Arahkié's approximate age were viewed as having great potential to help the community. In some stories, such young boys were incredible heroes. In the Haudenosaunee story "A Visit to the Land of Disembodied Spirits: the Spirit of a Seventh Son Brought Back There from [*sic*] to Reanimate his Dead Body," the youngest and smallest of an old man's sons becomes a great hunter and *arendiowane* after the disappearance of his family, and he has many adventures beginning from a very young age.[325] Another version of the story adds in a sister and makes the initial quest about finding the children's lost family, but continues with various acts of bravery, cunning, and magic.[326] Some Wendat/Wyandot stories, including "The Origin of the Hawk Clan," "The Boy and His Pet Snake," and "The Origin of the

[324] Like Satouta, Akhioca's relationship to Arahkié is not specified, but since the only male, adult family members would have been either uncles or grandfathers (or possibly Arahkié's own father, although the Jesuits almost certainly would have remarked on this if such a clear relationship was known), it is reasonable to assume Akhioca was probably a maternal uncle.
[325] APS, Tuscarora Indian materials, Hewitt – Myths and Legends M.s., "A Visit to the Land of Disembodied Spirits: the Spirit of a Seventh Son Brought Back There [*sic*] from to Reanimate his Dead Body."
[326] APS, Tuscarora Indian materials, Hewitt – Myths and Legends M.s., "The Story of the Father, His Seven Sons, and a Daughter – the Acts of the Seventh Son."

Pleiades," feature similar themes with children in prominent roles, either as heroes themselves or as the focus of a moral tale.[327] In all of these stories, children show their bravery and skills from quite a young age, many becoming great hunters or *arendiowane*—or both—as they grow up, showing an Iroquoian belief in the power of children and that their potential as heroes could be seen and harnessed even when very young. Indeed, both Wendat and Haudenosaunee seemed to share the idea that power could come in unassuming forms. Children deserved the respect of their elders—not only were children the future hunters and *arendiowane* of their respective villages, but their power often showed itself when they were very young, and the survival of the community rested with *all* contributors, young or old.

While many of the stories in the *Jesuit Relations* and in the oral traditions feature boys as central figures of power, there are a few stories of girl heroes as well. One common story was a short anecdote about a starving family in the middle of a harsh winter. It is usually written as a man and a woman with one child.[328] The child, walking across a pond or a lake, sees something sticking up out of the ice and runs back to tell the parents. When one of the parents arrives (in some versions it is the mother who comes to investigate, in others the father), they realize that it is a deer that had fallen into the water and drowned. The child's keen eye, spotting the ears sticking up out of the ice, saves the family from starvation.[329]

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[327] Barbeau, *Huron and Wyandot Mythology*, 338-40, 146-48, 56-58.

[328] In the Amherstburg Wyandot version of the story, the child is a boy (CMH, Marius Barbeau Fonds, Huron-Wyandot files, Box B62, B-G-144.3, [?] & Epics (English) legends & anecdotes, "Story of ho'tut. Informant Mary McKee"; Barbeau, *Huron and Wyandot Mythology*, 260-1). The Lorette/Wendake Huron-Wendat version refers to the child as a girl. See: CMH, Marius Barbeau Fonds, Huron-Wyandot Files, Box B62, B-G-144.4 [?] & Epics (English) legends & anecdotes, "Netut. Informant Mme Etienne Gros-Louis"; Barbeau, *Huron and Wyandot Mythology*, 259-60.

[329] Waugh recorded a Haudenosaunee version of this story at Grand River in 1915, from his Cayuga informant Jacob Hess. In this version, the starving man is about to murder his child to eat her, when the little girl pointed out a frozen deer, whose ears were sticking up out of the ice. The story ends with the family surviving, the father being punished for the near-murder, and a conclusion that the Peacemaker had sent the deer to the spring to save the child. None of the Wendat/Wyandot versions of this story make any allusions to a near murder, and none suggest the breakdown of family cohesion. CMH, Frederick W.

That this story survives—with minor variations—in different communities suggests not only that hunger was a common problem in the distant past, but that the whole family—even a little five-year-old child[330]—assisted in the procurement of food. Moreover, the little girl saved her family with her keen observation—seeing something that even her parents had missed. This shared responsibility for family survival matches with observations 17th-century visitors. Recollet brother Gabriel Sagard for example describes how boys learned to use a bow and to fish while still quite young, and girls learned to make ceramics and clothing, and helped their mothers with the gathering of foods and their preparation.[331] Likewise, children of both sexes helped their families by playing in the corn fields, which helped scare off pests, and they also took part in gathering foods and medicines from the woods.[332] Like European children, the Wendat were taught to work from a young age, because it was necessary for the survival of the community that everyone contribute.

Wendat childhood was not just about work and preparation, however. Children played games like snow snake, a game where hand-carved wooden rods were thrown along a smooth trough in the snow, teaching the important skills of cooperation, hand-eye coordination, strength and precision.[333] Many also got into trouble, performing acts of mischief, as will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter. Arahkié's story is not unique, but he appears remarkably serious.

Waugh Fonds, Iroquois field notes: stories, customs and beliefs (1915), Box 201, f.26, "Drowned Deer Saves a Child. Informant Jacob Hess (Cayuga), August 1915."

[330] The only story to specify this age comes from Barbeau's *Huron and Wyandot Mythology*, 259, but both versions of the story and their archival draft versions specify a very young child.

[331] Sagard, *Long Journey*, 109, 32-33; Nicolas Perrot, *The Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley and Region of the Great Lakes*, trans. Emma Helen Blair, 2 vols. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), 1: 78; Alain Beaulieu, Stéphanie Béreau, and Jean Tanguay, *Les Wendats Du Québec: Territoire, Économie Et Identité, 1650-1930* (Québec: Les Éditions Gid, 2013), 48.

[332] Sagard, *Long Journey,* 195; Karen Anderson, *Chain Her by One Foot: The Subjugation of Native Women in Seventeenth-Century New France* (New York: Routledge Inc., 1991), 133, 37, 39.

[333] Among the Haudenosaunee, this was a man's game, and boys were taught by men. Oneida Indian Nation, "Snow Snake: Traditional Winter Game of the Haudenosaunee," http://www.oneidaindiannation.com/snow-snake-traditional-winter-game-of-the-haudenosaunee/.

The Jesuits respected this seriousness as a sign of maturity. It is likely that his behaviour among his peers was more relaxed and less formal.

Becoming an adult *(,a8itsinnonha / on,8entsentia*): puberty stories in the Wendat world

Puberty marked the final period of childhood and the beginning of adulthood. It is at this stage that children spent the most time with adults, learning directly from their mothers, fathers, aunts, uncles, and grandparents. Special puberty rites were designed to bring children into the adult world, complete with a spiritual aid that would continue to help the individual for the rest of his or her life. In 1643, while visiting the Arendaenhronon, Jesuit Fathers Antoine Daniel and Joseph Marie Chaumonot recorded this story from a man seeking baptism:

> A certain man, who urges us to Baptize him, had, when but fifteen or sixteen years of age, retired into the woods to prepare himself by fasting for the apparition of some Demon. After having fasted sixteen days without eating anything, and drinking water only he suddenly heard this utterance, that came from the Sky: "Take care of this man, and let him end his fast." At the same time, he saw aged man of rare beauty who came down from the Sky, approached him, and, looking kindly at him, said: "Have courage, I will take care of thy life. It is a fortunate thing for thee, to have taken me for thy Master; None of the Demons Who haunt these countries, shall have any power to harm thee. One day thou wilt see thy hair as white as mine. Thou wilt have four children; the first two and the last will be males, and the third will be a girl; after that, thy wife will hold the relation of a sister to thee." As he concluded these words, he held out to him a piece of human flesh, quite raw. The youth in horror turned away his head. "Eat this," said the old man, presenting him with a piece of bear's fat. When he had eaten it the Demon withdrew, ascending toward the Sky, whence he had come. After that, he often appeared to him, and promised to assist him. Nearly all that he predicted to him has happened. This man has had four children, the third of whom was a girl; after which a certain infirmity compelled him to the continence that the Devil asked of him. Apart from that, he is in excellent health; and although he is approaching old age, he has been exposed to many contagious diseases without having been attacked by them. He was always very fortunate in the chase; thus, while in the woods, whenever he heard a certain number of cries from the Sky, they were signs that he would take so many bears. At other times, when he alone saw a number of stags and does entering the Cabin, he would inform the others of it; and they would really find in their snares on the following day the same number of animals that he had told them. He attributes this excellent fortune that he has always had in the chase, to the piece of bear's fat that the Demon made him eat; and he judges from this that

> he would have had equal success in war, had he eaten the piece of human flesh that he refused.[334]

The Jesuits dismissed the story as superstitious nonsense and yet another spiritual barrier to their conversion efforts, but the story is intriguing as one of the few allusions to puberty rituals recorded in the *Jesuit Relations*. Hints of puberty rites are also alluded to in Jesuit Joseph François Lafitau's writings in the 18th century, but details are lacking in the documentary sources. By carefully utilizing ethnographic and oral sources, it is possible to reconstruct what puberty meant for the Wendat and what kinds of practices were associated with marking puberty.

Scholars often categorize puberty as a liminal period, in which youths are in between the categories of 'child' and 'adult.' According to Victor Turner, one of the first theorists to apply the term 'liminal' to the period of puberty, "liminal entities are neither here nor there; they are betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention, and ceremonial."[335] He also specifies that "liminal entities, such as neophytes in initiation or puberty rites, may be represented as possessing nothing. … Their behavior is normally passive or humble; they just obey their instructors implicitly, and accept arbitrary punishment without complaint. It is as though they are being reduced or ground down to a uniform condition to be fashioned anew and endowed with additional powers to enable them to cope with their new station in life."[336] While I disagree with the notion of Wendat children's heedless passivity, the Wendat did have rituals to recognize puberty and the remaking of a child into an adult. Lafitau writes that Wendat, Haudenosaunee, and Algonquian peoples all celebrated and did "initiations" to recognize this change. According to

[334] JR 155-159.
[335] Turner, *The Ritual Process*, 95.
[336] Turner, *The Ritual Process*, 95.

Lafitau, this entailed withdrawing to the woods with a same-sex Elder, fasting for a length of time, and seeking out some kind of dream or vision to help guide them for the rest of their lives.[337]

Boys' and girls' puberty rituals were different from one another, but both were meant to prepare the almost-adult for the future. Because of the sacred nature of these rites, Europeans were not invited to observe them and were given very little information about them. What little information we do have from historical sources generally speaks about boys' rituals, and most of what is known about puberty rites in the Great Lakes area actually comes from Algonquian and Anishinaabek traditions. The historiography usually describes the puberty ritual as a dream fast, in which boys would seclude themselves in the woods, fast for several days, and try to dream and connect with the spirit world, so that they could get a spiritual guardian to protect and guide them for the rest of their lives.[338] Ann Schafer's research with Seneca women at Allegany Reservation in 1938 suggests that long-ago boys might have stayed in the woods for up to a year as part of their puberty rites,[339] although this is the only source I have found that gives such a long period in seclusion. A lengthy isolation period would, however, coincide with Wendat constructions of masculinity, which put emphasis on self-reliance and a connection to the woods and other places beyond the village, and so staying out for a fortnight or longer was not uncommon.[340] Once the

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[337] Lafitau, *Customs of the American Indians,* 1: 217.
[338] This concept was shared by Iroquoian (Wendat/Wyandot and Haudenosaunee), Anishinaabek, and Algonquian peoples. Trigger, *Children of Aataentsic*, 77; Trigger, *The Huron: Farmers of the North* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969), 65; Emma Anderson, *The Betrayal of Faith: The Tragic Journey of a Colonial Native Convert* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), 34; Fogelson, "Native American Religion," 13; Frances Densmore, *Chippewa Customs* (St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1979), 52.
[339] APS, William Fenton Papers, Series VIII-A, Ann Schafer, "The Seneca Woman, m.s. 1938," 3.
[340] Trigger, *The Huron*, 93; Trigger, *Children of Aataentsic*, 34, 45, 48.

boy returned home, he was considered a man. A new name was usually given at the next Green Corn or Midwinter Ceremony to recognize the boy's transition into manhood.[341]

Comparatively little is known about girls' puberty rites in the 17th century. It is possible, however, to use the ethnographic material collected by 20th-century anthropologists, in conjunction with what little archaeological and historical information we do have, to speculate on what these rites may have involved. From the *Jesuit Relations*, it is clear taboos governed the behaviour of menstruating or pregnant Wendat women; they were expected to eat from separate dishes and cook their meals separately, they were not to engage in sex at this time, and they were to avoid any circumstances where they would be near medicine or sick persons.[342] The documentary sources also indicate girls from Algonquian and Anishinaabek families were secluded whenever they were menstruating, but Wendat were not. However, Iroquoian ethnographic sources do indicate that the Wendat, Haudenosaunee, and Wyandot peoples may have secluded girls on their first menses, as part of a puberty rite.

The *Jesuit Relations* indicate fasts and dreams were important for both boys and girls as part of puberty rites, and Marius Barbeau's ethnographic research with Wendat and Wyandot contacts in the 1910s indicates that "in the olden times," girls were sent out of the village, by themselves, for a period of ten days, during which time the girls would fast and wait to be visited by an animal spirit and gain some kind of supernatural power from it.[343] This fast likely took place inside a specially-prepared 'menstrual hut,' built specifically for their seclusion. While Wendat sources do not describe these huts, one Seneca source describes structures made of bark, built by

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[341] APS, William Fenton Papers, Series VIII-A, 1938 – Emma Turkey to Anne Schafer, life and culture, "The Life of Emma Turkey. Informants Clara Red Eye and Emma Turkey, 7/12/38," 11.
[342] JR 9:123
[343] JR 54: 141-143; CMH, Marius Barbeau Fonds, Huron-Wyandot Files, Box B62, B-G-143.10, Epics: Legends & Anecdotes (English), "[untitled]. Informants Smith Nichols and Mary Kelly"; Mann, *Iroquoian Women*, 275, 336-7.

the men specifically and exclusively for female use, with each family having such a hut in a secluded but nearby place, and containing no furniture but a bed. It is possible the Wendat had similar structures.[344] If so, it might look like the sketch presented in the *Codex Canadensis*, labelled "Huron cabin," as a simple ovular structure, without a hearth inside.[345] There, the menstruating girl fasted and had "difficult tasks" to perform.[346] It seems that the girls were alone for at least part of this time, but older women also brought them food and water to break their fast, and these older women told stories, taught the girls about different tasks and responsibilities they would have as women, and helped them to interpret their dreams for advice from the spirit world.[347]

Further evidence of this practice can be found in the Wyandot narrative of the origin of the Snake Clan. In this story, a girl was secluded away in a hut built for her by her grandmother and left to fast. Each day her grandmother came to check on her, and each day the girl had seen a different animal; the grandmother was displeased with all of them, however, and demanded that the girl continue her fast until a better spirit came for her. Finally, a Snake spirit comes to the girl, and told her to break her fast, as he wanted to befriend her. However, the grandmother was still displeased and demanded the girl continue her fast until a more powerful spirit came along. Offended by the grandmother's selfishness, the Snake took the girl away with him, and she was

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[344] APS, William Fenton Papers, Series VIII-B, Iroquois Social Structure: Childhood, puberty, etiquette "Puberty, family, menses hut. Informant John Jimmerson (Sen.), 8/22/33"; APS William Fenton Papers, Series VIII-B, Childhood, puberty, etiquette "Puberty house; menses. Informant Ella T. Jimmerson, 8/8/34"; APS, William Fenton Papers, Series VIII-B, Iroquois Social Structure: Childhood, puberty, etiquette "[untitled]. Informant Sarah Snow, 7/12/34."

[345] Gagnon, Senior, and Ouellet, *The Codex Canadensis and the Writings of Louis Nicolas*, 136-7. The lack of a hearth can be assumed by the lack of smoke; each of the other structures shown on the page have smoke coming from the roofs, indicating an indoor hearth—its absence in the Huron cabin image is conspicuous. See Image I.

[346] APS, Frans M. Olbrechts Papers, Series I, 4-D: Converg, "Iroquois Religion in Relation to their Morals. Wolf Morris."

[347] CMH, Marius Barbeau Fonds, Huron-Wyandot Files, Box B62, B-G-143.10, Epics: Legends & Anecdotes (English), "[untitled]. Informants Smith Nichols and Mary Kelly."

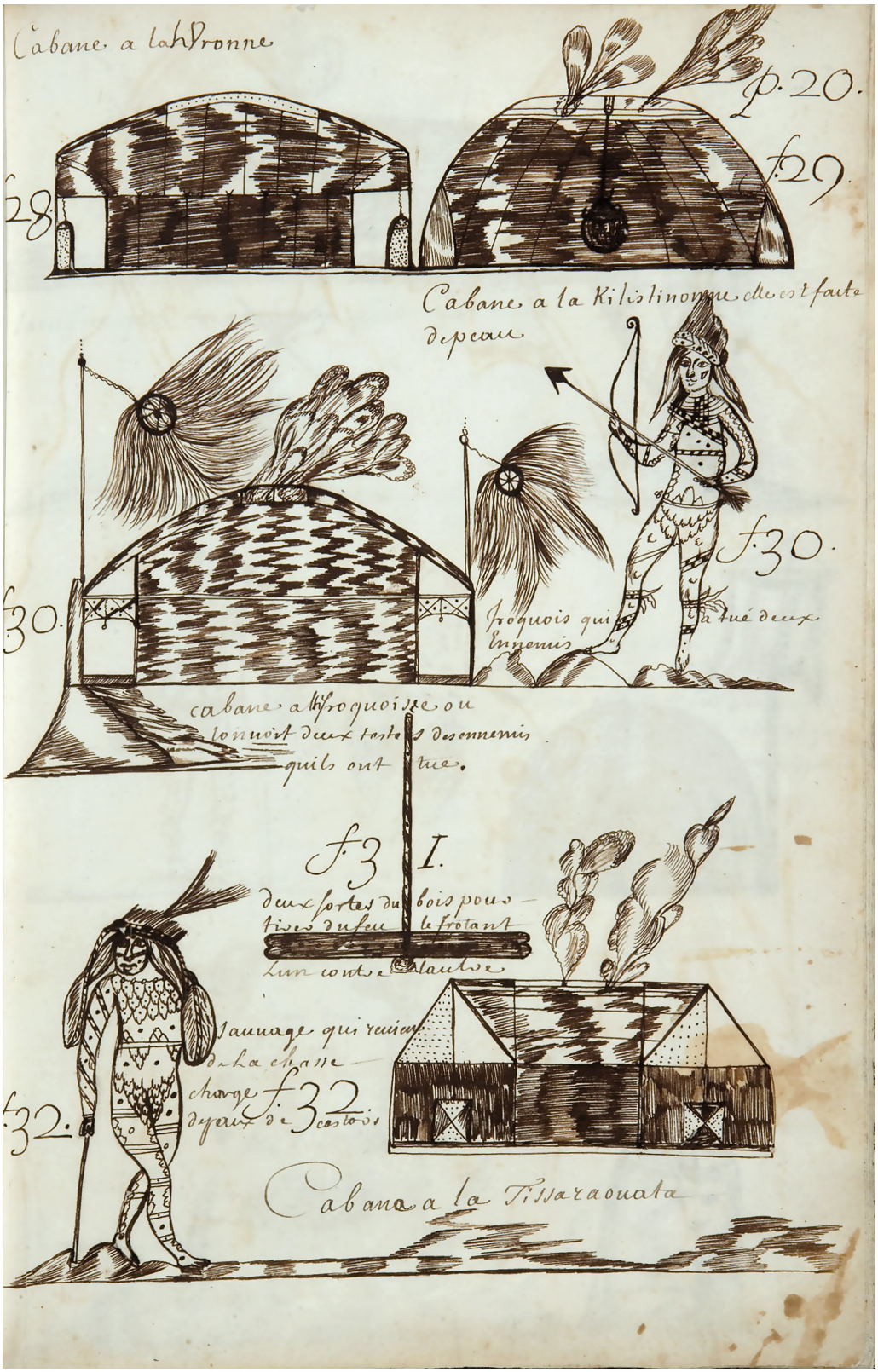

Image I: *Codex Canadiensis*, pg 20. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Codex_canadensis,_p._20.jpg

transformed into a snake herself, thus starting the Snake Clan. The story is a cautionary tale about defying the spirits, making unreasonable demands on youth, and greed for power. It is also a reminder of the connection between youths and the elderly; the grandmother was supposed to guide and protect the inexperienced girl, but the older woman's failure had immediate repercussions for the girl—and for the rest of the clan.[348] However, in some versions of the story, the girl's connection to the Snake also allowed her people to gain special medicines and songs, for which they came to call themselves the Snake Clan in gratitude.[349]

It is difficult to ascertain when seclusion practices originated, how widespread they were, and whether or not all girls went into seclusion at puberty. No archaeological evidence has been found for menstrual huts, although this does not necessarily mean they did not exist. Special-purpose sites and buildings are not always recognized as significant, and with the impermanent building materials (bark) and sparse furnishings (only a bed, and perhaps in some cases a hearth for warmth and cooking), we cannot expect evidence of such structures to survive the centuries. Likewise, archaeological digs focus on village sites, and structures built outside the palisade would likely never be found or might be mistaken for temporary hunting structures; similarly, the association of Iroquoians with longhouses may preclude any recognition of a non-longhouse structure as Wendat in origin.[350]

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[348] There are several versions of this story. Barbeau publishes four of them in 1915 as "The Origin of the Snake Clan," "The Snake Clan's Myth of Origin," "The Snake Clan," and The Snake Clan's Myth." The first one specifies a ten-day deadline, after which point the serpent takes the girl and transforms her into a snake, while the others generalize and say she fasted for a long while. The story is also published in 1960, in the Wyandot language. Barbeau, *Huron and Wyandot Mythology*, 90-91, 91-93, 93-94, 94-95; Barbeau, *Huron-Wyandot Traditional Narratives*, 101-04.

[349] CMH, Sound Recordings, RC-163 XX-E-77, "Medicine-Men – Keith MacMillan, interview with Marius Barbeau, 1962."

[350] For an enlightening discussion of archaeology and the search for menstrual huts in the American southeast, as well as ideas for how future scholars may be able to locate such special-purpose buildings, see: Patricia Galloway, "Where Have All the Menstrual Huts Gone? The Invisibility of Menstrual Seclusion in the Late Prehistoric Southeast," in *Women in Prehistory: North America and Mesoamerica*, ed. Cheryl Claasen and Rosemary A. Joyce (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997).

There are other differences in boys' and girls' puberty rites. Girls seemed to be sent to a special structure located outside the village, but the oral history of the Snake Clan indicates that girls were not truly isolated. They were visited daily and spoke with older women or Elders while they fasted, and eventually that Elder would give the girl food to break her fast. These activities correspond with women's relationships within the village. It was the women's duty to ensure everyone was fed; women supported one another and ensured the function of the village without male help; and women spent most of the year in the company of other women while men spent almost nine months of the year away from the village hunting and trading, or engaging in diplomacy and combat. Women would have to work closely with one another on a regular basis, and the collaborative elements of girls' puberty rituals correspond with this expectation.

Boys rituals were characterized by greater isolationism. It was the women who decided when a boy had reached puberty (usually around when the boy's voice broke), and then the boy set out alone, fasted without break for several days, and stayed in the woods where they sought a spirit for help and protection.[351] One Cayuga story provides more detail about Iroquoian male puberty seclusions. "Thunder-man as Puberty Spirit" begins by stating that the boy protagonist (who goes unnamed) started his puberty rite according to normal expectations. He was taken out into the woods, so far that he could not find his way back again and was left there with a single cob of corn for ten days. When the men of his community returned to find him, they expected to see him "running around," perhaps with some food left over, as a sign that he could look after

[351] The Haudenosaunee ethnographic accounts generally say "several days;" in one story, I have found reference to ten days as the allotted amount of time, which corresponds with girls' seclusion times. Wendat and Wyandot narratives do not indicate a specific time but likely compares with the Haudenosaunee practice. See: APS, William Fenton Papers, Series VIII-A, Ann Schafer "The Seneca Woman, m.s.," 3; APS William Fenton Papers, Series VIII-B, Iroquois Social Structure: Childhood, puberty, etiquette – 1933-1935, "Names, changes at a boy's pub. Informant Ella T. Jimmerson, n.d." CMH, Frederick W. Waugh Fonds, Iroquois Field Notes-Stories and beliefs (1915), Box 201, f. 25, "Thunder-man as Puberty Spirit. Informant: Jacob Hess (Cayuga), August 1915."

himself and would make a good warrior. He was also expected to have made a spirit friend. So, in "Thunder-man as Puberty Spirit," the story continues with the boy shortly after he was left in the woods; he had found a pond, with very clear water, but could not get too close to it because the pond was home to a bloodsucking monster. A thunderstorm started as soon as the boy disturbed the water, and lightning struck the water, forcing him to flee the area. That night, a Thunder-man approached the boy and said he started the storm in an attempt to kill the monster. He offered the boy a gift, a feather, which would bring him luck. The boy was given careful instructions: he could not take part in any games once he returned home, because he would be too strong, but the feather would also make him his people's greatest warrior and strongest man.[352]

In both "Thunder-man as Puberty Spirit" and the story in the *Jesuit Relations* of the youth accepting bear meat from his spirit friend, the boy of the story was completely alone until the spirit arrived, and he had to make his own choice about what kind of man he wanted to be. In one, the boy's choice would make him either a great hunter or both a great hunter *and* warrior, but eating human flesh outside of specific war rituals was taboo for the Wendat, and so he chose the safer, more normative bear fat and became a hunter.[353] In the second story, the Thunder-man's gift carried a price as well in that the young Cayuga man had to be careful in how he used his strength to avoid hurting his people. These stories emphasize self-reliance, a skill that men, who spent over half the year away from the village, were likely to need, and they emphasized careful consideration and overcoming of dangers. Male puberty rituals were therefore intended to foster wisdom, and

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[352] CMH, Frederick W. Waugh Fonds, Iroquois field notes:-Stories and beliefs (1915), Box 201, f. 25, "Thunder-man as Puberty Spirit. Informant: Jacob Hess (Cayuga), August 1915."

[353] Daniel K. Richter, *Trade, Land, Power: The Struggle for Eastern North America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 81; *The Ordeal of the Longhouse* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 36; John W. Traphagan, "Embodiment, Ritual Incorporation, and Cannibalism among the Iroquoians after 1300 C.E.," *Journal of Ritual Studies* 22, no. 2 (2008). See also: Shawn Smallman, *Dangerous Spirits: The Windigo in Myth and History* (Toronto: Heritage House Publishing Company Ltd, 2014).

were designed to test physical stamina, mental determination, and willingness to enter into a contract with a spirit helper. That boys were also almost always described as being in the forest, with an implied lack of any specially built structure, emphasized gendered expectations and served as a reminder that male honour and glory was best achieved outside the village and in a one-on-one negotiation with the spirits.

Puberty rituals were never to be taken lightly. Besides preparing the child—male or female—for adulthood and his or her gendered social roles, these were also times of danger. Children were believed to have special powers at this time, with girls especially potent because of their life-giving attributes. As one 19th-century Haudenosaunee Elder describes, at puberty,

> "the breath of any person thus affected, if inhaled would produce pimples and blotches on the inhaler. If a plant fixed in the ground and in good health is grasped or held in the hand of any one during their first manifestation of puberty it will be withered by the poisonous effluvia from the person…At this period they were believed to possess supernatural powers of witchcraft or enchantment, superior to that which they might possess at some future time."[354]

The power people had at puberty could be truly toxic, and so seclusion was necessary both for the youth as well as the rest of the community. Seeking out some kind of spirit guide was a way of getting help with this spiritual power. Indeed, according to Dr. Brian Rice (Mohawk) and his primary informant Jacob Thomas (Cayuga), for Haudenosaunee children puberty seclusion was intended to help focus their *orenda*, or life-giving energy, so that it could be shaped and controlled for the benefit of the community.[355] Otherwise, their *orenda* could become corrupted and they would bring pain and suffering to their people. Wyandot and Haudenosaunee stories take these ideas further, showing how children at or around puberty were capable of great things: some could change their shape or that of others, some had special weapons or charms, could travel great

[354] APS, Tuscarora Indian materials, Hewitt—Myths, legends m.s. "The Age of Puberty."
[355] Rice, *The Rotinonshonni*, 22-3.

distances in an instant, and defeat monsters and witches single-handedly.[356] In the Creation story cycle and all of the other major epics of Wendat and Haudenosaunee oral traditions, a youth (or more than one, in some instances) was at the centre of the story. Aataentsic or Sky Woman was just at a marriageable age when she fell from the Sky World and her grandsons were youths when they started their creation.[357] The Peacemaker was described as a young man full of *orenda* when he taught his people the new dances and brought peace to the Wendat, and he himself had been conceived, without a mortal father, while his mother was in her seclusion.[358] It was a youth who created the clan system, and, in one version of these stories, two twin children at puberty found and brought back the Three Sisters to feed their people.[359] For that matter, at least two Wyandot clans were created by young women, at or around puberty, as a result of their connection with spiritual helpers.[360] And while seclusion stories emphasize controlling the teenager's spiritual power, this power could be very destructive. In another example, a Haudenosaunee tradition tells of a village under threat from cannibalistic Stone Coat invaders. The villagers received help from a young girl, who was in her first menses. Following her Elders' instructions, she lay down in the doorway to the first house, exposing her menstrual blood, and when the first Stone Coat came he smelled her blood and became violently ill, vomiting up blood. He died just after reaching the other Stone Coats, who decided to leave rather than face the dangerous girl.[361] Thus, puberty power could be both destructive and life-saving; it highlights youthful innovation and Elders' guidance,

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[356] APS, Frank G. Speck Papers, Subcollection 1, series III, 4: Seneca, Isserman, Ferdinand M.—Seneca—m. Mythology of Seneca, n.d., "The Mythology of the Seneca Indians, by Ferdinand M. Isserman," 3.
[357] Rice, *The Rotinonshonni*, 23-4, 36, 38.
[358] Rice, *The Rotinonshonni*, 177, 180-3.
[359] Rice, *The Rotinonshonni*, 144-7, 164.
[360] For the origin of the Hawk and Snake Clans, see: Barbeau, *Huron and Wyandot Mythology*, 90-91, 91-93, 93-94, 94-95, 338-40.
[361] APS, William Fenton Papers, Series VIII-A, 1933—Beliefs, omens, death; dreams, signs governing activities, "The Stone-Coats. Informant John Jimmerson, n.d."

raw power tempered with control. Puberty seclusion continued a pattern found in these stories: children innovate, using their spiritual power or *orenda* to help their communities, while Elders help guide them and ensure their power is not misused.

Like infancy, the period of puberty ended with a name change. Receiving a new name from an Elder (on the second day of Green Corn in the 20th century or a similar ritual in the 17th century) marked the shift from child to adult.[362] As with infancy, the name was selected from a list of names kept by the clan matriarch. After a youth received an adult name, he or she was considered to be capable of making adult decisions and taking on adult responsibilities, and he or she was now eligible to formally marry. One of the responsibilities of adulthood was the raising of children; indeed, the idea of being a woman was almost synonymous with the idea of being a mother.[363] When a young woman became pregnant, her family welcomed the news. The woman chose a spouse from her sexual partners if she had more than one, and together they made the preparations to bring new life into the world. The cycle continued.

Children who are not children: Sastaretsi's story

Sastaretsi (meaning 'He has very long antler spurs'),[364] a Wendat Elder and leader of the Deer clan, first appears in the historical record in a migration story recorded by Horatio Hale. In the migration story, Sastaretsi leads his people from Quebec westward to the Great Lakes region.[365] This story traces Wendat history in the St. Lawrence River area, and suggests the St. Lawrence Iroquoians' disappearance after the 16th century could be attributed to their journey into Ontario

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[362] APS, William Fenton Papers, Series VIII-A, Ann Schafer, "The Seneca Woman, m.s. 1938," 3.
[363] Nancy Bonvillain, "Iroquoian Women," in *Studies on Iroquoian Culture*, ed. Nancy Bonvillain (Rindge NH: Franklin Pierce College, 1980), 52; Kim Anderson, *A Recognition of Being: Reconstructing Native Womanhood* (Toronto: Sumach Press, 2000), 83.
[364] John Steckley, personal communication, 14 January 2019.
[365] Horatio Hale, "The Fall of Hochelaga: A Study of Popular Tradition," *Journal of American Folklore* 7, no. 24 (1894): 6-8.

to join and live with the Wendat Confederacy.[366] Sastaretsi reappears in the historical record over 100 years later, in the *Jesuit Relations* in 1661. At that time, he was living among the Tionontati (Etionnontateronnon, meaning 'people of where there is a hill or mountain,' and also known as the Tobacco or Petun nation), which joined the Wendat after the dispersal and formed the Wyandots out of the formerly separate nations. By 1682 he was an aging man and sent Kandiaronk, a famed war chief known as the Rat or the Muskrat, to negotiate a peace treaty with the French on his behalf—a task Kandiaronk would perform again in 1697, 1700, and 1701.[367] While Kandiaronk is well-studied, in the historiography he is often confused with Sastaretsi, which makes the latter more difficult to understand.[368] Sastaretsi was an important civil leader, and his oratory skills were much lauded among his people. Sastaretsi was also in the unusual position of being the Deer clan leader as well as the Deer phratry leader, making him one of the principal leaders of the Wendat/Wyandot peoples.[369] Sastaretsi was himself an ally to the French, but still operated as a leader of a distinct and independent people.[370] Indeed, the Deer clan was closely tied to the French even in the beginning of the 17th century, and the Deer clan's prominence in French dealings in

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[366] There is an extensive historiography devoted to ascertaining the fate of the St. Lawrence Iroquoians. Many scholars believe they left Quebec and joined the Wendat, although this is not the only possibility. For some pertinent works, see the 2016 edition of *Ontario Archaeology* with articles by John Steckley, Gary Warrick and Louis Lesage, Jennifer Birch, Susan Darmarkar et al., Mariane Gaudreau and Louis Lesage, and Ronald F. Williamson. See also: Steckley, *The Eighteenth-Century Wyandot: A Clan-Based Study*, 52; Gary Warrick, "The Precontact Iroquoian Occupation of Southern Ontario," *Journal of World Prehistory* 14, no. 4 (2000); James F. Pendergast, "Huron-St. Lawrence Iroquois Relations in the Terminal Prehistoric Period," *Ontario Archaeology* 44 (1985).

[367] Charles Garrad, *Petun to Wyandot: The Ontario Petun from the Sixteenth Century* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2014), 540.

[368] For a succinct version of Kandiaronk's story, see John Steckley, *Untold Tales: Four 17th Century Huron* (Toronto: Associated Heritage Publishing, 1981), 41-50. For Kandiaronk mistakenly taken to be Sastaretsi, see: Gilles Havard, *The Great Peace of Montreal of 1701: French-Native Diplomacy in the Seventeenth Century*, trans. Phyllis Aronoff and Howard Scott (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001), 199; James A. Clifton, "The Re-Emergent Wyandot: A Study in Ethnogenesis on the Detroit River Borderlands, 1747," in *The Western District: Papers from the Western District Conference*, ed. K. G. Pryke and L. L. Kulisek (Windsor ON: Essex County Historical Society, 1983), 7.

[369] Steckley, *The Eighteenth-Century Wyandot: A Clan-Based Study*, 41.

[370] Steckley, *The Eighteenth-Century Wyandot: A Clan-Based Study*, 55-6.

New France, especially through the Jesuits, may have led to the French's erroneous assumption that Sastaretsi was the "King of the Hurons."[371]

Sastaretsi likely died by 1703 and his name was given to a younger man, as evidenced by Sastaretsi's presence at Detroit and in Ohio in 1703.[372] To the Wendat, for whom names of important figures were reused again and again, giving Sastaretsi's name to another was a kind of rebirth. The process of renaming and the associated rebirth is known in the historiography as "requickening," and could be done again and again so that important leaders might not be lost. Indeed, moving through time, Sastaretsi died and was effectively reborn again and again. In 1721 he was a youth, probably no more than 16 or 17 years of age, and so although he was re-named and renewed as a great orator and clan leader, he spoke through, and had assistance from, a regent also skilled in oratory. When he died in 1747 he was remade again as an adult man.[373] Sastaretsi vocally opposed renewing hostilities with the Haudenosaunee in 1758 to avoid Wyandot involvement in war, and he eventually died in 1765; by 1766 he was back, now a thirteen-year-old boy, again with a regent.[374] Sastaretsi continued to reappear over the years.[375]

Sastaretsi's story is often told in context of Wendat political history, but Sastaretsi's story also teaches us about Wendat ideas of rebirth. Although his story goes beyond my time period of study, his experiences (and that of other adoptees like him) has interesting implications for the

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[371] Edmund B. O'Callaghan, ed. *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, 15 vols. (Albany, NY: Weed, Parsons and Company, 1853-1861), 9:178 (hereafter NYCD). For more on the Deer clan's ties to the French, see Steckley, *The Eighteenth-Century Wyandot: A Clan-Based Study*, 33.
[372] Garrad, *Petun to Wyandot*, 539, 542.
[373] Steckley, *The Eighteenth-Century Wyandot: A Clan-Based Study*, 138.
[374] Steckley, *The Eighteenth-Century Wyandot: A Clan-Based Study*, 138.
[375] Today, the current holder of the name is Miguel Paul Sioui Sastaretsi, the son of Barbara Sanchez-Sioui and Georges E. Sioui. Georges E. Sioui, *For an Amerindian Autohistory: An Essay on the Foundations of a Social Ethic*, trans. Sheila Fischman (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), dedications; *Huron-Wendat: The Heritage of the Circle* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1999), dedications.

Wendat construction of childhood: what happens when a child is "requickened" and given the name of an Elder? Such a person would theoretically be considered the Elder reborn, with all of his or her skills, obligations, and kinship relations. How could a child fill such shoes?

First, some names were titles as well as personal names, and as such the Wendat (and Wyandots and other Iroquoians) took naming very seriously. As described above in Arahkié's story, names were owned by Wendat clans, and so announcing a person's name was also the equivalent of announcing his or her clan. Names also denoted personhood—an individual without a Wendat clan name was not considered to be a person or full human, and therefore was suspect.[376] While some names were not used often, others were very well-known, and associated with certain skills, abilities, and positions that required a regular holder of that name. The name Sastaretsi was that of the Deer clan's leader, and so it was always associated with the skills of civil leadership: a smooth and measured mind, a talent for speaking well and convincingly, diplomatic charisma and ability, and deep knowledge of his people's needs, responsibilities, and expectations. Sastaretsi, therefore, was continually being renewed and reborn, because those skills and that leadership was always needed. Sastaretsi's name was also given to a person who already showed similar skill in leadership and oratory.

But names were also too important to use directly, and it was considered rude to address a person by name. Kinship terms were utilized in regular conversation to avoid offending anyone.[377] As such, a family member would not call out to Sastaretsi directly, but would instead address him as "my child" (*aˌien*), "my nephew" (*ihouaten*), "my uncle" (*a8atennonron*), or "my brother"

[376] James Lynch, "The Iroquois Confederacy, and the Adoption and Administration of Non-Iroquois Individuals and Groups Prior to 1756," *Man in the Northeast* 30 (1985): 85.
[377] CMH, Marius Barbeau Fonds, Huron-Wyandot Files, Box 53, B-G-28.20, Huron Linguistic Notes—Divers [sic], "Terms of Relationship. Informant Mary McKee."

(*a̰ iataxen*).[378] Because the Wendat used kinship terms literally, meaning that individuals would not use a term of kinship for someone he or she did not consider to be a relative, the use of a kin term told others a lot about individual relationships of power. When a Wendat (for example, Onaconchiaronk, a Wendat leader in the 1630s) addressed a Jesuit as "my brother," it was expected that this brother would support him as a brother should, by providing assistance in matters of war, offering council, and generally striving for the protection and safety of the family at large. Moreover, it denoted a relationship of equal status and mutual respect.[379] One would not use kinship terms if one did not mean to call upon that particular relationship.[380] However, rebirth and renewal create problems in kinship terminology.

Sastaretsi's "requickenings" shortly after death created paradoxes for his remaining kin. The new Sastaretsi would be chosen from among the former Sastaretsi's brothers, nephews, and uncles, but not his sons, because his sons would belong to a different clan. To keep the name Sastaretsi in the Deer clan, only the maternal male relatives could be selected. The new Sastaretsi would ideally be selected based on his perceived ability to fulfill the obligations of the Sastaretsi name, because in the Wendat ideology, the Ceremony to rename Sastaretsi would effectively turn the man *into* Sastaretsi.[381] From then on, this man was obliged to fulfill all of the obligations of his predecessor: as a clan and phratry leader, but also as a man, brother, uncle, and son of his longhouse's members. He might also have to take on the obligations of spouse for his predecessor's wife, bringing food and supplies to her longhouse. Renaming/rebirth therefore had wide-reaching implications, and especially for the names of persons of importance, John Steckley explains, "the

[378] Steckley, *Words of the Huron*, 76, 83, 79, 90, respectively.
[379] JR 13: 175.
[380] John Steckley, *Instructions to a Dying Infidel: Translating Jesuit Missionary Attempts to Convert Huron-Wendat in New France* (Toronto: Humber Press, 2015), 34.
[381] JR 10:233.

appropriateness of its new bearer had to be publicly demonstrated" before the ritual naming was completed.[382] However, if Sastaretsi's nephew was selected to receive his name, and this nephew had two sisters, what kinship term would the sisters call the new Sastaretsi? According to Wendat kinship rules, they would refer to this man as their uncle, because he took the name of their uncle.

Uncles, as described in a previous section, had specific obligations to their family members. An uncle was expected to be a teacher, especially to his sisters' sons, and uncles took on the important roles of teaching boys how to hunt, how to conduct themselves in council, how to provide for and protect their families, while also teaching them about their future obligations as a spouse, a kinsman, and an instructor in turn. However, giving a young boy the name of a prestigious Elder, as was done with Sastaretsi on more than one occasion, did not automatically mean the Wendat expected the boy to be able to perform as such a leader and teacher. Indeed, if a "requickened" leader was perceived to be too young, "he was subject to the guidance of an older person of authority or a regent, much in the way a young contemporary French king would."[383] He might still be addressed using the kinship terms applied to the former Sastaretsi, however. Nor was Sastaretsi an exception to general rules of kinship terms: in other cases, a child might be adopted as someone's grandfather and then find himself treated with the respect due to such an Elder, even by persons biologically older than himself.[384] Likewise, Cadwallader Colden explains that "If a young Man or Boy be received in Place of a Husband that was killed, all the Children of the Deceased call that Boy Father; so that one may sometimes hear a Man of thirty say, that such a Boy of fifteen or twenty is his Father."[385] The changing of kinship terms after renaming/rebirth

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[382] Steckley, *The Eighteenth-Century Wyandot*, 30; JR 10: 275-7.
[383] Steckley, *The Eighteenth-Century Wyandot*, 137.
[384] José António Brandão, *Your Fyre Shall Burn No More: Iroquois Policy toward New France and Its Native Allies to 1701* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 27.
[385] Cadwallader Colden, *The History of the Five Indian Nations of Canada, Which Are the Barrier between the English and French in That Part of the World*, 2nd ed. (London: N.P., [1750]), 9.

therefore complicates our understanding of what the Wendat meant by "child," and indicates that the concept of child was fluid, and did not always apply to biology.

Other children appeared to be or naturally behaved "older" than expected for a person of their respective ages. As described in a previous section, "appearing/behaving older" than one's biological age implied that there were certain characteristics identified more closely with adults than with children: skills in food production or procurement, and other skills necessary for day-to-day life such as pottery-, clothes-, and canoe-making; emotional self-control; oratory skill; and advanced knowledge in the ways of the material and spiritual worlds. Some important figures from Wendat stories seemed to be older than they appeared, as in the example of the Peacemaker in the Haudenosaunee epic, who as a boy acted more like an Elder with his somber attitude, knowledge of spiritual matters, and foresight.[386] The Peacemaker was also a skilled orator, a negotiator and diplomat, and he had wisdom beyond his years—he was able to lead his people into a time of peace and prosperity. Similarly, because of the ideas of renewal and rebirth, children might be born with the souls of Elders. Even in the 1990s, some Haudenosaunee women spoke of entire groups of babies who seem to be old men, and who "look wise," indicating the longevity of some of these ideas.[387]

Age was fluid in other ways. A childhood name might be given to an individual who had been adopted in from a non-Wendat family, as was the case for William N. Fenton when he was adopted into the Hawk Clan of the Seneca in 1934 and given the childhood name of his sponsor.[388] Whether this means the new adoptee was considered a child or child-like is unclear from the

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[386] Rice, *The Rotinonshonni*, 180.
[387] Steve Wall, *Wisdom's Daughters: Conversations with Women Elders of Native America* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1993), 178.
[388] APS, William Fenton Papers, Series III, "The Adoption of WNF into the Hawk Clan. Coldspring Longhouse, 26 Jan. 1934. M.s. [3/24/86]."

material, but because of the symbolic nature of naming it likely conveyed an important teaching relationship much like that of an uncle-nephew relationship in the 17th century. Wendat children were taught "adult" skills from a young age, including skills in food procurement and in creation of household items, even though they were not expected to participate completely in the adult world until they were physically much older. Pubescent youths also experimented with sex; without stigma, a girl could sleep with a number of male partners before being expected to settle on one, and even then, marriage (associated with adulthood) was easily dissolved in favour of another partnership, or none at all.[389]

Linguistic evidence provides the clearest indication of age categories, but also demonstrates their fluidity. While Wendat categories are not explicitly described in the colonial dictionaries, Wyandot terms were recorded, and give hints about the nebulous nature of these categories. For girls, the Wyandot term (as of 1747) was *,a8innon*, referring to a woman "of an age to be married," distinct from the term *,a8itsinnonha*, for a girl before puberty or age of 12.[390] A girl "of an age to be married" did not specifically mean she was married, and from the historical sources it is apparent that unmarried women or women who never married were considered somewhat abnormal, likely because of the expectation that a woman would have children. Thus, a Wendat female did not truly become a woman until she had a child. For males, there were similar

[389] Sagard, *Long Journey,* 124-5.
[390] According to John Steckley, in 1747, women could be classified as Elders if they were between 30 and 50 years of age. Life expectancy estimates for the 17th and 18th centuries vary: archaeologist Gary Warrick places life expectancy at 30 years, but historian Erik Seeman estimates an average person reaching approximately age 50. If life expectancy remained relatively the same between the 17th and 18th centuries, 30-50 years of age would therefore constitute an 'old' person. Steckley, *The Eighteenth-Century Wyandot: A Clan-Based Study*, 179; Warrick, *A Population History of the Huron-Petun*, 25; Seeman, *The Huron-Wendat Feast of the Dead,* 15.

distinctions, with linguistic terms for males aged 7-17, 18-25, and 25-40.[391] These categories of older youths, of persons after puberty, overlapped with early adulthood and was probably considered an in-between stage where youths were given more responsibilities and were to prove themselves capable persons. This period also overlapped with the idea of 'youth' in early modern France, where a male was not considered a man until marriage, meaning he could be 25 years old and still considered "youth."[392] Most of the youths I have evidence for from the *Jesuit Relations* fit into this age category I generalize as "youth", and by today's standards, many would be considered young adults. These individuals often took on major responsibilities, including trade and diplomacy, as well as waging war, but usually operated in a sort of intermediary position characterized more by active passivity, making their wishes known by action rather than words.

Conclusion

In the words of 50-year-old Wendat Pierre Ateiachias, "Young people are not listened to in our country; if they should relate wonders, they would not be believed. But men speak—they have solid understanding, and what they say is believed…"[393] This was not a denial of children's agency, only of their experience and their wisdom to understand what they had seen and done. Categories of age were flexible in Wendat society, in that biological age was less important than the skills, knowledges, and spiritual power associated with those ages. Youth and children had very distinct and important roles in Wendat society; they were just different roles from that of adults. As the next few chapters will illustrate, children and youths were far from helpless, passive

[391] Steckley gives the terms *on,8entsentia* for a male 7-17 years old, and *on,8enienti* for a male 25-40. He does not specify the term for a youth at 18-25 years of age, but indicates that there was one. Steckley, *The Eighteenth-Century Wyandot: A Clan-Based Study*, 137, 179.
[392] Natalie Zemon Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1975), 104.
[393] JR 16: 171.

recipients of their parents' wills. Children took action to shape their society, utilizing their youthful innocence and inexperience to excuse their errors, and using their childhood spiritual power to help their people.

Chapter Four: Behaving Badly: Wendat Youth Pranks as Social Control

In the 1635 *Jesuit Relations*, Jesuit priest Jean de Brébeuf recorded an account of his journey and settlement among the Wendat, whom he hoped to convert to Catholicism. The journey was long and arduous, but eventually he and his companions stopped at the Attignawantan Wendat village of Ihonatiria. The original plan had been to push on to Ossossané and some of their luggage had already been sent ahead in anticipation of their stay.[394] In his justification for the change in plans, Brébeuf lists several reasons. One reason was convenience, as the village of Osssosané was going to be moved the next year and the missionaries had no desire to build a house there only to have to build another in a new location the following year. They also had a few prospective converts already at Ihonatiria and enough non-converts to make it worth their while to stay and bring large numbers of people into the Catholic fold. And, almost as an aside, Brébeuf added that staying in the smaller community of Ihonatiria, "where the inhabitants are already disposed to associate with the French," was better than moving on immediately to a larger village "where the people are not accustomed to our mode of doing things. To do otherwise would have been to expose new men, ignorant of the language, to a numerous youth, who by their annoyances and mockery would have brought about some disturbance."[395]

This chapter is about the "numerous youth" and the "annoyances" they brought to missionaries and visiting Frenchmen in the 1620s and 1630s. Specifically, this chapter examines the pranks, mockery, and little acts of mischief that Wendat children and youths perpetrated against newcomers; I argue that youth mischief served a useful social purpose of pointing to the shortcomings in the missionaries' behaviour or knowledge, with the expectation that subtly (or not) pointing to such issues would lead to correction and more appropriate behaviour. In many

[394] Also in Attignawantan (Bear Nation) territory, but a bigger community and more politically important.
[395] JR 8: 101-03.

ways, this kind of behaviour targeted the perceived arrogance of the newcomers, who knew little about how to live in their new environment, but appeared unwilling to learn the Wendat way of life that would help the newcomers settle in. In the words of Métis scholar Dr. Fyre Jean Gravelling, "humour is used to destabilize the individual who wishes to see her—or himself—as 'better,' more powerful than others. The human who wishes to forget his or her dependence on other life forms as he or she exerts 'power over' or superiority is challenged through humour."[396] Mischief, then, was a teaching tool, and a means of social regulation.

While the Jesuits and lay French were also targets for Wendat mischief-makers, this chapter focuses largely upon the experiences of Gabriel Sagard, a Recollet lay brother. His arrival in Wendake in 1623 and his relatively short stay amongst the Wendat resulted in a book published nine years later, with an expanded version in 1636.[397] Sagard describes the confusion and dislocation of living with a people so different from his own, and although he seems to have been well-liked by his Wendat hosts, he was also a source of frustration to them. His willingness to learn the Wendat language was coupled with a reluctance to emulate Wendat ways of life. He had a lot of respect for Wendat individuals and for their ability to survive in what he understood as a frighteningly dangerous place, but he also wanted to live apart from them and continued to promote French customs despite their inapplicability in his new environment. In short, Sagard was a paradoxical figure. This behaviour prompted confusion and disapproval with his Wendat hosts…and made him and his companions the target of children's mischief.

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[396] Fyre Jean Gravelling, *Circleworks: Transforming Eurocentric Consciousness* (Halifax: Fernwood Publishing, 1998), 214.

[397] *Le grand voyage du pays des Hurons* (translated into English in 1939 as *Long Journey to the Country of the Hurons*, by George M. Wrong) was published in 1632; it was expanded and republished in 1636 as *Histoire du Canada et voyages que les frères mineurs recollects y ont faicts pour la conversion des infidèles*.

Sagard came to New France with two Recollets priests, whose goal it was to convert the local peoples: Father Joseph Le Caron, who had already spent a winter with the Wendat in 1615, and Father Nicolas Viel, another newcomer like Sagard.[398] These Recollets were very different from the Jesuits who later took over the missions in Wendake. Recollets were a Franciscan mendicant order: they vowed to live in poverty, and unlike some mendicants who isolated themselves in monasteries, Recollets chose not to seclude themselves, but rather lived amongst other people so that they could administer to the locals.[399] Perhaps paradoxically, Recollets also put a lot of emphasis on meditation, or recollection, from which they took their name, meaning that they spent a lot of time in quiet reflection and mental prayer.[400] Unlike the Jesuits, who did not take vows of poverty and therefore had greater access to funds and resources from France, the Recollets were largely without finances and without much support. They were also few in number: although New France saw twenty-two Recollet ecclesiastics between 1615 and 1629, no more than four were active at any given time.[401] French settlement was also quite insubstantial in these early years: according to historian Andrew D. Nicholls, New France had a population of only 107 Frenchmen by 1627, and only twenty of those men could be considered permanent setters.[402]

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[398] Cornelius J. Jaenen, "Gabriel Sagard: A Franciscan among the Huron," in *The Human Tradition in Colonial America: The Human Tradition in American History*, ed. Ian Kenneth Steele and Nancy L. Rhoden (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1999), 39.

[399] For more on the Recollets and their activities in early New France, see: R.P. Odoric-Marie Jouve, *Les Franciscains Et Le Canada: L'établissement de la Foi, 1615-1629*, vol. 1 (Québec: Couvent des SS. Stigmates, 1915); Emma Anderson, "Between Conversion and Apostasy: The Religious Journey of Pierre-Anthoine Pastedechouan," *Anthropologica* 49, no. 1 (2007); Pius J. Barth, "Franciscan Education in French North America," *The Americas* 4, no. 1 (1947); John M. Lenhart, "Who Kept the Franciscan Recollects out of Canada in 1632?," *Franciscan Studies* 5, no. 3 (1945).

[400] Sagard, *Long Journey,* xxv, xxvi. For more on the Franciscan history of mental prayer, see: Ignatius Brady, "The History of Mental Prayer in the Order of Friars Minor," *Franciscan Studies* 11, no. 3/4 (1951).

[401] Jaenen, "Gabriel Sagard," 40; Luca Codignola, "Competing Networks: Roman Catholic Ecclesiastics in French North America, 1610-58," *Canadian Historical Review* 80, no. 4 (1999): 585.

[402] Andrew D. Nicholls, *A Fleeting Empire: Early Stuart Britain and the Merchant Adventurers to Canada.* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010), 14.

French colonial presence had begun scarcely a decade earlier in the then-tiny community of Québec, almost 800 km away from Wendake, and so any assistance from their fellow Frenchmen was weeks, if not months away.

The Jesuits, who for the most part came to Québec a decade later than Sagard, are more widely known to historians of this early period largely because of the extensive body of sources left behind in the *Jesuit Relations*, the *Jesuit Journals*, and other forms of official correspondence.[403] The Jesuits were among the most well-educated persons in the western world, often prolific in languages, and trained with a humanist emphasis on classical literature and rhetoric.[404] And unlike the Recollets, the Jesuits enjoyed considerable support from the French government. It became a significant source of bitterness for Sagard that his order was refused re-entry into New France after 1632, and the Jesuits secured monopoly access to the missions started largely by Recollet efforts. Sagard's expanded text, *Histoire du Canada*, was published as protest to the Recollets' replacement in New France.[405]

Aside from the historical sources, I have also made use of ethnographic material collected by anthropologists in the early 20th century, mainly the work of Marius Barbeau, William Fenton, and Frederick Waugh. These scholars collected a large body of Iroquoian stories, including creation stories, trickster stories, legends of culture heroes, and clan histories. While both Fenton

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[403] Jean de Brébeuf, Charles Lalemant and Enemond Massé came over from France in 1625; a total of seven Jesuit priests and four lay brothers arrived between 1625 and 1630. Between 1632 and 1658, an additional 45 priests and 17 lay brothers came through New France and Acadia—40 of whom arrived in the 1630s alone (although not all stayed). Carole Blackburn, *Harvest of Souls: The Jesuit Missions and Colonialism in North America, 1632-1650* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000), 27; Codignola, "Competing Networks," 574-77, especially 77.

[404] Allan Greer, ed. *The Jesuit Relations: Natives and Missionaries in Seventeenth-Century North America*, The Bedford Series in History and Culture (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2000), 4-5, 38.

[405] For more about Sagard's writings, see: Jaenen, "Gabriel Sagard," especially 41-44; Maureen F. O'Meara, "Planting the Lord's Garden in New France: Gabriel Sagard's "Le Grand Voyage" and "Histoire Du Canada"," *Rocky Mountain Review of Language and Literature* 46, no. 1/2 (1992); Olivia A. Bloechl, "The Pedagogy of Polyphony in Gabriel Sagard's Histoire Du Canada," *The Journal of Musicology* 22, no. 3 (2005).

and Waugh collected Haudenosaunee stories (largely Seneca and Tuscarora, and Cayuga and Onondaga respectively), many are very similar to the Wendat/Wyandot stories collected by Barbeau, and indicate a very similar world view. I followed Frederic W. Gleach's model for controlled comparison and controlled speculation to utilize Haudenosaunee ethnographic materials in bolstering my analysis of the Wendat and Wyandot documents.[406]

Although these stories were recorded almost 300 years after my time period of focus, a number of stories have remained largely unchanged in their ideas from those recorded by Jesuit and Recollet priests in the 17th century. As explained by Tewa scholar Gregory Cajete, while Indigenous storytelling grew and changed as required by the social context in which the stories are told, the stories retained their core meanings; therefore I argue these stories can be used to make cautious evaluations of earlier material.[407] Further, while I am mindful of the systematic alterations that were made to some stories as a result of colonialism, especially stories that threatened missionary ideologies—like creation stories of Aataentsic and her family, as eloquently discussed by Barbara Alice Mann[408]—stories of culture heroes, origin legends, and other teaching stories seem to retain many characteristics and moral meanings that are distinct from European storytelling traditions. Because all interpretations based on such chronologically and culturally removed data must be made very carefully, I only use these narratives in context of other evidence, and with extreme caution. However, such stories can be useful in theorizing about the intellectual

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[406] Gleach's model of controlled speculation is used in his discussion of Pocahontas and Powhatan, in the interpretation of adoption and captivity narratives with John Smith. See: Frederic W. Gleach, "Controlled Speculation and Constructed Myths: The Saga of Pocahontas and Captain John Smith," in *Reading Beyond Words: Contexts for Native History*, ed. Jennifer S.H. Brown and Elizabeth Vibert (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009); *Powhatan's World and Colonial Virginia: A Conflict of Cultures* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 12-13.

[407] Gregory Cajete, *Look to the Mountain: An Ecology of Indigenous Education* (Skyland, NC: Kivaki Press, 1994), 116.

[408] Barbara Alice Mann, "The Lynx in Time: Haudenosaunee Women's Traditions and History," *American Indian Quarterly* 21, no. 3 (1997): especially 425.

context of Wendat persons in the 17th century, as stories formed the backbone of the Wendat worldview, and were passed down orally through the generations. For example, trickster stories, one of the focal points of this particular chapter, taught people the value of kinship and community through "inside-out lessons," using humour to teach people how to live and interact with other people.[409] Stories like this can tell us a lot about Wendat cultural expectations, moral obligations, and individuals' roles in society, and it is in this context that I utilize these stories.

Teaching Like a Trickster: Mischief in Oral History

The Wendat Confederacy had an oral culture, passing down their history and knowledge through storytelling. Children went to learn from their elders, especially their grandparents, drawing upon the extensive life experience of the elderly to provide context and weight to the stories they carried. While scholars know little about 17th-century Wendat storytelling traditions and customs, it was likely very similar to Anishinaabek and Haudenosaunee traditions: stories could be told over the course of several hours or even days, often with specialized knowledge carriers drawing upon voluminous banks of stories for knowledge.[410] Depending on the circumstance, a knowledge carrier might be called upon in serious matters, such as in a council of war, but stories could also be utilized for entertainment.[411] According to many 20th- and 21st-

[409] Carolyn Podruchny, "Trickster Lessons in Early Canadian Indigenous Communities," *Siberica* 15, no. 1 (2016): 65, 72; Gravelling, *Circleworks,* 214.
[410] Brian Rice, *The Rotinonshonni: A Traditional Iroquoian History through the Eyes of Teharonhia:Wako and Sawiskera* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2013), 2.
[411] Louis Bird, *Telling Our Stories: Omushkego Legends & Histories from Hudson Bay* (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 2005), 35-36; Alan Corbiere, ed. *Gechi-Piitzijig Dbaajmowag: The Stories of Our Elders - a Compliation of Ojibwe Stories, with English Translations* (M'Chigeeng, ON: Ojibwe Cultural Foundation, 2011), unpagenated Introduction; Thomas Peacock, "Teaching as Story," in *Centering Anishinaabeg Studies: Understanding the World through Stories*, ed. Jill Doerfler, Niigaanwewidam James Sinclair, and Heidi Kiiwetinepinesiik Stark (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2013), 104.

century Elders, winter was the usual time for stories, although sometimes there were exceptions.[412]

In Iroquoian narratives, as with Anishinaabek traditions, there are distinct categories of stories. Some are historical and tell of specific events, many of which can be corroborated with historical documentation. Others have more spiritual or supernatural purposes, and are further removed from historical context. Many of the latter feature young children and youths around the age of puberty as the central characters or protagonists.[413] For the purposes of this chapter, I want to briefly discuss trickster stories.

The term "trickster" was invented in the 19th century, and its use is often critiqued as a pan-tribal, non-traditional idea of a fun-loving buffoon, largely an invention of settler anthropologists.[414] According to Anishinaabe scholar Gerald Vizenor, "anthropologists…are not the best listeners or interpreters of tribal literatures," and it would seem that recent scholarship would agree.[415] Much of the analytical historiography of trickster narratives has faced criticism for its emphasis on what Anne Doueihi dubs a discourse of domination, which "analyzes the conquered civilization in terms of the conquerors, and it is therefore…a discourse of conquest, a

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[412] CMH, Marius Barbeau Fonds, Huron-Wyandot Files, Box B62, Folder "Epics. Legends & Anecdotes (English)", B-G-143.23; Marius Barbeau, *Huron-Wyandot Traditional Narratives* (Ottawa: National Museum of Canada, 1960), 1.

[413] Over half of the published stories from Barbeau feature youths as central protagonists, and more feature children in pivotal roles. Similarly, a large volume of Haudenosaunee stories in Waugh's unpublished collection and in J.N.B. Hewitt's collections are centred around youth. Barbeau, *Huron and Wyandot Mythology* (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1915); *Huron-Wyandot Traditional Narratives*; CMH Iroquois Field Notes:-Stories and Beliefs (1915); APS, Frederick Waugh Collection of Iroquois Folklore, 1912-1918, Mss.398.2.W353; APS J.N.B. Hewitt, "Myths, legends," 497.3 H49.

[414] Deanna Reder, "Preface," in *Troubling Tricksters: Revisiting Critical Conversations*, ed. Deanna Reder and Linda M. Morra (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2010), vii; Kristina Fagan, "What's the Trouble with the Trickster? An Introduction," in *Troubling Tricksters: Revisiting Critical Conversations*, ed. Deanna Reder and Linda M. Morra (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2010), 10.

[415] Gerald Vizenor, "Preface," in *Narrative Chance: Postmodern Discourse on Native American Indian Literatures*, ed. Gerald Vizenor (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993), x.

discourse which continues to express and accept an ideology sanctioning the domination of one culture over another."[416] This colonizing discourse is not limited to anthropologists, as Doueihi also identifies several key scholars in literature, religion, and history who fall into the trap of interpreting trickster stories in terms of Western culture and discourses, and representative of passivity and static Indigenous narrators.[417] Tricksters themselves have also come under assault; scholars have generally been unable to reconcile the vacillations in a trickster's roles, as a culture-hero and a villain, as a cultural benefactor and a crude prankster, as a creator and a destroyer.[418] Despite these criticisms—or *because* of them—a number of Indigenous scholars and artists have taken up trickster analysis, and counter the 'traditional' scholarly perception of trickster narratives. For many, this means reinterpreting old stories or imbuing tricksters in art, literature, and scholarship, while for others it may be that the term 'trickster', with all its flaws, should be left behind.[419] I use the term 'trickster' cautiously in context of characters in stories that "intentionally perform a great deal of trickery as part of their method for teaching…[with] stories […] meant to entertain as a well as educate."[420]

Trickster stories are not usually associated with the Wendat—most scholarly work on Great Lakes region tricksters focuses on Nanabush, the Anishinaabek Trickster. However, both Wendat and Haudenosaunee had tricksters.[421] Wendat/Wyandot trickster stories were recorded by Marius

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[416] Anne Doueihi, "Trickster: On Inhabiting the Space between Discourse and Story," *Soundings: an Interdisciplinary Journal* 67, no. 3 (1984): 292.
[417] Doueihi, "Trickster," 297. The scholars she assesses: Daniel Brinton, Franz Boas, Paul Radin, Mac Linscott Ricketts, Raffaele Pettazzoni, Ake Hultkrantz, Laura Makarius, and Karl Kroeber.
[418] Doueihi, "Trickster," 283.
[419] Fagan, "Preface," 9-10; Allan J. Ryan, *The Trickster Shift: Humour and Irony in Contemporary Native Art* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1999), xii.
[420] Podruchny, "Trickster Lessons in Early Canadian Indigenous Communities," 72.
[421] I use the definition of trickster (though I disagree with the analysis) provided by Mac Linscott Ricketts: 1) "a worldly being of uncertain origin who lives by his wits and is often injured and embarrassed by his foolish imitations pranks, yet who never takes himself too seriously and never admits defeat"; 2) a transformer, who shapes the world into what it is today; and 3) a culture hero who risks his

Barbeau during his fieldwork in Quebec and Oklahoma in the 1910s, although the trickster's name was not recorded. Of the four trickster stories presented in his original published volume, *Huron and Wyandot Mythology* (1915), three are versions of the same story, but all four involve using trickery to defeat evil witches. Some of these stories are very similar to Haudenosaunee legends of the tricksters Sodiξsgo and Oksé'daii'/Ukse'daii'ha, suggesting cultural interchange between peoples. While there is no way to definitively confirm that the 17th-century Wendat had these particular trickster stories, the presence of such stories in the 19th and 20th centuries, and the unlikelihood that such stories appeared spontaneously, indicates a predisposition to use humour as a corrective tool. Examining trickster stories thus provides a useful theoretical background for analysis of pranks in Wendat communities.

In Wendat trickster stories, the pranks and mischief single out social misconduct. In a version of the Wyandot story "The Witch and the Trickster," the old woman (witch) is too credulous, and too easily allows her vanity to take precedence over good sense. In each segment of the story, the witch wants to improve some physical element of herself—she wants to have beautiful long hair, superior eyesight, and so on. With each segment, the unnamed trickster fools her into hurting herself in order to get these traits: jumping off a cliff with hair tied to a tree branch will make it stretch to get long and lovely hair, and replacing one's eyes with plums will improve the quality of sight and overall beauty, and so on. Each time, the trickster and the assembled boys and young men of the nearby village watch and laugh as the woman falls for each trick.[422]

Trickster stories were not always about vanity and foolishness, however. Sometimes, they were also a warning about evil figures, and a treatment of how to deal with them. In another version

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life through contact with the spirit world, in order to make the world a better place for future generations. Mac Linscott Ricketts, "The North American Indian Trickster," *History of Religions* 5, no. 2 (1966): 343.

[422] Barbeau, *Huron and Wyandot Mythology*, 170-2.

of "The Witch and the Trickster," the trickster is troubled by Stomatse^{n}a, the cannibal witch, and he uses trickery—the same trick as in the other versions, replacing eyes with plums—to defeat her and rescue the babies she had stolen to eat.[423] Here, the trickster takes on a heroic quality, using cunning and mischief to save children in danger, but it is also a story about Stomatse^{n}a, the witch who steals children. Stories of Stomatse^{n}a were used to encourage 19th- and 20th-century Wendat children to behave and not play too far from their homes,[424] so the use of this figure in the trickster story had a number of specific moral elements. While Stomatse^{n}a was just as vain as the witches in the other versions of the story, she was a doubly dangerous and unacceptable figure for her attacks on children. The trickster then uses tricks not only to teach people acceptable behaviour, but in at least one version he is also intended as a heroic figure who protects children.

Haudenosaunee trickster tales were similarly designed to teach people how to behave, but in these stories the trickster often gets his comeuppance for taking his pranks too far; these, then, are cautionary tales of a different sort. In "Tricks of Sodiξsgo," the trickster Sodiξsgo ends up dying from boasting too much; in another version, he is killed after the villagers tire of his mischief and get an old woman (a witch, or a shaman) to turn his trickery against him.[425]

In some of these stories, children are themselves tricksters, as in the case of Okse'daii´ in Haudenosaunee stories. He uses cunning and trickery as a tool to help others, as in "Okse'daii´ as a Trickster." In most cases, the tricks point to social faux pas or broken taboos, or take advantage of simple ignorance.[426]

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[423] Barbeau, *Huron and Wyandot Mythology*, 172-4.
[424] CMH, Marius Barbeau Fonds, Huron-Wyandot Files, Box B62, folder "Epics and Legends (English) war and history," B-G-143.6.
[425] APS, Collection of Iroquois Folklore, 1912-1918, "Tricks of Sodiξsgo"; CMH, Frederick W. Waugh Fonds, Iroquois Field Notes:-Stories and Beliefs (1915), Box B201, f.25, "Sodiξ´sgo, the Trickster."
[426] CMH, Frederick W. Waugh Fonds, Iroquois Field Notes:-Stories and Beliefs (1915), Box B201, f.25, "Okse'daii´ as a Trickster," and "Ukse'daii'ha' and The Kidnapped Brother."

The multiple tricksters (Okse'daii´ or Ukse'daii'ha',Sodiξsgo, and the unnamed tricksters of Wendat/Wyandot traditions) allows for a variety of responses and ways to apply these stories. Unlike Anishinaabek stories, which are dominated by *the* Trickster Nanabush/Nanabozho, Iroquoian traditions have *many* tricksters. Persons could be tricksters in some instances, and culture heroes or ordinary individuals in others. The characteristics of tricksters in Iroquoian traditions exemplify Gerald Vizenor's conceptualization of trickster as "a 'doing,' not an essence, not a museum being, not an aesthetic presence."[427] Being a trickster was tied up in behaviour and not in essence and personality; it was the action that was important.[428] A trickster's purpose was to teach people how to be people—how to interact with other persons, human or otherwise, and with the environment and all it contained—but tricksters could be anyone.

Given that tricksters could be living persons who "did" trickery for the same purpose of teaching lessons, I argue then that in this context, Wendat youth could and did act as tricksters, in order to teach the newcomer missionaries how to behave. These youths utilized the acts of mischief and the cultural concept of trickster figures to get around rules of etiquette—which expected everyone to allow others the freedom to learn from mistakes without the embarrassment of having them pointed out—and focus the communal attention on breaches of social expectations.

That the French missionaries did not make this connection themselves—or at least, did not record it—is perhaps surprising because a similar institution existed amongst the early modern French: charivari. "Charivari" refers to "a practice that emerged in old regime folk culture as a means of ensuring social mores. Communities directed charivaris at people who transgressed

[427] Gerald Vizenor, "A Postmodern Introduction," in *Narrative Chance: Postmodern Discourse on Native American Indian Literatures*, ed. Gerald Vizenor (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993), 13.
[428] Ryan, *The Trickster Shift*, 5, f. 4.

familial, sexual, and matrimonial norms."[429] Charivaris involved loud, late-night visits to the offenders' home, and those involved would bang pots, blow horns, and call insults to the target of their ire, usually until a bribe was paid to make them go away.[430] In what would become Canada, charivaris changed in character over time and as they moved to new social spaces,[431] but in the 17th century they were largely about disapproval of a marital match, perhaps between a very old man and a very young bride, or widows who remarried too quickly.[432] The church was largely powerless to prevent such unions, but that did not prevent the community from showing their disapproval.[433] In such instances, the community's youth gathered to 'speak' on behalf of the community and the community's values.

The practice of charivari dates back to the Middle Ages in France, and its purpose varied. In early modern France, it was not always about bad marital choices, although it could be; perceived infertility in a married couple, adulterers, and men dominated by their wives were also potential targets.[434] Charivaris were conducted by youth abbeys or Abbeys of Misrule—often informal circles of friends or families, sometimes crafts persons, and were youth groups by definition. It is important to note that in the early modern period, "youth" in France meant young, unmarried males, and so could include young men as old as 25.[435] As historian Natalie Zemon

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[429] Amy Wiese Forbes, *The Satiric Decade: Satire and the Rise of Republicanism in France, 1830-1840* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2010), 178.
[430] Pauline Greenhill, *Make the Night Hideous: Four English-Canadian Charivaris, 1881-1940* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 4.
[431] In the 18th and 19th centuries, charivaris could be highly political, and by 20th century they had moved to English Canada as well and actually became about *support* of marriage rather than a protest of inappropriate matches. Allan Greer, *The Patriots and the People: The Rebellion of 1837 in Rural Lower Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 72; Greenhill, *Make the Night Hideous*, 4.
[432] Peter Moogk, *La Nouvelle France: The Making of French Canada--a Cultural History* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2000), 227.
[433] Greer, *The Patriots and the People*, 77.
[434] Natalie Zemon Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1975), 105.
[435] Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France*, 98, 104.

Davis points out, youths and even boys aged as young as 10 played prominent roles also in both Catholic and Protestant crowds, even to the point of participation in religious riots in support of their community's religious ideals. This meant that early modern French children and older youths played an important role as "the conscience of the community in matters of domestic discord."[436]

French youth groups like the abbeys therefore functioned in a similar way to Iroquoian and Anishinaabek tricksters. Both used mischief as a form of social commentary, serving as the voice of the community in cases of major deviance from societal norms. Humour and pranks, therefore, were a vehicle for desired change.

Social Order, and Behaving Well

Wendat oral traditions may have told the Wendat how to behave, but visiting Europeans had to learn by observation. What they learned was that the Wendat and Europeans had very different conceptions of what constituted proper behaviour. Similarly, the differences in Wendat and French systems of law, etiquette, and the foundations of society, resulted in regular misunderstandings in the early years of Indigenous-newcomer interactions.

As explained in previous chapters, Wendat society was both age-based and gender-based. Elders were held in high esteem, but all people were respected as individuals no matter how old they were.[437] Children were raised by all of the women of the family, and were taught kin relationships as soon as they were capable of understanding them, so that they knew how to relate with, and speak with, other members of the community.[438] Wendat people believed children

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[436] Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France*, 183-4.
[437] Georges E. Sioui, *Huron-Wendat: The Heritage of the Circle* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1999), 121.
[438] APS, William Fenton Papers, Series V-B, Folder "Husk Dolls 1938, n.d."; also William Fenton Papers, Series V-III-A: Chronological Files, Folder "1938: Clara Redeye-miscellaneous. Ann Shaefer: Women's affairs. Emma Turkey: biography. 1938."

learned through experience, and while children were carefully watched at all times, they were rarely interfered with unless the child was in immediate danger.[439] Thus, children were free to play and explore wherever they wished, teaching them self-sufficiency and independence as well as forging important cooperative bonds with peers. This self-directed education-through-experience seemed to the missionaries as a complete *lack* of education and discipline, but children were really learning through observation of adults and peers, as well as through personal experience.[440] Wendat did not believe in *telling* their children what to do but rather *showing* them the proper way of doing things, or telling stories to help guide them to correct behaviours.[441] Storytelling and personal experience therefore formed the cornerstones of the Wendat education system, and determined how persons related to one another.

The Wendat also lived in a world categorized by gender. While neither men nor women were considered more important than the other, male and female domains were largely kept separate. Women usually remained in the village with the children and elderly: women controlled the distribution of food and goods, chose village leaders, and grew the Three Sisters (corn, squash, and beans) in their fields, among other cultigens. Within the village, the Wendat lived in clan homes—determined matrilineally—with several families living together in one longhouse under the direction of a clan mother. Men on the other hand often left the village for months at a time on hunting, trading, or raiding trips, and returned in the winter to the female-run longhouses where they lived with their wife's or mother's kin. While men dealt in diplomacy and trade, meeting in councils that were almost always made up entirely of other men, it was women who chose *which*

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[439] Doug George-Kanentiio, *Iroquois Culture and Commentary* (Santa Fe: Clear Light Publishers, 2000), 58-59; Barbara Alice Mann, *Iroquoian Women: The Gantowisas* (New York: Peter Lang, 2000), 272.
[440] Kathryn Magee, "History Repeats Itself: Huron Childrearing Attitudes, Eurocentricity, and the Importance of Indigenous World View," *Canadian Journal of Native Education* 31, no. 2 (2008): 10.
[441] George-Kanentiio, *Iroquois Culture and Commentary*, 59.

men would represent the community's needs. While women worked the fields, men cut and burned the trees to provide those fields, and children playing in the fields ensured that birds and other pests would not destroy too much of the crop. Thus, the whole community worked together to ensure that everyone had a place and that the village was prosperous and healthy.[442]

Because there were no single leaders for a village—or a nation, for that matter—the earliest visiting Europeans assumed the Wendat had no system of law or governance.[443] However, Wendat legal and governance systems were simply based on different principles than those of Europeans. Contrary to the early modern European understanding that authority was "the essential attribute of government and…in its absence, humans inevitably descend[ed] into a state of violent anarchy," the Wendat did not associate law and order with just their leaders, but with the community as a whole, so that the entire community would work together for the betterment of everyone.[444] If a criminal matter arose that could not be dealt with between the two wronged parties—as with murder, for example—a council of civil leaders was called to discuss the problem and come up with a solution amenable to both parties.[445] This council, however, only had as much authority as was accorded by the community. If community members no longer supported them, civil leaders

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[442] For more on male and female roles in Wendat society, see: Kathryn Magee Labelle, ""They Only Spoke in Sighs": The Loss of Leaders and Life in Wendake, 1633-1639," *Journal of Historical Biography* 6 (2009): 4; Karen Anderson, "As Gentle as Little Lambs: Images of Huron and Montagnais-Naskapi Women in the Writings of the 17th Century Jesuits," *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* 25, no. 4 (1988): 564-65; Carol Devens, "Separate Confrontations: Gender as a Factor in Indian Adaptation to European Colonization in New France," *American Quarterly* 38, no. 3 (1986): 462-64; Roland Viau, *Femmes Des Personne: Sexes, Genres Et Pouvoirs En Iroquoisie Ancienne* (Montréal: Boréal, 2000), 203; Mann, *Iroquoian Women: The Gantowisas*; Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), especially 19-23.

[443] Samuel de Champlain, "The Works of Samuel de Champlain," ed. H. P. Biggar (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1929), 3: 142-43.

[444] Greer, *The Jesuit Relations*, 50-1.

[445] The Wendat had categorical distinctions between civil leaders, who dealt in matters of trade, politics, and security, and war leaders, whose expertise was called on only in military matters. Kathryn Magee Labelle, *Dispersed but Not Destroyed: A History of the Seventeenth-Century Wendat People* (Toronto: University of British Columbia Press, 2013), 29-30.

had no power to coerce obedience.[446] And while capital crimes like murder might be judged by village authorities in council, the whole village was responsible for ensuring that the appropriate gifts were paid in recompense to the victim's family.[447] The Wendat did not believe in corporal punishment for crimes, because striking a person was considered a horrible violation of personal space and dignity.[448] Indeed, capital punishment, or execution, existed in only a very few, extreme cases—treason and witchcraft—and so Wendat legal actions were designed "not to punish the offender but to awaken in him a sense of responsibility toward those closest to him."[449]

Although councils were very effective in mediating interpersonal conflict, such formal proceedings were not necessary for all offences. Petty crimes like theft, for example, were dealt with by families rather than by councils. Much to the frustration of visiting Europeans, the Wendat had very different conceptions of property and theft. Unlike Europeans, who associated personal wealth with high status, Wendat individuals gained prestige when they contributed to the welfare of the community, meaning that tangible wealth was only a source of status if it was given away.[450] As such, property could be personal, but its value was interpreted differently than for Europeans. Necessities like food were not owned by individuals, but were organized and distributed by clan matriarchs, and anyone in need of food or shelter would receive support from the community as a whole.[451] Generosity was a matter of honour, including generosity towards guests; whether they came from far or near, visitors were given gifts as a gesture of continuing friendship.[452] If one

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[446] Bruce G. Trigger, "Order and Freedom in Huron Society," *Anthropologica* 5, no. 2 (1963): 155-57.
[447] Trigger, "Order and Freedom in Huron Society," 159-60; Sioui, *Heritage of the Circle*, 156.
[448] Bruce G. Trigger, *The Huron: Farmers of the North* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969), 84.
[449] Sioui, *Heritage of the Circle*, 155, 156-7; Trigger, *The Huron*, 84.
[450] Devens, "Separate Confrontations," 470.
[451] Devens, "Separate Confrontations," 463; Mary W. Herman, "The Social Aspect of Huron Property," *American Anthropologist* 58, no. 6 (1956): 1046.
[452] Cornelius J. Jaenen, *Friend and Foe: Aspects of French-Amerindian Cultural Contact in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1976), 86; Herman, "The Social

Wendat needed an item someone else had, usually a polite request was enough to have it gifted—provided one did not take advantage of such generosity—because denying a person his or her wants was believed to be a cause of sickness, and to deny a person his or her needs was to violate the rules of hospitality.[453] If a prized item did go missing, it was only considered stolen if the item had been removed from a house forcefully or without permission; this meant that goods left lying around outside were considered to belong to no one and therefore could be carried off without repercussions.[454] And, usually, if an item disappeared, it was not considered worth the conflict to force its return.[455] If a Wendat wanted to ensure personal property remained theirs, they kept the item on their person, or buried it in a cache inside of their longhouse where it would be out of sight.[456] If, however, an item *was* taken from inside a house, the original owner could retaliate by getting a group of family members together, going to the thief's home, and taking everything inside.[457] The familial consequences of theft was the major deterrence.

Mostly, Wendat social order revolved around avoiding conflict with kin. Protecting and helping one's relations was an essential cornerstone of Wendat worldview, and conflict threatened that principle. For this reason, kinship was extended to community newcomers, to ensure that they had a place in society and were also invested in ensuring its continuity. The Wendat did not consider non-kin to be persons; to be a stranger, without kin ties to the community, was to be

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Aspect of Huron Property," 1047; Elisabeth Tooker, *An Ethnography of the Huron Indians, 1615-1649* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1991), 57.

[453] Bruce G. Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987), 82; Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse*, 21-22.

[454] Trigger, "Order and Freedom in Huron Society," 162.

[455] As a general rule, Wendat tried to avoid conflict with one another, and were more likely to conceal their anger than to confront someone and create an argument. Trigger, *The Huron*, 62

[456] Trigger, "Order and Freedom in Huron Society," 162.

[457] JR 10: 223, 13:13; Trigger, "Order and Freedom in Huron Society," 162; Desmond H. Brown, ""They Punish Murderers, Thieves, Traitors and Sorcerers": Aboriginal Criminal Justice as Reported by Early French Observers," *Histoire Sociale / Social History* 35, no. 70 (2002): 384; JR 10:223, 13: 13.

dangerous and untrustworthy. Without kinship, no social interaction could take place.[458] For this reason, adoption into clans was very important, and the Wendat took great pains to adopt strangers into their communities, giving the newcomers names to create fictive kinship relationships between individuals.[459] Because names belonged to particular clans, as soon as a person had a name, they knew exactly who their family was, what their place was in society, and how to conduct themselves with others.[460] Once strangers had been incorporated into Wendat society, they were expected to follow the same rules and regulations as everyone else. Courtesy was built into the language of kinship, with one's kin relationship determining how persons spoke to one another, thus ensuring there were no misunderstandings or accidental insults. If that was not enough, teasing, gossip, and similar psychological sanctions were also applied to ensure conformity and serve as an everyday check-and-balance on social norms.[461] Social regulation was largely informal, but it was also substantial enough to prevent most disputes from requiring a council's intervention.

Wendat society thus regulated itself through acts of communal responsibility. When a petty crime was committed, it was the community's task to repay the wronged party; when an individual was wronged, the whole family worked to make the matter right. These differences between Wendat and French customs of keeping order led to a number of conflicts because of different

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[458] James Lynch, "The Iroquois Confederacy, and the Adoption and Administration of Non-Iroquois Individuals and Groups Prior to 1756," *Man in the Northeast* 30 (1985): 85; Cary Miller, "Gifts as Treaties: The Political Use of Received Gifts in Anishinaabeg Communities, 1820-1832," *American Indian Quarterly* 26, no. 2 (2002): 223-24.

[459] Associative adoption, temporary and without replacing one's old identity, was usually reserved for trading partners and allies. Assimilative adoption on the other hand meant a complete abandonment of prior self-identification and total immersion into the new culture. Lynch, "The Iroquois Confederacy, and the Adoption and Administration of Non-Iroquois Individuals," 88.

[460] CMH, Marius Barbeau fonds, Huron-Wyandot Files, Box 56, folder "Relationship and Marriage Rules," B-G-54.9(3); Box 58, Folder "Social Organization, Families," B-G-97.4 AND Folder "Feast of Giving names: Green Corn," B-G-98.8(6); Box B64, Folder "Naming & Adoption Rituals (H-W)," B-G-183.10(3).

[461] JR 28:63; Trigger, "Order and Freedom in Huron Society," 163; Kenneth Lincoln, *Indi'n Humor: Bicultural Play in Native America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 25.

expectations of what to do with perpetrators and how to appease the wronged. These conflicts ranged from what to do with a Wendat who murdered a Frenchman, to what to do when an Indigenous man was struck by a French child.[462]

But if social regulation was a matter for the whole community, it was not just adults who ensured people got along with one another. Children also regulated themselves, their peers, and in rare instances, adults. When disputes arose between peers, children often mimicked adults in finding a resolution. Children who found themselves in a disagreement with a playmate might find themselves in the middle of a larger group so that they could work out solutions peaceably. One 18th-century traveller reported:

> "Nothing surprised me more than to observe the Querrels *[sic]* between their Children at play: A little after they are warm'd, they tell one another, *You have no Soul, You're Wicked, You're treacherous:* In the mean time *[sic]* their Companions who make a Ring about them, hear all quietly, without taking one side or t'other, till they fall to play again: If by chance they come to Blows, the rest divide themselves into two Companies, and carry the Quarrelers home."[463]

While this case is a little later, it does show some interesting possibilities in how 17th-century Wendat youths may have dealt with peer conflict. In this case, the fighting children were surrounded by their fellows, who stood as a sort of council. Both sides were heard, and if a resolution was to be had, all was forgiven; if a physical fight were to break out, however, the children's peers intervened to split up the combatants. Physical intervention was a last resort, however; peaceful means were attempted first.[464] This kind of problem-solving echoed that of

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[462] JR 5: 219-221; Bruce G. Trigger, "Champlain Judged by His Indian Policy: A Different View of Early Canadian History," *Anthropologica* 13, no. 1/2 (1971): 94-100.
[463] Louis Armand de Lom d'Arce Lahontan, *New Voyages to North-America*, 2 vols., vol. 2 (New York: Lenox Hill Publishing, 1905), 426-27.
[464] To physically restrain or even to touch a person was a violation of personal space. When trying to be friendly, the French female newcomers likely offended more than one potential convert by over-exuberantly greeting with hugs and kisses. For a comparable example, see: Carol Devens, ""If We Get the Girls, We Get the Race": Missionary Education of Native American Girls," *Journal of World History* 3, no. 2 (1992): 233-34.

adults, especially in serious matters between villages; councils were gathered, all parties of a dispute were heard without judgement, and a solution was offered so as to ensure that the dispute was resolved without any hard feelings. Rather than fostering bitterness, impromptu councils and willingness to listen respectfully to all parties tended to bring reconciliation to everyone involved.

Both the formation of impromptu councils out of playmates and spontaneous peer pressure to cooperate with one another were informal means of regulating peers. And such tactics were quite effective at managing peer behaviour. Children could and did talk to one another as equals, managing their own affairs, following the example of their parents' and grandparents' generations. These were important and valuable skills to learn. Children learned how to shape their behaviours—and that of their peers—without infringing upon anyone's sense of personal independence.

Ordinarily, children's peer regulation did not extend to adults. This was largely because of the principles of respect—the Wendat tried to avoid verbal correction, to avoid needlessly shaming a person—and children especially were expected to learn from their elders, not to teach them. In some rare cases, however, children and youth *did* intercede when adult behaviour strayed too far from acceptable norms. Unlike adults, who might use gentle teasing to pressure others into conformity, youths were more likely to make their opinions known through action.

For example, in the 1670s, a young, Christianized Haudenosaunee man named Onneiout was concerned with his elders' drinking. Because he was young—not a child, but not more than 30 years old, and younger than those he travelled with—he could not do anything to directly disrespect the others. Instead, when he stood up to move, he "accidentally" stumbled and kicked over the jug of alcohol. His fellows laughed at him for his clumsiness, but all was quickly

forgiven.[465] In his analysis of the incident, historian José António Brandão explains that accidents of this sort was a creative way for a young person to make their desires felt, without offending anyone by directly challenging the older adults he was supposed to respect.[466] I would further suggest that those gathered to drink that night were not likely fooled by the "accident," but it was the kind of behaviour that would allow everyone to save face and prevent any offence. Rather than offend the others, the young man took the blame for disturbing the peace, and after a bit of laughter at the young man's expense, the issue was forgotten. This inversion of blame and using trickery to resolve otherwise unresolvable problems is at the heart of the trickster stories with which they would all be familiar.

In very rare cases, children took a direct approach to making their disapproval known. While less common, children's boldness startled the missionaries enough that they recorded such cases in their reports. One such example from the *Jesuit Relations* is worth highlighting here. In 1640, a smallpox epidemic cut through Ossossané, killing many and prompting an onslaught of deathbed conversions. In administering to the sick and dying, one of the Jesuits[467] managed to convince one old, dying man to convert; all that was left was the baptism. In that moment, a young girl, only seven or eight years of age, jumped up and intervened by dumping out the bucket of water and shouting that the man would not be baptized:

> "Thou art dead," she says to him, "if thou allow them to baptize thee; retract thy consent: as for me, whatever thou doest, I will surely prevent them from finding water." To conclude; this little fury of hell is so eloquent that the sick man goes back on his word, and will no more be baptized. "Dost thou wish then to be damned?" "Certainly; I am fully resolved," he says, "to suffer the fires and the flames of hell. I have prepared myself from my early youth to be cruelly burned: I will show my courage therein." Did not the devil,

[465] JR 61: 59.
[466] José António Brandão, *Your Fyre Shall Burn No More: Iroquois Policy toward New France and Its Native Allies to 1701* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 20-21.
[467] His name is not specified in the sources, but based on the time and location, this Jesuit would have to be one of the following: Paul Ragueneau, François du Perron, or Pierre-Joseph-Marie Chaumonot.

> who no doubt had animated this child, enter this man's body? However that be, this wretch persisted in his refusal, even until death.[468]

The little girl appealed to her Elder's sense of shame and his bravery, claiming that she would do everything in her power to prevent him from making the mistake of baptism—and implying that she was resolved to do what he could not. The old man, perhaps startled by her vehemence but certainly convinced by her words, referred to his courage and resolve to justify his refusal to convert—much to the horror of the Jesuit waiting to baptise him.

This example is anomalous, however. Children were rarely so obvious in their social regulation, and indeed, social regulation was not children's main role. While children were acknowledged as fully-formed beings with thoughts and feelings, children returned the sentiment with their peers and adults, and would not be so rude as to correct anyone's behaviour—*especially* an Elder.[469] That this girl did suggests a great deal of frustration, or desperation, if subtler methods were deemed unhelpful. The sources also tell us very little about this girl and this Elder, which makes it even more difficult to discern motive. It is likely that the girl was a relative of the old man, given that the events took place inside a Wendat longhouse, but why this girl intervened and not another adult is difficult to say. Perhaps her parents encouraged it, knowing a child would be more easily forgiven for the rudeness, or perhaps the girl knew of her family's concern for the old man and chose to act on her own. Regardless, she faced no censure from the Wendat, and the Jesuit could not rebuke her in front of the others despite his fury, and despite the deep disappointment at the loss of a convert.

Wendat children were not helpless in the face of their elders' transgressions. While expected to respect their an older person's greater life experience, children noticed and reacted to

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[468] JR 19: 231.
[469] JR 11:213; Brandão, *Your Fyre Shall Burn No More*, 20; Magee, "History Repeats Itself," 9; Sioui, *Heritage of the Circle*, 114, 121, 154-5.

discrepancies they saw between the appropriate behaviour they were taught to uphold, and the violations of etiquette and social customs that they sometimes witnessed. Children had to be creative when pointing out problems. Amongst their peers, disputes could be handled as polite councils between offending parties; amongst adults, however, children's lack of life experience gave them less right to correct their elders, and they had to be careful that their words did not cause conflict. Action and performance became a means of avoiding the direct confrontation that poorly-chosen words might provoke. Practical jokes became one method of voicing public displeasure, and served as a means to prompt correction of the displeasing behaviour.

A Case Study in Behaving Badly: Sagard Among the Wendat

Of all the European visitors, none demonstrate the role of children in social regulation better than Gabriel Sagard. While generally well-liked by the Wendat of Quieuindahian, Sagard confused and frustrated the people living in Quieunonascaron, on occasion frightening them with his strangeness and disorienting them with his unknowing refusal to fulfill basic social expectations. The Wendat tried using humour and subtle encouragement to guide Sagard and his fellow Recollets to proper behaviour, but to little effect. Perhaps encouraged by their parents, even children got involved in the effort to teach the newcomers how to be proper people. To fully appreciate Sagard's precarious and polarizing position, we must also understand the circumstances of his arrival to New France and how his behaviour fit within Wendat and French worldviews. In general terms, Sagard's troubles with Wendat children revolved around three essential issues: 1) his refusal to engage with normal kinship expectations, including reciprocal hospitality and gifting; 2) his similarity to *arendiowane* or "sorcerers"; and 3) his regular participation in what the Wendat understood to be non-masculine behaviour and women's roles.

Gabriel Sagard arrived in New France in June of 1623, after a three-month journey overseas.[470] However, his first interactions with the Wendat were solitary: he lived amongst the Wendat of Quieuindahian—also called Téqueunonkiayé, and the later site of Ossossané—for some time before he rejoined his fellow Recollets, Fathers Nicolas Viel and Joseph Le Caron, in the village of Quieunonascaron.[471]

When Sagard arrived in Quieuindahian, his guide Oonchiarey took him in.[472] Oonchiarey's family taught him their language, kept him fed and sheltered, instructed him to call them by kin terms, and, unable to pronounce his name, called him "Auiel."[473] Sagard mentions few hardships at this point, aside from the usual issues of cultural immersion: he found Wendat food unpalatable, the language difficult, and his living space uncomfortable.[474] Sagard's hosts were generally tolerant of his eccentrics: while curious about his ways, his Wendat hosts gave him time and solitude for his prayers, listened attentively and patiently when he spoke, and made an effort to make Sagard as comfortable as possible. As far as they were concerned, Sagard was family.[475]

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[470] Sagard, *Long Journey*, xvi, 20.
[471] Sagard, *Long Journey*, 70, 76-7. Le Caron was taken directly to Carhagouha where he had lived in his 1615 visit to Wendake. The village was moved shortly after Le Caron's arrival and was renamed Quieunonascaron (Khinonascarant in the *Jesuit Relations*, and St. Joseph to the Jesuits); Viel likely was in Toanché first, and like Sagard, had to travel to Carhagouha to meet up with Le Caron. Trigger, *Children of Aataentsic*, 298, 384-5; Conrad Heidenreich, "A New Location for Carhagouha, Recollect Mission in Huronia," *Ontario Archaeology* 11 (1968): 43.
[472] Sagard, *Long Journey*, 70, 76.
[473] Sagard, *Long Journey*, 70, 71, 73.
[474] Sagard, *Long Journey*, 71-3. For more about European complaints of living with Indigenous persons, see: Catherine Briand, "The Performance of the Meal in 17th Century Accounts to New France: From Hospitality to Hybridity," *Food, Culture and Society* 11, no. 2 (2008): 222, 24; Erik R. Seeman, *The Huron-Wendat Feast of the Dead: Indian-European Encounters in Early North America* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011), 45.
[475] For a few examples in the extensive historiography on Iroquoian adoption practices: Lynch, "The Iroquois Confederacy, and the Adoption and Administration of Non-Iroquois Individuals"; Brandão, *Your Fyre Shall Burn No More*; Rony Blum, *Ghost Brothers: Adoption of a French Tribe by Bereaved Native America* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005); Brett Rushforth, *Bonds of Alliance: Indigenous and Atlantic Slaveries in New France* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012); Jon Parmenter, *The Edge of the Woods* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2010); Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse*.

One day, however, "quite a long time after [Sagard's] arrival," Father Nicolas Viel arrived at Quieuindahian from his own village five leagues away.[476] The newcomer priest was welcomed into Oonchiarey's home, a feast was held in his honour because he was a "brother" of Sagard's, and, by the logic of fictive kinship relations, kindred also of Oonchiarey's. It is unclear how long Viel stayed in Quieuindahian before he and Sagard decided to leave. Their hope was to rejoin Joseph Le Caron in Quieunonascaron, roughly four or five leagues away, but Sagard, concerned about how his host would take the news of a permanent departure, lied about the upcoming journey:

> I did not know how to give him notice of our intention without greatly displeasing him. At last we found means of persuading him that I had some business to communicate to our Brother Joseph, and that in going to him I must of necessity carry thither everything I had, which was his as much as mine, in order that each should take what belonged to him. Having said this I took leave of them, allowing them to expect me to return shortly.[477]

Sagard, however, had no intention of returning. This was made abundantly clear after Oonchiarey, "tired of my absence, arrived to pay us a visit" only to find that the Recollets were planning to have a house built for their use in Quieunonascaron.[478]

Sagard likely had little understanding of the full ramifications of his decision to leave Quieuindahian for Quieunonascaron. To his mind, he was a French Recollet with duties and responsibilities to his fellow Christians and Quieunonascaron had been chosen for the Recollets' long-term mission. Thus, Sagard was obliged to rejoin his French companions in the other village: to Sagard, his Wendat host was perhaps a friend, certainly a great help and ally, but not family,

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[476] Sagard, *Long Journey*, 75-6.
[477] Sagard, *Long Journey*, 76.
[478] Sagard, *Long Journey*, 76-7. Although Le Caron had lived in Carhagouha in his earlier visit to Wendake in 1615, and had a "cabin" there, the village had moved and been renamed shortly after Le Caron's arrival, thus necessitating the building of a new house. The new site of Quieunonascaron was not far from the old Carhagouha, and about two leagues (six miles) from Ihonatiria. Heidenreich, "A New Location for Carhagouha," 43, 44.

and he did not feel any obligation to please him. To Oonchiarey, however, Sagard's desire to leave was baffling and the circumstances of his departure was even hurtful. Sagard was a member of his family now: they had taught him their language, given him a home, and considered him to be kin. It was the same way they treated any other adoptee, regardless of their place of origin. In treating Sagard as family, Oonchiarey had *made* Sagard kin. Sagard's acceptance of the Wendat name, home, and other trappings of adoption would seem to indicate that he agreed with and accepted this adoption. That Sagard now wanted to abandon them for another village was a heavy blow to Oonchiarey.

But Sagard was adamant, and it became quite clear that he was not going to change his mind. To salvage the situation, Oonchiarey and his people repeatedly visited Sagard, and the Recollets "exerted [themselves] to receive and treat them so kindly and courteously that [the Recollets] won them over, and they [Oonchiarey's people] seemed to vie in courtesy in receiving Frenchmen in their lodge when the needs of business put the latter at [their] mercy."[479] The alliance between Oonchiarey's people and Sagard's was thereby preserved and expanded to allow for visiting Frenchmen to take advantage of Quieuindahian's hospitality.

However, Sagard did not learn from his social missteps, and in Quieunonascaron the Recollets' behaviour offended the Wendats' sense of hospitality, and their understanding of appropriate kinship relationships. The problems began as soon as they arrived, when Sagard and his fellows were offered a place in the village "chief's" house. Perhaps wanting to avoid a repeat of the misunderstanding in Quieundahian, Sagard and the Recollets insisted upon having their own home, to be built apart from the rest of the village.[480]

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[479] Sagard, *Long Journey*, 77.
[480] Jaenen, "Gabriel Sagard: A Franciscan among the Huron," 40. Interestingly, Jesuit priest Jean de Brébeuf made a similar demand for an isolated house when he lived in Toanché, despite his hosts' offer

This request immediately put their hosts on edge. The Wendat took rules of hospitality very seriously; a guest was always made to feel welcome, and was given food and made comfortable before any business could be conducted. To reject that hospitality was both insulting and confusing. Moreover, long-term visitors like the Recollets were always brought into their host's clan in what James Lynch refers to as "associative adoption," by which fictive family ties were extended to an adoptee for the duration of their stay.[481] To deny the possibility of adoption—of which living with the hosts was a prerequisite—made it difficult to place the newcomers into the Wendat worldview, because non-kin were perceived as non-persons, and dangerous.

If this was not problem enough, the Recollets' demand to live apart from everyone else was also jarring for its violation of basic gender norms. The Wendat lived in *matrilocal* clan homes, which meant that a man lived in his wife's home, with her extended family all connected through female lineage, and under the direction of a clan matriarch. For three *men* to live apart, in a house without any women—much less female family—was unheard of. Men living alone in such a house would have to prepare food for themselves and collect water and firewood for their own use, which even male children refused to do.[482] *Women* were in charge of household affairs, while men spent most of the year away from the village, hunting or fighting in raids against other peoples.[483] Once the men returned to the village, they always returned to their female-led longhouse.

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of shared lodgings—this also created some tension between the Jesuits and the Wendat of Toanché. Seeman, *Huron-Wendat Feast of the Dead*, 45.

[481] Lynch, "The Iroquois Confederacy, and the Adoption and Administration of Non-Iroquois Individuals," 88.

[482] Occasionally Sagard tried to get young boys to do such chores for them, and found that he had to bribe the children with access to the Recollets' house, or a gift. Sagard, *Long Journey*, 132.

[483] Historian Juliana Barr, writing primarily about the Texas borderlands area, has noted that the lack of women among priests also struck the Caddos as suspicious, as men travelling without women were assumed to belong to a war party. While Caddos were matrilineal agriculturalists, with women as heads of clans, they belong to a different linguistic and cultural group from the Wendat. I use this example to show how different Indigenous peoples, upon finding European men without women, seem to have come to similar conclusions about the trustworthiness of those men. Juliana Barr, *Peace Came in the Form of a*

The only Wendat men who habitually lived apart from others—including apart from their female relatives—were what Sagard called "sorcerers" and what the Wendat knew as *arendiowane*. *Arendiowane* were supposed to have access to great spiritual powers: they were usually healers, though some such men were also expected to be able to predict the weather or seasonal changes, convince animals to allow themselves to be hunted, and communicate with the spirit realm and other-than-human persons in times of need.[484] Occasionally women were also *arendiowane*, meaning this was not a position dictated by usual gender norms. While such individuals were held in high esteem, as their power was expected to go toward helping the community, this power was also assumed to be amoral, and therefore to be treated cautiously.[485] Much like the Innu, another Indigenous people with whom the Jesuits and the Wendat had regular contact with, medicine-men sometimes turned to their connection with the spirit world to do harm to others; this was considered witchcraft,[486] and one of the few crimes the Wendat would not tolerate.[487] Like the Jesuits who came later, Sagard was concerned about the so-called sorcerers living amongst the Wendat and he certainly did not want to be counted in their number. However, Sagard's hosts must have wondered if the Recollets might be persons of power, because they cautiously approached him with a request for weather magic.

Woman: Indians and Spaniards in the Texas Borderlands (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), especially 33.

[484] JR 10:35, 193-5; 13:187; Trigger, *Children of Aataentsic*, 79-80.

[485] JR 10: 37.

[486] As Brown notes in his discussion of seventeenth-century Indigenous criminal justice, the term 'witchcraft' rarely appears in the *Jesuit Relations* because of its association with heresy in Europe. However, scholars of the period tend to use the term 'witchcraft' in reference to shamanistic power used to do harm to others. Therefore, I use the term witchcraft to distinguish between the normal, socially acceptable forms of spiritual intervention, and the harmful, socially condemned applications of power. Brown, ""They Punish Murderers, Thieves, Traitors and Sorcerers,"" 387 f. 116.

[487] Accusations of witchcraft, or killing with sorcery, could lead to immediate execution, and this was one of the few crimes punishable by death. JR 10:223; Emma Anderson, *The Betrayal of Faith: The Tragic Journey of a Colonial Native Convert* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), 37; Brown, ""They Punish Murderers, Thieves, Traitors and Sorcerers,"" 388.

While perhaps a strange request today, weather-working was not an uncommon practice among 17th-century Wendat, and certainly European visitors were familiar with such requests from other Indigenous nations. In his study of early American Indigenous-European encounters, environmental historian Sam White found that requests for weather intervention were found in nearly two dozen narratives from the 1530s-1630s, across Indigenous North America, involving French, English, and Spanish colonists.[488] White finds that these requests coincided with global climate changes as a result of the Little Ice Age (roughly 1300-1850). In this period, the global temperature dropped by approximately 0.4 degrees Celsius, with up to a 0.7 degree drop in the late 16th to mid-17th centuries.[489] Peoples reliant on agriculture—such as the Wendat, with their food economy based on the Three Sisters of maize, beans, and squash—were especially vulnerable to changes in climate.[490] Too much rain, or not enough, could easily destroy corn fields that already had a short growing-season at the northern limit for reliable growth.[491] Food production could therefore be quite precarious, even in times of surplus.[492] Any crop losses due to weather changes

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[488] Sam White, ""Shewing the Difference Betweene Their Conjuration, and Our Invocation on the Name of God for Rayne": Weather, Prayer, and Magic in Early American Encounters," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 72, no. 1 (2015): 33. See also Sam White, *A Cold Welcome: the Little Ice and and Europe's Encounter with North America* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2017).

[489] White, ""Shewing the Difference Betweene Their Conjuration, and Our Invocation on the Name of God for Rayne,"" 41. Archaeologist Charles Garrad suggests the coldest weather in North America was between 1665 and1685, with "severe cold between A.D. 1600 and 1730." Charles Garrad, *Petun to Wyandot: The Ontario Petun from the Sixteenth Century* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2014), 392.

[490] For more details about Wendat agriculture, see: Trigger, *Children of Aataentsic*, 34-36; Trigger, *The Huron*, 26-29; Conrad Heidenreich, *Huronia: A History and Geography of the Huron Indians, 1600-1650* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1971), 168-200.

[491] Corn requires an average of 100 to 130 frost-free days in order to mature, therefore early or cooler autumns could severely limit output. Robert I. MacDonald and David A. Robertson, "The Paleoenvironmental Context of the Parsons Site," *Ontario Archaeology* 65/66 (1998): 18; Heidenreich, Huronia, 173.

[492] The average Wendat village in the early seventeenth century was approximately 1.8 ha in size, containing 30-40 longhouses and 900-1600 people in total. Estimates for Wendat food requirements vary: each person might need up to 2.3 acres of land for corn agriculture (Heidenreich's figures, assuming corn fulfills up to 50% of the Wendat diet) or as little as 1.39 ha per family (Schroeder's figures assume a surplus, but that corn made up less than 20% of overall diet). A recent estimate for the seventeenth century (Warrick 2003) indicates corn, beans, and squash *together* occupied at least 50% of overall

could be quite devastating and the ability to control weather would be considered extremely valuable.

By the time Sagard arrived at Quieunonascaron, the village had been drenched with incessant rains for weeks, and they were likely in danger of losing their corn harvest. Equating the Recollets' promise of divine aid with the Wendat *arendiowane's* power, the 'chief' of the village Quieunonascaron, identified in the source material as Garihoua Andionxra, asked Sagard and his fellow missionaries to seek their God's intervention on their behalf to stop the rain.

The request put the Recollets in a difficult position. While they wanted to demonstrate the power of their God and use the event as a means to incite conversion, both success and failure presented difficulties for them. In Europe, weather-working was increasingly associated with witchcraft, and the request to stop the rain was uncomfortably like magic.[493] The Recollets had no desire to be mistaken for *arendiowane*. Likewise, although prayer made the matter one of God's will and not an act of human sorcery, God did not always respond to requests, and to fail was to potentially undermine His power and threaten the missionizing project. To get around this issue, Sagard warned the Wendat that God did not always grant requests, but promised the Recollets would ask Him for help. And, miraculously, after an evening of prayers the rains came to a stop. Much to his chagrin, with this success Sagard and his fellow Recollets seemed to solidify their

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dietary consumption. See: Gary Warrick, "European Infectious Disease and Depopulation of the Wendat-Tionontate (Huron-Petun)," *World Archaeology* 35, no. 2 (2003): 260; Heidenreich, *Huronia: A History and Geography of the Huron Indians, 1600-1650*, 163, 98; Gary Warrick, "The Precontact Iroquoian Occupation of Southern Ontario," *Journal of World Prehistory* 14, no. 4 (2000): 432; Sissel Schroeder, "Maize Productivity in the Eastern Woodlands and Great Plains of North America," *American Antiquity* 64, no. 2 (1999): 512.

[493] Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 41; White, ""Shewing the Difference Betweene Their Conjuration, and Our Invocation on the Name of God for Rayne,"" 50; Stuart Clark, *Thinking with Demons: The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 163-4.

reputations as *arendiowane*, and the Wendat frequently came for supernatural assistance after this initial success. However, Sagard was positive about another result: Andionxra, in return for Sagard's aid with the weather, asked the villagers to gather together, and they built the Recollets their requested house.[494]

The site of the house was outside the main village, "about the distance of two arrow-shots from the town," on the slope of a ravine with a stream of water at the bottom.[495] The villagers built it for the Recollets with only one minor incident. An unnamed "lad" complained of the work, particularly of doing such work "for people who were *no relatives of theirs*."[496] And he was right; the Recollets, by rejecting Andionxra's offer of a place to stay in his family's lodge, or with anyone else for that matter, had made it clear that they were not looking to be made kin. But I argue the missionaries' successful appeal for God's intercession with the weather had suggested a different place in society; it said that they were persons of power, and as such they could live apart, family-less, and still be welcome in the village of Quieunonascaron. As such, the other villagers scolded the lad "for his laziness and for the want of friendliness."[497]

While their new reputations as "sorcerers" meant the missionaries would get their house, it also meant the Recollets were not normal by Wendat standards. Living apart was still antisocial, and therefore any dealings with them were to be done cautiously. Likewise, because sorcery was assumed to be amoral, there was always the concern that an *arendiowane* might turn his or her power from helping the community, to actively doing the community harm. As such, although their rain-making power was certainly well-received, the Wendat villagers likely felt more than a little wary around the Recollets.

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[494] Sagard, *Long Journey*, 78.
[495] Sagard, *Long Journey*, 80.
[496] Sagard, *Long Journey*, 78, emphasis mine.
[497] Sagard, *Long Journey*, 78.

This identification of Recollets with sorcery was not, however, a consistent view. The Wendat asked the Recollets to affect the weather on more than one occasion, with limited success.[498] For the Wendat, one's reputation as an *arendiowane* could be lost with enough failures to get spiritual assistance.[499] This principle was used to great effect by Jesuit priests like Jean de Brébeuf and Paul le Jeune in the coming decades as they fought spiritual battles with *arendiowane* to gain converts.[500] Similarly, a lot of traditional *arendiowane* lost status as their skills proved ineffectual against smallpox and other imported diseases, while missionaries appeared largely untouched.[501] However, if Sagard and his fellow Recollets appeared to lose their spiritual connection and the power that came with it, the same concern of having dangerous non-kin in the community would undoubtedly resurface.

Sagard and his fellow Recollets did little to correct their reputations as socially-awkward outsiders. They were often invited to feasts—a not unusual occurrence for the Wendat, for whom feasts served as a crucial part of their gift-giving culture, and had highly important political implications—but the Recollets almost always turned down the invitations.[502] Sagard also refused the pipe when it was passed around after dinner at one of the meals he *did* attend, which shocked his hosts as a major breach of protocol.[503] Sagard and his fellows seemed to make little effort to involve themselves in some of the most socially-engaging aspects of Wendat life.

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[498] Jaenen, "Gabriel Sagard: A Franciscan among the Huron," 40.
[499] Seeman, *Huron-Wendat Feast of the Dead*, 88.
[500] Peter A. Goddard, "The Devil in New France: Jesuit Demonology, 1611-50," *The Canadian Historical Review* 78, no. 1 (1997): 54-55; Seeman, *Huron-Wendat Feast of the Dead*, 86-7.
[501] Bruce G. Trigger, *Natives and Newcomers: Canada's "Heroic Age" Reconsidered* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1985), 246; Seeman, *Huron-Wendat Feast of the Dead*, 87.
[502] Kathryn Magee Labelle, ""Faire La Chaudière": The Wendat Feast of Souls, 1636," in *French and Indians in the Heart of North America, 1630-1815*, ed. Robert Englebert and Guillaume Teasdale (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University, 2013), 1; Sagard, *Long Journey,* 84.
[503] Tooker, *An Ethnography of the Huron Indians*, 57; Sagard, *Long Journey,* 88.

But it was their living conditions that finally drew the attention of prospective mischief-makers. In describing his new home, Sagard explains that their lodge was divided in half, with one side where they "lived and took our rest," while the inner room was kept as a chapel containing their religious artifacts.[504] The inner room was kept private and protected by keeping "the little bark door for the partition closed and tied with a bit of cord."[505] Contrary to the Wendat ideal of an open household, with visitors coming and going as they pleased, the French Recollets required quiet and solitude for their prayers—hence a separate room with a closed partition.

But Wendat visitors seemed oblivious to such expectations, much to Sagard's consternation. And children seemed to have the least "respect" in this matter. Not only did children invite themselves into the chapel, but they also had a habit of leaving with items belonging to the priests. On at least one occasion, Le Caron stayed at the house while the others were called to a council meeting—a meeting held for Le Caron's own benefit!—so as to protect the house from would-be thieves.[506] On another occasion, Sagard went through the effort of tracking down and reclaiming a thimble taken by a young boy, who in turn had gifted it to a girl for her dancing regalia. Sagard actually went so far as to demand its return from the girl, who amenably returned the item.[507] Despite getting his thimble back, Sagard complained that the Wendat were habitual thieves, and he was especially frustrated at the Recollets' inability to protect their worldly goods—and the Wendats' apparent refusal to acknowledge the Frenchmen's rights to private property. As described in an earlier section, the Wendats' differing definition of property meant that, as far as they were concerned, Sagard had little right to complain.[508]

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[504] Sagard, *Long Journey*, 81.
[505] Sagard, *Long Journey*, 81.
[506] Sagard, *Long Journey*, 81, 164.
[507] Sagard, *Long Journey*, 119.
[508] The Jesuits, who picked up the mission project in Wendake after the 1630s, also had recurring problems with Wendat "thieves". JR 5: 241-43; 6: 249; 7: 227; 8: 81; 10: 145, 223.

Complaints of theft became a regular refrain, especially when it came to the youth. In one memorable case, a visiting Tionontati girl—unnamed in the sources—stole a seal with the image of the Virgin Mary on it, throwing it into the ashes so she could claim it later. Sagard, fed up with the regular thefts, decided to confront the girl on his own:

> I was distressed at the seal having been thus stolen from me, and suspecting the girl I said to her: 'You are laughing now and making fun of the seal you have stolen from me; but understand that if it is not restored to me you will be weeping tomorrow and will soon be dead. For God has no love for thieves, but punishes them.[509]

The girl, frightened by his speech, told him where to find the seal and he reclaimed it. However, the next day he found the girl in tears and violently ill. When he asked about her, the Wendat told Sagard that "this was the evil I had foretold for her,"[510] and they were making plans to have her brought back to her homeland so that she would not die away from her people.[511] Sagard immediately tried to comfort the girl:

> I told her to have no more fear, she would not die this time, nor be ill any longer, because the seal had been recovered; but that she must mind another time not to be wicked, and to steal no more, because that was displeasing to Jesus. Then she asked me again whether she should not die, and after I had assured her, she remained completely cured and comforted, and spoke no more about returning to her own country as she had done before, and she lived more virtuously for the future.[512]

Sagard downplayed the severity of the case, focusing on the positive outcome of God's will winning out over pagan immorality, but the situation was likely much more serious than Sagard implied. The Wendat made it clear that they considered his words the cause of the girl's illness, which coincided with the Wendat understanding of the power of words. A person should

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[509] Sagard, *Long Journey*, 182.
[510] The Wendat believed sickness had three possible causes: 1) natural causes like from an accidental poisoning, 2) the soul's secret desires, unmet, and 3) witchcraft. David Blanchard, "Who or What's a Witch? Iroquois Persons of Power," *American Indian Quarterly* 6, no. 3/4 (1982).
[511] Sagard, *Long Journey*, 182.
[512] Sagard, *Long Journey*, 182-3.

never speak harshly to another, as cruel or angry words could take on a life of their own, and cause great harm to the verbally abused person.[513] And, speaking harshly to people was also known to be a possible sign of witchcraft, one of the few capital crimes amongst Wendat people. Sagard, with his reputation as an antisocial, isolated, and kinless *arendiowane*, could not afford to be held responsible for her death; his own life was certainly at risk. When he went to her, promising she would recover—using words to correct the earlier threats, and reassuring her repeatedly that she was no longer held to blame—she recovered, much to everyone's relief.[514]

Sagard's house continued to be a site of contention, however, although not in such life-and-death circumstances. Interestingly, the inner partition, which separated Sagard's living space from the chapel, became a focal point of children's mischief. According to Sagard, "there were…mischievous boys who delighted in cutting the cord that held up our door after the manner of the country, so as to make it fall when one opened it, and then afterwards they would deny it absolutely or take to flight."[515]

Why cut the door down? Sagard would seem to imply that these were just bad children, and from his 17th-century French missionary perspective, they were exactly that. He claimed such youths "never admit their faults or tricks, being great liars, except when they have no fear of being blamed or reproached for them, for though they are savages and incapable of receiving correction they are at the same time very proud and covetous of honour, and do not like to be thought mischievous or naughty, although they may be so."[516] This would seem to imply a few points of note: 1) the pranks were recurring; 2) the pranksters faced no parental rebuke for their actions; and

[513] Cajete, *Look to the Mountain,* 42; Trigger, *Children of Aataentsic*, 67, 534.
[514] Sagard, *Long Journey*, 182-3.
[515] Sagard, *Long Journey*, 132.
[516] Sagard, *Long Journey*, 132-3.

3) the children saw nothing especially wrong with their *own* behaviour, but were likely to be offended if Sagard thought their behaviour was reproachable.

In Sagard's eyes, the problem was rooted in what he considered to be bad parenting. He writes that the Wendat were "very fond of their children," but that "they are for the most part very naughty children, paying them [adults] little respect, and hardly more obedience…Bad example, and bad bringing up, without punishment or correction, are the causes of all this lack of decency."[517] To Sagard then, the lack of parental oversight and lack of punishment was at the root of his problem with Wendat children.[518] Perhaps this lack of parental control led to Sagard's frustrated confrontation of the girl who stole the chapel's artifact. But why, if the children were behaving badly, were they not being urged to stop? Wendat children were, after all, expected to respect adults (and especially Elders) for their greater life experience and wisdom.[519] The pranks were permitted because the *Recollets* were behaving badly.

After the Wendat built the Recollets' their house—outside of the village, already an antisocial gesture—the priests then put up a partition, trying to keep out guests from part of that house. Wendat houses were semi-public in nature: two families shared a hearth, with several families within the same clan all sharing a longhouse.[520] There were no 'rooms' or designated spaces for specific activities; the only structural elements that indicated specific spaces were the

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[517] Sagard, *Long Journey*, 127, 130-1.
[518] When Sagard refers to lack of punishment, he is referring to physical punishment like beatings, as would occur in early modern French families. The Wendat did discipline their children, but never with physical violence. The worst punishment in the Wendat repertoire was a practice called 'ducking'—splashing a child with water. For more on French complaints about the lack of physical punishment amongst Wendat, see: JR 6: 153; Champlain, "The Works of Samuel de Champlain," 3: 142; Sagard, *Long Journey*, 131; For more on Wendat and Haudenosaunee forms of discipline, see: George-Kanentiio, *Iroquois Culture and Commentary*, 58; Mann, *Iroquoian Women*, 272-3; John Bradford, *Scoouwa: James Smith's Indian Captivity Narrative* (Columbus: Ohio Historical Society, 1992), 102-03; Thelma R. Marsh, *Daughter of Grey Eyes: The Story of Mother Solomon* (Upper Sandusky, Ohio: Thelma R. Marsh, 1984), 8-9.
[519] JR 11: 213; 66: 175.
[520] Trigger, *Children of Aataentsic*, 43.

platforms or benches at the sides of the longhouses, and the end cubicles for food storage.[521] By its very nature, if a visitor came into a longhouse, that visitor would likely have to walk past several people around their hearths, possibly even several families, before they could speak to the one they were there to visit. To put up a partition in the middle of the house would create a physical barrier cutting off individuals, and members of extended family, and prevent that easy movement of persons in and out of the house.

The Recollets used the separate room in their house as a chapel, where they could withdraw in seclusion and privacy for prayer. Given their reputation as *arendiowane*, and the general association with missionary prayers with a medicine-worker's communication with spirits, the Wendat probably assumed that the source of the Recollets' power was hidden away in that room.[522] This would certainly coincide with the Wendat's later assumptions about Jesuit priests and their chapel artifacts as containing the power to cause sickness, or in the power of Jesuit ceremonies like baptism to heal.[523] But the Wendat believed that spiritual power should be used for the community. Thus, there was a performative and public quality to most ceremonies. While some Wendat ceremonies did require privacy, this was mostly an expectation of rituals that would cause harm.[524] While the Recollets were happy to share information about their God, and did their best to convert interested Wendat, the chapel remained off-limits even to prospective converts, which

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[521] Mima Kapches, "The Iroquoian Longhouse: Architectural and Cultural Identity," in *Meaningful Architecture: Social Interpretations of Buildings*, ed. Martin Locock (Brookfield, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 1994), 257.
[522] Blackburn, *Harvest of Souls*, 107.
[523] In the *Jesuit Relations*, there are numerous examples of chapel items as causing sickness, such as books when read out loud, the altar, even a clock: JR 8:109-11; JR 15: 33, 35; JR 16: 43-45; 17: 135; Brown, ""They Punish Murderers, Thieves, Traitors and Sorcerers,"" 386-7; Blackburn, *Harvest of Souls*, 111-2.
[524] Brown, ""They Punish Murderers, Thieves, Traitors and Sorcerers,"" 387-8; Trigger, *Natives and Newcomers*, 93, 192; Blackburn, *Harvest of Souls*, 106-7.

prevented anyone from getting a clear idea of what was really happening behind the partition.[525] As such, the Recollets hiding away inside the separate room in their house for routine prayer was not only a sign of inhospitality and antisocial behaviour, but also potentially threatening. Equally problematic was their refusal to share the benefits of their power. Sagard and his companions received regular requests to affect the weather after the first successful case, and apparently the Wendat "supposed that God would never refuse us anything we might ask Him, and that we could move Heaven and earth, so to speak, at our pleasure. For that reason, we had to bring them down a good deal and warn them that God does not always perform miracles, and that we were not worthy of having our wishes always heard."[526] To the Wendat, these protests made little sense. *Arendiowane* who failed to get the aid of the spirits were eventually dismissed as ineffectual and lost their status; they could not be unworthy of aid while also getting that aid.[527] The paradoxical thinking would have struck the Wendat as false, and possibly deliberately misleading. A medicine-worker who did not help the community was not to be trusted.

It is in this environment that the so-called mischievous boys attacked the Recollets' door. It is unclear whether the children were acting spontaneously or if they were encouraged to do so. In at least one Wendat/Wyandot trickster story, a trickster was selected by the community to teach a wrongdoer a lesson; it is possible, though cannot be proven, that the Wendat took a similar tactic in dealing with the Recollets.[528] Regardless of the prank's commission, the inner partition in the Recollets' house became emblematic of a divide in social expectations. Cutting the door hangings so that the door would fall removed the physical barrier that kept the Recollets separate from their visitors, thus forcing them to engage with the community as the Wendat felt they should. The

[525] Trigger, *Natives and Newcomers*, 246.
[526] Sagard, *Long Journey*, 181-2.
[527] Sagard, *Long Journey*, 179-80; Trigger, *Natives and Newcomers*, 246.
[528] Barbeau, *Huron and Wyandot Mythology*, 170.

prank also likely had an edge of danger for the boys, as irritating powerful *arendiowane* was not to be done lightly, making it a small act of bravery; or, it could just as easily have been a comment to the Recollets' own claims to be powerless, and therefore the prank would serve as an act of mockery for boastful claims of a powerful God that could not be readily followed with action. If nothing else, the prank was a means to ease Wendat curiosity, as the boys could get a glimpse of what was so special it had to be hidden behind an additional door, and carefully guarded against interlopers.

Cutting the cords that held up their door was not the only act of mischief the children committed, nor was antisocial behaviour the only issue they targeted. Sagard complained that children were also the reason why he built a fence of stakes around his garden: in his words, "to prevent free access by the small children…who for the most part seek only to do mischief."[529] Sagard does not specify what this mischief is, but given that it was children involved, it seems likely that they either trampled his plants, or took and ate some of his vegetables without permission. Again, given the need for a fence to discourage the children, it would seem to be a recurring problem that fell on deaf ears. And, again, this act of mischief would seem to point to the *Recollets'* bad behaviour, in this case gender norms. Sagard pointed out later in his text that women and girls were expected to take care of the household and cooking, as well as "sowing and gathering corn, grinding flour, preparing hemp and tree-bark, and providing the necessary wood."[530] Gardening, therefore, was women's work. Were the children poking fun at the feminine behaviour of the Recollets? It seems likely. Sagard explains that the boys "are reluctant to undertake any other work that forms part of the women's duty except under strong necessity," as

[529] Sagard, *Long Journey*, 81.
[530] Sagard, *Long Journey*, 101.

he learns when he sees a boy refuse to collect firewood for his mother.[531] Even the Wendat adults had picked up on, and commented on, the womanly behaviour of Frenchmen, calling them women "because they [the French] are too hasty and excited in their movements and speak all together and interrupt one another."[532] Traipsing through Sagard's garden was likely a subtle comment about perceived femininity, one that Wendat adults had already noticed. And, since the Wendat adults made no real effort to keep the children out of Sagard's garden, it seems clear that they saw no reason to condemn the children's behaviour.

If the children *were* stealing food, this may have also been a point regarding the Recollets' apparent inhospitality. The Recollets tried to avoid participation in feasts so they would not have to reciprocate, and despite the honour associated with hosting feasts, the Recollets avoided that as well. Thus, even when said to be feminine the Recollets' were not even acting like *good* women, because women were responsible for sharing food equitably. If the Recollets had offered to host a feast they could have gained back some esteem, as *men* hosted feasts for a number of different reasons, but the Recollets were too concerned about the prohibitive costs of getting and providing food to so many, a very real concern given their limited finances. Since Sagard also complained about Wendat foods and dining practices, especially eat-all feasts, this likely also offended his Wendat hosts' sense of hospitality. The Recollets' stinginess could reasonably be repaid by taking unprepared food from their garden plot. Once again, the act of mischief was a comment on the *Recollets'* bad behaviour.

Ignorance was also fair game for pranks. One day, a group of Wendat children went out collecting herbs. They brought back some *Ooxrat* roots[533] and a young French boy asked for some.

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[531] Sagard, *Long Journey*, 99, 132.
[532] Sagard, *Long Journey*, 140.
[533] Wrong identifies this as Indian turnip, or Jack-in-the-Pulpit, based on the description as a root that causes a burning sensation. This plant was still used into the 20th century by Seneca (Haudenosaunee) as a

The boys handed some roots over for him to try. Soon, the French boy found his mouth burning painfully, and he was almost frothing at the mouth with excess saliva. Terrified that he had been poisoned, the boy ran back to the Recollets, who immediately brought him to the Wendat for help. After questioning the boy about what he had eaten, the Wendat men laughed! Apparently, the boy had eaten a plant that they used to purge excessive phlegm; the Wendat merely cooked it first to avoid the unpleasant burning symptoms.[534]

Unlike the mischief against the Recollets, this prank seems almost normal, if unpleasant: children, playing tricks on the new boy, comparable, perhaps, to giving a friend a hot pepper to eat. But this prank also served a purpose. Iroquoian children were expected to be able to care for themselves if they ever found themselves away from adult supervision; even before puberty, they were expected to be able to survive in any environment.[535] In this case, children were sent to collect medicines, indicating that they already had extensive expertise in plants and what those plants could do for or to them. Having someone their age who was so completely ignorant of their environment must have seemed very strange to the Wendat children, but also a perfect target for a joke. While not pleasant, the *ooxrat's* effects were not really harmful. But there were many plants in Wendake that could be very dangerous and caution was certainly an advisable course. The Wendat knew of hazards of their environment, even from a young age, and most knew what plants

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muscle relaxant for apoplexy (boiled in water, to be applied topically), and for heaves or buboes. However, William Fenton suggests that *ooxrat* may have been hellebore instead, based on the burning properties and the comparison of the root to a peeled chestnut, and explains that 20th-century Haudenosaunee still used dried hellebore roots as a snuff for catarrh, which matches with the use Sagard describes in the historical sources. Either of these plants can be toxic if taken in quantity. Sagard, *Long Journey*, 195-6; William N. Fenton, *Iroquois Suicide: A Case Study in the Stability of a Culture Pattern*, Smithsonian Institution Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 128, American Anthropological Papers No. 14 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1941), 112. See also: APS William Fenton Papers, Series V-B, Folder "Medicinal Plants arranged systematically according to Botanical Name"; and Folder "Medicinal Plants."

[534] Sagard, *Long Journey*, 195-6.

[535] George-Kanentiio, *Iroquois Culture and Commentary*, 54.

were safe to eat and use—and which were not. There were even cases in the 17th-century where children had used poisonous plants to commit suicide, including one called *andachienrra*.[536] The comparatively gentle 'poisoning' by *ooxrat* roots was a good lesson to learn and much preferable than having the French boy accidentally poison himself through ignorance. And, in fairness, the French boy should not bear all of the fault; Wendat adults were responsible for teaching their children about the world and the French boy's ignorance would have been laid at the feet of his French, adult counterparts…such as the Recollets.

Children's pranks and acts of mischief served a purpose of pointing to behavioural problems or social missteps and trying to encourage the correction of those problems. Because children were expected to respect adults' greater life experience, it was simply not acceptable for a child to verbally correct an adult's behaviour. However, through *action*, through mischief, children could certainly get their point across. And, unlike their parents, children were not bound by the same rules of hospitality that adults were. The Wendat expected persons to respect one another's individuality, customs, and personal beliefs. To try to correct someone in their bad behaviour was an unthinkable act of rudeness. Subtler measures were required. Children, while respected as individuals and expected to make and learn from mistakes, were not bound to the same code of conduct as that of an adult. Children, if they were creative enough to avoid verbal corrections, could take on the necessary task of social regulations.

Conclusion

[536] Children upset with their parents were known to use *andachienrra* to commit suicide. Sagard also notes this plant's poisonous nature (he writes it as *ondachiera*) and gives an example of a Frenchman who had eaten it and would have died if not for the intervention of the Wendat and a timely emetic. William Fenton suggests that this plant is likely water hemlock. JR 14:37; Sagard, *Long Journey*, 195; Fenton, *Iroquois Suicide*, 112.

Wendat children were taught from a young age to respect their elders. They were taught, in fact, that all people were deserving of respect: that others' opinions should be heard and considered, even when they disagreed with one's own views. While it was accepted that sometimes there would be disagreements, subtle, respectful means of correction were preferred to blunt instruction and demands.

Sometimes, however, a wrong-doer seemed to refuse to act appropriately, despite being repeatedly shown the proper way to behave. Children and youths could and did participate directly in teaching newcomers, like the Recollets and Jesuits, how to behave as Wendat. Generally, children followed their parents' example with subtle forms of regulation, but children also had more social space for blunt demonstrations of their disapproval. Whereas adults were bound by rules of hospitality toward their guests, children were assumed to still be learning themselves, and so any social missteps or acts of rudeness could be dismissed as childish errors and quickly forgiven.

When Gabriel Sagard and his fellow Recollets seemed to act as women, the Wendat teased them by calling them women, hoping the shame of violating gender norms would be enough to correct their behaviour. Children, instead of joining in the verbal teasing, responded instead by targeting the Recollets' garden and their home to draw attention to the issue. Their parents, not disagreeing with the message, did not rebuke them. Similarly, the Recollets' violation of hospitality etiquette and reluctance to share the benefits of their powers as *arendiowane* also earned them the attentions of "mischievous" children in attacks on their household. While these were acts of social regulation, they were acts that could also be explained away as childish misadventure. As acts of social regulation, the indirect pressure would also let the newcomers save face if they *did* get the message. These acts of mischief could serve the same purpose as Onneiout

“accidentally” kicking over his elders’ jug of alcohol—correcting a bad behaviour while avoiding the conflict of direct confrontation or scolding. Only in very extreme cases were children willing to be direct and confrontational with their elders.

It is important to note too that children’s pranks, even against the missionaries, were not malicious. And while on the face of it they seemed to be disrespectful, such pranks were intended to help the newcomers avoid undue embarrassment, in a way that direct confrontation would not. The children almost certainly expected to be caught, and they expected the newcomers to rebuke them; tricksters never got away with their trickery forever. But to stop the newcomers from behaving badly, acts of mischief became a viable solution only children could utilize.

Chapter Five: Silent Diplomacy: Wendat Boys' Adoptions at the Jesuit Seminary[537]

Sick with an unspecified malady in 1654, the Wendat Armand-Jean Andehoua travelled from his home in the Wendat colony at l'Île d'Orléans to the nearby French community of Québec to request aid at the Hôtel-Dieu. Baptized in his youth at the Jesuit seminary school at Notre-Dame-des-Anges, he "had never been untrue to his baptismal promises" and now sought absolution from his Christian family.[538] While his instructors and fellow students at the seminary were all long gone, Andehoua had maintained the relationship he developed with the Jesuits almost 20 years prior.

Andehoua's school operated for a brief, six-year period, but only three of those years were nominally productive. Indeed, Andehoua was the school's only lasting Wendat convert. In their annual reports, the *Jesuit Relations*, the priests initially were very optimistic about the school, as the seminarians' seemingly rapid conversion and zealous adherence to Christian principles indicated the school would be an effective tool for the missionizing process.[539] However, as the years went by the priests witnessed the gradual dissolution of the school project due to religious backsliding, as the students rapidly abandoned the Catholic faith upon returning home to Wendake. The Jesuits had hoped the school would result in the conversion of the next

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[537] A condensed version of this chapter was previously published as Victoria Jackson, "Silent Diplomacy: Wendat Boys' "Adoptions" at the Jesuit Seminary, 1636-1642," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 27, no. 1 (2016).

[538] JR 41: 159.

[539] The *Jesuit Relations* have been published a few times over the centuries; the most complete version of the source material was completed under the direction of Reuben Gold Thwaites, as a 73-volume set published between 1896 and 1901. More recently, the *Relations* up to 1661 were published in a separate collection under direction of Lucien Campeau as the *Monumenta Novae Franciae* (published from 1967-2003), and kept in their original language without translation. While the translations in the Thwaites' editions are problematic, these volumes are the most common and accessible editions of the *Jesuit Relations*, and so are here used with caution. For discussion of some of these problems, see: Maureen Korp, "Problems of Prejudice in the Thwaites' Edition of the "Jesuit Relations"," *Historical Reflections* 21, no. 2 (1995); Luca Codignola, "The Battle Is Over: Campauea's *Monumenta* vs. Thwaites's *Jesuit Relations*, 1602-1650," *European Review of Native American Studies* 10, no. 2 (1996).

generation of Wendat leadership, who would in turn lead their people to Christianity. The Jesuits would be disappointed.

The seminary was not solely a means of converting Indigenous peoples. In 1636, the French met with Wendat representatives to discuss the possibility of a seminary and the Wendat responded in hopes of forming a friendly, long-term relationship with the French. To the Wendat, a French education was a way for their youth to facilitate just such a relationship. As the boys immersed themselves in French culture at the seminary and committed to practicing the principles of Christianity, they believed they were joining the French community, mirroring Iroquoian adoption practices. The Wendat considered adoption, or creating a fictive kinship bond, to be a diplomatic act. They saw the relationship between the boys and the priests at the seminary as a key part of a larger political undertaking in constructing French-Wendat diplomacy.

Historians examining the seminary have traditionally taken the Jesuits' point of view and interpreted the school as a vehicle for failed conversion or education.[540] Roger Magnuson, for example, points to the Jesuits' failure to realize that young boys would not have the social capital to sway adults to Christianity, as well as high costs, lack of interest, and a lack of students, as causes for the school's closure.[541] Bruce Trigger points out that the Jesuits could not have been too surprised by the boys' lack of appreciable effect on their elders' opinions, since they had

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[540] Takao Abé, *The Jesuit Mission to New France: A New Interpretation in the Light of the Earlier Jesuit Experience in Japan* (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2011), 111-9; N.E. Dionne, *Le Séminaire De Notre-Dame-Des-Anges* (Montréal: [s.n.], 1890); Roger Magnuson, *Education in New France* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), 47-50; Bruce G. Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987), 552-6.
[541] Magnuson, *Education in New France*, 50. Note that John Webster Grant also describes the school ineffectiveness, blaming it on the boys' lack of status. John Webster Grant, *Moon of Wintertime: Missionaries and the Indians of Canada in Encounter since 1534* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 35.

noticed the importance of age in council meetings years earlier, but he agrees that the school was a failure as a conversion tool, and suggests that the problem was simply that the Jesuits realized they could not convert the Wendat through their children.[542] Denys Delâge describes the school as "a fiasco," because "only two children displayed any pliancy, and these later died," suggesting the problem was that the students had little interest in submitting to Jesuit will.[543] Takao Abé adds a few more reasons why the seminary project was abandoned, most of which comes down to a lack of Indigenous interest: 1) failing to establish a school that would serve Indigenous society, with useful secular subject matter; 2) trying to convert the children first, which meant they would return to families that did not share their beliefs and therefore could not help reinforce that education; 3) not including Indigenous peoples in the school's construction or upkeep, and relying only on French patrons; and 4) the foreignness of the school system, resulting in complete dislocation and confusion.[544] All of these scholars conclude that the school was unsuccessful at converting Wendat youth to Christianity.

However, discussion of the seminary in terms of a binary, success or failure, does not do justice to the complex motivations for all involved with the school. This chapter examines the creation, organization, and eventual dissolution of the seminary project as it was likely understood by the young Wendat participants as a diplomatic venture rather than one of religious conversion. I argue that Wendat youths, especially *male* Wendat youths, could and did act in political arenas as part of their training to become proper men. While Wendat diplomacy mostly relied on a combination of oratory, gift-giving, and repeated council meetings, youth could also

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[542] Bruce G. Trigger, *Natives and Newcomers: Canada's "Heroic Age" Reconsidered* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1985), 252; Trigger, *Children of Aataentsic*, 557.
[543] Denys Delâge, *Bitter Feast: Amerindians and Europeans in Northeastern North America, 1600-64*, trans. Jane Brierley (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1993), 179.
[544] Abé, *The Jesuit Mission to New France*, 115-16.

engage in performative diplomacy through a deliberate (and temporary) self-assimilation into a foreign culture, in this case, French missionary culture. An exchange of children was a customary practice in Wendat diplomatic protocol, with such youths undergoing a temporary adoption into their host's clan; the boys at the school likely saw themselves as the Jesuits' adoptees, being incorporated into the missionaries' extended kinship networks. Upon return home to Wendake, the boys would then be expected to use these connections for the betterment of their own people.

I assess the seminary through its first students, focusing on the initial two years of the school's six-year existence. The seminarians' words were rarely recorded in the *Jesuit Relations*, but careful reading provides some insight into their thoughts and motivations, and indicates that the boys were active participants in their (re)education. The core arguments of this chapter are thus explored through examination of three students: Satouta's silent diplomacy, Teouatirhon's difficult adoption, and Andehoua's willing conversion.

Satouta's actions (and inaction) illuminate the school's political nature. Aware of his people's desire for alliance with the French, and understanding its value, Satouta volunteered to attend the school and initiated the students' involvement. His engagement with key elements of Wendat diplomatic culture—feasting, gifting, and promoting social status—was crucial support for the seminary and made Satouta a key figure in the Jesuits' plans.

On arrival at the seminary, the school's diplomatic purpose would be enacted through what the Jesuits considered 'conversion.' All of the boys appeared to convert wholeheartedly to Christianity and they all carefully mimicked the French in appearance and behaviour. However, as Teouatirhon demonstrated, the overall pattern of reverting to traditional practices upon return home suggests becoming Catholic was not the boys' long-term goal. The principles of Wendat

adoption culture help explain the boys' reactions at the seminary, including their tenuous Frenchification and conversion. The rituals of Iroquoian adoption and Catholic conversion were similar enough that the boys would have associated the two and thus considered their seminary education as part of an elaborate means of incorporation into the French family. What the Jesuits considered Teouatirhon's lack of conviction was excusable and even expected to Wendat looking through the lens of Iroquoian adoption culture. Adoption, or willing assimilation, was the *method* of diplomacy at the seminary.

Unlike Teouatirhon, Andehoua seemed to convert to Christianity. His story indicates the seminary experiment had complex and varying results that, in Andehoua's case, met the religious goals of the Jesuits as well as the Wendats' diplomatic aspirations. Andehoua had the same education as the other boys, but he appeared to take the message of faith to heart, and his connection with the French Jesuits lasted until his death in 1654. Practically, Andehoua finished the process that Satouta started; Andehoua's willing assimilation into French-Catholic culture at the seminary, his fictive *adoption* into the French clan, could make him an effective long-term intermediary.

Wendat adoptive diplomacy was built upon fictive kinship and the possibilities inherent in a liminal and/or changeable identity. Following Roger Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, I use 'personhood' to refer to the sense of individual self, or "the fundamental condition of social being…invoked to point to something allegedly *deep*, *basic*, *abiding*, or *foundational*" in a person. [545] I use 'identity' to refer to the collective sameness of members in a group, lending a sense of solidarity to the individuals of the whole.[546] For many Indigenous peoples, including Iroquoians like the Wendat, identity and personhood were not fixed and could change or be

[545] Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, "Beyond 'Identity'," *Theory and Society* 29, no. 1 (2000): 7.
[546] Brubaker and Cooper, "Beyond 'Identity'," 7.

changed through ritual adoption. Identity was in many ways performative as a result. In the context of Wendat students at the Jesuits' school, these youths were performing a French identity as a tool of diplomacy.

Satouta and the Councils at Trois-Rivières

The French had established a permanent presence in New France by 1608, but after the English briefly forced the French from the area in 1629, the returning French had to re-establish their position amongst the local Indigenous nations of Innu, Anishinaabek, and Wendat.[547] French Jesuits arrived back in New France by 1632 and, as part of their overall goal of missionizing the peoples of the New World, they immediately planned to re-establish contact with Wendake, the home of the Wendat nations.[548] The pious dream of the Jesuit Superior Paul Le Jeune, and others like him, was to save the souls of the country.[549] Successful conversion of the Wendat was assumed to not only fulfil missionary goals, but also help foster a stronger political and economic relationship between the two peoples.

The Jesuits had a number of obstacles to overcome first. The Wendat language was radically different from European languages, and the Jesuits reported the difficulty in communication as one of the major barriers to spreading their Catholic message. Christian concepts in particular were difficult to translate.[550] To learn the language and culture of their

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[547] Trigger, *Children of Aataentsic*, 459, 467.

[548] Wendake was home to several Wendat nations: Attignawantan (Bear), Arendaeronnon (Rock), Attigneenongnahac (Cord), Tahontaenrat (Deer), and possibly a fifth, Ataronchronon (Marsh), which may have been an offshoot of the Attignawantan. Wendat further organized themselves into clans. Kathryn Magee Labelle, *Dispersed but Not Destroyed: A History of the Seventeenth-Century Wendat People* (Toronto: University of British Columbia Press, 2013), 1.

[549] Allan Greer, *Mohawk Saint: Catherine Tekakwitha and the Jesuits* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 5-6.

[550] In his recent study of the Jesuits' missions, Micah True argues that the Jesuits should be understood both as students, learning about Indigenous languages and practices, and as masters, using that knowledge as a tool of conversion. True illustrates the difficulties of learning Indigenous languages (including that of the Wendat and the Innu, the two groups the Jesuits had the most contact with in these early years), and

prospective converts, the Jesuits sent representatives to live full-time in Wendake, including the famous Jean de Brébeuf, who became a skilled speaker of the language and was instrumental in providing the Jesuits with a foothold among the Wendat.[551]

The Wendat were generally not very interested in the French way of life, and especially in the Jesuits' religion; while Wendat etiquette required that they listen politely when the priests spoke, in these early years most felt no need to become exclusively Christian as the Jesuits had hoped.[552] Indeed, there was no way of telling how 'converted' a person really was. Historian Cornelius Jaenen identifies eight distinct responses to religious evangelism, suggesting that conversion was more complex than simply capitulation to, or rejection of, new beliefs. Indeed, Wendat responses to conversion efforts ranged from 1) charges that the Jesuits were practicing witchcraft or otherwise trying to harm the Wendat; 2) outright rejection; 3) indifference; 4) dualism, in which two distinct religious worlds were assumed to exist, one for the Europeans and the others for Indigenous peoples; 5) tolerance of foreign beliefs without altering one's own; 6) religious dimorphism, or the "simultaneous assent to both the old ways and the 'new religion'"; 7) syncretism or fusion of the old with the new religion; and 8) full conversion.[553] While I

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the ways the Jesuits navigated the unfamiliar languages. See Micah True, *Masters and Students: Jesuit Mission Ethnography in Seventeenth-Century New France* (Montréal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015): in particular Chapter 3, especially pages 71–79.

[551] Brébeuf's Wendat name, Echon, later became associated with outsiders fluent in the Wendat language. John Steckley, *Words of the Huron* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2007), x; James Taylor Carson, "Brébeuf Was Never Martyred: Reimagining the Life and Death of Canada's First Saint," *The Canadian Historical Review* 97, no. 2 (2016): 230.

[552] The Jesuits understood successful conversion as a complete acceptance and adherence to Catholic tenets and beliefs; in practice, however, conversion had a range of meanings for Indigenous peoples, and in this period, few became exclusively "Christian." Greer, *Mohawk Saint*, 9; J.R. Miller, *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens: A History of Indian-White Relations in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 58; Erik R. Seeman, *The Huron-Wendat Feast of the Dead: Indian-European Encounters in Early North America* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2011), 43, 47.

[553] Cornelius J. Jaenen, "Amerindian Responses to French Missionary Intrusion, 1611-1760: A Categorization," in *Religion/Culture: Comparative Canadian Studies*, ed. William Westfall, et al. (Ottawa: Association for Canadian Studies, 1985), 185, 187, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194.

discuss conversion in this chapter, I use the term loosely because it is impossible to tell just how 'converted' individuals actually were. For the sake of simplicity, in this discussion I consider an individual to be 'converted' if they continue to engage with rituals of Christianity even when they are no longer under the constant, watchful eye of their Jesuit instructors, which was a rare occurrence.

Accepting Christianity and converting did not necessarily mean that converts rejected their people, traditions, or even spiritual practices; indeed, most seem to have favoured a more syncretic philosophy, combining Catholic and Wendat practices. Many Wendat converts in this early period seemed to view baptism as a curing ritual, rather than a rejection of traditional spiritual beliefs, and so these Wendat did not see any problem with a temporary conversion.[554] Thus, even when the Jesuits could convince sympathetic Wendat to convert to Catholicism, without constant pressure many quickly reverted to traditional practices. Indeed, because of the expected impermanence of conversion among the Wendat, most adult baptisms prior to 1637 were performed at the death-bed, meaning that most conversions were 'successful' because the individual convert died before he or she could revert back to so-called pagan practices.[555] So, while the priests did not abandon their efforts to teach adults, they decided to also target children in their conversion efforts, under the assumption that children would be more easily swayed by Jesuit arguments and less likely to backslide.

The seminary was not the first strategy the Jesuits used to convert Indigenous youth. Past efforts entailed sending children to France for a religious education, including the ill-fated Innu boy Pastedechouan.[556] However, while some children continued to be sent to France, the risky

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[554] Trigger, *Children of Aataentsic,* 546.
[555] JR 14: 77.
[556] In her comprehensive study of Pierre Pastedechouan, historian Emma Anderson highlights Pastedechouan's religious and cultural dislocation, and emphasizes that his story is a religious one, rather

voyage, high cost, and mixed results made it an unfeasible long-term plan.[557] A local school was more practical; it could provide the basics of a French education in reading and writing, perhaps a grounding in European farming and other crafts, and, most importantly, extensive instruction in Catholic values, beliefs, and practices that the students could then spread through their homeland.[558] The Jesuits hoped the youths' adaptability and quick-learning would accelerate the process of conversion and by keeping them separate from their parents the priests thought they could prevent the religious backsliding that so frustrated their efforts elsewhere. In a practical sense, children learned new languages more quickly than adults, meaning the school would rapidly produce interpreters and cultural brokers who could move seamlessly between Wendat and French worlds; likewise, children and youths were effective language instructors because of their simplified vocabulary and word choice, and could help the Jesuits with their own linguistic skills.[559] Moreover, the students could also serve as hostages against the good behaviour of their parents to prevent the outbreak of war.[560] For their seminary, the Jesuits specifically requested children of important Wendat men, particularly of war chiefs and skilled orators, in the hopes of

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than one of diplomacy. Pastedechouan returned from France without essential Innu life skills, and became increasingly conflicted in his religious identity. Unable to hunt, he died of starvation in 1636, the same year the seminary began; his experience, then, was radically different from the Wendat boys at the seminary. See Emma Anderson, "Between Conversion and Apostasy: the Religious Journey of Pierre-Anthoine Pastedechouan," *Anthropologica* 49, 1 (2007) and Emma Anderson, *The Betrayal of Faith: the Tragic Journey of a Colonial Native Convert* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007).

[557] Magnuson, *Education in New France*, 47.

[558] The boys did attempt farming to please their teachers, despite agriculture being a female task among Wendat, but had little success. JR 12: 77; Georges E. Sioui, *Huron-Wendat: The Heritage of the Circle* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1999), 102.

[559] Brett Rushforth, ""A Little Flesh We Offer You": the Origins of Indian Slavery in New France," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 60, no. 4 (2003): 784; Margaret J. Leahey, ""Comment Peut Un Muet Prescher L'évangile?" Jesuit Missionaries and the Native Languages of New France," *French Historical Studies* 19, no. 1 (1995): 123, 127-8; Nancy L. Hagedorn, ""A Friend to Go between Them": the Interpreter as Cultural Broker During Anglo-Iroquois Councils, 1740-70," *Ethnohistory* 35, no. 1 (1988): 77, f. 25.

[560] JR 6: 155; 9: 283; Magnuson, *Education in New France,* 47; Louis Armand de Lom d'Arce Lahontan, *New Voyages to North-America* (New York: Lenox Hill Publishing, 1905), 2: 458.

educating and converting the next generation of Wendat leadership—a factor especially important in the Jesuits' long-term plans to convert the entirety of the Wendat Confederacy.[561] With these goals in mind the Jesuits planned their seminary.[562]

Despite Le Jeune's suggestion of a Jesuit seminary in 1632, the project developed slowly. Although several priests lived among the Wendat—including Antoine Daniel, who would run the seminary—they were unable to convince Wendat families to part with their children. When Daniel finally convinced a dozen youths to attend, the women of the community became an unsurmountable obstacle, as "the mothers, and above all the grandmothers, would not allow their children to go away for a distance of three hundred leagues, and to live with Strangers, quite different from them in their habits and customs."[563] Those who left for Québec were reclaimed by "fathers… [who] drew back and sought a thousand excuses," leaving Daniel "a shepherd without sheep."[564]

There were a lot of reasons the Wendat hesitated to send their children away with the Jesuits. Several pointed to the dangers of such a lengthy journey, particularly the possibility of attack from their enemies; they also remarked that "the children were dependent upon their parents, that the way was rough and wearisome, that the mothers had tender hearts,"[565] pointing to all of these as reasons why the women were reluctant to entrust their children to the Jesuits. A number of historians have also pointed to European discipline as a key reason to avoid giving over their children. The Wendat did not scold or physically punish their youth; they were appalled at the French willingness to resort to corporal punishment as a deterrent for bad

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[561] Rony Blum, *Ghost Brothers: Adoption of a French Tribe by Bereaved Native America* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005), 76; Grant, *Moon of Wintertime*, 35.
[562] Abé, *The Jesuit Mission to New France*, 95, 111–13.
[563] JR 9: 283.
[564] JR 9: 285.
[565] JR 9: 289.

behaviour and afraid that the Jesuits would harm their children.[566] But while these requests for children had begun almost as soon as the Jesuits arrived in New France in 1632, a devastating epidemic cut a deadly swath through western Wendake in 1634, killing approximately 2,500 people.[567] Because the Jesuits did not fall ill, and illness seemed to follow their progress into Indigenous communities, many feared the Jesuits might be witches seeking to cause deliberate harm.[568] While there were no new epidemics until the fall of 1636, the memory would still be fresh in the minds of many, and it is likely that at least some parents were suspicious of the Jesuits' intentions with their children. Concern about the Jesuits was probably not helped by the missionaries' own aggressive evangelism—which would strike the Wendat as extremely rude and off-putting—their use of darkly coloured prayer beads in their rosaries—reminiscent of the dark-coloured wampum of war, mourning, and death—or their insistence on travelling as groups entirely of men, which resembled a war party rather than a diplomatic or peaceful group.[569] Even with Jesuit promises of safe-passage and repeated gift-giving, the Wendat were reluctant to allow their children to leave with the missionaries.

Jesuit patience was rewarded in the summer of 1636, when the political atmosphere changed. The Wendat's longstanding conflict with their Haudenosaunee enemies had restarted,

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[566] For example, Trigger, *Children of Aataentsic*, 522; Delâge, *Bitter Feast*, 59; Jaenen, *Friend and Foe*, 95-6.
[567] Gary Warrick, "European Infectious Disease and Depopulation of the Wendat-Tionontate (Huron-Petun)," *World Archaeology* 35, no. 2 (2003): 261.
[568] Trigger, *Natives and Newcomers*, 247.
[569] For more on Wendat etiquette, see Elisabeth Tooker, *An Ethnography of the Huron Indians, 1615-1649* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1991), 57. For rosaries and prayer beads as associated with darkly-coloured wampum, see Barbara Alice Mann, *Iroquoian Women: the Gantowisas* (New York: Peter Lang, 2000), 297. For a comparable study of Indigenous diplomacy requiring the participation of non-combatants, see this excellent study of the American southwest (*not* Wendat): Juliana Barr, *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman: Indians and Spaniards in the Texas Borderlands* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007).

and the Wendat were looking for allies among the French.[570] Wary of committing to a military alliance, the French deflected. As reported by Le Jeune, who was present at the council, the French response was one of calculated offense:

> … if they should fill the house with Beavers, we would not undertake the war for the sake of their presents; that we helped our friends, not in the hope of any reward, but for the sake of their friendship. That, besides, we had not brought any men for them, not knowing that they were carrying on war; that those whom they saw with us did not all bear arms, and those that did bear them were not satisfied because *the Savages were not yet allied with the French by any marriage*; and that it could easily be seen that *they did not care to be one People with us, giving their children here and there to their allied Nations, and not to the French*.[571]

The language of friendship and alliance was carefully couched in metaphors of kinship — that the French and the Wendat could not be "one people" until there was marriage between adults, or Wendat children living with the French. With Le Jeune's demands for children, the French were hinting that participation at the seminary was a prerequisite to any military assistance.[572]

Great Lakes diplomatic custom traditionally endorsed person-exchanges, so the French demands for children were not entirely unexpected.[573] When Jacques Cartier first came up the St.

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[570] The seventeenth-century Haudenosaunee Confederacy included Mohawk, Seneca, Cayuga, Oneida, and Onondaga. The so-called Iroquois Wars lasted for most of the seventeenth century, with periods of aggression broken by brief peace agreements. For studies of these wars, see: José Antônio Brandão, *"Your Fyre Shall Burn No More": Iroquois Policy toward New France and Its Native Allies to 1701* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997); Gilles Havard, *The Great Peace of Montreal of 1701: French-Native Diplomacy in the Seventeenth Century*, trans. Phyllis Aronoff and Howard Scott (Montréal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001); Jon Parmenter, *The Edge of the Woods: Iroquoia, 1534-1701* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2010). See also Jean-François Lozier, *Flesh Reborn: the Saint Lawrence Valley Mission Settlements through the Seventeenth Century* (Montréal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2018).

[571] JR 9: 231–3. Emphasis mine.

[572] Trigger, *Natives and Newcomers*, 229.

[573] Note that children may have also been deliberately included in diplomatic or trade parties to make the party seem less threatening. Rachel Bryant points out that the Powhatan often sent children on diplomatic missions (accompanied by adults), and put them at the lead of the party to make it clear that it was not a war party. While the Wendat were distinct from the Powhatan, had different customs, and were geographically very far apart, they shared a diplomatic adoption culture. Since Wendat youths, like Satouta, did occasionally accompany adults on trade expeditions, it is plausible that they had a similar understanding that the presence of a child was an indicator of peace. Rachel Bryant, "Kinshipwrecking: John Smith's Adoption and the Pocahontas Myth in Settler Ontologies," *AlterNative* 14, no. 4 (2018): 304.

Lawrence, the chief of Stadacona, Donnaconna, offered a young girl as a token of friendship and alliance, possibly with the expectation of a French youth being left with the Wendat in turn.[574] The Jesuits also would have been aware that Samuel de Champlain took on a number of Indigenous youths, including the famed 1610 exchange of French youth Etienne Brûlé for the Wendat youth known only by his French name, Savignon.[575] However, these were normally *exchanges*, and as one man protested, "there are little boys there and little girls [living with the French] — what more do you want? … You are continually asking us for our children, and you do not give yours."[576] The man was likely referring to the Indigenous children sent to live in the houses of early French settlers, like the Hébert family, where they were living according to a French-settler lifestyle.[577] However, this continual one-sided demand offended Wendat ideas of reciprocity; claiming children for the seminary without giving any children to the Wendat in return seemed suspiciously like a demand for hostages rather than a true alliance.

Even if the Wendat were willing to send children to the seminary, Iroquoians placed a higher premium on individual agency than did the French. While the Wendat councillors could agree to send children with the Jesuits, they had no power to enforce their promises.[578] The councillors refused to demand unwilling participants to leave home and live with distant

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[574] Ramsay Cook, ed., *The Voyages of Jacques Cartier* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 70-1, 72.
[575] Samuel de Champlain, *The Works of Samuel de Champlain*, ed. H. P. Biggar (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1929), 2: 140-2; Conrad Heidenreich, "The Beginning of French Exploration out of the St. Lawrence Valley: Motives, Methods, and Changing Attitudes Towards Native People," in *Decentring the Renaissance: Canada and Europe in Multidisciplinary Perspective, 1500-1700*, ed. Germaine Warkentin and Carolyn Podruchny (Toronto: University of Toronto, 2001), 242.
[576] JR 9: 233.
[577] JR 7: 285; 14: 185; 16: 141; Lisa J. M. Poirier, *Religion, Gender, and Kinship in Colonial New France* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2016), 178.
[578] Brian Rice, "Relationships with Human and Non-Human Species and How they Apply Toward Peacebuilding and Leadership in Indigenous Societies," in *Critical Issues in Peace and Conflict Studies: Theory, Practice, and Pedagogy*, ed. Thomas Matyók, Jessica Senehi, and Sean Byrne (New York: Lexington Books, 2011), 200.

strangers, and they could not force parents to give up their children. Participation had to be voluntary, and despite Daniel's best efforts, his prospective students reneged on their promises. The Wendat representatives were unwilling and unable to force the issue with their people, even though they wanted the alliance.[579]

The stalemate might have continued indefinitely if not for Satouta. Satouta was the grandson of Tsondechaouanouan, an Attignawantan Wendat council chief and diplomat "entrusted with all matters pertaining to foreign peoples whom the Huron visited by water, and in whose name the Huron sent formal messages to other tribes and confederacies," making him an important political and economic ally.[580] Satouta was training to eventually take his grandfather's place.[581] Tsondechaouanouan's grandson was certainly aware of the possibility for military aid if the alliance succeeded, as well as the long-term economic advantages of a close relationship with the European newcomers. By living with the Jesuits, Satouta could learn the French language and customs and bring that knowledge back to his family and his clan for their benefit. Personal prestige was likely also a factor in his decision to join the seminary: with success at the school, Satouta could prove that he had the skills and political savvy to assume his grandfather's name and position.

Satouta travelled to Trois-Rivières, promising to stay with Father Daniel even when the other volunteers turned back. French Commandant Marc-Antoine Bras-de-fer de Châteaufort

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[579] The seminary was not the only diplomatic option the Wendat explored at this time. In the same year of 1636, the Wendat invited the French to their Feast of Souls as one of a number of "creative solutions to address the social and political uncertainty confronting their community" during the turbulent, war- and disease-threatened 1630s. The Feast of Souls was another means of establishing fictive kinship. Kathryn Magee Labelle, ""Faire La Chaudière": The Wendat Feast of Souls, 1636," in French and Indians in the Heart of North America, 1630-1815, ed. Robert Englebert and Guillaume Teasdale (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University, 2013), especially 15.
[580] Trigger, *Children of Aataentsic*, 523.
[581] JR 12: 55.

publicly thanked Satouta for his faithfulness and supplied the youth with food and gifts with instructions to host a feast in support of their friendship.[582] To the Wendat, who expected persons of prominence to give back through community-wide feasts, Satouta's hosting a feast supplied and paid for by the French demonstrated not only Satouta's own political competence, but also the importance and value of his friendship with the French.[583] Satouta was invited to attend the next French council meeting, where his presence was a silent but clear indicator of his support for the seminary project. Seated between Fathers Daniel and Le Jeune, Satouta was publicly praised by the Commandant, who claimed that he "loves [Satouta] as his own brother…he should want for nothing [at the seminary]."[584] These words spoke volumes, targeting Wendat values of generosity and kinship: the promise to care for Satouta demonstrated French generosity, and the kinship terms indicated that their friendship was meant to be lasting.

The *Jesuit Relations* do not indicate if Satouta spoke at the council. Wendat diplomacy usually required an oratory component, but Satouta was young and his words may not have been taken as seriously as those of an adult.[585] With the Commandant making speeches on his behalf, however, Satouta did not need to speak, and contrary to appearances, his silence was not necessarily indicative of passivity. The French had claimed him as their brother, indicating to the Wendat (whether the French realized it or not) that the French saw Satouta as an equal; the Commandant's authority conferred his status and respectability upon Satouta. While Satouta appeared to be a passive participant, he would have been aware of these dynamics, suggesting he used the Frenchman's status and generosity to elevate his own stature. His presence at the

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[582] JR 9: 287.
[583] Laurence G. Bolduc, "Trading Well-Being: The Ideological Significance of European Trade Goods in Seventeenth Century Wendat Society" (MA thesis, Trent University, 2012), 136.
[584] JR 9: 287.
[585] Trigger, *Natives and Newcomers*, 252.

council and his tacit approval of the seminary plan "spoke" volumes to his people. His silence was as effective as words, and his apparent inaction was itself a political move. It also had the benefit of forcing the French to make their case for the seminary according to Wendat requirements of diplomacy and speech-making, ensuring there was no misunderstanding of their intent and goals. While physically sitting with the French was a clear indication of Satouta's support of the project, his silence also gave the French the power to dictate the shape of conversation—a courtesy, as well as practical.

The council politicking was successful. After another long meeting, one Wendat Elder suggested Satouta go "on trial, as it were—that we should treat him well, and that upon his report the following year would depend our [the Jesuits] having their [Wendat] children."[586] Almost immediately, the visiting chiefs of another Wendat village[587] also came forward, saying "they ought to be ashamed to show less affection for the French than did the Nation of the Bear."[588] One chief asked his nephew Tsiko and a companion to stay with the French, with the words: "[you are] going with good people [and will] want for nothing with them…above all, obey those who wear the black gowns."[589] These boys, like Satouta, were nearly adults and from equally important families, but they were also from a different nation than Satouta, indicating the potential importance of the seminary for diplomacy with the Wendat Confederacy. Not merely a single clan or family, but rather multiple nations would contribute to an alliance.

A second group of Wendat arrived at Trois-Rivières shortly after the boys departed for Notre-Dame-des-Anges. Upon learning of the agreement, this second Wendat group also sent three boys to the seminary—Teouatirhon, Andehoua, and Aiandacé—bringing the count up to

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[586] JR 9: 289.
[587] Likely an Attigneenongnahac village. Trigger, *Children of Aataentsic*, 524.
[588] JR 9: 289–91.
[589] JR 9: 291.

six boys. Since we know Satouta was Attignawantan (Bear Nation), Tsiko was Attigneenongnahac (Cord Nation) and Andehoua was Tahontaenrat (Deer Nation), it is clear that at least three different Wendat nations were represented at the school.[590] Participation at the seminary thus began with an effort to ensure the varying goals of the Wendat Confederacy nations were well-represented.

Life at the Seminary: Diplomatic Adoption

The seminary was established in 1636 at Notre-Dame-des-Anges, just outside of the still-small community of Québec. The first students were all Wendat and in the first year the six youths were the only students.[591] The eldest of this group may have been as old as 20 or 21—an adult by today's standards, but still unmarried, and therefore a youth by both French and Wendat standards of the time. The youngest of the boys (Aiandacé) was probably no older than 10 years of age, and was described as a "little Benjamin," referring to the Biblical figure, the youngest, and righteous, child of Jacob.[592]

The school's population fluctuated greatly throughout its existence, and its internal demography shifted constantly; within two years the school seems to have switched to mostly Innu and Anishinaabek students, of varying ages and dispositions, and by 1639 a few French youths attended the school as well.[593] At least in the first few years, it would seem the Wendat

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[590] See JR 9: 291; 12: 95; 21: 173; Trigger, *Children of Aataentsic*, 524-5; Tooker, *An Ethnography of the Huron Indians*, 149-50; Conrad Heidenreich, *Huronia: A History and Geography of the Huron Indians 1600-1650* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd, 1971), map 17—Huronia: The Location of Huron Villages and Jesuit Missions, 1615-50, unpagenated.

[591] The Jesuits do not tell us these boys' ages, but it would seem they were teenagers judging by one comment describing Satouta as "a lad nearly grown." JR 12: 41.

[592] JR 12: 109.

[593] Exact numbers are unknown, but it is likely the school never had more than two dozen students over the course of its existence. Abé, *The Jesuit Mission to New France*, 112–114. See also JR 14: 231–3, 255-7; 16: 169.

students did not interact much with youth of other nations while at the seminary.[594] What few interactions we know of were reported by the Jesuits as evangelizing endeavours, and may have been exaggerated. In one case, for example, Teouatirhon crossed paths with 50-year old Ateiachias, and gave the older man a rosary. Ateiachias was fascinated by Christianity and wanted to join the seminary; Teouatirhon's gift and positive review of the school brought the man to Notre-Dame-des-Anges, where he pled his case for admittance to the school.[595] In any case where the students spoke with their own people, they were reported as having only positive experiences to report.[596]

While the councils established that diplomacy was the Wendat's goal with the seminary, it was up to the boys to ensure its execution after arriving at the school. These youths represented their people's wishes not through speeches, but through active engagement with the seminary's education and educators. According to descriptions in the *Jesuit Relations*, this first group of Wendat boys committed wholeheartedly to the French-Catholic lifestyle at the school. Indeed, Le Jeune claimed to be "astonished to see how wild young men, accustomed to follow their own caprices, place themselves under subjection, with so much meekness, that there seems to be nothing so pliant as a Huron Seminarist."[597] Despite this "meekness," compliance with French expectations at the seminary was not a passive act, but rather part of the larger process of silent diplomacy rooted in identity performance. The boys understood their cooperative conduct at the seminary as the proper behaviour of adopted persons, making the Jesuits fictive kin.

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[594] However, we do know that the boys were often instrumental in getting new students to attend the seminary. Teouatirhon, for example, crossed paths with a prospective seminarian Ateiachias. Teouatirhon gave the man a rosary before sending him on to the seminary. JR 14: 255–7.
[595] JR 14: 255-7.
[596] See for example Teouatirhon (JR 14: 155), and the unnamed boy who left the school in 1636 (JR 12: 47). These reports were however recorded by the Jesuits, and they would have had good reason to avoid mentioning any negative reviews.
[597] JR 12: 61.

Indigenous adoption practices have received increased scholarly attention in recent years. In the 17th-century context, most historians have previously analyzed adoption in context of warfare.[598] Essentially, the main argument is that Iroquoian warfare was traditionally conducted for the purpose of taking captives, who would be tortured and killed by the community, or adopted into a single family to replace one of its deceased members.[599] The *Jesuit Relations* are filled with ample descriptions of prisoner torture, most often including burning, violent removal of limbs, stabbing, and piercing with sharp implements, and these tortures allowed the victors to express their rage as well as take back spiritual power from their fallen enemies.[600]

For those who were not condemned to death, the torture came to an end once they were selected for adoption, after which point their wounds were tended, and they were accepted into a new family.[601] The captive was adopted in a special Ceremony in which he or she was given a new name and a specific role to fill in the family.[602] If the adoptee showed willingness to engage in their new lives, they were treated kindly and received all the assistance necessary to integrate

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[598] For just a few notable studies, see Brandão, *Your Fyre Shall Burn No More*, Roger M. Carpenter, *The Renewed, the Destroyed, and the Remade: the Three Thought Worlds of the Huron and the Iroquois, 1609-1650* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2004); John Robb, "Meaningless Violence and the Lived Body: The Huron-Jesuit Collision of World Orders," in *Past Bodies: Body-Centred Research in Archaeology*, ed. Duson Boric and John Robb (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2008). See also Wayne E. Lee, "Peace Chiefs and Blood Revenge: Patterns of Restraint in Native American Warfare, 1500-1800," *The Journal of Military History* 71, 3 (2007); Jon Parmenter, "After the Mourning Wars: the Iroquois as Allies in Colonial North American Campaigns, 1676-1760," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 64, 1 (2007); George S. Snyderman, "Behind the Tree of Peace: A Sociological Analysis of Iroquois Warfare," (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1948).

[599] Brandão, *Your Fyre Shall Burn No More*, 42-43, 44.

[600] Trigger, *Children of Aataentsic*, 73-74. For a recent study of the emotional aspects of Iroquoian warfare, see Matthew Kruer, "Bloody Minds and Peoples Undone: Emotion, Family, and Political Order in the Susquehannock-Virginia War," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 14, 3 (2017): 401-436. For more on spiritual reciprocity and taking back spiritual strength from one's enemies, see Robb, "Meaningless Violence and the Lived Body," 98.

[601] Francis Jennings, *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975), 152.

[602] William Engelbrecht, *Iroquoia: the Development of a Native World* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2003), 36.

them into their host nation. If they declined to engage, such as by refusing to learn the language, or avoiding their share of work, the abuse was renewed, and if the captor ran out of patience, the captive would be executed. The adoptee was not expected to forget about his or her past life, at least not at first, but he or she was expected to *act* as if they did not remember, and were starting their new lives with a blank slate.[603] So long as the captives continued to maintain this new identity, they could expect the acceptance from their new community, and the adoptees could access the same goods and privileges as the rest of the villagers. In this way, an adoptee could potentially become a person of status in their new community, even, in rare occasions, rising to positions of leadership. In other words, adoptees were assimilated and naturalized into their host nation and were acknowledged as having rights equal to a person born into that nation.

The extent of one's kinship as a captive adoptee is difficult to ascertain. Not all captive adoptions were successful, and a great many such adoptees either ran away or were killed by their captors. In *Bonds of Alliance*, Brett Rushforth argues captive adoptions in the *pays d'en haut* were not the same as other forms of adoption, and should be considered a form of slavery.[604] Rushforth cites for example the famed case of the missionary Louis Hennepin and his capture (and enslavement) by a group of Sioux/Dakota.[605] However, Rushforth's examples of Indigenous adoptive slavery involve Algonquian and Sioux peoples, not Iroquoians like the Wendat and Haudenosaunee, and it seems the patterns of human exchange were very different in the Great Lakes region as compared to the *pays d'en haut*. Indeed, Rushforth points out that "most often, French writers reported that allied Indians kept Iroquois prisoners for themselves,

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[603] Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse*, 72.
[604] Brett Rushforth, *Bonds of Alliance: Indigenous and Atlantic Slaveries in New France* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012). For similar arguments, see also William A. Starna and Ralph Watkins, "Northern Iroquoian Slavery," *Ethnohistory* 38, 1 (1991).
[605] Rushforth, *Bonds of Alliance*, Chapter One, especially 15-18.

torturing or killing them as 'the custom of the nation regulates'…Nor did the Iroquois offer slaves to the French as diplomatic gifts," indicating that "at least in the mid-seventeenth century, Iroquois war culture placed a much higher value on incorporating than on trading enemy prisoners."[606] Certainly, there are a number of cases that indicate that at least some captives did become fully absorbed into their new families and attained a degree of status, indicating that captive adoption likely had a range of meanings.[607]

More recently, scholars are paying attention to the diplomatic and social implications of adoption culture, separate from its military implications. Much of this research has been led by Indigenous scholars. Kahente Horn-Miller (Kanien'kehá:ka/Mohawk), Damien Lee (Anishinaabek), Kevin J. White (Kanien'kehá:ka/Mohawk), Erica Newman (Māori), and Darcy Lindberg (Cree/ Nêhiyaw), to name just a few recent ones, have all discussed the myriad ways in which adoption was a widely-accepted means of incorporating strangers into one's family, whether through the adoption of children, the adoption through marriage, or adoption as a symbolic or political incorporation into the community.[608] Others have added to this discussion, including Krystl Raven's discussion of Métis *Ka oopikhtamashook'* (adoption) as a means of

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[606] Rushforth, *Bonds of Alliance,* 141, 142.

[607] John Demos, *The Unredeemed Captive: a Family Story from Early America* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994); Colin Calloway, ""The White Woman of Genesee": Mary Jemison, a Narrative of Her Life, 1824," in *The World Turned Upside Down: Indian Voices from Early America*, ed. Colin Calloway, (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 1994); Brandão, *Your Fyre Shall Burn No More*, 42.

[608] Kahente Horn-Miller, "How did Adoption Become a Dirty Word? Indigenous Citizenship Orders as Irreconcilable Spaces of Aboriginality," *AlterNative* 14, no. 4 (2018); Damien Lee and Kahente Horn-Miller, "Wild Card: Making Sense of Adoption and Indigenous Citizenship Orders in Settler Colonial Contexts," *AlterNative* 14, no. 4 (2018); Damien Lee, "Adoption Is (Not) a Dirty Word: Towards an Adoption-Centric Theory of Anishinaabeg Citizenship," *First Peoples Child & Family Review* 10 (2015); Kevin J. White, "Adoption, Incorporation, and a Sense of Citizenship and Belonging in Indigenous Nations and Culture: A Haudenosaunee Perspective," *AlterNative* 14, no. 4 (2018); Erica Newman, "The Effect of the Colonialist Terms "Orphan" and "Adoption" on the Citizenship Status of Indigenous Fijian Adoptees within Their Own Community," *AlterNative* 14, no. 4 (2018); Darcy Lindberg, "Imaginary Passports or the Wealth of Obligations: Seeking the Limits of Adoption into Indigenous Societies," *AlterNative* 14, no. 4 (2018). See also Leo Kevin Killsback, "A Nation of Families: Traditional Indigenous Kinship, the Foundation for Cheyenne Sovereignty," *AlterNative* 15, 1 (2019): 34-43.

building relationships and growing the Métis nation, and Robert Michael Morrissey's arguments about one particular community in Illinois country, Kaskaskia, in which Indigenous peoples used kinship to marry into a more distinctively French way of living.[609] Clearly, adoption was widely practiced in Indigenous North America, for many different reasons.

In the 17th century, Wendat and their Indigenous neighbours used adoption or marriage as a means to incorporate the European strangers into their world, making kinship vital to the social fabric of Wendat life.[610] In theory, adoption rewrote one's identity as a member of a new family and clan. When an outsider was adopted, the ritual gave the adoptee an extended network of allies and kinsmen to call on in times of difficulty. It also conferred responsibilities on the newcomer to fulfill the role for which he or she was adopted. Adoption created a relationship of obligatory reciprocity through the bonds of kinship. Even large populations could be incorporated in this manner, as in 1651 when Seneca adopted refugees from the Wendat dispersal to create a multicultural community at Gandougare.[611] Sometimes, people within the clan were "requickened" to replace a deceased individual, especially in the case of important leaders; Satouta to take on the role of Tsondechaouanouan, his grandfather, through this special renaming/rebirth Ceremony.

Adoption culture was also essential to the patterns of Frenchification and reversal at the seminary school. The process of adoption could be subtle, and it is unclear whether the Jesuits realized they were effectively "adopting" Wendat boys; the seminary's curriculum coincidentally

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[609] Krystl Raven, "Ka Oopikihtamashook': Becoming Family," *AlterNative* 14, no. 4 (2018); Robert Michael Morrissey, "Kaskaskia Social Network: Kinship and Assimilation in the French-Illinois Borderlands, 1695-1735," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 70, 1 (2013): 103-146.
[610] James Lynch, "The Iroquois Confederacy, and the Adoption and Administration of Non-Iroquois Individuals and Groups Prior to 1756," *Man in the Northeast* 30 (1985): 85; Marius Barbeau, "Iroquoian Clans and Phratries," *American Anthropologist* 19, 3 (1917): 392-3, 402; Elisabeth Tooker, "Northern Iroquoian Sociopolitical Organization," *American Anthropologist* 72, 1 (1970): 92.
[611] Labelle, *Dispersed but Not Destroyed*, 130.

fulfilled many of the principles of adoption culture. The boys were immersed in the French world, much as adoptees were immersed in their new clan, and they were expected to mimic the French in every way. Assimilation implied adoption. However, the adoption did not have to be—and indeed was never intended to be—permanent. The boys knew they would eventually return home with all the knowledge they had acquired, and they could call on newly-made allies bound to them by familial obligation—fictive family or otherwise. The boys were *performing* Frenchness at the seminary, and the Jesuits' instruction seemed to indicate that the priests also understood the boys' integration as a temporary, but hopefully fruitful, adoption.

The use of kin terms at the seminary indicated the boys' willingness to become family with the French *and* provided the boys with evidence of the French acceptance of the adoptive connection. For example, the boys were taught to refer to the priests as "Father," which in the Wendat language was also a word for "uncle."[612] Wendat took kinship terms very seriously, and as John Steckley explains, logic dictated "someone would only call a Jesuit father if he were adopted into the clan of that person's father."[613] Thus, when Teouatirhon claimed "we look upon Father Daniel here as our Father," he meant precisely that: Father Daniel was their teacher, their guide in becoming (Christian) men, their spiritual advisor, and their support in the wider diplomatic network of kinship relations, all traditional roles of a Wendat uncle/father.[614] Uncles were expected to teach their family's same-sex youth how to survive in Wendat society, which

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[612] Steckley, *Words of the Huron*, 75.
[613] John Steckley, *Instructions to a Dying Infidel: Translating Jesuit Missionary Attempts to Convert Huron-Wendat in New France* (Toronto: Humber Press, 2015), 34.
[614] JR 12: 77. Le Jeune does not record which Wendat kinship term the boys used for the priests. According to Steckley, the root word used to describe both one's father *and* any paternal uncles was *¡isten*. However, the root *en* may have been used; one could use *en* to make clear that they considered a person their father or mother, whether biological or adopted. Steckley gives an example of this: *endi skiena*, translated roughly as "I have you for a father." The term *en* could be used in reference to a paternal or a maternal uncle. Without knowing whether the seminarians used *¡isten* or *en*, the exact expectations of the kinship term cannot be established. Steckley, *Words of the Huron*, 73–4, 76–77.

meant that a man taught his nephews how to provide for himself and for others, how to speak convincingly in council or at home, and how to communicate with the spirit world.[615] Similarly, the Jesuits taught the boys how to farm as the French did, how to communicate in French, and how to speak to and worship the French God.[616] Thus, the Jesuits seemed to conduct themselves appropriately for their assumed kin term, teaching the boys how to survive among the French, and the very use of kin terms was indicative of adoption into the Jesuits' own network of Christian family.

The perception of transformation from Wendat into French was only enhanced by the regimented schedule at the seminary. The Jesuits observed Wendat child-rearing and educational practices disapprovingly and, in the words of Bruce Trigger, believed that Wendat youth received "no formal training" and were permitted complete freedom.[617] European-style education, on the other hand, was regulated by the clock and comparatively strict — the Jesuits hoped this would "tame" the boys' supposedly wild impulses. Though optimistic, the Jesuits were nonetheless surprised when the boys followed the strict schedule without complaint, despite the fundamental differences in education styles. From a Wendat point of view, the boys owed their Jesuit "fathers" respect and, as willing adoptees hoping to please their new allies, obedience was an asset. Thus, the boys made a concerted effort to fulfill and exceed the Jesuits' expectations. Since the early mornings were devoted to prayer and chapel, the boys were careful to be "so punctual that, as soon as the Mass assigned to them [was] rung, they [were] usually the

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[615] Steckley, *Instructions to a Dying Infidel*, 34.
[616] JR 12: 63–5.
[617] Trigger, *Children of Aataentsic*, 47. In an early article, Kathryn Magee Labelle addresses the Eurocentric perceptions of Wendat childrearing and points to the inaccuracies in Jesuit interpretations of these practices. While Wendat childrearing and education were rooted in a different value system than that of the French, it was hardly undisciplined. See: Kathryn Magee, "History Repeats Itself: Huron Childrearing Attitudes, Eurocentricity, and the Importance of Indigenous World View," *Canadian Journal of Native Education* 31, no. 2 (2008).

first ones there," much to the embarrassment of the less dutiful French attendees.[618] After Mass and breakfast the boys sat down to lessons in reading and writing, after which they were taught the Catechism for a more in-depth education in the Catholic faith. After lunch the boys received further religious and linguistic training, then a little free time before their evening meal and bed.[619] The boys supported one another in these endeavours and pushed one another to do better. Indeed, as Le Jeune gleefully relates, "they pride themselves on living in the French way; and, if one of them commits some act of rudeness, they call him 'Huron,' and ask him how long it is since he came from that country."[620] Peer pressure was a powerful motivator to do well.

If there were any doubts about their new "Frenchness," the boys' ideological education was reinforced by visible markers of their new identities. The most obvious indicator was clothing, which determined belonging for both the French and the Wendat.[621] Historian Sophie White, in her study of colonial Louisiana, observes that the French understood that by changing one's clothing, one could also change identity.[622] The Wendat understood clothing in a similar manner, as evidenced by the importance of stripping captives prior to adoption, or in the use of stylistic choices of clothing or tattooing to indicate status or belonging.[623] Clothing was used likewise at the seminary to create clear distinctions between the boys' Wendat culture of birth and the French culture they were expected to adopt at the school, something that both the boys

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[618] JR 12: 63.
[619] JR 12: 65.
[620] JR 12: 75.
[621] The French had also made use of clothing symbolism with Pastedechouan, who went to France with the Recollets and was publicly baptized there. At his baptism, he was symbolically stripped and reclothed, to highlight the renunciation of Innu lifestyle and the replacement with Christianity. Anderson, *The Betrayal of Faith*, 94. See also Greer, *Mohawk Saint*, 104.
[622] Sophie White, *Wild Frenchmen and Frenchified Indians: Material Culture and Race in Colonial Louisiana* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 3, 5-6.
[623] White, *Wild Frenchmen and Frenchified Indians*, 108; Gordon Sayre, "The French View of Tattooing in Native North American Cultures," *Proceedings of the Meeting of the French Colonial Historical Society* 19 (1994): 31.

and the Jesuits understood implicitly as part of identity politics. So when Le Jeune explained, "when [they] give you their children, they give them as naked as the hand—that is, as soon as you get them you must have them dressed, and give their robes back to their parents," he was describing the physical elements of adoption.[624] Moreover, the priests repeatedly complained about the expense of having to clothe their students, which no doubt was part of the point. To the Wendat, the boys were now the Jesuits' responsibility as adoptees—to feed, to clothe, to shelter, and to teach. If the Wendat were going to give their youth to the Jesuits for education, they expected their children to be well cared-for until they were returned home.

But clothing had greater cultural significance than the Jesuits appeared to realize. Clothing was part of the larger complex of gift-giving, which itself was a crucial aspect of diplomatic protocol. Gifts were exchanged between persons in almost every kind of social encounter, and involved a degree of compulsion—one *had* to participate in the gift-giving culture, or risk exclusion from future social engagements.[625] Moreover, certain kinds of gifts were tied to specific actions: the more extravagant the gift, the more significant the associated action. European cloth, for example, was considered extremely valuable, and was arguably the most important product of Indigenous-European trade in the seventeenth century.[626] In political meetings, Europeans often gave Indigenous leaders a full set of clothing to acknowledge prestige.[627] Given the way the French treated Satouta at the council, the compulsive giving of

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[624] JR 12: 47.
[625] Cornelius J. Jaenen, "The Role of Presents in French-Amerindian Trade," in *Explorations in Canadian Economic History: Essays in Honour of Irene M. Spry*, ed. Duncan Cameron (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1985), 240.
[626] Marshall Joseph Becker, "Match-Coats and the Military: Mass-Produced Clothing for Native Americans as Parallel Markets in the Seventeenth Century," *Textile History and the Military* 41, no. 1 (2010): 153.
[627] Jaenen, "The Role of Presents in French-Amerindian Trade," 239.

clothing—an expensive gift, especially if it included a complete set of French attire—likely appeared to be a declaration of high esteem.

The boys' religious education was at the heart of their experience at the seminary, with the primary goal of Catholic conversion. To the Jesuits, conversion meant abandoning an old religious practice and embracing a new one, a concept with direct parallels to adoption culture. From the Wendat perspective, the religious education meant the boys were learning to think and behave as Frenchmen, as everything from patriarchy to conceptions of good and evil were contained in the religious dogma. Going through the physical motions of prayer on their knees with hands clasped in front of them was part of a visible marker of their new identity as French adoptees. Engaging with the Catholic ideology—learning the Catechism and Biblical stories, and punctual attendance at Mass—meant that they were performing as good Catholics should. The practice of Catholicism to the exclusion of Wendat spiritual customs also echoed the expectations of war captives to devote themselves entirely to their new community's practices.[628] This process would be complete with baptism and the assumption of a Christian name, something the boys repeatedly requested of their priests.[629] Christian renaming was reminiscent of how adoptees would be given new names—even the concept behind the rituals was similar. The act of naming recreated a person, bringing the dead to life in the body of the captive, and erasing the old self; baptism washed away one's sinful past, making him fit for Heaven. Assigning a godparent at baptism made clear the new family relationship and offered the boys a familial guide to help them maintain their Christianity, much as a family instructed their adoptee

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[628] Havard, *The Great Peace of Montreal*, 71.

[629] Other historians have also made the connection between baptism and adoption, especially as relates to kinship. See: Steckley, *Instructions to a Dying Infidel*, 33–35; Greer, *Mohawk Saint*, 52, 102; Peter Cook, "Vivre Comme Frères: Native-French Alliances in the St. Lawrence Valley, 1535-1667" (PhD. diss. McGill-Queen's University, 2008); Timothy G. Pearson, *Becoming Holy in Early Canada* (Montréal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014), 40. See also JR 12: 69.

in proper behaviour. The new Christian names also suggested belonging to specific families or clans, especially given the Jesuits' habit of naming baptized persons after saints or other important figures.[630] All of these features would have been familiar to the Wendat boys as an essential part of their adoption culture. Baptism, therefore, not only made the boys kindred to the French, but also established a code of conduct for the new "adoptees." Whether the Jesuits realized the similarities remains unclear, but the ideological underpinnings of adoption resonated with the expectations of conversion.

While the adoption-like characteristics of the Jesuits' seminary curriculum certainly helped encourage Frenchification and conversion, the close parallel with adoption culture also had unfortunate drawbacks. Adoption created *fictive* kinship bonds, which were nebulous and highly interpretive. The assimilative effect of adoption, moreover, was rarely internalized. While at the seminary, the boys were obligated to perform Frenchness, which included adherence to Catholic mores, but many of these obligations were abandoned when the boys left the seminary. Without a substantial Jesuit presence in Wendake, the boys felt very little pressure to adhere to foreign practices and faced increasing pressure from their peers to return to a Wendat lifestyle.[631] The majority of the boys abandoned their Catholicism upon returning home, despite their fictive kinship connection with the Jesuits. The priests were working at a disadvantage at the seminary because the Jesuits did not realize that the boys' Frenchness had not been internalized.

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[630] Satouta and Tsiko were baptised as Robert and Paul respectively, while Teouatirhon and Andehoua became Joseph and Armand-Jean. JR 12: 53, 57; 14: 161.

[631] Population estimates are inexact, but in 1634 the Wendat numbered around 30,000. Their population in 1639, combined with their allies the Tionontate, dropped to approximately 12,000. The French were vastly outnumbered: 296 French immigrants arrived between 1608 and 1639, and by 1663 there were only 3,035 French in the St. Laurence area. The Jesuits numbered 13 in 1640. Warrick, "European Infectious Disease and Depopulation of the Wendat-Tionontate," 260; Denys Delâge, *Les pays renversé: Amérindiens et Européans en Amérique du nord-est, 1600-1664* (Montréal: Les Éditions du Boréal, 1991), 252; Lucien Campeau, *The Jesuit Mission to the Hurons: 1634-1650*, trans. William Lonc and George Topp, 2nd ed. (Midland, ON: William Lonc, 2004), 163.

Life at the seminary affected each of the boys in different ways. Satouta and Tsiko seemed to convert quickly, as did Andehoua, but the other boys found it difficult and did not maintain any part of their new faith at home. Aiandacé, apparently missing his mother, returned to Wendake after less than a year at the seminary, and Tsiko's unnamed companion left almost as soon as he arrived, claiming he could not get along with the others.[632] But it was Teouatirhon who seemed to have the most difficulty at the school.

Teouatirhon, originally from the village of Saint-Ignace, seemed ambivalent about being at the seminary.[633] The Jesuits reported him as being "a little duller" than Andehoua, perhaps because he did not take to Christianity as quickly as his companion, and while he attended the same lessons as his companions, he seemed more independent.[634] Reportedly fond of hunting and fishing, and seemingly a restless spirit, Teouatirhon was occasionally confrontational with the Jesuits and his fellow students, and responded poorly to the pressures to conform. Indeed, after an unspecified incident, Teouatirhon told Father Daniel that "he had indeed become very angry, imagining that they wanted to make him believe in God by threats and by force; and, to show that his heart would not let itself be affected by fear, he had committed a wilful act."[635] Teouatirhon was likely responding to the rigid scheduling that dictated how his every waking moment should be spent, and to the threat of corporal punishment to curb disobedience to his Jesuit instructors.[636] As expected of any other Wendat, Teouatirhon's pride and self-respect

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[632] JR 12: 47, 105.
[633] JR 21:174.
[634] JR 14: 239.
[635] JR 12: 75–77.
[636] The Jesuits were aware of Wendat abhorrence of violence as a corrective tool, and recommended using alternative methods whenever possible; however, physical punishments were still employed on occasion. JR 12: 61.

discouraged passive capitulation, and as often occurred with captive adoptees, Teouatirhon resisted the forced cultural changes that would mark his adoption.

Eventually, Teouatirhon's unhappiness culminated in his decision to leave the seminary to rejoin his family. His opportunity came with the visit of his uncle Taratouan, a long-time Jesuit supporter and an important Attigneenongnahac council chief.[637] Taratouan, apparently disappointed with Teouatirhon's decision, reportedly asked his nephew why he wanted to leave "the French, who have treated you so well."[638] Teouatirhon responded only that "he was ready to return whence he had come."[639] Teouatirhon's motivations are hard to interpret here; perhaps he felt he had done enough for diplomacy already, or perhaps he could no longer cope with the alienating experience at the seminary. Regardless, he intended to go home.

Despite Taratouan's initial questioning of Teouatirhon's decision to leave, it seems he also had some reservations, because he agreed to take his nephew home, saying, "Come, then…embark in one of the canoes which are following me, for *I wish myself to take you back*."[640] Perhaps Taratouan was concerned for his nephew's safety, given there were rumours in Wendake at the time that two Frenchmen had been killed by Wendat men. One of Teouatirhon's other uncles, a war chief, had already come to the seminary out of concern for the youth, and was (temporarily) arrested when he tried to take Teouatirhon from the school![641] Although the unnamed uncle was promptly released and the rumours were confirmed false, the whole situation was likely very disconcerting for Teouatirhon and his family. When Taratouan and the other

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[637] Trigger, *Children of Aataentsic*, 524. For Teanaostaiaé as an Attigneenongnahac village, see Tooker, *An Ethnography of the Huron Indians*, 150.
[638] JR 12: 97.
[639] JR 12: 97.
[640] JR 12: 97. Emphasis mine.
[641] JR 12: 95.

unnamed war chief made clear they were willing to take Teouatirhon home, the youth went along without further comment.

Unfortunately for Teouatirhon, Haudenosaunee attacked his party on the return trip to Wendake. While Teouatirhon escaped, his uncle Taratouan was captured, ritually tortured, and executed. After hiding for several days in the woods, almost naked and unarmed, Teouatirhon was forced to return to the seminary for safety, where he was welcomed back…with Le Jeune's comment that Teouatirhon "will be severely chastised if he does not recognize the hand of God in this guidance."[642] One can only imagine his frustration at yet again being forced to perform belief in the Catholic God.

After his return Teouatirhon renewed his efforts at the seminary. Again, his motivations are unclear, but may have been personal, likely some combination of gratitude for Jesuit aid or some form of survivor's guilt, and simple pragmatism. The seminary was over 600 kilometres from home, and much of the journey would be through enemy territory—as his experience demonstrated, leaving the seminary could be dangerous. Wendat spirituality indicated that angry spirits could bring foul luck; perhaps Teouatirhon was also unwilling to risk angering God a second time.[643] Whatever his reasoning, while he eventually returned home, it was with the Jesuits as their convert.

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[642] JR 12: 105.

[643] There are a number of important studies of Great Lakes peoples' religious ideologies and the implications for conversion. For a few useful examples, see: Seeman, *The Huron-Wendat Feast of the Dead*; Carole Blackburn, *Harvest of Souls: the Jesuit Missions and Colonialism in North America, 1632-1650* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000); Peter A. Goddard, "Converting the "Sauvage": Jesuit and Montagnais in Seventeenth-Century New France," *The Catholic Historical Review* 84, no. 2 (1998); John Steckley, "The Warrior and the Lineage: Jesuit Use of Iroquoian Images to Communicate Christianity," *Ethnohistory* 39, 4 (1992). For studies of seventeenth-century French and Jesuit missions, see Abé, *The Jesuit Mission to New France*, 2011; Campeau, *The Jesuit Mission to the Hurons*, 2004; Dominique Deslandres, *Croire et Faire Croire: les Missions Françaises au XVIIe Siècle (1600-1650)* (Paris: Librairie Arthème Fayard, 2003).

The *Jesuit Relations* document Teouatirhon's turnabout as he diligently prepared for his baptism with extensive fasting, "diminishing the pleasures of the chase, to which he is strongly inclined," and "meditating for several weeks upon the Commandments of God."[644] According to Le Jeune, "[s]ince he has been made a child of the Church, there has been observed in him quite a new docility, a modesty and outward refinement … together with a submission of his will to the guidance of the holy Ghost, and to the direction of his superiors."[645]

However, Joseph Teouatirhon's newfound piety did not last. Much to the Jesuits' frustration, upon his return home after two years at the seminary, Teouatirhon was quickly "drawn into the vices which [in Wendake] are accounted virtues," indicating that his conversion was not about conviction, but rather about performance.[646] As with adoption culture, performance of the adoptive identity was critical. Particularly in the case of captive adoptions—which Teouatirhon's "forced" conversion seems to closely parallel—the adoptee was not necessarily expected to forget about his or her past life, but he or she was expected to *act* as if they did not remember, and were starting their new lives with a blank slate.[647] His attempted escape from the seminary having failed, Teouatirhon's performance of Catholicism gave him the support he needed from the Jesuits, but required only a temporary sacrifice of personal identity.

Converts in the Seminary, Diplomats for Wendake

The assimilative education at the seminary paralleled the policies of adoption culture while serving a clear diplomatic purpose. The fictive kinship connection theoretically created allies among the French, who, because of the Wendat principle of reciprocal aid for family

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[644] JR 14: 239.
[645] JR 14: 239.
[646] JR 21: 174.
[647] Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 72.

members, could be called upon in times of need. The language training the boys underwent at the school meant that they could serve as translators and could assist in diplomatic negotiations. Their new clothes displayed their alliance with the French and demonstrated the wealth that could be gained from the generosity of the French. The boys' Catholic training also taught them how the French understood the world and their Christian names told the French that they were persons to be respected. Whether the Jesuits acknowledged that they had adopted the boys, the benefits of that adoption could be felt by both peoples.

Notwithstanding the parallels with adoption culture, or perhaps because of them, the priests had a difficult time keeping students. The pattern of runaway students continued throughout the school's existence. On one memorable occasion, three new seminarians stayed long enough to gain a reputation for bad behaviour, culminating in their successful plan to steal a canoe, load it with supplies, and make the journey back to Wendake early one morning.[648] Even when their students stayed, the Jesuits were frustrated by their "converts'" reversion to traditional practices upon return home, as occurred with Teouatirhon.

The first signs of trouble were the mysterious deaths of Satouta and Tsiko shortly after their arrival at the school. Tsiko, the first to die, seemed to have inherited his uncle Ouanda Koca's "very rare natural eloquence," which would have served him well in future political endeavours.[649] Father Daniel also spoke highly of the boy's "happy disposition" and "interest he had shown in our Belief," clarifying why his death was such a loss for the seminary.[650] But Satouta's death was particularly devastating. More devout than Tsiko, Satouta was also the

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[648] JR 14: 231–3.
[649] JR 12: 57. Note the name "Ouanda Koca" may be a misspelling or variation of "Endahiaconc," the name of an important leader and principal headman of the Attigneenongnahac Wendat. Trigger, *Children of Aataentsic*, 524.
[650] JR 12: 57–9.

political lynchpin of the seminary as the first volunteer and the boy sent to test the French-Jesuit alliance. Without him, the Jesuits were no doubt anxious for the future of the seminary.

Afraid of incurring Wendat retribution for the deaths, the Jesuits took care to show that these losses were also intensely personal. According to the *Jesuit Relations*, Father Daniel was especially devastated by the deaths; he had stayed with both boys as their health declined, praying and tending to them night and day, until he himself fell ill.[651] And in an especially telling gesture, the Jesuits also recorded Satouta's death scene in the *Jesuit Relations*, hinting at their affection for him and his value as a pious convert.[652] While in the midst of fever, Satouta reportedly addressed the hallucinations tormenting him with a declaration of faith: "Go, evil ones … go away from me, I hold you in horror. I do not know any other Master than he who has made heaven and earth, and who has taken me for his child… My Captain, you have paid for me, I am yours…."[653] Satouta's declaration of faith was also one of kinship, as Satouta clearly aligned himself with the Christian God. He died feverish and in agony, but he also died proclaiming gratitude for his Jesuit caretakers in the proper conduct of a good Christian death.[654] Both Satouta and Tsiko were baptized shortly before they died, making them official Christian converts—and, to Wendat eyes, kindred with the Jesuits.

This kinship connection likely protected the Jesuits from retribution. In the Wendat worldview few deaths were truly accidental, and as the boys had been in Jesuit care, the priests feared they would be blamed for the fatalities.[655] Instead, the Wendat accepted the priests' story

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[651] JR 12: 49.
[652] Satouta's deathbed scene was what Erik Seeman dubs a "model" deathbed scene, which focuses on his performance as a good Christian — a very useful anecdote for the Jesuits' propagandistic intentions with their *Relations*. Erik R. Seeman, "Reading Indians' Deathbed Scenes: Ethnohistorical and Representational Approaches," *The Journal of American History* 88, no. 1 (2001): 23-25.
[653] JR 12: 57.
[654] JR 12: 55.
[655] Seeman, *The Huron-Wendat Feast of the Dead*, 15.

of death by overeating, and Tsiko's father even offered to give another son to the seminary.[656] Reportedly, he proclaimed: "…they say my son is dead; if the younger is dead, I will give you his elder brother. I would not be cast down if all my children were to die in your hands, for I know well that you are very careful of them."[657]

While seemingly a naïve offer on the part of the Wendat, offering a replacement child actually followed Iroquoian protocols for the situation *if* the Wendat accepted the Jesuits were now kindred. As described by historian Barbara Alice Mann, Iroquoian clan mothers occasionally distributed "spare" or orphan children among childless relatives to ensure they were cared for.[658] Moreover, mourning was at the core of captive adoption culture, in which adoptees were given to families who were mourning the loss of one of their own.[659] The Jesuits had lost two of their most valued converts, and Father Daniel deeply grieved for them. Wendat mourning culture dictated the rules for easing family members' suffering when faced with deaths and replacing the lost family member was one of the ways.

But the seminary never truly recovered from these deaths. New students came and left without any appreciable conversions, and it became harder to convince children to join the school. By 1639 they stopped taking new students, and by 1642 the school had closed entirely. At the time of closure, they had only one surviving convert among the Wendat seminarians: Andehoua.

Said to have "a good mind and vigorous judgement," Andehoua seemed to take to Catholicism very quickly.[660] In one memorable incident, a number of Wendat arrived to visit the

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[656] JR 12: 53.
[657] JR 12: 93.
[658] Mann, *Iroquoian Women*, 266.
[659] Brandão, *Your Fyre Shall Burn No More*, 41.
[660] JR 14: 235.

seminary, including a few individuals sick with an unspecified illness. Andehoua, commenting on their godlessness, launched into a speech praising the Christian Commandments and proclaiming that the Wendat might find themselves healthy if they stopped displeasing God. His kinsmen reportedly "looked at each other with astonishment, at seeing a young [man] of their nation become a Preacher of the law of the great God."[661] Contrary to the Jesuits' claims, it is more likely that the Wendat were "astonished" at Andehoua's rudeness, as the Wendat considered it very impolite to instruct one another on behaviour, *especially* one's elders.[662] Ironically, this seemed to be the same problem the Jesuits had in preaching to the Wendat, so Andehoua did indeed seem to be becoming French, in mind and attitude.

Andehoua showed other signs of his devotion to Christianity. He began to mortify himself during his stay at the seminary, by holding his hands in ice water, or standing up to his waist in it during the winter.[663] He was diligent about keeping his prayers and going to confession, and he carefully adhered to religious fasts.[664] At one point, he nearly drowned in a canoeing accident because he was trying to save items for the chapel![665] Andehoua proved himself a steadfast Christian, and while there were not many recorded examples of his preaching publicly outside the seminary, he apparently maintained his religious devotions to his death in 1654.[666]

Besides his value as an individual convert, Andehoua's preaching and his support of the Jesuits contributed to the future of the priests' mission. He acted as a preacher on more than one occasion while he was under Jesuit care, and continued to speak for his Christian allies for the

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[661] JR 12: 107.
[662] Seeman, *The Huron-Wendat Feast of the Dead*, 43.
[663] JR 14: 237.
[664] JR 14: 237.
[665] JR 14: 245–7.
[666] JR 41: 159.

rest of his life. Perhaps an even more important battle on behalf of his new religion was recorded in the *Jesuit Relations* of 1638, when Andehoua—by then baptized as Armand-Jean—travelled with a few of the priests to the epidemic-ravaged Wendake. The Wendat had revived old rumours of Jesuit culpability, suggesting that the priests may have started the epidemic through witchcraft.[667] Andehoua defended the Jesuits,

> proclaim[ing] everywhere that *we [Jesuits] are the Fathers of all these peoples*…he cannot endure to have them suspect us of having caused their sickness. The timidity natural to the young [men] before the old men is banished from his heart—the faith makes him as bold as a lion; his people listen to him, admire his speeches, and give up, little by little, the black thoughts they had conceived of us.[668]

Once again, the language of kinship was used to remind the Wendat of the relationship Andehoua had with the French and of the trust expected of such a relationship. Andehoua used the oratory skills respected by his people to convince the Wendat to support the Jesuits and ignore the rumours of Jesuit culpability in Wendat deaths. While Andehoua's intervention was not the only factor protecting the Jesuits, it almost certainly helped to dissuade individual Wendat from taking out their grief and fear on the missionaries in a time when tensions were particularly high. Andehoua's adoption, then, had a small but discernible impact on the Wendat-Jesuit relationship.

Andehoua appears less often in the *Jesuit Relations* after 1639, but it seems he continued to serve the diplomatic purpose the Wendat expected of the seminary. In the late 1640s, in the years just prior to the Wendat dispersal, Andehoua served as an intermediary between the French and the Wendat. He worked directly with the French governor in at least one such meeting, presumably making use of his insider knowledge of both Wendat and French customs.[669] As the

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[667] Trigger, *Children of Aataentsic*, 534–8.
[668] JR 14: 253. Emphasis is mine.
[669] JR 30: 165–7.

Jesuits had hoped when they first started the seminary, one of their seminarians became a diligent Catholic and a cultural broker. Indeed, Andehoua spoke of his desire to devote his life to Catholicism, and he joined the other Wendat at Québec after the 1649 dispersal, specifically so that he could live close to the Jesuits and continue his religious education. By then known primarily as "Armand," Andehoua was accepted by the Jesuits and had been incorporated into their world.

By 1639, the seminary was struggling in earnest.[670] The original six boys were all either dead or returned home. The newest students came from different nations and peoples, but none seem to have become successful converts. The last Wendat student mentioned by name at the Jesuit seminary was not a youth at all, but a man of approximately 50 years, who had argued his way into the school in 1639. Unlike the boys, however, Pierre Ateiachias had not come to the seminary on behalf of his fellow Wendat, but for a personal desire to learn Catholicism. Paul Le Jeune wrote in the *Jesuit Relations* for that year that he was concerned Ateiachias was too old to learn, and he tried to dissuade the man from staying.[671] In turn, Ateiachias rebuked the Jesuits for seeking children for the seminary, saying, "[you are] not right to prefer children to grown men. Young people are not listened to in our country; if they should relate wonders, they would not be believed. But men speak—they have solid understanding, and what they say is believed; hence I shall make a better report of your doctrine."[672] Ateiachias pointed to the value of speech—an

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[670] Interestingly, the Ursuline nuns also opened a girls' seminary at Québec in 1639. The first Wendat student was Thérèse Khionreha, a 13 or 14-year-old girl from a predominantly Christian Wendat family. In many ways, the girls' experiences at the Ursuline seminary paralleled that of the boys at the Jesuit school, but the differences in historical context, involved peoples, and their respective goals deserve a more extensive discussion than can be given here. For some useful sources, see: Marcel Trudel, *Les Écolières des Ursulines de Québec, 1639-1686* (Montréal: Éditions Hurtubise, 1999); Dom Guy Oury, ed. *Marie de L'Incarnation, Ursuline (1599-1672): Correspondance* (Abbaye Saint-Pierre: Solesmes, 1971).
[671] JR 16: 169-173.
[672] JR 16: 171.

area in which the young had far less power—and took advantage of the Jesuits' desire for evangelists. He does not mention that the boys had diplomatic rather than evangelical goals at the seminary, wisely appealing to the *Jesuits'* conceptions of the seminary's goals, rather than reiterating the intentions of the Wendat. Ironically, Ateiachias' stay at the seminary culminated in his successful baptism, but he then drowned when he returned home to convert others, leaving Andehoua the only surviving convert.[673]

Conclusion

To boys like Satouta and Andehoua, the seminary provided an opportunity to help their communities. As Ateiachias pointed out, the youth were largely voiceless in councils; without experience to back them up, they had not earned the respect necessary to lead. However, they were not without agency, and they could, and did, make important political contributions. Satouta and the other boys volunteered to go to the seminary because they could learn more about the French Jesuits' way of life and could bring back that knowledge to their people; these youths struggled with the lifestyle they had to adopt there, and they chose whether to stay, but these were carefully-made choices *they* made, rather than choices made for them. Ironically, their agency was mostly manifested through their apparently passive acceptance of new lifestyles at the seminary. They wore French clothes, ate French food, spoke and read in French, and prayed as French Catholics. They subsumed their own cultural identities as part of a diplomatic venture. The boys' diplomacy was often silent, expressed in their performance of "Frenchness" and their apparent adoption by French Jesuits. Incremental actions of quiet trust-building, such as living and learning at the seminary school, went a long way toward building the friendship between the French and the Wendat; as such, Wendat youth at the school were directly contributing to the

[673] For Ateiachias' full story see: JR 16: 169–79.

foundation of a long-term relationship with their newcomer allies. While the school did not survive for long, the case demonstrates how ideas of identity and personhood lent themselves to diplomacy, and how children, as informal adoptees, could serve as diplomats for their people.

Chapter Six: Adaptation in a Changing World: Wendat Girls in Québec Schools, 1640-1660

In a letter to "a lady of quality" dated 3 September 1640, Ursuline nun Marie Guyart (Marie de l'Incarnation) described the first group of Indigenous girls sent to the new school in Quebec. The nun was impressed by the girls' devotion to their schooling and to the nuns themselves. While there were a few false starts, Guyart claimed "these young girls love[d] us more than their parents," and were uninterested in returning home to their families.[674] Indeed, Marie de l'Incarnation writes that the girls modelled themselves on the nuns' own behaviour and showed great willingness to devote themselves to their religious and practical education. While Guyart's observations were obviously skewed—the girls almost certainly did *not* love the nuns more than their own families—her remarks in context of the girls' performance at the school does indicate at least some interest in the Ursulines and their way of life.

Indigenous girls spent years at the convent schools, often arriving when quite young. Their education was heavily influenced by French expectations of feminine schooling, with particular emphasis on teaching what the French considered gender-appropriate conduct and feminine skills. Among other things, the girls were taught "good manners", embroidery, reading, and playing the viol.[675] As part of their religious education, the girls learned to say the rosary, sing hymns in their native tongues (and also in French and Latin), recite the catechism, and to participate in Catholic rituals like attending Mass, taking communion, and maintaining fasts for religious holidays.[676]

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[674] "…ces jeunes filles nous aiment plus que leurs parens." Dom Guy Oury, ed. *Marie De L'incarnation, Ursuline (1599-1672): Correspondance* (Abbaye Saint-Pierre: Solesmes, 1971), 96.

[675] "…connoissance des mystères, que dans les bonnes moeurs, dans la science des ouvrages, à lire, à jouer de la Viole, et en mille autres petites addresses." Oury, *Marie De L'Incarnation Correspondance*, 96.

[676] The Ursulines and the Augustinians/Hospitalières at the Hôtel-Dieu both fostered the use of plainchant and the use of sacred figural music, using multiple languages. For some examples and descriptions of motets and figural music in early Québec, see: Erich Schwandt, "The Motet in New France: Some 17th and 18th Century Manuscripts in Quebec," *Fontes Artis Musicae* 28, no. 3 (1981). For food and holidays,

However, the girls were also taught skills that Frenchmen and Frenchwomen rarely associated with femininity, including translation, preaching, and orating, and, to a certain extent, the medical arts. While the nuns—and the male policymakers back in France—seemed to expect to turn Wendat girls into model *French* girls at these schools, the hybridized education was rarely successful at Frenchification. Instead, much like the boys at the Jesuit seminary, these girls often applied their education to personal and familial goals. Girls at the convent schools showed incredible adaptability and used their education as one more tool for success in a changing world.

Focusing on gendered and religious analysis, this chapter seeks to examine these students' roles as girls and young women in the changing landscape of Wendake and Québec, highlighting the experiences of three girls as a case study. I argue that these girls maintained many traditional roles, expectations, and duties, despite living in a French space; moreover, their accepted Frenchification was specific to adaptive changes and made sense in a Wendat worldview. These girls' stories showcase the agency expected and supported in Wendat childrearing practices, and demonstrate that these girls were anything but passive, subjugated Catholic converts.

The first case study is that of Thérèse Oionhaton, who was at the Ursuline school from 1640 to 1642. She is an ideal example of a 'perfect' Wendat Christian, but her story makes it clear that religious syncretism was common even in the Ursulines' favoured students and her religiosity differed from the expectations of her instructors.[677] Thérèse came from a prominent Christian

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see Whitney Hahn and Mairi Cowan, "Foods, Foodways, and Francisation in Seventeenth-Century Québec," *Dublin Gastronomy Symposium* (2018), https://arrow.dit.ie/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1135&context=dgs.

[677] Of the three girls, the story of Thérèse Oionhaton (also sometimes recorded as Thérèse Khionreha) is most well-known to scholars, but to my knowledge there have been no attempts at scholarly analysis of her story. Discussion of her story is largely restricted to one or two sentences in context of other matters, without specific analysis of her or her story. A possible exception is in a recent study by Lisa J. M. Poirier, *Religion, Gender, and Kinship in Colonial New France* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2016), which has a chapter titled "Thérèse Oionhaton." However, even in this study, only the first

family and was the niece to Joseph Chiwatenhwa, the 'first' Wendat Christian convert. Thérèse was captured by Haudenosaunee in 1642 and although she never returned home to Wendake, she remained a staunch Christian her whole life. Thérèse, I argue, interwove her Christianity into her concept of family; to Thérèse, family and Christianity could not be separated, and so she brought her religion to her Wendat kin, then after her capture, she continued to proselytize, and even brought members of her adoptive family to missionaries for baptism.

In 1650, 10 years after Thérèse arrived at the Ursuline school, Thérèse's two sisters, Cécile Arenhatsi and an unnamed girl, as well as Cécile's young daughter Marie A8entonhou8en, arrived at the same convent. Around six or seven years of age in 1650, Marie repeatedly ran away from the school, only to be returned time and again by her mother Cécile. However, by 1657 she had accepted her place at the school, and actually served as a teenaged ambassador for the school in a diplomatic meeting with Haudenosaunee representatives. As a spokesperson for the seminary, Marie drew on kinship ideas in her speech to the visitors, asking them to send their daughters to the school, and claiming that she would consider these prospective Haudenosaunee students as her own sisters. Most significantly, Marie took up the task of diplomacy—ordinarily the task of adult, Wendat *men*—and mediated between the Wendat and Haudenosaunee in what was arguably the most important political topic of the decade: whether or not the Wendat at Québec would join the Haudenosaunee and accept adoption into the Haudenosaunee Confederacy. Marie demonstrates that fondness for the Ursuline curriculum was not unanimous, but that the French education had broader implications for the community than simply Catholic representation.

Finally, Geneviève-Agnès Skanudharoua became the first Wendat (and the first Indigenous girl) to become a Hospitalière nun. Both Geneviève-Agnès and her sister joined the Ursuline

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two pages of the chapter are about Thérèse Oionhaton, and provide a brief and incomplete summary of her life; the rest of the 47-paged chapter discusses the Beaver War theory.

school together, and like Thérèse, Cécile, and Marie, Geneviève-Agnès was from Ossossané (Conception)…and may have also been a member of Joseph Chiwatenhwa's extended family.[678] Geneviève-Agnès joined the Hospitalières after the Ursulines' convent fire in 1650 and she embraced her Catholic, missionary family over the wishes of her Wendat one (who were also Christian), making Geneviève-Agnès a very unusual case. However, like the other girls, Geneviève-Agnès's religious life echoed Wendat expectations of appropriate interactions with the spirit world. She became one of the Hospitalières, a healer as well as a kind of spiritual expert, and in traditional Wendat worldview, such persons were expected to use their spiritual connections to assist and support the community. Geneviève-Agnès's decision to become a nun did not mean isolating herself completely from her people or her duties to her people; in a way, her life echoed that of a traditional medicine person, making the seemingly jarring transition from Wendat girl to Catholic nun more understandable.

Each of these girls was strong-willed, capable, and empowered, and although their convent education supported both traditional Wendat and French gender expectations, it also led to innovations, adaptations, and outright change. These girls were not subjugated by their French-style education. If anything, their education and the connections they made at the schools help the girls to support their people and their peoples' goals. The girls' story was one of adaptation, but also one of individual, personal agency. While not every girl sent to convent schools had such vivid experiences, the stories of Thérèse, Marie, and Geneviève-Agnès highlight the power of kinship ties, female social power, and the personal agency of individual youths.

Life in Wendake and Québec in a Time of Upheaval: 1640-1660

[678] Jeanne-Françoise Juchereau and Marie Andrée Duplessis, *Les Annales De L' Hotel-Dieu De Quebec, 1636-1717* (Quebec: L'Hotel-Dieu de Quebec, 1939), 85; Marcel Trudel, *Les Écolières Des Ursulines De Québec, 1639-1686* (Montréal: Éditions Hurtubise, 1999), 146.

If the 1630s were a time of epidemics and population loss, wherein approximately 60% of the Wendat population were lost between 1634 and 1640, the 1640s and 1650s had another serious danger: war. The off-and-on conflict between the Wendat and the Haudenosaunee intensified in the 1640s. Raids became more common, and the violence perpetrated against captives escalated as well. The *Jesuit Relations* from this period are filled with stories of attacks, counterattacks, captivity, ritual torture, and retribution. The nature of this war was rooted in traditional Iroquoian mourning practices, and most scholars today agree that this conflict was intended to help the participants to work out their grief and rage for their losses of the previous decade, while also gaining captives to be adopted to replace the dead.[679]

For the Wendat, war was traditionally conducted by men, but with the active support of women. Wendat women had the power to call their men to war, and since it was women's task to supply the warriors with food and clothing, women could also prevent or at least sabotage a war they did not agree with by refusing to provide supplies.[680] As progenitors and keepers of the longhouse and the extended family, women also had charge of prisoners of war and had the right to decide whether prisoners would be ritually tortured and killed, or if they would be spared and

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[679] For more on the Iroquoian mourning war complex, see José António Brandão, *Your Fyre Shall Burn No More: Iroquois Policy toward New France and Its Native Allies to 1701* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997); Jon Parmenter, *The Edge of the Woods* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2010). For a study of the role of emotion in Indigenous warfare, see Matthew Kruer, "Bloody Minds and Peoples Undone: Emotion, Family, and Political Order in the Susquehannock-Virginia War," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 74, no. 3 (2017). For a counter-argument, that these were wars for slaves rather than mourning, see Brett Rushforth, *Bonds of Alliance: Indigenous and Atlantic Slaveries in New France* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012). See also Brett Rushforth, ""A Little Flesh We Offer You": The Origins of Indian Slavery in New France," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 60, no. 4 (2003); William A. Starna and Ralph Watkins, "Northern Iroquoian Slavery," *Ethnohistory* 38, no. 1 (1991); Jon Parmenter, "After the Mourning Wars: The Iroquois as Allies in Colonial North American Campaigns 1676-1760," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 64, no. 1 (2007).

[680] Kathryn Magee, ""They Are the Life the Nation": Women and War in Traditional Nadouek Society," *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 28, no. 1 (2008): 124, 25; Catherine Cangany, "Fashioning Moccasins: Detroit, the Manufacturing Frontier, and the Empire of Consumption, 1701–1835," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 69, no. 2 (2012): 268-69.

adopted into a family.[681] Women played an intrinsic role in the conduct of warfare in this period, and contrary to earlier scholarship, women's status and power in these matters did not see much decline in the dispersal period.[682]

War brought the Wendat closer to their French allies and to the Jesuit missionaries. More and more Wendats converted to Christianity, giving them access to French weapons and aid, but it is debateable how 'Christian' these new converts really were. Scholars have long debated the efficacy of conversion, but the general consensus among historians is that the majority of conversions were not rooted in Catholic fervour, but were more often based on a syncretic understanding of the religion, or even just conversions of convenience and practical concerns.[683] However, a number of Wendats seemed genuinely interested in Christianity, and were considered devout Catholics after baptism. Perhaps the most famous of these converts was Joseph Chiwatenhwa, a Turtle Clan Attignawantan Wendat from Ossossane.[684] With his baptism in 1637 being one of the first baptisms of healthy adults among the Wendats, Joseph Chiwatenhwa's relationship with the Jesuits was quite close.[685] He helped the priests translate prayers into the Wendat language and acted as an intermediary between the Wendats and the French. With his

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[681] Roland Viau, *Femmes Des Personne: Sexes, Genres Et Pouvoirs En Iroquoisie Ancienne* (Montréal: Boréal, 2000), 79-83.
[682] For the older scholarly argument about women's loss of status, see Karen Anderson, *Chain Her by One Foot: The Subjugation of Native Women in Seventeenth-Century New France* (New York: Routledge Inc., 1991). For a more recent argument about women retaining power, see Kathryn Magee Labelle, *Dispersed but Not Destroyed: A History of the Seventeenth-Century Wendat People* (Toronto: University of British Columbia Press, 2013).
[683] For more on Wendat conversions and the eight different types of conversion, see Cornelius J. Jaenen, "Amerindian Responses to French Missionary Intrusion, 1611-1760: A Categorization," in *Religion/Culture: Comparative Canadian Studies*, ed. William Westfall, et al. (Ottawa: Association for Canadian Studies, 1985).
[684] John Steckley, *The Problem of Translating Catholic Doctrine into the Language of an Indigenous Horticultural Tribe: A Study of Jesuit Father Jean De Brébeuf's 1630 Catechism of the Wendat (Huron) People* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2017), 81.
[685] John Steckley, *Untold Tales: Four 17th Century Huron* (Toronto: Associated Heritage Publishing, 1981), 11.

Christian marriage to Marie Aonetta in 1638, Joseph Chiwatenhwa's family also became the first of the Wendat Christian families. His three nieces, Thérèse, Cécile, and Agathe, were baptized together around the same time as Aonetta, setting the family apart from the rest of his clan. Indeed, Chiwatenhwa severed ties with his extended family by declaring that he would only count the baptized as his kin; this renunciation of his traditionalist kin and people may have contributed to his murder in 1640.[686]

If religion had a fragmenting effect on Wendat communities, it could only contribute to the political fragmentation occurring at the same time. The devastating losses caused by epidemic disease indirectly affected Wendat leadership and military efforts. As historian Kathryn Magee Labelle points out, the loss of civil headmen to disease meant "leadership was lost and policies were forgotten, disrupting diplomacy, domestic politics, and the security of the Wendat Confederacy," a problem exacerbated when many of these civil headmen were then replaced by leaders in matters of war.[687] Labelle suggests the Wendat may have re-engaged in war in the late 1630s as a result of the "increased involvement of war headmen in civil matters…[who] began to shape Wendat society and policy towards situations that they had more experience in orchestrating."[688] With Wendat leadership more inclined to military exploits than peace, they may

[686] While the Jesuits claimed Chiwatenhwa was killed by Haudenosaunee, scholarly research indicates his fellow Wendats were the more likely killers, perhaps because of his differing politics and close alliance with the French. For more on Joseph Chiwatenhwa (also spelled Chihwatenha, Chihoatenhwa, Chihouatenhoua, Chiohoarehra) see: Bruce G. Trigger, "Chihwatenha," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/chihwatenha_1E.html (accessed 30 December 2018); Steckley, *Untold Tales*, 5-17; Bruce G. Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987), 558, 61-2, 65-7, 88, 91, 94-5, 98-601, 16, 94.

[687] Kathryn Magee Labelle, ""They Only Spoke in Sighs": The Loss of Leaders and Life in Wendake, 1633-1639," *Journal of Historical Biography* 6 (2009): 8.

[688] Labelle, "They Only Spoke in Sighs," 22.

have exacerbated an already tumultuous situation, prompting the next decade's aggressive war with the Haudenosaunee.[689]

By 1649, the Wendats' war with Haudenosaunee resulted in the Wendat dispersal. While many eventually travelled south into what would become the United States, later becoming known as the Wyandots and Wyandottes of Oklahoma, Kansas, and Michigan, other Wendats joined with Indigenous and French allies and remained in New France. A core group of Wendats, including Joseph Teondechoren (brother of Chiwatenhwa, his baptismal namesake) and his surviving family, opted to follow the Jesuits back to Québec, choosing their alliance with the French missionaries over their Indigenous allies. Many of the Wendat who settled around Québec, including Joseph Teondechoren, sent their children to the Ursulines' school after 1650, solidifying their ties with the French. The Haudenosaunee wars did not end with the Wendat dispersal, but would continue, with occasional lulls, for another half-century.

For the Wendat, then, the 1650s were a time of social and political uncertainty. The Wendat near Québec were few in number: in 1653, the colony on the Island of Orleans was generously estimated at 500-600 individuals; by 1657, those at Québec numbered only around 130 individuals.[690] This tiny population was under threat from continuing Haudenosaunee raids, and then also pressure specifically from Mohawk and Onondaga diplomats, who sought to convince the Wendats to accept adoption into their respective nations. At the same time, the French attempted to establish peace with the Haudenosaunee, and while the Onondaga and Mohawks competed with one another for the Wendat refugees, both Haudenosaunee nations attached peace

[689] A similar argument is posited for the Susquehannock-Virginia War in the later 17th century, in which warfare became more violent and less controlled as younger and bolder war leaders replaced those who died in epidemics. Kruer, "Bloody Minds and Peoples Undone," 412-3.
[690] Jean-François Lozier, *Flesh Reborn: The Saint Lawrence Valley Mission Settlements through the Seventeenth Century* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2018), 116, 40.

delegations with ambassadors to the Wendat.[691] In this atmosphere the Wendat increasingly sent their girls to the nuns for education, some of whom would take important roles in shaping the ever-shifting sociopolitical conditions.

Frenchification at Convent Schools

Seventeenth-century Québec was home to several educational institutions for girls, each focusing on religious education in combination with Frenchification. Each school had slightly different curriculums and specializations, and had varying degrees of success in their education goals. The Hospitalières at the Hôtel-Dieu, for example, took on a number of students, but their primary task in New France was to run the hospital, not educate young girls. Marguerite Bourgeoys' Congregation of Notre Dame school, on the other hand, developed a reputation for its success at Frenchifying Indigenous girls. Indeed, some of the first Indigenous members of a religious order came from Bourgeoys' school, including a Wendat woman called Marie-Thérèse Gannenéagouas, who herself eventually took on the responsibility of teaching.[692] Other girls were sent to France for education or, especially in the years before the schools opened, lived with French families and were taught French customs there.[693]

Perhaps the most well-known girls' school was the Ursuline school, established in 1639/40 in response to Jesuit Paul Le Jeune's 1634 call for dedicated French women to educate the

[691] Lozier's recent study *Flesh Reborn* assesses this political atmosphere in detail. For older studies, see Gilles Havard, *The Great Peace of Montreal of 1701: French-Native Diplomacy in the Seventeenth Century*, trans. Phyllis Aronoff and Howard Scott (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001). For the Haudenosaunee in this period, see Parmenter, *The Edge of the Woods.* For the Wendat in this period, see Labelle, *Dispersed but Not Destroyed: A History of the Seventeenth-Century Wendat People.*

[692] Jan Noel, *Along a River: The First French-Canadian Women* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 64-5.

[693] Roger Magnuson, *Education in New France* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), 51-52.

Indigenous female population.[694] The Ursulines were uniquely suited to the task of teaching Indigenous students. Their order was the main teaching institution for women and girls in 17th-century France, growing out of the Counter-Reformation's desire for firm instruction in the Catholic faith, to push back against the spread of Protestantism.[695] While the Ursulines first became a cloistered order in 1609 in Toulouse, the order did not turn away from its history and purpose as a teaching institution.[696] Instead of withdrawing from the world as cloistering usually required, they sought permission from Rome to continue teaching, provided students came to them. As a result, the Ursulines opened their doors to students who would stay in the convent for the duration of their education, allowing the nuns to continue their teaching obligations without leaving the safety of the cloister.[697] Ursulines were also able to circumvent the usual restrictions against female preaching by embracing their teaching mandate, giving them unusual freedom in early modern Europe's patriarchal church.[698] The less restrictive cloister was transferred to New France, where students came to the Ursulines and stayed at the convent for the duration of their education, and with nuns even going to the parlour to meet with individuals, regardless of sex.[699] The flexibility of the cloister was essential in maintaining the Ursuline educational mission, which,

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[694] JR 6: 151-3.
[695] Elizabeth Rapley, *The Dévotes: Women and Church in Seventeenth-Century France* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990), 43, 48.
[696] Laurence Lux-Sterritt, "Between the Cloister and the World: The Successful Compromise of the Ursulines of Toulouse, 1604-1616," *French History* 16, no. 3 (2002): 260, 52, 61; Emily Clark, *Masterless Mistresses: The New Orleans Ursulines and the Development of a New World Society, 1727-1834* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017), 2.
[697] Lux-Sterritt, "Between the Cloister and the World," 262-3.
[698] Linda Lierheimer, "Female Eloquence and Maternal Ministry: The Apostolate of Ursuline Nuns in Seventeenth-Century France" (Diss., Princeton University, 1994), 238-9, 40-1, 43. For more on Ursuline (and Visitandine) agency within the cloister, including in contravention of the patriarchal church's conventions, see Carol Baxter, "Women, Religious Conviction and the Subversive Use of Power," *Seventeenth-Century French Studies* 31, no. 2 (2009).
[699] Mairi Cowan, "Education, Francisation, and Shifting Colonial Priorities at the Ursuline Convent in Seventeenth-Century Québec," *Canadian Historical Review* 99, no. 1 (2018): 11; Lierheimer, "Female Eloquence and Maternal Ministry," 250.

as Natalie Zemon Davis explains, was rooted in "the notion that the world could be reformed through families"; even in France, Ursulines expected their students to return home and spread the Catholic message to their relations, and this same notion was transferred to the New World.[700]

The Québec school, opened shortly after the Ursulines arrived in the New World, was directed by Marie de l'Incarnation, famed Ursuline mystic and prolific letter-writer.[701] Marie de l'Incarnation, formerly Marie Guyart, joined the Ursulines in 1631, leaving her 11-year-old son in the care of her family and living the rest of her life as a nun and a mystic.[702] Marie de l'Incarnation was instrumental in securing permission for the Ursuline nuns to travel to Québec, and she, along with her two fellow Ursuline travellers Cécile de Sainte-Croix and Marie Saint-Joseph (or Marie de la Troche de St. Bernard), was among the first female missionaries outside of Europe.[703] Her role as teacher to the Indigenous girls made her a prominent figure among the French colonists and missionaries, and the members of the Indigenous nations who sent their daughters to Québec for a Catholic education. Among the Wendat and Haudenosaunee, seeing a group of French women in a position of power and authority likely resonated with their own cultural expectations where women were the heads of households, and likely contributed to their trust in the Ursulines' message.[704]

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[700] Natalie Zemon Davis, *Women on the Margins: Three Seventeenth-Century Lives* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995), 96; Lierheimer, "Female Eloquence and Maternal Ministry," 246, 48

[701] Marie de l'Incarnation's life story was published by her son after her death, but she was also a prolific letter-writer, and left behind close to 10,000 letters. Vincent Grégoire, "Marie De L'incarnation Religieuse, Mystique Et Mère: La Première Femme Écrivain De Nouvelle-France?," *Dalhousie French Studies* 42 (1998): 36.

[702] Mary Dunn, *The Cruelest of All Mothers: Marie De L'incarnation, Motherhood, and Christian Tradition* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2016), 5.

[703] Dominique Deslandres, "In the Shadow of the Cloister: Representations of Female Holiness in New France," in *Colonial Saints: Discovering the Holy in the Americas*, ed. Allan Greer and Jodi Bilinkoff (London: RoutledgeFalmer, 2003), 132; John W. Chalmers, *Eduation Behind the Buckskin Curtain* (Edmonton: University of Alberta, 1972), 31.

[704] Female-centric religiosity resonated strongly with the Wendat and Haudenosaunee in the seventeenth-century. See William B. Hart, "'The Kindness of the Blessed Virgin': Faith, Succour, and the Cult of Mary among Christian Hurons and Iroquois in Seventeenth-Century New France," in *Spiritual Encounters:*

There was considerable diversity at the school. Most students were between five and 12 years of age when they came to the convent, although in some cases there were adults at the seminary, and children as young as newborn infants.[705] The ethnic demographics were also highly variable. At first, the student body was mostly comprised of Algonquin and Innu girls (with only one Wendat student listed in the records until after 1650), but later Haudenosaunee and even Inuit and Abenaki girls attended the school, working alongside the daughters of French colonists.[706] Because of the ethnic diversity, the school was characterized by its multicultural nature. The nuns used Indigenous languages to teach their pupils, and conversational proficiency in multiple Indigenous languages was likely a necessity for the girls as well, especially for the Wendat students, who were fewer in number than their Algonquin counterparts.

The student body could change year to year, and even season to season. Historian Vincent Grégoire lists three different kinds of Indigenous students at the school: resident or permanent students (seminarists), temporary students (those staying for a few weeks or months), and day students (external students). There was a constant flow of people in and out of the convent, and a regular injection of new people, personalities, languages, and cultures.[707] Algonquin and Innu parents, for example, often left their girls at the school during the winter months, when it was more difficult to procure enough food to support the whole family, and then arrived in the spring to take their children home; on other occasions, those same girls might be taken out of school to help with

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Interaction between Christianity and Native Religions in Colonial America, ed. Nicholas Griffiths and Fernandes Cervantes (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999).

[705] Dominique Deslandres, "Femmes Missionnaires En Nouvelle-France: Les Débuts Des Ursulines Et Des Hospitalières À Québec," in *La Religion De Ma Mère: Les Femmes Et La Transmission De La Foi*, ed. Jean Delumeau (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1992), 212.

[706] Vincent Grégoire, "L'éducation Des Filles Au Couvent Des Ursulines De Québec À L'époque De Marie De L'incarnation (1639-1672)," *Seventeenth-Century French Studies* 17 (1995): 89-90; Trudel, *Les Écolières Des Ursulines De Québec*, 316, 37, 54.

[707] Grégoire, "L'éducation Des Filles Au Couvent Des Ursulines De Québec," 89.

the winter hunt, and return in better weather.[708] Other students might stay at the school for years at a time, as in the case of some Wendat girls like Thérèse Oionhaton and Marie A8entonhou8en. This meant that students might gain and lose friends from month to month, and year to year, and this constant change affected the ways the girls engaged with each other, with their instructors, and with their education.

The Ursulines, likewise, had to be adaptive and flexible in their curriculum. Short-term students might only be taught the basics of Catholic dogma and prayer in their own native languages.[709] Long-term students, on the other hand, received a broad education that largely matched that of their French colonist counterparts, with a few interesting additions. The girls were taught to speak, read, and write in French and Latin; they were also taught basic math, embroidery and sewing, painting, and at least in some instances, the playing of musical instruments.[710] As part of their religious education, girls were taught the catechism, prayers, and the rosary, as well as songs and hymns, and self-examination and confession were expected aspects of the curriculum.[711] Some resident pupils even assisted the nuns in teaching day students.[712] In all, the Ursuline education was designed to train girls (French and Indigenous) to be good, Catholic mothers and wives, and their schooling was intended to give them the necessary skills to raise a French and Catholic family.[713]

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[708] Cowan, "Education, Francisation, and Shifting Colonial Priorities at the Ursuline Convent," 18; Grégoire, "L'éducation Des Filles Au Couvent Des Ursulines De Québec À L'époque De Marie De L'incarnation (1639-1672)," 92.
[709] Magnuson, *Education in New France*, 56.
[710] Grégoire, "L'éducation Des Filles Au Couvent Des Ursulines De Québec," 90; Dominique Deslandres, "L'éducation Des Amérindiennes D'après La Correspondance De Marie Guyart De L'incarnation," *Studies in Religion* 16, no. 1 (1987): 100; Davis, *Women on the Margins,* 96.
[711] Deslandres, "L'éducation Des Amérindiennes," 100.
[712] Magnuson, *Education in New France*, 56.
[713] Jan Noel, *Women in New France*, Historical Booklet No. 59 (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1998), 7.

This French education also extended to material culture and diet to support immersion into French culture. Upon arrival, students were bathed to remove the protective layer of animal grease from their skins (which served as insect repellent and helped insulate against heat and cold), dressed in red camelot with red shoes and mittens, and coiffed their hair in French styles.[714] By dressing Indigenous girls in French styles, encouraging them to speak and act according to French custom, and teaching them to pray as the French Catholics did, the Ursulines hoped that over time they could turn these Indigenous girls into model French girls, in much the same way the Jesuits attempted with the Wendat boys at their own seminary.[715]

Unlike their colonist counterparts however, Indigenous girls' schooling included some unique features. Because the Ursulines hoped Indigenous girls would help spread Christianity when they went home, the girls were taught oratory and preaching skills—something neither Wendat nor European women were expected to do.[716] As part of this communicative training, the girls were taught to read and write in their own Indigenous languages as well as French and Latin, because the French had long acknowledged Indigenous fascination with writing, and sought to take advantage of that fascination.[717] To encourage memorization of religious hymns and songs, the girls were encouraged to sing, and the nuns even supported dancing in Indigenous traditions.[718] Even food and clothing were hybridized. Red dye was used for the girls' clothing because the girls

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[714] Cowan, "Education, Francisation, and Shifting Colonial Priorities at the Ursuline Convent," 13-4.
[715] Cowan, "Education, Francisation, and Shifting Colonial Priorities at the Ursuline Convent," 7-8, 16.
[716] Baxter, "Women, Religious Conviction and the Subversive Use of Power," 117; Kayanesenh Paul Williams, *Kayanerenkó:Wa the Great Law of Peace* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2018), 314-16; Kim Anderson, *A Recognition of Being: Reconstructing Native Womanhood* (Toronto: Sumach Press, 2000), 214-19.
[717] James Axtell, "The Power of Print in the Eastern Woodlands," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 44, no. 2 (1987): 304-05. For a counter-study of European writing and Indigenous perceptions of literacy's power (or lack thereof), see also: Peter Wogan, "Perceptions of European Literacy in Early Contact Situations," *Ethnohistory* 41, no. 3 (1994): especially 416.
[718] *Les Ursulines De Québec, Despuis Leur Établissement Jusqu'à Nos Jours*, 4 vols. (Québec: Presses de C. Daveau, 1863).

made it clear that they liked the colour and new ribbons and decorative accoutrements were regularly provided.[719] Similarly, the girls' diet was largely modelled on a typical French colonist's diet, but with some Indigenous additions: sagamité was common, but the girls were also given sweets like candied lemon peel, jam, and raisins, as well as cakes and dried fruits, and consumed meals containing beef, pork, cinnamon, nutmeg, cloves, pepper, olive oil, and lard.[720]

As a strategy of enculturation, Frenchification only really worked if it was permanent. The goal was to have the girls return home and then continue to dress, eat, pray, speak, and generally behave as French women. However, this goal was generally not met. While some girls continued their Christian practice, most of the other tenets and behaviours of French culture were left behind or dramatically modified. Scholars are divided on why this occurred. In his examination of the Ursuline schools, historian Vincent Grégoire argues the Ursulines were just not very good at making the Indigenous girls into French women and eventually re-directed their efforts to evangelization instead.[721] Dominique Deslandres concurs with this assessment of Frenchification and says that the Ursulines wanted to teach the girls to be French so that they would marry into the French population, but that Indigenous peoples actively resisted the process.[722] Mairi Cowan, however, argues in a recent article that Marie de l'Incarnation never stopped believing in Frenchification; instead, her ideas of how Frenchification could be achieved fell out of step with changing colonial policies, which in the late 1660s, had shifted to expectations of total assimilation.[723] The Ursulines had long acknowledged the ever-changing enrollment, competing French and Indigenous disciplinary practices, and Indigenous students' unwillingness to comply

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[719] Cowan, "Education, Francisation, and Shifting Colonial Priorities at the Ursuline Convent," 14-5.
[720] Cowan, "Education, Francisation, and Shifting Colonial Priorities at the Ursuline Convent," 9-10.
[721] Vincent Grégoire, "Malentendus Culturels Rencontrés Par Les Missionnaires Ursulines En Nouvelle-France Au Xviième Siècle," *Seventeenth-Century French Studies* 36, no. 2 (2014): 114-15.
[722] Deslandres, "L'éducation Des Amérindiennes," 108.
[723] Cowan, "Education, Francisation, and Shifting Colonial Priorities at the Ursuline Convent," 6.

with rigid constrictions ensured such enculturation would be largely unsuccessful.[724] Instead, hybridization of culture was essential to the school's survival.[725]

While Frenchification efforts were of limited success, the Ursulines' education efforts did result in some startlingly devoted Christians, marking a clear difference from the boys' school of the late 1630s. Several girls (Wendat and Algonquin) were "successful" as Christians—even eliciting comments that the piety of these Indigenous girls put their own French colonists to shame.[726] Unlike at the boys' Jesuit school, however, these girls already would have been quite familiar with Catholicism, and in most if not all cases, they were already baptized before ever coming to the school. Since the Ursulines did not seek to separate the girls from their families, their Christian education was constantly being reinforced by familial expectations and connections.[727] While the vast majority of Indigenous students at the school were temporary

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[724] Cowan, "Education, Francisation, and Shifting Colonial Priorities at the Ursuline Convent," 18, 19, 20; Grégoire, "Malentendus Culturels Rencontrés Par Les Missionnaires Ursulines En Nouvelle-France Au Xviième Siècle," 115.

[725] For more on the girls' school and the processes of Frenchification and religious education, see: Grégoire, "L'éducation Des Filles Au Couvent Des Ursulines De Québec"; Gilles Havard, ""Les Forcer À Devenir Cytoyens": État, Sauvages Et Citoyenneté En Nouvelle-France (Xviie-Xviiie Siècle)," *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 5 (2009); Deslandres, "Femmes Missionnaires En Nouvelle-France." For a study of how another religious order handled the pressure to Frenchify Indigenous peoples, see: Timothy Pearson, ""Il Sera Important De Me Mander Le Détail De Toutes Choses": Knowledge and Transatlantic Communication from the Sulpician Mission in Canada, 1668-1680," *French Colonial History* 12 (2011). For a study of competing missionary goals of Jesuits and Seminary priests, and how these goals affected Frenchification outside of schools, see: Robert Michael Morrissey, "The Terms of Encounter: Language and Contested Visions of French Colonization in the Illinois Country, 1673-1702," in *French and Indians in the Heart of North America, 1630-1815*, ed. Robert Engelbert and Guillaume Teasdale (East Lansing, NY: Michigan State University Press, 2013).

[726] Mary Dunn, "When 'Wolves Become Lambs': Hybridity and the 'Savage' in the Letters of Marie De L'incarnation," *The Seventeenth Century* 27, no. 1 (2012): 110.

[727] This was not unusual practice for the Ursulines, as family was also considered vitally important for European nuns, and they expected family connections to be maintained. For more on familial networks and their importance to convent life, see Susan Broomhall, "Familial and Social Networks in the Later Sixteenth-Century French Convent: The Benedictines of Beaumont-Lès-Tours," *EMF: Studies in Early Modern France* 2 (2007). For family's importance in the Québec Ursuline school, see Robert Hilliker, "Engendering Identity: The Discourse of Familial Education in Anne Bradstreet and Marie De L'incarnation," *Early American Literature* 42, no. 3 (2007).

students and were unlikely to be even half as Frenchified or as Catholic as the Ursulines would have wished, some of the long-term students were considered paragons of Christian virtue. Some went on to preach among their families; others did marry Catholic Frenchmen or Wendat converts, and appeared to raise their children with respect for the Christian god. Of the 20 students identified as Wendat throughout the 17th century, nine out of 10 girls were identified by name at the school from 1640-1660, and about half of these are confirmed to have continued to identify as Christian after they left the school.[728] However, even among these Christians, there was considerable variety in the ways they applied their Christian education to their lives.

Thérèse Oionhaton: a perfect Christian captive

Thérèse Oionhaton grew up in a constantly changing world. Born c. 1628 in the Attignawantan (Bear Nation) village of Ossossané, some of her earliest memories would have included Jesuit preachers, who arrived after 1632 to try to convert the Wendat.[729] She would have grown up hearing the discussions about traditional and newcomer spirituality, and, as she got older, would have seen the division it caused within her home community. And, by 1634, disease was almost constant. For context, if Thérèse was 14 in 1642, she would have been about six years old during the measles epidemic of 1634, which killed 20% of the Wendat population. She was eight for the 1636 epidemic of pneumonia and strep, which killed an additional 500 Attignawantan Wendats, including 250 in her village of Ossossané. Thérèse managed to avoid sickness in these epidemics, but at 10 years old, she fell very ill in 1637 to the same unknown disease that killed her

[728] Trudel, *Les Écolières Des Ursulines De Québec*, 118-9, 145-7, 187.
[729] Jesuit superior Barthelemy Vimont estimates her age being between 13 and 14 in 1642 (JR 22: 193, 40: 225; see also from Marie de l'Incarnation, in Joyce Marshall, ed. *Word from New France: The Selected Letters of Marie De L'incarnation* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1967), 155). My selection of the older age is based on 1) the mention that she was to return to her own people to be married (Marshall, *Word from New France,* 109), which could not have happened until she went through puberty, and 2) a reference to the nieces of Joseph Chiwatenhwa in 1638, one of whom was 10 or 12, and the other two 5 or 6 (JR 15: 89). If Thérèse was 10 in 1638 this matches with her being 14 in 1642.

sister, her cousin, her aunt, and, most likely, her parents.[730] Her recovery was almost certainly attributed to her baptism at the time, as Thérèse, her two sisters, one or two male cousins, and at least one aunt were all baptized at the same time, and most recovered from their illness.[731] In the midst of these epidemics, Thérèse's uncle Joseph Chiwatenhwa and his wife Marie Aonetta, who raised Thérèse and her sisters after the death of their parents, decided they would embrace Christianity. After this point, they would only recognize their fellow Christians and converts as family.[732]

The family's conversion may have been sincere, but it did not make life easier for them in Ossossané. As the Wendat death toll from epidemics rose, but the Jesuits remained comparatively healthy, the Wendat began to wonder if the French were deliberately killing them with sickness brought on by witchcraft.[733] As tensions rose, Joseph Chiwatenhwa regularly defended his Jesuit friends and helped to combat some of the hostility.[734] He was also instrumental in bringing more Wendat to Christianity, as he not only assisted the Jesuits in translating their gospel into the Wendat language, but he himself began to preach, trying to convince his people to set aside their traditional spirituality and convert to Catholicism. His aggressive Christianity and alliance with

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[730] From 1634-1640, the Wendat population dropped by about 60%. For further details about these epidemics, see Gary Warrick, "European Infectious Disease and Depopulation of the Wendat-Tionontate (Huron-Petun)," *World Archaeology* 35, no. 2 (2003): 260-63.
[731] JR 15: 89-91; Trigger, *Children of Aataentsic*, 551.
[732] JR 19: 159.
[733] Mairi Cowan, "Jesuit Missionaries and the Accommodationist Demons of New France," in *Knowing Demons, Knowing Spirits in the Early Modern Period*, ed. Michelle D. Brock, Richard Raiswell, and David R. Winter (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 9; Daniel K. Richter, "Iroquois Versus Iroquois: Jesuit Missions and Christianity in Village Politics, 1642-1686," *Ethnohistory* 32, no. 1 (1985): 2. It did not help that some Jesuits even encouraged this interpretation; Isaac Jogues, who was captured by the Mohawk in 1642, went so far as to threaten the Mohawk with disease if they did not accept his Christian teachings. David Blanchard, "... To the Other Side of the Sky: Catholicism at Kahnawake, 1667-1700," *Anthropologica* 24, no. 1 (1982): 86 f. 5.
[734] Trigger, *Children of Aataentsic*, 594-5, 599.

the Jesuits may have gotten him killed; in 1640, after sending his nieces running back into the village, Chiwatenhwa was killed in the fields outside Ossossané…possibly by his own people.[735]

The family did not turn away from their Christian connections, however. Three days after Chiwatenhwa's death, Thérèse's other uncle, Teondechoren, accepted baptism and took Chiwatenhwa's baptismal name, Joseph. In doing so, he also turned away from *Aontaenhrohi*, the curing society he had belonged to for over 20 years.[736] The new Joseph took over Chiwatenhwa's obligations, which included the care and provision for Thérèse Oionhaton and Cécile Arenhatsi.[737] Indeed, even before Chiwatenhwa's death, Teondechoren seems to have considered conversion and a closer alliance with the French; that spring, following the wishes of the soon-to-be-dead Chiwatenhwa, Teondechoren took Thérèse almost 1,000 km from her home in Ossossané to the Ursuline convent in Québec.[738] She would stay there for the next two years.

When Thérèse arrived at the school, she was the only Wendat present—all of the other students at the time were either French or Algonquin. Of her Algonquin peers, at least four were present for multiple years overlapping with Thérèse's stay, including Marie-Madeleine Abatenau (about six years old in 1639), Louise Aretevir (age unknown), Agnès Chabouekouechich (about 12 years old in 1639), and Marie-Ursule Gamitiens (five or six years old in 1639).[739] Some of these

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[735] Huronia Museum, Vertical Files, "Joseph Chiwatenhwa"; Trigger, *Children of Aataentsic*, 598-9.
[736] Mara, James J. "Theresa Oionhaton: Flower of Huronia." Wyandot Nation of Kansas, http://www.wyandot.org/teresa.htm. (Last accessed 13 January 2019.)
[737] *Les Ursulines De Québec, Despuis Leur Établissement Jusqu'à Nos Jours*, 46.
[738] Chiwatenhwa died in August of 1640, several months after Thérèse left; she would have heard about his death at the same time as the Ursulines. *Les Ursulines De Québec*, 46; Marshall, *Word from New France*, 84 f.2.
[739] Trudel, *Les Écolières Des Ursulines De Québec*, 114-24.

girls came from prominent and important Algonquin families which had decided to adopt the Christian faith, as Thérèse's own family had done.[740]

Thérèse almost certainly would have learned Algonquin to communicate with her peers, and with their Ursuline instructors, who did much of their teaching in Algonquin at this time.[741] Thérèse also learned French and some Latin. Like her fellow students, Thérèse would have divided much of her time between religious instruction and learning French feminine skills, such as embroidery and sewing. She also almost certainly spent some time at the Hôtel-Dieu, helping to tend to French and Indigenous patients.

Thérèse must have been skilled with languages, because she quickly developed a reputation as a talented orator—not only in her native Wendat, but in her newly-acquired second and third languages as well. She preached to all of her Wendat visitors, sometimes convincing them to embrace Christianity as well.[742] Curiously, this willingness to speak publicly was unusual for a Wendat woman. While oratory skill was encouraged for both Wendat men and women, for women this was usually utilized within the longhouse and among kin—it was the task of men to speak publicly on matters of politics, war, and other civil issues. Spirituality was often a very private concern and public speaking on matters of the spirit world were restricted to matters that would require intensive public cooperation, such as the organization of a community feast or soliciting volunteers for a ritual. Thérèse's willingness to preach the Christian faith publicly would have certainly made her stand out among her people, especially since Christianity was not yet widely

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[740] Some girls were later joined by their sisters or other relatives, like Agnès Chabouekouechich, whose sister Anne-Marie Uthirchich joined her in 1642. Their father was an important Algonquin civil chief from Sillery, Noël Negabamat. Trudel, *Les Écolières Des Ursulines De Québec*, 123-4.
[741] Leslie Choquette, ""Ces Amazones Du Grand Dieu": Women and Mission in Seventeenth-Century Canada," *French Historical Studies* 17, no. 3 (1992): 634, 637.
[742] JR 22: 193-5; Marshall, *Word from New France*, 94; Dominique Deslandres, *Croire Et Faire Croire: Les Missions Françaises Au Xviie Siècle (1600-1650)* (Paris: Librairie Arthème Fayard, 2003), 376.

accepted in this period. It also speaks to her skill in oratory that she could convince others to convert despite the Wendat peoples' general ambivalence to the religion at this time. In one instance, Thérèse visited Sillery and, after preaching for two and a half hours, convinced the famed *arendiowane* Tsondatsaa to agree to baptism.[743]

Thérèse was an enthusiastic student and by all accounts the Ursulines were impressed with her piety. In particular, one instance during her two-year stay at the seminary stands out. In 1642, as in other years, the Ursuline nuns went into "retreat" at Easter, in which they withdrew from their teaching duties and spent several days in solitude and prayer. Thérèse could not go into retreat with the nuns so instead she withdrew and built herself a small shelter at the base of the mountain, opting to do her own retreat. When her peers found her and discovered what she was doing, they opted to join her and the group built a small cabin or structure for themselves, and retreated inside to pray, continually and without pause, until the nuns' return.[744]

Retreats of this kind were not unique to the nuns, however, nor was Thérèse the first to mimic this act of piety. Her own uncle, Joseph Chiwatenhwa, reportedly went on an eight-day spiritual retreat for Easter under the guidance of the Jesuit Le Mercier.[745] Thérèse may have modelled her own spiritual exercises on her uncle's behaviours, with some modifications. While Chiwatenhwa's retreat was not conducted in isolation and seemed to have direct guidance from the Jesuits—it was conducted within the Jesuits' cabin—Thérèse seemed to have led the girls in their retreat, without any input from the Ursulines. Indeed, upon her return Marie de l'Incarnation reported her astonishment at this devotion and voiced her concern that they might have shown "too

[743] Marshall, *Word from New France*, 94.
[744] Oury, *Marie De L'Incarnation Correspondance*, 166.
[745] JR 19: 149-151; Donald R. Bennie, "In a World of Their Own: Isolation and the Jesuit Mission to the Huron, 1632-1650" (MA thesis, University of Guelph, 2004), 108.

much zeal and severity."[746] Perhaps the nun was so concerned because the girls had already shown their startling zeal in personal penance—excessive fasting and self-flagellation were common enough among this first group of students that the nuns felt the need to be present and be able to monitor their actions whenever penance was deemed necessary, to keep the girls from seriously harming themselves.[747] That Thérèse and the other girls conducted their spiritual exercises without guidance was also probably a cause for concern.

It is also likely that Thérèse and her peers did not model their retreat solely on Christian custom. In Wendake, girls would go into seclusion at the onset of puberty and spend the duration of their first menses in a specially built cabin outside of the village. There, girls would fast and seek a vision from the spirit world and hopefully gain a spirit friend to help and guide them for the rest of their lives.[748] Algonquin and Anishinaabek women also went into seclusion when menstruating, although pubescent girls of these peoples might seclude themselves for every menses for a year, or in some cases, every menses until menopause.[749] If Thérèse had gone into puberty while at the Ursulines' school—which seems likely, given her age and the stipulation that she was to return to Wendake in 1642 to get married[750]—the girl likely considered this retreat as a Christianized version of Wendat seclusions. With the support of her Algonquin peers, Thérèse was becoming a woman in the Wendat understanding of word, but also, in mimicking a Christian ritual,

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[746] Marshall, *Word from New France*, 109. The French reads "avec trop de zèle et de sévérité." Oury, *Marie De L'Incarnation Correspondance*, 166.
[747] JR 22: 191; Marshall, *Word from New France*, 107.
[748] CMH, Marius Barbeau Fonds, Huron-Wendat Files, Box 56, B-G-47.3, Manitous Giving Power, "How animals give good luck to children, oral tradition. Informant Star Young."
[749] Anderson, *A Recognition of Being*, 166; Frances Densmore, *Chippewa Customs* (St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1979), 70-71; M. Inez Hilger, *Chippewa Child Life and Its Cultural Background* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1992), 54.
[750] JR 20: 127; Oury, *Marie de l'Incarnation Correspondance*, 166-167.

Thérèse was seeking the Christian god as her spiritual helper—firmly associating herself with the Christian spiritual world for the rest of her life.

That summer, in 1642, a group of Thérèse's relatives came to Québec to bring her home to Wendake. The group include Joseph Teondechoren, his brother (or cousin) Saoekbata, and a young male cousin of Thérèse's, all Christian converts.[751] Thérèse resisted at first, apparently unwilling to leave the Ursulines. Eventually, Jesuit priest Isaac Jogues went to meet with the girl. He reminded her that she had a responsibility to her family and that they were waiting for her return; Thérèse capitulated.[752] On the day she was to depart, the Ursulines gifted her with a dowry for her marriage, following the French marital custom.[753] The Ursulines expected Thérèse to marry a Christian Wendat, and in keeping with her Frenchifying education, they expected her marriage to follow French customs. Thérèse's marriage would constitute a significant victory for the Ursulines and their education system; it would also be a success for her Christian family, carrying forward their conversion into the next generation.

Jogues, the donnés René Goupil and Guillaume Couture, and several other Frenchmen joined the Wendat party for the long trip back to Wendake. They stopped briefly at Trois-Rivières, allowing Thérèse the time to leave a letter there for Marie de l'Incarnation, reading: "My good Mother, I am about to leave. I thank you for having taken such care of me, and for having taught me to serve God well. Do I thank you for a trifling matter? I shall never forget it."[754] While scholars cannot ascertain the depths of Thérèse's internalization of her Christian education, it does seem clear that she was very fond of the Ursulines, particularly Marie de l'Incarnation. Even if the letter

[751] A fourth relative is mentioned later in the same letter, but without any indication of who this might be. Oury, *Marie de l'Incarnation Correspondance*, 166, 167.
[752] Oury, *Marie de l'Incarnation Correspondance*, 167.
[753] Oury, *Marie de l'Incarnation Correspondance*, 167.
[754] JR 22: 197.

was written under guidance, it seems clear that Thérèse might have felt conflicted about her return home, but deeply appreciated her education and considered it a worthwhile way to spend her last two years. Whether she was a "true" Christian or not, Thérèse certainly considered herself as such, and considered herself fortunate for that faith.

Circumstances quickly changed. Barely two days after Thérèse left that letter, their party was attacked and captured by a band of Mohawk Haudenosaunee.[755] Thérèse was spared the usual torture of a war captive and instead seems to have been adopted. Like Teondechoren and Saokbata, Isaac Jogues eventually found his way back to the French and he reported that Thérèse maintained her Catholic prayers despite her captivity among the non-Christian Mohawks. She had no rosary, but used her fingers and small stones to count her prayers.[756] Four years later in 1646, the Jesuits, with backing from the Ursulines, tried to ransom Thérèse back, offering 5,000 wampum beads for her safe return—a significant sum for a captive woman.[757] Much to the missionaries' disappointment, however, Thérèse was no longer living among the Mohawk but had been given to the Onondaga and had married a man there.[758] The Mohawk offered 1,500 wampum beads and assured the Jesuits they would speak to the Onondaga and ask for her return, but Thérèse never did leave the Haudenosaunee again. Most likely, her own desire to stay with her new family would have outweighed any wish to make the journey back to Wendake where the people of her birth were under constant threat from Haudenosaunee raids. Thérèse's choice was at least as pragmatic

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[755] JR 22: 197; James J. Mara, "Theresa Oionhaton: Flower of Huronia," Wyandot Nation of Kansas, http://www.wyandot.org/teresa.htm. (Accessed 13 January 2019).
[756] *Les Ursulines De Québec*, 51.
[757] JR 29: 53. While the approximate worth of wampum beads in the 1640s is unclear, in 1747, wampum beads were worth 30-82 *livres* per thousand, with worth depending upon the colour of the bead. In 1700, 3,000 wampum beads were offered as a gesture of peace, from the French to the Haudenosaunee. In 1635, Brébeuf gave 1,200 wampum beads after giving a sermon, to ease the Wendats' passage to heaven. See Jonathan C. Lainey, *La <Monnaie Des Sauvages>: Les Colliers De Wampum D'hier À Aujourd'hui* (Sillery, QC: Septentrion, 2004), 69, 71, 79.
[758] JR 29: 55.

as emotional: even if she were permitted to return to Wendake, there was no guarantee that her family was still alive, or that she would not simply be recaptured by a different raiding party.

Despite remaining with the Onondaga, Thérèse arguably maintained a connection to her old family through her practice of Christianity. A Jesuit report in 1652/53 indicated she was preaching the Catholic faith to her fellow villagers, encouraging them to embrace the religion.[759] By 1654, she brought a Neutral captive—one of her own captives, apparently, a girl about 15 or 16 years old—to Jesuits visiting the Onondaga, in order for the captive to receive baptism.[760] Clearly, Thérèse was continuing to act according to her understanding of what a proper Christian was and did.

Thérèse thrived among the Onondaga, at least at first. By 1652/53, she was reportedly "the mistress in her cabin, which contained several families."[761] Given that the head or matron of a longhouse was a clan mother and Elder, that the young Thérèse—no more than 25 years old, a former captive, and a self-professed Christian in a community of non-Christians—had somehow become the head of a household was a staggering development. She almost certainly had at least one child by this point, because clan leadership for women was closely tied to the concept of motherhood.[762] Clearly, too, her oratory skill had not diminished, and she must have had the respect of the community, or she could not have been a leader. Even still, some extenuating circumstances almost certainly occurred for her to be able to take on such an important role.

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[759] JR 40: 225.
[760] JR 41:103.
[761] JR 40:225.
[762] Williams, *Kayanerenkó:Wa the Great Law of Peace*, 303-6, 314-5; Lori Elaine Hill, "Haudenosaunee Grandmothers Raising Their Grandchildren: Bears of Our Families and Community" (PhD diss., Wilfrid Laurier University, 2012), 206; Renée Jacobs, "Iroquois Great Law of Peace and the United States Constitution: How the Founding Fathers Ignored the Clan Mothers," *American Indian Law Review* 16, no. 2 (1991): 500, 08; Heide Goettner-Abendroth and Karen P. Smith, "Matriarchies as Societies of Peace: Re-Thinking Matriarchy," *Off Our Backs* 38, no. 1 (2008): 50; Kahente Horn-Miller, "Otiyaner: The "Women's Path" through Colonialism," *Atlantis* 29, no. 2 (2005): 58-9.

Perhaps her longhouse and family had suffered significant losses to disease or war, necessitating a young woman and former captive to take a clan leadership role.[763]

In the fall of 1655, Thérèse's situation had changed. She travelled three leagues from her home to meet with Fathers Chaumonot and Dablon on their trip to the Onondaga, carrying with her an infant child to be baptized. Their meeting place was reportedly between the Salmon River mouth and Oneida Lake—waterways utilized by the Onondaga as well as the Oneida and almost certainly a well-used meeting ground.[764] But while Thérèse seemed to be doing well in this meeting, there was a noticeable and inexplicable drop in her personal status noted in the *Jesuit Relations* for 1656/1657:

> A huron [*sic*] captive named Therese—who before her slavery had belonged to a good family, and had held the rank of Princess—manifested still greater courage. An indisposition prevented her from fulfilling a command of the Master, namely, to go and bring some meat from a distance of a day's journey. She awaited from hour to hour the death-blow with which the furious Barbarian had threatened her, and which she was so sure to receive that everyone already looked upon her as dead. Such was her courage, and her confidence in our mysteries, that, after confessing herself with all the sentiments of a truly Christian Soul, she went at once full of joy to her tyrant, and begged him to hasten the death that he had intended for her, because he could not render her a better service. The Barbarian, as well as all those who were present, was surprised at such boldness; and from that moment on he felt more shame for his evil design than desire to carry it out.[765]

The *Jesuit Relations* do not provide any clues as to what might have caused Thérèse's sudden decline, although there were increasing tensions between the Onondaga and the French at this time, and it is possible that Thérèse's connection with the Jesuits made her a target of their anger. That

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[763] The only documented epidemic among the Haudenosaunee in this time was the summer to spring of 1646-1647, but this epidemic is only documented among the Mohawk. It is, however, possible that it spread to the Onondaga and simply went unrecorded or unnoticed by European writers. The next epidemic among the Haudenosaunee *did* hit the Onondaga in 1655, although there are little details about this particular disease or its effect on the Onondaga. For a chart of the known epidemics that affected the Haudenosaunee, see Brandão, *Your Fyre Shall Burn No More*, 147-8.

[764] Cara Richards, "Huron and Iroquois Residence Patterns, 1600-1650," in *Iroquois Culture, History, and Prehistory: Proceedings of the 1965 Conference on Iroquois Research*, ed. Elisabeth Tooker (Albany, NY: New York State Museum and Science Service, 1967), 54.

[765] JR 43: 299-301.

Thérèse had gone from the head of a household to a probationary status more akin to servitude was a dramatic change. Despite this apparent change in social position, however, Thérèse continued to profess her Christianity, holding on to her chosen faith rather than trying to appeal to her community.

Throughout her time with the Haudenosaunee—first the Mohawk, then the Onondaga—Thérèse held on to the religion of her childhood family. Simultaneously, she was adopted/married into an Onondaga community in a time when the Onondaga were at war with the French, and, at least in the 1640s and early 1650s, the Onondaga were at best ambivalent about Christianity. Captive adoption usually required a complete suppression of pre-adoption ties and complete engagement with the adopted nation's way of life; anyone who refused to comply with this expectation was in danger of execution. Yet Thérèse held onto her Christianity. Why?

A few factors worked in Thérèse's favour. The first is that since the 1640s, the Haudenosaunee had gone on repeated raids and taken a great many captive adoptees. Indeed, as many as 12 different nations were represented among the Onondagas by 1657.[766] Large numbers of Wendat adoptees were also living among the Haudenosaunee at this time, and Thérèse was almost certainly living with other Wendats during her time with the Onondaga—perhaps even people she had known in her childhood. The usual expectations of complete submission to the captor nation's way of life was likely relaxed as a result of this unusually rapid influx of newcomers. As Labelle points out, an entire community of Wendats were living among the Haudenosaunee at Gandougare by the 1650s, and while they were technically adopted, these Wendat adoptees maintained a distinctly (Christianized) Wendat culture for decades afterwards.[767] The old rules of immediate and complete immersion were not being enforced as they had in the

[766] JR 44: 43.
[767] Labelle, *Dispersed but not Destroyed*, 130-3.

past, likely because the Haudenosaunee simply could not hope to keep up the pressure with their vast numbers of adoptees.

The social expectation of conflict avoidance within communities also worked to Thérèse's advantage. As a people, Iroquoians were largely unwilling to force their opinions on others. This was especially important when it came to spiritual matters, which were rooted in highly personal relationships with individual spirits. While they might have been concerned with rumours of Jesuit witchcraft and worried about the plagues that so often followed Jesuit arrival to new villages, one individual's adherence to Christian tenets was not necessarily in conflict with the expectations of adoption. Adoption required acquiescence to social mores. An individual was given the name and role of a deceased community member and expected to fill that social position; that individual's connection to specific spirits was rarely an issue, so there would be little pressure to abandon the Catholic faith. There were isolated cases of Mohawk adoptees being killed, apparently because they attempted to evangelize and convert community members. Most notably, René Goupil, a French donné captured with Thérèse and Isaac Jogues, was killed when he made the sign of the cross to bless a child. [768] However, the Mohawks had also had a longer history with the French and their epidemics and almost certainly believed that the Jesuits were deliberately killing people with witchcraft masquerading as Christian blessings. For the Onondaga, it was only after the 1657 epidemic that they became suspicious of the Jesuits' intentions and began associating Christianity with disease and witchcraft. As a result, for much of Thérèse's time with the Onondaga, there would be very little pressure for her to conceal her professed Christianity, and she may have even gained respect as an orator and shamanic figure for her public preaching on spiritual matters.

[768] For more on Goupil, see: Léon Pouliot, "René Goupil," Dictionary of Canadian Biography, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/goupil_rene_1E.html. (Accessed 3 March 2019).

On a personal level, Thérèse might have taken comfort in Christianity as one element of her life that remained much the same, despite the dramatic upheavals in her life. She survived several epidemics as a child and witnessed the diseases' devastation firsthand with the staggering population losses in her hometown of Ossossané. She and much of her surviving family were baptized in the wake of one such epidemic—an epidemic that nearly killed Thérèse, and did succeed in killing one of her sisters. Only a few years later she was sent to live with the Ursulines, at that time their only Wendat student. When she left the Ursulines two years later, she was captured by the Mohawks, and then given to the Onondaga. With these dramatic culture shifts and social upheaval, the only real constant was that she was permitted to maintain her Christianity.

Thérèse's Christianity was probably not the wholesale devotion the Jesuits hoped for and certainly had additive and syncretic elements, but her adherence to basic Christian practice like prayer and confession were certainly sincere. Thérèse almost certainly considered *herself* to be Christian, and she held on to that faith for her whole life. If she combined a puberty ritual with her Catholic prayer retreat in 1642, she almost certainly considered God or some other Christian entity (such as Mary) to be her main spiritual helper, and she combined Wendat expectations with Christian ones. The spiritual partnerships forged in puberty rituals were life-long, which helps to explain why Thérèse never abandoned this faith.

Christianity was almost certainly part of Thérèse's conception of family as well, and her adherence to Christian tenets was probably a means for her to remain connected to the family of her birth. Thérèse was initially sent to the Ursulines because of the wishes of her uncle Chiwatenhwa; her other uncle Teondechoren, who had not yet been baptised and still maintained more traditional ties to non-Christian spirits, took her to the Ursulines for a French-Christian education despite his own disinterest (at the time) in the religion, suggesting he had other reasons

for helping fulfil his brother's wishes. Likely, Teondechoren was thinking of the benefits of alliance with the French, much like the families of Tsiko, Satouta, Aiandacé, Andehoua, and Teouatirhon, who had sought to make diplomatic ties with the Jesuits. For Thérèse and her kin, engagement with the Christians was part of a family strategy of survival and prosperity in a time of uncertainty, disease, and war. While her practice of Christianity seems to have been rooted in belief that the Christian God had a place in her world, maintaining this Christian connection was also part of Thérèse's way of helping her family and trying to support her family's needs and goals.

With her Onondaga adoption, Thérèse tried to convince her new family to embrace Christianity as well. In some ways, she seems to have been at least partially successful, particularly because she was able to bring an infant child and a teenaged war adoptee to the Jesuits for baptism; she would not have had the freedom to do so if the Onondaga were actively opposed to it. Just as Thérèse used Christianity as a means to help and support her extended family, she also used her Christianity to create family bonds in her new home.

Marie A8entonhou8en: indifferent Catholic, ideal diplomat

Marie A8entonhou8en (also recorded as Aouentohon, and sometimes Arindtsi, or Arinadsit after her mother) arrived at the Ursulines' school in 1650 with her recently widowed mother, Cécile Arenhatsi (or Arinadsit). Although Cécile was reportedly a pious young woman of 23 years, her young daughter, perhaps six years old at this time, quickly developed a reputation as a mischievous or impish girl, largely because of her habit of climbing the walls of the Ursulines' cloister and running off into the fields. Her mother kept bringing her back and eventually Marie "began to obey" and devoted her attention to her studies. She would remain at the school for eight years.[769]

[769] For a quick biography of Marie A8entonhou8en's life at the seminary, see Trudel, *Les Écolières Des Ursulines De Québec,* 146.

Marie came from a Christian Wendat family. Born c. 1644, probably in Ossossané, she would have made the trip to Québec with her family and the other Christianized Wendat when the Confederacy dispersed in 1649/50.[770] While we do not know who her father was, Marie's mother's uncle—Marie's great uncle—was none of other than Joseph Teondechoren. Cécile Arenhatsi was almost certainly the sister of Thérèse Oionhaton, making Thérèse an aunt that Marie had never met.

Teondechoren's family benefitted from a close relationship with the Ursulines and Marie de l'Incarnation in particular. With the dispersal, Marie de l'Incarnation 'adopted' Teondechoren's extended family of 13 and supported their upkeep in the small, new community of Wendat outside Québec, first at the Isle d'Orléans, then at Lorette. In turn, at least two or three members of the family stayed at the school, including Cécile and Marie, and possibly an unnamed third sister of Thérèse Oionhaton.[771] To the Wendat worldview, where reciprocity and kinship were paramount, the relationship with the Ursulines was a well-functioning fictive kin relationship and not particularly unusual in this period. The Ursulines supported the family after the dispersal, an extension of the Wendats' expectations of hospitality, and the girls who attended their school received an education in French culture and Catholic practice. The Ursulines in turn received pupils who would help the sick in the hospital, would assist in domestic work throughout the convent, would participate in their religious mission, and, in a practical sense, would help to

[770] A letter from Marie de l'Incarnation in 1655 says Marie A8entonhou8en was 10 or 11, meaning she was born in 1644 or 1645. References to A8entonhou8en in *Les Ursulines de Québec* indicate she was 6 or 7 in 1650, meaning born in 1643 or 1644. I take the mean and posit birth in 1644. Oury, *Marie De L'Incarnation Correspondance*, 565; *Les Ursulines De Québec*, 164.

[771] Trudel notes a sister of Thérèse arriving at the Ursuline seminary in 1653, three years after Cécile Arenhatsi's arrival, but he also does not note Cécile as Thérèse's sister. It is possible this is a clerical error, and these two women were in fact one person; or, the unnamed girl could have been a maternal cousin. Trudel, *Les Écolières Des Ursulines De Québec*, 157.

mediate between the French and the Indigenous nations. This latter benefit is the most important to Marie A8entonhou8en's story.

In the autumn of 1655, a visiting Onondaga delegation arrived in Québec. Their main goal was to meet with the Wendat there to try to convince them to relocate and join the Onondaga nation. A small group out of the delegation also made sure to meet with the Ursulines at the convent. They had heard of a young Wendat girl who had been "raised in the French way," a Christian who could read, write, sing, and speak in Wendat, French, and Latin, and they wanted to meet this girl. The Ursulines introduced the delegates, which included an unnamed Onondaga 'captain' and his wife, the 'captainness,' to young Marie Arinadsit (A8entonhou8en). Marie obediently demonstrated her linguistic skills by reciting the Catechism and singing hymns in all three languages. She also gave a short speech, telling the visitors that she loved peace and wanted them to be as one people.[772] She also asked them to send their daughters to the Ursulines for schooling; Marie promised that she would be their elder sister and teach them all that they needed to know, namely how to pray to God, and to read and write in Latin, French, and Wendat.[773] She gave her speech additional weight by offering gifts: a good knife, to the Onondaga captain, and a gilded box decorated with silk ribbon to his wife.[774] The Onondaga woman, whose name is not given in the Jesuit Relations or in Marie de l'Incarnation's letters, called Marie her daughter and had the girl eat with her from the same dish, and "en lui faisant des caresses tout à fait extraordinaires."[775] The Onondaga woman also promised to send her own sister, who was about

[772] "elle fut faire une petite harangue au chef de la troupe, tuy témoignant le plaisir qu'elle avoit de la paix…" and "Vivés, leur dit-elle, avec nous doresnauant comme avec vos frères, ne soyons plus qu'un people…" Oury, *Marie De L'Incarnation Correspondance*, 565 and 995 respectively.
[773] JR 41: 231; Oury, *Marie De L'Incarnation Correspondance*, 565, 995.
[774] JR 41: 229-31; Oury, *Marie De L'Incarnation Correspondance*, 995.
[775] Oury, *Marie De L'Incarnation Correspondance*, 565.

the same age as Marie, to the school.[776] Marie, for her part, called the woman "mother" and accepted the ritualistic attention without complaint, insisting that she wanted them to all be one people bound by kinship.[777]

Marie A8entonhou8en's meeting with the Onondaga delegation is intriguing for a number of reasons. Despite her location at the Ursuline seminary, it seems Marie's story was not really about religion. In fact, there are almost no references to Marie's piety (or lack thereof) in the Jesuit Relations or Marie de l'Incarnation's correspondence. While Marie A8entonhou8en delivers the catechism and sings religious hymns to the Onondaga delegates, in a practical sense religious material would likely be the only documents available to her to recite. As with the boys at the Jesuit seminary, Marie was acting in a role of diplomat.

As previously mentioned, in the mid-1650s Onondagas and Mohawks were both courting the Wendat at Quebec in an effort to convince the Wendat to relocate into their respective nations. As such, the Mohawks and Onondagas were competing for adoptees. Several times throughout the 1650s, Haudenosaunee—Mohawk and Onondaga—attacked Wendat travellers and communities, assailed one another's peace delegations, and generally threatened to continue the war with the French and their Indigenous allies. The Onondaga delegation to Québec in the autumn of 1655 was one such party, arriving in Québec with the intent and hope of convincing the Wendat to join their nation.[778]

Marie A8entonhon8en's meeting with the Onondaga was therefore part of a much larger diplomatic mission. While some of the Onondaga were willing to consider converting to

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[776] Oury, *Marie De L'Incarnation Correspondance*, 993. After this meeting, the first Haudenosaunee girl explicitly mentioned at the Ursuline school did not arrive until 1667, over ten years later and long after Marie A8entonhou8en left the school, so it does not appear that this particular promise was kept. Trudel, *Les Écolières des Ursulines de Québec*, 238.
[777] JR 41: 231; Oury, *Marie de l'Incarnation Correspondance*, 995.
[778] Lozier, *Flesh Reborn*, Chapter 4.

Christianity, including those who came to meet Marie, their religious connection in this case was a means through which to make political connections. One of the Wendat's preconditions to joining the Onondaga was that the Onondaga first accept a Jesuit mission in their country, a step with which they complied. Some of the Onondaga had even accepted baptism.

Marie seems to have been quite aware of this political background. Her use of kin terms with the Onondaga woman—and the woman's reciprocal use of terms—was not just a polite exchange between friendly individuals, but also, in this political context, would suggest to the Onondaga woman that Marie was willing to consider adoption by the Onondaga.[779] While not all of the Wendat were willing to make the move, at least some of the families were considering it, provided their move did not put them at odds with the French. Marie's speech with the Onondaga, proclaiming her love for peace and demonstrating her willingness to become fictive kin with the Onondaga delegates, perhaps gives some indication of her Wendat family's own goals.

It is unclear whether Marie's family would have joined the Onondaga in the end or not, because the diplomatic talks ended, and within a few years the Mohawks attacked and forcibly took a number of Wendats into their nation—with some willing adoptees following soon after. Marie left the Ursulines' school in 1658, and her mother had reportedly moved to Lorette and re-married a Wendat Christian, indicating that at least some of Marie's family remained closely tied to the French and avoided adoption into the Haudenosaunee Confederacy. Indeed, Cécile Arenhatsi died peacefully in Lorette in 1659, still proclaiming her faith and maintaining that close bond with the French missionaries. Her husband, who had been on a hunting trip when she died, dreamed of her death and a message from her spirit, with the instruction that he was "never to part

[779] Lozier, *Flesh Reborn*, 129-31; Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 41.

with prayer."[780] He obediently renewed his religious fervour when he returned home to find his wife was indeed dead.[781] Curiously, as with Thérèse Oionhaton and the puberty ritual, this trust in dreaming indicates Cécile's husband's religiosity was syncretic, combining the Wendat belief that dreams were genuine messages from the spirit world and demanded respect, and the Christian belief in God and expectation of prayer.[782]

Marie A8entonhou8en's fate is less clear. While she left the Ursuline school in 1658, she does not reappear in the source material—at least, not under that name. Historian Marcel Trudel suggests however that Marie A8entonhou8en reappears in the historical record several years later, now under the name Marguerite Ha8enhontona.[783] Given the similarity in the names, and the tradition of Wendat and other Iroquoians to change their names to reflect major personal changes—and the Iroquoian tradition of name changing with adoption—this theory makes plausible sense.[784] Assuming they were indeed the same young woman, Marie A8entonhou8en/Marguerite Ha8enhontona was living among the Oneida Haudenosaunee by 1663, apparently as a captive adoptee.

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[780] JR 45: 53-55.
[781] JR 45: 53-55.
[782] For more on Wendat dreaming and their need to fulfill dreamed instructions, see: Leslie Tuttle, "French Jesuits and Indian Dreams in Seventeenth-Century New France," in *Dreams, Dreamers, and Visions: The Early Modern Atlantic World*, ed. Ann Marie Plane and Leslie Tuttle (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013). For more on how Wendat dreaming requirements blended (or conflicted) with Christian tenets, see Dominique Deslandres, "Dreams Clash: The War over Authorized Interpretation in Seventeenth-Century French Missions," in *Empires of God: Religious Encounters in the Early Modern Atlantic*, ed. Linda Gregerson and Susan Juster (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011). See also Lee Irwin, "Contesting World Views: Dreams among the Huron and Jesuits," *Religion* 22 (1992).
[783] Trudel, *Les Écolières des Ursulines de Québec*, 146.
[784] Armand-Jean Andehoua also underwent a similar name change, in which his name was changed just slightly and remained quite recognizable: in later Jesuit Relations, after he left the seminary, he was described as Armand Andehouarahen/Andeouarahen. By the time of his death in 1654, his name was recorded only as Armand. JR 23:175; 41:159-61. See also MNF 4: 764.

In 1663, Marguerite Ha8enhontona was living in a small, decrepit cabin outside an Oneida village. When two Frenchmen happened upon her cabin, both men former captives of the Oneida and on an aborted (but theoretically sanctioned) journey back to the French, Ha8enhontona took them in, tended their wounds, and gave them something to eat.[785] Her medical skill was apparently learned during her stay with the Ursulines, when Ha8enhontona served the sick and injured at the Hôtel-Dieu; her "good French" language skills were also learned from the Ursulines.[786]

When the Oneida villagers discovered the former captives were staying in the cabin just outside their palisade, they came to retrieve them; however, instead of resuming their torture as captives, the Oneida instead offered the Frenchmen safe passage. With Ha8enhontona's gifts of supplies, the Frenchmen were escorted safely to Onnontaé, where they were reunited with others of their travelling party.[787]

Assuming Marie A8entonhou8en was indeed Marguerite Ha8enhontona, her role among the Oneida seems unusual. She was living by herself outside of the village, which was highly unlikely for a captive, as captives were integrated into pre-existing families. However, living alone outside the village might be plausible for someone believed to be an *arendiowane*, although why Ha8enhontona/A8entonhou8en would receive such a designation is unclear. Moreover, the French captives' safety in the Oneida village was also unusual, as escaped captives were usually viciously punished, or even killed. Even with a prior arrangement to send them back to the French (assuming also that this particular Oneida village was the same one that had taken the Frenchmen in the first place), the captives' return to the Oneida village unannounced could easily have provoked renewed

[785] JR 49:129.
[786] JR 49: 131.
[787] JR 49: 133-35.

animosity.[788] Ha8enhontona's intervention almost certainly offered the former captives protection and saved their lives. When she gave the men shelter, food, and medical treatment, she was acting as a clan mother would with a captive adoptee, extending the rules of hospitality and kinship to the two men. She was claiming responsibility for them and accepting them into her own kin network—and thus ensuring that the Oneida villagers, now also extended kin to the escapees, could not and would not harm them without violating taboos. This new kinship relationship was enforced again when Ha8enhontona gave the men supplies and ushered them on their way. In doing so, Ha8enhontona was behaving in a traditionally Iroquoian way. As a woman, she had the right to adopt any captives she saw fit. As the head of her family—albeit, in her case, apparently a family of just one—she could ask her 'sons' to go to war, to leave on hunting or trading trips, or any other task that supported the safety and support of the family. Although an unusual application of these traditional rights, Ha8enhontona was behaving in an appropriately female manner, upholding Iroquoian traditions while also supporting her extended (fictive) kin ties with the French.[789]

Like Thérèse Oionhaton, Marie A8entonhou8en's/Marguerite Ha8enhontona's Ursuline education and ties helped to support her own family's needs and goals. In her meeting with Onondaga delegates in 1655, when she was only 11 years old, she used her education to showcase her use as a young woman and diplomat. Likewise, her use of kin terms and invitation to act as elder sister to prospective Onondaga students highlighted her and her family's willingness to enter a long-term, familial relationship with the Onondaga delegates. Later, she used her linguistic education from the Ursulines along with the Iroquoian kinship obligations of hospitality and protection to support two French captives, thereby closing the circle of kinship alliance. *Unlike*

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[788] JR 49:125. For appropriate ritual acknowledgement of friendly visitors and the proper conduct of such visitors upon arrival at another's village, see Parmenter, *The Edge of the Woods*, xxvii.
[789] For more on women's roles in adoption, see: Magee, "They are the life of the nation," 128; Elisabeth Tooker, "Northern Iroquoian Sociopolitical Organization," *American Anthropologist* 72, no. 1 (1970): 95.

Thérèse Oionhaton, who used her religiosity to support her kinship obligations, religion was barely a factor in Marie/Marguerite's diplomacy, even though she may have been at least provisionally Christian. Instead, Marie/Marguerite's French/Christian education provided her with the skills, resources, and fictive kin ties to create and maintain alliances, diplomatic connections, and support—tangible and spiritual—for her family.

Geneviève-Agnès Skanudharoua: a Wendat nun

Geneviève-Agnès Skanudharoua was born in 1642 in Ossossané.[790] Like Thérèse Oionhaton and Marie A8entonhou8en, Geneviève-Agnès came from a prominent, Christian family, and because her parents were converts, she was likely baptized young, perhaps even shortly after her birth. Her mother was Jeanne Asenrâqueham, by all reports a pious woman and ally of the French; her father was Pierre Ondâkion, one of the preeminent 'captains' among the Wendat.[791] According to the nuns, Geneviève-Agnès was the first Wendat born of a legitimate (in other words, Christian) marriage.[792] She may also have been related to Thérèse and Marie. A reference to Skanudharoua as coming from the first Christian Wendat family may simply be hagiographical, or a reference to her being the first born of a Christian marriage, but her origins in Ossossané and her

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[790] Juchereau and Duplessis, *Les Annales De L' Hotel-Dieu De Quebec, 1636-1717*, 85.

[791] Ondâkion's name is also recorded as Andahiacon, Andahiach, Andaiakon, Endahiach, and Endahiaconc. Endahiaconc is the name of an important headman in the Attigneenongnahac village Teanaostaiaé, and uncle to the seminarist Tsiko. Trigger, *Children of Aataentsic*, 57, 524. I do not think this was the same man. If Ondâkion was the same man as Endahiaconc, it is highly unlikely that he could have lived with Asenrâqueham in a 'proper' French marriage, because he would have had leadership obligations in another village, in another Wendat nation. While the nuns may have taken some liberties in describing the marriage when they were recording their hagiography for Skanudharoua, the Wendat custom of reusing the same names makes it more likely that Pierre Ondâkion and Tsiko's uncle Endahiaconc were different people. Likewise, it is entirely possible that Ondâkion was not Skanudharoua's biological father; Jeanne Asenrâqueham was said to have remarried several times, and it is unclear from the sources which of her husbands was indeed Skanudharoua's father. For more on the use of hagiography and its effect on the primary sources, see Allan Greer, "Colonial Saints: Gender, Race, and Hagiography in New France," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 57, no. 2 (2000); Allan Greer, *Mohawk Saint: Catherine Tekakwitha and the Jesuits* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

[792] Juchereau and Duplessis, *Les Annales De L' Hotel-Dieu De Quebec, 1636-1717*, 95-6.

arrival at the Ursuline school in 1650 at the same time as Cécile Arenhatsi and Marie A8entonhou8en might be circumstantial evidence of relation.[793] Either way, her birth in Ossossané, a village closely tied to the Jesuits through the 1640s, meant that she, like the others, grew up in a time of shifting religiosity and near-constant war with the Haudenosaunee.

Geneviève-Agnès Skanudharoua was at the Ursuline convent in 1650, and reportedly almost died in the fire that burned down the convent that winter. She, along with the other students and the Ursuline nuns, went to stay with the Hospitalières while alternate shelter was being constructed. Financially impoverished and needing to rebuild, the Ursulines could not afford to keep her as a boarder after the fire.[794] However, by late spring, Geneviève-Agnès had sought and received a place at the Hôtel-Dieu.[795] She arrived in May of 1650 at the age of eight or nine, and remained with the Hospitalières for the next seven years.[796] Her sister, who arrived at the Ursuline school in the same year of 1650, seems to have returned home after the fire and never returned to the school.[797]

Like Thérèse and Marie, Geneviève-Agnès was acknowledged as a very intelligent girl, and she quickly adapted to life among the nuns. She learned to speak and write in French in less than a year, and quickly added reading and writing her native Wendat to her repertoire as well.[798] She served as an interpreter at the Hôtel-Dieu, mediating between sick Wendats and the nuns.[799]

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[793] Juchereau and Duplessis, *Les Annales De L' Hotel-Dieu De Quebec, 1636-1717*, 85 f.7; Trudel, *Les Écolières Des Ursulines De Québec*, 146.
[794] According to one estimate, supporting even a single student cost a minimum of 200 livres. Olive Patricia Dickason, *The Myth of the Savage and the Beginnings of French Colonialism in the Americas* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1984), 261.
[795] *Les Ursulines De Québec*, 164.
[796] JR 44: 261, 265.
[797] Trudel, *Les Écolières Des Ursulines De Québec*, 146.
[798] JR 44: 263; Juchereau and Duplessis, *Les Annales De L' Hotel-Dieu De Quebec, 1636-1717*, 85.
[799] Deslandres, *Croire Et Faire Croire*, 373; Juchereau and Duplessis, *Les Annales De L' Hotel-Dieu De Quebec, 1636-1717*, 85.

Interpretation was a highly-valued skill, involving both linguistic and cultural translation, and requiring a mental flexibility and linguistic dexterity that was hard to achieve.[800] Most likely, this was also her main means of maintaining relationships with her Wendat family, as Indigenous peoples came from far and wide to visit the Hôtel-Dieu.[801]

Like Thérèse, Geneviève-Agnès's Christian piety appears to have been sincere. The Hospital nuns were very fond of her and praised her "humility, sincerity, and sweetness, and…the devotion which she showed, especially for the immaculate Mother of God, whom she loved most tenderly."[802] Geneviève-Agnès reportedly wanted to become a nun from the time of her arrival at the Hôtel-Dieu, and so the nuns tested her sincerity and devotion by varied means. One such test of obedience was through manual labour. The nuns placed her in the kitchens once she learned to read and write, "that she might always be kept in a spirit of submission," and were pleased that "she was never vexed, but…performed with much sweetness all that she was bidden."[803] On another occasion, the nuns brought her to the refectory before the whole community of nuns, and she was told, in response to some unspecified fault, to choose: either submit to "taking the discipline" or leave the convent forever. Geneviève-Agnès immediately began to strip to take her beating, begging that they not send her away. The nuns, satisfied with her response, immediately stopped their test.[804] Apparently, Geneviève-Agnès was so afraid of being sent away that she

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[800] Nancy L. Hagedorn, ""A Friend to Go between Them": The Interpreter as Cultural Broker During Anglo-Iroquois Councils, 1740-70," *Ethnohistory* 35, no. 1 (1988): 62, 69-70.
[801] The hospital built at Sillery was a major draw to the village, and after the hospital was abandoned, the village floundered. James P. Ronda, "The Sillery Experiment: A Jesuit-Indian Village in New France, 1637-1663," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 3, no. 1 (1979).
[802] JR 44: 265-7.
[803] JR 44: 263.
[804] JR 44: 265.

refused to leave the convent to visit her family, who had by this point relocated to the small Wendat camp outside of Québec.[805]

In March of 1657, on the day of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary, Geneviève-Agnès became a postulant and in the words of the Hôtel-Dieu's Mother Superior (Mother St. Bonaventure), Geneviève-Agnès "began to discharge the duties of the Religious life with as much exactness as an old professed nun."[806] There was a new sense of urgency in her religious devotion: Geneviève-Agnès had fallen ill some time that year with "a kind of weakness, together with a slow fever," combined with a cough so severe "that her lungs were gradually destroyed."[807] Despite her illness and undoubted pain, Geneviève-Agnès continued her work and attended all the services of the convent. She learned to sing and sang hymns through her illness until she became so sick that she was confined to the infirmary, around the time of the feast of the Assumption of Mary (mid-August). Her devotion and the severity of her illness prompted the religious community to fast-track her period as a novice. On All Saint's Day (November 1), she gave her vows and took the habit, officially making her a Hospital Nun: the first Indigenous woman in New France to enter a religious order.[808] Geneviève-Agnès took the name Tous les Saints when she gave her vows. Two days later, at the age of 15, the first and only Indigenous nun Geneviève-Agnès Skanudharoua de Tous les Saints died from her illness.[809]

Geneviève-Agnès's story reads as a great success for the missionaries of New France, despite her untimely death. She served as a perfect example of Indigenous piety, a testament to Wendat conversion efforts and to the missionaries' ability to "save" Indigenous souls. The Jesuits,

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[805] JR 44: 265.
[806] JR 44: 265.
[807] JR 44: 267.
[808] Juchereau and Duplessis, *Les Annales De L' Hotel-Dieu De Quebec, 1636-1717*, 96 f. 1.
[809] Juchereau and Duplessis, *Les Annales De L' Hotel-Dieu De Quebec, 1636-1717*, 96.

who barely paid any attention to individual Wendat women, devoted an entire chapter of the 1657-58 *Jesuit Relation* to a hagiographic account of her life and death, emphasizing her last eight months as a devoted religious novice, and her very brief time as a Hospital Nun. Clearly, religion was very important to her story.

And yet, Geneviève-Agnès was unique among Wendat women and girls. No other Wendat became a nun in this period; several pledged to devote themselves to God but then found the lifestyle unpalatable and withdrew from the convent before giving any vows.[810] Even among those who attended the missionary schools and became devoted pupils, almost all left their schools because of family obligations or because they could not sustain the restrictive lifestyle of a religious woman; Geneviève-Agnès, on the other hand, seems to have rejected her Wendat family in favour of the Hospitalières. Her story is told as one perfectly content to devote her life to religion.

In reading the report of her death in the *Jesuit Relations,* Geneviève-Agnès's religiosity appears highly constructed. Her life story, as described by the Jesuits (and by the Hospitalières, who wrote to the Jesuits about her death), is carefully styled to resemble the lives of saints and other holy people. Her deathbed scene is clearly described to model the good conduct of a faithful Christian in what historian Erik R. Seeman terms an orthodox or model deathbed scene.[811] Geneviève-Agnès asked forgiveness of all those present at her deathbed, and praised the people present, "and offered, without ceasing, many excellent acts of the highest virtue."[812] When she was asked if she would like to take her vows as a nun, she said she would consider it a great favour to

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[810] JR 44: 259-61; Christopher Vecsey, *The Paths of Kateri's Kin* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1997), 50.
[811] For the 'script' of a model deathbed scene, see Erik R. Seeman, "Reading Indians' Deathbed Scenes: Ethnohistorical and Representational Approaches," *The Journal of American History* 88, no. 1 (2001): 24-25.
[812] JR 44: 273.

her and, if granted, would fill her with happiness, but she also said she did not think she deserved it and could not ask for it.[813] As soon as she gave her vows, "she fell into the death-agony," prayed for the Hospitalière's founder the Duchess d'Eguillon, and for the conversion of her own people, before she finally died.[814] The nuns describe her as "one of charming beauty" in her death, and describe her death as "very holy and precious before God."[815] Her model Christian death was described in such a way as to highlight her piety, modesty, humility, and nobility, and emphasized her willingness to put others before herself, and more importantly, to put her relationship with God above her own comfort. Finally, her death resulted in a transformation, signifying that God had taken his faithful servant, leaving behind a body made newly beautiful. It is the same basic model that characterized the deathbed scene of the famous Mohawk Saint Catherine Tekakwitha, who would die a pious Christian death over 30 years later.[816]

More obviously, Geneviève-Agnès's connections to the saints are clear in her name and namesakes. It is unclear how much of the connection was deliberately shaped to support resemblance to the saints, and as historian Andrew Newman explains, other Indigenous women, including Catherine Tekakwitha, had stories that were shaped by their saintly namesakes.[817] However, there are some intriguing parallels between Geneviève-Agnès Skanudharoua and her saintly namesakes. Geneviève, the patron saint of Paris, was said to have become a nun at age 15. She was a mystic with visions of saints and angels and lived a life of austerity. She was a protector

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[813] JR 44: 273.
[814] JR 44: 275.
[815] JR 44: 275.
[816] Greer, *Mohawk Saint*, 16-7.
[817] For a detailed study of this phenomenon, see Andrew Newman, "Fulfilling the Name: Catherine Tekakwitha and Marguerite Kanenstenhawi (Eunice Williams)," *Legacy* 28, no. 2 (2011). For more on the way Catherine Tekakwitha's story was shaped by Jesuit hagiographers, before and after her death, see Greer, *Mohawk Saint*, ie. 19-20, 127, 131-2, 140-41, etc, and for her baptismal naming and subsequent embodiment of Catherine of Sienna, see 52-3.

of the people of Paris through two sieges, shielding them with prayers and later successfully negotiating for the safe return of prisoners, making her an intermediary; she also ensured that the starving people of Paris had food during the second siege.[818] Geneviève-Agnès Skanudharoua's life and role among the Hospital nuns as an intermediary, and her youth, bears similarity with the life and saintly purview of her namesake.

Saint Agnes of Rome was also an interesting choice for baptismal name, as a virgin martyr who was killed for her religion around age 13.[819] The patron saint of chastity, virgins, and gardeners, Agnes was an appropriate namesake for a young girl who was supposed to help in the conversion of her people. The missionary project in New France used the metaphor of cultivation and agriculture to describe their evangelical work, conceptualizing the missions as bringing civilization to the wilderness. They describe "harvesting souls," "planting seeds," and "growing plants," as just a few examples; as such, the saint of gardeners is an appropriate choice to convey the metaphorical taming of Indigenous New France.[820]

Finally, Geneviève-Agnès Skanudharoua's religious life and the stages of her transformation into a full nun are carefully associated with the Virgin Mary. In this, Geneviève-Agnès was not necessarily unique: many Iroquoians, especially girls, felt a special affinity to the Virgin Mary.[821] Her spiritual role as an intermediary between Jesus and his followers, as well as her kinship role as the mother of God, resonated with Wendat spiritual expectations of spiritual

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[818] "Saint Genèvieve," Encyclopdia of World Biography, Encyclopedia.com, https://www.encyclopedia.com/people/philosophy-and-religion/saints/saint-genevieve. (Last accessed February 9 2019).
[819] Johann Peter Kirsch, "St Agnes of Rome," The Catholic Encyclopedia, http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/01214a.htm. (Last accessed February 9 2019).
[820] For more on the relationship between missionary work and the metaphor of taming wilderness, see Carole Blackburn, *Harvest of Souls: The Jesuit Missions and Colonialism in North America, 1632-1650* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000), especially Chapter 3.
[821] Thomas Worcester, "A Defensive Discourse: Jesuits on Disease in Seventeenth-Century New France," *French Colonial History* 6 (2005): 4.

kindred who would assist humans with their troubles. Mary was also associated with healing, and for many Wendats, calling for Mary's aid was considered an alternative to utilizing traditional medicine. As historian William B. Hart points out, "the blessed Virgin stood for many things…she was redeemer, mother-provider of life and good health, intercessor, counsellor, staff of support, healer, and personal orenda, or guardian spirit."[822]

For Geneviève-Agnès, the Virgin Mary was almost certainly a cornerstone of her faith. Working closely with the nuns in the Hôtel-Dieu, Geneviève-Agnès acted as an interpreter and intermediary between Wendat patients and the nuns themselves; she would also have assisted in patient care, making her a kind of healer. According to the nuns, Geneviève-Agnès was devoted, "especially […to] the most immaculate Mother of God, whom she loved most tenderly."[823] Perhaps this affinity to the Virgin Mary explains why Geneviève-Agnès entered the noviciate on the day of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary (March) in 1657. She also withdrew to the infirmary at the time of the feast of the Assumption, although this was after singing and praying through Lent, which she continued despite her illness.[824] Even if these dates were associated with Geneviève-Agnès later, in the art of hagiography, their inclusion in the young girl's story implies either that the Hospitalière nuns wanted to emphasize her genuine feeling and practice of Marian devotion, or that the nuns associated her or girls like her with the Virgin Mary and thought the symbolism appropriate. Curiously, however, Geneviève-Agnès Skanudharoua is never described as a virgin herself, despite these careful associations with young and virgin saints. In most cases, Christian Indigenous women were described either as pious mothers or pious virgins, the two ideals of Christian womanhood; that Geneviève-Agnès does not fit this pattern is unusual. Given

[822] Hart, "The Kindness of the Blessed Virgin," 66.
[823] JR 44:267.
[824] JR 44: 265, 267-9.

her youth, it is perhaps unsurprising that she was not a mother, but the omission of 'virgin' is suggestive, either that the girl was not in fact a virgin, or that the nuns thought the symbolism in her baptismal name was indicative enough.

Although her story sounds too fantastic to be completely true, Geneviève-Agnès Skanudharoua was undoubtedly a spiritual young woman if she was willing and able to devote herself to becoming a nun. She devoted herself to the Hospitalières, refusing to return home, and became very distraught at even the suggestion of leaving. But, despite the hagiographic description, her story was not just about religious sentiment. As a Hospital Nun, Geneviève-Agnès was planning for a life devoted to healing and nursing—including nursing Wendats and other Indigenous peoples as they suffered through epidemic diseases and tending to wounds contracted through the almost constant warfare of their time. Furthermore, as a translator she would have been held in high esteem by her own people, who greatly valued oratory skill. Despite seemingly abandoning her family, Geneviève-Agnès's choice to become a nun was not truly alienating, or a matter of abandonment, but it was a choice with significant spiritual and practical value.

Becoming a Hospitalière nun likewise was not necessarily as restrictive as it appears. At this time, the Hospitalières were not a cloistered order like the Ursulines, although their rules and custom—and a practical need for protection in the war-ridden New France—meant that they were unlikely to leave the Hôtel-Dieu.[825] However, the Hospitalières worked closely with individuals of both sexes, French and Indigenous, meaning Geneviève-Agnès would be able to see and help members of her extended family while also providing a bridge between peoples. While turning

[825] Marguerite Vacher, *Nuns without Cloister: Sisters of St. Joseph in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (New York: University Press of America, 2010), 108. For a study of the relationship between rules and cloistering in a similar female religious community in New France, see Mary Anne Foley, ""We Want No Prison among Us": The Struggle for Ecclesiastical Recognition in Seventeenth-Century New France," *U.S. Catholic Historian* 14, no. 1 (1996).

away from a future life as a mother (the ideal Wendat woman) must have been very difficult, her decision to stay with the nuns was an adaptive choice and would have been respected by her people.

Conclusion

The Wendat living in Québec were converts and Christians, and they were allies with the French. Much like the boys living at the Jesuit seminary, the girls living with the Ursulines and Hospitalières were engaging in long-term acts of diplomacy, kinship networking, and relationship-building. Unlike the boys, the girls at these schools were at least nominally Christian, and did not experience the same jarring struggle between traditionalism and Catholicism. The girls were also taught skills that would benefit them as Wendat women; sewing, embroidery, healing, and translation were all useful. Moreover, as a people who had embraced the Christian religion, the development of religious expertise is not unexpected.

For Thérèse Oionhaton, Christianity was an essential part of her family life. Coming from a family of early Christian converts, in a time when the French faith was viewed with indifference at best and suspicion and hostility at worst, Thérèse's religiosity was closely tied to personal suffering. She was baptized in the midst of an epidemic that killed several members of her family; she lost her uncle to her own people, the man who raised her and who was probably the most important figure in her own religious development; and she was captured by Haudenosaunee and witnessed the torture (and in at least one case, killing) of her religious role models. She then spent the rest of her life in a community that fluctuated between cautious acceptance of her and her faith, and blatant hostility for the same. And yet, her time at the Ursulines school and the religious and practical education she received was surely an instrumental part of her personal development. Thérèse adapted a Wendat puberty ritual designed to make her full member of her Wendat community into a ritual binding her to her Catholic faith. Her education in oratory at the school

was then applied to her home life, where she tried to convince other community members—first Wendats, then Onondagas—to accept baptism. She tied Christians into her extended kinship network and made their goals her own. For Thérèse, her Ursuline education gave her the means to engage with her community in new and adaptive ways, and provided an avenue for adaptive survival.

Thérèse's niece, Marie A8entonhou8en, was less enamoured with the religious aspects of her education, but she also chose to engage with life at the seminary school, adapting kinship metaphors in support of her community's diplomatic goals. Although she started out her life at the school with consistent truancy, Marie eventually settled into her life, almost certainly because of her mother's persistence in returning her wayward daughter. Marie learned her lessons well, and when she was brought before a visiting Onondaga delegation to speak of the benefits of the seminary, she also took the opportunity to make diplomatic overtures on behalf of her own family. Engaging with her education at the school placed Marie in a position to help her people. Acting in the role of orator and diplomat, Marie adapted her education to suit personal and familial goals. Later, in her incarnation as Marguerite Ha8enhontona, she continued to use those diplomatic ties established in her youth, and she sought to shape the external politics of her new community.

For Geneviève-Agnès, embracing Christianity was the goal, but it also was not a complete rejection of her Wendat life. She could have sought re-admittance to the Ursuline school, but instead she embraced her chosen community among the Hospitalières, an order that made healing a priority over evangelism or Frenchification. Her chosen vocation was in line with traditional Wendat expectations for her gender in providing support for the family unit, and represents an adaptation to the changing times and context rather than a complete rejection of her native Wendat culture.

After the dispersal, Wendat expectations of female childhood did not undergo immediate or dramatic change in the new community at Québec. The girls at Ursuline and Hospitalière schools demonstrated adaptability in the ways their social roles were applied, but without outright change. Female responsibilities for maintaining fictive and literal kinship connections, making decisions for (or against) engaging in warfare, and the continued maintenance of village and family life through the supply of clothes and footwear were all continued at the seminary schools. Even the girls' shift from Indigenous spirituality to a celebration of Christian faith—including the elements of syncretism and hybridization that some of the girls employed—were an expansion of women's spiritual responsibilities rather than a complete denial of traditional obligations. These girls were not being Frenchified, as the colonial authorities had hoped, but they were incorporating some French concepts, practices, and rituals into their traditional way of life. While the core expectations of Wendat childhood remained the same, their application was being adapted to their changing world.

Chapter Seven: *Atisken*[826]: Children in the Mortuary Context and the Archaeological Study of Wendat Burials

> *We would like to request that these human remains, of Native origin, be returned to a Native cemetery with dignity and full respect for Native religious values. The remains consist of a skull and small fragmentary bones, of a child 7 years old. They were recovered from a quarry near Meaford, Ontario, on the 15th of May 1990. They have been examined and are now ready for reburial. I would appreciate your assistance in this matter.*[827]

This letter, dated 15 August 1990 and written by Huronia Museum's then-director James Hunter, referred to a not-uncommon occurrence in Midland—the accidental finding of ancient, Indigenous human remains. Southern Ontario has been home to human populations for thousands of years; the successive generations of human occupants occasionally find signs of those who came before.[828] However, if that letter had been written 30 years earlier, it is less likely that a museum director would have been requesting formal reburial for the remains. More likely, those human remains would have gone into the museum for study and, perhaps, display.

For the Wendat, the bones of the dead are alive. Because the Wendat believed the dead had two souls—one which would make the journey to the Village of the Dead in the west, while the other customarily remain with the bones[829]—protecting cemeteries and burial grounds were (and are) of paramount importance, as the dead remained aware and might be offended and lash out if that respect was not given.[830] Burial traditions were therefore matters of great concern and were

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[826] *Atisken* is the Wendat word for the soul attached to human bones. JR 10: 287.
[827] Huronia Museum, Vertical Files, Archaeology, "Letter to the Huronia Burial Committee, from James Hunter, Director of the Huronia Museum, 15 August 1990."
[828] Christopher J. Ellis, "Before Pottery: Paleoindian and Archaic Hunter-Gatherers," in *Before Ontario: The Archaeology of a Province*, ed. Marit K. Munson and Susan M. Jamieson (Montréal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2013), 34.
[829] Pierre de Charlevoix, *Journal of a Voyage to North-America*, 2 vols. (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms Inc, 1966), 2: 153; John Steckley, "The Soul Concepts of the Huron" (MA thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1977), Chapter 7, especially 100-01, 104.
[830] Adrian Humphreys, "The curse of the Huron burial ground," *The Ottawa Citizen*, 3 June 2003, A1; Michael M. Pomedli, *Ethnophilosophical and Ethnolinguistic Perspectives on the Huron Indian Soul* (Lewiston NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1991), 154.

taken very seriously. According to observations recorded in the *Jesuit Relations*, 17th-century Wendat first prepared their dead by placing them atop scaffolds, where they were left relatively exposed and allowed to decompose. When the (living) community was ready to move their village, members exhumed the dead from this primary burial place, disarticulated the bones, and carefully re-wrapped them in a bundle. This bundle would then be carried to a second burial location: a massive ossuary or burial pit, where all of the village's dead would be interred together. Burying everyone together ensured the dead would maintain their kinship ties and all of the souls could make the journey to the Village of the Dead where they would live out eternity together.

For the Wendat, death was not an end. Most of their dead went on a journey to the Village of the Dead, where they lived much like the living did: they grew crops, hunted, fished, sang songs, danced, traded, and generally continued on with living as they always had. They continued to live in family groups—children, men, and women—in longhouses, sharing space with their ancestors.[831] Indeed, the desire to spend the afterlife with family was one of the main reasons many Wendat resisted baptism—for fear that they would go on to Heaven instead of the Village of the Dead, and never see their families again.[832]

Sometimes, however, certain spirits would not be expected to go on to the Village of the Dead with the rest of the community and they received differential burial treatment. Medicine-workers or sorcerers, those who died by violence, and suicides were excluded from ossuary burial because their spirits were dangerous to everyone else.[833] But the very elderly and the very young

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[831] JR 12: 29-31.

[832] Kathryn Magee Labelle, ""To Live and Die with Them": Wendat Reactions to "Worldly" Rhetoric in the Land of the Dead," in *Beyond Two Worlds: Critical Conversations on Language and Power in Native North America*, ed. James Joseph Buss and C. Joseph Genetin-Pilawa (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2014), 25.

[833] Elisabeth Tooker, *An Ethnography of the Huron Indians, 1615-1649* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1991), 132. A few archaeological sites have been identified as burials for those who died violently, although they date earlier than the seventeenth century and the unified Wendat Confederacy, and suggest

were not found in this Village, either. For these individuals, the long journey west was believed to be too difficult, so they stayed where they had lived out their lives, and their spirits created a ghostly version of their village in situ.[834] Errant noises in the village were sometimes associated with these resident spirits.[835]

Regardless of burial location or specific reasons for inclusion or exclusion from ossuary burial, all Wendat burials are meant to be left undisturbed. The modern scholarly field of archaeology, particularly the excavation of burials to study human remains and grave goods, is antagonistic to Wendat mortuary philosophy and has caused significant conflict over the past century. What is scholarship and academic research to archaeologists constitutes grave-robbing and violation for many modern Indigenous peoples.[836] However, many Indigenous people are also interested in knowing more about their ancestors' customs and this is also true of descendants of the 17th-century Wendat. While I am cognizant of the sensitive nature of this material, it is also clear that many Wendats and Wyandots want to know more about their history and so it is with this in mind that I have written this chapter. Everything in this chapter came from already available research—I conducted no digs, and examined no human remains, but instead focused only on the

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that this kind of separate burial is a very ancient custom: the Quackenbush site (c. 1500, Iroquoian), the Van Oordt site (c. 1400 AD, possible Attawandaron), and the Lafarge site (c. 700-1100 AD, also possibly Attawandaron). Respectively, AO, RG 47-64, B239958, "Military Activity (Warfare) Indigenous Peoples," n.d.; Joseph Eldon Molto, Michael W. Spence, and William A. Fox, "The Van Oordt Site: A Case Study in Salvage Osteology," *Canadian Journal of Anthropology* 5, no. 2 (1986); Michael W. Spence and Jim Wilson, "The Lafarge Burial: An Early Expression of Intercommunity Conflict in Southwestern Ontario," *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 39, no. 1 (2015).

[834] JR 10: 143.

[835] JR 10: 287.

[836] Darcy Henton, "Outrage: Natives challenge study of sacred bones," *Toronto Star* 26 August 1989, A1; Richard W. Hill, "Making a Final Resting Place Final: A History of the Repatriation Experience of the Haudenosaunee," in *Cross-Cultural Collaborations: Native Peoples and Archaeology in the Northeastern United States*, ed. Jordan E. Kerber (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006). See also Richard M. Hutchings and Marina La Salle, "Archaeology as State Heritage Crime," *Archaeologies: Journal of the World Archaeological Congress* 13, no. 1 (2017); Joe Watkins, "Through Wary Eyes: Indigenous Perspectives on Archaeology," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 34 (2005): 434.

available archaeological analyses in archives, museums, and the published literature. My goal is to make this information available to the Wendats' descendants, not to dig up new material and add to the hurt of past research. As Wendat and Wyandot communities are seeking to learn about and honour their ancestors' ceremonies and spiritual practices, it is my hope that this research will be of benefit.

The second goal of this chapter is to clarify the uses and problems of archaeological research. It has been my observation that while many historians of Wendat studies have an interest in Wendat burial traditions, and many have published on this material, most historians do not know the intricacies of archaeological analysis. Part of the problem is availability: most archaeological reports are not published. Published studies are often jargon-heavy and largely inaccessible to historians who ask different kinds of research questions and approach the material in very different ways. One of my goals with this chapter is to demystify some of this archaeological analysis and its strengths and weaknesses for historians.

Finally, historical analyses of Wendat mortuary practices have predominantly focused on ossuary burial and the corresponding Feast of the Dead Ceremony. Focusing on ossuary burial, however, ignores the great variety of burial types the Wendat conducted, including the mortuary programmes intended for 'outsider' groups, like *arendiowane* ("sorcerers"), those who died by violence, and the very young and very old. Archaeologists, on the other hand, have uncovered a plethora of Wendat and ancestral Wendat sites that clearly demonstrate a much more varied mortuary system and provide detailed descriptions and analysis of Wendat children's burials. Wendat infant burials in particular (my focus for this section of the dissertation) show astonishing variety in location and infants appear in every kind of burial context the Wendat utilized: in ossuaries (where the Jesuits specifically said they were excluded), in primary cemeteries, inside

the villages, and underneath longhouses. Including archaeological material will provide nuance and help clarify some of the trends and patterns in Wendat mortuary practices. I follow Michael W. Spence's use of the term "mortuary programmes" to highlight that these practices "are complex and dynamic, responsive to a variety of social and economic factors…[and] include not only the patterned behaviour that a society displays in its treatment of the dead but also the concepts, values and social judgements conditioning that behaviour, underlie and constrain individual burials."[837]

The archaeology and the historical sources contradict on a few key points, particularly with the infant burials that are the primary focus of this chapter. The *Jesuit Relations* specifies that Wendat children who are between one and two months old were buried at roadsides, where their spirits might be absorbed by passing women and they might be reborn; according to these descriptions, then, infants are not buried in ossuaries. The archaeology, however, clearly shows infants not only in ossuaries (and just about everywhere else), but no archaeological sites have been found with infants buried at roadsides. There are a number of possible reasons why infants were buried in so many different spaces. However, we do not know why the Jesuits did not notice *any* of them. I suggest that the Wendat deliberately misinformed their Jesuit observers about Wendat mortuary programmes.

The History of Iroquoian Archaeology in Ontario

Archaeological mortuary research in Ontario has changed dramatically in the past 80 years.[838] The Ossossané ossuary excavation in the late 1940s was one of the first excavations of a Wendat burial that was done using methodological, scientific methods. The published material for

[837] Michael W. Spence, "Mortuary Programmes of the Early Ontario Iroquoians," *Ontario Archaeology* 58 (1994): 6.
[838] For a summary of the changes in the discipline of anthropology and archaeology, and their gradual legitimization over the course of the last century up to 1980, see Bruce G. Trigger, "Archaeology and the Ethnographic Present," *Anthropologica* 23, no. 1 (1981).

this site is still held as a very careful and systematic analysis for its time. However, archaeology in the 1940s and 1950s—and for several decades afterward—did not have centralized direction or rules. Academics could simply take some students out to a site and dig; the absence of set rules about what would be done with the artifacts or human remains that were excavated meant that many ended up in private collections, museums, or in storage at universities. Indeed, it was not until 1975 that archaeological licenses were first issued, after which it became illegal under the *Ontario Heritage Act* to conduct archaeological fieldwork without a license.[839] However, these licenses did not fully protect Indigenous burials. Sometime in 1976, the Ministry of Culture and Recreation[840] attempted to further control archaeological excavations and, as summarized by Donna McNeil, "a condition was placed on some licences prohibiting excavation of human burials without first consulting with Ministry staff…[then in] 1977, it became a standard condition on licenses that authorized excavation."[841] These changes were likely a response to accusations of disrespectful conduct toward Indigenous mortuary remains, as archaeological digs could easily be conducted without Indigenous consultation, or even notification, even when Indigenous ancestors were the focus of study.

On 2 November 1976, one fed-up Union of Ontario Indians representative, Delbert Riley, made a citizen's arrest of archaeologist Walter A. Kenyon when Kenyon was conducting an

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[839] Ontario Ministry of Tourism, Culture and Sport, "Land Based Archaeological Licensing: A Bulletin for Archaeologists in Ontario," Government of Ontario, 2017. http://www.mtc.gov.on.ca/en/archaeology/archaeology_pdfs/Licensing_Bulletin_2017.pdf. (Accessed 25 March 2019); Donna McNeil, "Archaeological Licensing," *Arch Notes* 85, no. 4 (1985): 3.

[840] The name of this Ministry has changed many times over the years. In October 2019, the Ontario Government changed the name from the Ministry of Tourism, Culture and Sport to the Ministry of Heritage, Sport, Tourism and Culture Industries. Office of the Premier, "Statement from Premier Doug Ford," *Ontario Newsroom*, 21 October 2019. https://news.ontario.ca/opo/en/2019/10/statement-from-premier-doug-ford-5.html?utm_source=ondemand&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=p (accessed 22 February 2020).

[841] McNeil, "Archaeological Licensing," 7.

archaeological dig at an Attawandaron burial site, known as the Grimsby site.[842] Kenyon was "charged under the Criminal Code with indecency to bodies and three counts under the Cemeteries Act."[843] While he had begun the dig with official permission from the property owner, newspaper articles reported that he had not waited for an archaeological permit to begin excavation.[844] Moreover, he had not notified any Indigenous groups about the dig or requested permission from them to conduct the dig—and indeed, in 1976, he had no legal or professional obligation to do so.[845] Still, Kenyon eventually pled guilty to two charges of violating the Cemeteries Act, with a fine of $50 or four days in jail on each charge.[846] When questioned about the affair and about whether he would change any of his archaeological practices in light of the controversy, Kenyon reportedly declared "Not a damn thing. I am totally unrepentant," clearly showing his disdain for the whole affair.[847]

The Grimsby controversy had ripple effects. To protest the dig and its support from the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM), Indigenous activists conducted a sit-in at the museum in protest of past and future violations of Indigenous mortuary remains. In response, the ROM's chief archaeologist, Douglas Tushingham, "promised prior consultation with the nearest Indian band before any unmarked burial site is touched," although it is unclear if this promise was immediately

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[842] Anonymous, "ROM man is arrested by Indian," *The Globe and Mail*, 3 November 1976, 3; Don Dutton, "Museum sit-in protests taking of Indian bones," *Toronto Star,* 1 December 1976, A3; Walter A. Kenyon, "Some Bones of Contention: The Neutral Indian Burial Site at Grimsby," *Rotunda* 10, no. 3 (1977): 9, 11.
[843] Anonymous, "Indians, archaeologist reach agreement on burial site," *The Globe and Mail*, 4 November 1976, 9.
[844] Anonymous, "Eight agencies sign agreement: digging resumes at Indian burial grounds," *The Globe and Mail*, 4 January 1977, 9.
[845] Gary Warrick, "Buried Stories: Archaeology and Aboriginal Peoples of the Grand River, Ontario," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 46, no. 2 (2012): 166.
[846] Anonymous, "Curator of ROM pleads guilty to removal of Indian remains," *The Globe and Mail*, 21 April 1977, 9.
[847] Quoted in Anonymous, "Curator of ROM pleads guilty to removal of Indian remains," *The Globe and Mail*, 21 April 1977, 9.

kept.[848] Protests continued the next year, indicating that the issue remained a hot topic in Ontario.[849] However, there were inroads in making changes to the legal system after the Grimsby controversy, and more and more archaeologists began reaching out to officials—both in government and in Indigenous communities—to learn more about their legal and ethical responsibilities.[850]

While not all archaeologists in the 1970s were as confrontational as Kenyon, archaeological practices began to see significant change in the 1980s and 1990s, with slowly increasing efforts to ensure more community-engaged research and less intrusive excavation.[851] By the early 1990s, mortuary archaeology as a discipline had seen a major shift, moving away from systematic excavation of village and burial sites, toward more piecemeal work and salvage archaeology. Salvage archaeology, conducted usually when construction companies discover artifacts, bones, or other signs of former Indigenous usage of the site, are usually done quickly, with the understanding that the construction will continue after the archaeological investigation is completed. Many such investigations only go to Stage 2 (property assessment, to identify any archaeological resources) or Stage 3 (site-specific assessment for sites that are deemed of cultural

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[848] Anonymous, "Museum won't dig burial sites without talks, Indians told," *Toronto Star*, 24 October 1977, D5.
[849] Anonymous, "Indians threaten to dig up Sir John A.," *Toronto Star*, 11 December 1978, A1; Anonymous, "Cemetery dig threatened," *Toronto Star*, 19 December 1978, A6.
[850] For discussion of legal changes, see AO, F 1187-6, B296425, "Human Buriels [*sic*], Ontario Cemeteries Act," [1977], and the letters and files in AO, F1187-5, B296423: "A short Summary of the Requirements of the Cemeteries Act, R.S.O. 1970," "Letter to Mr. R.G. Bowes, Director, Historical Sites Branch, Re: Protection of Indian Graveyards in Parks, from L.A. Low, Solicitor. 3 June 1974," and "Letter to Director, Legal Services Branch, Attn Louis Low, re: Protection of Indian Graveyards in Parks, from R. G. Bowes. 9 April 1974."
[851] Michael W. Spence, "Methods, Ethics and Politics in Contract Osteology," in *Archaeological Consulting in Ontario: Papers of the London Conference 1985*, ed. William A. Fox, Occasional Publication of the London Chapter No.2 (London, ON: Ontario Archaeological Society Inc, 1986); Kris Nahrgang, "An Aboriginal Perspective," in *Before Ontario: The Archaeology of a Province*, ed. Marit K. Munson and Susan M. Jamieson (Montréal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2013), 204-06.

heritage value), and very rarely are these sites fully excavated.[852] Because the process of construction work—whether road work or putting up buildings—destroys the archaeological site, if the archaeological materials are not removed from such sites they will be lost forever.

Increasingly archaeologists are obliged to conduct excavations of Indigenous sites with consultation from representatives of modern Indigenous communities. When human remains are found in the course of an excavation, they are usually moved and reburied, and do not necessarily undergo a systematic analysis, as was done in the past. On some occasions, however, Indigenous consultants have given permission for some artifacts or small human bones to be left in scholarly hands for study, as occurred with the Huron-Wendat Nation's repatriation of the Thonnakona/Kleinburg ossuary remains.[853] While previous practices resulted in the destruction of countless sites, and almost no meaningful consultation with Indigenous peoples, these changes are much-needed steps in responsible research.[854] Recent innovations in archaeological study are also

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[852] The four stages of archaeology are 1) background study and property inspection, 2) property assessment, 3) site-specific assessment, and 4) mitigation of developmental impacts. If the site cannot be protected long-term, or construction must continue through the area, an excavation may be done. The Ontario Ministry of Tourism, Culture and Sport, which determines when archaeological assessments are done, does not expect construction to stop indefinitely, and so if an archaeological dig is not done, the site will be destroyed in the process of construction. See: Ontario Ministry of Tourism, Culture and Sport, "Archaeological Assessments," Government of Ontario, http://www.mtc.gov.on.ca/en/archaeology/archaeology_assessments.shtml. (Accessed 10 March 2019.)

[853] Susan Pfeiffer and Louis Lesage, "The Repatriation of Wendat Ancestors, 2013," *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 38, no. 1 (2014): 11-12. See also Anonymous, "La Nation Huronne-Wendat Signe Un Protocole D'entente Pour Le Réenterrement D'ossements De Plus De 1500 Ancêtres Hurons-Wendat Sans Wendake Sud," *Yakwennra: le journal de la Nation Huronne-Wendat,* Édition Printemps, 2013; Susan Pfeiffer et al., "Patterns of Weaning among Ancestral Huron-Wendat Communities, Determined from Nitrogen Isotopes," *American Antiquity* 82, no. 2 (2017): 246.

[854] Archaeologist Ronald Williamson has publicly lamented the lack of consultation and care with Indigenous archaeological practices in the past; he estimated that 8,000 sites in Halton, Durham, York, and Peel regions were destroyed between 1951 and 1991, and of the hundreds of archaeological projects conducted each year, almost none involved meaningful consultation. Peter Edwards, "Burial dispute pain 'is real'; Ontario's treatment of sacred native sites denounced at inquiry - Archaeologist blasts 'complete absence' of consultation," *Toronto Star*, 9 December 2005, A25.

providing new possibilities for minimally-invasive research and are quite possibly the future of community-engaged archaeology.[855]

Much of this new state of conduct, replacing the older practice of collecting and storing everything from a dig indefinitely, grew out of changes in federal and state/provincial law. In the United States, the Native America Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) of 1990 not only increased protections for Indigenous gravesites, but also provided provisions for how existing collections in museums and other public institutions would be catalogued and then, in consultation with descendant groups, repatriated to those descendants.[856] While NAGPRA does provide federal guidelines, individual US states have their own laws concerning repatriation, some more stringent than others; moreover, NAGPRA places the burden of proof on Indigenous peoples, which can further exacerbate tensions between communities and academics.[857] Canada does not yet have a federal repatriation policy in place. Bill C-391 (*Indigenous Human Remains and Cultural Property Repatriation Act*) was introduced in 1 February 2018 but although it passed its third reading it never received royal assent and is now considered dead.[858] However, some

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[855] See, for example, the recent excavations of the 17th-century Wendat Ahatsistari site in Simcoe County, ON: Bonnie Glencross et al., "Minimally Invasive Research Strategies in Huron-Wendat Archaeology," *Advances in Archaeological Practice* 5, no. 2 (2017). See also Michael W. Spence, "The Identification and Assessment of Mortuary Features: Three Case Studies from Ontario," *Advances in Archaeological Practice* 5, no. 4 (2017).

[856] Richard W. Stoffle and Michael J. Evans, "To Bury the Ancestors: A View of NAGPRA," *Practicing Anthropology* 16, no. 3 (1994): 29; Jerome C. Rose, Thomas J. Green, and Victoria D. Green, "NAGPRA Is Forever: Osteology and the Repatriation of Skeletons," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 25 (1996); Roger C. Echo-Hawk, "Ancient History in the New World: Integrating Oral Traditions and the Archaeological Record in Deep Time," *American Antiquity* 65, no. 2 (2000): 268-69.

[857] Hill, "Making a Final Resting Place Final," 5, 6, 8. Moreover, while human remains might be repatriated, grave goods are sometimes retained by museum curators and scholars, creating further tension. See Brenda J. Baker et al., "Repatriation and the Study of Human Remains," in *The Future of the Past: Archaeologists, Native Americans, and Repatriation*, ed. Tamara L. Bray (New York: Garland Publishing 2001), 73.

[858] Canada, Ontario, *Bill C-391, Indigenous Human Remains and Cultural Property Repatriation Act*, Third Reading, 2019. http://www.parl.ca/DocumentViewer/en/42-1/bill/C-391/third-reading#enH80; Yellowhead Institute, "Legislation Affecting Indigenous People: An Overview of the Liberal Record,"

individual provinces, and many government institutions, do already have policies in place. In Ontario, the *Ontario Heritage Act* regulates archaeological conduct and protection, including how fieldwork should be conducted, and a separate law, the *Funeral, Burial and Cremation Services Act* (2002, replacing the *Cemeteries Act*, 1990) theoretically deals with the discovery of ancient burials, as the rights of the deceased are meant to outweigh the interests of archaeologists.[859] While these laws are not always obeyed and do not cover what to do when digs have already been conducted, they do offer some legal protections.[860]

As the field of archaeology changes, less archaeological material on Wendat burials are widely available. Most archaeology in Ontario is conducted by designated companies now and systematic digs organized by archaeology professors as field schools are less common. Little systematic archaeological analysis has been conducted of Wendat childhood in the past—to my knowledge, no digs were ever conducted with the intention of studying Wendat or Iroquoian childhood—and now we are unlikely to ever see such extensive fieldwork projects. However, many archaeologists *have* included discussion of children in their studies, even though children

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Yellowhead Institute Policy Brief 33 (September 11 2019): https://yellowheadinstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/legislation-affecting-indigenous-people.pdf

[859] Canada, Ontario, *Funeral, Burial and Cremation Services Act*, 2002, S.O. 2002, c.33, https://www.ontario.ca/laws/statute/02f33; Neal Ferris, "Introduction: Seeing Ontario's Past Archaeologically," in *Before Ontario: The Archaeology of a Province*, ed. Marit K. Munson and Susan M. Jamieson (Montréal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2013), 18.

[860] The recent case of Allandale Station in Barrie, ON, in which the city is accused of continuing construction despite foreknowledge of the site being a Wendat burial ground, highlights how flimsy these legal protections can be. See: Kenneth Jackson, "Buried Souls: How Ontario Bulldozed through a Rare Huron-Wendat Burial Site in Barrie," *APTN National News*, 9 March 2016, https://aptnnews.ca/2016/03/09/buried-souls-how-ontario-bulldozed-through-a-rare-huron-wendat-burial-site-in-barrie/; Tristin Hopper, "Disturbed Grave Found Beneath Barrie Train Station," *National Post*, 5 July 2011, https://nationalpost.com/posted-toronto/disturbed-grave-found-beneath-barrie-train-station; Anonymous, "Allandale Station: Ancêtres Hurons-Wendat Déterrés et Profanés à Barrie en Ontario," *Yakwennra: le journal de la Nation Huronne-Wendat*, Édition yayenra'/printemps, 2016, 3.

were rarely the focal point for analysis.[861] There is a rich body of material describing infant burials, for instance, covering dozens of archaeological sites.

The Scholarship of Wendat Burials

Historical and Ethnographic Record: infants and others

When the Jesuits arrived in Wendake, they wrote extensively about Wendat burial practices. As Erik R. Seeman explains, the Jesuits respected the Wendats' mortuary ceremonies and were impressed by the love and care the Wendat put into preparing their dead for burial.[862] Most of the historical scholarship of Wendat deathways has focused on the Feast of the Dead, a massive, communal burial and its accompanying rituals, in which the entire village and often several surrounding villages took part; however, the Feast of the Dead was only one expression of Wendat mortuary programmes.[863]

Wendat mortuary practice in the 17th century was conducted in two parts. Most of the time,

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[861] Some notable exceptions for Wendat studies include Mima Kapches, "The Interment of Infants of the Ontario Iroquois," *Ontario Archaeology* 27 (1976); Crystal Forrest, "Iroquoian Infant Mortality and Juvenile Growth: 1250 to 1700 A.D." (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2010); Peter G. Ramsden and Shelley R. Saunders, "An in-House Infant Burial at the Benson Site," *Ontario Archaeology* 46 (1986); Patricia Elaine Smith, "When Small Pots Speak, the Stories They Tell: The Role of Children in Ceramic Innovation in Prehistoric Huron Society as Seen through the Analysis of Juvenile Pots" (MA thesis, McMaster University, 1998); S. Pfeiffer, K. Stewart, and C. Alex, "Growth Arrest Lines among Uxbridge Ossuary Juveniles," *Ontario Archaeology* 46 (1986); Shelley R. Saunders and F. Jerome Melbye, "Subadult Mortality and Skeletal Indicators of Health in Late Woodland Ontario Iroquois," *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 14 (1990).

[862] Erik R. Seeman, "Teaching the History of Death in Colonial North America," *OAH Magazine of History* 25, no. 1 (2011): 33.

[863] For some studies of the Wendat Feast of the Dead: T. F. McIlwraith, "The Feast of the Dead: Historical Background," *Anthropologica* 6 (1958); Kathryn Magee Labelle, ""Faire La Chaudière": The Wendat Feast of Souls, 1636," in *French and Indians in the Heart of North America, 1630-1815*, ed. Robert Englebert and Guillaume Teasdale (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University, 2013); Erik R. Seeman, *The Huron-Wendat Feast of the Dead: Indian-European Encounters in Early North America* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011). See also Harold Hickerson, "The Feast of the Dead among the Seventeenth Century Algonkians of the Upper Great Lakes," *American Anthropologist* 62, no. 1 (1960); Kathryn Magee Labelle, *Dispersed but Not Destroyed: A History of the Seventeenth-Century Wendat People* (Toronto: University of British Columbia Press, 2013), particularly the Introduction, and Conclusion.

when an individual died his or her body was carefully wrapped in fine beaver skins and placed in fetal position atop a specially built burial scaffold.[864] The scaffolds were erected outside the village in a designated cemetery, and the remains were left to the elements. The archaeological scholarship, refers to this as the primary burial. Designated specialists were responsible for taking care of the cemeteries and scaffolds, and making any arrangements for burial or disinterment; these individuals were known as *Aiheonde*.[865] Although the Wendat usually stayed out of their cemeteries without a specific need to be there—as in the case of a burial—their cemeteries were sacred spaces and fiercely protected, and in the case of fire, villagers would rush to protect the cemetery before anything else.[866]

The secondary burial occurred later, sometimes after several years, in which the village's dead would be taken from the scaffolds for reburial. If the bodies had been reduced to bone by that point, the bones were carefully disarticulated and cleaned, and re-wrapped in fresh pelts as a single bundle.[867] More recent dead had to be de-fleshed first, a grim and unpleasant task; the smell must have been overwhelming. Jesuit witness Jean de Brébeuf described the ghastly sight of the dead in varying stages of decay, but he was impressed at the careful and caring way the Wendat handled their dead, despite the unpleasant nature of the task.[868] If the body was too intact to be easily bundled, the Wendat often just cleaned it as much as possible and re-wrapped the body with fresh robes.[869] These carefully tended remains would then be brought to a designated area outside the

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[864] JR 10: 267, 283.
[865] John Steckley, "Reciprocal Burial: The Aiheonde Relationship," *Arch Notes* 90, no. 5 (1990).
[866] JR 39:31; Tooker, *An Ethnography of the Huron Indians*, 131.
[867] The process of disarticulation required skill and attention to detail. See: ROM, F9 2, Ossossane Material, "The Ossossane Burials: a Note on the Secondary Interment of Huron Populations via Ossuay Burial," ms on file; Carol A. Raemsch, "Mechanical Procedures Involved in Bone Dismemberment and Defleshing in Prehistoric Michigan," *Midcontinental Journal of Archaeology* 18, no. 2 (1993): especially 227-30.
[868] JR 10: 283.
[869] JR 10: 283-5.

village, where a massive pit was dug. The bodies and bones would be reburied here; bones mingled together in one mass grave. This ossuary burial was the second and permanent burial and was marked by a several-day Ceremony involving people from nearby, allied villages—all bringing and burying their dead together. The Wendat name for this Ceremony was *Yandatsa*, the Kettle; the French called it the Feast of the Dead.[870]

Jean de Brébeuf famously witnessed one such Kettle Ceremony in 1636 at Ossossané and he wrote a detailed description in the *Jesuit Relations* of that year. The passage covers an entire chapter of the *Relations,* but I include only a segment here:

> The bones having been well cleaned, they put them partly into bags, partly into fur robes, loaded them on their shoulders, and covered these packages with another beautiful hanging robe. As for the whole bodies, they put them on a species of litter, and carried them with all the others, each into his Cabin, where each family made a feast to its dead. … A day or two before setting out for the feast, they carried all these souls into one of the largest Cabins of the Village, where one portion was hung to the poles of the Cabin, and the other portion spread out through it; the Captain entertained them, and made them a magnificent feast in the name of a deceased Captain, whose name he bore. …. The seven or eight days before the feast were spent in assembling the souls, as well as the Strangers who had been invited… There was in the middle of it [the plaza] a great pit, about ten feet deep and five brasses wide. All around it was a scaffold, a sort of staging very well made, nine to ten brasses in width, and from nine to ten feet high; above this staging there were a number of poles laid across, and well arranged, with cross-poles to which these packages of souls were hung and bound. The whole bodies, as they were to be put in the bottom of the pit, had been the preceding day placed under the scaffold, stretched upon bark or mats fastened to stakes about the height of a man, on the borders of the pit.
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> The whole Company arrived with their corpses about an hour after Midday, and divided themselves into different cantons, according to their families and villages, and laid on the ground their parcels of souls, almost as they do earthen pots at the Village Fairs. They unfolded also their parcels of robes, and all the presents they had brought, and hung them upon poles, which were from 5 to 600 toises in extent; so there were as many as twelve hundred presents which remained thus on exhibition two full hours, to give Strangers time to see the wealth and magnificence of the Country. I did not find the Company so numerous as I had expected; if there were two thousand persons, that was about all. … Meanwhile, each Captain by command gave the signal; and all, at once, loaded with their packages of souls, running as if to the assault of a town, ascended the Stage by means of ladders hung all round it, and hung them to the cross poles, each Village having its own department. … They lined the bottom and sides of the pit with fine large new robes,

[870] Laurier Turgeon, "The Tale of the Kettle: Odyssey of an Intercultural Object," *Ethnohistory* 44, no. 1 (1997): 11; Labelle, ""Faire La Chaudière": The Wendat Feast of Souls, 1636," 15 f. 3.

> each of ten Beaver skins… At seven o'clock, they let down the whole bodies into the pit…. They put in the very middle of the pit three large kettles, which could only be of use for souls; one had a hole through it, another had no handle, and the third was of scarcely more value… We withdrew for the night to the old Village, with the resolve to return the next morning, at daybreak, when they were to throw the bones into the pit; but we could hardly arrive in time, although we made great haste, on account of an accident that happened. One of the souls, which was not securely tied, or was perhaps too heavy for the cord that fastened it, fell of itself into the pit; the noise awakened the Company, who immediately ran and mounted in a crowd upon the scaffold, and emptied indiscriminately each package into the pit, keeping, however, the robes in which they were enveloped. We had only set out from the Village at that time, but the noise was so great that it seemed almost as if we were there. As we drew near, we saw… [t]he large space was quite full of fires and flames, and the air resounded in all directions with the confused voices… the noise ceased, however, for some time, and they began to sing—but in voices so sorrowful and lugubrious that it represented to us the horrible sadness and the abyss of despair into which these unhappy souls are forever plunged.
>
> Nearly all the souls were thrown in when we arrived, for it was done almost in the turning of a hand; each one had made haste…There were five or six in the pit, arranging the bones with poles. The pit was full, within about two feet; they turned back over the bones the robes which bordered the edge of the pit, and covered the remaining space with mats and bark. Then they heaped the pit with sand, poles, and wooden stakes, which they threw in without order. Some women brought to it some dishes of corn; and that day, and the following days, several Cabins of the Village provided nets quite full of it, which were thrown upon the pit.[871]

The Ossossané Kettle described above was unusual in that the bones/souls were interred very quickly, as a result of one of the packages of remains breaking off the scaffold and falling into the pit. The Wendat reportedly took this as a sign that they needed to dispense with the usual gravitas and quickly inter the rest of the remains into the burial pit. Even with this deviation from custom, the labour and planning involved preparing for the Feast was extraordinary, likely the result of months of work, and the care and devotion that went into preparing the dead speaks to the importance assigned to burials.

The Feast of the Dead and accompanying ossuary burial was usually conducted every 8 to 12 years, and often coincided with the still-living Wendats moving their village to a new

[871] JR 10: 285-301.

location.[872] The Feast was a social unifier, an act of diplomacy and alliance-building, as well as a village-wide funeral. As historian Kathryn Magee Labelle writes, the *Yandatsa* was meant for the living as much as the dead.[873]

Ossuaries did not include everyone, however, and not all souls were brought out for inclusion in the *Yandatsa*. As stated earlier, *arendiowane*, war dead or murder victims, suicides, and freezing or drowning victims were not reburied, and were treated very cautiously, with specific ceremonies and burial customs only utilized for these groups.[874] Those who died by freezing or drowning for example were defleshed, with flesh and entrails thrown into a fire, while the rest of the body was deposited in a ditch, with attendant Ceremony involving singing and the ritual inclusion of wampum beads.[875] Those who died violently were burned or buried immediately and kept far from those who would be buried in the *Yandatsa*, because it was believed they would be dangerous to other souls.[876]

Infants, likewise, were noted in the *Jesuit Relations* as excluded from the ossuary reburial. Indeed, Jesuit Jean de Brébeuf was specifically told that infants of one to two months old were to be buried at roadsides, with the expectation that they would be reborn again in the bodies of

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[872] The Wendat practiced swidden or slash-and-burn agriculture, meaning the soils became depleted after a decade or so (depending on village size and soil type). Eventually, the villagers abandoned the village site and rebuilt in another area. If only counting soil depletion as a factor of moving the village, however, many villages could have remained in place for a lot longer than a decade, indicating there must have been other factors involved in the decision to move. Depletion of other resources around the same time, such as firewood and animals for hunting, and insect infestations, were also significant factors. Clark M. Sykes, "Swidden Horticulture and Iroquoian Settlement," *Archaeology of Eastern North America* 8 (1980): 50-51; William A. Starna, George R. Hamell, and William L. Butts, "Northern Iroquoian Horticulture and Insect Infestation: A Cause for Village Removal," *Ethnohistory* 31, no. 3 (1984): 197, 200-01.
[873] Labelle, ""Faire La Chaudière": The Wendat Feast of Souls, 1636," 2, 4, 9.
[874] Bruce G. Trigger, *The Huron: Farmers of the North* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969), 104; Roger M. Carpenter, *The Renewed, the Destroyed, and the Remade: The Three Thought Worlds of the Huron and the Iroquois, 1609-1650* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2004), 39.
[875] Tooker, *An Ethnography of the Huron Indians*, 132.
[876] Tooker, *An Ethnography of the Huron Indians*, 132.

pregnant women passing by.[877] Since the only other persons excluded from the *Yandatsa* were dangerous souls, it seems curious that infants would be similarly excluded. However, children so young may not yet have received a name, because Wendat naming ceremonies were only conducted a few times a year. Because names conferred clan identity, it is possible that infants who died shortly after birth were not yet considered part of the clan, and therefore required special mortuary treatment. This coincides with Brébeuf's claim that Wendat infants buried along roadsides were specifically placed there so that their souls might enter the bodies of passing women, ensuring that they would live again—and, this time, live long enough to gain a clan identity. Thus, if Brébeuf's claims of infants at roadsides is accurate, it may only refer to infants who died prior to receiving their name. While we do not have any conclusive evidence from the documentary material, if children at roadsides *were* only unnamed children, by extension any *named* child could be reasonably assumed to be included in communal burial.[878]

Although infants were said to be buried at roadsides, the historical material does not provide us with much detail about these roads. Brébeuf does not specify if these burials were conducted along pathways between houses, and therefore inside the village, or if they were for roads leading to other villages, or to the corn fields, or even to the cemeteries, and so we do not know where these burials might be found. Since most women were in the village and its immediate surroundings year-round, while men were away for most of the year, it is likely that women were the ones conducting burials, so perhaps they chose areas that would be most familiar to them according to individual or clan preferences.[879] By extension, even though the Wendat (men)

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[877] JR 1: 263; Charlevoix, *Journal of a Voyage to North America*, 2:153.
[878] I am not the first to raise this particular issue. Using linguistic evidence, John Steckley makes a similar point in his discussion of infant clan association. See John Steckley, "Whose Child Is This? Speculation Concerning Huron Infant Burial," *Arch Notes* 86, no. 5 (1986): 6.
[879] Barbara Alice Mann, *Iroquoian Women: The Gantowisas* (New York: Peter Lang, 2000), 329.

travelled extensively via river routes—which therefore acted with a similar transportation function as footpaths and roadways—it is unlikely these burials were conducted by riversides on travel routes where the women were unlikely to spend much time.

It is important to note however that archaeologists have not identified any roadside infant burials in Wendake.[880] Thus, we do not know what these burials looked like from the historical record, nor is there any archaeological evidence of such burials. This absence could be a sourcing problem: archaeological digs tend to focus on village sites and cemeteries, and almost never look for or analyze footpaths and roadways in the Iroquoian context.[881] Combined with the fragility of infant remains, it is possible that archaeologists simply have missed such burials, and new technologies such as GIS analysis may uncover such burials in future excavations.[882] However, given the sacredness of burial, and despite Brébeuf's claims of knowledge, another possibility is that Wendat infants were only infrequently buried at roadsides, or perhaps not at all. It is entirely possible that the Wendat deliberately misled Brébeuf—who did not himself witness the roadside burial he discusses in the *Jesuit Relations*, and only knew about it from one of his contacts in the village—as misdirection may have been used as one more method of protecting the most

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[880] However, there are a number of sites with unusual single burials, which may give us hints to how infant burials may have been conducted. See for example an unusual burial of a Tionontate woman, described by Charles Garrad, in which a young (30-35 years old) woman, crippled early in life, was buried in a field with the wooden carrying litter that was likely for her use in her lifetime. Charles Garrad, "A Petun Burial in Nottawasaga Township, Ontario," *Ontario Archaeology* 15 (1969): 12-3.

[881] There are some recent archaeological studies of landscapes that also examine roads and paths. For a few examples in the Iroquoian context, see: Eric E. Jones, "An Analysis of Factors Influencing Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) Settlement Locations," *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 29 (2010); James E. Snead, "The 'Secret and Bloody War Path': Movement, Place and Conflict in the Archaeological Landscape of North America," *World Archaeology* 43, no. 3 (2011). For other examples, see: Clark L. Erickson, "Pre-Columbian Roads of the Amazon." *Expedition* 43, no. 2 (2001); Patricia A. McCormack, "Walking the Land: Aboriginal Trails, Cultural Landscapes, and Archaeological Studies for Impact Assessment," *Archaeologies: Journal of the World Archaeological Congress* 13, no. 1 (2017).

[882] See for example Tyler Bell, Andrew Wilson, and Andrew Wickham, "Tracking the Samnites: Landscape and Communications Routes in the Sangro Valley, Italy," *American Journal of Archaeology* 106, no. 2 (2002).

vulnerable of Wendat dead. This possibility will be explored further in subsequent sections of the chapter, but it is worth pointing out that the physical evidence of infant burial does not match with the documentary evidence.

Historical analysis of Wendat mortuary customs is restricted to study of the Feast of the Dead, so there is no historiography on infant burials. However, besides burial location, we do have a few hints about infant mortality and mortuary custom. From a few scant references in the *Jesuit Relations* and other documentary sources, some evidence suggests that infants and children were more likely than adults to be buried with grave goods, including both trade goods and wampum.[883] From ethnographic sources, it is clear that children, especially infants, were believed to be very close to the spirit world; cradleboards, charms, wampum strings, and other items were used as protection from the spirit world, and if a Wendat died in infancy, these items were sometimes buried with the child.[884] In some cases, children may have received specific kinds of grave goods if they were perceived to have a close tie to the spirit world in life, or if they were perceived as needing additional spiritual assistance in the next life. At the Libby-Miller site (c. AD. 1500) for example, a single primary burial of an adolescent with several congenital disabilities includes a partial deer cranium, suggesting many reasons for grave inclusions.[885]

Child mortality was quite high—and infant mortality even higher—so burials for children would be depressingly frequent. One estimate suggests as many as 120-180 out of every 1000

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[883] Laurier Turgeon, "Material Culture and Cross-Cultural Consumption: French Beads in North America, 1500-1700," *Studies in the Decorative Arts* 9, no. 1 (2001): 98; James Axtell, *The European and the Indian: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), 115.
[884] Turgeon, "Material Culture and Cross-Cultural Consumption," 98-99.
[885] Spence, "Death and Burial in Woodland Times," 199.

Wendat children did not survive their first year.[886] With such high mortality rates, it is all the more puzzling for the conspicuous lack of infant burials in the expected mortuary locations.

Archaeological Literature of Wendat Burials: Problems and Possibilities

The archaeological literature of Wendat burials is dominated by 1) site-specific analyses, in which it is common for archaeologists to publish short articles on a specific issue at a specific site, and 2) methodological papers comparing a (usually) small group of sites with similar features. For an example of the former, archaeologists Peter Ramsden and Shelley Saunders published a short article on a single, in-house burial at the Benson site, a late 16th-century Iroquoian site in the Trent River Valley. It was one of three in-house infant burials located at this site, but the only one with grave inclusions, and so it was of particular interest.[887] Methodological papers on the other hand might analyse several sites to ascertain, for example, details of burial styles and types,[888] new ways of assessing the relative age at which individuals died,[889] or means to analyze pathology or demography.[890] Surveys of an archaeological period or issue, or analytical summaries of a single group, are less common, at least in Iroquoian studies, but do appear in published scholarship.[891] Broader themes like the archaeological study of emotion, or even of childhood, are more common outside of Iroquoian studies.[892]

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[886] Seeman, *The Huron-Wendat Feast of the Dead*, 14, 30.
[887] Ramsden and Saunders, "An In-House Infant Burial at the Benson Site," 21.
[888] For example, Richard B. Johnston, "Notes on Ossuary Burial among the Ontario Iroquois," *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 3 (1979).
[889] For example, Shelley R. Saunders and Michael W. Spence, "Dental and Skeletal Age Determinants of Ontario Iroquois Infant Burials," *Ontario Archaeology* 46 (1986).
[890] For example, Lori E. Wright and Cassady J. Yoder, "Recent Progress in Bioarchaeology: Approaches to the Osteological Paradox," *Journal of Archaeological Research* 11, no. 1 (2003).
[891] For examples, Ronald F. Williamson, "The Archaeological History of the Wendat to A.D. 1651: An Overview," *Ontario Archaeology* 94 (2014); Donna C. Boyd, "Skeletal Correlates of Human Behavior in the Americas," *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 3, no. 3 (1996); Timothy Abel, "The Iroquoian Occupations of Northern New York: A Summary of Current Research," *Ontario Archaeology* 96 (2016).
[892] Sarah Tarlow, "Emotion in Archaeology," *Current Anthropology* 41, no. 5 (2000); Sarah Tarlow, "The Archaeology of Emotion and Affect," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 41 (2012); Jane Eva Baxter,

The archaeological analysis of Wendat burials is heavily reliant on and interconnected with the historiographic and ethnographic material. Archaeologists of Wendat history tend to turn to the *Jesuit Relations* to assign meaning to their finds, with, as Peter G. Ramsden explains, "the result that much of Huron archaeology is the study of a segment of local history, and does not have anything particularly interesting to say to other archaeologists."[893] Moreover, the focus on connecting finds to historically-known sites referenced in the *Jesuit Relations* and other documentary source material, a particular interest of archaeologists pre-1960s, also limits our understanding of changing customs over time.[894] This isolating characteristic remains today, and creates an archaeological field that risks being teleological, with all sites analyzed in context of when these distinct peoples will become "historic Wendat."

Several scholars have attempted to use mortuary data to assess Iroquoian family or clan relationships,[895] social status or roles,[896] and ethnicity,[897] with mixed results. As Kathryn Kamp

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"Making Space for Children in Archaeological Interpretations," *Archeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association* 15 (2006); Kathryn A. Kamp, "Where Have All the Children Gone?: The Archaeology of Childhood," *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 8, no. 1 (2001).

[893] Peter G. Ramsden, "The Current State of Huron Archaeology," *Northeast Anthropology* 51 (1996): 105.

[894] See for example CMH, Archaeological Records, Sherwood Fox (Ms. 1763, V. 2), "Letter re: the site of Fort St. Ignace II, 1937. W. Sherwood Fox to Diamond Jenness, April 29 1937"; W. Sherwood Fox, "St. Ignace: Canadian Altar of Martyrdom," *The Catholic Historical Review* 28, no. 1 (1942).

[895] Spence and Rainey, "Mortuary Practices and Their Social Implications at the Keffer Site, Ontario," 35-36; John L. Creese, "Rethinking Early Village Development in Southern Ontario: Toward a History of Place-Making," *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 37, no. 2 (2013): 206; Robert Larocque, "A First Glance at the Biocultural Adaptation of Some Prehistoric St. Lawrence Iroquoians," *Canadian Journal of Anthropology* 5, no. 2 (1986): especially 70, 74, 76-79; John L. Creese, "The Domestication of Personhood: A View from the Northern Iroquoian Longhouse," *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 22, no. 3 (2012): 371, 73, 80-82; Michael W. Spence, "Band Structure and Interaction in Early Southern Ontario," *Canadian Journal of Anthropology* 5, no. 2 (1986); John L. Creese, "Deyughnyonkwarakda--"at the Wood's Edge": The Development of the Iroquoian Village in Southern Ontario, A.D. 900-1500" (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2011), 5, 316-21.

[896] Michael W. Spence, "Death and Burial in Woodland Times," in *Before Ontario: The Archaeology of a Province*, ed. Marit K. Munson and Susan M. Jamieson (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2013), 199.

[897] Marian E. White, "The Orchid Site Ossuary, Fort Erie, Ontario," *New York State Archaeological Association Bulletin* 38 (1966).

found in her comparative study of 60 cultures, archaeologists want to assess burials for social hierarchy, but they are more accurately measuring social competition—and both of these goals are unhelpful with assessing more egalitarian or non-hierarchical peoples like Iroquoians.[898] Assessing ethnicity can also be very difficult, as can family, clan, or nation relationships.[899] Even change over time at a single site can be very difficult to interpret and archaeologists often take an archaeological site to be a snapshot in time rather than a lived location that undergoes regular changes.[900]

Despite these peculiarities of Iroquoian archaeology, the study of Iroquoian mortuary customs is a well-developed field. While the historical and ethnographic studies of Wendat burials have focused on the Kettle/Feast of the Dead, the archaeology of Iroquoian mortuary custom has used burials to examine a number of different elements of Wendat lifeways. As a general rule, archaeologists focus less on explaining why burials were conducted in one way as opposed to another; instead, they tend to focus on demographic analysis, and perhaps diet, as well as studies of disease and morbidity.[901] Many of the mortuary studies focus on ossuaries; the Wendat conducted ossuary burials roughly every 10 to 15 years, meaning these burials are particularly

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[898] Kathryn A. Kamp, "Social Hierarchy and Burial Treatments: A Comparative Assessment," *Cross-Cultural Research* 32, no. 1 (1998): 83, 101.

[899] Gary Warrick, "The Aboriginal Population of Ontario in Late Prehistory," in *Before Ontario: The Archaeology of a Province*, ed. Marit K. Munson and Susan M. Jamieson (Montréal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2013), 67; Jennifer Birch, "Rethinking the Archaeological Application of Iroquoian Kinship," *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 32, no. 2 (2008): especially 200. See also Warrick, "The Aboriginal Population of Ontario in Late Prehistory," 72.

[900] David A. Robertson and Ronald F. Williamson, "The Archaeology of the Dunsmore Site: 15th-Century Community Transformations in Southern Ontario," *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 27, no. 1 (2003).

[901] For example, respectively, Susan Pfeiffer, "Demographic Parameters of the Uxbridge Ossuary Population," *Ontario Archaeology* 40 (1983); Henry P. Schwarcz et al., "Stable Isotopes in Human Skeletons of Southern Ontario: Reconstructing Palaeodiet," *Journal of Archaeological Science* 12 (1985); Susan Pfeiffer, M. Anne Katzenberg, and Marc A. Kelley, "Congenital Abnormalities in a Prehistoric Iroquoian Village: The Uxbridge Ossuary," *Canadian Review of Physical Anthropology* 4, no. 2 (1985); Susan Pfeiffer, "Morbidity and Mortality in the Uxbridge Ossuary," *Canadian Journal of Anthropology* 5, no. 2 (1986).

useful in providing a snapshot of a population's dead from a specific period of time.[902] Ossuaries can contain hundreds of individuals, including males and females, from the quite young to very old, giving a broad demographic sample for archaeological analysis.[903]

Other kinds of mortuary sites have been uncovered as well. Archaeologists have identified primary burial sites like the cemeteries described in the *Jesuit Relations*; special-purpose sites intended for preparing the dead for burial; human remains in middens, interpreted as disposal of deceased enemies; and isolated, single-interment burials in a myriad of locations.[904] A significant number of single-interment or double-interment burials have been found within villages, particularly inside houses.[905] Curiously, infants are more often represented in-house than adults or older children. Mima Kapches pioneered the archaeological analysis of infant in-house Iroquoian burials, spawning further archaeological analysis of this phenomenon at a number of distinct sites,

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[902] Susan Pfeiffer and Scott I. Fairgrieve, "Evidence from Ossuaries: The Effect of Contact on the Health of Iroquoians," in *In the Wake of Contact: Biological Responses to Conquest*, ed. Clark Spencer Larsen and George R. Milner (New York: Wiley-Liss., 1994), 51. While discussing village sites rather than ossuaries, some archaeologists do caution against assuming an site is representative of a single moment frozen in time. See for example David A. Robertson and Ronald F. Williamson, "The Archaeology of the Dunsmore Site: 15th-Century Community Transformations in Southern Ontario," *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 27, no. 1 (2003): especially 53.

[903] See for example C. S. Reid and T. A . Conway, "The Mcclellahan Ossuary: A Study in Data Retrieval from a Looted, Early Historic Site," *Ontario Archaeology* 26 (1976). For some concerns with palaeodemograpic analysis, see Jane E. Buikstra and Lyle W. Konigsberg, "Paleodemography: Critiques and Controversies," *American Anthropologist* 87, no. 2 (1985).

[904] These burials are rarely subject to extensive study, although there are exceptions. Primary burials located at Mackenzie-Woodbridge and Mantle sites, and were examined in situ but not exhumed; teeth were utilized from the Krieger site, whose remains were exhumed. Scattered human remains at the Keffer site were the subject of a 2002 MA thesis. See: Jennifer Birch and Ronald F. Williamson, *The Mantle Site: An Archaeological History of an Ancestral Wendat Community* (Lanham, Maryland: Altamira Press, 2013), 153-55; Shelley R. Saunders, "The Mackenzie Site Human Skeletal Material," *Ontario Archaeology* 45 (1986): 9, 12, 23-24; Christopher M. Watts, Christine D. White, and Fred J. Longstaffe, "Childhood Diet and Western Basin Tradition Foodways at the Krieger Site, Southwestern Ontario, Canada," *American Antiquity* 76, no. 3 (2011); Dori Rainey, "Challenging Assumptions: An Analysis of the Scattered Human Remains at the Keffer Site, Akgv-14" (MA thesis, University of Western Ontario, 2002).

[905] Ronald F. Williamson, "Preliminary Report on Human Interment Patterns of the Draper Site," *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 2 (1978): 117; Dean H. Knight, "Settlement Patterns at the Ball Site: A 17th Century Huron Village," *Archaeology of Eastern North America* 15 (1987): 186.

including the Benson, Ball, Draper, Keffer, and Mackenzie/Woodbridge sites. While many of these sites predate European arrival in Wendake, some do date to the 17th century, suggesting a long-standing custom.

The arguments for why infants were sometimes buried underneath houses are largely derivative of Kapches's initial suggestion that these burials are a variation of the roadside burials Jean de Brébeuf described in Wendake, although other theories may explain why in-house burials occurred.[906] Indeed, the scholarship concerning Iroquoian infant burials is dominated by the study of in-house burials. Comparatively little systematic archaeological analysis has been conducted of children and infant remains found in ossuaries, despite their presence in most if not all known Wendat ossuary sites, and these ossuary studies are usually conducted with the goal of assessing Wendat populations rather than Wendat childhood per se.[907]

There are other difficulties with studying children (particularly infants) in the archaeological context. Even without considering the ethics involved in removing skeletal material for study, the evidence for children, and even more specifically for infants, is generally under-represented in the archaeological context. Neonatal (just before or just after birth) remains are more fragile than postneonatal remains (loosely defined as after one month but before one year),[908]

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[906] For some exceptions, see: the burial of "special" individuals in (Dean Knight and Jerry Melbye, "Burial Patterns at the Ball Site," *Ontario Archaeology* 40 (1983): 46); the convenient disposal of still-birth infants (Peter G. Ramsden and Shelley R. Saunders, "An in-House Infant Burial at the Benson Site," *Ontario Archaeology* 46 (1986): 24); winter burials (Spring Thaw hypothesis: F. Jerome Melbye, "An Analysis of a Late Woodland Population in the Upper Great Lakes" (PhD diss, University of Toronto, 1969), 38); or the determination to keep a particular soul in place inside the house (William R. Fitzgerald, "The Hood Site: Longhouse Burials in an Historic Neutral Village," *Ontario Archaeology* 32 (1979): 58.)

[907] Although there have been a few studies. For a few examples, see: Saunders and Melbye, "Subadult Mortality and Skeletal Indicators of Health"; Pfeiffer, Stewart and Alex, "Growth Arrest Lines among Uxbridge Ossuary Juveniles"; Katherine Lynne Gruspier, "Subadult Growth and Health from Ossuary Samples of Prehistoric Southern Ontario Iroquoian Populations," (PhD Diss., University of Toronto, 1999).

[908] Both of these definitions come from Michael W. Spence and Dori Rainey, "Mortuary Practices and Their Social Implications at the Keffer Site, Ontario," *Ontario Archaeology* 97 (2017): 6.

and *all* infant remains are easily destroyed by the processes of time: rodents and scavengers can easily scatter the remains, and their delicate structure means easy breakage.[909] Small bones likewise are easily misidentified or lost in the process of collection.[910] Looting, irresponsible collection and removal, and irresponsible storage only compounds these issues through the loss of skeletal remains, much of which is never recovered.[911]

Analysis of the infant mortuary material that *is* retained is still challenging. Determining the age of the individual at time of death (aging) is a problem, even though it is easier to assign relative age to a child than it is to an adult.[912] Archaeologists can use a number of methods to determine age in children; some of these methods include analysis of dentition, cranial suture closure, symphysial face (referring to outgrowths on the pubic bone), auricular surface (part of the illium that articulates with the sacrum, forming two parts of the pelvis), sternal ribs (the first seven ribs, which attach to the sternum/breast bone), and epiphyseal closure (epiphyseal plates in the long bones which fuse or close when the child becomes an adult and stops growing).[913] Some aging methods are more reliable than others—using dentition tends to be more reliable than skeletal

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[909] Forrest, "Iroquoian Infant Mortality and Juvenile Growth," 195.
[910] For example, this occurred at the Keffer site, in Burial 16, which was not identified as human until after it had been removed from context. Spence and Rainey, "Mortuary Practices and Their Social Implications at the Keffer Site, Ontario," 15.
[911] Note for example that the Butter Ossuary's skeletal material is noted as being completely in private hands in 1933, and only a few notes reserved at the archive. CMH, Archaeology Archives, Ms. 1152, Peter Pringle, "Notes and Maps of the Butler [*sic*] Ossuary, 1933." See also MOA, Box Finsten-Foster, Mary E. Fleming, "Ossuary Sites in Southern Ontario," [1966], ms. on file; Neil Brodie and Colin Renfrew, "Looting and the World's Archaeological Heritage: The Inadequate Response," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 34 (2005).
[912] In one study, three different techniques were used to ascertain age of human remains in the Kleinburg ossuary, with wildly different results. Susan Pfeiffer, "Comparison of Adult Age Estimation Techniques, Using an Ossuary Sample," *Canadian Review of Physical Anthropology* 5 (1985).
[913] Robert Rost, "Ossuary Internments as a Framework for Osteological Analysis: A Critical Approach to Paleodemography and Biological Affinity," *Totem: the University of Western Ontario Journal of Anthropology* 3, no. 2 (2011): 19.

aging by the length of the long bone diaphysis (main or midsection shaft of the longbone).[914] Even when using dentition, however, different methods of aging can produce different results. For instance, rough age estimates are possible by examining for dental eruption, as certain teeth grow in at predictable times; however, there is always some variation, and the period in which deciduous and permanent teeth grow in vary according to health, genetics, and a number of other factors. Archaeologists can refine this age estimate by paying more attention to tooth calcification, which is less likely to be affected by nutrition or disease.[915] Long bones can also be used to assess age, which is especially useful because long bones are more likely to be found and retained from the archaeological context. However, the data gained tends to fall into larger age categories, such as 0-6 months, or 0.5-1.5 years, without the more refined and detailed figures from dentition.[916] Archaeologists tend to prefer using multifocal age site analysis, therefore using more than one method of aging to account for some of these problems, but this is not always possible, and when only isolated bone fragments are found or when preservation is poor, accurate analysis will be more limited.[917] Even defining age categories and terms is highly variable from one scholar to the next—terms like "embryo," "fetus," "perinate/perinatal," "neonate/neonatal," "post-neonate/post-neonatal," "infant," "juvenile," "child," and "subadult" may be associated with different age estimates, and some terms used by one scholar may not be used at all by another.[918] Likewise,

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[914] MOA, Box Trent-Tyyska, Shelley R. Saunders, "Appendix I: Human Osteology of the White Site," in *The White Site: A Southern Division Huron Component*, ed. Grant A. Tripp (London, ON: Museum of Indian Archaeology, 1978), ms. on file.

[915] Shelley R. Saunders, "The in Situ Analysis of Human Burials," *Ontario Archaeology* 29 (1978): 49; Shelley R. Saunders and Michael W. Spence, "Dental and Skeletal Age Determinants of Ontario Iroquois Infant Burials," *Ontario Archaeology* 46 (1986): 45-46.

[916] Saunders and Spence, "Dental and Skeletal Age Determinations of Ontario Iroquois Infant Burials," 45-46.

[917] Rost, "Ossuary Internments as a Framework for Osteological Analysis," 19; Saunders and Melbye, "Subadult Mortality and Skeletal Indicators of Health," 62.

[918] Compare for example this list of terms (from Lewis) to Spence & Rainey's simplified categories "fetal infant," "neonatal infant," "postneonatal infant," "young child," and "older child." Mary E. Lewis, *The Bioarchaeology of Children: Perspectives from Biological and Forensic Anthropology* (Cambridge, NY:

there is a difference between biological age and social age, and defining social age through archaeology is very difficult.[919] Interpretation of age with infant remains is highly problematic and creates methodological and interpretive challenges for analysis of infant burials.

The determination of sex in pre-pubescent children's remains is also a significant problem in interpreting the evidence, because reliable sex determination techniques do not exist for non-adults. Sexually dimorphic characteristics in the pelvis, for example, are very reliable in determining sex in adults, as females have a much wider sciatic notch than males, and may even have scars of parturition (childbirth) that would not exist in males or juveniles.[920] Certain characteristics in skull morphology and the presence or absence of a pre-auricular sulcus are also very useful in determining an individual's sex.[921] However, these sexually dimorphic physical characteristics used to study adults do not become apparent in the skeleton until after puberty, making it almost impossible to assign sex to individuals under age of 11 or 12.[922] Other techniques, including analysis of long bones, vertebra, sternal ribs, and tooth crowns are problematic even in adult populations, and almost irrelevant for evaluating children's remains.[923] Even chemical differences between males and females cannot be used to assign sex to juveniles/children. Different levels of citrate or calcium, and phosphorus and strontium, can be used to determine sex in males and females of reproductive age, but not in children.[924] As such, archaeologists cannot

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Cambridge University Press, 2007), Table 1.1 Age Terminology; Spence and Rainey, "Mortuary Practices and Their Social Implications at the Keffer Site, Ontario," 6. See also Tim D. White, Michael T. Black, and Pieter A. Folkens, *Human Osteology*, 3rd ed. (Burlington, MA: Elsevier Academic Press, 2012), 384.

[919] Siân E. Halcrow and Nancy Tayles, "The Bioarchaeological Investigation of Childhood and Social Age: Problems and Prospects," *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 15, no. 2 (2008): 202-03.

[920] Rost, "Ossuary Internments as a Framework for Osteological Analysis," 18.

[921] Rost, "Ossuary Internments as a Framework for Osteological Analysis," 18.

[922] Rost, "Ossuary Internments as a Framework for Osteological Analysis," 19; Saunders, "The In Situ Analysis of Human Burials," 51; Lewis, *The Bioarchaeology of Children*, 54.

[923] Richard S. Meindl and Katherine F. Russel, "Recent Advances in Method and Theory in Paleodemography," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 27 (1998): 379.

[924] Lewis, *The Bioarchaeology of Children*, 47.

assess mortuary practices for children on the basis of sex, despite some evidence suggesting Iroquoians may have had at least some differential mortuary treatment for adults based on sex.[925] This also creates a problem for later analyses as archaeologists acknowledge that childhood is often a gendered construct.[926] With gender usually associated with biological sex, the inability to determine sex in children's remains removes an important layer of analytical possibilities.

In short, both the archaeological and historical study of children in Wendat mortuary custom involves a number of distinct challenges, both with the material and the interpretation. Historians and archaeologists ask different research questions and approach the material in different ways, making it difficult to interpret these analyses together. Indeed, in looking for patterns in the Wendat mortuary context, I found far more variability than I expected, even accounting for cultural changes over time and the influence of European presence. Contrary to the pattern of Wendat primary and secondary burials described in the *Jesuit Relations*, with only a few exceptions for babies or for those with dangerous or violent spirits, it would seem that there was a large group of individuals (especially, but not only, very young children) who were buried outside of the expected norm. Because Wendat infants were specified in the documentary sources as recipients of a distinct burial custom, they are the focus of the rest of this chapter.

Wendat Infants in the Mortuary Context

Contrary to the pattern of primary, scaffold burial and secondary Feast of the Dead interment described for Wendat adults in the *Jesuit Relations*, archaeological examinations show more complex and varied mortuary programmes for infant burials. Location of the burial, body

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[925] Martha L. Sempowski, "Differential Mortuary Treatment of Seneca Women: Some Social Inferences," *Archaeology of Eastern North America* 14 (1986): 38, 40-41.
[926] Kathryn A. Kamp, "Dominant Discourses; Lived Experiences: Studying the Archaeology of Children and Childhood," *Archeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association* 15, no. 1 (2005): 115.

positioning (flexed, prone, extended), inclusion of grave goods (or the lack of grave goods), and type of burial (primary or secondary), all show considerable variety. Infants remains, for example, have been found in ossuaries, sometimes bundled to indicate a secondary burial in which the remains were exhumed for reburial, and other times the bones were found articulated and in situ, indicating a primary interment. Sites like Tabor Hill, Quackenbush, Ossossané, and Uxbridge were group or mass burials, with infants included in the demographic profile.[927] Permanent as well as temporary graves have also been found in designated cemeteries, where individuals would usually await final reburial in the Feast of the Dead. Children and infant graves have also been found in isolated in-village pits, under house walls, and even between palisade walls surrounding the village. Other sites show infants buried underneath houses, a tradition that is noted as predominantly Attawandaron in historical sources like the *Jesuit Relations*, but seems to have been a much more widely accepted mode of burial for other Iroquoians overall, especially before European arrival.[928] Wendat and ancestral-Wendat in-house burials of infant children are famously noted at the Draper site, and have been widely studied in that particular context,[929] but in-house

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[927] AO, RG 47-47, B183360, Patricia Cook "Report describing the on going [*sic*] work at the Uxbridge Ossuary (BgGs-3)," unpagenated; C.S. Churcher and W. Kenyon, "The Tabor Hill Ossuaries: A Study in Iroquois Demography," *Human Biology* 32, no. 2 (1960): 157; Hermann Helmuth, *The Quackenbush Skeletons: Osteology and Culture*, Trent University Occasional Papers in Anthropology 9 (Peterborough, ON: Trent University, 1993), 2, 11; Kenneth E. Kidd, "The Excavation and Historical Identification of a Huron Ossuary," *American Antiquity* 18, no. 4 (1953): 363.

[928] But, as a caution and for differences between Attawandaron and Wendat burial styles, see Mary Jackes, "Complexity in Seventeenth Century Southern Ontario Burial Practices," in *Debating Complexity: Proceedings of the Twenty-Sixth Annual Chacmool Conference*, ed. Daniel A. Meyer, Peter C. Dawson, and Donald T. Hanna (Calgary: The Archaeological Association of the University of Calgary, 1996).

[929] For a few examples, see: MOA, Box Finlayson/Poulton-Finlayson/Tripp, William D. Finlayson, "The Draper Site, Archaeological Rescue Project, 1975: A Preliminary Report to Archaeological Survey of Canada," (London: Museum of Indian Archaeology, 1976), ms. on file; MOA, Box Hayden, Mima Kapches, "The Draper Site Burials: Structure 2," in *Settlement Patterns of the Draper and White Sites: 1973 Excavations*, ed. Brian Hayden (London: Museum of Indian Archaeology, 1975), ms. on file; Crystal Forrest, "The in-House Burials at the Late Ontario Iroquoian Draper Site (Algt-2): A Multidirectional Approach to Interpretation," *Ontario Archaeology* 89/90 (2010); "The in-House Burials at the Late Ontario Iroquoian Draper Site (Algt-2)" (MA thesis, University of Toronto, 2005); Williamson, "Preliminary Report on Human Interment Patterns of the Draper Site."

burials have also been found at Keffer, White, Ball, Warminster, Tillsonburg, Watford, Dunsmore, Mackenzie/Woodbridge, and Benson sites, among others.[930] As mentioned above, no infant burials have been found at roadsides, in contradiction to Jesuits observations,[931] although this may simply be a sourcing error. Regardless, it is clear that Wendat mortuary practices concerning children are more complex than the Jesuits indicated in their *Relations*.

Burials do show some changes over time, but also remarkable similarities over the centuries. The ossuaries at Tabor Hill predate the accepted start date for the four-nation Wendat Confederacy by close to 200 years, but those ossuaries do include infant and children's remains. Indeed, Tabor Hill's characteristics are remarkable similar to the much later burials at Uxbridge, Kleinburg, and Ossossané, with bone bundles included with articulated skeletons, a demographic range from infancy to old age and including both males and females, and (excluding Ossossané), a lack of grave goods.[932] In-house burials of infants are found throughout Wendake as well as the Wendat's earlier homeland, in the Toronto region. These sites, too, show similarity across generations, mostly in variety. To clarify, sites like Watford, Keffer, Draper, Mackenzie/Woodbridge, and Benson cover over 100 years in the Greater Toronto Area, but although all show considerable variety between burials *within* each site, this variety is also consistent *between* sites. Infant remains appear in different locations within the house, but most

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[930] MOA, Saunders, "Appendix I: Human Osteology of the White Site," 292-3; Ramsden and Saunders, "An In-House Infant Burial at the Benson Site"; Michael W. Spence, "The Infant Burial of the Watford Site (Algu-5)," *KEWA* 12, no. 3 (2012); Kapches, "The Interment of Infants of the Ontario Iroquois," 33; Robertson and Williamson, "The Archaeology of the Dunsmore Site," 26, 28 (child burials, no infants); Jerry Melbye, "The People of the Ball Site," *Ontario Archaeology* 40 (1983): 26; Michael W. Spence, "The Mortuary Features of the Tillsonburg Village Site," *Ontario Archaeology* 91 (2011): 5,7; Shelley R. Saunders, "The Mackenzie Site Human Skeletal Material," *Ontario Archaeology* 45 (1986): 17; Spence, "Death and Burial in Woodland Times," 198.

[931] JR 10: 273.

[932] Churcher and Kenyon, "The Tabor Hill Ossuaries," 254, 257; AO RG 47-47 B183360, Patricia Cook, "Report on the Uxbridge Ossuary [ms.], 1976," 21, 22, 33; Susan Pfeiffer, "Spatial Distribution of Human Skeletal Material Within an Iroquoian Ossuary." *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 4 (1980): 171; Kidd, "The Excavation and Historical Identification of a Huron Ossuary," 359, 363, 364.

often are in central corridors or living spaces rather than storage zones;[933] they face different cardinal directions, contrary to Jesuit observations that burials face West, but this inconsistency also occurs with adult burials;[934] infant ages range from prenatal to postnatal, but occasionally in-house burials were shared with older children, or adults;[935] infants are sometimes alone, but sometimes buried in pairs, perhaps indicating twinship, and in a few occasions, they are buried with an older individual, perhaps a parent or an older sibling;[936] and while infant burials are often without grave goods, occasionally an item or group of items are included.[937] Unfortunately, most of the known Wendat sites from the 17th century (Ossossané, Warminster/Cahiagué, Sainte-Marie) do not have reliable data; Ossossané village was never excavated; Sainte-Marie is more accurately a Jesuit site with Wendat and Anishinaabek inclusions; and Warminster's data is scattered, largely unpublished, and poorly documented, (and, despite early claims, cannot reliably be identified as Cahiagué).[938] However, the Ball site, dating to the beginning of the 17th century, does include infant in-house burials, and here the pattern of variety continues from the earlier period.[939] Thus, if ossuary burials are characterized by their sameness over time, in-house burials are consistent in their variety.

With so much variety, it is difficult to draw conclusions regarding Wendat mortuary logic, intent, or expectations, especially where it concerns infants. However, by showcasing several key

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[933] Spence and Rainey, "Mortuary Practices and Their Social Implications at the Keffer Site, Ontario," 35.
[934] Saunders, "The Mackenzie Site Human Skeletal Material," 17.
[935] Kapches, "Interment of Infants," 35.
[936] For example, Kapches, "Interment of Infants," 33; Spence and Rainey, "Mortuary Practices and Their Social Implications at the Keffer Site, Ontario," 16.
[937] Kapches, "Interment of Infants," 33.
[938] Warminster for example is often associated with Cahiagué, but much of the material on the mortuary remains are unpublished. For a unpublished studies of Warminster, see: ROM, Manuscripts, "R.I. Harris, "Notes of the Paleopathology of the Skeletal Remains of Huron Indians from the Ossuary at Cahiague opened 1946"; AO, RG 47-47, B391326, Clark M. Sykes, "Excavations at the Cahiague Site, BdGv-1: First Preliminary Report, 1978." [ms.]
[939] See more on Ball below.

sites, we can get a better sense of these mortuary programmes and offer some possible explanations for these differences.

c. AD 1450-1500: Keffer Site

The Keffer site is a large, late 15th-century (c. AD 1450-1500) Southern Division Wendat site, located on a tributary of the Don River in modern Vaughn, Ontario.[940] Covering approximately 2.2 ha, Keffer includes a village with 15 longhouses, surrounded by a double palisade wall, with a cemetery immediately beyond the eastern wall of the palisade, and an ossuary approximately 250m from the village.[941] First 'discovered' by David Boyle in 1888, and with the ossuary partially excavated by Boyle at that time, the site was revisited in 1925 by A. J. Clark. Some of the bones from this ossuary were removed in the first excavation and many are still held in the ROM as of 2019.[942] A more thorough excavation was conducted in 1984-85 by William D. Finlayson and his team, in advance of commercial development in the area. As the incoming construction would destroy the site, the dig was conducted quickly as a salvage excavation.[943] The dig team did consult with Indigenous groups prior to excavation, including the Six Nations Haudenosaunee at Grand River, and Indigenous protocols were followed with regard to respecting

[940] AO, RG 47-47, B370782, "Museum of Indian Archaeology 1985 License Reports. Delimitation of the Southern Portion of the Keffer Site (AkGv-14), prepared by the Museum of Indian Archaeology, 1985," 2; MOA, Box Finlayson/Poulton-Finlayson/Tripp, Stephen Cox Thomas, "Appendix C: the Keffer Site Dog Burial," in *The 1985 Salvage Excavations at the Keffer Site*, William Finlayson, Donald G. Smith, Michael W. Spence, and Peter A. Timmins, (London, ON: Museum of Indian Archaeology, 1986), 1, ms. on file; Spence and Rainey, "Mortuary Practices and Their Social Implications at the Keffer Site, Ontario," 1.
[941] Spence and Rainey, "Mortuary Practices and Their Social Implications at the Keffer Site, Ontario," 1.
[942] During my own visit to the ROM in March 2019, the Keffer remains were confirmed as still in ROM holdings. Other bones from the ossuary had gone missing years ago, and were probably loaned to Boyle's friends and colleagues and never returned. ROM, F9 1, "Keffer Ossuary 1988."
[943] Spence and Rainey, "Mortuary Practices and Their Social Implications at the Keffer Site, Ontario," 2.

burials. Human remains were offered tobacco when uncovered, and they were carefully reburied in a more protected location after the excavations were complete.[944]

Keffer is an unusual site because of its variety of burials. It is the only Wendat site I have been able to find that has a wide range in burial locations, including 1) an ossuary in clear association with the village; 2) a primary cemetery in clear association with the village; 3) burials inside the village, including several in-house, encompassing a broad age demographic that includes adults of both sexes as well as children and infants; and 4) burials deliberately placed underneath the palisade, specifically in the narrow gap between the two parallel palisade walls. Children were found at Keffer in all four burial contexts. Indeed, representation of children and infants was very high overall. Out of the 29 burials found in the cemetery and in the village, 21 came from non-adults.[945] Of the 17 children's burials located inside longhouses, all were below age six; 13 of these were children under age of one, and most of these were infants 0-6 months old.[946] Four adults were also buried in-house.[947]

Infant in-house burials are most commonly associated with rebirth in the archaeological literature, as a variation of or predecessor custom to the Jesuit-noted infant burials at roadsides. As suggested by Kapches in her pathbreaking 1978 article, Wendat infants would be buried in places where they would be in close proximity to adult women, who could then take up the souls of the

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[944] MOA, Box Finlayson/Poulton-Finlayson/Tripp, Michael W. Spence, "Appendix A: License Report on the Excavation of the Keffer Site Human Burials," in *The 1985 Salvage Excavations at the Keffer Site*, William Finlayson, Donald G. Smith, Michael W. Spence, and Peter A. Timmins, (London, ON: Museum of Indian Archaeology, 1986), 1, ms. on file; MOA, Box Spence-Spence/Williamson, Michael W. Spence, "The Excavation of the Keffer Site Burials," 1987, 19, m.s. on file.
[945] Spence and Rainey, "Mortuary Practices and Their Social Implications at the Keffer Site, Ontario," 4.
[946] MOA, Box Finlayson/Poulton-Finlayson/Tripp, Spence, "Appendix A: License Report on the Excavation of the Keffer Site Human Burials," 2, ms. on file; Spence and Rainey, "Mortuary Practices and Their Social Implications at the Keffer Site, Ontario," 7.
[947] MOA, Spence, "The Excavation of the Keffer Site Burials," 1987, 7, 8, 9, and 13, m.s. on file.

deceased and re-birth them through their own pregnancies.[948] Spence's analysis of Keffer burials seems to support this argument, as the children buried in-house were located in occupied areas of the longhouse.[949] Spence and Rainey also observed that this group of rebirth-eligible individuals was not restricted to infants. Keffer evidence suggests infants and children up to 4-5 years old could be buried in-house with the intent of supporting rebirth, while children over that age were assumed able to make the journey to the Village of the Dead, and were therefore eligible for reburial in ossuaries.[950] That most of these in-house burials were located in places that would entail prolonged exposure to specific women—in other words, were placed in or very close to specific living areas, rather than in central corridors where any passing woman would be in close proximity to the burial—suggests an active effort to ensure certain souls stayed with certain families.[951] Ethnohistorian John Steckley suggests Wendat infant rebirths in the wrong woman could constitute violation of incest protocols and so great care must have gone into the planning of burial location.[952]

However, a few adults were also buried in-house, suggesting human agency was also an important factor in choosing burial location, and that perhaps some individuals, as Spence and Rainey explain, "tweaked a vaguely formulated idea, that some aspects of a dead person's character could be reborn or transmitted to a living person," by burying individuals in specific locations.[953] It is also possible that these were individuals who died in ways that would normally

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[948] Kapches, "The Interment of Infants of the Ontario Iroquois," 35, 36.
[949] MOA, Spence, "The Excavation of the Keffer Site Burials," 1987, Pt 2, 23; Mima Kapches, "The Iroquoian Longhouse: Architectural and Cultural Identity," in *Meaningful Architecture: Social Interpretations of Buildings*, ed. Martin Locock (Brookfield, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 1994), 257.
[950] Spence and Rainey, "Mortuary Practices and Their Social Implications at the Keffer Site, Ontario," 31.
[951] Spence and Rainey, "Mortuary Practices and Their Social Implications at the Keffer Site, Ontario," 35.
[952] Steckley, "Whose Child Is This?," 7.
[953] Spence and Rainey, "Mortuary Practices and Their Social Implications at the Keffer Site, Ontario," 32-33.

exclude them from ossuary burial, like freezing, drowning, or suicide, but that they were also individuals who were beloved or respected enough that their living relatives wanted to continue to include them in their lives.[954] Seventeenth-century Wendat believed the spirit world and the material world were intimately connected and that spirits could and would affect the living; perhaps these anomalous in-house burials were a means of facilitating that connection, or, perhaps, a means of preventing that connection from causing harm to the living.[955] There are no ethnographic explanations for this kind of burial in the textual sources, and therefore all attempts at assigning meaning must remain highly speculative.

Keffer is perhaps most unusual for its palisade burials; I have not found any other Wendat sites with burials like this. A total of three individuals were buried in the palisade: one adult, in what may have been an entrance through the palisade and into the village, and two infants who died at or just before birth, who were buried in between the two parallel palisade walls. While the adult was buried in an accessible location, the two infants were not. If the idea of burying infants at roadsides and inside of longhouses was to facilitate rebirth, burying them inside the palisade, where people were unlikely to come close on a regular basis, would seem to indicate deliberate exclusion. Spence suggests this may have been an indication that the infants were victims of infanticide, or that they were buried in a secluded place because they were somehow considered dangerous, perhaps born of an incestuous relationship or otherwise in violation of taboos.[956] Furthermore, palisades had highly symbolic meaning as barriers; they were both physical and

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[954] Spence and Rainey, "Mortuary Practices and Their Social Implications at the Keffer Site, Ontario," 33.
[955] Today, individuals visiting burials might offer tobacco as a gesture of respect and well-wishes for the dead. It is likely that tobacco or other perishable offerings might have been offered in the past as well, and I speculate that perhaps having a designated place inside of a longhouse would ensure regular offerings could be given and spirits assuaged. There is no clear evidence to help explain this phenomenon though.
[956] MOA, Spence, "The Excavation of the Keffer Site Burials," 1987, Pt 2, 31; Spence and Rainey, "Mortuary Practices and Their Social Implications at the Keffer Site, Ontario," 32.

spiritual barriers, and served as clear markers of belonging in the community (inside) or rejection or separation from that same community (outside).[957] That the Wendat used bark sheets in their palisades also provided a visual barrier, shutting the burial off from view and contributing to what might be considered a deliberate and conscious forgetting.[958] Burying the infants inside the palisade therefore was likely meant as a deliberate and permanent exclusion, and burying them between the two palisade walls was perhaps an effort to keep their spirits in place and keep them from wandering.

Given the usual fondness for children and the social expectations that infants needed to be protected from the spirit world, the palisade burial seems excessive. The infants were slightly different ages, a few weeks apart, and their close proximity in such an unusual burial location suggests kinship, perhaps even twinship. If one child survived the other for a few weeks, it is possible the first body was kept in anticipation of the second child's imminent demise, perhaps from some disease or birth defect, and then the two could be buried together. If they were twins, it is possible that the goal was not that the children be excluded from the spirit world, but excluded from the land of the living. Because twins were believed to be capable of extraordinary feats, their living relatives might have been concerned about their spirits being dangerous to the living. If so, perhaps the palisade burial was meant not as some kind of punishment for the children of an incestuous relationship, but rather as a protective measure against unstable or overly powerful

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[957] Peter G. Ramsden, "Death in Winter: Changing Symbolic Patterns in Southern Ontario Prehistory," *Anthropologica* 32, no. 2 (1990): 170-71, 72-3. See also Creese, "Rethinking Early Village Development in Southern Ontario: Toward a History of Place-Making," 187, 203, 04; Jennifer Birch, "Geopolitics and Dimensions of Social Complexity in Ancestral Wendake C. A.D. 1450-1600," *Ontario Archaeology* 96 (2016): 38; Peter G. Ramsden, "Palisade Extension, Village Expansion and Immigration in Trent Valley Huron Villages," *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 12 (1988): 182; Jennifer Birch, "Coalescence and Conflict in Iroquoian Ontario," *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 25, no. 1 (2010): 38.

[958] Piotr Poplawski, Joshua J. Kwoka, and William Engelbrecht, "Rethinking Palisades in the Northeast: Evidence from the Eaton Site," *Northeast Anthropology* 77-78 (2009): 81.

spirits. The lack of any corroborating archaeological or documentary evidence for such a palisade burial, however, precludes any firm conclusions about motivation.

Although unusual for its burials, Keffer was not the only ancestral-Wendat site in this area. The nearby Watford site is believed to be a precursor site whose people eventually joined Keffer when the villages of the area amalgamated. That the Watford site people already practiced in-house burials for neonatal infants indicates the longevity of these practices, despite their complete absence in the historical textual material from the Jesuits and other French travellers.[959] Perhaps the palisade burials were an anomalous tradition that grew out of a specific need that normal in-house burials could not satisfy.

Another nearby site, Hidden Spring, also shows surprising connections to Keffer. Like Watford, Hidden Spring was a special purpose site, and included burials. One burial at Hidden Spring was a child approximately 2-3 years old at death, with a rare genetic trait: the fused right mandibular central and lateral incisors.[960] This trait was shared with a child buried at Keffer, and because of the rarity of this trait, it indicates that at least some of the people at Hidden Spring were closely related to the Keffer people.[961] The details about the burials at Hidden Spring are only available in the ASI's unpublished site report, and because the Hidden Spring excavation was a salvage dig, it is unlikely we will learn more about it. Hidden Spring has been identified as a special purpose site, although what purpose it served is unknown at this time.

c. AD1480-1500 and 1500-1530: Draper and Mantle

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[959] Spence and Rainey, "Mortuary Practices and Their Social Implications at the Keffer Site, Ontario," 36; Spence, "The Infant Burial of the Watford Site," 4, 6, 7.

[960] "The Archaeology of the Hidden Spring Site (AlGu-368): Stage 4 Salvage Excavation of the Hidden Spring Site, Oxford West Subdivision Development, Part of Lots 13-16 and 37-40, Registered Plan 1931, Town of Richmond Hill, Regional Municipality of York, Ontario," (Toronto: Archaeological Services Inc, 2010), 75. Report on file Ontario Ministry of Tourism and Culture, Toronto, and online at http://asiheritage.ca/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/Hidden-Spring-Final-Report.pdf.

[961] Spence and Rainey, "Mortuary Practices and Their Social Implications at the Keffer Site, Ontario," 36.

Widely assumed to be roughly contemporaneous with Keffer,[962] the Draper site is one of the most widely studied sites with infant in-house burials. Dating to the 16th century (possibly between 1480 and 1500 AD) in modern Pickering, ON, the site was subject to salvage excavations beginning in 1972, and continuing throughout the 1970s.[963] The site was very well preserved, with over half a million artifacts found.[964] A large village covering an estimated 10-15 acres, and going through several expansions through the course of its two or three decades of occupation, Draper went from approximately 460 people to roughly 1830 individuals before the community relocated.[965] Draper was closely connected with the nearby Spang[966] and White[967] sites, and eventually the peoples at Draper are believed to have migrated to the amalgamated village site known as Mantle.[968]

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[962] But, new research suggests these dates need to be revisited, and indicates Draper may be a more recent site than previously assumed, perhaps dating to between 1530 and 1615. However, while promising, there are also issues with using radiocarbon dating, and until these new dates are confirmed I conservatively stick with the old estimates. See Stuart W. Manning et al., "Radiocarbon Re-Dating of Contact-Era Iroquoian History in Northeastern North America," *Science Advances* 4, no. 12 (2018): 3.
[963] AO, F 1187-4, B296422, "Ontario Archaeological Society Proposal for the Salvage of the Draper and White Prehistoric Sites," 1973, 2. Ms.
[964] The site was also the subject of some backchannel drama between archaeologists that created some very contested interpretations in these early days. MOA, Fenton-Finlayson, William D. Finlayson, "The 1976 Rescue Excavations at the Draper Site," (London: Museum of Indian Archaeology, 1976), 4 ms. on file; AO, F 1187-4, B296416, file Draper-McLeod-Boys 1972; Draper-White 1974, "Letter to the Executive Ontario Archaeological Society and Editor, Arch Notes, from Prof M.A. Latta, 16 May 1977."
[965] Original figures suggested 600-2500, but these were later revised in Birch and Williamson's text. See MOA, Fenton-Finlayson, William D. Finlayson, "The 1978 Excavations of the Draper Site, a Field Report," (London: Museum of Indian Archaeology, 1978), 1, m.s. on file; Birch and Williamson, *The Mantle Site*, 56-7, 61, 77-8.
[966] Very little of Spang has been excavated, but it was a large village approximately 2.5 km north of Draper. While its exact relationship with Draper is unknown, it is assumed to be part of the Draper/Mantle group, as one of three relocation spots: Draper relocating to Spang, and then Spang to Mantle. Birch and Williamson, *The Mantle Site*, 61-62.
[967] Discovered in 1972 as a result of the archaeological survey for the New Toronto Airport area, and estimated at about 3 acres at that time but presumed to be a special-purpose site rather than a village. It was later found to have preceded Draper and therefore the people who lived at White may have amalgamated with others to eventually join the population at Draper. AO, F 1187-4, B296422, "Ontario Archaeological Society Proposal for the Salvage of the Draper and White Prehistoric Sites," 1973, 4, ms. on file; Birch and Williamson, *The Mantle Site*, 55-56.
[968] Birch and Williamson, *The Mantle Site*, 62.

Draper includes 15 in-house burials, half (seven) of which were infants.[969] Of the five aged between seven fetal months and two months postpartum, archaeologist Crystal Forrest suggests four were stillborn.[970] Of the other burials, five were children between one and five years of age, one was adolescent around 15 years of age, and the other two were adults, one male and one female.[971] The adolescent and two adults both show signs of pathology, suggesting they may have been selected for in-house burial for that reason. The adolescent, for example, showed lesions, deformities and new growth on the lower limb bones consistent with osteomyelitis, a rare but serious infection of the bone requiring antibiotics for treatment, and therefore a likely contributor to this individual's death.[972] Most of the infants on the other hand were without archaeologically-detectable pathologies, though one had an asymptomatic congenital abnormality with two fused ribs,[973] and the other may have had periostitis, which is an inflammation of the tissues around the bone.[974]

Curiously, Draper is one of a number of sites with in-house burials of possible twins. Draper's burials 4 and 5 contain poorly preserved remains of two infants, both aged at birth ± 2 months. Both were primary interments, in separate pits about 1m apart, in the same general living area for one family.[975] Burials in such close proximity are often considered related, although

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[969] Forrest, "The in-House Burials at the Late Ontario Iroquoian Draper Site," 112.
[970] Forrest, "Iroquoian Infant Mortality and Juvenile Growth," 99.
[971] Forrest, "The in-House Burials at the Late Ontario Iroquoian Draper Site," 99, 104, 108, 111, 112.
[972] Forrest, "The in-House Burials at the Late Ontario Iroquoian Draper Site," 112; McKesson Corporation, "Bone Infection (Osteomyelitis)," Summit Medical Group, https://www.summitmedicalgroup.com/library/adult_health/sha_osteomyelitis/ (Accessed 21 March 2019).
[973] Forrest, "The In-House Burials at the Late Ontario Iroquoian Draper Site," 109.
[974] Forrest, "The In-House Burials at the Late Ontario Iroquoian Draper Site," 111. Periostitis is not necessarily fatal; shin splints from running are an example of chronic periostitis, but in acute forms it is caused by infection and can lead to necrosis in the tissue, which can be very serious. James Roland, "What You Should Know About Periostitis," Healthline.com, last updated 6 April 2018, https://www.healthline.com/health/periostitis. (Accessed 26 March 2019)
[975] Forrest, "The In-House Burials at the Late Ontario Iroquoian Draper Site," 106, 116.

interestingly most of the infant burials assumed to be twins were also buried in the same burial pit as a single interment, as occurred at the Cahiague, Steward, and Hood sites.[976] This raises the alternative possibility that these infants may have been maternal cousins (siblings, in the Wendat view). That they were buried in separate pits may also indicate they died at different times and the age similarity is only coincidental. In that case, it is possible these were not twins, but rather two children from the same maternal family, buried close together as symbolic of the family relationship.

Draper presents an interesting contrast to Mantle, the community it eventually became, because Mantle appears to have had no in-house burials. Dating to roughly 1500-30, Mantle was in the media in recent years because of the European-style axe-head famously found on the site.[977] While the Mantle ossuary has not been located, a cemetery with 37 burial features was located 40m southwest of Mantle's palisade. Curiously, no infants or children were present in this cemetery, even though the cemetery was otherwise a mix of primary and secondary burials, and it would not be unusual to find infants in such a burial location.[978] Despite the massive size of the village, with 98 distinct longhouses,[979] no in-house burials were found, indicating a dramatic

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[976] Forrest, "The In-House Burials at the Late Ontario Iroquoian Draper Site," 116; Kapches, "The Interment of Infants of the Ontario Iroquois," 33; J. V. Wright, "Settlement Patterns at the Steward Site," *Arch Notes* 72, no. 10 (1972): 7; William R. Fitzgerald, "The Hood Site: Longhouse Burials in an Historic Neutral Village," *Ontario Archaeology* 32 (1979): 49.

[977] Birch and Williamson, *The Mantle Site*, 6. For the highly-sensationalized film on the axe at Mantle, see Robin Bicknell with YAP Films Inc., *Curse of the Axe,* DVD. Produced by Elliott Halpern and Elizabeth Trojian, 2012.

[978] Although the original site report indicates five infants/children were found in the cemetery, the published volume specifies that only adults were located. Birch and Williamson, *The Mantle Site*, 153, 155; "The Archaeology of the Mantle Site (AlGt-334): A Report on the Stage 3-4 Salvage Excavation of the Mantle Site (AlGt-334) Part of Lot 33, Concession 9, Town of Whitchurch-Stouffville, Regional Municipality of York, Ontario," (Toronto: Archaeological Services Inc., 2012), 15, ms. report on file at Ontario Ministry of Tourism and Culture and online at http://asiheritage.ca/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/Mantle-Final-Report.pdf.

[979] Many overlapped, indicating they were *not* all contemporaneous. Birch and Williamson, *The Mantle Site*, 65.

change in custom from Draper. As such, we have no information about what the Mantle people did with dead infants, and it is highly unlikely that none died at all during Mantle's occupation. It is possible that all of these missing children were included in ossuary burials, or that there was a separate designated space for them.

In clear contrast to Keffer, then, the Draper/Spang/Mantle collection of village sites presents a problem in the absence of evidence. While Draper's in-house burials match with the pattern of in-house burials at Keffer, the Mantle site people seem to have moved away from this particular burial practice. Perhaps the larger, amalgamated village also included an influx of individuals with non-Draper burial patterns, thus making significant changes to the group's mortuary programmes. While Draper and Mantle were extensively excavated, the incomplete information about the secondary burial component (the absence of any known ossuaries in association with these sites) makes comparison to contemporaneous sites like Keffer much more difficult. Keffer might very well be an outlier with its variety of burials. Again, the lack of evidence precludes reliable interpretation of the motivations for mortuary custom at these sites.

c. AD 1600-1610 and c.AD 1610-1630: Ball/Auger

Excavations at the Ball site began in 1975 as part of a Wilfrid Laurier University field school, and excavations continued through the late 1970s and into the 1980s.[980] Ball is a large site covering 9-10 acres, and by 1995 about 95% of the site had been fully excavated—at the time, an unprecedented level of completion for an archaeological site.[981] An Arendarhonon (Rock Nation) Wendat site dated to approximately AD 1600-1610, Ball is located in modern Medonte Township

[980] Knight, "Settlement Patterns at the Ball Site," 177.
[981] AO, RG 47-47, B370672, eds. Dean H. Knight and Sally Cameron, "The Ball Site: 1975-1982," (Wilfrid University, 1983), unpagenated, ms. on file; William R. Fitzgerald, Dean H. Knight, and Allison Bain, "Untanglers of Matters Temporal and Cultural: Glass Beads and the Early Contact Period Huron Ball Site," *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 19 (1995): 124.

(Simcoe County, ON), only 1.5km away from the roughly contemporaneous Warminster/Cahiague site.[982] Ball was an unusual village site as it seems to have been occupied only for a relatively short period of time and was carefully organized with houses essentially parallel to one another, indicating strong and stable internal relationships.[983] While no cemetery or ossuary has been identified with Ball, there were 13 in-house burials located by 1987.[984] All of these burials were located in anomalous structures—longhouses that were overly small or large, or oriented against the pattern of the other houses—and in most cases, the burials were placed in what were otherwise refuse pits, rather than pits dug specifically for burial.[985]

Several of the in-house burials included children. Of the first nine burials located, for which I have found extensive analysis, five burials included remains of children. Only one, however, was an infant, breaking with the usual pattern of in-house burials being predominantly for infant children. This particular child, called Burial 6 in the reports, was approximately 8 months old when he or she (sex indeterminate because of age) died.[986] He or she was found in House 15, and was free of visible pathology.[987]

Three shell beads were present in Burial 6, near the infant's wrist, and was likely a personal ornament rather than specific grave good.[988] Beads were often considered to have protective qualities and were sometimes included in graves containing children, infants, and adolescents.[989]

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[982] Dean Knight and Jerry Melbye, "Burial Patterns at the Ball Site," *Ontario Archaeology* 40 (1983): 38; Jenneth E. Curtis and Martha A. Latta, "Ceramics as Reflectors of Social Relationship: The Auger Site and Ball Site Castellations," *Ontario Archaeology* 70 (2000): 1, 11.
[983] AO, RG 47-47, B385732, Dean H. Knight, "Ball Site Excavations 1986," 1987, 12; Knight, "Settlement Patterns at the Ball Site," 181, 185.
[984] Knight, "Settlement Patterns at the Ball Site," 177.
[985] Although Knight also notes that although all burials were in anomalous structures, not all anomalous structures had burials. Knight, "Settlement Patterns at the Ball Site," 186.
[986] Knight and Melbye, "Burial Patterns at the Ball Site," 39.
[987] Knight and Melbye, "Burial Patterns at the Ball Site," 45.
[988] Knight and Melbye, "Burial Patterns at the Ball Site," 45.
[989] Turgeon, "Material Culture and Cross-Cultural Consumption," 98.

As described by historian Laurier Turgeon, "the jingling sound of beads on infants and cradles was believed to frighten away the spirits calling the infant to rejoin them [in the spirit world]."[990] Jesuit observation provides corroboration, as Jean de Brébeuf reports seeing a distraught mother prepare her small children for burial by putting bracelets of "porcelain [wampum] and glass beads" on their arms, suggesting that beads' important protective qualities were expected to assist children in the afterlife as well.[991]

The other in-house burials at Ball were all older children or adults, at least where age could be determined. Burial 8 was especially interesting as it was a double burial, including an adult female, with the skull of a child cradled by her left arm.[992] This was the first double burial found at Ball and was interpreted as a possible mother and child.[993] Unfortunately, no information is available about cause of death, or why only a skull was buried with the adult female.

Burial 3 was likewise an intriguing child burial. Buried in House 20, the longest house on the site, this individual was approximately 11 ± 1 years old at death, which was almost certainly caused by an aggressive case of spinal tuberculosis.[994] This child was buried prone, with head facing the west (the direction of the Village of the Dead in Wendat cosmology), with the legs drawn up so that the knees were close to the shoulders, and arms flexed so the hands were near the face and back of the skull.[995] Knight and Melbye suggest this may have been a deliberate posing to emulate a preferred resting position in life, as the singular comfortable position that would

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[990] Turgeon, "Material Culture and Cross-Cultural Consumption," 99.
[991] JR 10: 293.
[992] AO, RG 47-47, B234452, Dean H. Knight, "Report of the Excavations at the Ball Site 1983-1984," 1985, (unpagenated), ms. on file.
[993] Age of the child was not assessed, so it is unclear if this was an infant burial or that of an older child. AO, Knight, "Report of the Excavations at the Ball Site 1983-1984."
[994] Knight and Melbye, "Burial Patterns at the Ball Site," 39, 42.
[995] Knight and Melbye, "Burial Patterns at the Ball Site,"42.

relieve the pain of spinal tuberculosis.[996] Such deliberate care in posture suggests that the child's family knew his or her spirit would not be able to make the journey to the Village of the Dead, and therefore would not be exhumed for ossuary burial; it also indicates a conscious, loving effort to ensure the child's afterlife would be as comfortable as possible.

The Ball may have eventually relocated to the Auger site (c.1610-1630).[997] While no burials have been found at Auger, there were several pits in-house that were characteristic of the burials at Ball. Each pit likely held an individual who was exhumed for reburial elsewhere, and then the pit carefully refilled rather than being put to use for a different purpose. Where these individuals were removed to is unclear.[998]

Ball and Auger are particularly useful sites for comparison to Draper/Spang/Mantle and Keffer because 1) Ball and Auger post-date European arrival to Wendake, and 2) Ball and Auger are sites that post-date the move northward into the Midland/Penetanguishene area of classically identified Wendake. We also know that Ball and Auger were Arendarhonon (Rock Nation Wendat) sites, giving us a regional marker. Unfortunately, we do not know the nation identities of the earlier sites from the Toronto area, as they predate the establishment of the Wendat Confederacy. Without being able to compare to earlier sites for this particular nation of Wendat, it is impossible to tell if Ball and Auger represent a cultural phenomenon intrinsic to one (or more) Wendat nation(s), or

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[996] Knight and Melbye, "Burial Patterns at the Ball Site," 42.
[997] Curtis and Latta, "Ceramics as Reflectors of Social Relationship," 2; however, Auger may have been an Attigneenongnahac village, which would mean that the Ball people moved into a different nation's territory, or joined with a pre-existing village in Attigneenongnahac territory. See Holly Martelle, "Some Thoughts on the Impact of Epidemic Disease and European Contact on Ceramic Production in Seventeenth Century Huronia," *Ontario Archaeology* 77/78 (2004): 34; Williamson, "Archaeological History of the Wendat," 37.
[998] Martha A. Latta, "A 17th Century Attigneenongnahac Village: Settlement Patterns at the Auger Site (Bdgw-3)," *Ontario Archaeology* 44, no. 41-54 (1985): 50.

possibly, one or more Wendat clans. However, it is clear that in-house burials were still conducted even after European arrival into Wendake.

The relationship between the Arendarhonon and the French also raises some questions about in-house burial and its absence in the written record. The Arendarhonon were the first Wendat nation the French met, with a long-term relationship developing very quickly. Champlain spent the 1615-1616 winter in the main Arendarhonon village of Cahiagué, and continued French presence in Wendake gave Arendarhonon primary trade rights; the Jesuits began actively missionizing in the area after 1640.[999] The Arendarhonon may have been the only people *widely* using this particular burial practice in Wendake—other than Ball, the Warminster site (usually associated with Cahiagué) also had in-house burials, and both Ball and Warminster were Arendarhonon sites.[1000] However, the Robitaille site in Attignawantan (Bear Nation) territory also had in-house burials (albeit adult, not infant) and dated to the 'historic' period. If the Auger site was Attigneenongnahac, this adds a third Wendat nation to have in-house burials.[1001] Given the distance between the Robitaille and the Ball, Auger, and Warminster sites, it is more likely that in-house burial was a wide-spread practice rather than one of a specific nation. It seems puzzling that none of the European visitors to Wendake mentioned in-house burials, especially when Champlain definitely stayed in Cahiagué. It may simply be an oversight, or it could be a deliberate and intentional exclusion. Perhaps the French were not invited to witness such burials; perhaps the Wendat deliberately hid these burials from the disapproving outsiders.

OSSUARIES AND MULTIPLE BURIALS

[999] JR 20: 19-21; William C. Noble, "The Sopher Celt: an Indicator of Early Protohistoric Trade in Huronia," *Ontario Archaeology* 16 (1971): 45.
[1000] Kapches, "Interment of Infants," 33.
[1001] Kapches, "Interment of Infants," 35; Williamson, "The Archaeological History of the Wendat," 36-7.

Although most of my focus has thus far been in-house burials, larger-scale burials, particularly ossuary burial sites, are much more commonly-known mortuary contexts. Multiple burials, defined as approximately half a dozen to a dozen individuals as opposed to the hundreds located in ossuaries, were occasionally found through the area of modern-day Ontario, especially in Simcoe County (Wendake), but do not generally garner as much archaeological or scholarly attention.[1002] For example, in 1988 a landowner inadvertently discovered human remains on his property, leading to the discovery of the remains of four adults and three children, in a mix of primary and secondary interments. While the graves were exhumed for study, it is unclear what happened to them afterward, despite their assumed historical significance as "the first Cord Nation osteological remains available for analysis since the excavation of the Sopher Ossuary by Bill Noble in 1964."[1003] Compared to ossuaries, very few small multiple burials of this kind are given scholarly attention.

Ossuaries, on the other hand, are the most widely-studied of all Wendat burial types. Made famous by Jean de Brébeuf's description of the 1636 Feast of the Dead, and its subsequent identification in the 1940s as the archaeological site Ossossané, the Wendat had a very long history of ossuary burial. Over 200 ossuary sites have been found, going back to at least AD. 1250.[1004]

[1002] Definition from MOA, Research Reports, "The 1961 Cahiague Village Site, Simcoe County, Ontario." (Public Lecture Series, University of Toronto Archaeological Field School, 1961), 4. Ms. on file. Plenty of single burials or double burials were also found. For just a few examples, see CMH, William J. Wintemberg fonds, Box 52 File 7 Wintemberg, Folder "Village sites, part V – Ontario. [193-?]"; CMH, William J. Wintemberg fonds, Box 24 File 1 Wintemberg, Folder "Archaeological Sites, Huron County 31 [193-?]" See also Huronia Museum, Vertical Files, Huron Ossuary, May 29 2003—Little Lake Park, "Huron Multiple Burial Practices" [no author, no date, handwritten notes].

[1003] Huronia Museum, Vertical Files, North Huronia Site, "Report on the Archaeological excavation of the Multiple Burial at 475 Huronia Road, Orillia, Ontario. For Dr. John A. Strathearn, MD., by Jamie Hunter and Rosemary Vyvyan, 1988." Ms. on file.

[1004] The Tabor Hill ossuaries (ancestral Wendat) are dated to approximately AD.1250, although dating techniques were based on pottery types, and those figures may need re-evaluation in light of more recent analysis. Archaeologist Shelley R. Saunders has traced ossuary burial in Ontario to at least AD. 1300, however, establishing its long history. Churcher and Kenyon, "The Tabor Hill Ossuaries," 253; Saunders, "The in Situ Analysis of Human Burials," 47.

Unfortunately, known ossuary sites have been widely looted over the years, compounding the inaccuracies and data loss associated with older archaeological techniques.[1005] For example, two ossuaries were located at the Warminster site, the first in 1867. However, the first-found ossuary was extensively looted, and it is unclear how much was removed from the site, or destroyed in situ.[1006] Moreover, despite intense archaeological interest in the site, its historical affiliation—it may or may not be the same Cahiague Samuel de Champlain visited in 1615—is still debated.[1007] The Warminster site has been extensively excavated as a teaching site rather than a research site, however, and most of the data is unpublished and inaccessible, making it unlikely for any conclusive evaluation of its historical identity.[1008] Similarly, the two ancestral Wendat ossuaries at Tabor Hill in modern Scarborough, ON, are known to contain a minimum of 213 individuals, with at least 38 children and suggestive of a high infant mortality rate, but the main published article on Tabor Hill provides only the beginnings of a demographic study, and I have been unable to find any field notes or site report for the site.[1009] Since it is now a protected site in Scarborough, it is unlikely we will be able to learn much more.[1010]

[1005] Others were lost or forgotten over the years. A few examples: CMH, William J. Wintemberg Fonds, Box 126 File 2 Wintemberg, Folder "Graves Part VIII, Ontario"; CMH, William J. Wintemberg Fonds, Box 126 File 5 Wintemberg, Folder "Graves Part XI, Ontario."

[1006] AO, RG 47-47, B391326, Clark M. Sykes, "Excavations at the Cahiague Site BdGv-1: First Preliminary Report," 10, ms.; AO, RG 47-64, B245031, Autumn Program '72, "Is Warminster Site the Historical Cahiague?" unpagenated, ms.

[1007] For a synthesis of the arguments against Warminster being Cahiague, and an alternative site being offered as Cahiague (Ball), see: William R. Fitzgerald, "Is the Warminster Site Champlain's Cahiagué?," *Ontario Archaeology* 45 (1986). See also Grant J. Mullen, "Human Osteology of the Warminster Site (BdGv-1) Ossuary," (MA thesis, University of Toronto, 1990), 8-10, 14-17.

[1008] AO, Sykes, "Excavations at the Cahiague Site," 12, ms; J. Norman Emerson, "Cahiagué 1961," *Ontario Historical Society* 54, no. 2 (1962): 134.

[1009] Churcher and Kenyon, "The Tabor Hill Ossuaries," 256; Walter A. Kenyon, "A Prehistoric Cemetery," *Ontario Historical Society* 48 (1956): 184.

[1010] Anonymous, "Indian Burial Grounds Named Historical Sites," *The Globe and Mail,* 23 August 1956, 5; Anonymous, "Indians Claim Promise Broken in Scarboro," *The Globe and Mail*, 14 June 1957, 7; Robert William Dunning, "Iroquois Feast of the Dead: New Style," *Anthropologica* 6 (1958).

Other ossuary studies have provided more information. It seems that every ossuary located thus far contains children and infant remains, although some have more than others, and in varying degrees of preservation and skeletal cohesiveness.[1011] From studies of the Uxbridge ossuary (AD 1490±80), we know that the high juvenile mortality was caused by chronic issues like illness or dietary stress.[1012] Moreover, 35% of the juvenile mortality was represented by newborns—indicating not only the health risks associated with new life, but also that infants were indeed buried in ossuaries with other age groups.[1013] From other studies, we know that infants tended to die from acute conditions like diarrhea or fever, unlike the chronic conditions more common to older children.[1014] In general, the health of infants and children were linked to the function of families and larger social units, and individuals stressed early in life were more likely to die early, so if children did get sick as infants, they were at higher risk for future ailments.[1015] Infants and children were not noticeably worse-off after European arrival; ossuaries were neither larger nor were they comprised of greater numbers of infants.[1016] However, since we have little information on the graves for the thousands who died as a result of epidemic disease (which hit the Wendat hardest in the 1630s), this remains a preliminary observation.

Ossuary burials did demonstrate other changes over time, however, indicating that these traditions were processes as much as events. Grave goods for instance became more common in

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[1011] Moatfield, for example, included several complete juvenile individuals, without the extensive mixing that creates so much difficulty in identifying individuals in ossuary contexts. Tosha L. Dupras, "The Moatfield Infant and Juvenile Skeletal Remains," in *Bones of the Ancestors: The Archaeology and Osteobiography of the Moatfield Ossuary*, ed. Ronald F. Williamson and Susan Pfeiffer, Mercury Series Archaeology Paper 163 (Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2003), 295.
[1012] Pfeiffer et al., "Growth Arrest Lines among Uxbridge Ossuary Juveniles," 28, 30.
[1013] Pfeiffer et al., "Growth Arrest Lines among Uxbridge Ossuary Juveniles," 27. See also Katherine Lynne Gruspier, "Subadult Growth and Health from Ossuary Samples of Prehistoric Southern Ontario Iroquoian Populations," (PhD Diss., University of Toronto, 1999), 66.
[1014] Forrest, "Iroquoian Infant Mortality and Juvenile Growth," 190.
[1015] Alan H. Goodman and George J. Armelagos, "Infant and Childhood Morbidity and Mortality Risks in Archaeological Populations," *World Archaeology* 21, no. 2 (1989): 226-7, 239.
[1016] Forrest, "Iroquoian Infant Mortality and Juvenile Growth," 197.

burials made after Europeans arrived in Wendake, particularly in ossuaries.[1017] European presence meant more trade goods, and historian Erik Seeman suggests burial practices were adapted so that European items could be added in as grave goods—a practice he suggests was much more uncommon before this period.[1018] If so, the increase in grave goods did not happen immediately. The Sopher Ossuary (AD. 1505±85) has some of the earliest evidence of trade items in southern Ontario, but few grave goods overall;[1019] Ossossané (AD. 1636), on the other hand, had a lot of grave goods.[1020]

I will close this section with discussion of two burial sites where Wendat had definite, prolonged contact with Europeans: Ossossané, and Ste. Marie. Both sites were dug in the 1940s and 1950s, and so are prone to much of the loss of information characteristic of these dig periods. Both sites, however, show the same characteristic variability of earlier sites and make it clear that individual and social agency played a powerful role in Wendat mortuary practice.

AD. 1636: Ossossané

Located in Tiny Township (Simcoe County, ON) and excavated in 1947-48 under the direction of archaeologist Kenneth Kidd,[1021] the Ossossané ossuary is perhaps the most famous of all Wendat burials. The burial includes the dead from eight or nine villages—including Ihonatiria, Arenta, Anontea, and Angoutenc—with a minimum of 681 individuals, including 122 children

[1017] Susan M. Jamieson, "Economics and Ontario Iroquoian Social Organization," *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 5 (1981): 22.
[1018] Seeman, *The Huron-Wendat Feast of the Dead*, 3-4.
[1019] Jamieson, "Economics and Ontario Iroquoian Social Organization," 24. William C. Noble, "Potsherds, Potlids, and Politics: An Overview of Ontario Archaeology During the 1970's," *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 6 (1982): 180; William C. Noble, "Canadian Prehistory: The Lower Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Region," *Bulletin of the Canadian Archaeological Association* 7 (1975): 111.
[1020] Jamieson, "Economics and Ontario Iroquoian Social Organization," 24.
[1021] Kidd, "The Excavation and Historical Identification of a Huron Ossuary," 359.

aged 15 or less.[1022] Most of the remains were deliberately mixed, although some were fairly intact, clearly the result of complete bodies being buried in the ossuary.

Brébeuf's famous description of the Ossossané Feast of the Dead (quoted in a previous section of the chapter) gave archaeologists a clear set of characteristics to look for when it came to identifying the site as Ossossané. Excavations at the site uncovered an abundance of grave goods scattered throughout the ossuary, much like those described in Brébeuf's account. These included carvings, knives, shell beads, finger rings, and kettles.[1023] Some of the bones were stained green from copper, indicating there were once copper bracelets included as well.[1024] A few fragments of textiles were recovered, sometimes still attached to human remains, as well as fragments of bark matting and cloth.[1025] Food and animal remains were also found, some of which were probably consumed by the living participants of the Feast of the Dead (including deer and dog), while others were included likely as charms or offerings (bear).[1026]

The human remains were extensively studied in the approximately 50 years they were in museum hands. From this, physical anthropologists have been able to determine comparative mortality rates to ascertain the health of Ossossané's population in comparison to earlier ossuaries.

[1022] ROM, Manuscripts, David Spittal, "The Identification of Animal Food Resources: Feast of the Dead, Ossossané, 1636 (BeGx-16)," 1975, ms. on file; Saunders and Melbye, "Subadult Mortality and Skeletal Indicators of Health in Late Woodland Ontario Iroquois," 63; Richard E. Sutton, "Palaeodemography and Late Iroquoian Ossuary Samples," *Ontario Archaeology* 48 (1988): 44; Norman C. Sullivan, "On a Darkling Plain: A Study of the Demographic Crisis of the Huron Indians" (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 1989), 109.

[1023] Mima Kapches, "Ossossané Ossuary: The Circle Closes," *Archaeology of Eastern North America* 38 (2010): 4.

[1024] Kapches, "Ossossané Ossuary: The Circle Closes," 4.

[1025] ROM, S5 2, Ossossane 1946-1948 FB 535, "Ossossane Textiles." For analysis of these textile fragments, see Victoria Lynne Marchant, "The Analysis of 17th Century Textiles from Osssosane and the Conservation of Archaeological Textiles" (MA thesis, University of Toronto, 1982).

[1026] Kapches, "Ossossané Ossuary: The Circle Closes," 6-7. Some of the other animal remains present in the pit included raccoon, river otter, beaver, groundhog, lynx, squirrel, mouse, Canada goose, sandhill crane, snapping turtle, and catfish. See ROM, Manuscripts, Spittal, "The Identification of Animal Food Resources," Table 1.

Interestingly, Ossossané's children and adolescents (5-10 years old and 10-15 years old) had a lower mortality rate than those of the same age at the Fairty and Kleinburg ossuaries; however, children aged 0-5 years had higher mortality rates in Ossossané as compared to the other burials.[1027] Of these, infants (0-1 year) constituted the highest percentage of subadult dead at Ossossané, with the second most prevalent group at 2-3 years old; juvenile mortality drops sharply after eight years (with a bit of increase again at approximately 12 years).[1028] As in earlier periods, children tended to die very young, although Ossossané's infant and toddler population were clearly at greater risk than the earlier ossuaries. Still, following the patterns established at some of the earlier ossuaries, their presence in the Ossossané ossuary indicates that many infants and young children were included in the Feast of the Dead and buried with their families.

While the mixing of bones in the ossuary makes it difficult to ascertain much about specific individuals, a few individuals' remains were found intact and in situ. One unusual example found at the bottom of the ossuary was the remains of a woman with an infant in situ at her pelvis, indicating they had died together in childbirth.[1029] The relatives of this mother and child were apparently unwilling to separate the two in death, perhaps hoping to ensure they would remain together in the afterlife. This pattern of burying mothers and their stillborn children together may have been common practice in other ossuaries, as well. In a manuscript article, R.I. Harris suggests that many of the infants represented in the Cahiagué/Warminster ossuary were actually prenatal, suggesting stillbirth, and he points to the likely common occurrence of women dying in

[1027] Sullivan, "On a Darkling Plain," 91-92.
[1028] Saunders and Melbye, "Subadult Mortality and Skeletal Indicators of Health in Late Woodland Ontario Iroquois," 65.
[1029] Kidd, "The Excavation and Historical Identification of a Huron Ossuary," 363.

childbirth.[1030] The fragmented and poorly preserved bones at Warminster made it difficult even to provide an estimated number of individuals in the ossuary, and the Wendat practice of mixing the bones would make it difficult to associate mothers with their children if they were included together; however, the inclusion of prenatal infants in other ossuaries suggests there may have been other cases like at Ossossané, with the mother interred with her child.

The human remains from Ossossané were repatriated and reburied in 1999 in a renewed Feast of the Dead. Representatives of all four contemporary Wendat nations (Huron-Wendat of Wendake, QC, Wyandotte Nation of Oklahoma, Wyandot Nation of Kansas, and the Wyandot of Anderdon Nation, MI) were present, and the four nations signed an agreement re-establishing the Wendat Confederacy.[1031] The original purpose of the mass burial—bringing together the living and the dead, as well as alliance-making—was maintained even 400 years after the original burial.

Although Frank Ridley may have located the village of Ossossané affiliated with the ossuary, it was never properly excavated and evidence for its identification remains dubious. Ridley was only able to access the site by paying the land owner a significant fee and he had to wait until that year's crop had been harvested; as such, prolonged or continuous excavations were not possible.[1032] Excavations located a midden containing plenty of cultural items such as ceramics and beads, but no post moulds were found to indicate longhouses, nor were any palisades located, despite their presence in the village description in the *Jesuit Relations*.[1033] The village would have

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[1030] ROM, Manuscripts, R.I. Harris, "Notes of the Paleopathology of the Skeletal Remains of Huron Indians from the Ossuary at Cahiague opened 1946 [ms.]," 174, 183. Curiously, Cahiagué/Warminster also had in-house burials. See Kapches, "Interment of Infants," 35.
[1031] Kapches, "Ossossané Ossuary," 11.
[1032] AO, RG 47-47, B285626, Frank Ridley, "Report to the Archaeological and Historic Sites Board on Excavations at the Huron Indian Village of Ossossane, 1964," 4. Ms on file.
[1033] But, note Ridley's explanation that the palisades may have been constructed above ground, rather than fixed into the earth. AO, RG47-47, B385626, Frank Ridley, "A Report to the Archaeological and Historic Sites Advisory Board on 1965 Excavations at the Huron Indian Village of Ossossane," 8-10. Ms. on file.

been fairly large, with at least 1500 people according to historical geographer Conrad Heidenreich,[1034] making it highly unlikely that such a town would have left so few signs of its existence. It would have been interesting to see if other (primary) burials were still present at the village, and to ascertain if in-house burials were also in use at Ossossané. If so, it would confirm my hypothesis that the Wendat deliberately hid from, or did not include, the Jesuits in any but the most public—and diplomatic—expressions of mourning: the Feast of the Dead.

The Ossossané ossuary is known to be different from other Feast of the Dead ossuaries. Unlike the usual care and solemnity, the bones were thrown in rapidly and deliberately mixed in an apparent act of chaos that the Wendat of the time believed was specifically requested by the spirits. Likewise, burial goods were included in greater quantities than is usually seen in ossuaries, indicating changing attitudes to the needs of the dead. Motives for burial innovations were likely myriad: personal agency, social expectation, and spiritual demands were all factors involved in burial practice.

AD. 1639-1649: Sainte-Marie Cemetery

The 1950 Sainte-Marie cemetery excavation was very different from the other burials discussed thus far.[1035] The excavations at the cemetery and the "Indian Church" at Sainte-Marie were first conducted by amateur archaeologists and assorted workers, under supervision of Jesuit priests, and then later excavated by Wilfrid and Elsie McLeod Jury.[1036] The excavations were prompted by the church in an effort to find the graves of Jean de Brébeuf and Gabriel Lalemant,

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[1034] Conrad Heidenreich, *Huronia: A History and Geography of the Huron Indians, 1600-1650* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1971), 102.

[1035] As best as I can tell, very few of the findings were published, although manuscript reports and very brief examination notes from the doctor who examined the bodies are retained in the Museum of Ontario Archaeology library.

[1036] MOA, File Cabinet Records Box 12—Ste.Marie. [Father Hagarty], "Excavation of the Indian Church, 1954," unpagenated ms; Wilfrid Jury and Elsie McLeod Jury, *Sainte-Marie among the Hurons* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1954), 91-98.

Jesuit missionaries killed in the Haudenosaunee attack on the settlement in March 1649.[1037] Brébeuf and Lalemant were not the first to die at Sainte-Marie, however.[1038] Through excavation, a total of 21 graves were found at the cemetery; all of the graves were judged Christian burials, and all but one were confirmed as Indigenous (likely mixed Wendat and Algonquin) burials.[1039] While theoretically a Christian cemetery, all 21 graves showed clear signs of Indigenous influence and custom.[1040]

Most of the burials were in poor condition, and often only parts of the skull and/or long bones were left. All of the graves were fairly shallow, only a foot or a little more than a foot below the surface, but almost all had been buried in wooden coffins (which were likewise badly decomposed). Many of the graves included grave goods—basswood seeds, pipes, pottery, ochre, wampum, and glass beads, and in one notable case (Grave 10), the remains of a dog. Many also included rosaries of wood or glass beads. Where decomposition allowed for observation of burial positioning, it was apparent that many had been buried on their sides and flexed, or were "prone," despite indications that the individuals were buried in full-sized coffins that would have permitted posing the body in extended position.[1041]

Some of the graves were quite dramatically hybridized in style. In one case, a man was interred in what was clearly intended to be a traditional Christian burial, with a wooden coffin, and with a rosary clasped in his hands, but he was also buried in a flexed position on his side like in

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[1037] For the Jesuits' account of Brébeuf and Lalemant's deaths, see JR 34: 25-37.
[1038] For a synthesis of Sainte-Marie deaths recorded in the *Jesuit Relations*, see Anonymous, "The Cemetery at Fort Ste. Marie, 1639-1649," *Martyrs' Shrine Message* 14 (1950).
[1039] MOA, File Cabinet Records Box 11—Files: Ste.Marie. "14.17 – Manuscript. Dr. Skinner—'Preliminary Report on Bone Specimens removed from grave uncovered in the burial ground at Fort Ste. Marie.'"; MOA, File Cabinet Records Box 13—Files: Ste.Marie. "Graves. Dr. [Paul] Skinner Report, 1950."
[1040] MOA, File Cabinet Records Box 13—Files: Ste.Marie. "Graves. Dr. [Paul] Skinner Report, 1950"; Jury and Jury, *Sainte-Marie among the Hurons*, 93.
[1041] MOA, File Cabinet Records Box 13—Files: Ste.Marie. "Graves. Dr. [Paul] Skinner Report, 1950."

Wendat primary burials, and he was buried with extensive grave goods, including a pewter pipe, broken pottery, an arrow, and a knife. He was also buried with a second bundle burial, assumed to be the man's wife. It was theorized that the woman died first, and then later the man converted and was buried as a Christian. After his death, the bundle was gathered together and enclosed in his coffin so that the two would be together in the afterlife…despite the Jesuits' prohibitions against burying non-Christians in Christian cemeteries.[1042]

The children's burials were also intriguing. Several smaller coffins were located at Sainte-Marie, but only small fragments of bone were found inside, so the presence of children is inferred from coffin size. Two of the coffins were almost square, including one that was only 25 by 24 inches (almost 2 feet squared). Its small size suggests a child's grave, and the research notes from the excavation suggests more than one child was interred (presumably, because the unusual width of the coffin would be to provide the necessary space for an additional individual). If two children were buried together in such a small coffin, it raises the question of whether they were twins or otherwise siblings who died within a relatively short period, or if it was merely expediency and children who died through some kind of sickness were buried together for more efficient use of labour resources.[1043]

The *Jesuit Relations* also reference a young Christian Wendat dying at Ste. Marie whilst five months pregnant. The baby was supposedly delivered and lived long enough to be baptized before it died (although, more likely, the Jesuits were manipulating the facts to add another 'successful' convert to their lists), and then mother and child were apparently buried together at Sainte-Marie, the first Christian deaths there and thus necessitating the formal designation of a

[1042] MOA, File Cabinet Records Box 13—Files: Ste.Marie. "Graves. Dr. [Paul] Skinner Report, 1950"; Jury and Jury, *Sainte-Marie among the Hurons*, 93-4.
[1043] MOA, File Cabinet Records Box 13—Files: Ste.Marie. "Graves. Dr. [Paul] Skinner Report, 1950."

Christian burial ground.[1044] However, no grave has been found at Sainte-Marie that can be definitively identified as corresponding to this story. While Grave 17 included a young woman aged approximately 16 years (and buried with assorted beads), there is no evidence of an infant being buried with her, and examination of the bones give no clues as to whether or not the woman had ever been pregnant. Grave 18 (presumably next to Grave 17, although this is not clear from the notes) was that of a "young child," and was buried with wampum and glass trade beads, as frequently appears in children's burials. Unless it was a clerical error, however, the coffin was tiny—28"x10", indicating not a child, but a very small infant. There is no conclusive way to connect the two burials, but the fact that this child was buried in a Christian cemetery suggests baptism, and if an infant, the child was probably baptized at birth, which would fit with the Jesuits' records in the *Jesuit Relations*.[1045]

The Sainte-Marie cemetery is unlike any other Wendat burial ground for the period, as it is entirely composed of Christian burials. However, the burials showed a mix of Indigenous and European characteristics. While they were buried in wooden coffins, often with rosaries, and were clearly not intended to be reburied later, the graves also included plenty of grave goods, and burial posture was often flexed as in Wendat burials. Some were multiple burials as well, including one bundle burial, and a few group burials for children. This demonstrates the longevity of Wendat burial philosophies and practices. The presence of beads in several burials, including those suspected to contain children, is emblematic of Wendat expectations of the afterlife as a potentially dangerous place. Giving other grave goods like seeds and tools is also indicative of a belief that these individuals would require sustenance in the spirit world. That individuals were buried together is also emblematic of Wendat philosophies that family was of paramount importance—

[1044] JR 26: 209.
[1045] MOA, File Cabinet Records Box 13—Files: Ste.Marie. "Graves. Dr. [Paul] Skinner Report, 1950."

many Wendat resisted conversion for fear of being separated from unbaptized relatives in the spirit world. Here, it seems, at least some Christian Wendat found a way to accommodate that concern by ensuring family members were buried together.

Unlike most of the other burial excavations, the human remains at the Sainte-Marie cemetery were reburied immediately instead of sent to a museum, which is also telling of the differential treatment assigned to Christian rather than non-Christian burials.[1046] As a result, the very little information gained from digging up these Wendat ancestors is likely to be all we will ever know of them.

It is clear that Wendat mortuary customs endured even with conversion and under the careful supervision of Jesuit priests; it is likely that many of the mortuary philosophies continued long after the Wendat communities were Christianized. Indeed, even after the dispersal, the Wendat who settled at Québec continued to hybridize their mortuary practices, despite being devout Catholics. Wendat mourners continued giving burial gifts, hybridizing their scaffold burial traditions so that they could correspond to a burial underground, and incorporating Feast of the Dead-like festivities and devotions into their All Souls' Day worship even at the dawn of the 18th century. Members nations affected by the Wendat diaspora in the United States continue to feel a close connection to their dead as well, with the Indian Removals of the 1830s and 1840s especially painful because of these forced departures from their ancestors. Clearly, these mortuary customs were persevering long after the 17th century and Wendat (and Wyandot/Wyandotte) mortuary philosophies would continue to have an impact for generations to come.[1047]

[1046] MOA, File Cabinet Records Box 13—Files: Ste.Marie. "Graves. Dr. [Paul] Skinner Report, 1950"; Jury and Jury, *Sainte-Marie among the Hurons*, 94.
[1047] Seeman, *The Huron-Wendat Feast of the Dead*, 138-39, 140-41.

Making Sense of Burial: Final Observations

There are ethical concerns with describing and analysing mortuary material. Many contemporary Indigenous peoples want to know more about their ancestors' practices, especially because so much has been lost to the forces of colonialism. There are also concerns about the study of the dead and many want to respect their ancestors by leaving them undisturbed. While I have described mortuary traditions, I have avoided extensive discussion of sites that have not received much scholarly attention. Even with the most widely-available material, there is plenty to learn.

The variety in Wendat and ancestral Wendat burials indicates at least a much more complex burial programme than the Jesuits realized or recorded in their *Relations*. None of the archaeological sites with infant remains fit neatly into the expected historical model of infant burial. While the absence of infants at roadsides could be explained by a lack of archaeological focus on finding such sites, infants' presence in ossuaries directly contradicts the Jesuits' observations, and their presence inside longhouses, in middens and village pits, in primary cemeteries, and even inside of palisade walls are glaring absences in the written record. It is possible—even likely—that the Wendat made a concerted effort to avoid having the Jesuits observe their burial practices, with the exception of the Feast of the Dead, which was intended as an alliance-making/alliance-keeping practice, and therefore highly public in nature and inclusive of outsiders. The burial of infants, which must have been extraordinarily difficult for the grieving families, may have been deliberately hidden from outsiders as a private display of grief. Burial location could very well have been the choice of the mother or the mother's clan, and since the village and the longhouse were female domains, it is entirely likely that women were in charge of burials and could plan those burials to exclude prying eyes. That the Jesuits actively mocked many of the Wendats' spiritual beliefs and practices in their effort to convert them to Christianity may

have even contributed to deliberate misinformation.[1048] Perhaps roadside burials were less common than the Jesuits believed, or not practiced at all. Indeed, while Brébeuf recorded this practice, it does not seem he witnessed it himself.[1049]

Perhaps the most striking feature of Wendat children's burials is indeed their variability. While certain practices continued to be used over generations, including in-house, multiple, and ossuary burials, there is very little pattern in how these practices applied. While all ossuaries seem to include children, some (but not all) included grave goods, and there were no consistent figures for bundle vs. primary interment. Likewise, primary cemeteries sometimes contained infants and children, and sometimes did not; in-house burials were more commonly used for infants, but occasionally featured older children or adults. This variability in burial practice, especially with infants, indicates the Jesuits' assertion of a two-stage burial process—scaffold primary burial to a secondary ossuary burial—does not reflect the true complexities of Wendat mortuary programmes.

In the archaeological context, in-house graves are the most commonly studied type of infant burial outside of ossuaries. Widely practiced in the 15th and 16th centuries, especially in the southern region of Wendat settlement (Greater Toronto Area), in-house burials also appear in some early 17th-century village sites in historic Wendake (Georgian Bay area). In-house burials were never very frequent, and only a very small percentage of a village's dead were interred in-house; likewise, not all villages had in-house burials. While it is possible that each Wendat nation had their own policies regarding burial, it is more likely that these were either clan or individual choices, with individuals choosing whether or not to utilize this particular practice.

Knowledge of the gender or sex of infant remains might be useful in clarifying the logic of some of these practices, but archaeologists have yet to develop a reliable means of determining

[1048] Seeman, *The Huron-Wendat Feast of the Dead*, 57.
[1049] JR 10: 273.

sex in pre-adolescent skeletal material. Ethnographic evidence suggests that Wendat may have used specific, gender-based ceremonies to give their children clan membership; the disposal of the umbilicus, as mentioned in an earlier chapter, was decided based on expectations of gender roles, and children's puberty ceremonies were also highly gendered. It is possible—but currently impossible to prove—that only girls were buried inside longhouses, to symbolically echo that they would have spent most of their lives in and around the longhouse as girls and women. It is also possible that only boys would be included in the longhouse, because the Wendat were careful to maintain gender balance, and so perhaps male infant dead would be buried in-house to offset the otherwise highly female domain. Or perhaps not. Perhaps gender was irrelevant, and both boys and girls were buried in-house, or gender representation was in different proportions based on location and social context. Without any reliable means of determining sex in infant remains, speculation about *why* infants were buried where they were would always be missing crucial cultural analysis.

Indeed, it is very difficult to assign any meaning to Wendat burial practices. According to the Jesuits, roadside burials were conducted so that infant spirits could be reborn in women passing by; this has been the main argument explaining in-house burials, as well. While the Jesuits may have been wrong about how common roadside burials actually were, ideas of rebirth and spirits returning to live again were intrinsic to Wendat culture, and rebirth remains one plausible explanation for why so many infants were buried inside of longhouses. The not infrequent presence of infants in ossuaries also suggests an effort to ensure these children remained with their kindred, because ossuary burial was the final stage before Wendat spirits made the journey to the afterlife. It is clear that Wendat burials tend to emphasize family connections, either burying individuals together or in close proximity, or burying them in locations close to their living relations. It was

only after the *Yandatsa*/Feast of the Dead that the living members of the community moved on to a new location, suggesting that this final, communal funeral was important to separate the living from the dead, so that the latter could move on to their afterlife, and the former could strengthen ties with the living from their own village and from their local allies. The different kinds of burials were clearly not about status, but about kinship connections.

Burial was an extremely important part of Wendat life, but our knowledge of burial practices, especially for children and infants, remains incomplete. For the Wendat, the dead were not to be disturbed—this remains true today and is the core reason Indigenous peoples are so uncomfortable with archaeological study of their ancestors' bones. It is also the likely reason why we know so little about the non-public forms of Wendat burial—the Wendat wanted to ensure their ancestors would not be disturbed and would remain separate from the living.

8. Conclusion: Remembering Stories of Indigenous Childhood

"Listen to our young people, even our children, give them what they need because they are our future. They are Canada's future generation." – former chief Bruce Shisheesh, Attawapiskat[1050]

In the spring of 2019, a little more than a month before his death, a few colleagues and I visited the home of archaeologist Charles Garrad. I had met Charlie a few times before, and had done some research in his private collection in the summer of 2018. This meeting was partially a social visit, and partially to help with organizing his collection before it was all to be transferred to the Archives of Ontario. It became one last teaching moment.

Charlie told me a story about a dig he had done almost 50 years ago, in which he had found an unusual burial in the middle of a field in Nottawasaga Township. It was a young woman under 35 years old, who had probably died between 1640 and 1650, and was likely a Tionontati from the nearby village of Etharita.[1051] The woman was crippled in life, likely bedbound for lengthy periods of time—perhaps even entire seasons, with extreme and localized arthritis in the hips possibly caused by dislocation early in life. The injury may have been exacerbated by spending the first year or so of her life in the cradleboard, as this traditional mode of carrying Iroquoian infants would have limited her movements and stressed the injury. What is notable about this particular burial is that she was buried with wooden poles and bark—Charlie suggested it was the remnants of a litter, in which she may have been carried in life—and on a

[1050] Andrew Russell, "1 year after suicide crisis, Attawapiskat still lacking mental health resources," *Global News* 12 April 2017, https://globalnews.ca/news/3373928/1-year-after-suicide-crisis-attawapiskat-still-lacking-mental-health-resources/ (accessed 11 April 2020).
[1051] The Tionontati, like other Iroquoians, had many cultural similarities to the Wendat. The Wyandot of Anderdon Nation trace their ancestry to both the Wendat and the Tionontati.

raised 'bed,' "perhaps a token offering of comfort at last for a person finally released from a lifetime of pain."[1052]

Very little is known about this woman, although we can speculate. If she were crippled or consigned to severe pain for her whole life, is reasonable that someone—or more likely a number of people—would have had to care for her. If walking was painful or completely impossible, she may not have been able to participate much in traditional girls' and women's roles, such as tending to crops, gathering firewood, carrying water from the river, or participating in Ceremonies. It is possible that this woman never had children of her own. Unable to fulfill these expectations of womanhood, she likely would have been something of an outsider in her own community, unable to fully participate in the everyday necessities of life. Despite her liminal place in society, her people cared enough about her fate to bury her carefully—albeit alone—with an interest to making her final resting place a comfortable one.

As writer Thomas King famously put it, "the truth about stories is that that's all we are."[1053] This long-dead Tionontati's story is remembered in one *Ontario Archaeology* article, but so many other stories are forgotten. I have started each chapter in this dissertation with a story in large part because so few stories of Indigenous children have been told as stories of *children*. Many of these children were strong, intelligent, and thoughtful individuals who lived in an unusual time and who fulfilled specific social roles that their older family members did not. Such stories are often forgotten or erased entirely by indifference to the actors in that history,

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[1052] Charles Garrad, "A Petun Burial in Nottawasaga Township, Ontario," *Ontario Archaeology* 15 (1970): 13.
[1053] Thomas King, "The Truth About Stories – Part 1," *CBC Radio*, The 2003 CBC Massey Lectures, 2003, 4:10-14, https://www.cbc.ca/radio/ideas/the-2003-cbc-massey-lectures-the-truth-about-stories-a-native-narrative-1.2946870 (last accessed 18 July 2020).

much like the history of Wendat in Ontario as a whole. This history has a real and significant impact on people today.

Indigenous Ontario and the Legacy of Colonialism

The Wendat Confederacy's dispersal in 1649/1650 created a widespread diaspora, the descendants of which continue to thrive today. The Huron-Wendat Nation in Wendake, QC has lived in and near Québec City since 1650. The Wyandot of Anderdon (now just outside of Detroit) have historically moved back and forth across the current Canada/United States border, and to this day still have unceded territory in Amherstburg (not far from Windsor, ON). Further south, the Wyandot Nation of Kansas and the Wyandotte Nation of Oklahoma complete the modern four-nation Confederacy. In Canada only the Huron-Wendat are officially acknowledged as descendants of the 17th-century Wendat when any acknowledgement of descent is required.[1054] For most, the Wendat and Wyandot are remembered in Canada as they *were* but not as they *are*, and their history is only acknowledged in museums and tourist attractions like Sainte-Marie-among-the-Hurons and in place names like Huron County, Lake Huron, and Wyandot Avenue.[1055]

Scholars have long noticed the damage caused by the erasure of Indigenous history. Jean M. O'Brien's monograph *Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians out of Existence* (2010) is particularly useful for pointing to the impact of cultural assumptions and stereotypes, specifically

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[1054] The historiography only contributes to this erasure, as most scholars of Wendat history focus on the pre-dispersal history. For a recent exception, see the collection from editors Thomas Peace and Kathryn Magee Labelle called *From Huronia to Wendakes: Adversity, Migrations, and Resilience, 1650-1900* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2016).

[1055] The trope of the "disappearing Indian" is still a widely held 'truth,' even (perhaps especially) in matters of policy. A Canadian Wyandot Faithkeeper living in Toronto was told by Canadian administrators in the Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC) that Wyandots did not exist in Canada, despite the Wyandots' long and continued history in the country. Personal communication, Catherine Tammaro, September 2019.

the assumption that Indigenous peoples and their cultures exist only in the distant past. As O'Brien illustrates, the deliberate exclusion of Indigenous peoples in modern contexts, and the exclusive discussion of Indigenous peoples in the deep past, feeds into the persistent stereotype of the 'vanishing Indian' and denies Indigenous peoples a place in modern society.[1056]

Erasure and forgetting have enormous implications for Indigenous children and families. The horror of Canada's residential school system is well documented and has prompted a federal apology, but the lesser known Sixties Scoop,[1057] in which children were removed from parental custody and put up for adoption in non-Indigenous families, has only recently started making headlines in Canadian media—despite up to 20,000 Indigenous children being affected.[1058] Indeed, the impact of the Sixties Scoop is still felt today in governmental policy. Statistics released in 2011 showed that *across Canada*, almost half of the children under age 14 in foster care are Indigenous, despite representing only 7% of all children in the country.[1059] Estimates

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[1056] Jean M. O'Brien, *Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians out of Existence* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), xiii.

[1057] The Sixties Scoop refers to the mass removal of Indigenous children from their families and placement in the child welfare system, most often without the consent of their families or bands. Although Indigenous children had been removed from their families in the past, this practice and the drastic overrepresentation of Indigenous children in the child welfare system accelerated in the 1960s, and continues to today. Erin Hanson, "Sixties Scoop," *Indigenous Foundations*, 2009, https://indigenousfoundations.arts.ubc.ca/sixties_scoop/ (accessed 12 September 2020).

[1058] Government of Canada, "Statement of apology to former students of Indian Residential Schools," Canada.ca https://www.rcaanc-cirnac.gc.ca/eng/1100100015644/1571589171655 (last updated 15 September 2010). The Truth and Reconciliation Commission, completed in 2015 and widely published, ensured that these atrocities were made public. Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. Volume One: Summary "Honouring the Truth, Reconciling the Future"* (Toronto: Lorimer, 2015). See also Niigaanwewidam James Sinclair and Sharon Dainard, "Sixties Scoop," *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, 22 June 2016, last edited 22 October 2019) https://www.thecanadian encyclopedia.ca/en/article/sixties-scoop# (accessed 26 March 2020).

[1059] Murat Yükselir and Evan Annett, "Where the kids are: how Indigenous children are over-represented in foster care," *The Globe and Mail*, 13 April 2016, https://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/indigenous-kids-made-up-almost-half-of-canadian-foster-children-in-2011statscan/article29616843/ (accessed 26 March 2020).

indicate that there are three times as many Indigenous children currently in foster care as were in residential schools in the 1940s—the schools' peak enrollment period.[1060]

Indigenous children in Canada have long suffered under Canadian policies and from Canadian racism and stereotyping, as is only too apparent in recent history. The youth suicide crisis among Indigenous communities has gained some media attention in recent years, but little government action. Suicide among Indigenous populations is three times more common than among non-Indigenous people, with suicide rates highest among Indigenous youth and young adults between 15 and 24 years of age—6.2% higher than for non-Indigenous persons of the same age.[1061] The northern Ontario community of Pikangikum was known for years as "the suicide capital of the world" for its high suicide rate, which was about 20 times that of Canada as a whole.[1062] The vast majority of its suicides stemmed from its youth population.[1063] Attawapiskat First Nation, another northern community in Ontario with a population of approximately 2000, likewise declared a state of emergency in April 2016 after 11 children attempted suicide on a single Saturday—and with more than 100 attempted suicides in the

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[1060] Holly A. McKenzie, Colleen Varcoe, Annette J. Browne, and Linda Day, "Disrupting the Continuities among Residential Schools, the Sixties Scoop, and Child Welfare: An Analysis of Colonial and Neocolonial Discourses," *The International Indigenous Policy Journal* 7, no. 2 (2016): 1.

[1061] Mohan B. Kumar and Michael Tjepkema, "Suicide among First Nations people, Métis and Inuit (2011-2016): Findings from the 2011 Canadian Census Health and Environment Cohort (CanCHEC)," National Household Survey: Aboriginal Peoples, *Statistics Canada*, 28 June 2019, https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/99-011-x/99-011-x2019001-eng.htm (accessed 11 April 2020). (PDF version available at https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/99-011-x/99-011-x2019001-eng.pdf); Greg Macdougall, "Canada's Indigenous suicide crisis is worse than we thought," *National Observer*, 10 September 2019, https://www.nationalobserver.com/2019/ 09/10/analysis/canadas-indigenous-suicide-crisis-worse-we-thought (accessed 11 April 2020); Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, *Choosing Life: Special Report on Suicide among Aboriginal Peoples* (Ottawa: Canada Communication Group Publishing, 1995), 1.

[1062] Martin Patriquin, "Canada: Home to Pikangikum, suicide capital of the world," *Maclean's*, 20 March 2012, https://www.macleans.ca/news/canada/canada-home-to-the-suicide-capital-of-the-world/ (accessed 11 April 2020).

[1063] Martin Patriquin, "Canada: Home to Pikangikum, suicide capital of the world," *Maclean's*, 20 March 2012, https://www.macleans.ca/news/canada/canada-home-to-the-suicide-capital-of-the-world/ (accessed 11 April 2020).

previous seven months.[1064] Suicide rates among Indigenous youth are still disproportionately high, and have been connected to intergenerational trauma, contemporary racism and discrimination fostering a sense of hopelessness and despair, and the lack of government funding for essential health services. Northern communities and reserves in particular, such as Attawapiskat and Pikangikum, do not have the same access to mental health resources as southern, non-reserve communities, and less government funding is set aside for Indigenous children than for non-Indigenous children, both factors that compound the problem.[1065] Without access to resources, many continue to struggle in northern communities.

Contemporary Indigenous youth face other challenges as well, many stemming from harmful tropes about Indigenous children and Indigenous parents. In January 2015, an 11-year-old New Credit First Nations girl, Makayla Sault, died from a stroke a year after being diagnosed with acute lymphoblastic leukemia. This tragedy was made only worse with media coverage of her case. At Makayla's request, her parents Ken and Sonya Sault had taken her off her chemotherapy treatment and instead started her on a combined treatment of traditional healing, Western medicine, and a diet designed to boost her immune system.[1066] The family's decision to stop Makayla's chemotherapy treatments sparked public outrage. McMaster Children's Hospital

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[1064] Andrew Russell, "1 year after suicide crisis, Attawapiskat still lacking mental health resources," *Global News* 12 April 2017, https://globalnews.ca/news/3373928/1-year-after-suicide-crisis-attawapiskat-still-lacking-mental-health-resources/ (accessed 11 April 2020).

[1065] "Attawapiskat declares state of emergency after 11 suicide attempts in one night," *The Canadian Press*, 10 April 2016, https://globalnews.ca/news/2629926/northern-ontario-first-nation-declares-state-of-emergency-after-suicide-attempts/ (accessed 11 April 2020); Andrew Russell, "1 year after suicide crisis, Attawapiskat still lacking mental health resources," *Global News* 12 April 2017, https://globalnews.ca/news/3373928/1-year-after-suicide-crisis-attawapiskat-still-lacking-mental-health-resources/ (accessed 11 April 2020).

[1066] Liam Casey, "Makayla Sault's parents speak out about daughter's death," *CBC News*, 26 February 2015, https://www.cbc.ca/news/indigenous/makayla-sault-s-parents-speak-out-about-daughter-s-death-1.2973938 (last accessed 19 March 2020). Most of the newspaper articles on Makayla's case stated unequivocally that Makayla's parents took her out of the Western/Canadian health care system and went entirely to traditional and alternative medicine for treatment of their daughter. Liam Casey's *CBC* article however asked Makayla's parents about her treatment and received more precise information.

sent the case to Brant Family and Children's Services in an effort to have Makayla—and her two healthy siblings—taken into custody on the assumption that the Saults were unfit parents, and to have Makayla put back into chemotherapy treatment regardless of her own wishes.[1067] Some newspaper articles indicate that the Hospital tried to force the issue through the courts as well.[1068] Children's Services' decision *not* to take the children was lambasted in reputable newspapers like the *Toronto Star* as condoning the supposed irresponsibility of Makayla's parents; the judge's similar decision to respect treaty rights to traditional medicine was likewise considered an unfortunate mistake.[1069] Makayla's parents were also judged harshly with scathing newspaper articles insisting that the family had been duped by snake-oil salesmen in Florida; that they were somehow cheating the system by pursuing "alternative medicine" at the Hippocrates Health Institute instead of "traditional medicines" protected by Indigenous rights; that they were superstitious; and of course that Makayla was a minor and could not make such a decision for herself and so it was the parents' responsibility to choose for her.[1070] More than one article

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[1067] Brant Family and Children's Services did *not* take custody of the children, citing Indigenous rights to make their own choices in their medical care as well as a respect for Makayla's choice. Nahnda Garlow, "CAS Closes Case on Ojibwe child; 'We respect Makayla's choice,'" *Two Row Times*, 20 May 2014, https://tworowtimes.com/news/cas-closes-case-on-ojibwe-child-we-respect-makaylas-choice/ (last accessed 19 March 2020).

[1068] The case was ultimately rejected by the presiding judge. See Tom Blackwell, "Makayla Sault likely died from rebounding cancer, not chemotherapy effects: specialist," *National Post*, 20 January 2015, https://nationalpost.com/news/canada/makayla-sault-likely-died-from-rebounding-cancer-not-chemotherapy-effects-specialist (last accessed 19 March 2020).

[1069] For example, see: "Different takes on Makayla's death," *Toronto Star*, 25 January 2015, A10. In a similar case, with an 11-year-old Indigenous girl known as J.J., the comments also criticized the judge who supported the parents' decision: "A native 'right' to refuse life-saving medicine? It does natives no favours," *The Globe and Mail*, 14 November 2014, Editorial, https://www.theglobeandmail.com/opinion/editorials/a-native-right-to-refuse-life-saving-medicine-it-does-natives-no-favours/article21599523/ (last accessed 17 May 2020).

[1070] Leah McLaren, "Makayla Sault: whose rights are served when a little girl dies?" *The Globe and Mail*, 21 January 2015, https://www.theglobeandmail.com/life/parenting/whose-rights-are-served-when-a-little-girl-dies/article22562573/ (last accessed 19 March 2020); Rosie DiManno, "Law, faith, and tradition—none of them saved Makayla: DiManno," *Toronto Star*, 20 January 2015, https://www.thestar.com/news/gta/2015/01/20/law-faith-and-tradition-none-of-them-saved-makayla-dimanno.html (last accessed 19 March 2020). Rosie DiManno was especially critical of this case and

pointed out that Makayla had had a vision of Jesus who she believed would heal her—"not an ancient aboriginal spirit," journalist Leah McLaren hastens to point out—implying that Indigenous people could not demand Indigenous rights to alternative medicine and be Christian too.[1071] Certainly her vision of Jesus was also taken as evidence that Makayla was not fit to make the decision to stop her chemotherapy treatments.[1072] The public—or at least, members of the public who wrote in to the newspapers' comment pages—demanded that Makayla's parents force her to take the chemotherapy treatments, and insisted that to do otherwise was bad parenting.

This trope of Indigenous parents being bad parents and of Indigenous children being wild and unruly is as old as colonialism in Canada. In a letter dating to November 1685, the newly appointed colonial governor of New France, the Marquis Brisay de Denonville, complained bitterly that French colonial youth were wild and undisciplined and blamed the influence of the local Indigenous peoples.[1073] Similar concerns were raised into the next century, as Intendant Jacques Raudot noted in 1707 his concern that colonial parents copied Indigenous child-rearing styles of "over-indulgence," with the result that these youth showed no respect for their parents,

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wrote a number of articles throughout the year on the matter. See also: Rosie DiManno, "Likely tragic outcome indicts us all," *Toronto Star*, 15 November 2014, A1 & A23;

[1071] McLaren, "Makayla Sault: whose rights are served when a little girl dies?" https://www.theglobeandmail.com/life/parenting/whose-rights-are-served-when-a-little-girl-dies/article22562573/. This idea that Indigenous people are either Indigenous or assimilated—not both—is also a central theme in Paige Raibmon's excellent *Authentic Indians: Episodes of Encounter from the Late-Nineteenth-Century Northwest Coast* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005), and shows how pervasive this trope is.

[1072] Terry Glavin, "Makayla's death, but our disgrace," *National Post*, 22 January 2015, https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/docview/1647558108/E34140DE651341FFPQ/6?accountid=15182 (accessed 19 March 2020).

[1073] Library and Archives Canada (LAC), MG1, Série C11A, R11577-4-2-F, "Lettre de Denonville au minister," 13 novembre 1685. See also J.H. Stewart Reid, Kenneth McNaught, and Harry S. Crowe, eds, *A Source-Book of Canadian History: Selected Documents and Personal Papers* (Toronto: Longman Canada Limited, 1976), 34-5.

their superiors, and their priests.[1074] As this dissertation shows, however, tropes of disobedient children and bad parents were and are based in highly inaccurate understandings of Indigenous childhood and child-rearing.

Writing and Learning from a History of Wendat Childhood

It is my hope that this dissertation will continue the pioneering work of other thinkers and scholars to combat these damaging stereotypes and to push back against the ongoing violence of colonialism. That some of these tropes—including the tropes of Indigenous children being bad children, and their parents being bad parents—date back to the 17th century are evidence of the hard work that must be done.

Scholars have made significant contributions to our collective understanding of Wendat and Wyandot history in recent years, but there is still much to learn. Scholars still know very little about the historical construction of family and how families interacted on a day-to-day basis—it is my hope that this dissertation on Wendat childhood will join others in contributing to children's Indigenous studies in Canada, especially when this historical contextualization can help people today who are struggling with the harmful tropes and stereotypes of Indigenous family structures.

This dissertation and its analysis has greatly benefited from the support and mentorship of contemporary Wendat and Wyandot people. In particular, I would like to thank the Faithkeepers Catherine Tammaro (Wyandot of Anderdon Nation) and Sallie Cotter Andrews (Wyandotte Nation of Oklahoma) for their ongoing support and advice, particularly in how to ensure the writing process was respectful of contemporary needs and concerns. This dissertation would not be what it is without their guidance.

[1074] Peter Moogk, "Les Petits Sauvages: the Children of Eighteenth-Century New France," in *Histories of Canadian Children and Youth*, eds. Nancy Janovicek and Joy Parr (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 36-7.

This dissertation has also benefited greatly from an interdisciplinary and ethnohistorical approach. European travellers were often prolific writers and provided historians with a rich source base to draw upon, but expanding my approach to examine archaeological, linguistic, and anthropological sources provided additional layers to this dissertation and allowed me to make better connections to the history. Using the scholarly work on contemporary Indigenous family and on early modern European childhood also helped me refine my research questions concerning children's social roles in the historical context. It is my hope that my work will inspire others to join the other scholars and thinkers working in Indigenous childhood studies to shed light on this rich and important history.

For the Wendat of the 17th century, children were valued as important contributors to the community's well-being. As such, Wendat youths were respected as individuals who deserved to make their own decisions—for good or ill—and to learn from their successes as well as their mistakes. While children lacked the life experiences to speak in Council, their views were not lightly dismissed. It was understood that children had special connections to the spirit world and their insights might be different—but still valid and important—from that of adults. Wendat and Wyandot stories are filled with children and youths with special powers and knowledge that was often exactly what was necessary to save their communities from disaster.

Wendat children took on socioeconomic roles to support their families. Children helped protect agricultural crops, prepared food, gathered wood and supplies, and helped fish the waterways. Youths took part in hunting and in ceremonies. Children and youths also helped greet, teach, and support visiting strangers.

Wendat children taught missionaries how to speak the language. Children also played tricks to teach proper behaviour when the missionaries failed to enact the appropriate protocols or engage

in proper etiquette. Indeed, although Recollet Gabriel Sagard only credits the adults for helping him survive a year in the heart of Wendat territory, Sagard's greatest political and social gaffs came from his misunderstanding of Wendat kinship, and his most persistent teachers—though he never realized it—were the children.

Children had important but understated and subtle political roles. Boys living at the Jesuit seminary used Wendat adoption culture to foster long-term friendships with the French newcomers. Girls likewise used their Ursuline and Hospitalière connections to ensure their people not only survived the dispersal but thrived in the changed political landscape afterward. Most of these youths are silent in the historical record, but their *actions* demonstrate their powerful diplomatic roles and political clout. Much of this empowerment is overshadowed and silenced by the narratives written by Europeans desperate to document their own place in history.

Nowhere is this silence more apparent than in death itself. Archaeology has largely written children out of the narrative, despite the long history of Wendat archaeology in Ontario. Wendat graves have been excavated since before archaeology was a scientific discipline, and yet children—so important in Wendat life—are rarely mentioned and even more rarely studied. Some of this silence may have stemmed from a deliberate concealment of Wendat children's graves by the Wendat themselves, limiting what meaning may be derived from osteological archaeology, but Western science's and society's indifference to children's history—especially non-Western children's history—is also a contributing factor.

This silence is, however, finally beginning to break. Recent media and political attention to the history of residential schools, the Sixties' Scoop, and the report on Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls is bringing more attention to Indigenous children's history in Canada. In Ontario, several recent legal decisions are also aimed at improving life for Indigenous

youth. For example, Jordan's Principle, originally developed in 2007 and reassessed in 2016 when the Canadian Human Rights Tribunal (CHRT) "determined the Government of Canada's approach to services for First Nations children was discriminatory," requires that Canada provide access to products, supports, and services for First Nations children with an identified health, educational, or social need (as recommended by a professional).[1075] While effective implementation of Jordan's Principle is still a fraught issue,[1076] recent funding commitments in 2019 are a positive step.[1077]

The federal government has also made efforts to reduce the numbers of Indigenous children in foster care. On 21 June 2019, *An Act respecting First Nations, Inuit and Métis children, youth and families* (Bill C-92) received Royal Consent and became law, with its provisions coming into force on 1 January 2020.[1078] The *Act* "affirms the rights and jurisdiction of Indigenous peoples in relation to child and family services and sets out principles applicable, on a national level, to the provision of child and family services in relation to Indigenous children, such as the best interests of the child, cultural continuity and substantive equality," and takes steps to recognize the jurisdiction of Indigenous peoples in relation to child and family services.[1079] The *Act* is one of

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[1075] Cindy Blackstock, "Jordan's Principle: Canada's broken promise to First Nations children?" *Paediatrics & Child Health* 17, no. 7 (2012): 368-70; Government of Canada, "Jordan's Principle," Canada.ca, https://www.sac-isc.gc.ca/eng/1568396042341/1568396159824 (last accessed 18 May 2020). For more information on Jordan's Principle, its history, and its application, see "5 Myths About Jordan's Principle," Ontario Association of Children's Aid Societies, https://www.oacas.org/2019/01/5-myths-about-jordans-principle/ (last accessed 18 May 2020).

[1076] The federal government was again issued with a non-compliance order in 6 September 2019 for failing to adhere to their obligations under Jordan's Principle. "Jordan's Principle," First Nations Child and Family Caring Society, https://fncaringsociety.com/jordans-principle (last accessed 18 May 2020).

[1077] Amber Bernard, "Jordan's Principle gets $1.2B from federal budget—but certain details missing," *APTN National News*, 19 March 2019, https://www.aptnnews.ca/national-news/jordans-principle-gets-1-2b-from-federal-budget-but-certain-details-missing/ (last accessed 18 May 2020).

[1078] Government of Canada, "Reducing the number of Indigenous children in care," Canada.ca, https://www.sac-isc.gc.ca/eng/1541187352297/ 1541187392851 (last accessed 18 May 2020).

[1079] Bill C-92*, An Act respecting First Nations, Inuit and Métis children, youth and families*, 2019. Statute of Canada, 2019, c.24. https://www.parl.ca/DocumentViewer/en/42-1/bill/C-92/royal-assent#ID0E2DAG (also available as a PDF: https://www.parl.ca/Content/Bills/421/ Government/C-92/C-92_4/C-92_4.PDF).

many in recent years to recognize Indigenous self-determination and provide legal support for acting upon that sovereignty.[1080]

Not surprisingly, Indigenous youth have also joined the fight for Indigenous sovereignty. Youth have been participating in social justice and environmental movements in recent years, from Idle No More[1081] to pipeline and land-related protests.[1082] More recently, youth-led charity Canadian Roots Exchange funded an Indigenous student's project to get phones and phone credit to Oji-Cree community Nibinamik First Nation, to help youths struggling with COVID-19-imposed isolation.[1083] In 2017, Nibinamik had a series of youth suicides and the phone outreach project was an effort to help prevent a repeat after the reduction in health services during the pandemic.[1084]

Many Indigenous youths are also pushing back against the violence of colonialism by reclaiming their histories. The Wendat and Wyandot are no exception. Language revitalization

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[1080] The *Indigenous Institutes Act, 2017*, for example, recognizes an Indigenous-controlled quality assurance board to assess Indigenous-controlled educational Institutes, thereby acknowledging the Indigenous right to their own systems of education. The *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (*UNDRIP*, 2007) also recognizes Indigenous self-determination, including recognizing the right of Indigenous peoples to retain the responsibility for raising, educating, and ensuring the well-being of their children. See: *Indigenous Institutes Act*, 2017, S.O. 2017, c. 34, sched. 20. https://www.ontario.ca/laws/statute/17i34a; *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (UNDRIP), 2007. A/RES/61/295. https://undocs.org/A/RES/61/295.

[1081] One example is the famed Nishiyuu walk, in which seven youths walked from their home in Whapmagoostui Québec to Ottawa—a 1,300km journey—to ensure their voices were heard. See Teresa Smith, "Nishiyuu Walkers on final stretches of 1,300-km trek to Ottawa," *Ottawa Citizen*, 21 March 2013, http://www.ottawacitizen.com/life/nishiyuu+walkers+final+stretches+trek+ottawa/8128698/story.html (last accessed 1 July 2020).

[1082] "Indigenous youth chant 'stand up, fight back' at B.C. anti-pipeline protest," *The Canadian Press*, 26 January 2020, https://vancouversun.com/news/local-news/indigenous-youth-chant-stand-up-fight-back-at-b-c-anti-pipeline-protest (last accessed 1 July 2020);

[1083] Alastair Sharp, "Indigenous youth helping each other during pandemic," *National Observer*, 1 May 2020, https://www.nationalobserver.com/2020/05/01/news/indigenous-youth-helping-each-other-during-pandemic (last accessed 1 July 2020); CRE, "Who We Are," Canadian Roots Exchange, https://canadianroots.ca/about/about-cre/ (last accessed 1 July 2020).

[1084] Alastair Sharp, "Indigenous youth helping each other during pandemic," *National Observer*, 1 May 2020, https://www.nationalobserver.com/2020/05/01/news/indigenous-youth-helping-each-other-during-pandemic (last accessed 1 July 2020).

efforts have been or are occurring across the modern Confederacy, including the Yawenda project in Wendake,[1085] the use of online language tools,[1086] and elementary school language classes.[1087] The Wendat and Wyandot have also been reclaiming other life skills. In 2019, a youth and Elder gathering was organized in Huron-Wendat territory ("Listening to the Wisdom of Niokominanak (Our Elders)"), indicating that Wendat youth are still engaging in their people's history and traditional ways of teaching and learning hunting and cooking skills.[1088] Ceremonies are being revitalized and children are receiving their Wendat and Wyandot names.[1089] Youth are even taking part in politics, including in the Canadian Senate, sharing their visions of reconciliation and positive social change.[1090] Indigenous youth continue to take on ancient social roles, including that of learner/teacher, diplomat, and provider. As was the case 400 years ago, Wendat, Wyandot, and other Indigenous youth continue to engage deeply with their communities and with broader society around them.

[1085] CDFM Huron-Wendat, "Wendat Language Revitalization," Wendat Language Site, 2017, https://languewendat.com/en/revitalisation/ (last accessed 5 July 2020); Mark Cardwell, "The fight to revitalize Canada's indigenous languages," *University Affairs* 8 November 2010, https://www.universityaffairs.ca/features/feature-article/fight-to-revitalize-canadas-indigenous-languages/ (last accessed 5 July 2020).

[1086] "Language," Wyandotte Nation, http://www.wyandotte-nation.org/culture/language/ (last accessed 5 July 2020).

[1087] Canadian Language Museum, "Reviving a long-lost language," Canadian Language Museum Blog, 22 November 2014, https://langmusecad.wordpress.com/2014/11/22/reviving-a-long-lost-language/ (accessed 5 July 2020).

[1088] Tom Fennario, "Elders, youth gather on Huron-Wendat territory for meeting generations in the making," *APTN News*, 17 July 2018, https://www.aptnnews.ca/national-news/elders-youth-gather-on-huron-wendat-territory-for-meeting-generations-in-the-making/ (last accessed 1 July 2020).

[1089] Mckelvey Kelly, "Seven Generations: Emotion Work, Women, and the Anderdon Wyandot Cemetery, 1790-1914" (MA thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 2019), 94.

[1090] Senate of Canada, "Showing the path forward—youth leaders indigenize the Senate," Sencanada.ca, 21 June 2017, https://sencanada.ca/en/sencaplus/news/showing-the-path-forward-youth-leaders-indigenize-the-senate/ (last accessed 5 July 2020).

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